EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report documents the findings from the People’s Budget of San José (PBSJ) Survey. Over 1,500 people took the survey, sharing their ideas about public safety and the city budget. In the following sections, we present data on

1. Perspectives on San José City Spending
2. Opinions about Policing and Law Enforcement Policy,
3. Experiences of Policing
4. Perspectives on Alternatives to Policing.

We also provide details on the demographics of survey respondents with comparisons to the population of San José. Appendix I contains additional graphical displays of key findings, illustrating response patterns by demographic characteristics. Appendix II contains the full survey instrument.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. In several areas, a clear majority of San José residents supported increased funding: Community safety resources (73%), Helping residents meet basic needs (67%), and Public resources like parks, libraries & transportation (63%). The area with the most support for decreased funding was police (47%).

2. The vast majority of people think policing in San José has problems (77%), with a majority (52%) agreeing there are “serious problems” needing major reforms.

3. Residents’ experiences with police varied widely based on their demographic groups. Across a range of questions, sexual and gender minorities, younger people, African American/Black, Native American, Chicanx/Latinx/Hispanic respondents, and people with lower household incomes had generally more negative experiences with and attitudes towards policing compared to those who identify as men, heterosexual, older, White or Asian, or had higher household incomes.

4. Across demographic categories, respondents overwhelmingly support San José adopting alternatives to policing with between 72% - 82% supporting non-police approaches to managing mental health crises, traffic safety, school safety, and the needs of the city’s unhoused population.
The People's Budget of San José (PBSJ) study was developed by the San José State University Human Rights Institute (HRI) in collaboration with Sacred Heart Community Services Racial Equity and Community Safety (RECS) committee and the Race, Equity, Action, and Leadership (REAL) Coalition. The study began in 2020 to better understand the experiences and perspectives of San José community members on community safety, policing, and the city budget. For more information on PBSJ Study, see the Background Report, available on the HRI website.

During the first phase of the study, community partners held a series of focus group conversations. These conversations informed the development of the second phase of the study, which was a community survey. The present report documents the findings from this survey. To learn more about the focus group conversations, see the Focus Group Discussion Report, available on the HRI website.

The survey was finalized in July 2021, approved by the SJSU Institutional Review Board, and made available in English, Amharic, Chinese, Farsi, Spanish, Tagalog, and Vietnamese. The survey was distributed with the support of organizations in the REAL Coalition and broadly promoted through social media channels. HRI student interns and members of the Sacred Heart RECS committee conducted in-person survey solicitation in San José neighborhoods and at public events throughout the city. In addition, HRI interns and RECS members engaged in mass text banking using voter registration rolls, texting over 64,000 registered voters in San José with an invitation to take the survey. In the final phase of the survey, HRI analyzed survey responses by zip code and targeted outreach areas with lower levels of participation. The survey was available from July 27, 2021 to January 14, 2022.

The final survey population closely mirrors the population of San José along major demographic factors and there was participation from all areas of the city. The demographic characteristics of the survey respondents are presented in detail at the end of this report.
SURVEY RESULTS

PERSPECTIVES ON SAN JOSÉ CITY SPENDING

Finding 1
In several areas, a clear majority of San Jose residents supported increased funding: Community safety resources (73%), Helping residents meet basic needs (67%), and Public resources like parks, libraries & transportation (63%). The area with the most support for decreased funding was police (47%).

Overall, participants were very supportive of spending more city funding on basic needs, community safety resources, and public resources. However, almost half the participants wanted to see less money spent on policing (Figure 1).

There were few differences by demographic groups in whether to spend more, the same, or less money on helping residents meet basic needs, community safety resources, and public resources like parks, libraries, and transportation.

While there were some differences by demographic characteristics on police spending, there were no demographic categories where a majority of participants supported an increase in spending on policing. Relatively more support for increased spending on policing was observed among older participants compared to younger, men compared to women and gender minorities, heterosexual participants compared to all other sexual orientations, those born outside of the United States compared to those born in the United States, and those with household incomes higher than $100,000 compared to those with lower incomes.

In addition to the closed-ended questions on spending priorities, we gave participants the opportunity to write in responses to the question “Do you have any suggestions about what San José’s budget priorities should be?” Over 600 participants made written comments expressing their thoughts on the city budget. We reviewed each comment and identified the topic the comment discussed. The most common topics in these comments were homelessness, the high cost of housing, mental health services, and education (Figure 2).
Figure 1: Priorities for San José city spending

This figure explains what people think San José should spend money on.

For example, the first bar shows that 12% of people think that San José should spend less money on helping residents meet basic needs than the city spends now. The next bar shows that 21% of people think that San José should spend the same amount of money as the city spends now on helping residents meet basic needs. The third bar shows that 67% of people think the city should spend more money on helping residents meet basic needs.
Figure 2: Suggested areas for San José spending and example quotes from the survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Homelessness</strong></td>
<td>“Help/Support for the homeless population should be a top priority.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Homelessness needs to be addressed! It was not this bad even five years ago!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td>“Affordable housing should have been the #1 priority a decade ago.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Housing for middle class. As a single father of two young children making 100k per year, I cannot afford to buy a home.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mental Health</strong></td>
<td>“Increase mental health funding. It’s extremely difficult for people to get help.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Increase support for mental health issues.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>“I believe San Jose should focus on making better schools for the youth.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Raise the salaries of teachers and professors.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This figure shows the most common topics that people wrote about when they shared their ideas for how San José should spend money and then gives examples of what these comments said. For example, the topic that came up the most frequently was homelessness. People wrote things like, "Help/Support for the homeless population should be a top priority."

For more information on what San José community members are saying about safety, policing, and their thoughts on the city budget, please see the People’s Budget of San José Focus Group Report, available on the HRI website.
Finding 2
The vast majority of people think policing in San Jose has problems (77%), with a majority (52%) agreeing there are “serious problems” needing major reforms.

When asked about their overall perception of policing in San José, 52% of respondents said that policing in San José has some serious problems, requiring major reform and shifting some resources to other approaches to creating public safety. Another 25% of respondents said that policing in San José has some problems, but they are caused by individual bad actors, so major reforms are not necessary. Only 7% reported that they thought that policing in San José is working well (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Sense of policing in San José

This figure explains how people think policing is going in San José. For example, the darkest blue section shows that 52% of people think that policing in San José has serious problems and needs major reform, including shifting resources to other ways of making people safe.
The survey also assessed participants’ attitudes towards three specific law enforcement policies. As shown in Figure 4 most participants did not want police to have access to military-grade weapons, did not agree that people should be jailed for non-violent crimes, and did not want cities to pay for lawsuits for police misconduct.

Figure 4: Opinions on law enforcement policy

![Bar chart showing opinions on law enforcement policies](image)

This figure explains what people think about three law enforcement policies. People could say that they agreed, were neutral or undecided, or disagreed with each policy.

For example, the first bar shows that 12% of people think that police should have access to military-grade weapons. The second bar shows that 14% of people are neutral or undecided about whether police should have access to military-grade weapons. And the third bar shows that 74% of people do not think that police should have access to military-grade weapons.
Several questions in the survey assessed people's experiences with policing. In no other area of the survey was the complexity of the San José community’s experiences more apparent. We present here a summary of the findings and some of the major differences. Figure 5 shows responses to three statements that describe people's experiences with the police.

**Finding 3**

Residents' experiences with police varied widely based on their demographic groups. Across a range of questions, sexual and gender minorities, younger people, African American/Black, Native American, Chicanx/Latinx/Hispanic respondents, and people with lower household incomes had generally more negative experiences with and attitudes towards policing compared to those who identify as men, heterosexual, older, White or Asian, or had higher household incomes.

This figure explains people's experiences with the police. People could say that they agreed, were neutral or undecided, or disagreed with three different statements. For example, the first bar shows that 43% of people feel safer when police are present. The second bar shows that 31% of people are neutral or undecided about whether they feel safer when police are present. The third bar shows that 26% of people do not feel safer when police are present.
Each of the three statements about people's experiences with the police had differences by demographic group, which were patterned in a consistent manner across gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity, income, nativity, employment status, and education level.

The figure below is an example of this patterning, showing the level of disagreement among different groups of participants characterized by their gender and sexual orientation to the statement “I am safer when police are present” (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Disagreement with the statement “I am safer when police are present” by gender and sexual orientation

This figure shows how people of different gender identities and sexual orientations answered the question "I am safer when police are present." The figure shows the percent of people in each category who disagreed with this statement.

For example, the first bar shows that 20% of heterosexual men disagreed with the statement "I feel safer when police are present." In contrast, the last bar shows that 75% of queer participants disagreed with the statement "I feel safer when police are present."
Figure 7: Disagreement with the statement “I am safer when police are present” by most populous racial and ethnic categories.

This figure shows how people of different racial and ethnic identities answered the question “I am safer when police are present.” The figure shows the percent of people in each category who disagreed with this statement.

For example, the first bar shows that 16% of Chinese participants disagreed with the statement “I feel safer when police are present.” In contrast, the last bar shows that 53% of Native American or Indigenous participants disagreed with the statement “I feel safer when police are present.”

People in households earning more than $200,000 per year were much more likely to report feeling safer when police are present than people with lower household incomes. Those born outside the United States were more likely to report feeling safer when police are present than people born in the United States. Considering employment status, retired people were the most likely to report feeling safer when police are present and disabled people were the most likely to disagree with this statement.

1 Racial and ethnic categories are inclusive, meaning that anyone who identified as part of the group is included in that category regardless of whether they also identified as part of any other group(s).
The survey also asked people to reflect on any experiences that they may have had with the police in the past five years and to report whether those experiences were generally positive, mixed, or negative. Just over half (51%) of the survey respondents had experiences with the police in the previous five years. Their experiences are described in the Figure 8.

Figure 8: Experiences with police in the past five years

This figure shows how people feel about the experiences they have had with police in the past five years. For example, the dark blue section shows that 37% of people had generally positive experiences with the police. The grey section shows that about the same amount of people had mixed experiences with the police. The brown section shows that 27% of people had generally negative experiences with the police.
Negative experiences were more common for people who were unemployed or disabled compared to other employment statuses. People who identify as straight had more positive experiences compared to Lesbian, Gay, or Bisexual participants. Men reported more positive experiences (45%) compared to women (33%), which was more than twice the level of positive experiences reported by non-binary, transgender, or two-spirit participants. There were also large differences in experience by race and ethnicity. Figure 9 highlights differences among respondents with an experience with the police in the last 5 years by the racial and ethnic groups with at least 20 responses.

Figure 9: Experiences of policing by racial and ethnic groups

This figure explains how people with different racial or ethnic identities characterize their recent experiences with the police. For each group of bars, the first bar shows the percent of positive experiences, the second bar shows the percent of mixed experiences, and the last bar shows the percent of negative experiences.

For example, the first three bars show what people who are African American or Black felt about their recent experiences with the police. The first bar shows that 16% of African American or Black participants had positive experiences with the police. The second bar shows that 55% of African American or Black participants had mixed experiences. The third bar shows that 30% of African American or Black participants had negative experiences with the police.

* This graph only includes categories where there were at least 20 survey participants.
Finding 4
Across demographic categories, respondents overwhelmingly support San José adopting alternatives to policing with between 72% - 82% supporting non-police approaches to managing mental health crises, traffic safety, school safety, and the needs of the city’s unhoused population.

The survey assessed participants’ support for four specific initiatives to shift certain responsibilities away from the police and toward civilian agencies. The four initiatives were:

1. Develop a mental health crisis team that responds to emergency (911) calls for some types of mental health or addiction problems instead of the police (for example, where the caller does not think there is risk of violence).
2. Invest in better bike lanes, lighting, and crosswalks, and automated tools for enforcement of traffic laws (like broken tail lights or expired registration) rather than police stops.
3. Invest in meeting the shelter, medical, and basic needs of homeless populations instead of evicting people from encampments or charging homeless people with loitering.
4. Increase the number of trained counselors and coaches in San José schools to replace police School Resource Officers.

Each of the four initiatives had a strong degree of support, with 82% of respondents supporting initiative 1 and between 72 - 75% of respondents supporting initiatives 2, 3, and 4 (Figure 10). There were few demographic differences in the support for each of these initiatives.

In addition, in a separate question, 58% of respondents expressed that they felt that community safety would be better achieved through spending less money on policing and more on education, health care, and housing (Figure 11).

We explored whether the level of support was different by gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity, income level, age, and nativity. There were only slight differences between groups and all groups had a strong majority supporting each of the four alternatives to policing.
This figure explains whether people support shifting responsibility from the police to civilian-led approaches in four specific areas. The figure shows the percent of people who oppose, are neutral or undecided, or support using non-police approaches in each area.

For example, the first three bars show people's opinions on developing a non-police mental health crisis team. The first bar shows that 10% of people oppose this idea. The second bar shows that 9% of people are neutral or undecided about this idea. The third bar shows that 82% of people support this idea.
Figure 11. General perspective on alternatives to policing

This figure shows how people feel about the statement "Our community would be safer if we spent less taxpayer money on policing and more on education, health care, and housing."

For example, the largest, light blue section shows that 58% of people agree with this statement. The darker section shows that 25% of people disagree with this statement. The grey section shows that 17% of people are neutral or undecided on this statement.
There were 1,595 responses to the People’s Budget of San José survey, with 92% of respondents taking the survey in English. The survey was open to community members who live, work, or study in San José: 91% of respondents reported that they live in San José with participation distributed across the city’s zip codes.

There was a wide age range of participants with 21% aged 25 years old or younger, 29% 26 - 39 years old, 39% 40 - 64 years old, and 10% aged 65 years or older (Figure 12).

About 58% of the respondents identified as women, 38% as men, and 4% as non-binary, gender non-conforming, transgender, two-spirit, or some other gender identity (Figure 13).
About 83% of respondents identified as heterosexual, 7% as bisexual, 3% as gay, 1% as lesbian, 3% as queer, 0.2% as two-spirit, and 3% with another sexual orientation (Figure 14).

The educational attainment level of participants was higher than the general population of San José (Figure 15). There were fewer participants without a high school diploma (PBSJ 3% vs. Census 17% of over 25 year olds) and fewer participants with a High School Degree (PBSJ 19% vs. Census 35% of over 25 year olds). Among those with higher degrees, 18% of participants had an Associates Degree, 34% a Bachelor’s Degree, and 23% a Graduate/Professional Degree.
Respondents were given 14 non-mutually exclusive racial/ethnic categories to choose from. As 15% of respondents selected more than one category, there were very 80 unique racial/ethnic identities represented, exemplifying the spectrum of diversity in San José. Figure 16 displays the proportion of ethnic/racial categories selected by survey respondents using the 14 options available for participants to select; individuals who selected more than one racial/ethnic category are represented more than once in this figure.

Figure 16. Respondents Ethnicity/Race

Survey Respondent Ethnic/Racial Makeup*

- Other Race or Ethnicity, 4%
- Pacific Islander or Native Hawaiian, 1%
- Middle Eastern, 2%
- Chicano/a, Mexican American, or Mexican, 14%
- Vietnamese, 8%
- Japanese, 1%
- Chinese, 4%
- African American or Black, 10%
- White, 29%
- Native American or Indigenous, 2%
- Hispanic or Latinx, 13%
- Other Asian, 2%
- Korean, 1%
- Filipino, 6%
- Asian Indian, 3%

*Some survey respondents selected more than one racial/ethnic category and are counted more than once.
In regards to household income level, 15% reported between $0 - $24,999, 16% reported between $25,000 - $49,999, 28% reported between $50,000 - $99,999, 26% reported between $100,000 - 199,999, and 15% reported $200,000 or more (Figure 17). The overall distribution of household income among PBSJ respondents was slightly lower than the general population of San José.

Figure 17. Respondents Household Income

Although comparisons with the Census are not straightforward because of the different ways that participants were able to identify in each of these assessments, using the Census as a comparator, there was slight overrepresentation of participants who identified as African American/Black (PBSJ 10% vs. Census 3%) and White (PBSJ 29% vs. Census 26%) and underrepresentation of Asian participants (PBSJ 26% vs. Census 36%) and Latino participants (PBSJ 27% vs. Census 32%). Survey respondents were slightly more likely to have been born in the United States (PBSJ 72% vs. Census 60%).

Just under 5% of respondents reported that they or a member of their household had spent time in jail, prison, or immigration detention in the previous 6 months and 2% reported currently experiencing homelessness. About half were working full time, 17% working part time, 11% were students, 9% were retired, 7% were unemployed, and 2% were disabled (Figure 18).

A question specifically assessing disability status was added to the survey late based on community feedback. Among participants who had the opportunity to report their disability status, 10% reported having a disability and 7% reported sometimes having a disability.
While the findings from this survey are robust, we would like to note some limitations. While we had a large, diverse sample of participants, the sample was not designed to be representative. We employed multiple survey solicitation approaches, including use of voter registration rolls, tabling at in person events like music festivals, and email announcements through made by a diverse range of community-based organizations and city officials. While our sample mirrors San José’s racial and ethnic distribution, our sample is slightly more educated and has a lower proportion of residents who were born outside the United States than the general population of San José. We do not believe these results are systematically biased, but neither are they fully representative of the community of San José.

In addition, though we have gender-diverse participants, the wording of our question ascertaining gender identity meant that we were unable to distinguish transgender women from other groups. This is unfortunate as research has shown transgender women often have negative experience with policing. Transgender women of color report significantly more assaults by police officers than other groups.

In addition, we collected insufficient information on disability status due to the addition of the question on disability status late in the survey. Having a disability has also been shown to be associated with negative experiences of policing. In San José the organization Parents Helping Parents has focused on understanding and addressing the impact of policing practices on the disability community. Local news coverage has also focused on this issue.
This survey and report were made possible by the contributions of many people. The survey was designed with feedback from San José community members who participated in focus group discussions during the winter and spring of 2021 and members of the Race, Equity, Action, and Leadership (REAL) Coalition. The Racial Equity and Community Safety (RECS) subcommittee of Sacred Heart Community Services supported this work in all phases - from survey development, to data collection, to help with interpretation of the results. We are deeply grateful for their time, insights, and commitment to this project. Special thanks to Derrick Sanderlin, Jaala Robinson, and Rachel Kumar for their ongoing support.

HRI faculty Michael Dao and Melissa McClure Fuller have contributed to the People’s Budget project in innumerable ways, including their work over the summer of 2021 to supervise and mentor student interns. Our fantastic team of HRI interns tested the survey, translated and back-translated the surveys, and collected data. Thank you to Ali Hamidy, Hsin Yi (Cindy) Tseng, Mai Nhi Nguyen, Metages Tekabe, Natalie Hernandez, Nathaniel Ayres, and Rona Antonio.

We appreciate all of the community members who took the survey and shared it with their family, friends, and colleagues.

Finally, we would like to thank the Heising-Simons Foundation for their support of this research.
APPENDIX I: ENGLISH SURVEY

1. Do you live in San José?
   Yes
   No

2. What is your zip code?

3. Please indicate whether you “agree” or “disagree” with the following statements. If undecided, please select “neutral.”

   [RESPONSE OPTIONS: Disagree, Neutral, Agree]

   3.1. I am safer when police are present.
   3.2. Our community would be safer if we spent less taxpayer money on policing and more on education, health care, and housing.
   3.3. People should be jailed for non-violent crimes.
   3.4. Police should have access to military-grade weapons (like tanks, grenade launchers, and .50+ caliber weapons).
   3.5. I hesitate to call the police for help.
   3.6. Cities (taxpayers) should pay the full price of lawsuits when police officers and departments are sued in civil court, relieving the officer of financial responsibility.
   3.7. When I need help from the police, they respond in a timely and appropriate manner.

Participants could take the survey on their phone, a tablet, or computer. Above is an image of what the survey looked like in Amharic on a mobile device. For survey wording in other languages, visit the HRI website.
4. Which of these statements best describes your opinion?:
Policing in San José is working well and does not need reform. Policing in San José has some problems, but they are caused by individual bad actors, so major reforms are not necessary. Policing in San José has some serious problems, requiring major reform and shifting some resources to other approaches to creating public safety. I don’t know.

5. Motivated by social protest about police violence, cities across the country are evaluating whether to shift certain responsibilities away from the police and toward civilian agencies. Please share your level of support for San José to consider the following initiatives:

[RESPONSE OPTIONS: Strongly oppose, somewhat oppose, neutral, somewhat support, strongly support]

5. 1. Develop a mental health crisis team that responds to emergency (911) calls for some types of mental health or addiction problems instead of the police (for example, where the caller does not think there is risk of violence).

5.2. Invest in better bike lanes, lighting, and crosswalks, and automated tools for enforcement of traffic laws (like broken tail lights or expired registration) rather than police stops.

5.3. Invest in meeting the shelter, medical, and basic needs of homeless populations instead of evicting people from encampments or charging homeless people with loitering.

5.4. Increase the number of trained counselors and coaches in San José schools to replace police School Resource Officers.

6. Should the city of San José spend more, less or the same amount of money on the following services in coming years?

[RESPONSE OPTIONS: Spend less money, spend the same amount of money, spend more money]

6.1. Helping residents meet basic needs (food, housing, economic assistance, etc.)

6.2. Community safety resources (community care workers, community clinics, restorative justice programs, programs for elders and youth, etc.)

6.3. Public resources like parks, libraries, or transportation

6.4. Policing
7. Do you have any suggestions about what San José’s budget priorities should be?

8. Have you had any experiences with police or law enforcement in the past 5 years?
   No
   Yes
   Don’t know
   Prefer not to answer

   [IF YES IS SELECTED, THEN THE FOLLOWING QUESTION IS ASKED]
   9. Would you say your experience was generally positive, negative or mixed?
      Positive
      Negative
      Mixed

10. What is your age?
    12 or younger
    13-17
    18 - 25
    26 - 39
    40 - 64
    65 or older

11. What is your gender?
    Man
    Woman
    Non-binary or gender non-conforming
    Transgender
    Two-Spirit
    Some other gender identity

12. How would you describe your sexual orientation?
    Straight/Heterosexual
    Bisexual
    Gay
    Lesbian
    Queer
    Two-Spirit
    Some other sexual orientation

13. What is your race or ethnicity (select all that apply)
    African American or Black
    Asian Indian
    Chinese
    Filipino
    Japanese
    Korean
    Vietnamese
    Other Asian
    Chicano/a, Mexican-American, or Mexican
    Hispanic or Latinx
    Middle Eastern
    Native American or Indigenous
    Pacific Islander or Native Hawaiian
    White
    Some other race or ethnicity

14. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    Less than high school
    High school degree
    Associate’s degree
    Bachelor’s degree
    Graduate/Professional degree
    Other
15. What is your total household income?
   Less than $24,999
   $25,000 to $49,999
   $50,000 to $99,999
   $100,000 to $199,999
   $200,000 or more

16. Were you born in the United States?
   Yes
   No
   I do not wish to answer

17. Have you or a member of your household spent time in jail, prison, or immigration detention in the last six months?
   Yes
   No
   I’m not sure
   I do not wish to answer

18. Are you currently experiencing homelessness/houselessness? (e.g. couch surfing, living in a motel, car or tent, or unsheltered)
   Yes
   No

19. What is your employment status? I am currently...
   Working full time (40 hours or more)
   Working part time (less than 40 hours per week)
   Student
   Unemployed
   Disabled
   Retired
   Other

20. What languages are spoken in your home? (Select all that apply)
   English
   Spanish
   Vietnamese
   Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese)
   Tagalog (Filipino)
   Hindi
   Persian (Farsi, Dari)
   Korean
   Tamil
   Telugu
   Amharic, Somali, or Other
   Afro-Asiatic Languages
   Punjabi
   Japanese
   Arabic
   Russian
   Ilocano, Samoan, Hawaiian, or Other
   Austronesian Languages
   Nepali, Marathi, or Other Indic Languages
   Gujarati
   Portuguese
   Malayalam, Kannada, or Other
   Dravidian Languages
   French
   Urdu
   Serbo-Croatian
   German
   Khmer
   Greek
   Bengali
   Other (Please specify)
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