Oakland Measure Z Policing Services

2017 Annual Evaluation

Prepared by:

Resource Development Associates

February 2018

Oakland Measure Z Policing Services

2017 Annual Evaluation

Mikaela Rabinowitz, PhD

Jasmine Laroche, MPP

Christopher Ndubuizu, MPH

Cherida Smith, MS

About Resource Development Associates

Resource Development Associates (RDA) is a consulting firm based in Oakland, California, that serves government and nonprofit organizations throughout California as well as other states. Our mission is to strengthen public and non-profit efforts to promote social and economic justice for vulnerable populations. RDA supports its clients through an integrated approach to planning, grant-writing, organizational development, and evaluation.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Evaluation Overview

In 2014, City of Oakland voters overwhelmingly approved the Measure Z ballot initiative to continue many of the services funded under the City's Violence Prevention and Intervention Initiative, Measure Y. As part of the effort to support the successful implementation of Measure Z funded policing services, the Oakland City Administrator's Office hired Resource Development Associates (RDA) to conduct an annual evaluation of these services, assessing both their implementation and their efficacy in relation to the legislation's objectives and the larger violence prevention and intervention goals of the City and the Oakland Police Department (OPD).

This report seeks to inform the City of Oakland stakeholders of the progress of Measure Z-funded policing services — particularly Crime Reduction Teams (CRTs) and Community Resource Officers (CROs), described in greater detail below — and to assess the extent to which these services are being implemented with fidelity to the Measure Z legislation and in accordance with OPD's 2016 Strategic Plan Below, we provide an overview of the Measure Z legislation with a focus on the policing services, before moving into a discussion of the larger context in which Measure Z-funded policing services are implemented, including both local dynamics and the larger national discourse on policing. We then move into an overview of our research methods before discussing our evaluation findings.

Methodology

RDA conducted a mixed-methods analysis to evaluate how well OPD's CRO and CRT policing model contributes to its overall outlined goals of reducing crime, strengthening community trust and relationships, and achieving organizational excellence. Quantitative data was gathered and analyzed from OPD's Crime Incident Data, to highlight overall crime trends, and the SARANet database to identify the success of CROs' problem-solving tactics. Qualitative data was also gathered from interviews with OPD leadership and line staff, as well as community members throughout the city to understand the successes and challenges of the CRO and CRT model.

Evaluation Findings

Reducing Crime

<u>Successes</u>

- **CRO and CRT officers work together collaboratively to support both problem-solving and intelligence-based policing.**
  Interviews with CRO and CRT officers across all areas within the City of Oakland underscored the strong collaborative working relationship among the officers. Officers repeatedly noted that that

this collaborative, team-oriented effort helps officers gather and share intelligence to conduct preventive, proactive operations in support of crime reduction.

Challenges

- **There is a tension between Measure Z's explicit focus on violent crime and its directive for CROs to engage in community-driven problem solving.**
  For every beat, there is one CRO and CRT officer assigned, and this intentional structure is meant to support the City's effort to address both violent crime and quality of life issues. However, findings from our qualitative and quantitative data demonstrate conflicting prioritization efforts to address local community concerns while also addressing the City's initiative to reduce violent crime.

Strengthening Trust and Relationships

Successes

- **OPD successfully identifies and recruits officers who are committed to community engagement to serve as CROs.**
  Interviews with CRO officers and sergeants from across police beats also confirmed their investment in a community engagement approach to policing. In addition to discussing their personal commitment to fostering relationships with residents, CROs also underscored the connection between their individual relationships with local residents and a larger, department wide effort to build trust and strengthen relationships.
- **CRT officers implement procedural justice principles while conducting enforcement activities.**
  OPD has made a concerted effort over the past several years to ensure that officers across the Department—including CRTs—view the effort to build positive relationships with Oakland residents as central to their jobs. Toward this end, OPD has made a department wide commitment to procedural justice.

Challenges

- **Widespread unfamiliarity among community members about CRO and CRT officers hinders the department's ability to strengthen community relationships.**
  Interviews and focus groups with NCPC members and Oakland residents indicated limited awareness of CRO and CRT officers. Across all focus groups and interviews with Oakland residents, nearly all respondents stated that they were unfamiliar with and had not engaged with a CRO or CRT officer.
- **Both the larger public discourse on policing in America and specific controversies tied to OPD are barriers to Measure Z officers' efforts to strengthen trust and build relationships.**
  Across data collection efforts, both officers and residents repeatedly pointed out that policing in general and relationships between law enforcement and Black communities in particular are

major topics of a larger public and political discourse and that this larger conversation necessarily impacts how OPD and Oakland residents view each other.

Organizational Excellence

Successes

- **Since the passage of Measure Z, OPD has taken many steps that support the achievement of Measure Z objectives**
  OPD has taken several critical steps that, while not directly tied to Measure Z, directly support the goals and objectives delineated therein. These include both the 2016 Strategic Plan and the continuing engagement with SPARQ to address racial disparities in negative interactions between officers and residents. In addition, interviews with Department leadership revealed a clear commitment to the tenets of procedural justice and the policing approach encapsulated in Measure Z.

Challenges

- **There has been no formalized training for CRO and CRT officers since Measure Z passed.**
  Despite the OPD's stated commitment to Measure Z-funded policing services, in the three years since the legislation passed, OPD has not implemented any formal training for CRO or CRT officers, an issue that was commented on by officers across OPD's hierarchy.
- **There is inconsistent data collection and limited data-driven decision making to support CRO and CRT activities.**
  An April and October 2017 review of SARANet data indicated both limited and incorrect use of the system. In addition, while CRO officers are able to utilize the SARAnet database to track their activities, there is no set database or system within which CRT officers establish priorities or monitor and assess their activities.
- **Department-wide staffing issues, including staffing shortages and high turnover, impact the quality and availability of CRO activities**
  Due to understaffing of patrol officers at OPD, **Measure Z-funded officers — especially CROs — are regularly pulled from their beats to address other issues.** Officers are requested to work with other local law enforcement agencies such as Ceasefire to aid with large-scale operations.

Conclusion

Overall, OPD leadership and line staff demonstrate a strong commitment to the goals and objectives of Measure Z and to implementing best practices in geographic policing, community engagement, and problem solving. Measure Z funded officers collaborate regularly and effectively to support crime reduction and problem solving. Officers also convey a nuanced understanding of how procedural justice approaches support both community engagement and crime reduction, and officers indicate commitment to this work.

Despite this commitment, internal and external challenges sometimes limit the implementation and efficacy of these efforts. In particular,

- CROs do not have sufficient capacity for community engagement and problem solving because of turnover to the CRO position and because they are regularly pulled from projects to address more serious crime, an issue that speaks to larger Department-wide capacity;
- Not enough Oakland residents know about the CRO program or how to engage with their local CRO/NCPC;
- Unclear expectations for implementation of CRT and CRO activities or accountability processes for overseeing them.

Recommendations

1. **Continue building OPD's web-based media presence in order to**
   a. **promote positive stories about Measure Z officers and other Department activities, and**
   b. **increase communication with residents about the CRO program, problem solving activities, NCPC meetings, and more.**

While OPD has greatly improved its social media presence in recent years, there are opportunities for additional improvements, including updating the OPD website to improve navigability and readability; promoting NCPC meetings on the website and social media; and using both the website and social media to keep interest residents informed about CRO activities.

2. **Clarify to both CROs and NCPC members how CROs are expected to community-driven problem solving work versus supporting other department operations related to addressing shootings and homicides.**

CROs interviewed for this evaluation regularly noted a feeling on contradiction between the City and OPD's directive to focus on shootings and homicides and their directive to work with community members to identify and resolve issues of interest to residents in the beat they are assigned to, particularly because residents are more likely to raise quality of life issues or lower level crimes as their primary concerns. At the same time, NCPC members expressed frustration that their CROs are often not able to live up to their promises to work with them on community problem solving because they are regularly pulled from their problem solving activities to focus on more serious crime. While this may be the appropriate deployment of resources for OPD, it creates confusion and frustration for CROs and the communities they work with. Clarification to both about how community-driven problem-solving fits within the hierarchy of their priorities would help.

3. **Establish minimum timeframes for which CROs must remain assigned to the same beat.**

Research on community policing highlights the importance of having officers assigned to the same beat for an extended period of time in order to get to know the area they are working in and build

relationships with community residents and businesses. Establishing—and abiding by—a minimum time for CROs to maintain their beat assignment would help address NCPC frustration about regular turnover of CROs. It would probably also increase the efficacy of CROs problem-solving work by allowing them more time to get to know and build networks in the communities they are working in.

4. Implement the SARANet Accountability Protocol to improve SARANet data collection and increase oversight of CRO activities.

In 2014, RDA developed a SARANet Accountability Protocol (included in Appendix B) to establish processes for CRO data collection, oversight, and accountability. This protocol appears to have fallen out of use and there is little in place to ensure that project-oriented policing is being documented systematically. The lack of accountability for accurate, timely data collection limits OPD's ability to provide oversight of the activities and effectiveness of CRO problem-solving. Similarly, the incomplete use of SARANet inhibits the evaluation's ability to fully assess Measure Z implementation and there is no way for us to determine whether limited data is due to lack of data entry or lack of project-oriented policing.

5. Establish measures for successful implementation of CRT activities and mechanisms for tracking those measures.

Interviews with OPD staff across the organizational hierarchy indicated the lack of measures for assessing the implementation of CRT activities. From Department leadership through the CRT officers interviewees repeatedly pointed to crime reduction as the metric by which to assess CRT success. While crime reduction should undoubtedly be the primary goal of CRT officers, it is also important that OPD more clearly delineate how they expect CRTs to support this goal through their daily activities. Without these metrics, neither OPD nor the evaluation can assess the quality of CRTs' work and determine if it is in line with Department expectations and best practices. As a starting point, OPD should implement a more regular review of many of the indicators collected by Stanford's SPARQ Center, which assessed OPD practices for racial bias. Although SPARQ's review of officers' stop data forms and body worn camera footage focused on differences in how individuals were treated based on race/ethnicity, a similar process could be used to asses the quality of policing work and could supplement quantitative data collected on number of stops, arrests, etc. OPD would likely need additional staff resources to do this kind of assessment regularly.

Introduction

In 2014, City of Oakland voters overwhelmingly approved the Measure Z ballot initiative to continue many of the services funded under the City's Violence Prevention and Intervention Initiative, Measure Y. As part of the effort to support the successful implementation of Measure Z funded policing services, the Oakland City Administrator's Office hired Resource Development Associates (RDA) to conduct an annual evaluation of these services, assessing both their implementation and their efficacy in relation to the legislation's objectives and the larger violence prevention and intervention goals of the City and the Oakland Police Department (OPD).

This report seeks to inform the City of Oakland stakeholders of the progress of Measure Z-funded policing services — particularly Crime Reduction Teams (CRTs) and Community Resource Officers (CROs), described in greater detail below — and to assess the extent to which these services are being implemented with fidelity to the Measure Z legislation and in accordance with OPD's strategic goals as delineated in the Department's 2016 Strategic Plan. Below, we provide an overview of the Measure Z legislation with a focus on the policing services, before moving into a discussion of the larger context in which Measure Z-funded policing services are implemented, including both local dynamics and the larger national discourse on policing. We then move into an overview of our research methods before discussing our evaluation findings.

Overview of Measure Z Policing Services

In 2014, City of Oakland voters approved Measure Z, the Oakland Public Safety and Services Violence Prevention Act. Building on the Measure Y Violence Prevention and Intervention Initiative in place from 2004-2014, Measure Z levied a 10-year parcel and parking tax in order to fund a series of public safety services across the City of Oakland. Disbursed across the Oakland Fire Department, OPD, and a range of violence prevention and intervention services administered via the Human Services Department (HSD), these funds aim to achieve the following public safety objectives:

- To reduce homicides, robberies, burglaries, and gun-related violence;
- To improve police and fire emergency 911 response times and other police services; and
- To interrupt the cycle of violence and recidivism by investing in violence intervention and prevention strategies that promote support for at-risk youth and young adults.

Within this framework, OPD received approximately $7 million annually to be used "in connection with programs and services that further these objectives." More specifically, OPD is tasked with implementing a series of "geographic policing services" that deploy Crime Reduction Teams (CRTs) and Community Resource Officers (CROs) across police beats to provide a series of distinct but interrelated police services aimed at addressing localized crime issues while also supporting citywide crime reduction goals. In this context, the legislation defines the roles and responsibilities of CRTs and CROs as follows:

- Crime Reduction Teams are "strategically geographically deployed sworn police personnel to investigate and respond to the commission of violent crimes in identified violence hotspots using intelligence based policing."
- Community Resource Officers, should "engage in problem-solving projects, attend Neighborhood Crime Prevention Council meetings, serve as a liaison with city services teams, provide foot/bike patrols, answer calls for service if needed, lead targeted enforcement projects with CRT's, Patrol units and other sworn personnel."

In addition to these specific CRT and CRO functions, Measure Z assigns OPD responsibilities to conduct a range of "intelligence-based violence suppression operations," to team with social service providers to intervene in family violence situations, to support the City's Operation Ceasefire strategy, and more.

Measure Z Policing Services in the Larger OPD Context

Notwithstanding the ambitious goals of the Measure Z legislation and the array of activities funded therein, it is important to acknowledge that Measure Z-funded policing services take place within a larger organizational and political context in which a range of other processes both support and inhibit the successful implementation of Measure Z activities. In addition, in the three years since Measure Z was passed, OPD has begun two other Department-wide initiatives that influence the implementation of Measure Z funded services and thus must be addressed in evaluating those services.

OPD Change Initiatives

2016 Strategic Plan

In 2016, OPD formally released a comprehensive Strategic Plan. Building on a series of research, reports, and policy analyses that had been commissioned over the prior three years,[1] this strategic plan revised OPD's values, mission, vision, and goals. It also laid out a roadmap of strategies and action steps organized around three overarching goals:

1. Reduce Crime
2. Strengthen Community Trust and Relationships
3. Achieve Organizational Excellence

Notably, despite being developed two years after Measure Z was implemented and more than a decade after Measure Y, the goals laid out in OPD's 2016 Strategic Plan closely align with the goals and objectives described in Measure Z, particularly in their common focus on the intersection between strengthening community trust and reducing crime. As noted in prior evaluation reports, the two core OPD functions funded under Measure Z — CROs and CRTs — largely reflect two distinct but interrelated

---

[1] District-Based Investigations in Oakland: Rapid and Effective Response to Robberies, Burglaries and Shootings (May 2013, The Bratton Group, LLC); Best Practices Review: Oakland Police Department 2013 (October 2013, Strategic Policy Partnership, LLC); Addressing Crime in Oakland: Zeroing Out Crime (December 2013, Strategic

approaches to policing and police legitimacy, with one positioning community trust as the starting point for reducing crime, and the other situating crime reduction as the starting point for building community trust. In these two complementary approaches, CROs emphasize building positive, trusting relationships with community members as a means to reduce crime, while CRTs emphasize crime interdiction and reduction as a means to increase community members' trust in OPD and its ability to keep them safe.

SPARQ Report and Recommendations

In addition to the 2016 Strategic Plan and the ambitious goals therein, OPD has also been involved in another effort to build trust with community members, this one focusing specifically on improving the relationship between OPD and communities of color in Oakland. As part of this effort, OPD hired Stanford University's Center for Social Psychological Answers to Real-World Questions (SPARQ), a self-described "do tank," in which Stanford researchers work with government agencies and other practitioners to study local problems and develop plans for remediation. In May 2014, OPD contracted with SPARQ to 1) conduct a series of analyses to measure racial disparities in policing in Oakland, including officer-initiated stops, language used by OPD officers during stops, and written narrative in stop forms; and 2) develop a series of recommendations to address disparities identified through this research. SPARQ's recommendations, documented in the 2016 *Strategies for Change: Research Initiatives and Recommendations to Improve Police-Community Relations in Oakland, Calif.,* not only align with many of the goals and objectives of both Measure Z and OPD's Strategic Plan, but these recommendations also explicitly identify CROs as a critical resource in the Department's efforts to improve its relationships with communities. As the SPARQ report notes:

> *"The OPD currently deploys Community Resource Officers (CROs) to work in neighborhoods on long-term crime fighting projects. The CROs are appointed to do investigatory work (across weeks or months) aimed at understanding the root causes of a recurring criminal justice problem, such as shots being fired from a corner parking lot or drugs being sold from someone's home. We recommend that the department expand the use of CROs and ask those CROs to attend relationship-building tables to discuss some of their closed cases. One way to improve police-community relations is to increase the capacity of CROs and to make the work they are doing for the community more visible."*[2]

---

[2] Eberhardt, JL (2016). *Strategies for Change: Research Initiatives and Recommendations to Improve Police-Community Relations in Oakland, Calif.* Stanford University, SPARQ: Social Psychological Answers to Real-World Questions.

Methodology

RDA conducted a mixed-methods analysis to evaluate how well OPD's CRO and CRT policing model contributes to its overall outlined goals of reducing crime, strengthening community trust and relationships, and achieving organizational excellence. Quantitative data was gathered and analyzed from OPD's Crime Incident Data, to highlight overall crime trends, and the SARANet database to identify the success of CROs' problem-solving tactics. Qualitative data was also gathered from interviews with OPD leadership and line staff, as well as community members throughout the city to understand the successes and challenges of the CRO and CRT model. The below section provides further detail of the data collection and analysis for this report.

Quantitative Data

RDA received Crime Incident Data from OPD detailing all reported crime incidents from January 2016 to November 2017. This data was used to analyze common offense types across all beats to gain an understanding of the volume and types of crime. The SARANet database is a system that RDA created to help CROs track the progress of their problem-solving cases. Data from this system was analyzed to further understand the types of quality of life issues CROs respond to and how these issues vary across beats.

Qualitative Data

- **22 interviews with OPD leadership, CRT and CRO sergeants, and CRO and CRT line officers** were conducted to gather a department-wide understanding of the successes and challenges of the CRT and CRO policing model. At least one CRO and CRT sergeant and line officer from each of the five geographically defined areas were interviewed to gain a perspective of the different challenges officers face across the city.
- **3 Interviews with Neighborhood Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) members** were completed to gather perspectives from community members that have had on-going engagements with their assigned CRO and CRT officers and to gauge their perspective of how these officers respond to community member's needs.
- **8 focus groups and 3 interviews with community members** were conducted to triangulate data from other respondents and gather community member perspectives on the successes and challenges of Measure Z. To ensure that a diverse sample of community perspectives across race/ethnicity, age, and region were represented, RDA reached out to local schools, community-based organizations, and local city agencies to organize focus groups. RDA worked with the City Human Services Department Aging and Adult Services, NCPC members, and the following chambers of commerce that are associated with the Oakland Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce: the African American Chamber of Commerce, The Unity Council, and the Koreatown/Northgate Community

Benefit District (KONO).[3] As a result, youth, local business owners, and senior citizens within Downtown, East, North, and West Oakland represented the composition of the focus groups.

Data Analysis

RDA calculated basic frequencies and percentages of the Crime Incident Data and SARANet data. The evaluation team also conducted a thematic analysis of qualitative data according to the strengths and challenges that CRO and CRT officers experience while attempting to support OPD's three primary goals as stated within the department's strategic plan.

Evaluation Findings

Reducing Crime

Overview

According to FBI crime data, in 2016 Oakland's violent crime and property crime rate is 14.25 and 56.35 per 1,000 residents, respectively. Though there was a reduction in both violent and property crime compared to the following year,[4] Oakland continues to have one of the highest crime rates of any large American city.[5] Given these challenges, OPD has implemented CRTs and CROs to work collaboratively to support the city's goal of reducing crime.

> *"We (CRTs) have gone to another area to help out before. It's cool because we are able to build information, but at the same time we want to make sure we stay in our area to make sure nothing happens."* **CRT Officer**

CRT officers are strategically assigned to an area and beat to investigate and respond to violent crimes through intelligence-based policing, while CROs are responsible for engaging in neighborhood-specific problem-solving activities. To address local-level issues, CRO officers attend NCPC meetings, serve as a liaison with city services teams, provide foot/bike patrol, answer calls for service, lead targeted enforcement projects, and coordinate these projects with CRTs, patrol units, and other sworn officers. Our findings below detail the successes and challenges of CRTs and CROs efforts to reduce crime.

---

[3] RDA attempted to coordinate focus groups with the following chambers of commerce but were unsuccessful: Oakland Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, Oakland Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of Alameda County, Oakland Arab Chamber of Commerce, and the Korean American East Bay Chamber of Commerce.

[4] In 2015, the violent crime rate was 14.42 per 1,000 residents and the property crime rate was 58.56 per 1,000 residents. Therefore, the violent and property crime rate reduced by 0.17 and 2.21, respectively.

[5] Oakland Police Department (2016). *Oakland Police Department Strategic Plan 2016.* Retrieved from: http://www2.oaklandnet.com/oakca1/groups/police/documents/webcontent/oak056503.pdf

Successes

Finding 1. CRO and CRT officers work together collaboratively to support both problem-solving and intelligence-based policing.

Interviews with CRO and CRT officers across all areas within the City of Oakland **underscored a perception that there is a strong collaborative working relationship among the officers.** Several officers shared that this collaborative, team-oriented effort helps officers gather and share intelligence to conduct preventive, proactive operations in support of crime reduction; the CRO and CRT officer explained that regular beat patrols cannot focus on these efforts because of other priorities.

> *"I feel like in every area (CROs and CRTs work together). We can come together to respond to robberies. When we go out and do proactive stuff we can get advice from them and talk to them (CRTs) or help them. There are CRT officers that you can learn from and vice versa." — CRO officer*

Additionally, officers stated that CRO and CRT officers are also able to share information across areas to help support operations.

Assigning specific responsibilities to CRO and CRT officers also supports the officer's ability to address violent crimes and community-specific quality of life issues. Several CRO officers shared that their main responsibility is to address community member concerns, while also supporting CRT operations when needed. Through NCPC meetings, email communication, and walking throughout neighborhoods, CRO officers are able to identify and address local community needs.

> *"We try eliminating blight. So we address the stacks of trash. We deal with abandoned cars. We deal with a lot of homeless encampments. The rest of the time we work with CRT in doing operations and we go and look for warrant suspects or people involved in a violent crime and we work together. We try to identify trends to prevent retaliation or future crime." —CRO Officer*

Assigned CRO and CRT responsibilities help support the department's effort to reduce crime.

Challenges

Finding 2. There is a tension between Measure Z's explicit focus on violent crime and its directive for CROs to engage in community-driven problem solving.

For every beat, there is one CRO and CRT officer assigned, and this intentional structure is meant to support the City's effort to address both violent crime and quality of life issues. However, interviews with CRO and CRT officers and quantitative data highlight the challenges CRO and CRT officers face when attempting to address neighborhood-specific crime while also addressing the city's overall initiative to reduce violent crime.

Findings from our qualitative data analysis demonstrate conflicting prioritization efforts to address local community concerns while also addressing the City's initiative to reduce violent crime. According to most officers, serious, violent crimes take precedence over addressing quality of life issues.

> *"The greatest priority is the most violent and immediate threat, such as a rash of robberies. Whatever the most recent and violent trend is, that is what we are going to focus on."* —CRT Sergeant

OPD's weekly shooting review provides an ongoing mechanism for identifying pressing violent crime trends and deploying resources to address those issues. This process is critical for establishing priorities for CRT officers, who work to gather intelligence to support operations identified though the shooting review, and a number of OPD leaders and line staff attributed Oakland's recent reduction in shootings and homicides in part to this process and the associated clarification of priorities.

> *"Every week the captain will send out the priorities. We also get a daily notification report, broken up by area. We also have a daily log. The captain will map where crimes are happening based on the reports and logs and will tell us what to focus on."* — CRT Sergeant

While the prioritization process is clear for CRTs, for CROs the Department's emphasis on shootings and homicides creates ambiguity around how much to prioritize the issues raised by their NCPCs and other community members relative to more serious crime. Several CROs – as well as CRTs in beats with lower rates of violent crime – reported lack of clarity around how they are expected to balance the interests of their NCPCs and beat residents with the citywide commitment to focus on serious violent crime.

In many ways, this issue is a larger tension within the City of Oakland and OPD, and quantitative data displayed within Figure 1 and Figure 2 underscore the challenge raised by CRO and CRT officers. As shown in Figure 1, the prevalence of non-serious, non-violent crime is greater than serious, violent crime (see Figure 2) across all beats. The figures display a variance in the frequency and the most common type of crime committed within each beat, thus reinforcing the tension that CRO and CRT officers face when determining what activities to prioritize. For example, Larceny Theft is found to be the most common and most frequent crime to occur across the majority of beats. Though the prevalence of this crime is high, CRO and CRT officers are faced with the challenge as to how to address non-serious, non-violent crimes, while also attempting to address the city's initiative to reduce serious, violent crime, especially shootings and homicides.

Figure 1. Map of Reported Crime Offenses, by Police Beat[6] [7]

---
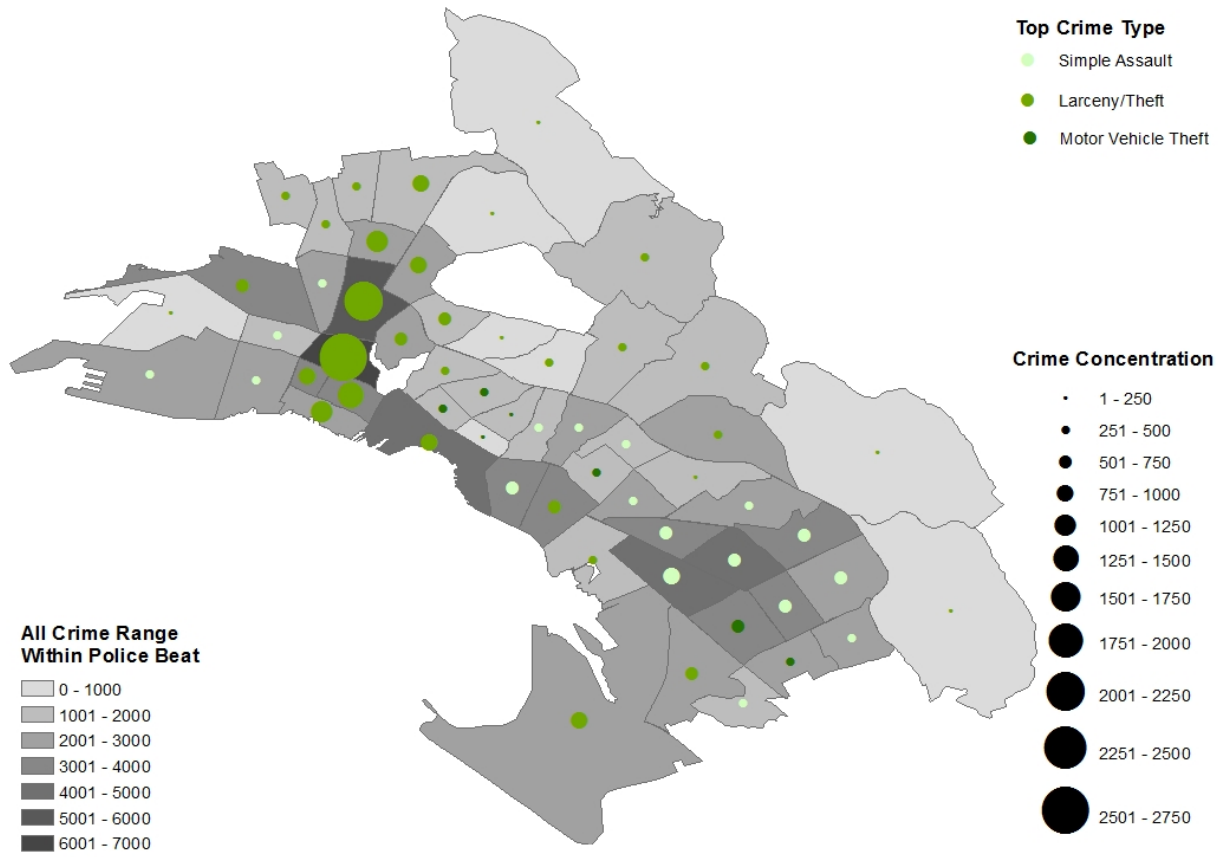
[6] For Beat 03Y and Beat 25X, the most common incidents were "All Other Offenses" and "Runaway Persons over 18," respectively. Given that variety of crimes that encapsulates "All Other Offense," we did not include this as the singular most common crime to occur in Beat 03Y. Instead, we chose to reflect the second most common offense, Larceny Theft as the top offense. Lastly, given that "Runaway Persons over 18" is not a criminal offense we also did not include this as the most common crime and chose the second most common offense, which too was Larceny Theft.

[7] According to the California Penal Code, Simple Assault is "an unlawful attempt, coupled with a present ability, to commit a violent injury on the person of another." Lastly, Larceny Theft and Motor Vehicle Theft are both a "crime against property."

Figure 2. Map of All Violent Crime and Top Violent Crime Across All Police Beats[8]
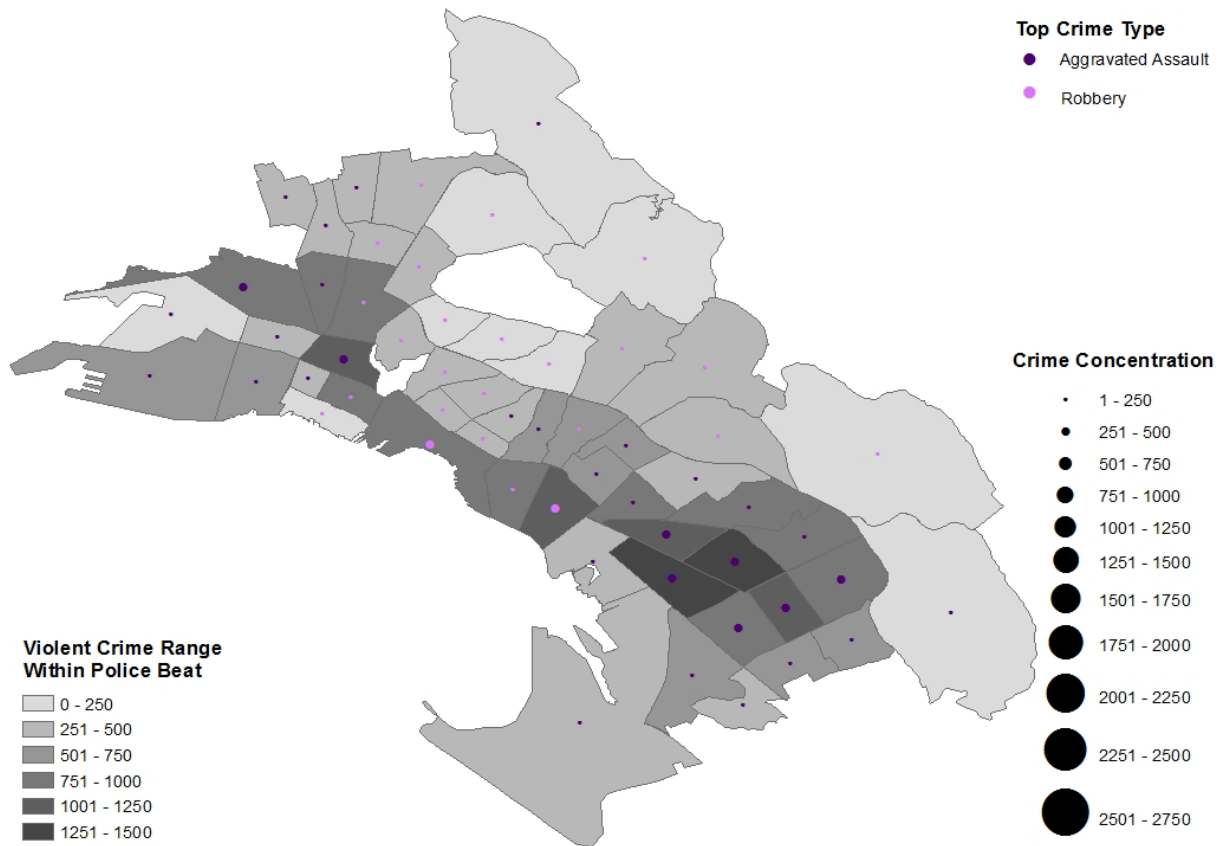
Differences in prioritizing activities not only creates a lack of clarity as to how CRT and CRO officers address local concerns within their assigned area, but it also impacts their efforts to build relationships with community members. The majority of community members interviewed for this project perceived OPD as unresponsive to their needs that are deemed as not life threatening. This lack of response to less serious, violent crimes, such as theft or burglary, makes community members feel as though OPD does not care for their well-being.

"When you call in, dispatch places things in lists of priority. Robberies and burglaries are not prioritized." — Senior community member

---

[8] This map does not visually display the count of homicides that occurred due to the fact that the total count of this offense was less than 14 across all beats.

> *"The police don't come quickly because we are not a priority. If it is a break in as opposed to someone getting killed, that is not a priority. We called the police on someone who is belligerent and it took two days for them to respond. We just handled it ourselves instead of waiting for the police."* — *Business owner*

> *"I have called and gotten stuff done in 10-30 minutes, but it's not fair that a mother in East Oakland has to wait a day to get help. There is definitely different treatment with folks who are marginalized." –NCPC member*

Additionally, youth, business owners, and NCPC members perceive differences in OPD's level of responsiveness across regions throughout Oakland.

> *"They are more reactive than proactive in certain communities. Especially with the low-income people of color. They just come to do with the violence. In a more affluent community, there is a presence and a trust."* — Business owner

> *"OPD is more concerned about property and people with social-political capital."* — Young adult community member

These concerns highlight a fundamental tension in policing, as police departments across the country have to balance responsiveness to residents' daily concerns with attention to serious and violent crime. In some ways, Measure Z's blending of these two different policing priorities—community identified problem solving via CROs, on the one hand, and intelligence gathering on serious crime via CRTs, on the other—underscores an inherent challenges in the implementation of the initiative.

Strengthening Trust and Relationships

Overview

OPD recognizes that historical tensions between community and police, as well as internal cases of misconduct, impact the department's ability to cultivate trust amongst community members. The founding of the Black Panther Party in 1966, Riders scandal in 2000, and the Occupy Movement in 2011 are just a few examples highlighted within the strategic plan that contribute to the department's present challenge.[9] Consistent with the recommendations of to the 21st Century Policing Task Force on strengthening community trust and relationships, OPD has consistently used Measure Z funding to strengthen community trust though the implementation the following practices.[10]

- Assign a CRO to each of the 35 Police Beats to act as a liaison between OPD/City resources,
- Require officers to provide their names to individuals they have stopped upon request. OPD

---

[9] Oakland Police Department (2016). *Oakland Police Department Strategic Plan 2016.* Retrieved from: http://www2.oaklandnet.com/oakca1/groups/police/documents/webcontent/oak056503.pdf

[10] This not an exhaustive list of all of the strategies that OPD has taken on to improve trust. Rather the highlighted strategies reflect practices that seemed reflective of CRO and CRT policing model. To see a comprehensive list, please see OPD's 2016 Strategic Plan.

also has issued business cards to facilitate this process that have complaint information on them,

- Work with neighborhood residents to identify problems and collaborate on implementing solutions that produce meaningful results for the community,
- Implement geographic command based on a community policing principle that better engagement with the community will provide greater crime reduction,
- Mandate officers to attend at least one community meeting per quarter, and
- Encourage officers to walk though neighborhoods to increase engagement with residents.

The below section demonstrates the successes and challenges of strengthening community trust for OPD.

Successes

Finding 1. OPD successfully identifies and recruits officers who are committed to community engagement to serve as CROs.

In discussing the staffing and training for Measure Z services, Department leadership repeatedly highlighted the **different qualities necessary for officers to be successful CROs compared to CRTs**. While CRT officers should be "*go getter officers who want to hunt the bad guys,*" CROs should be "*good communicators [who can] build those relationships with the community… and empathize with the community [they] are serving*." (OPD leadership)

Notably, in interviews about their experiences with CROs, NCPC members regularly pointed to these same qualities when describing their relationships with the CRO in their beat. One long-time NCPC Chairperson talked about the positive engagement between her CRO, her NCPC, and the larger community in her neighborhood. "*My CRO knows how to engage the community and people in this building loved him because they saw action.*"

Interviews with CRO officers and sergeants from across police beats also confirmed their **investment in a community engagement** approach to policing. In addition to discussing their personal commitment to forging relationships with residents, CROs also underscored the connection between their individual relationships with local residents and a larger, department wide effort to build trust and strengthen relationships.

> "*I feel like when citizens see genuine empathy coming out of you and [that is] followed by action, that is where trust starts to develop. Show that you are true to your word.*"
> —CRO Officer

Finding 2. CRT officers implement procedural justice principles while conducting enforcement activities.

Unlike CROs, CRTs role is not explicitly oriented toward community engagement and relationship building. Despite this, OPD has made a concerted effort in the past several years to **ensure that officers**

across the Department—including CRTs—view the effort to build positive relationships with Oakland residents as central to their jobs. Toward this end, OPD has made a department wide commitment to procedural justice, "*the practice of fair and impartial policing*," which "*focuses on the ways officers and other legal authorities interact with the public and how the characteristics of those interactions shape the public's trust of the police.*"[11]

Although CRTs did not explicitly mention procedural justice in describing their interactions with residents, several CRT officers spoke of their interactions with residents in a way that clearly conveyed the tenets of procedural justice. In one interview, a CRT officer discussed how his approach to interacting with residents during enforcement activities has evolved over the course of his work at OPD. In particular, he noted an increased emphasis on engaging directly with community residents, answering their questions and giving them information to support better relationships between residents and OPD.

> *"Before community policing, the community wouldn't know what would happen when an incident would happen. Community policing helps us bring the police and community together. Now we take questions and let people know what happened when a major event happened. We have seen an increase in trust given this change. When we are going out of our way to make relationships with people."* — CRT officer

A CRT from a different beat confirmed the shift in approach, similarly drawing on procedural justice practices to describe how CRTs approach community relationships despite "*being on the enforcement side*."

> *"We're trying to have a softer image by telling the community why we did what we did. There has been an improvement in our interactions. Now we come back to the community and talk to community with what we did and their perception with what we are doing."* – CRT officer

Challenges

Finding 3. Widespread unfamiliarity among community members about CRO and CRT officers hinders the department's ability to strengthen community relationships.

Interviews and focus groups with NCPC members and Oakland residents indicated limited awareness of CRO and CRT officers. Across all focus groups and interviews with Oakland residents, nearly all respondents stated that they were unfamiliar with and had not engaged with a CRO or CRT officer.

> *"I have been (working) here for six months and I have not seen one police officer."*
> — Business owner

---

[11] President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing.* Washington DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. P. 10.

Though CRO officers are encouraged to walk throughout their beat to address local community problems and engage with community members, a majority of residents do not perceive officers partaking in this activity.

> *"I think they should do more on foot patrol. When they are in the car, they just go by, especially here in the commercial spot,"* — Business owner

> *"I don't see no police, they just run by so fast. All you see is the car."*
> *— Senior community member*

NCPC members, who regularly interact with CROs, also highlighted that there is a lack of communication from the Department about different roles and responsibilities of Measure Z-funded officers.

> *"Education needs to happen. OPD needs to talk about what the CRT team is and that they are the shadow group and solves the problem. I know they have been successful in gang activity. I would like the OPD leadership explain the role of CRT to NCPC leaders."*
> *— NCPC member*

> *"Ordinary citizens don't know about this stuff (CROs and NCPC meetings."* — NCPC member

Finding 4. Both the larger public discourse on policing in America and specific controversies tied to OPD are barriers to Measure Z officers' efforts to strengthen trust and build relationships.

Across data collection efforts, both officers and residents repeatedly pointed out that policing in general and **relationships between law enforcement and Black communities in particular are major topics of a larger public and political discourse** and that this larger conversation necessarily impacts how OPD and Oakland residents view each other. Officers we interviewed tended to ascribe the issue as one of media representation, arguing that negative images of police in the media limit the efficacy of their efforts.

> *"There are not a lot of positive images of the police so it makes it hard for the community to trust us."* — CRO sergeant

At the same time, both officers and residents also spoke much more frequently about the lack of positive information about OPD than about any larger conversations about policing.[12] Officers regularly expressed frustration with OPD's approach to communications and public relations, arguing that the Department does not make a concerted effort to promote positive stories and does not appear to have a coordinated strategy around better communication with the public.

---

[12] It is important to note that OPD has Public Information Officers that regularly provide stores to the local. As discussed in the recommendation section, RDA believes that additional work can be done to ensure that positive messaging is disseminated to the public. See recommendations section for further detail.

Residents concurred with this sentiment, pointing out that OPD appears to do little to promote the efforts and approach of CROs, which contributes both to lack of information for residents, as described above, and to a larger lack of public information about good work that OPD does. As one senior community member expressed:

> *"I think the biggest thing is that the police department as a serious PR problem. In order for the CROs to show what they are doing, there needs to be a PR campaign. Not everyone is a rogue cop. There is not enough information about the good stuff that is going on in OPD."*

Notwithstanding widespread criticism of OPD's approach to media, both residents and officers pointed to recent controversies and Department stability as a major barrier to improving community trust. In at least half of the interviews and focus groups with Oakland residents conducted for this evaluation, community members across age, race, and geography pointed to recent Department incidents as evidence that they should not trust OPD. In particular, residents pointed to the Celeste Guap sex scandal and limited consequences of officers involved as evidence that OPD is not a trustworthy institution.

> *"I would like to see more police accountability. That has to do with the sex scandal. Statutorily they raped a young woman and they did not suffer any consequences as a result of that and that is deplorable. It happened in our city because we continue to hire rogue officers that are not responsible to protect community members."— senior community member*

OPD has taken active steps to address this case by firing a number of officers, disciplining others, and seeking prosecution. OPD has also revised a number of policies and made other changes in accountability mechanisms due to the court-appointed investigator. Although these incidents are unrelated to Measure Z funded Officers and efforts, they impact OPD's ability to build community trust, even for Measure Z efforts. The department must continue to make a concerted effort to strengthen relationships with the community.

Organizational Excellence

Overview

The Oakland Police Department (OPD) recognizes that in order to achieve crime reduction and strengthen relationships with community members, the need to improve its organizational capacity is essential to better serve Oakland community members. As outlined in OPD's 2016 Strategic Plan, the department intends to achieve organizational excellence to complement its efforts to reduce crime and strengthen community trust and relationships. Achieving organizational excellence involves creating a work environment that promotes professional development, properly training and supplying OPD staff with adequate equipment, and decreasing response time to calls. OPD has experienced several successes and challenges in achieving organizational excellence.

Successes

Finding 1: Since the passage of Measure Z, OPD has taken many steps that support the achievement of Measure Z objectives.

As noted at the beginning of this report, in the three years since voters approved Measure Z, OPD has taken several critical steps that, while not directly tied to Measure Z, directly support the goals and objectives delineated therein. These include both the 2016 Strategic Plan and the continuing engagement with SPARQ to address racial disparities in negative interactions between officers and residents. In addition, interviews with Department leadership revealed a clear commitment to the tenets of procedural justice and the policing approach encapsulated in Measure Z. One leader closely echoed procedural justice-based policing in stating clearly, "*We are guardians and not warriors … It's a fabric and a mindset."*

Challenges

Finding 1: There has been no formalized training for CRO and CRT officers since Measure Z passed.

Despite the OPD's stated commitment to Measure Z-funded policing services, in the three years since the legislation passed, OPD has not implemented any formal training for CRO or CRT officers, an issue that was commented on by officers across OPD's hierarchy. As one member of the Department's executive leadership noted:

> *There are basic classes every CRT should have. In your first 6 months you should attend surveillance, narcotics enforcement, gang investigations, a 40-hour homicide investigation, interview and interrogation, also for 40 hours. Now, because we are doing precision policing, [CRTs should have] a social media course on how to use social media for intel. – OPD Leadership*

While the absence of an established training curriculum for CRT officers has been a concern under Measure Y as well, the lack of training for CROs appears to be a more recent issue. Despite the existence of a "CRO school" curriculum that was developed under Measure Y, no training to teach that curriculum has occurred in the past three years. CRO and CRT officers and sergeants regularly spoke of OPD's "*lackluster training budget*," and noted that in addition to note providing much training, OPD also does not encourage officers to attend trainings that are available elsewhere. Although Oakland residents did not speak specifically about training for Measure Z officers, NCPC members did note that when a new CRO was assigned to their beat, the NCPC chair had to help explain the officer's role to them and help them establish communication processes with NCPC members and other neighborhood residents.

> *The first thing I did when I met the CRO, I asked him, how do you like to be contacted and how do like to work with people? You have to set guidelines and set expectations. –NCPC Chairman*

To address the concerns surrounding formalized training for Measure Z funded officers, a CRO school is scheduled for the first quarter of 2018. **Finding 2: There is inconsistent data collection and limited data-driven decision making to support CRO and CRT activities.**

Since 2009, CROs have used the SARANet database to track community-identified problems (or "projects") and the steps that were taken to solve those community-identified problems. The SARA Model of community policing is a 4-step process (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment, or SARA) designed to understand and address residents' concerns. SARANet allows officers to track their implementation of each step, in addition to identifying metrics for project progress and closing projects upon achievement of those metrics.

An April 2017 review of SARANet data indicated both limited and incorrect use of the system.

Table 1, below, provides a summary overview of projects entered and tracked in the SARANet database from January 2011-July 2017. As the table shows, of the 132 "currently open" projects, 55—or more than 40%—were opened in 2015 or earlier, likely indicating that these are not actually active projects, but rather projects that have never been fully resolved or closed out. Therefore, SARANet is currently not being used to its fullest capacity since there are a few recent projects.

Table 1: Summary of Projects Tracked in SARANet, Jan. 2011-April 2017

Calendar Year	Projects Opened	# Currently Open	# Closed	% Closed	# Closed with Assessment[13]	% Closed with Assessment	# Open with Assessment in Last Quarter	% Open with Assessment in last Quarter
2011	114	0	114	100%	76	67%	N/A	N/A
2012	219	1	218	100%	129	59%	0	0%
2013	159	9	150	94%	107	71%	0	0%
2014	101	17	84	83%	66	79%	1	6%
2015	126	28	98	78%	70	71%	3	11%
2016	106	57	49	46%	21	43%	6	11%
2017	20	20	0	0%	0	N/A	3	15%
Total	**845**	**132**	**713**	**84%**	**469**	**66%**	N/A	N/A

In addition, both this April 2017 review and a follow up review of SARANet data conducted in October 2017 indicate incomplete use of certain fields. As both

Table 1, above, and Table 2, below, demonstrate, there is limited use of the "Assessment" field. The "Assessment field indicates how well OPD's response to a given project is working and should determine

---

[13]   Officers are required to complete an assessment throughout all stages of the SARA model in addition to completing an assessment at the end of the project. An assessment involves officers to reflect and identify the successes and challenges of the activities for each step in the SARA model.

the subsequent course of action, including closing a project, continuing to implement the current response, or identifying a new response. Based on both the SARA policing model and OPD's SARANet accountability guidelines, all open projects should be assessed at least once per quarter as an indicator that the CRO is still working on this project and is regularly assessing the efficacy of his/her response. In addition, all projects should be assessed prior to being closed, since it is the assessment process that would indicate successful resolution and lead to project closure.

Table 2. Count of Assessed Projects

Districts	# of projects last assessed	# of closed projects	% of projects closed with assessment
Area 1	7	10	70%
Area 2	5	8	63%
Area 3	3	6	50%
Area 4	12	21	57%
Area 5	8	8	100%
Total	38	53	71%

While CRO officers are able to utilize the SARAnet database to track their activities, there is no set database or system within which CRT officers establish priorities or monitor and assess their activities. Although the nature of CRT roles and responsibilities is, in many ways, broader than that of CROs and thus more difficult to distill into a singular data system that is distinct from other OPD data collection activities, the larger problem appears to be the lack of a clear definition of success for CRT activities and, correspondingly, the absence of established metrics by which to assess CRT implementation or impact. Interviews with CRT officers and sergeants, as well as with OPD leadership, made clear the divergent views on how to assess and measure CRT activities As one membership of OPD leadership noted, "*I don't know that there is a [policies and procedures] manual with standards for the CRO or CRT roles, but that would definitely be helpful.*"

Finding 3. Department-wide staffing issues, including staffing shortages of patrol officers and high turnover of CROs in beat assignments, impact the quality and availability of CRO activities.

Although both Measure Z and the larger Department are, overall, fully staffed based on allocated positions, OPD has notably fewer sworn and civilian staff than other cities of comparable size.[14] Due to understaffing of patrol officers at OPD, **Measure Z-funded officers — especially CROs — are regularly pulled from their beats to address other issues.** CROs are requested to work with other local law

---

[14] According to the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting data, in 2016, OPD had 17.6 officers and 24.6 total employees per 10,000 residents. These numbers are slightly below the national average for cities with 200,000-500,000 residents and well below the average for cities with 500,000 or more residents. (http://www.governing.com/gov-data/safety-justice/police-officers-per-capita-rates-employment-for-city-departments.html)

enforcement agencies such as Ceasefire to aid with large-scale operations. Additionally, CROs are called to monitor and patrol local city protests, therefore leaving issues at their respective beats unaddressed. CROs and CRO sergeants both regularly identified Department-wide staffing shortages as impacting their ability to successfully address community concerns and implement effective problem solving-oriented policing:

> *"The low staffing at our department is a problem. If something happens and we're doing something we have to go and handle it because we have no substitute...It takes time from going to meetings. You lose face time with your community members. The folks in Ceasefire call us to an operation if they need us to protect the scene and make the arrest. It can be days if it's a non-stop operation"* — *CRO Sergeant*

Although Measure Z gives OPD the flexibility to deploy CROs to address more pressing Departmental needs than their longer-term projects, interviews with CROs and NCPC members nonetheless demonstrate the negative repercussions of doing so on CROs ability to achieve their other objectives related to addressing community priorities and, in so doing, both addressing crime and building trust. Furthermore, this issue addresses the two previous goals outlined by OPD (reducing crime and strengthening trust and relationships).

In addition to regularly pulling CROs away from project-based policing and onto other issues, the lack of continuity is exacerbated by high turnover of CROs beat assignments. This issue was identified by all NCPC members interviewed, as well as by OPD leadership and CRO sergeants.

> *We get some CROs and you develop relationship with them and they move on to a different department or completely leave the force. There is no continuation of an officer. You have to keep an officer there. We see officers change on a yearly basis. I've had at least two CROs in the last two years. Usually they will tell us that an officer is no longer with us but they don't tell us why*. *–NCPC Chairperson*

Conclusion and Recommendations

Overall, OPD leadership and line staff demonstrate a strong commitment to the goals and objectives of Measure Z and to implementing best practices in geographic policing, community engagement, and problem solving. Measure Z funded officers collaborate regularly and effectively to support crime reduction and problem solving. Officers also convey a nuanced understanding of how procedural justice approaches support both community engagement and crime reduction, and officers indicate commitment to this work.

Despite this commitment, internal and external challenges sometimes limit the implementation and efficacy of these efforts. In particular,

- CROs do not have sufficient capacity for community engagement and problem solving because of turnover to the CRO position and because they are regularly pulled from projects to address more serious crime, an issue that speaks to larger Department-wide capacity;
- Not enough Oakland residents know about the CRO program or how to engage with their local CRO/NCPC;
- Unclear expectations for implementation of CRT and CRO activities or accountability processes for overseeing them.

Recommendations

1. **Continue building OPD's web-based media presence in order to**
   a. **promote positive stories about Measure Z officers and other Department activities, and**
   b. **increase communication with residents about the CRO program, problem solving activities, NCPC meetings, and more.**

While OPD has greatly improved its social media presence in recent years, there are opportunities for additional improvements, including updating the OPD website to improve navigability and readability; promoting NCPC meetings on the website and social media; and using both the website and social media to keep interest residents informed about CRO activities.

2. **Clarify to both CROs and NCPC members how CROs are expected to community-driven problem solving work versus supporting other department operations related to addressing shootings and homicides.**

CROs interviewed for this evaluation regularly noted a feeling on contradiction between the City and OPD's directive to focus on shootings and homicides and their directive to work with community members to identify and resolve issues of interest to residents in the beat they are assigned to, particularly because residents are more likely to raise quality of life issues or lower level crimes as their primary concerns. At the same time, NCPC members expressed frustration that their CROs are often not able to live up to their promises to work with them on community problem solving because they are regularly pulled from their problem solving activities to focus on more serious crime. While this may be the appropriate deployment of resources for OPD, it creates confusion and frustration for CROs and the communities they work with. Clarification to both about how community-driven problem-solving fits within the hierarchy of their priorities would help.

3. **Establish minimum timeframes for which CROs must remain assigned to the same beat. In addition, ODP should develop protocols for transitioning CRO responsibility and projects when turnover is unavoidable.**

Research on community policing highlights the importance of having officers assigned to the same beat for an extended period of time in order to get to know the area they are working in and build

relationships with community residents, businesses, and other organizations.[15] Establishing—and abiding by—a minimum time for CROs to maintain their beat assignment would help address NCPC frustration about regular turnover of CROs. It would probably also increase the efficacy of CROs problem-solving work by allowing them more time to get to know and build networks in the communities they are working in.

4. **Implement the SARANet Accountability Protocol to improve SARANet data collection and increase oversight of CRO activities.**

In 2014, RDA developed a SARANet Accountability Protocol (included in Appendix B) to establish processes for CRO data collection, oversight, and accountability. This protocol appears to have fallen out of use and there is little in place to ensure that project-oriented policing is being documented systematically. The lack of accountability for accurate, timely data collection limits OPD's ability to provide oversight of the activities and effectiveness of CRO problem-solving. Similarly, the incomplete use of SARANet inhibits the evaluation's ability to fully assess Measure Z implementation and there is no way for us to determine whether limited data is due to lack of data entry or lack of project-oriented policing.

5. **Establish measures for successful implementation of CRT activities and mechanisms for tracking those measures.**

Interviews with OPD staff across the organizational hierarchy indicated the lack of measures for assessing the implementation of CRT activities. From Department leadership through the CRT officers interviewees repeatedly pointed to crime reduction as the metric by which to assess CRT success. While crime reduction should undoubtedly be the primary goal of CRT officers, it is also important that OPD more clearly delineate how they expect CRTs to support this goal through their daily activities. Without these metrics, neither OPD nor the evaluation can assess the quality of CRTs' work and determine if it is in line with Department expectations and best practices. As a starting point, OPD should implement a more regular review of many of the indicators collected by Stanford's SPARQ Center, which assessed OPD practices for racial bias. Although SPARQ's review of officers' stop data forms and body worn camera footage focused on differences in how individuals were treated based on race/ethnicity, a similar process could be used to asses the quality of policing work and could supplement quantitative data collected on number of stops, arrests, etc. OPD would likely need additional staff resources to do this kind of assessment regularly.

---

[15] Kane, R. (2000). Permanent beat assignments in association with community policing: Assessing the impact on police officers' field activity. Justice Quarterly, 17(2), 249-280. Weisburd, D., & Braga, A. (Eds). (2006). Policing innovation: Contrasting perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Appendix

Appendix A. Map of All Police Beats

Oakland, CA Police Beats