

**INVESTIGATION OF THE
BALTIMORE CITY POLICE
DEPARTMENT**



**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Today, we announce the outcome of the Department of Justice’s investigation of the Baltimore City Police Department (BPD).¹ After engaging in a thorough investigation, initiated at the request of the City of Baltimore and BPD, the Department of Justice concludes that there is reasonable cause to believe that BPD engages in a pattern or practice of conduct that violates the Constitution or federal law. BPD engages in a pattern or practice of:

- (1) making unconstitutional stops, searches, and arrests;
- (2) using enforcement strategies that produce severe and unjustified disparities in the rates of stops, searches and arrests of African Americans;
- (3) using excessive force; and
- (4) retaliating against people engaging in constitutionally-protected expression.

This pattern or practice is driven by systemic deficiencies in BPD’s policies, training, supervision, and accountability structures that fail to equip officers with the tools they need to police effectively and within the bounds of the federal law.

We recognize the challenges faced by police officers in Baltimore and other communities around the country. Every day, police officers risk their lives to uphold the law and keep our communities safe. Investigatory stops, arrests, and force—including, at times, deadly force—are all necessary tools used by BPD officers to do their jobs and protect the safety of themselves and others. Providing policing services in many parts of Baltimore is particularly challenging, where officers regularly confront complex social problems rooted in poverty, racial segregation and deficient educational, employment and housing opportunities. Still, most BPD officers work hard to provide vital services to the community.

The pattern or practice occurs as a result of systemic deficiencies at BPD. The agency fails to provide officers with sufficient policy guidance and training; fails to collect and analyze data regarding officers’ activities; and fails to hold officers accountable for misconduct. BPD also fails to equip officers with the necessary equipment and resources they need to police safely, constitutionally, and effectively. Each of these systemic deficiencies contributes to the constitutional and statutory violations we observed.

¹ The Special Litigation Section of the Civil Rights Division conducted the investigation pursuant to the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, 42 U.S.C. § 14141 (“Section 14141”), Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, 42 U.S.C. § 3789d (“Safe Streets Act”); and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, 42 U.S.C. §§ 12131–12134. The investigation did not examine the actions of officers involved in Freddie Gray’s arrest on April 12, 2015, or the merits of any criminal or civil proceedings connected to that incident.

Throughout our investigation, we received the full cooperation and assistance of BPD and the City of Baltimore. We interviewed current and former City leaders, including current BPD Commissioner Kevin Davis and former commissioners. We also interviewed current and former officers throughout the BPD command structure. We participated in ride-alongs in each district, interviewed numerous current and former officers individually, and met with the leadership of the Baltimore City Lodge No. 3 of the Fraternal Order of Police, which represents all sworn BPD officers. We are also heard from hundreds of people in the broader Baltimore community who shared information with our investigation. We met with religious organizations, advocacy groups, community support organizations, neighborhood associations, and countless individuals who provided valuable information about their experiences with BPD. We thank everyone for sharing their experiences and insights with us.

In addition to these interviews, we reviewed hundreds of thousands of pages of documents, including all relevant policies and training materials used by the Department since 2010; BPD's database of internal affairs files from January 2010 through March 2016; BPD's data on pedestrian stops, vehicle stops, and arrests from January 2010 to May 2015; incident reports describing stops, searches, arrests, and officers' use of non-deadly force from 2010 to 2015; all files on deadly force incidents since 2010 that BPD was able to produce to us through May 1, 2016; and investigative files on sexual assault cases from 2013 to 2015. We were assisted by a dozen current and former law enforcement leaders and experts with experience on the issues we investigated, and we retained statistical experts to analyze BPD's data on its enforcement activities.²

In the course of our investigation, we learned there is widespread agreement that BPD needs reform. Almost everyone who spoke to us—from current and former City leaders, BPD officers and command staff during ride-alongs and interviews, community members throughout the many neighborhoods of Baltimore, union representatives of all levels of officers in BPD, advocacy groups, and civic and religious leaders—agrees that BPD has significant problems that have undermined its efforts to police constitutionally and effectively. As we note in this report, many of these people and groups have documented those problems in the past, and although they may disagree about the nature, scope, and solutions to the challenges, many have also made efforts to address them. Nevertheless, work remains, in part because of the profound lack of trust among these groups, and in particular, between BPD and certain communities in Baltimore. The road to meaningful and lasting reform is a long one, but it can be taken. This investigation is intended to help Baltimore take a large step down this path.

Recent events highlight the critical importance of mutual trust and cooperation between law enforcement officers and the people they serve. A commitment to constitutional policing builds trust that enhances crime fighting efforts and officer safety. Conversely, frayed community relationships inhibit effective policing by denying officers important sources of information and placing them more frequently in dangerous, adversarial encounters. We found these principles in stark relief in Baltimore, where law enforcement officers confront a long history of social and economic challenges that impact much of the City, including the perception that there are “two

² In addition, the Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) has been engaged in a collaborative reform process with the City and BPD. The COPS office has continued to provide technical assistance to BPD during our investigation, along with other components of the Department of Justice.

Baltimore:” one wealthy and largely white, the second impoverished and predominantly black. Community members living in the City’s wealthier and largely white neighborhoods told us that officers tend to be respectful and responsive to their needs, while many individuals living in the City’s largely African-American communities informed us that officers tend to be disrespectful and do not respond promptly to their calls for service. Members of these largely African-American communities often felt they were subjected to unjustified stops, searches, and arrests, as well as excessive force. These challenges amplify the importance of using policing methods that build community partnerships and ensure fair and effective enforcement without regard for affluence or race through robust training, close supervision, data collection and analysis, and accountability for misconduct.

Starting in at least the late 1990s, however, City and BPD leadership responded to the City’s challenges by encouraging “zero tolerance” street enforcement that prioritized officers making large numbers of stops, searches, and arrests—and often resorting to force—with minimal training and insufficient oversight from supervisors or through other accountability structures. These practices led to repeated violations of the constitutional and statutory rights, further eroding the community’s trust in the police.

Proactive policing does not have to lead to these consequences. On the contrary, constitutional, community-oriented policing is proactive policing, but it is fundamentally different from the tactics employed in Baltimore for many years. Community policing depends on building relationships with all of the communities that a police department serves, and then jointly solving problems to ensure public safety. We encourage BPD to be proactive, to get to know Baltimore’s communities more deeply, build trust, and reduce crime together with the communities it serves.

Fortunately, the current leadership of the City and the BPD already have taken laudable steps to reverse this course, including by revising BPD’s use of force policies, taking steps toward enhancing accountability and transparency throughout the Department by, for example, beginning to equip officers with body worn cameras, and taking steps toward improving and expanding its community outreach to better engage its officers with the community they serve. Still, significant challenges remain.

Unconstitutional Stops, Searches, and Arrests

BPD’s legacy of zero tolerance enforcement continues to drive its policing in certain Baltimore neighborhoods and leads to unconstitutional stops, searches, and arrests. Many BPD supervisors instruct officers to make frequent stops and arrests—even for minor offenses and with minimal or no suspicion—without sufficient consideration of whether this enforcement strategy promotes public safety and community trust or conforms to constitutional standards. These instructions, coupled with minimal supervision and accountability for misconduct, lead to constitutional violations.

- Stops. BPD officers recorded over 300,000 pedestrian stops from January 2010–May 2015, and the true number of BPD’s stops during this period is likely far higher due to under-reporting. These stops are concentrated in predominantly African-American neighborhoods and often lack reasonable suspicion.

- BPD’s pedestrian stops are concentrated on a small portion of Baltimore residents. BPD made roughly 44 percent of its stops in two small, predominantly African-American districts that contain only 11 percent of the City’s population. Consequently, hundreds of individuals—nearly all of them African American—were stopped on at least 10 separate occasions from 2010–2015. Indeed, seven African-American men were stopped more than 30 times during this period.
- BPD’s stops often lack reasonable suspicion. Our review of incident reports and interviews with officers and community members found that officers regularly approach individuals standing or walking on City sidewalks to detain and question them and check for outstanding warrants, despite lacking reasonable suspicion to do so. Only 3.7 percent of pedestrian stops resulted in officers issuing a citation or making an arrest. And, as noted below, many of those arrested based upon pedestrian stops had their charges dismissed upon initial review by either supervisors at BPD’s Central Booking or local prosecutors.
- Searches. During stops, BPD officers frequently pat-down or frisk individuals as a matter of course, without identifying necessary grounds to believe that the person is armed and dangerous. And even where an initial frisk is justified, we found that officers often violate the Constitution by exceeding the frisk’s permissible scope. We likewise found many instances in which officers strip search individuals without legal justification. In some cases, officers performed degrading strip searches in public, prior to making an arrest, and without grounds to believe that the searched individuals were concealing contraband on their bodies.
- Arrests. We identified two categories of common unconstitutional arrests by BPD officers: (1) officers make warrantless arrests without probable cause; and (2) officers make arrests for misdemeanor offenses, such as loitering and trespassing, without providing the constitutionally-required notice that the arrested person was engaged in unlawful activity.
 - Arrests without probable cause: from 2010–2015, supervisors at Baltimore’s Central Booking and local prosecutors rejected over 11,000 charges made by BPD officers because they lacked probable cause or otherwise did not merit prosecution. Our review of incident reports describing warrantless arrests likewise found many examples of officers making unjustified arrests. In addition, officers extend stops without justification to search for evidence that would justify an arrest. These detentions—many of which last more than an hour—constitute unconstitutional arrests.
 - Misdemeanor arrests without notice: BPD officers arrest individuals standing lawfully on public sidewalks for “loitering,” “trespassing,” or other misdemeanor offenses without providing adequate notice that the individuals were engaged in unlawful activity. Indeed, officers frequently invert the constitutional notice

requirement. While the Constitution requires individuals to receive pre-arrest notice of the specific conduct prohibited as loitering or trespassing, BPD officers approach individuals standing lawfully on sidewalks in front of public housing complexes or private businesses and arrest them unless the individuals are able to “justify” their presence to the officers’ satisfaction.

Discrimination against African Americans

BPD’s targeted policing of certain Baltimore neighborhoods with minimal oversight or accountability disproportionately harms African-American residents. Racially disparate impact is present at every stage of BPD’s enforcement actions, from the initial decision to stop individuals on Baltimore streets to searches, arrests, and uses of force. These racial disparities, along with evidence suggesting intentional discrimination, erode the community trust that is critical to effective policing.

- BPD disproportionately stops African-American pedestrians. Citywide, BPD stopped African-American residents three times as often as white residents after controlling for the population of the area in which the stops occurred. In each of BPD’s nine police districts, African Americans accounted for a greater share of BPD’s stops than the population living in the district. And BPD is far more likely to subject individual African Americans to multiple stops in short periods of time. In the five and a half years of data we examined, African Americans accounted for 95 percent of the 410 individuals BPD stopped at least 10 times. One African American man in his mid-fifties was stopped 30 times in less than 4 years. Despite these repeated intrusions, none of the 30 stops resulted in a citation or criminal charge.
- BPD also stops African American drivers at disproportionate rates. African Americans accounted for 82 percent of all BPD vehicle stops, compared to only 60 percent of the driving age population in the City and 27 percent of the driving age population in the greater metropolitan area.
- BPD disproportionately searches African Americans during stops. BPD searched African Americans more frequently during pedestrian and vehicle stops, even though searches of African Americans were less likely to discover contraband. Indeed, BPD officers found contraband twice as often when searching white individuals compared to African Americans during vehicle stops and 50 percent more often during pedestrian stops.
- African Americans similarly accounted for 86 percent of all criminal offenses charged by BPD officers despite making up only 63 percent of Baltimore residents.
 - Racial disparities in BPD’s arrests are most pronounced for highly discretionary offenses: African Americans accounted for 91 percent of the 1,800 people charged solely with “failure to obey” or “trespassing”; 89 percent of the 1,350 charges for making a false statement to an officer; and 84 percent of the 6,500 people arrested for “disorderly conduct.” Moreover, booking officials and prosecutors decline charges brought against African Americans at significantly

higher rates than charges against people of other races, indicating that officers' standards for making arrests differ by the race of the person arrested.

- We also found large racial disparities in BPD's arrests for drug possession. While survey data shows that African Americans use drugs at rates similar to or slightly exceeding other population groups, BPD arrested African Americans for drug possession at five times the rate of others.

BPD deployed a policing strategy that, by its design, led to differential enforcement in African-American communities. But BPD failed to use adequate policy, training and accountability mechanisms to prevent discrimination, despite longstanding notice of concerns about how it polices African-American communities in the City. BPD has conducted virtually no analysis of its own data to ensure that its enforcement activities are non-discriminatory, and the Department misclassifies or otherwise fails to investigate specific complaints of racial bias. Nor has the Department held officers accountable for using racial slurs or making other statements exhibiting racial bias. In some cases, BPD supervisors have ordered officers to specifically target African Americans for stops and arrests. These failures contribute to the large racial disparities in BPD's enforcement that undermine the community's trust in the fairness of the police. BPD leadership has acknowledged that this lack of trust inhibits their ability to forge important community partnerships.

Use of Constitutionally Excessive Force

Our review of investigative files for all deadly force cases from 2010 until May 1, 2016, and a random sample of over eight hundred non-deadly force cases reveals that BPD engages in a pattern or practice of excessive force. Deficiencies in BPD's policies, training, and oversight of officers' force incidents have led to the pattern or practice of excessive force that we observed. We identified several recurring issues with BPD's use of force:

- First, BPD uses overly aggressive tactics that unnecessarily escalate encounters, increase tensions, and lead to unnecessary force, and fails to de-escalate encounters when it would be reasonable to do so. Officers frequently resort to physical force when a subject does not immediately respond to verbal commands, even where the subject poses no imminent threat to the officer or others. These tactics result from BPD's training and guidance.
- Second, BPD uses excessive force against individuals with mental health disabilities or in crisis. Due to a lack of training and improper tactics, BPD officers end up in unnecessarily violent confrontations with these vulnerable individuals. BPD provides less effective services to people with mental illness and intellectual disabilities by failing to account for these disabilities in officers' law enforcement actions, leading to unnecessary and excessive force being used against them. BPD has failed to make reasonable modifications in its policies, practices, and procedures to avoid discriminating against people with mental illness and intellectual disabilities.
- Third, BPD uses unreasonable force against juveniles. These incidents arise from BPD's failure to use widely-accepted tactics for communicating and interacting with

youth. Instead, officers interacting with youth rely on the same aggressive tactics they use with adults, leading to unnecessary conflict.

- Fourth, BPD uses unreasonable force against people who present little or no threat to officers or others. Specifically, BPD uses excessive force against (1) individuals who are already restrained and under officers' control and (2) individuals who are fleeing from officers and are not suspected of serious criminal offenses.
 - Force used on restrained individuals: we found many examples of BPD officers using unreasonable force on individuals who were restrained and no longer posed a threat to officers or the public.
 - Force used on fleeing suspects: BPD officers frequently engage in foot pursuits of individuals, even where the fleeing individuals are not suspected of violent crimes. BPD's foot pursuit tactics endanger officers and the community, and frequently lead to officers using excessive force on fleeing suspects who pose minimal threat. BPD's aggressive approach to foot pursuits extends to flight in vehicles.

We also examined BPD's transportation of detainees, but were unable to make a finding due to a lack of available data. We were unable to secure reliable records from either BPD or the jail regarding injuries sustained during transport or any recordings. Nonetheless, we found evidence that BPD: (1) routinely fails to properly secure arrestees in transport vehicles; (2) needs to continue to update its transport equipment to protect arrestees during transport; (3) fails to keep necessary records; and (4) must implement more robust auditing and monitoring systems to ensure that its transport policies and training are followed.

- Our concerns about BPD's use of excessive force are compounded by BPD's ineffective oversight of its use of force. Of the 2,818 force incidents that BPD recorded in the nearly six-year period we reviewed, BPD investigated only ten incidents based on concerns identified through its internal review. Of these ten cases, BPD found only one use of force to be excessive.

Retaliation for Activities Protected by the First Amendment

BPD violates the First Amendment by retaliating against individuals engaged in constitutionally protected activities. Officers frequently detain and arrest members of the public for engaging in speech the officers perceive to be critical or disrespectful. And BPD officers use force against members of the public who are engaging in protected speech. BPD has failed to provide officers with sufficient guidance and oversight regarding their interactions with individuals that implicate First Amendment protections, leading to the violations we observed.

Indications of Gender Bias in Sexual Assault Investigations

Although we do not, at this time, find reasonable cause to believe that BPD engages in

gender-biased policing in violation of federal law, the allegations we received during the investigation, along with our review of BPD files, suggests that gender bias may be affecting BPD's handling of sexual assault cases. We found indications that officers fail to meaningfully investigate reports of sexual assault, particularly for assaults involving women with additional vulnerabilities, such as those who are involved in the sex trade. Detectives fail to develop and resolve preliminary investigations; fail to identify and collect evidence to corroborate victims' accounts; inadequately document their investigative steps; fail to collect and assess data, and report and classify reports of sexual assault; and lack supervisory review. We also have concerns that officers' interactions with women victims of sexual assault and with transgender individuals display unlawful gender bias.

Deficient Policies, Training, Supervision, and Accountability

BPD's systemic constitutional and statutory violations are rooted in structural failures. BPD fails to use adequate policies, training, supervision, data collection, analysis, and accountability systems, has not engaged adequately with the community it polices, and does not provide its officers with the tools needed to police effectively.

- BPD lacks meaningful accountability systems to deter misconduct. The Department does not consistently classify, investigate, adjudicate, and document complaints of misconduct according to its own policies and accepted law enforcement standards. Instead, we found that BPD personnel discourage complaints from being filed, misclassify complaints to minimize their apparent severity, and conduct little or no investigation. As a result, a resistance to accountability persists throughout much of BPD, and many officers are reluctant to report misconduct for fear that doing so is fruitless and may provoke retaliation. The Department also lacks adequate civilian oversight—its Civilian Review Board is hampered by inadequate resources, and the agency's internal affairs and disciplinary process lacks transparency.
- Nor does BPD employ effective community policing strategies. The Department's current relationship with certain Baltimore communities is broken. As noted above, some community members believe that the Department operates as if there are “two Baltimores” in which the affluent sections of the City receive better services than its impoverished and minority neighborhoods. This fractured relationship exists in part because of the Department's legacy of zero tolerance enforcement, the failure of many BPD officers to implement community policing principles, and the Department's lack of vision for engaging with the community.
- BPD fails to adequately supervise officers through policy guidance and training. Until recently, BPD lacked sufficient policy guidance in critical areas, such as bias-free policing and officers' use of batons and tasers. In other areas, such as its policy governing “stop and frisk,” BPD policy conflicts with constitutional requirements. The Department likewise lacks effective training on important areas, such as scenario-based training for use of force, an adequate Field Training program; and supervisory or leadership training.
- BPD also fails to collect data on a range of law enforcement actions, and even when it collects data, fails to store it in systems that are capable of effective tracking and analysis.

Partly as a result, the BPD does not use an effective early intervention system to detect officers who may benefit from additional training or guidance to ensure that they do not commit constitutional and statutory violations.

- In addition, BPD fails to adequately support its officers with adequate staffing and material resources. The Department lacks effective strategies for staffing, recruitment and retention, forcing officers to work overtime after long shifts, lowering morale, and leading to officers working with deteriorated decision-making skills. Moreover, BPD lacks adequate technology infrastructure and tools that are common in many similar-sized law enforcement agencies, such as in-car computers. These technology deficits create inefficiencies for officers and inhibit effective data collection and supervision. The City must invest in its police department to ensure that officers have the tools they need to properly serve the people of Baltimore.

* * *

Notwithstanding our findings, we are heartened by the support for police reform throughout BPD the City, and the broader Baltimore community. Based on the cooperation and spirit of engagement we witnessed throughout our investigation, we are optimistic that we will be able to work with the City, BPD, and the diverse communities of Baltimore to address the issues described in our findings and forge a court-enforceable agreement to develop enduring remedies to the constitutional and statutory violations we found. Indeed, although much work remains, BPD has already begun laying the foundation for reform by self-initiating changes to its policies, training, data management, and accountability systems.

To that end, the Department of Justice and the City have entered into an Agreement in Principle that identifies categories of reforms the parties agree must be taken to remedy the violations of the Constitution and federal law described in this report. Both the Justice Department and the City seek input from all communities in Baltimore on the reforms that should be included in a comprehensive, court-enforceable consent decree to be negotiated by the Justice Department and the City in the coming months, and then entered as a federal court order.

As we have seen in jurisdictions across America, it is possible for law enforcement agencies to enhance their effectiveness by promoting constitutional policing and restoring community partnerships. Strengthening community trust in BPD will not only increase the effectiveness of BPD's law enforcement efforts, it will advance officer and public safety in a manner that serves the entire Baltimore community. Together with City officials and the people of Baltimore, we will work to make this a reality.

I. BACKGROUND

A. BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Baltimore is the largest city in the state of Maryland with a population of approximately 621,000. The Baltimore metropolitan area's 2.7 million residents make it the nation's 21st largest urban center. The City's population is approximately 63 percent African American, 30 percent white, and 4 percent Hispanic or Latino.³ While the City hosts a number of successful institutions and businesses,⁴ most economic measures show that large portions of Baltimore's population struggle economically. Compared to national averages, Baltimore exhibits: lower incomes, with a median household income nearly 20 percent lower than the national average; higher poverty rates, with 24.2 percent of individuals living below the federal poverty level;⁵ elevated unemployment, with a rate hovering around 7 percent, and average unemployment rates per month that were 50 percent higher than the national average from 2014 to 2015.⁶ Baltimore also scores below national averages in education: 80.9 percent of the population has graduated from high school, while 27 percent has a bachelor's degree or higher.⁷ In most grades and subjects, the percentage of students below basic proficiency in Baltimore was twice the rate seen in Maryland as a whole.⁸

These socioeconomic challenges are pronounced among Baltimore's African-American population, owing in part to the City's history of government-sponsored discrimination. Schools and many other public institutions in the City remained formally segregated until the 1950s, and stark residential segregation has marked the City's history. In 1910, Baltimore became the first city in America to pass an ordinance establishing block-by-block segregation, a policy that was followed by other discriminatory practices, including restrictive covenants, aggressive redlining, a contract system for housing loans, and racially targeted subprime loans.⁹ This legacy continues to impact current home ownership patterns, as Baltimore remains among the most segregated cities in the country.¹⁰ In 2008, the City of Baltimore sued Wells Fargo under the Fair Housing Act, alleging that the company steered minority homebuyers into subprime loans. To settle this litigation, Wells Fargo agreed to provide \$4.5 million in lending assistance to Baltimore residents and \$3 million to address

³ U. S. Census Bureau, "American FactFinder - Results," accessed April 11, 2016, <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>.

⁴ For example, Baltimore is the headquarters for Johns Hopkins University Hospital, Under Armour, Inc., and Legg Mason, Inc., among many others.

⁵ U. S. Census Bureau, "American FactFinder - Results," accessed April 11, 2016, <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>.

⁶ Department of Labor, Local Area Unemployment Statistics (LAUS) - Workforce Information & Performance, <https://www.dlfr.state.md.us/lmi/laus/>.

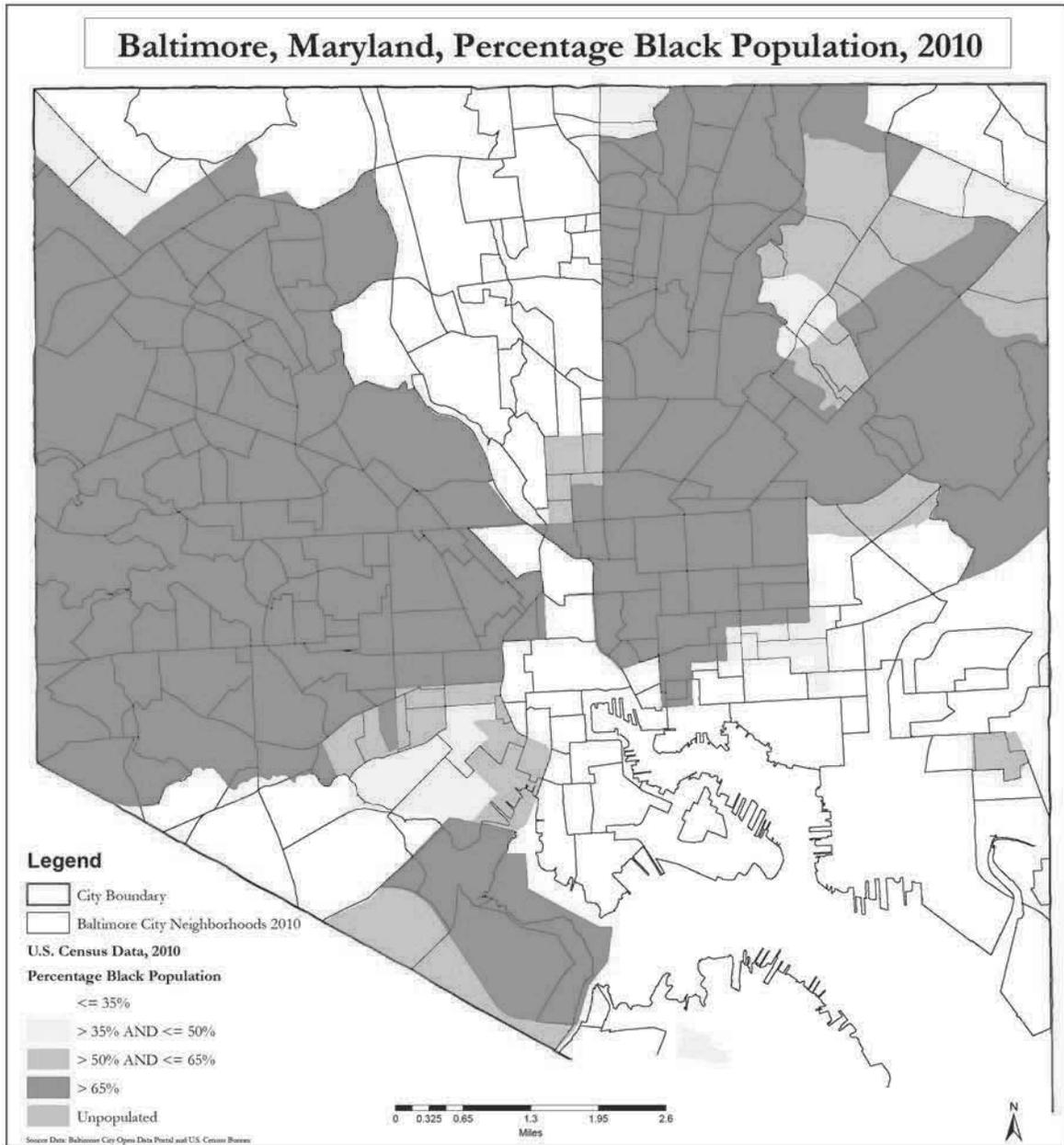
⁷ Bureau, "American FactFinder - Results." Nationally, over 88 percent of adult Americans have high school diplomas and 32 percent hold a bachelor's degree or higher.

⁸ National Center for Education Statistics Institute of Education Sciences, 2009 National Assessment of Educational Proficiency data explorer, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/dataset.aspx>.

⁹ See generally Antero Pietila, NOT IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD (2010).

¹⁰ Frey W.H., *New Racial Segregation Measures for States and Large Metropolitan Areas: Analysis of the 2005–2009 American Community Survey*, <http://censuscope.org/ACS/Segregation.html>

issues connected to foreclosures.¹¹ Certain neighborhoods, such as all of the census tracts in South Baltimore, have been at least 90 percent white since the 1970s. Other areas, including all of the tracts in Cherry Hill, Sandtown-Winchester, and Upton/Druid Hill, have been at least 90 percent black for the past five census periods and are currently more than 95 percent black.¹²



¹¹ Similarly, Wells Fargo paid \$234 million to settle a Fair Housing Act and Equal Credit Opportunity Act suit brought by the U.S. Department of Justice that alleged discriminatory lending practices against minorities, including payments to the City of Baltimore and many Baltimore residents that were alleged victims of the discriminatory practices. Wells Fargo agreed to provide \$5.7 million in down payment assistance and pay an additional \$1.6 million directly to victims with homes in the City.

¹² *Place Matters for Health in Baltimore: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for all*, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, November 2012, 19-20; 9. http://jointcenter.org/docs/40925_JCBaltimoreReport.pdf

This history of racial discrimination has created persistent racial disparities in economic opportunity and education. Roughly 100,000 African American Baltimore residents live in poverty, accounting for more than three-fourths of Baltimoreans who do so. Many communities, particularly low-income communities, confront grave challenges with respect to upward mobility. Indeed, a recent Harvard University study found that Baltimore has the least upward mobility in America. In the nation's 100 largest jurisdictions, Baltimore's children face the worst odds of escaping poverty.¹³ Consequently, the unemployment rate among African Americans is roughly double that of white individuals. In addition, white adults are 3.5 times more likely than black adults to have earned a bachelor's degree. African Americans are also significantly less likely to hold a high school diploma.¹⁴ Moreover, white children make up one percent or less of the student body in numerous schools that serve disproportionately low-income children, perpetuating segregation by race and class.¹⁵

The impacts of segregation and economic inequality are further evident in lead poisoning patterns across Baltimore. The City has nearly three times the national rate of lead poisoning among children. This burden weighs heaviest on poor, African-American communities. The areas with the highest percentage of children with elevated blood lead levels are the heavily African-American neighborhoods of Sandtown-Winchester/Harlem Park (7.4 percent), Midway/Coldstream (6.1 percent), and Edmondson Village (5.3 percent).¹⁶ According to the Center for Disease Control, even low levels of lead are associated with learning and behavioral problems, including decreased cognitive performance.¹⁷

While crime rate in urban America has declined significantly since the 1990s, Baltimore has experienced violent crime rates relatively higher than many other large cities. According to data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 2014 Baltimore had the sixth highest rate of violent crimes out of the country's 76 cities with at least 250,000 residents. Baltimore's violent crime rate is roughly equal to that of Cleveland, albeit lower than the rate of violent crime in Detroit, Memphis, and Milwaukee.¹⁸ This past year reflected a notable surge in violence. On a per-capita basis, 2015 was the deadliest year in Baltimore's history with 344 homicides. The City's overall gun violence increased more than 75 percent compared to the previous year, with more than 900 people shot. As

¹³ Raj Chetty and Nathaniel Hendren, *The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility*, Harvard University, April 2015. http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/images/nbhds_exec_summary.pdf

¹⁴ *Place Matters for Health in Baltimore: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for all*, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, November 2012, 11. http://jointcenter.org/docs/40925_JCBaltimoreReport.pdf

¹⁵ Ayscue, J. B., & Orfield, G. (2015). School district lines stratify educational opportunity by race and poverty. *Race and Social Problems*, 7(1), 5–20. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.princeton.edu/10.1007/s12552-014-9135-0>

¹⁶ *Vital Signs*, Baltimore Neighborhoods Indicator Alliances, http://bniajfi.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/VS12_Children_and_Health.pdf.

¹⁷ Center for Disease Control, "Childhood Lead Poisoning Data, Statistics, and Surveillance," accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.cdc.gov/nceh/lead/data/index.htm>; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *National Toxicology Program Monograph: Health Effects of Low-Level Lead*, June 2012, http://ntp.niehs.nih.gov/ntp/ohat/lead/final/monographhealtheffectslowlevellead_newissn_508.pdf; Aimin Chen et al., "Lead Exposure, IQ, and Behavior in Urban 5- to 7-Year-Olds: Does Lead Affect Behavior Only by Lowering IQ?," *Pediatrics* 119, No. 3 (March 1, 2007): e650–58, doi:10.1542/peds.2006-1973.

¹⁸ In Section II.B, *infra*, we compare law enforcement activity in these cities with enforcement actions taken by BPD.

in other major cities, gang activity and a drug economy are also prominent features of Baltimore's crime landscape, although Baltimore residents use drugs at similar rates to the national average.¹⁹

Despite such challenges, Baltimore remains a vibrant cultural center in the region. It has a significant concentration of educational, medical, cultural, and sports institutions, and a rich collection of neighborhoods. As we heard throughout our investigation, residents take great pride in their neighborhoods and their City as a whole, and have invested deeply in them. These residents are supported by a vast array of community leaders, grassroots organizations, and service providers, and together they comprise a resilient and diverse collection of communities.

B. THE BALTIMORE POLICE DEPARTMENT

The Baltimore Police Department, or BPD, is the eighth largest municipal police department in the nation. BPD employs nearly 3,000 personnel, including approximately 2,600 sworn officers, although this number has declined over the last year. The Department is led by a police commissioner appointed by the mayor of Baltimore and approved by the Baltimore City Council. The current commissioner is Kevin Davis, who was appointed interim commissioner by Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake on July 8, 2015, and sworn into the position permanently on October 19, 2015.

Most BPD officers work in either the Patrol Division or the Criminal Investigations Division, each of which is overseen by a chief.²⁰ Patrol officers are divided geographically among nine police districts that include local police stationhouses, referred to as district headquarters. Each district has a captain and is led by a major whose primary responsibility is directing enforcement activities and supervising officers. BPD currently employs approximately 1,300 patrol officers who have primary responsibility for responding to calls for service and patrolling Baltimore streets.

The Criminal Investigation Division and Operational Investigation Division house BPD's specialized units, such as the Homicide Section, and the Special Investigation Section, which focus on investigating violent offenders, gangs, and gun crimes across Baltimore. The Division includes units that perform tactical operations, use special weapons, and serve warrants. The names of these specialized enforcement units have changed several times over the past decade. Special enforcement units have previously been called the Violent Crime Impact Division (VCID), Violent Crime Impact Section (VCIS), and the Violent Repeat Offender Unit (VRO). BPD also assigns a small number of officers to its Community Collaboration Division, which focuses on building police-community relations throughout the City.

The Department has a complex process for accountability that is detailed in Section III(C), *infra*. BPD allows district supervisors to resolve complaints of officer misconduct that are deemed less serious offenses, carrying punishment of no more than a three-day suspension. Complaints deemed to allege more serious misconduct are assigned to the Internal Investigation Division. In

¹⁹ According to data collected by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 42.9 percent of Baltimore residents over age 12 have used marijuana, compared to 40.7 percent nationally. For drugs other than marijuana, SAMHSA reports that 3.28 percent of Baltimore adults have used these drugs within the past 30 days, compared to 3.35 percent nationally.

²⁰ BPD also has an Administrative Bureau that consists of booking, human resources, information services, inspections, and other management functions.

addition, Baltimore established a Civilian Review Board to provide a public voice in BPD's accountability process. Members of the public can lodge complaints with the Board directly, and BPD is required by statute to share with the Board all complaints it receives that fit within certain categories, including excessive force and discourtesy. The Board is authorized to conduct parallel investigations and make disciplinary recommendations. In practice, however, the Board's role has been diminished by severely limited investigative resources, inconsistent complaint referrals from BPD, and the City's failure to fill the Board's seats.

BPD officers are represented by the Fraternal Order of the Police Lodge No. 3 (FOP), which has a collective-bargaining contract with the City and serves as the sole collective-bargaining agent for officers below the rank of lieutenant, making membership inclusive of both line officers and their direct supervisors. In addition to the FOP, the Vanguard Justice Society, Inc., is a membership organization that advocates on behalf of minority officers. BPD did not hire its first African-American officer until 1937 and did not allow minority officers to drive patrol cars until 1966. Prior to 1966, the Department's small number of African-American officers were required to work foot patrol and were not permitted to work in predominantly white neighborhoods. In recent years, the Department has made efforts to attract and promote minority candidates. As of 2015, African Americans accounted for approximately 42 percent of BPD officers. About one-fifth of BPD officers are women. Most BPD officers are neither originally from Baltimore nor live in the City, and many commute long distances to work at the Department. Indeed, BPD leadership informed us that roughly three-fourths of BPD officers live outside the Baltimore City limits.

BPD coordinates with several auxiliary law enforcement agencies, and has done so increasingly in recent years to compensate when districts do not have sufficient officers to staff shifts. These agencies include the Baltimore School Police, the police force of the Baltimore City Public School System. Baltimore School Police officers have all the powers of law enforcement officers in the state, including arrest powers.²¹ A memorandum of understanding between the Public School System and BPD authorizes the school police to "exercise full police power anywhere within the jurisdiction of the City of Baltimore," and to assist in investigations and follow-up in criminal cases.²² The deployment plan for the school police indicates that these officers are assigned to foot patrol, bike units, and mobile response units outside of schools.²³ These officers also respond to calls for service in the City when BPD patrol shifts are understaffed.

C. BPD'S ENFORCEMENT PRIORITIES AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BALTIMORE COMMUNITY

Baltimore's legacy of government-sanctioned discrimination, serious health hazards, and high rates of violent crime have persisted and compounded for years—making Baltimore a challenging city to police fairly and effectively. Indeed, officers convey that working in Baltimore affords a uniquely intense and demanding experience. One member of BPD recently asserted, "a

²¹ Md. Code Ann., Educ. §§4–318 (c) and (d)(1) (2015).

²² Memorandum of Understanding between the Baltimore City Public School System and Baltimore Police Department at 1–2 (June 27, 2007).

²³ Marshall T. Goddwin, Chief, Baltimore School Police Force, *Deployment For SY 2015/2016*, July 2, 2015.

five-year cop in the city has the equivalent experience of a ten-year cop anywhere else.”²⁴ These challenges are amplified by long-simmering distrust of law enforcement from segments of the Baltimore community. Indeed, when asked when community distrust of Baltimore law enforcement began, a former top city official deadpanned to Justice Department officials, “1729”—the year of the City’s founding. These tensions hardened during the 1990s and 2000s as the City responded to increasing violent crime rates by emphasizing an aggressive, “zero tolerance” policing strategy that prioritized making large numbers of stops, searches, and arrests—often for misdemeanor street offenses like loitering and disorderly conduct. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, arresting large numbers of people for minor offenses was central to BPD’s enforcement paradigm; in 2005, BPD made more than 108,000 arrests, most for nonviolent offenses.

Arrest numbers declined starting in the late 2000s in response to falling crime rates and efforts to move towards a more holistic policing model focused on building community partnerships. Indeed, current BPD Commissioner Davis and his predecessor, Anthony W. Batts, have both acknowledged publicly that the zero tolerance approach to policing eroded community trust and impeded efforts to build partnerships that are central to effective policing. Despite these efforts, however, the legacy of zero tolerance persists in many aspects of the Department’s enforcement. Many supervisors who were inculcated in the era of zero tolerance continue to focus on the raw number of officers’ stops and arrests, rather than more nuanced measures of performance. As one example of this approach, supervisors frequently encourage officers to “clear corners”—an instruction many officers understand to stop, disperse, or arrest groups of individuals standing on public sidewalks. The continued emphasis on these types of “stats” drives BPD’s tendency to stop, search, and arrest significant numbers of individuals on Baltimore streets—often without requisite legal justification and in situations that put officers in adversarial encounters that have little connection to public safety. Although arrest numbers have declined from their peak in the mid-2000s, BPD officers made over 200,000 arrests and 300,000 pedestrian stops in the five years of data we examined.²⁵

A diverse array of stakeholders has highlighted problems with BPD’s policing strategy. For example, the Fraternal Order of Police’s 2012 *Blueprint for Improved Policing in Baltimore* advocates discontinuing the practice of rewarding statistically driven arrests, noting:

[N]umbers drive everything in the BPD, which has led to misplaced priorities. As a result, officers in the BPD feel pressure to achieve numbers for perception’s sake... The focus on assigning blame for less-than-satisfactory numbers... rather than problem-solving, is completely unproductive and weakens the collective morale of the BPD.²⁶

City officials also admit that the Department’s approach has been problematic. Mayor Rawlings-Blake has long recognized the need for reform and repeatedly criticized the aggressive policing

²⁴ Fraternal Order of Police Lodge 3, *Blueprint for Improved Policing*, 5, <http://www.fop3.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/blueprint.pdf>.

²⁵ As explained further in Section II.A, the true number of pedestrian stops is likely several times higher than the recorded figure due to BPD’s under-reporting.

²⁶ Fraternal Order of Police Lodge 3, *Blueprint for Improved Policing*, 8–9, <http://www.fop3.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/blueprint.pdf>

strategies championed in the years before her term. In September 2013, she told residents, “As this conversation is going on, there is an anxiety that is building in some of our communities that we're going back to a time when communities felt like their kids were under siege . . . I want to allay any concerns out there that that is the tactic we're going to return to. That's not going to happen.”²⁷ And in the fall of 2014, her administration noted that the zero tolerance strategy “ignited a rift between the citizens and the police, which still exists today” and that there is a “broken relationship” between law enforcement officials and community members.²⁸

The larger Baltimore community has voiced similar concerns. News outlets, community advocates, and grassroots organizations have frequently criticized Baltimore’s approach to policing. In 2006, the ACLU of Maryland sued BPD over its alleged pattern of making high numbers of unlawful stops and arrests. In addition, the police department has long faced allegations of unreasonable force. In some of these allegations, the police interactions were fatal. In others, Baltimore residents were left severely and permanently injured. In September 2014, the Baltimore Sun published “Undue Force,” an article documenting cases of alleged police brutality and the millions of dollars the city has paid to settle lawsuits alleging that officers used excessive force. The article notes that more than 100 people have won court judgments or settlements related to allegations of brutality and civil rights violations since 2010.²⁹ More recently, No Boundaries Coalition, a resident-led advocacy organization operating in West Baltimore, released a report in March 2016 detailing stories of police misconduct told by witnesses and victims in the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood. The community recollections reveal a belief that there is racism in law enforcement, unnecessary force and verbal abuse, an “us-versus-them” attitude among police officers, a lack of positive interactions with the police, and strong feelings of recrimination, resentment, fear, and mistrust among residents.³⁰

In 2012, Mayor Rawlings-Blake hired Commissioner Batts to initiate reforms throughout the police department. The following year, Commissioner Batts issued *Public Safety in the City of Baltimore*, a five-year plan intended to “reduce crime, improve service, increase efficiency, redouble community engagement, and provide for the highest standards of accountability and ethical integrity.”³¹ The report discussed numerous challenges facing BPD, including: equipment, accountability, training, and communication failures; strained police-community relations, and low community engagement; and decreased morale and motivation among officers.³² The report included an internal survey that revealed that only 14 percent of BPD employees believed the Baltimore community supports the police department. The report also laid out a plan for improving BPD’s work in these areas. During a similar time period, the City substantially increased the resources of the police department. While

²⁷ Luke Broadwater and Eric Cox, “Governor’s Push for More Arrests Causing ‘Anxiety’ in Baltimore, Mayor Says,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 25, 2013, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/blog/bs-md-ci-srb-arrests-20130925-story.html>.

²⁸ John Fritze, “Rawlings-Blake Criticism Highlights Debate over Police Strategy under O’Malley,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 13, 2014, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-police-omalley-politics-20141007-story.html>.

²⁹ Mark Puente, “Undue Force,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 28, 2014, <http://data.baltimoresun.com/news/police-settlements/>.

³⁰ No Boundaries Coalition, *Over-Policed, Yet Underserved*, March 2016, <http://www.noboundariescoalition.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/No-Boundaries-Layout-Web-1.pdf>.

³¹ Anthony Batts, *Public Safety in the City of Baltimore: A Strategic Plan for Improvement*, 2013, 5.

³² *Id.* at 45–48.

the city faces serious budget constraints, the fiscal year 2016 police budget was approved at \$476 million, representing a dramatic increase from the 2010 police budget of \$340 million.

As the reform plans Commissioner Batts initiated were in their early stages, the unrest following the death of Freddie Gray in police custody in April 2015 demonstrated the deep and enduring divide between police officers and parts of the Baltimore community. Commissioner Davis acknowledged that BPD's legacy of zero tolerance enforcement contributed to these tensions: "Some of things that we did in the past, like zero tolerance policing, didn't work and arguably led in part to the unrest that we experienced in 2015."³³ He has also acknowledged that improved relations with City residents require BPD to change its culture.³⁴ The desire for such reform is apparent. Commissioner Davis began a "History of Baltimore" speakers-series in early 2016 to provide officers with an understanding of the City's historical background. The topics, which range from housing and segregation to the development of Baltimore's port, were selected to provide a deeper appreciation of the diverse communities that the police serve. The release of a new Core Operating Procedures Manual during the summer of 2016 also represents an attempt to improve standards and guidelines with respect to officers' use of force.

We commend these efforts, but find that significant obstacles remain to achieving the change necessary to ensure that BPD's policing is both effective and constitutional. As described below, we find that BPD has engaged in a pattern or practice of conduct that violates the constitutional and federal statutory rights of City residents, and that the Department lacks sufficient systems to minimize these violations.

D. FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT

Numerous federal components have assisted BPD's reform efforts in recent years. In October 2014, Mayor Rawlings-Blake and Commissioner Batts requested to enter a collaborative reform process with the Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). This federal review involved an assessment of BPD's policies, training, and operations as they related to the use of force and interactions with the members of the community. Through this process, subject matter experts identified by the COPS office began to examine BPD's community policing and engagement efforts and provided additional resources and trainings, such as peer-to-peer exchanges to facilitate sharing best practices from other police departments. Over the past several years, the Office of Justice Programs also awarded Byrne Justice Assistance grants to BPD, to support certain initiatives, including: a comprehensive review of BPD's technology systems and capabilities; an analysis of BPD's grant development efforts and strategy; and a customized workshop for BPD command staff to effectively develop and manage crime analysis capabilities. In response to another request from City leadership, the Justice Department provided federal law enforcement resources to help the City combat its crime and public safety challenges in August 2015. Following this initial assistance, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the U.S. Marshals

³³ Mary Rose Madden, "Baltimore Police Chief Wants To Reform Department," *NPR: All Things Considered*, April 24, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/24/475511963/baltimore-police-chief-wants-to-reform-department>.

³⁴ Kevin Rector, Justin George, and Mark Puente, "Baltimore's New Police Commissioner Has a Full Plate — and an Opportunity," *Baltimore Sun*, July 12, 2015, <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-davis-challenges-20150711-story.html>.