OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Federal Investment in Community-Driven Public Safety

Jesse Jannetta
URBAN INSTITUTE
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Leah Sakala
URBAN INSTITUTE

Fernando Rejón
URBAN PEACE INSTITUTE
The harms of trauma, victimization, and heavy justice system presence tend to cluster in communities experiencing concentrated poverty and multiple forms of disinvestment. These dynamics are particularly present in predominantly Black, Latinx, and Native American communities. Perspectives of people living in these communities and experiencing these harms are rarely incorporated into discussions about policy or budget priorities, and these residents are too often excluded from decisions about the public safety strategies and resources that affect them most.

As a result, the policies and strategies that governments advance in the name of “public safety” can have little to do with how communities define and understand safety. Governments expend tremendous resources on police, prosecution, and corrections but fail to sufficiently support the community infrastructure essential to well-being. This produces top-down public safety policy that is reactive and punitive, further entrenching systemic racism and economic inequality in ways that often destabilize communities rather than strengthening and protecting them. Policing, which is usually the part of the justice system with the most visible and direct community presence, often contributes to harming and alienating the very communities that are theoretically being protected.¹ Traditional public

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¹ Traditional public
safety planning efforts routinely neglect immediate response options, such as deploying unarmed professionals to resolve potentially violent conflicts or to assist people in a mental health crisis, as well as broader needs such as access to employment, housing, and health care.

The nationwide uprising in response to police killings, including recently of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Tony McDade, has raised critical questions about the ethics of continuing to invest in law enforcement to create safety when the institution of policing consistently causes harm and death, particularly for Black people. This unprecedented momentum in communities across the country to defund the police and build up other safety systems has already sparked policy decisions designed to invest in non–law enforcement public safety providers who can produce better results, less harm, and stronger community cohesion. Notably, the Minneapolis City Council has voted to defund and dismantle the city’s police department and shift the funding to community-based strategies.²

Alternative, bottom-up, community-driven safety strategies have always existed, but they often lack the resources and capacity to achieve their full potential. These community-driven strategies often exist entirely outside of police, prisons, jails, and community supervision, and they can be designed to counter the harm caused by those traditional approaches to justice.³ Research has documented the direct and indirect benefits of community organization infrastructure and community-driven approaches, and such approaches can avoid many of the consequences associated with traditional justice system involvement.⁴ Investments to support long-term sustainability for community-driven approaches can strengthen collaboration and cohesion, foster innovation, and facilitate strategic coordination in alignment with common goals.⁵

New federal resources would be particularly timely, because building local capacity at the intersection of health and safety can address the root causes of both violence and viruses. The challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic coupled with the protests against police violence have foregrounded the value of building a community safety infrastructure that approaches safety through a public health lens. Times of crisis magnify the extant structural harms that disproportionately impact communities of color and low-income communities, and indeed the pandemic is highlighting the consequences of insufficient government investment in the supports and interventions that keep all community members truly safe. Communities are stepping up to fill those gaps, and the crisis should catalyze government actors to support these efforts. For example, violence interventionists in Los Angeles expanded their focus to help residents learn how to stay safe during the pandemic, addressing two public health crises at once.⁶ Cities around the country are designating interventionists as essential employees and asking for federal support to sustain this work.⁷ At the same time, the economic and fiscal damage caused by the pandemic poses a threat to the community safety capacity
that already exists. We will emerge from this crisis into a new world that requires us to reconceptualize how safety is created and maintained.

**Past Approaches to Federal Safety Investment**

Although public safety policy is primarily set by states and localities, the federal government plays a substantial role in shaping the safety policy agenda both materially through funding and symbolically by framing how safety problems are understood and addressed. A prime example is the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, popularly known as the “1994 crime bill.” This legislation supported large-scale increases in police forces, provided fiscal incentives for states to adopt truth-in-sentencing statutes to limit sentencing reductions, and increased support for community policing through the creation of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. More recently, federal efforts to improve justice processes, such as the federally funded Justice Reinvestment Initiative, have engaged states across the country in deliberate efforts to reduce incarceration and reinvest savings (largely in other parts of the justice system). Each of these federal efforts has shaped public safety decisions at the state and local levels.

Federal investments focused on safety tend to operate through, and therefore center on, traditional justice system agencies: policing, prosecution, and corrections. Different federal administrations bring different perspectives and priorities to issues such as the value of enforcement relative to prevention or whether the way different parts of the justice system currently operate is acceptable or in need of reform. Although these differences can have a meaningful impact on which justice system activities receive federal support, they generally ignore the critical public safety strategies that operate at the community level, outside the justice system altogether. When community organizations have access to federal funding for justice-related purposes, it is often for programs for people who are referred by justice agencies (e.g., with grants available for community-based organizations for reentry work under the Second Chance Act) or it is to coordinate with law enforcement (e.g., the Bureau of Justice Assistance’s Innovations in Community-Based Crime Reduction program). Although community-based supports can be critical for people in need of services, these federal funding allocations still represent safety strategies that center the role of justice agencies.

As such, federal investments in delivering safety have tended to take an adversarial framing (e.g., the wars on crime and drugs) rather than weaving together immediate interventions and longer-term strategies aimed at preventing harm. This approach has generally led to strategies that involve
identifying and isolating the people perceived as being the source of the problem, sometimes while creating diversionary pathways for “less risky” people. Limited and highly focused interventions can be effective at reducing community violence in the short term, but they need to be complemented by broader prevention efforts for those successes to last. Community-based efforts can generate both immediate and longer-term impacts to address neighborhood-level violence and alter underlying social conditions that continually generate violence and harm, such as cycles of intergenerational trauma. Community buy-in helps sustain these strategies, though leadership from advocacy or intermediary groups is often necessary to protect them from being discontinued or changed in ways that undermine their original purpose.

In sum, traditional federal safety investments have largely neglected both long-standing and emergent community-led safety efforts and infrastructure that can support and sustain prevention, healing, and well-being. This is a missed opportunity.

A Possible Solution

We’ve learned key lessons in the past few decades from community solutions that focus on a holistic approach that recognizes the links between safety, well-being, and opportunity and that center concepts such as peacemaking (for violence), healing and restoration (for victimization), and care and treatment (for addiction and mental health issues). These lessons underscore the urgency of creating new ecosystems for safety and health that recognize that members of a community are interconnected, and designing systems that support the good of the whole. This is work that traditional justice agencies are not well equipped for but that community-led efforts can excel at.

We therefore recommend that the federal government directly invest in developing and strengthening community safety infrastructure that does not rely upon traditional justice agencies. The overarching goal would be to develop cross-sector, evidence-informed, public health–based strategies for long-term safety and well-being that are tailored to the needs of specific communities. A key part of the approach is building a strong network and investing in community members as cocreators of safety. These community members can collaboratively advance their vision for a community-led safety and health agenda even as local government leadership changes over time. Depending on a given community’s interests and ambitions, this capacity may complement but operate independently from justice agencies; work in partnership with them; or make it possible to adjust, reduce, or eliminate those agencies’ roles and resources by taking on primary responsibility for safety issues. Based on the experiences of similar efforts, we suggest a model with three levels of closely coordinated partners:
A network of community-based organizations with complementary geographic ties to specific neighborhoods, cultural connections to specific communities within neighborhoods, and skill sets to address particular safety problems (e.g., an ability to engage with and offer support to people at highest risk of engaging in violence, people who are unhoused, people in a mental health crisis, and other people who may be vulnerable to harm). These organizations cultivate grassroots leadership that fosters community credibility and leverages the expertise needed to help define and effectively address community safety needs and challenges.

Intermediary organizations that have built trusting relationships with grassroots leadership in community-based organizations and can coordinate their cross-sector collaboration, provide assistance to enhance their capacity, and advocate for systems changes needed to align safety strategies with community priorities. Intermediaries are embedded within the community-based agencies, collaborate to connect them to any supports and resources necessary to professionalize their work, and manage expectations and support accountability. They also attend to the mission alignment, coordination, and resource sharing that are important to a city’s or town’s strategy.

Local government participation from a non–law enforcement entity to coordinate public efforts with grassroots partners’ efforts for a coherent safety strategy and to create an infrastructure for institutionalizing changes. This work could be anchored in several local government bodies, including departments of health, social service agencies, or schools. A dedicated entity such as an Office of Violence Prevention or a public-private partnership to administer funds and ensure mission focus may be ideally suited to this role.

We can see in several cities what similar partnerships look like in practice. For example, in the Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) program, community-based organizations reach out to youth in gangs or at risk of joining them, connect them and their families to services and supports, and deploy interventionists who draw upon their lived experience and credibility in the community (credible messengers) to mediate conflicts and respond to shootings. The Urban Peace Institute provides extensive training for GRYD interventionists as well as complementary training for police officers on working in tandem with them. The Urban Peace Institute also engages in policy and transformative systems change efforts to scale their work and align with community needs. The mayor’s GRYD Office coordinates the program from the government level, champions its work, measures performance, and ensures accountability for quality.

Similarly, in New York, the NeighborhoodStat component of the Mayor’s Action Plan for Neighborhood Safety aims to build working relationships "between residents and City agencies to
reframe the concept of public safety by addressing the underlying drivers of crime through the use of shared knowledge, data, and performance metrics to build accountability, safety, legitimacy, and trust.” Residents develop projects in a variety of domains that provide safety. Each NeighborhoodStat site has a local coordinator hired and trained by the Center for Court Innovation, and the Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice provides funding, government coordination, and oversight. Establishing national networks for community-level public health and safety practitioners, such as the Transitions Clinic Network or the Health Alliance for Violence Intervention, can also support capacity-building for community-led public safety efforts.

These examples show that local innovation has created a practice base that can guide timely federal government investment to support these approaches. The government could task a lead agency with overseeing this investment. Housing it in the Department of Justice could make an important symbolic statement about the role of such investments in public safety, but at the same time, community definitions of safety will go beyond the current scope of that department. Alternatively, a new multiagency grantmaking entity or collaborative could be formed and tasked with elevating and resourcing community-led approaches to creating safety, including this investment program.

Funding could be allocated through several mechanisms that could evolve over time, but fidelity to the core goal is important to maintain through any such changes. For example, the program could start with an initial pilot in partnership with the intermediary. As the program scales beyond the pilot, it may make sense to change the funding structure, such as to a state block-grant structure with a state or local match component. Regardless of the mechanism, the focus of the funding would be to strengthen the community-led safety infrastructure across all three partner groups, with strategies for measurement, accountability, and sustainability. The funding would advance the twin goals of (1) preserving existing community infrastructure in the fiscal aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and (2) spreading the approach to new places that have the capacity and political will but need resources to help implement this model successfully. This model could contain several core elements:

- Efforts would begin by working with interested jurisdictions to determine which pieces of the partnership need most development in their community and whether conditions are ripe for implementing the full model.
- Funds would be shared across the three levels of local partners (public, intermediary, and community/grassroots) and would support community leadership development and knowledge-building to coproduce safety by elevating resident voice and efficacy. Partnership
coordination among the three groups is essential in maintaining mission alignment; constant communication will help adjust the strategy to address emerging needs, political evolutions, and neighborhood-level dynamics.

- Investments would be designed to directly support the development of community-based leadership to foster and sustain strategies led by local on-the-ground expertise. Building community-level safety infrastructure will ensure ongoing leadership and career opportunities are developed to contribute to economic stability.

- Funding would also support peer learning to spread holistic and collaborative safety approaches to new places, and it would help places that have developed such approaches maintain them during a likely period of severe stress on city, county, and state budgets as they address and recover from the COVID-19 crisis.

- The grant program would need sound accountability and outcome reporting measurements. But these measurements would need to be broader and more flexible than in previous programs to enable them to document what is relevant for specific communities and to measure long-term change as well as indirect benefits. Key measurement indicators should be developed and tailored to the anticipated outcomes. The social determinants of health model offers one approach that may be particularly well-suited to this need.

  Investment in research and evaluation will also be important. The evidence base on community-led safety efforts needs to be broadened both to inform the work of those who are already committed to it and to inform the thinking of those who are skeptical of its value. Community-based participatory research methods reinforce community members as central partners in cocreating the evidence, just as they are in cocreating safety.

A precedent for this idea exists at all levels of government. In addition to the local investments in the models mentioned, state governments have recognized the importance of investing in community-based solutions. A prominent example is the California Violence Intervention and Prevention Grant Program, which was revised legislatively in 2019 to include community-driven safety capacity; it specifies that hospital-based intervention programs and street outreach programs are areas of focus. The Shannon Community Safety Initiative in Massachusetts and New York State’s Operation SNUG similarly provide state funding for community-led components of antiviolence strategies. At the local level, Oakland’s Measure Z (and its predecessor, Measure Y) uses a new parcel tax and parking surcharge to raise funds for violence prevention, allocating resources both to community organizations focused on prevention and intervention and to police, with around $9.7 million annually for
community services and $12.5 million for police and fire services. Further, communities are already using federal funds to support community-driven solutions, such as the South Bronx Community Connections program (launched with federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act funds), and Wraparound Milwaukee (launched with a $15 million federal grant from the federal Center for Mental Health Services). And on the federal level, the proposed BREATHE Act puts forth a set of policy changes that would fundamentally shift public safety toward a community-based model, including by reallocating associated federal funding.

Challenges and Barriers to Success

Although most communities have government-driven public safety work and some also have service providers and intermediaries, alignment across all three of them is still rare. Going from piecemeal systems to the full, coordinated, three-level infrastructure described in this essay is a big leap that requires the federal government to explore a new approach to funding safety and justice work. State-level funding vehicles serve as models and can guide the federal government in providing this kind of support, which is crucial because states face unprecedented financial pressures that will make it difficult to maintain sufficient investment. Federal funding models in other policy areas, such as the use of Medicaid funds to address social determinants of health, can also serve as guiding examples.

On the grantee side, not all communities have a solid infrastructure for receiving federal funding, and many smaller nonprofits and community-based organizations have community credibility but lack the capacity to manage federal grants as they are currently awarded. The intermediary and public-sector partners can provide helpful scaffolding to allow deeply rooted community organizations to leverage their unique assets and capabilities as part of a larger coordinated and sustainable effort. Explicitly focusing on institutionalization and sustainability can increase the long-term return on investment by helping communities create infrastructure for community-driven safety solutions. Still, some communities don’t have the capacity or political will across all three partners needed to participate. Building a tiered readiness-assessment guide for different levels of investment would address this challenge. Places that are ready for full investments can take up the work right away, and communities starting with more modest efforts can receive support focused on building up their infrastructure and fostering peer learning.

The idea of making big investments in approaches to delivering safety that don’t primarily involve justice agencies still does not have traction in all quarters. Some policymakers and elected officials are more willing to recognize the expertise and legitimacy of traditional public safety professionals, such
as police officers, prosecutors, and correctional officials, than that of community outreach workers and interventionists. Credible messengers with lived experience and who understand their neighborhoods have credence and clout in the community but not necessarily with government actors who control funds. Some officials mistrust people with direct justice system experience playing key safety roles, believing either they might not be professional enough or they are still involved in the problems they’re purporting to solve. Fortunately, many communities have developed viable models and examples for how to allay these concerns and create effective partnerships (or at least avoid overt conflict) with law enforcement and other justice professionals. And the type of infrastructure investment we are proposing can advance the professionalization of the community-led safety and intervention field. However, more recent and explicit public discussions of community-led safety as an approach that could or should scale back local police departments (or eliminate and replace them entirely) may also activate opposition from those who wish to maintain the current role and budget support for police.

Building a robust, multisector public safety ecosystem will require a public policy shift to treating and funding noninstitutional partners as essential rather than supplemental. At the same time, the COVID-19 pandemic is putting fiscal stresses on all institutions and systems, which could exacerbate reluctance to support community-led solutions that some view as a superfluous expense. The federal funding proposed in this essay will help address the fiscal challenge, and increasing the community-led safety infrastructure will have an economic stimulus effect as people are hired. Further, that stimulus will be concentrated in the very communities that have been hardest hit by the pandemic. Already, relief funding such as the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act includes flexibility to share funds with community organizations that are meeting crucial needs during the pandemic.

It can be hard to measure and know what works, especially because communities are all different and tailored strategies may not be generalizable. Focusing on readiness can help target funds and foster learning and collaboration so that variation across jurisdictions is an asset rather than a barrier. In this essay we lay out a framework based on an emergent knowledge base and way of thinking about community roles in safety production, but we do not propose a model program; that would be antithetical to the idea that solutions should be tailored to community needs. This can make it difficult for prospective supporters to buy into this model. A grant program targeting this kind of work can help clarify and advance the framework, including how all three types of players have roles essential to keeping communities safe and strong. Recognizing the different starting points from which cities would approach this work, tiered funding with specific parameters for readiness to receive funds is critical. The highest level of funding would go to Tier 1 cities, for communitywide infrastructure
advancement. Tier 1 cities would need to demonstrate a strong record of groundwork for this collaboration, such as at least five years of consistent funding of a community strategy in a core safety area like violence reduction. Tier 2 cities, by contrast, would have a lower threshold, for example having public and community partners aligned to implement a community-led approach in at least two pilot neighborhoods. Tier 3 could consist primarily of places that are interested in this strategy and could benefit from peer learning.

Federal funding for capacity can help local organizations build development and measurement capacity, diversify their funding sources, and figure out what works. Because our traditional safety systems have not delivered the results communities need, having the federal government explicitly encourage informed innovation can help chart a new path. Ensuring that the existing evidence base and lessons from similar efforts inform collaboration, and developing sound performance metrics to document progress can help us learn along the way and build in accountability for the participating organizations.

Next Steps
With careful planning, federal stakeholders can create new opportunities to invest in local safety collaborations that channel resources to experts closest to community challenges.

- First, federal stakeholders can learn from their counterparts in states and municipalities, many of whom have been innovating with community investment strategies for decades. By inviting input through a collaborative planning phase, the federal government can benefit from the critical lessons these stakeholders have learned.
- Second, information sharing will be key. Beginning the initial investment pilot with a rigorous readiness assessment will ensure that all local grant partners have sufficient capacity and are aligned in their purposes and roles. Further, building infrastructure to support ongoing data collection and monitoring will help document progress and successes and inform improvement. Providing opportunities for peer learning will allow pilot jurisdictions to learn from one another and will provide valuable lessons for other communities considering similar approaches.
- Third, designing a federal investment strategy with sustainability in mind is critical to long-term success. Providing investment up front helps ensure that recipients can create a functional collaboration structure from the beginning, and committing to multiyear funding for collaboratives allows participants to simultaneously invest in capacity and direct engagement
with their community. Also, setting aside dedicated funds to maintain community-led safety work in an anticipated time of fiscal stress (such as during and after the COVID-19 pandemic) helps critical services and interventions continue when they are needed most.

- Finally, costs should be measured against the longer-term returns on investment that can only arise from sustained investment in community infrastructure. Deep, evidence-informed investment in community solutions has the potential to be budget neutral in the long run, considering the economic benefits of healthier and stronger communities as well as the defrayed costs of avoided harm, including harm rooted in decades of underinvestment or disinvestment.

By opening up new resource streams, the federal government can support communities around the country that are advancing efforts to make neighborhoods safer and stronger by leveraging their assets and resilience.

Notes


About the Authors

Jesse Jannetta is a senior policy fellow in the Justice Policy Center. He has led research and technical assistance projects on prison and jail reentry, community antigang and antiviolence initiatives, police-community relations, parole and probation supervision, and risk prediction. Before joining Urban, he was a research specialist at the Center for Evidence-Based Corrections at the University of California, Irvine.

Leah Sakala is a senior policy associate in the Justice Policy Center. Her work includes collaborating with policymakers and advocacy organizations to advance reform and transformation, evaluating the impacts of criminal and juvenile justice policy change, and supporting strategies to build effective community-based systems for safety, healing, and accountability. She has over a decade of experience conducting research and analysis to inform local, state, and national safety and justice policy conversations. Before joining Urban, she was a senior policy analyst at the Prison Policy Initiative.

Fernando Rejón serves as executive director after building the Urban Peace agenda for over a decade. He began his work to build the Urban Peace Academy as a platform to train gang intervention/street outreach workers, law enforcement, community stakeholders, and public officials on implementing violence reduction strategies focused on redefining community safety and health. He has emerged as a national thought leader on addressing complex issues around neighborhood violence, policing, and policy development. His work has been recognized nationally and internationally as an example of how sustained investment in mission-driven safety strategies generate long-term transformative change.

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