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Feeding the Beast:

A scope of federal funding for state
and local law enforcement



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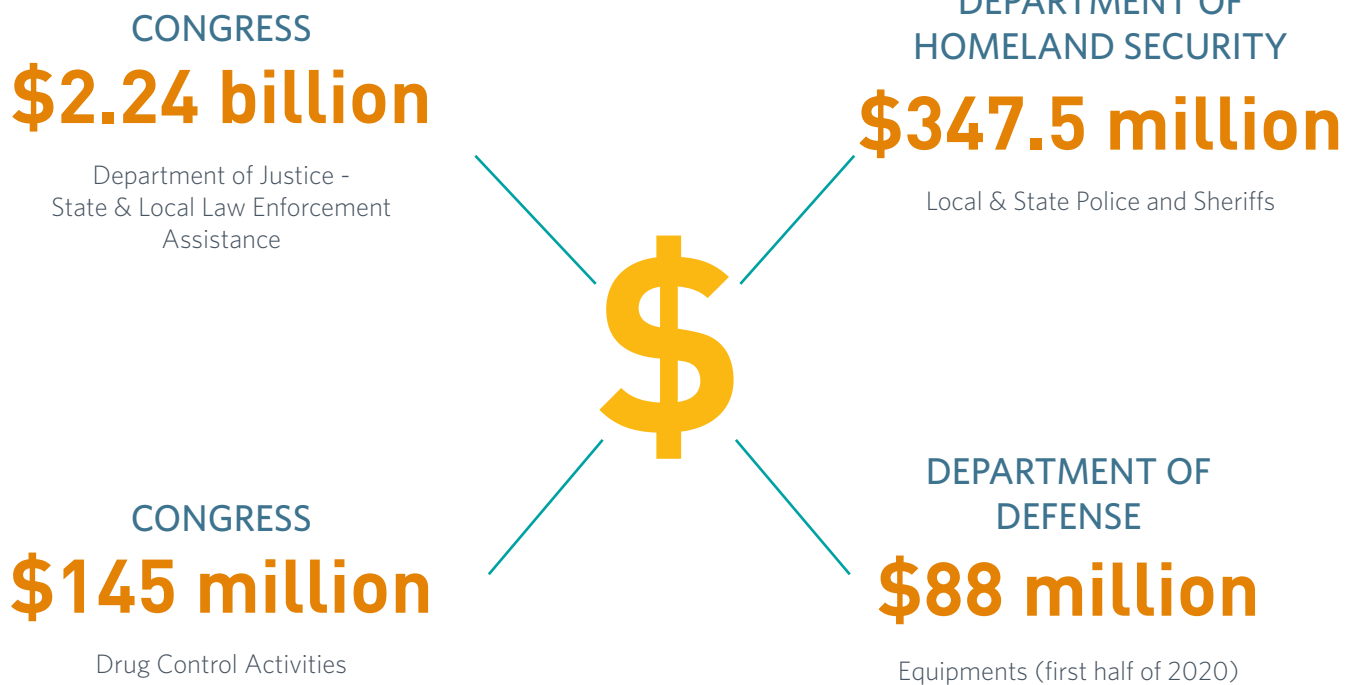
Each year, the federal government sends billions of dollars in funding, equipment, and other resources to state and local law enforcement. These federal outlays are on top of upwards of one hundred billion dollars spent by states and localities on policing each year.¹ Federal resources have been a key way that the federal government has helped build and sustain police power and has influenced local, county, and state budget and policy priorities.

Federal funding for local and state police comes from dozens of programs across multiple departments, including the Department of Justice, Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Transportation, and the Department of the Interior.² Many of these

programs were created to support the disastrous, violent, and racist “war on drugs” and “war on terror,” encouraging states and localities to adopt federal anti-drug and anti-terrorism priorities, increase arrests and incarceration, build more prisons, increase spending on policing, and create increasingly punitive approaches to addressing drug use and sales, immigration, and protests.³

Over the past few decades, Congress has helped build and continues to perpetuate the crisis of policing through its power of the purse.

That crisis includes the criminalization, targeted policing, and mass incarceration of Black and brown communities; police violence and killing of Black people; and lack of police accountability.



In fiscal year 2020, Congress budgeted at least \$2.24 billion in funding through the Department of Justice (DOJ) for state and local law enforcement assistance.⁴ This funding supports all aspects of local and state criminal legal systems--not only police and sheriff departments but also courts, medical examiners and forensic labs, and for- and non-profit organizations, for example.⁵ Millions of dollars in grant money also went to local and state police through the DOJ's Office of Violence against Women. In addition, **the Department of Homeland Security budgeted at least \$347.5 million in funding to local and state police and sheriffs, the Department of Defense supplied local and state police and sheriffs with \$88 million in equipment during the first half of 2020, and Congress appropriated at least \$145 million to go to "state and local entities for drug control activities" as part of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy budget.⁶** It is likely that additional money goes to state and local law enforcement from the Office of National Drug Control Policy.⁷ Millions of dollars in funding from the Departments of Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Transportation, and Interior also go to local, state, and tribal police.⁸ This patchwork of programs provides not only fund-

ing but military-style equipment, information, training, and other resources, helping expand police and sheriff powers, resources, and surveillance technologies. By channeling money to specific programs and directly to police and sheriff departments, these federal programs also undermine local budgetary and policy control and significantly intervene in local and state public safety priorities and practices.⁹

Moreover, all of the programs outlined below have been criticized for lack of transparency and accountability; failing to track how their funding is spent; and/or perpetuating corruption, racial disparities, and/or civil rights abuses.¹⁰ For example, one study found that equipment transfers from the Department of Defense's 1033 Program--which sends excess DOD property, including military equipment, to local and state law enforcement--were associated with an increase in deaths from officer-involved shootings.¹¹ Research also indicates that police officers equipped with military equipment are more likely to be deployed in Black communities and also use violence more quickly and often.¹² Moreover, it is not clear that militarization of police reduces crime, and some studies show that it affirmatively does not.¹³

While the federal government has spent heavily on policing, it has invested very little in programs that build public safety without the threat of criminalization or police violence.

Public safety programs that do not rely on police but instead are community-led responses to harm, intimate partner violence, neighborhood disagreements, school discipline, and/or mental health concerns are urgently needed to build true public safety, especially in Black, brown, and low income communities. For example, studies have also shown that mental health support and guidance counselors in schools improve student mental health and decrease the number of fights and other disciplinary problems.¹⁴

Police are not a source of public safety for Black, brown, LGBTQ, immigrant, and low income communities.¹⁵ As the current national uprising urgently asks us to defund the police and rethink how we create genuine public safety, we must understand budget priorities at every level of government. Like states, counties, and local municipalities, **the federal government too must shift its resources to invest in programs for public safety that do not rely on police and eliminate its spending on state and local police.**

This brief outlines the scope and scale of just some of the federal programs that send money and equipment to state and local police and sheriff departments, describing the largest federal programs funding local and state police in the Department of Justice, Department of Defense, and Department of Homeland Security.

Congress appropriated over \$2.24 billion in Justice Department funding for local and state law enforcement assistance in FY 2020.¹⁶

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

This funding supports all aspects of local and state criminal legal systems--not only police and sheriff departments but also courts, medical examiners and forensic labs, and for- and non-profit organizations, for example. Due to lack of transparency in the relevant federal funding programs, we cannot know exactly how much money went to local and state police specifically.

Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Program

A key component of the Violent Crime Control and Prevention Act of 1994 (the 1994 Crime Bill), the COPS Program aims to advance “community policing” by providing grants, training, and other resources, including funding for local departments to hire new police officers. Initially focused on funding new police officer positions to fulfill President Clinton’s goal to add 100,000 new police officers throughout the US, in the late 1990s, the program expanded to fund new equipment purchases, support information sharing, and provide training and other resources to local law enforcement agencies.

The COPS Program has been reauthorized by Congress multiple times since 1994, but funding for it has fluctuated over the years. **Since 1994, Congress has appropriated nearly \$19.3 billion in funding for the program, including \$343 million in 2020.¹⁷**

COPS Grants for hiring new police officers actually saddle local governments with additional obligations. The COPS Hiring Program provides only up to 75 percent of new officers' salary and fringe benefits, currently capped at \$125,000, over three years, and requires departments to retain the officers for at least a year after the grant ends.¹⁸ After those three years are over, local governments must foot the entire bill for these new positions the next year and every year after that if they want to retain them.

The COPS program has also substantially funded the expansion of police in schools, **providing \$1 billion to local and state school programs, primarily to fund hiring and training school resource officers (SROs) by school districts and police and sheriff departments.** COPS programs have been the largest source of federal funding for local policing in schools.¹⁹

The largest program, COPS in Schools (CIS), was created in 1998. By 2005 when the program ended, CIS had funded the hiring of over 7,200 SRO positions in hundreds of schools throughout the US.²⁰ Similar to other COPS programs, CIS provided only up to 75 percent of the cost of the SRO position--up to \$125,000 per position for the three year grant period--and requires the department to retain the officer for at least a year after the grant ends. Local school districts and municipalities were on the hook for any remaining costs during those three years and for all costs after the grants ended. Since 2005, the COPS Hiring Program has provided funding for SRO positions.²¹

There is no substantial evidence that school-based police programs create a safe school environment,²² and there is undeniable evidence that they lead to an increase in children being funneled into the criminal legal system.²³ Black and brown students, students with disabilities, LGBTQ students, and other historically marginalized students have been subject to increased harassment and arrests at the hands of police officers in schools.²⁴ Recent research has also directly linked the COPS Program funding to negative outcomes for students, including decreasing graduation rates and college enrollment rates and increased disciplinary rates.²⁵ Another study found that increasing the number of SROs increases "the criminalization of school discipline" while not improving school safety.²⁶



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Operation Relentless Pursuit and Operation Legend

Created in 2019 as part of the COPS Office, Operation Relentless Pursuit aims to "surge federal law enforcement resources into seven of America's most violent cities": Baltimore, Albuquerque, Detroit, Cleveland, Kansas City, Memphis, and Milwaukee, nearly all of whose populations are overwhelmingly people of color.²⁷ The initiative funds new police officer positions so that city police departments can deploy veteran officers to work on federal task forces. Similar to other COPS hiring funding, local law enforcement agencies are required to have a minimum of a 25 percent funding match for any award they receive and the funding is only for three years.²⁸ Up to \$71 million in funding is available through Operation Relentless Pursuit, including \$50 million under the COPS Hiring Program. Funding can also be used to purchase equipment and technology.²⁹

In July 2020, the Department of Justice announced Operation Legend, which, like Operation Relentless Pursuit, aims to "surge" federal resources from multiple federal law enforcement agencies--including funding from the COPS Program and the Bureau of Justice Assistance as well as agents and other resources from the FBI, US Marshal Service, Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF)--to local and state law enforcement.³⁰ Begun initially in Kansas City, it was quickly expanded to Chicago and Albuquerque. The DOJ is offering \$9.375 million in COPS funding to the Chicago Police Department to fund hiring 75 officers and \$2.9 million in COPS and Bureau of Justice Assistance funding to

Bernalillo County Sheriff's Department (Albuquerque) to hire 5 deputies and support federal task force work. DHS is also sending 100 Homeland Security Investigations agents to Chicago and as many as 10 agents to Albuquerque as part of Operation Legend.³¹

According to the Trump administration,³² Operation Legend is in part a response to the national uprising demanding police accountability and the defunding of police departments while offering funding and other federal resources to departments with long histories of violence, corruption, and racism and/or in cities where community members are calling for defunding their departments.³³ Moreover, federal joint task forces, such as the ones these two programs support, are generally even less accountable to communities than local police and sheriff departments, as they often have fewer rules regarding deadly force and the Department of Justice can shield task force officers--including local police officers "deputized" as federal agents--from local oversight and litigation, including following police killings of community members.³⁴



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Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program (Byrne JAG)

The Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program (Byrne JAG) is, according to the Department of Justice, "the leading federal source of criminal justice funding to state and local jurisdictions."³⁵ Created in 1988 to focus on funding local law enforcement efforts supporting national drug enforcement priorities, the program's focus has been broadened in the last few decades.³⁶ The program distributes funds based on a formula to all states and US territories, which then allocate the funds across the criminal legal system. While the program primarily funds law enforcement, it also funds prosecution, courts, and corrections; planning, evaluation, and technology; drug treatment; "behav-

ioral programs and crisis intervention teams"; and other aspects of the criminal legal system.³⁷ Some Byrne JAG funding is used for military-style equipment and surveillance technology.³⁸ Some funding also goes to programs that do not rely on police, incarceration, or criminalization, although we do not know how much (see below).

While the program can be funded up to \$1.095 billion a year, Congress usually funds it at about \$500 million.³⁹ **Between 2005 and 2019, Congress appropriated over \$8.5 billion to the program.**⁴⁰ The FY 2020 requested budget for the program is \$405.2 million.⁴¹

Funding True Public Safety within the DOJ

While \$2.24 billion of the DOJ's budget goes to funding for local and state law enforcement, very little of the budget funds public safety programs that do not rely on police or criminalization.

We identified six funding programs within the DOJ that focus on funding community-based public safety projects and other nonprofits and do not fund police or sheriff departments or explicitly identify police training as an outcome for the projects they fund. All of these funding programs are within the Office of Violence Against Women:

- Consolidated Youth Program: Funds non-profit and community service programs that focus on engaging men and boys “as allies” to prevent, intervene, and respond to sexual violence affecting children, youth, and young adults.⁸³
- Culturally Specific Services Program: Funds “culturally-specific” community-based organizations focusing on Native, Asian American, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders, Black, and/or Latinx people that address the needs of survivors of sexual violence “in a manner that affirms [their] culture.”⁸⁴
- Disability Grant Program: Funds programs that address the specific needs of survivors of sexual violence who are disabled and/or Deaf.⁸⁵
- Transitional Housing Assistance Program: Funds programs that provide 6-24 months of transitional housing with support services for survivors of sexual violence.⁸⁶
- Tribal Coalitions Program: Funds nonprofit and service organizations who provide education, support, and assistance to tribes and tribal service providers addressing the needs of survivors of sexual violence.⁸⁷
- Tribal Sexual Assault Services Program: Funds programs that “create, maintain, and expand sustainable sexual assault services provided by Tribes, tribal organizations, and nonprofit tribal organizations within Indian country and Alaska Native villages.”⁸⁸

In FY 2018 (the last year that data is available), these programs gave out 139 awards for a total of approximately \$57.6 million.⁴²

These programs primarily fund community-based organizations that support survivors of sexual violence, domestic violence, and stalking and work to reduce this violence. Many of these programs focus on supporting particularly vulnerable communities, such as Native women and women with disabilities. However, because the Office of Violence Against Women does not provide a full list of their grantees and descriptions of their work, we do not know how much of the budget truly goes to programs that do not engage with the police.

In addition, some Byrne JAG funding may go to alternative programs. For example, a 2018 report found that in 2016 4 percent of funding (or \$5.4 million out of \$138.3 million) went to “crime prevention” that was not part of a law enforcement agency, a category the DOJ described as including “all programs, activities, or spending for crime or juvenile delinquency prevention conducted through engaging communities, institutions (e.g., schools), or individuals. These include such programs as a rape aggression defense class, an alcohol/drug awareness class for students, or a bullying prevention program.”⁴³

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The Department of Defense supplied local and state police and sheriffs with \$88 million in equipment during the first half of 2020.⁴⁴

1033 Program

The 1033 Program facilitates the transfer of military equipment, including weapons and vehicles, as well as other “excess” Department of Defense property (such as office furniture, medical supplies, and other items) to federal, state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies for free except for the cost of shipping.⁴⁵ While most of the equipment transferred under the program is “non-tactical” (i.e. not weapons, military vehicles, or similar equipment),⁴⁶ law enforcement agencies have gotten, for example, bayonets, grenade launchers, M16 automatic rifles, helicopters and airplanes, and mine-resistant, ambush-protected (MRAP) armored vehicles, which are intended to protect soldiers from roadside bombs.⁴⁷ School districts as well as college and university police have received hundreds of pieces of equipment and weapons, including grenade launchers, rifles, and MRAP vehicles.⁴⁸



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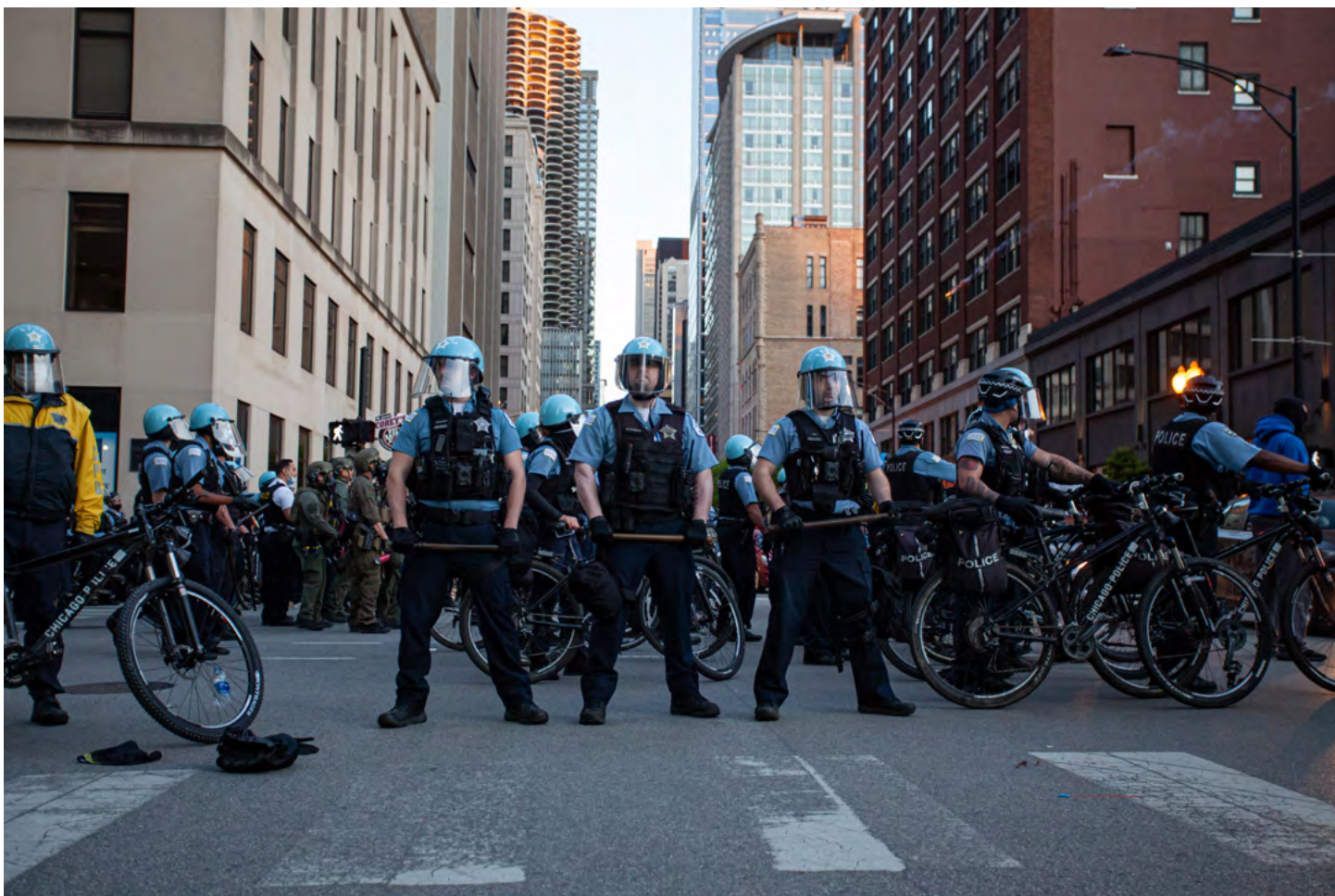


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Created in 1990 and made permanent in 1997,⁴⁹ the program has transferred \$7.4 billion in equipment (using the equipment's original value).⁵⁰ This includes transfers of over \$194 million, including 153 MRAP vehicles across agencies in 35 states, in 2019 and **over \$88 million, including 54 MRAP vehicles to agencies in 23 states, in the first half of 2020.⁵¹**



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As of June 2020, about 8,200 federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies from 49 states and four territories participate in the 1033 program.⁵²

While the program claims to have strong record keeping and auditing, there has been little oversight and inadequate record keeping.⁵³ For example, testing the program's oversight, the General Accountability Office created a fake law enforcement agency, applied for equipment, and received about \$1.2 million worth of items, including night-vision goggles, pipe bomb materials, and simulated rifles, which could be modified to be lethal. Their application was approved within a week.⁵⁴ Moreover, police must use the equipment they received within a year or they must return it, creating added pressure to use the equipment. There is also no training provided or required by the program for officers who are using the military equipment,⁵⁵ and at least one study found that 1033 transfers were associated with an increase in deaths from officer-involved shootings.⁵⁶

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

The Department of Homeland Security budgeted at least \$347.5 million in FY 2020 funding local and state police and sheriffs.⁵⁷

The Homeland Security Grant Program, Urban Area Security Initiative, and Operation Stonegarden

The three main DHS programs that provide funding for local and state law enforcement are the Homeland Security Grant Program, Urban Area Security Initiative, and Operation Stonegarden. The former two programs provide funding for planning, training, equipment, and programs to help prevent terrorism or prepare for disaster relief at the state (the Homeland Security Grant Program) and city and metropolitan area (Urban Area Security Initiative) levels. At least a quarter of these programs' funds must go to local and state law enforcement, but the percentage is likely much higher in practice.⁵⁸ Operation Stonegarden provides funding for border security by supporting "enhanced cooperation and coordination among Customs and Border Protection (CBP), United States Border Patrol (USBP), and federal, state, local, tribal, and territorial law enforcement agencies."⁵⁹



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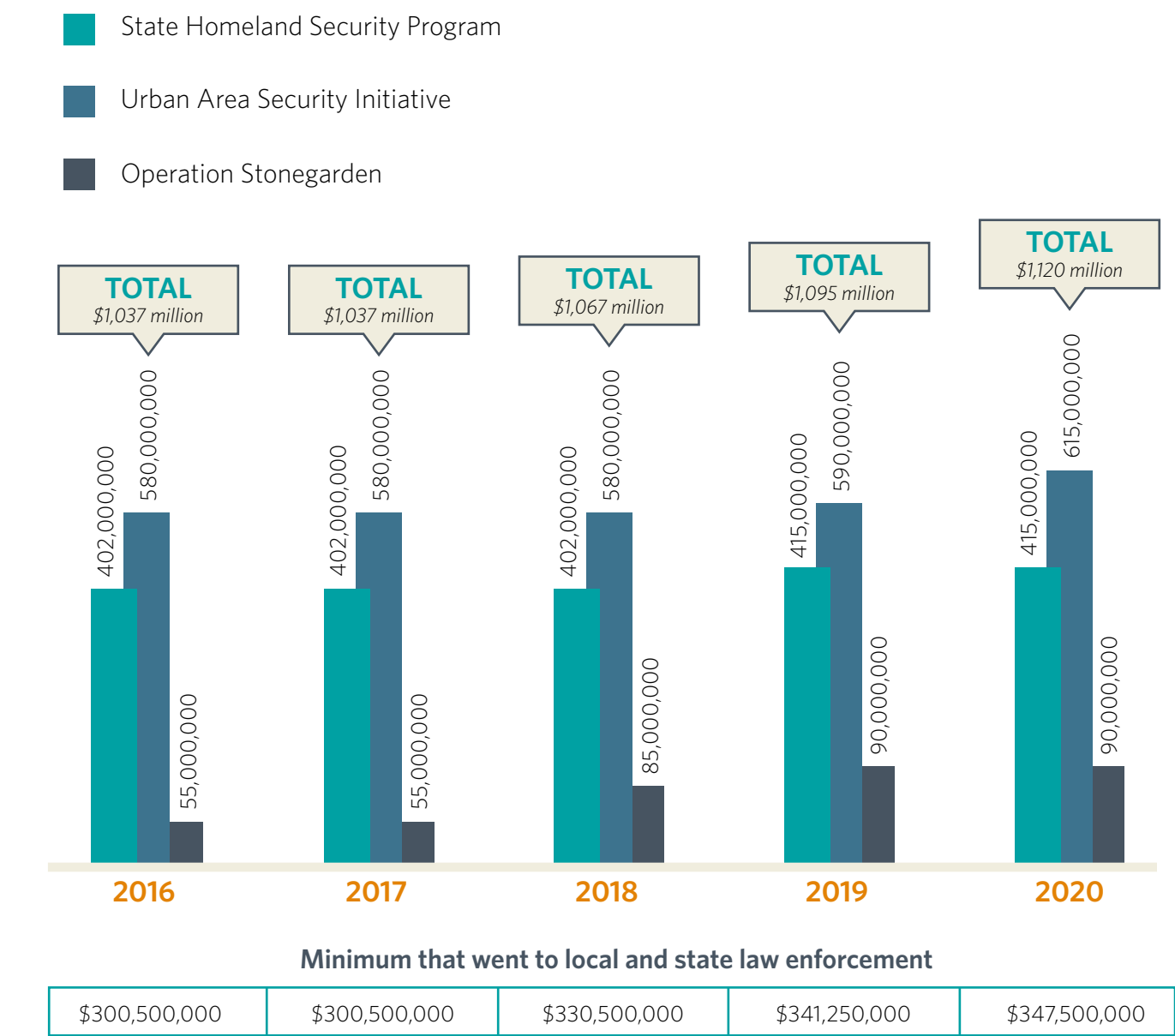
In FY 2020, the federal government budgeted \$1.12 billion for these three programs:⁶⁰

- \$415 million for the Homeland Security Grant Program
- \$615 million for the Urban Area Security Initiative
- \$90 million for Operation Stonegarden

Between 2003 and 2014, DHS doled out \$24.3 billion to states and metropolitan areas through the Homeland Security Grant Program and Urban Area Security Initiative, at least \$6.2 billion of which went to state or local law enforcement.⁶¹

From 2016 to 2020, the three programs provided \$5.4 billion in funding.⁶²

Budget Allocations for the State Homeland Security Program, Urban Area Security Initiative, and Operation Stonegarden, FY 2016-2020



Source: "Homeland Security Grant Program," Federal Emergency Management Agency, accessed October 7, 2020, <https://www.fema.gov/grants/preparedness/homeland-security>

Some localities have used the funds to purchase military-style equipment, such as armored vehicles. However, these programs lack oversight, transparency, and tracking for how states and localities spend their funds, so it is unclear how much military-style equipment has been purchased with this federal funding.⁶³

TRUE PUBLIC SAFETY PROGRAMS

While the federal government spends billions of dollars on local and state police and sheriffs, they spend little on public safety programming that does not include the threat of criminalization or police violence. Programs that do not rely on police to address harm or other public safety concerns are true public safety programs. These programs are often community-led and address harm and other concerns in more holistic ways, providing support for those involved and their community without police or criminalization.⁶⁴

There are many examples of these types of programs in the US and around the world. For example, Cure Violence is an organization that uses a public health model to reduce and end violence. To do so, they train violence interrupters and outreach workers from the communities where the programs are based. They have an established track record of reducing violence in those communities.⁶⁵ In its first year of existence, the program facilitated a 67% drop in shootings in West Garfield Park in Chicago.⁶⁶

CAHOOTS (Crisis Assistance Helping Out On the Streets) provides “mobile crisis intervention” in the Eugene-Springfield Metro area in Oregon. In most localities, police are first responders to people experiencing emotional distress or mental health crises—including doing “wellness checks.”⁶⁷ An estimated 25% to over

50% of people shot and killed by police experience mental illness, including 197 of the 999 people shot and killed by police in 2019.⁶⁸ CAHOOTS serves as an alternative to police responding to people experiencing mental and/or emotional distress. Dispatched through 911 or the non-emergency number, a team that includes a medic (nurse, paramedic, or EMT) and a crisis worker responds to a range of mental health related crises and are trained “to ensure a non-violent resolution of crisis situations” while offering needed services, including crisis counseling, suicide prevention and intervention, housing crisis counseling resource referrals, first aid and non-emergency medical care, and transportation to services. The program has been running for over 30 years, and in 2019 they responded to about 24,000 calls, or 20% of 911 calls.⁶⁹

Moreover, public safety is best supported by safe, stable, and affordable housing, a strong education system, a living wage, affordable childcare, accessible medical and mental health care, and a strong social safety net.⁷⁰ Yet, while the federal government funnels money to state and local law enforcement, many federal social safety net programs are underfunded and inadequate. For example, federal housing assistance does not come close to meeting the needs of low income families, with only about one in four eligible households receiving assistance.⁷¹



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The BREATHE Act, a comprehensive invest/divest bill, is one example of a robust approach for the federal government to support true public safety in Black, brown, and all communities. Among its provisions, the bill would divest resources from policing and incarceration by ending federal programs and agencies that have driven mass incarceration and criminalization, including the programs discussed in this brief, and also shrink, decarcerate, and create accountability mechanisms for federal criminal-legal and immigration systems. The bill also invests in true public safety programs. For example, it would create new federal infrastructure that grounds public safety in a public health framework by establishing a new federal agency called the Community Public Safety Agency that would be housed in the Department of Health and Human Services. The agency would establish grant programs that funded local community-based organizations that build true public safety and programs that incentivized states and localities to shrink, defund, and decarcerate their criminal legal systems. The bill would also establish or expand federal programs and investments that build educational, health, environmental, housing, and economic justice. For example, it would expand funding for low income schools and create grant programs that would incentivize states and localities to create equity-focused education policies that would equalize school funding and decriminalize school safety. Finally, the bill would establish government accountability through reparations programs and healing commissions for historic and ongoing harm, including police violence, mass incarceration, and immigration enforcement; protecting tribal sovereignty and federal commitments to tribes; and voting justice and elections accountability.⁷²

The federal government must shift its priorities from funding local and state law enforcement that criminalize and harm Black, brown, low income, immigrant, LGBTQ, and other communities and instead invest in true public safety programs that support and invest in those communities.

CONCLUSION

Budgets are moral documents, and the federal budget reflects the priorities of Congress. By funneling billions of dollars, along with other resources, each year to local and state police and sheriffs, Congress helps sustain and worsen the crisis of policing.

Congress must listen to the urgent call to defund police and shift its priorities by defunding programs that support state and local law enforcement and scaling up its funding for programs that support true public safety.

That shift in priorities must also be informed by the communities most affected by policing. Impacted

people, including Black communities in particular, must help shape federal policy-making that builds true public safety. Participatory democratic initiatives are a necessary and strategic element of efforts to advance and build long-term community safety.⁷³ The perspectives of impacted communities are vital to building true public safety and tailoring programs to the needs and aspirations of those communities.

We know that the overall crime rate in America has fallen dramatically over the last few decades,⁷⁴ and there is little to no evidence that an increase in federal spending on policing programs has contributed to that decrease.⁷⁵ Instead, an investment in the basic needs

of our communities and in programs that address harm without the threat of criminalization and police violence are what truly defines public safety. To be safe is to have access to the fundamental needs of any society--healthcare, housing, and education, among others--programs that Congress and the federal government generally continue to underfund and undermine. We also need to dramatically expand innovative public safety programs and infrastructure that do not rely on the police and incarceration. Accordingly, the federal government, including Congress and the executive branch, must dramatically scale up its funding for existing and new programs that build public safety, address harm, and support survivors of violence without relying on police or criminalization.

A Note on the Budget Numbers: Our Methodology

The federal government does not provide a single source detailing the total funding for state and local law enforcement, and there are multiple programs throughout the federal government that provide this funding. Almost all of the programs that fund state and local law enforcement also fund other aspects of the criminal legal system and beyond, and most programs do not document how much of their funding goes to state and local law enforcement. This lack of transparency and clarity makes it difficult to find all of the funding being funneled to state and local police. The total funding listed in this brief as well as the total funding for some of the departments below are conservative estimates using the following methodology. These budget numbers are likely underestimates.

Our primary source for budget numbers was Congress's 2020 Appropriations Act. We supplemented this source with information from federal departments' websites.

In addition, we analyzed awards data on USAspending.gov to identify which federal departments and their programs sent money to local and state police and sheriff departments. To do so, we analyzed various federal department's FY2020 data, searching for recipients with "police" or "sheriff" in their name as well as award descriptions that used "police," "sheriff," or "law enforcement." The departments we searched

included the Department of Justice (DOJ), Department of Defense (DOD), Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Department of Agriculture (USDA), Department of Housing and Urban Development, Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), Department of Transportation (DOT), Department of the Interior (DOI), Department of Education, and Department of Labor. We found funding that met this criteria in the DOJ, DHS, USDA, DOT, DOI, and HHS. However, we decided not to use the awards funding totals from USAspending.gov because we could not verify that those totals were only for FY 2020 and that all of the departments used consistent reporting structures and criteria for their data.

The methodology we used for the budget numbers for the three federal departments we discuss in detail in this brief were:

- DOJ: Congress's 2020 Appropriations Act appropriates \$1,892,000,000 for "State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance programs."⁷⁶ For the purposes of this Congressional appropriation, the definition of "law enforcement" is more expansive than police and sheriff departments, so these funds are distributed throughout state and local criminal legal systems, especially but not exclusively police and sheriff departments.⁷⁷ This money is distributed through the Bureau of Justice Assistance. The Office of Violence Against Women also distributes millions of dollars to local and state local and state law enforcement, including police and sheriff departments. Due to unclear awards data, it is not clear exactly how much.⁷⁸
- DOD: The DOD's 1033 Program provides equipment to state and local law enforcement agencies. Thus, we used the estimated original cost of the equipment they transferred during the first half of 2020 (the latest available data) as the funding amount from the DOD.⁷⁹
- DHS: We used reporting on the DHS website to determine the funding budgets for the three primary DHS programs that fund state and local law enforcement. Two of those programs, Homeland Security Grant Program and Urban Area Security Initiative, require states to use at

least 25 percent of their funding for law enforcement while the third, Operation Stonegarden, funds coordination between federal and state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies. Thus, the total we calculated for DHS was 25 percent of the budgets for the first two programs and the entire budget for the third, Operation Stonegarden.⁸⁰ Other programs in DHS provide funding to local and state police; however, the total amount of this funding is not clear.⁸¹

The budget numbers outlined in this brief focus on grants and other direct spending, including equipment transfers, and we do not attempt to detail the cost of training programs, information sharing, and other resources that the federal government provides. It should be noted that these are also ways that the federal government supports and influences local policing efforts and priorities. For example, in FY2020, the federal government budgeted \$351 million for the Department of Homeland Security's Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers, which provide training to federal, state, local, tribal, and international law enforcement agencies.⁸²

Endnotes

- 1 Shelley S. Hyland, “Justice Expenditure and Employment Extracts, 2016,” Table 4, Bureau of Justice Statistics, November 7, 2019, <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=6728>.
- 2 Nearly all of the funding for law enforcement in the Department of the Interior is part of Bureau of Indian Affairs programs for tribal governments. Analysis of DOI awards data from USAspending.gov.
- 3 Nicole Fortier and Inimai Chettiar, *Success-Oriented Funding: Reforming Federal Criminal Justice Grants* (Brennan Center for Justice, 2014), https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/SuccessOrientedFunding_ReformingFederalCriminalJusticeGrants.pdf; Laura Withers, “How Bearcats Become Toys: The 1033 Program and Its Effect on the Right to Protest,” *The George Washington Law Review* 84 (2016), <https://www.gwlr.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/84-Geo.-Was.-L.-Rev.-812.pdf>; Spencer Ackerman, “US Police Given Billions from Homeland Security for ‘Tactical’ Equipment,” *The Guardian*, August 20, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/20/police-billions-homeland-security-military-equipment>.
- 4 This figure includes \$1.892 billion for “state and local law enforcement assistance” and \$343 million for the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program. Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020, H.R. 1158/Public Law 116-93, (Washington, DC: US Government Publishing Office, 2020), 526-529, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-116HPRT38678/pdf/CPRT-116HPRT38678.pdf>.
- 5 Due to a lack of transparency in the relevant federal funding programs, we cannot know exactly how much money went to local and state police.
- 6 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020, H.R. 1158/Public Law 116-93, (Washington, DC: US Government Publishing Office, 2020), 575-576, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-116HPRT38678/pdf/CPRT-116HPRT38678.pdf>.
- 7 See for example, the Drug-Free Communities Support Program, whose budget in FY 2020 is \$101.25 million. “Overview,” Office of National Drug Control Policy, WhiteHouse.gov, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/the-hidta-program/overview/>; Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020, H.R. 1158/Public Law 116-93, (Washington, DC: US Government Publishing Office, 2020), 576, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-116HPRT38678/pdf/CPRT-116HPRT38678.pdf>.
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