The nationwide uprising against police violence in the wake of George Floyd’s murder by a Minneapolis police officer in May 2020 sparked new conversations about the scope and role of policing. Evidence shows that there are a variety of promising solutions to address violence that do not rely on police (John Jay 2020), and a growing number of jurisdictions are considering and adopting new public safety strategies. Washington, DC faces urgent public safety challenges, including rising incidents of gun violence and recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic. At the same time, residents continue to experience physical, psychological, and neighborhood-level harms associated with policing. Building up new safety infrastructure and reducing overall reliance on police can simultaneously promote public safety and reduce the harms of overpolicing in DC. This brief accompanies an online tool designed to increase transparency in DC’s police budget.
BOX 1
About This Brief
This brief was developed as part of a project in partnership with the DC Fiscal Policy Institute to increase transparency in the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) budget and inform strategies to increase nonpolice safety infrastructure in DC. This overview is intended to provide high-level context about shifting public safety strategies to inform both budget and policy conversations in DC. We conducted a document review of a variety of sources, including reports from DC agencies and other government entities, research from organizations focused on public safety and well-being in DC, and local news articles. We also observed fiscal year 2022 MPD oversight and budget hearing testimony and held a July 2021 feedback session with five advocates from local organizations engaged in the Defund MPD coalition. This brief accompanies an online tool produced by the DC Fiscal Policy Institute that includes detailed breakdowns of the MPD budget. The tool is available at https://www.urban.org/research/publication/strengthening-non-police-safety-infrastructure-dc-key-facts-and-considerations.

Police Have a Large Footprint in DC, with Harmful Impacts on Residents

Scope of Policing in DC
DC is among the nation’s most heavily policed jurisdictions. The scope of policing in DC affects residents’ experiences of being surveilled, stopped, searched, and arrested. Policing is also the front end of the DC legal system, and police interactions can result in arrest, jail, community supervision, and imprisonment in the Federal Bureau of Prisons (Public Welfare Foundation 2019).

- In 2019, there were about 540 sworn MPD officers for every 100,000 DC residents, a rate far higher than similarly sized metropolitan jurisdictions. For example, Baltimore’s rate that year was 413 per 100,000, Detroit’s was 379, and Boston’s was 307.²
- DC spends more on police per capita than the other 25 most-populous US metropolitan areas, outspending New York City’s per capita rate by 36 percent, Chicago’s by 41 percent, and Indianapolis’s by 72 percent (Buehler and Scott 2020).³ DC’s per capita police spending is also higher than that of all 50 states.⁴

Concerns about Policing in DC
DC residents and policymakers have raised concerns related to policing’s disproportionate impact on Black residents (including use-of-force incidents that result in residents’ injury or death), the scope of policing, and the lack of transparency in policing practices.⁵ Exposure to police can have a harmful effect on residents. For example, police stops can exact a psychological toll, particularly for people who experience disproportionate police contact (Epp, Maynard-Moody, and Haider-Markel 2017; McLeod
et al. 2020), and can increase the likelihood that youth engage in subsequent illegal activity, particularly when those stops occur at younger ages (Del Toro et al. 2019).

LETHAL VIOLENCE AND DISPROPORTIONATE USE OF FORCE

- Use of force (OPC 2020) and other aggressive police tactics have led to several high-profile deaths of Black DC residents in recent years. Most recently, 18-year-old Deon Kay was fatally shot by police in September 2020, and 20-year-old Karon Hylton-Brown was killed in October 2020 in a crash after a police car chased him while he was riding a moped.
- A 2020 report on the Narcotics and Specialized Investigations Division of MPD found that between August 1, 2019, and January 1, 2020, all 52 use-of-force incidents, against 59 community members, were against Black people and that harassment and unnecessary force were the most common citizen complaints registered against that division (National Police Foundation 2020).
- News coverage in 2019 revealed several incidents of MPD officers handcuffing children, including a 9-year-old and a 10-year-old in two separate occasions. Following these incidents, MPD revised its policy on interactions with children to limit the situations in which handcuffs can be used on children younger than 12.
- MPD’s Gun Recovery Unit has received public attention for using “jump-outs” (in which officers jump out of unmarked cars, often dressed in plainclothes with weapons drawn, to surround, question, or search residents), unnecessarily invasive searches, and other aggressive policing tactics, particularly against Black residents (Crunkleton et al. 2020). Police chief Robert Contee has since announced plans to consider changes to the unit.

STOPS

- The DC Council passed legislation in 2016 that required MPD to collect comprehensive data on police stops, but the department only began to systematically collect stop data in 2019 and issue regular data releases in 2020, following court orders in lawsuits filed by local activist groups. MPD has now publicly released stop-and-frisk data from July 22, 2019, through December 31, 2020, on its website, revealing widespread racial disparities in MPD stop-and-frisk data.
- An ACLU analysis of the initial data release of more than 62,000 stops from July 22 through December 31, 2019, found that Black people composed 72 percent of stops, while making up 47 percent of the DC population (ACLU 2020). An updated analysis of the more than 80,000 stops made by MPD between January 1, 2020, and December 31, 2020, found similar disparities, with 75 percent of stops being of Black people (ACLU, n.d.). In addition, 91 percent of stops that involved searches or pat-downs were of Black people.
- The ACLU analyses of stops during 2019 and 2020 indicate that Black people are not only stopped and searched at higher rates by MPD, but they also compose the majority of interactions that do not result in a warning, ticket, or arrest. In 2020, 87 percent of the stops and 91 percent of the searches that did not lead to these outcomes were of Black people (ACLU,
The ACLU report notes that stops that do not result in a warning, ticket, or arrest are likely to result from officer discretion rather than the behavior of the person stopped, so such disparities have important implications for how Black people are policed in DC.

- Local groups have called for an end to MPD’s use of stop-and-frisk, highlighting the low “success” rate and the significant racial disparities found in the data released to date.\(^{15}\)

### INSUFFICIENT TRANSPARENCY

- The legislatively created DC Police Reform Commission conducted a comprehensive review of MPD policies and practices between summer 2020 and spring 2021. As part of this work, members requested a variety of information and data from MPD, including on police activities and trainings, performance metrics, and misconduct records. Many of these requests were not fulfilled, and the commission concluded that this lack of information “suggests that MPD is not monitoring itself as it should...and does not have a culture of transparency” (DC Police Reform Commission 2021, 12).

- A 2021 DC audit found that MPD investigations of police-involved killings were insufficient and that MPD had made little progress in recent years to address significant issues related to the transparency and thoroughness of investigations (Bromwich and Steptoe 2021).

- Additionally, concerns have been raised about MPD changing stop practices to mask stark racial disparities in stop data. A recent article, citing a former MPD officer, alleged that an MPD commander instructed officers to perform stops “in parts of D.C. with white residents ‘to balance the number of pedestrian stops against black individuals in her district.’”\(^{16}\) This allegation, if proved true, undermines the validity of MPD’s use of stops as a legitimate public safety strategy.

### DC Faces Urgent Public Safety Challenges

DC faces a range of challenges that affect the safety and well-being of DC residents, and Black and low-income neighborhoods are disproportionately affected. Building up nonpolice public safety infrastructure can contribute to solutions for safety challenges, such as preventing gun violence, and advance broader long-term safety goals, including health care access, housing stability, and economic stability (Pearl 2019). Increasing residents’ ability to meet their basic needs is inherently linked with individual and community well-being, including safety from violence and other kinds of harm. Access to education (Lochner and Moretti 2004), health care (Kennedy-Hendricks et al. 2016; Milgram et al. 2018), high-quality living-wage jobs (Lageson and Uggen 2013), and stable and affordable housing\(^{17}\) are all key to comprehensive and holistic public safety strategies.

### Gun Violence and Homicides

- There is an urgent need to address gun violence in DC. The number of people who experienced gun violence in DC rose 33 percent between 2019 and 2020, and 922 people were injured or
killed by gun violence in 2020 (Bowser 2021).\(^{18}\) As of late July 2021, the overall number of violent crimes to date for 2021 is similar to 2020.\(^{19}\)

- Gun violence is the leading cause of homicide in DC. The number of homicides in DC rose from 105 in 2014 to 162 in 2015, at which point the DC Council passed the Neighborhood Engagement Achieves Results (NEAR) Act to build better infrastructure for a public health approach to addressing violence. Annual homicides dropped again until 2018 but have increased each year since then, including a sharp uptick to 198 in 2020.\(^{20}\) In 2020, 95 percent of homicide victims in DC were Black people, and 81 percent were Black boys and men (Bowser 2021).

### Meeting Basic Needs

- Housing instability and the lack of safe and affordable housing options affect public safety and the well-being of DC residents (DMPED 2019). Overpolicing can contribute to broader gentrification trends that are displacing longtime DC residents.\(^{21}\) Although the number of people in DC who are unhoused has been dropping, the pandemic could reverse those trends,\(^{22}\) and news coverage has highlighted recent growth in encampments of unhoused people in DC in connection with the lack of affordable housing.\(^{23}\)

- DC residents have insufficient access to critical health care supports. A recent report from the DC Health Matters Collaborative found an alarming lack of mental health providers, particularly for youth. The report also found that there were not enough health care providers who speak Spanish and Amharic to serve DC’s immigrant populations (Merrill and Rieke 2019).

- People with prior justice system involvement can face particularly significant barriers to meeting their basic needs. One in 7 DC residents has a publicly available court record, and 1 in 14 residents has a criminal conviction, which can limit job opportunities (Duane, Reimal, and Lynch 2017). People who are returning from incarceration in DC jails or in the federal prison system often face significant barriers during reentry, including accessing stable housing (DC RAN, n.d.) and employment (Public Welfare Foundation 2019), and a recent survey found that access to health care and community support were also concerns among people serving sentences in federal prisons for DC code offenses (Gilmore 2020). Access to treatment for substance use disorders is also a pressing issue for DC residents and can be particularly challenging for people with justice involvement (Bernbaum 2020).

- COVID-19 has had a significant impact on the well-being of DC residents, particularly Black residents and other communities of color. As of July 20, 2021, nearly 50,000 DC residents have tested positive for COVID-19, and 1,146 have died. Black people have made up half the people who have tested positive and 76 percent of those who have died.\(^{24}\) Many more people have been affected by the broader economic instability exacerbated by the pandemic. Persistent poverty, food insecurity, and inability to pay rent are an ongoing challenges for many DC residents, particularly Black residents, and these challenges have increased since the beginning of the pandemic.\(^{25}\) The DC government has enacted protective measures such as an eviction
moratorium, and local nonprofits and community organizations have offered DC residents support with meeting basic needs, but public safety and well-being concerns associated with the pandemic will be an essential component of recovery planning.

Building New Safety Capacity in DC

DC has made important progress in recent years toward increasing nonpolice community safety and violence reduction infrastructure.

- The Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement, created by the NEAR Act, seeks to prevent violence and support people who have been affected by violence. Current programs include a Pathways Program to offer services to people who are at higher risk of being involved in violence, a Violence Intervention Initiative that contracts with three community-based organizations in 21 high-priority neighborhoods, family and survivor support services for victims of violent crime and their families, and school-based and restorative justice initiatives (McFadden 2021).

BOX 2

The NEAR Act

The DC Council unanimously passed the NEAR Act in 2015 to “use public health approaches to prevent violence and reduce incarceration.” The act has 20 provisions to establish infrastructure to address violence in DC with a public health approach and to address challenges associated with policing. Among other things, the act established the Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement to coordinate violence-prevention efforts, funded new community- and hospital-based violence-interruption programs, created a new partnership for behavioral health diversion, and increased MPD data collection requirements and oversight mechanisms. The NEAR Act was not fully funded until the fiscal year 2018 budget, and full implementation has also lagged.


- In addition to the Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement, several other DC government agencies run street outreach and violence-prevention programs for both youth and adults. For example, the Office of the Attorney General runs a Cure the Streets violence-interruption program with six sites,26 and the Office of Victim Services and Justice Grants operates a Hospital-based Violence Intervention Program that serves people who have been hospitalized because of violent incidents. Efforts to reduce violence among youth include the
Department of Parks and Recreation’s Roving Leaders program and the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services Credible Messenger initiative that provides mentoring services to DC youth with justice system involvement.

- In early 2021, Mayor Muriel Bowser launched the Gun Violence Prevention Emergency Operations Center, a targeted approach to addressing gun violence in Historic Anacostia by offering wraparound supports to people who are at higher risk of engaging in and/or being harmed by gun violence. This initiative received initial funding of $15 million, with additional funds planned for the 2022 budget.

- In May 2021, Mayor Bowser announced a new six-month Mental Health Emergency Dispatch Pilot Program in which the Department of Behavioral Health’s Community Response Teams will respond to some mental health–related 911 calls instead of police officers.

- Research shows that greater concentrations of community-serving organizations are associated with lower rates of both violent and property crime (Sharkey, Torrats-Espinosa, and Takyar 2017). Many community organizations contribute to keeping DC safe, including Bread for the City, Community Mediation DC, Collective Action for Safe Spaces, Casa Ruby, HIPS, Martha’s Table, Mariam’s Kitchen, Mary’s Center, ONE DC, and the DC Mutual Aid Network. A subset of these organizations and networks receive funding from the DC government that supports their efforts to address public safety challenges and work with residents’ to meet their essential needs.

Opportunities to Reduce Harms Associated with Policing and Strengthen DC’s Nonpolice Public Safety Infrastructure

Despite this progress, DC’s nonpolice public safety infrastructure—and associated budgeting—is still limited in comparison with its reliance on MPD and other law enforcement entities. Multiple stakeholder groups in DC have issued recommendations to reduce reliance on MPD and build new types of safety capacity:

- The District Task Force on Jails and Justice, tasked with developing comprehensive recommendations for public safety in DC, in February 2021 called for “divest[ment]” from MPD—including reducing funds for crowd-control and military-style equipment, getting rid of the School Safety Division, and cutting the number of patrol officers by 25 percent—and reinvesting funds in violence prevention, crisis response, and reentry supports (District Task Force on Jails and Justice 2021).

- The DC Police Reform Commission, created by the DC Council and tasked with reviewing police practices and identifying opportunities for improvement, issued 90 recommendations in April 2021, including increasing nonpolice first responder capacity, strengthening the social safety net, increasing transparency and accountability within MPD, removing police from schools, and scaling back the size of MPD and the associated budget (DC Police Reform Commission 2021).
- The **Defund MPD coalition** has released a road map with goals related to reducing the scope and impact of policing in DC, including ending police involvement in community services (e.g., traffic enforcement, emergency response, and school safety) and investing MPD budget savings in community services.\(^{33}\)

- The **Police Free Schools** effort, led by the Black Swan Academy, published a toolkit to advance their goal of removing all forms of police from DC schools and investing in resources to increase student safety and well-being and equity in schools.\(^{34}\)

Shifting public safety policymaking and spending in DC will take sustained commitment, collaboration, and investment. Policymakers can consider advancing the following strategies:

- Increase public data reporting on MPD activity and resources, including budget allocations and public safety spending.

- Increase the accessibility of oversight and budget hearings, and incorporate more direct participatory policymaking, particularly from the neighborhoods that experience the most pressing public safety challenges and that have the heaviest police presence.

- Begin to transfer responsibilities currently held by police to other non–law enforcement entities, and adjust the DC budget accordingly to reduce the scope of MPD and other local law enforcement entities.

- Increase funding for violence-prevention efforts and investments that support DC residents in meeting their basic needs, including with strategic investment of COVID-19 recovery funds.

- Strengthen collaboration across government agencies and with the wide variety of community organizations that contribute to the safety and well-being of DC residents, including to develop, implement, and improve community-led public safety solutions.

- **Learn from other jurisdictions** that are reducing their reliance on police and building up nonpolice safety capacity through budget and other policy strategies, such as participatory budgeting, that give residents a direct voice in resource decisionmaking (Doyle and Sakala 2021).

**Notes**

1. DC is a unique jurisdiction, housing numerous local, federal, and private law enforcement entities. This analysis focuses on the MPD, which is the District’s primary local law enforcement agency. Other DC government law enforcement entities include the Housing Authority Police Department of Public Safety, the Metro Transit Police Department, the Protective Services Division, the Department of Corrections, and the Library Police–Office of Public Safety.

At the same time, because DC’s total per capita spending is higher than the 25 other jurisdictions, DC spends a lower percentage of its general fund on policing than the 25 other jurisdictions.


Soderberg, “‘Let Me See That Waistband.’”

percent of MPD’s proposed fiscal year violence interrupters, 18 part neighborhood. In neighborhoods, but many had only one or two part-time violence interrupters for the entire neighborhood. In fiscal year 2021, the Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement reported 15 full-time violence interrupters, 18 part-time violence interrupters, 7 case managers, and 2 violence interrupter leads for all of DC, an overall decrease in staffing from fiscal year 2020. See McFadden (2021). Additionally, the proposed fiscal year 2022 operating budget for the Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement is $28.2 million, or 5.5 percent of MPD’s proposed fiscal year 2022 operating budget of $511.4 million. See Charles Allen, chair of the Committee on the Judiciary and Public Safety, “Draft Report and Recommendations of the Committee on the


References


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