

## Highlights from the Community Policing Neighborhood Services Evaluation

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This section of the report summarizes the evaluation of the Community Policing Neighborhood Services (CPNS) component of Measure Y. The report includes findings and recommendations related to:

- Whether or not Measure Y is being implemented in accordance with applicable resolutions;
- The degree to which Oakland and the Oakland Police Department (OPD) are implementing a consistent model of community policing and the degree to which that model reflects evidence-based practices;
- Whether or not Measure Y is improving perceptions of public safety and preventing or reducing violence in Oakland.

Key findings from the Community Policing Neighborhood Services Evaluation include:

1. Full implementation of Measure Y staffing levels has been achieved; all beats in the City are served by a Problem Solving Officer (PSO);
2. New changes in OPD organizational structures that create more geographic accountability have strengthened the Department's commitment to community policing;
3. Problem solving officers are collaborating effectively with residents, Neighborhood Crime Prevention Councils (NCPCs), Neighborhood Services Coordinators, offices of City Council members, other City Agencies, and community stakeholders to solve problems of concern in their beats.
4. A new data system for entering PSO problem solving activity will allow the Department to analyze the different kinds of problems being addressed by PSOs and the kinds of investigative and collaborative actions that contribute to solving them.

The evaluation also points to areas that can and should be improved:

1. OPD's information systems limit the Department's capacity to capture data on the nature of its expenditures, operations, and Measure Y activities.
2. Turnover among PSOs is a barrier to successful implementation. Personnel practices, such as recruitment, assignment and promotion do not adequately consider the interests of community policing and should be revised to reduce turnover and interruptions in service.

3. A shared vision and clearly articulated approach to Community Policing was not evident throughout the Department. The Department should define performance measures aligned to the duties of PSOs to achieve more even implementation of the initiative across the city.

# Community Policing and Neighborhood Services

## I. INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes the evaluation of the Community Policing Neighborhood Services (CPNS) component of Measure Y during the 2008-2009 fiscal year. The purpose of this evaluation is to assess the extent to which Measure Y funds allocated to community policing reduce and prevent violence in Oakland. It also examines the degree to which Oakland and the Oakland Police Department (OPD) are implementing a consistent model of community policing and the degree to which the model being implemented reflects evidence-based practices. To achieve this purpose, the evaluation team has identified six key evaluation questions:

### Evaluation Questions:

1. Is Oakland effectively implementing a model of community policing that adheres to the principles of Measure Y that pertain to community policing?
2. Is the implementation of community policing in Oakland consistent with best practices?
3. Did Problem-Solving Officers effectively solve problems in their beats?
4. Did relationships between police and residents improve as a result of community policing activities?
5. Did resident's perception of neighborhood safety improve?
6. Did community policing reduce or prevent crime and violence in Oakland?

## II. METHODS

To answer these questions, the evaluation team conducted the following evaluation activities.

### Literature Review

A comprehensive review of research on community policing was conducted to identify best practices and what critical organizational strategies, structures, and policies are common to effective community policing programs. This review of the literature informed the evaluation design and subsequent evaluation activities. See Appendix II for a complete summary of the literature review.

### Review of OPD Documents & Data

The evaluation included a review of relevant OPD fiscal, personnel, planning, and operational documents to assess the degree to which OPD was implementing community policing, utilizing Measure Y funds as proposed and incorporating research-based practices in that implementation. Included in this review were documents related to:

- Organizational culture and structure, including OPDs strategic plan;
- Budget expenditures documenting the use of Measure Y funding;
- Personnel recruitment, assignments, supervision and evaluation procedures and practices;
- Training bulletins and activities;
- Public information and press releases;
- Data collection practices and systems.

### Key Informant Interviews

The evaluation team conducted 46 key informant interviews with police at all

levels of the department and others involved in local crime reduction efforts. Police services staff interviewed included the Chief of Police, Deputy Chief of Field Operations, Captains (3), Lieutenants (3), Sergeants (6), Problem Solving Officers (6), and other Measure Y and non-Measure Y funded officers (8). Police services informants were asked questions about the successes, challenges and barriers related to community policing, organizational support and resources dedicated to the initiative, information management, and recruitment, training and assignment processes. In addition, the evaluators interviewed Neighborhood Service Coordinators (NSCs), City Council Aides, and NCPC members and chairs.

### **Oakland Resident and NCPC Member Surveys**

A random sample phone survey of 500 Oakland residents in English, Spanish, and Mandarin was conducted and analyzed. A survey of Neighborhood Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) members was also analyzed to measure residents' perceptions of public safety and perceptions around quality of life issues, as well as other indicators of neighborhood capacity (such as relationships with neighbors, attendance at NCPC meetings, and level of informal social controls).

### **Analysis of crime trend data**

Oakland crime data from the past five years was analyzed by beat and district area and compared with other California jurisdictions to identify trends in crime. While referenced briefly in this report, a complete analysis of this data is included in Section 3: Crime Trends and Neighborhood Conditions Analysis.

### **An in depth case study of six Oakland Beats**

A case study of six Oakland beats was conducted to examine community policing in greater depth. Through the case study the evaluation team examined PSOs in relation to their collaboration with residents and other city agencies, community mobilization, and problem solving. The case study included interviews with NCPC leadership, Neighborhood Services Coordinators (NSCs), community stakeholders and problem solving officers, as well as focus groups with residents, two site visits at selected NCPC meetings and 'ride-alongs' with PSOs.

The purpose of the NCPC site visits was to observe the quality of the partnership between the problem solving officers, residents, NSCs, community based organizations, other Measure Y funded programs, and local residents. A key part of effective community policing is developing a positive working relationship between the police, the community and other stakeholders. Since the NCPC is the nexus for coordinating this kind of collaboration, understanding the nature of the NCPC/PSO partnership was critical to the evaluation.

*Beat Selection.* Researchers consulted with Neighborhood Services Division and Oakland Police Department staff to identify six beats to include in the case study, utilizing the following criteria:

1. Stressor level and crime activity.
2. Measure Y funding.
3. Geographic representation from all regions and council districts in Oakland.

Level of functioning as measured by attendance, participation of community partners, problem solving ability, and access to resources.

### Selected Beats for the Case Study

Beat	PSO Area	Councilperson
6X	PSO Area I: West Oakland.	Nadel
10 Y	PSO Area II: North Oakland.	Brunner
19X	PSO Area III: Chinatown	Kernighan
23 X	PSO Area IV: Fruitvale de la Fuente district	
27X	PSO Area V: East Oakland: Quan, de la Fuente, Brooks	
35 X	PSO Area VI: East Oakland Reid district	

Appendix III contains information about the beats included in the case study. Findings and recommendations derived from the case study are incorporated throughout the next section of this report.

## III. COMMUNITY POLICING IN OAKLAND

Community Policing is a philosophy and approach that differs from traditional, response oriented policing.

Communities across the country have adapted a community policing approach to their particular circumstances. In order to evaluate Oakland's community policing initiative, an understanding of the core elements and strategies that have emerged here is needed.

### Problem Solving.

In Oakland, problem solving is the primary strategy used to implement community-oriented policing.<sup>1</sup> Problem

<sup>1</sup> Problem solving is frequently used interchangeably with community policing. Community policing is an orientation or approach, whereas problem solving is a strategy that is frequently a key element to successful implementation, but

solving officers (PSOs) are each assigned to a beat and work collaboratively with Neighborhood Crime Prevention Councils (NCPCs) to address community-identified problems, challenges and needs. Problems may include those associated with criminal activity (such as burglary, theft, assault, or homicides), as well as quality of life problems, such as graffiti, traffic, blight, or illegal dumping. In Oakland, problem solving is driven primarily by resident concerns and aims to strengthen community-police relationships, improve perceptions of public safety, and reduce and prevent crime. Once residents have identified priority problems at their NCPC, the PSO garners city and community resources to resolve the concern. Problem solving includes the following steps:

#### 1. Problem Identification:

Problems are most frequently identified at the NCPC meetings, where residents prioritize up to 3 concerns for the PSO to work on. NCPCs have different levels of participation and a variety of practices for prioritizing problems. Other sources of problem identification include:

- Calls for service analysis to identify hotspots
- Drug hotline
- City hall requests for action
- City council requests for action, generally in response to constituent complaints or requests
- Code enforcement
- Other city agencies
- Patrol officers
- PSO observation

can be implemented independently from community oriented policing.

## 2. SARA:

OPD uses the SARA model, which is a multi-step problem solving process used in communities across the country once a problem has been identified. The SARA model includes the following steps.

- **Scanning:** Identification and investigation of the nature of the problem.
- **Analysis:** Analysis of potential options and strategies for resolving the problem; identification of measures to assess effectiveness of response
- **Response:** Implementation of a response strategy
- **Assessment:** Evaluation of the effectiveness of response and identification of steps for maintaining successful resolution.

The SARA process articulates the steps a PSO should follow to solve a problem, but does not define the particular response or strategy a PSO should use to solve different types of problems.

## 3. Report back to the Community.

The final step in problem solving is to provide updates to the community on the progress, activities, and outcomes of the steps implemented above. This typically occurs at NCPC meetings.

### **Community Mobilization**

Community policing is built on the premise that in order to create safe neighborhoods, residents must come together with police, city and community stakeholders to collaboratively and creatively solve neighborhood problems. In Oakland, the Neighborhood Crime Prevention Councils are viewed as the primary vehicle for stakeholders to make their communities safer and more

livable, though neighborhood watch programs, resident involvement in reporting and identification of sources of criminal activity, and community education programs are additional avenues for residents to get involved.

### **Linkages/Collaboration with Other City Services**

Effective community policing connects communities with needed city resources (i.e. Public Works, Planning, etc.), and also results in stronger partnerships with local government leadership (i.e. city council representatives), neighborhood schools, small businesses, and churches, and other agencies or initiatives working towards common goals. In Oakland, the collaboration occurs at the NCPC meetings, through the Neighborhood Services Department staff and programs (in particular, the Neighborhood Services Coordinators), through the Service Delivery Systems, and offices of City Council members. PSOs also provide resident education about other city services, agencies and resources. PSOs work closely with Neighborhood Services Coordinators to bring together the resources or response required to solve community problems.

Measure Y funding covers the cost of problems solving officers (PSOs) and sergeants to implement the community policing program. Their roles are described below.

### **Geographic Organization of Services**

Oakland's current force is organized geographically at the command area, district and beat level. Organizing the force by geography is considered a best practice in community policing and ensures that areas throughout the city receive service, facilitates police-

community relationships, and strengthens accountability.

### **Key Staff in Oakland's Community Policing Initiative**

*The Role of Problem Solving Officers*  
Problem solving officers (PSOs) are the primary implementers of Oakland's community policing initiative. The services provided by the PSOs fall into four primary categories:

#### *4. Problem Solving:*

Perhaps *their* primary responsibility, PSOs are responsible for resolving community identified concerns or problems in their beat.

#### *5. Community Mobilization:*

PSOs are responsible for educating, engaging and building relationships with residents and stakeholders within their beat. This includes attending NCPC meetings, educating residents about city resources and appropriate courses of action for certain problems, and encouraging residents to take ownership of their neighborhoods.

#### *6. Patrolling the Beat:*

PSOs get to know the community, identify hotspots, and potential sources of criminal activity by patrolling their beat. PSOs most frequently patrol the beat in their cars, though some use bicycles or walk, particularly in those beats with business districts.

#### *7. Regular Police Work:*

PSOs may provide incident response within their beat or be called off their beat to conduct regular police work, including responding to incidents in neighboring beats, conducting an operation in another beat, and/or

providing police presence at an action or event in another part of the city.

#### *8. Administrative Responsibilities:*

Because of legal settlement agreements, PSOs spend a significant amount of time each day completing mandatory paperwork documenting their activities.

*The Role of Sergeants:* Sergeants are responsible for supervising the work of 8-10 PSOs within a geographic area. Supervision responsibilities include monitoring progress towards solving resident-identified problems (commonly referred to as "projects"), participating in the selection, assignment and training of PSOs, and communicating department priorities to PSOs.

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## **IV. FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

Data collected from the methods described above was analyzed to answer the six evaluation questions identified in Section I. Major findings and recommendations relevant to each question are presented below.

**Evaluation Question # 1: Is Oakland effectively implementing a model of community policing that adheres to the principles of Measure Y that pertain to community policing?**

### **Background on Relevant Measure Y Resolutions**

Resolution 78734 specifies that Measure Y funds should be used to meet the following objectives:

- Hire and maintain at least 63 community police officers (PSO's);
- Assign at least one PSO per beat "solely to serve the residents of that beat and to provide consistent contact and familiarity between residents and officers;"
- Underwrite up to \$500,000 annually to support equipment and training of Measure-Y funded officers.

Resolution 72727 is more specific and most importantly indicates that "To the extent possible, and if consistent with applicable agreements with employee organizations, assignments of community police officers to beats and shifts shall be made for terms of no less than two years."

To answer Evaluation Question # 1, researchers sought to verify that:

- PSOs had been assigned to all 57 Oakland beats and that the full compliment of six area sergeants were also in place;
- PSOs were consistently assigned to their beats sufficiently to "provide consistent contact and familiarity with residents;"
- PSOs actively assigned to beats were also expending a consistent level of effort on beat-related problem-solving activity; and
- Measure Y funds were used appropriately as relates to funding PSOs working on beat-related business and at appropriate levels as relates to expenditures on recruitment, training and equipment.

***Finding 1.1: As of September 2008, OPD had achieved the full compliment of the 63 required PSOs, in compliance with the staffing mandate of Resolution***

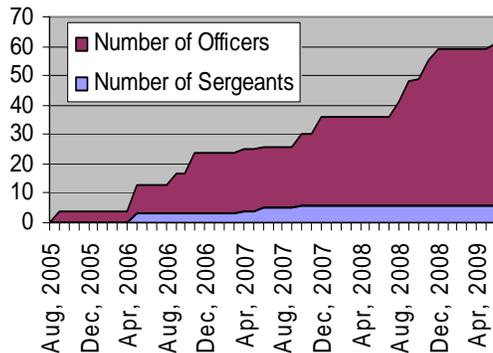
***78734. All 57 beats had an assigned PSO.***

### PSO Staffing Levels

A judicial decision delivered on June 16, 2009 affirmed that as of September 2008 Oakland had successfully assigned a PSO to each beat in the City.

The following chart, provided by the City Administrator's Office, illustrates the increases in community policing staffing levels at OPD.

**PSO Staffing Levels**



Researchers also reviewed payroll and personnel data to determine if OPD had "hired and retained 63 police officers" with one PSO assigned to each beat throughout the 2008-09 fiscal year. Researchers sought to review monthly OPD beat assignment data for each month of the year. Monthly rosters were not provided. The Department instead provided beat assignment rosters for six months that spanned a twenty month period (2007-2009). While this data affirms that OPD had PSOs assigned to all 57 beats in September 2008, without monthly data we could not determine whether or not consistent assignment was sustained throughout the fiscal year.

**Finding 1.2:** *PSO turnover leaves of absence, and temporary reassignments limit consistent contact and familiarity between the PSO and residents. Resolution 72727's goal of two year beat assignments has not been met. Transition planning when changes in assignment or interruptions in service occur is not adequate to ensure continuity.*

Resolution 72727 set a goal of two-year beat assignments. Resolution 78734

PSO and Sergeant Assignments from 09/07 – 05/09				
DATES	TOTAL # PSO ASSIGNED	# PSO IN ASSIGNMENT SINCE 09/07	# SGTS. IN ASSIGNMENT SINCE 09/07	# PSOs Paid with Measure Y Funds
09/07	51	51	6	1
01/08	54	34	5	30
06/08	54	24	5	29
09/08	57	16	3	33
02/09	57	10	3	49
05/09	56	8	3	61

language indicates that the assigned officers “solely serve” the residents of the beat and “provide consistent contact and familiarity between residents and officers.” There is disagreement among different stakeholder groups regarding how OPD can and should meet this objective. The June 16, 2009 court decision affirmed that to meet the requirements of Measure Y, it was not necessary that a PSO work exclusively in the beat. Nonetheless, to “provide consistent contact and familiarity” between residents and officers requires uninterrupted service by an officer familiar with the challenges and assets

of a given neighborhood, preferably for a period of several years.

**PSO Turnover and Length of Assignment**

Researchers reviewed PSO beat assignment rosters for a sampling of 12 months over a two year period (2007-2009). This data is outlined in the table below, which includes the number of beats with PSOs assigned, as well as the number of sergeants assigned. This data was also used to analyze turnover in PSO assignments to the same beat.

Column B in the table shows the number of PSOs assigned to a beat on each of the dates listed in column A. By September 2008, the 57 assigned officers mandated by Measure Y are listed as being assigned to a beat, an assignment level that appears to be largely sustained thereafter. This data did not account for officers who were on leave or on special assignment.

The PSO Sergeant & Assignment Table illustrates significant turnover. Column C outlines the number of PSOs who had been assigned to a beat in September 2007 who also remained in that assignment during each of the subsequent five time periods reviewed. In the first four month period, one third of the PSOs assigned had transferred to another assignment. Five months later, ten of the remaining 34 had transferred and by May 2009 (less than two years later) only 8 of the original 57 PSOs had remained in their beat assignment. In the case study interviews confirmed this finding; the length of tenure among the

PSOs we interviewed ranged from 3 weeks to 1.5 years.

*PSO turnover, it was something else. We don't know what happened or what the problem may have been, but we went for a year without a PSO because ours went back on patrol. It was so hard; we couldn't get anything done and just had to rely on police from other beats to come and help. It was a big disruption and we never understood why the PSO was dropped. It was a mystery to us.*

The case study found that the PSO presence on the beat and amount of time dedicated to working on items of concern to their particular beat varied significantly. Some beats reported a consistent PSO presence, whereas others had experienced interrupted service due to leaves of absence or temporary reassignment. PSOs may go on an extended absence from the department due to injury or illness, which can last for several months or they can be pulled of the beat to cover a department need for anywhere from several hours to several weeks.

Where PSOs had been in an assignment consistently, NCPC members spoke very highly of the benefit to public safety at the observed NCPC meetings. However, residents also described interrupted PSO presence on the beat as a significant challenge to successful problem solving. One beat included in the case study did not have a regularly assigned PSO for at least 5 months of the 2008-09 fiscal year and was covered intermittently by a patrol officer. At the NCPC meeting, the patrol officer asked the NCPC members for information about the neighborhood priorities and lacked information about the status of current problem solving efforts. This example points to an

absence of transition planning, when an interruption or transition in service occurs. Interruptions in service not only negatively impact resident's perceptions of the police, they also delay problem solving efforts.

*We have a PSO who is growing in the position, who really has potential. But, he's been missing for the last two months. It's difficult because we have to start over again and pick up the pieces on investigations.*

### **Work on Beat Business**

The evaluation team also sought to determine the degree to which officers assigned to a beat and active in that assignment (i.e. not on leave or another assignment) were actually devoting sufficient time to beat business to respond to Measure Y mandates. Interviews with police services revealed that the percentage of time spent on beat-related activities varies significantly on a day-to-day basis, by command area, by PSO and by beat. Researchers were unable to conduct a quantitative analysis of the amount of time and nature of work on beat business due to limitations in the Department's data collection system. Historically, most officers have recorded their activities in logs; this information was not organized in a database. The Department began to implement a database system to address these shortcomings during 2008-09, which will allow researchers to conduct an analysis of this item in the 2009-10 evaluation.

***Finding 1.3:*** *OPD does not have clear, department-wide standards in relation to the amount of time spent on the beat or methods of patrolling the beat. Shortages of patrol vehicles are a*

### *barrier to maintaining a consistent PSO presence on the beat.*

#### **PSO Time on Beat**

While the Department has sought ways to increase its capacity to report on problem-solving activities, it has resisted calls to report on the specific amount of time PSOs spend in their beat. On the other hand, the Violence Prevention & Public Safety Oversight Committee has repeatedly called for documentation that Measure Y PSOs are dedicating most of their time within the beat. A June 16<sup>th</sup> court ruling emphasized that the primary role of PSOs is to conduct community policing activities within their beat. While the court ruling clearly delineates that OPD is not bound to a specific formula that should guide time on beat, the Court agreed that the PSOs must be "assigned" to PSO beats to conform to the City's ministerial duties created under the Initiative. Further, the Court held that the Initiative does not require a PSO to remain in the geographic confines of the beat at all times, nor does it proscribe the flexibility needed by OPD to call a PSO to assist elsewhere. However, the Court clearly limits the parameters of "out of beat" assistance to "on occasion" occurrences - reiterating that the "clear intent of Measure Y that the officers assigned to PSO beats be assigned solely to serve the residents within the geographical confines of the beat." As noted above, the Department has not collected this information. Until it does, researchers will be unable to determine whether or not the Department is in compliance with time on beat mandates.

#### **Patrolling the Beat**

Interviews with police services staff revealed a variety of practices in relation

to the amount of time spent on beat, as well as the method of patrolling the beat. Most concurred that they were called off beat less frequently over the past year.

*I'm not concerned about how much time they are on beat or whether or not they're out of their car.*

*I require my PSOs to walk the beat by themselves. You're the police; if you can't walk in a particular neighborhood, the public sees that. It tells them that you are scared, can't relate to this particular community. It reduces the trust; the community sees it. They wonder, why are you here?*

A consistent PSO presence within the beat is further undermined by equipment shortages, specifically the absence of sufficient vehicles which requires some PSOs to share a vehicle. In this case, PSOs split time between beats, which limits the time spent on their own beat to no more than 50 percent. The Police Department does not have data on the number of PSOs sharing a car during the 2008-09 year.

*My guys share a car. So, they split their time between the two beats.*

***Finding 1.4:*** *OPD was unable to produce fiscal and personnel data summaries that accounted for how Measure Y funding is being used for training and equipment or to delineate salary costs in relation to beat activities, overtime, leave, and other temporary non-Measure Y assignments. The financial summaries on training costs exceed Measure Y's allowable limits.*

#### **Appropriate use of Measure Y Funding**

The PSO Sergeant & Assignment table raises questions about the expenditures of Measure Y funds. The number of

PSOs paid through Measure Y funds should correspond with the number of PSOs identified in the assignment rosters. However there were significant differences between the number of PSOs charged to Measure Y and the number reportedly assigned to beats. For example, in September 2007, 51 PSOs were identified in the assignment rosters; only one PSO was being paid through Measure Y funds. Between January 2008 and February 2009, the number of PSOs listed in the rosters varied by only three, yet the number paid through Measure Y ranged from 29-49. Finally, in May 2009 with one fewer PSO reflected in the roster than in February 2009, the number paid with Measure Y funds increased by 12 to 61. These inconsistencies make it difficult to determine whether or not funds are being used appropriately.

### **Expenditures on Training**

The June 16<sup>th</sup> court ruling determined that fiscal reports provided by OPD were insufficient to verify training expenditures or to meet Measure Y audit mandates. The evaluation team also sought to verify that OPD had adhered to the Measure Y funding limit of \$500,000 per year for recruitment, training and equipment for PSOs. The Department provided two budget summaries with different amounts allocated to training and equipment. Both summaries found that the Department had exceeded the Measure Y allowable limit for these items. For example, in the 2007-08 budget summary monies dedicated to training were \$2,695,385, over five times the Measure Y limit. Total funding for Measure Y funded police services was only \$7.4 million for this time period meaning that training expenditures were

over 25% of total Measure Y funding in this period. In a 2008-09 budget summary, the level of Measure Y funding identified as being expended on training was \$1,023,338, or over double the Measure Y limit. OPD was unable to provide clarification on these items.

### **Recommendations: Evaluation Question #1**

*The following recommendations address the findings related to evaluation question #1:*

**Recommendation 1.1:** *OPD should identify incentives to reward officers who remain in their beat assignments for two or more years.*

**Recommendation 1.2:** *OPD should develop a standard protocol that facilitates the transfer of information between the exiting and entering PSO, so that the new PSO is equipped with an understanding of beat stakeholders, current problem-solving priorities, and neighborhood hot spots. The newly developed database should be used to capture this information.*

**Recommendation 1.3:** *OPD should establish Department standards in relation to time on beat and methods of patrolling the beat that encourage PSOs to spend more time walking the beat or riding a bicycle.*

**Recommendation 1.4:** *As noted by the courts, OPD should improve its fiscal reporting. Clear, accurate fiscal reports should be developed for transparency and accountability.*

**Evaluation Questions # 2: Is the implementation of community policing in Oakland consistent with best practices?**

**Background Information on Best Practices**

To answer Evaluation Question # 2 requires a clear understanding of what community policing is and what characteristics are common to an effective community policing program. In its publication, *Community Policing Defined*, the Department of Justice Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) describes community policing as:

*Community policing focuses on crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement, and partnerships. The community policing model balances reactive responses to calls for service with proactive problem-solving centered on the causes of crime and disorder. Community policing requires police and citizens to join together as partners in the course of both identifying and effectively addressing these issues.*

The COPS publication points out that community policing is somewhat of a chameleon, as communities emphasize different elements of the approach in their implementation. *Community Policing Defined* also outlines the key components of an effective community policing program, which researchers used to provide a specific framework for answering evaluation question # 2. The

components of an effective community policing program are:

- **A shared vision** that is evident throughout the department in both documents and in practices;
- **Geographic-based assignments** that create accountability and facilitate allocation of resources in response to neighborhood-based problems;
- **Personnel practices** that reinforce community policing;
- **Ongoing intensive training in community policing** is essential to ensure that PSOs are implement collaborative problem-solving efforts;
- **Information Systems** that provide timely crime trend data for problem solving and accurate personnel, fiscal, and police activity data for accountability;
- **Effective Collaboration** with residents and city agencies on a range of problems;
- **Ongoing Community Engagement and Mobilization** to broaden and deepen resident support for community policing; and
- **Proactive problems solving** focused upon resident-identified priority problems.

Findings in relation to each of these components of effective community policing are summarized briefly below.

**Finding 2.1:** *While there is general support for the community policing initiative across OPD, the model for community policing in Oakland has not been sufficiently defined or articulated, resulting in uneven implementation across beats. A shared understanding of the objectives, strategies and desired outcomes is not evident throughout and*

*across different levels of the Department.*

Researchers reviewed Department documents and analyzed key informant interviews to determine whether or not a shared vision of community policing is present throughout the organization.

**Department Documents**

*1. Strategic Plan 2007-2010:*

The current OPD vision or mission statements do not reference community policing. However, the first objective of the Oakland Police Department Strategic Plan 2007-2010 is “Develop and Fulfill the Vision of Community Policing.” The strategic plan includes reference to a commitment to community policing “at every level in the organization” and describes working in partnership with residents and other city and community-based agencies. Working on quality of life issues and using proactive problem solving strategies that rely upon “citizen participation at the block, neighborhood and citywide level” are also emphasized as key approaches in the plan.

*2. Training materials:*

Training materials like the August, 2008 Training Bulletin III.a.5 describe specific community policing, outline PSO responsibilities and describe a recommended approach to problem-solving. Twenty four hours of the 40-hour Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) training contains sections directly relevant to problem-solving and various applications of community policing strategies. The first two-days of the training also provides specific orientation to Oakland structures and processes related to the local

implementation of community policing, e.g. NCPs, NSCs, and Oakland’s best practice approach to problem-solving, Scan Analysis Response Assessment (SARA). These training materials reflect OPD’s intent to create a shared understanding of how community policing should be implemented.

*3. Personnel documents.*

Recruitment, hiring, job description, promotion and personnel review practices are discussed in more detail below. Researchers reviewed a variety of personnel documents. The review found that personnel practices have not integrated the interests of community policing in their design.

**Key Informant Interviews**

*Shared Perspective on the Mission, Goals & Strategies*, however, the interviews with police services staff revealed a wide range of perspectives about the mission, goals, and strategies of the community policing initiative. Upper level leadership reported that the primary goal of community policing was to strengthen community-police relationships and trust, to empower residents to take ownership of their neighborhoods, and/or to generate a customer service model of policing to Oakland residents. Problem solving was identified as a means to achieving these goals, as opposed to a crime reduction/prevention strategy. Some leadership viewed these as worthy goals, whereas others questioned their merit.

**Comments from Upper Level  
OPD Leadership**

*Community policing should be a way for the community to get involved in problems that the police can’t solve, don’t have the*

*resources to solve, or would be better off devoting resources elsewhere. The PSO should not be a poster child for community policing.*

*Community policing is a philosophy and an organizational strategy. The purpose is to build bridges between the community and police. It's a mechanism to give community a voice on issues, laws and concerns that police should be addressing so they don't just see us as an outside force. It's a mechanism to break down the us versus them mentality.*

*The purpose is to get all concerned parties to rally around changing behavior in society. Police do a small part of community policing.*

Sergeants and problem solving officers identified community mobilization and problem solving as the primary purposes of community policing. Support for these goals was consistently strong among sergeants and problem solving officers.

#### **Comments from PSOs**

*The purpose is to go out and identify problem, taking a proactive, instead of a reactive approach.*

*My job is to meet with the community, find out what their needs and problems are, and educate them about available city resources.*

#### **Organizational Support for Community Policing**

Police services staff concurred that PSOs fulfill an important function in achieving departmental goals. Interviews with police at all levels showed a general view that leadership support for community policing has increased over the last year. In

response to questions about the level of consistent support for community policing in the Department leadership, supervisors and officers unanimously indicated that there was general support for and little resistance to community policing as an approach among all police services staff interviewed. However, there was also a perception that upper level leadership did not dedicate sufficient resources to training and equipment.

***Finding 2.2: OPD has made important changes in organizational structure that are consistent with best practices in community policing, including elimination of the watch command system, restructuring of command areas, and alignment of resources.***

According to the DOJ's summary of best practices in community policing, assignments and resource allocation should be geographically based with the organizational structure aligned to beats and police service areas. A recent study entitled Crime Fighting in Oakland, conducted in December 2006 by Hartnett and Associates identified several aspects of OPD's organizational structure that inhibited implementation of effective community policing. OPD has successfully implemented important changes identified by Hartnett and Associates. They include:

- ✓ **Organize the police department into large areas managed geographically.** OPD was reorganized into three geographic areas with five lieutenants in each area. Area commanders are given authority to assign or transfer personnel and set hours.
- ✓ **Eliminate the watch command structure.** The watch commander

system did not foster a commitment to community policing as the watch commanders “do not have contact with the community, are not aware of problems in each of the beats... and are not responsible for specific geographic beats.” OPD has eliminated the watch command structure and now has captains supervise sergeants assigned to a specific service area.

- ✓ **Increase crime analysis staffing.** OPD added a crime analyst bringing the total analysts to three and assigned one to each area command, again reinforcing the commitment to geographically-based accountability. OPD cultivated an internship relationship with San Jose State University where interns now conduct additional crime analysis.
- ✓ **Increase the use of police service technicians (PST) to meet personnel needs.** PSTs are non-sworn officers who are authorized to conduct a variety of administrative, preliminary investigative and other non-critical functions (e.g. directing traffic). OPD has increased the number of PSTs to 9.

Each of the above changes is consistent with organizational structures found in departments with effective community policing initiatives.

***Finding 2.3: The Department’s recruitment and assignment practices are not organized around the interests of the community policing initiative. Current practices result in high turnover of PSOs.***

### **Background on Personnel**

The research on community policing has found that departments that adopt personnel practices that take into account the interests of community policing are more successful. Personnel practices that work for the needs of patrol may hinder community policing efforts. For example, recruitment practices should explicitly seek candidates with interests and qualities required of a PSO, such as an interest in community organizing, public speaking, and problem solving. A special emphasis should be placed on recruiting officers who share the same cultural, linguistic and socio-economic background as the neighborhoods they serve. Recruitment materials and processes should be specific to the community policing positions, as opposed to those created for traditional officer positions within the Department.

#### **Current Recruitment Practices**

The Department does not specifically recruit for problem solving officers when building the force. Recruitment of new candidates follows a traditional approach. Recruitment materials identify desired education and experience, as well as criminal background record limitations. Opportunities to be involved in community policing or desired qualifications of a problem solving officer are not specified.

*We don’t really recruit for PSOs. Many cops recruited to OPD want the traditional job, catching bank robbers, chasing the bad guy. Community policing is much different.*

Key informant interviews with police services staff confirmed that recruitment practices are not currently organized around the needs of the community policing initiative. Problem solving

officers are currently selected through patrol. On an annual basis, the Department re-assigns officers based on officer requests for transfers. Officers may request a transfer in or out of a PSO position. Police Services staff reported that there are no formal qualifications, criteria or requirements for an officer to meet in order to apply for a PSO position. Supervisors receive a list of officers who have requested a transfer in and examine the officer qualifications. Supervisors must provide a reason for disqualifying a particular applicant.

The PSO position description outlines the key duties and activities of an officer in this position. In addition, supervisors reported that they informally consider factors like initiative, use of force, knowledge of the community, bilingual skills, ability to project manage, critical thinking skills, and fit for the beat. Supervisors reported that officers may be attracted to the PSO position because of the hours, a predictable schedule, and/or the desire to be relieved from the pressures of response oriented policing. Supervisors noted that obtaining officers who are a good fit for the PSO position is hit or miss at best due to the voluntary transfer policy and the recruitment practices described above. Police services staff noted the need to recruit residents of Oakland who are familiar with the community, as well as non-traditional candidates who are interested in problem solving, community organizing, or prevention. Those who are not a good fit often transfer out relatively quickly, a contributing factor to high turnover among PSOs.

***Finding 2.4: The 40 hour community policing training does not sufficiently address core elements of the initiative, such as problem solving, and is not offered frequently enough to prepare problem solving officers to adequately do their job.***

The OPD Training Bulletin on Community Policing dated August 8, 2008 outlines the qualities sought in a community police officer and the role that they will perform. The Oakland Police Department currently provides a 40 hour PSO training once annually to PSOs. Since the training is provided once a year, newly assigned PSOs frequently are on the job for several months before receiving the training. This training covers a range of topics, including available city and community resources to address problems or concerns raised by residents, investigations, the SARA process, case management, and working with the City Attorney. Police services staff had disparate responses related to the content of the training. Most concurred that the training was inadequate and didn't sufficiently address community policing philosophy and approaches, strategies for problem solving, best practices based on successes in other communities, or performance measures for PSOs. Problem solving officers noted the need for more specific training on problem solving techniques. Most officers and supervisors interviewed noted that on the job training constituted the bulk of PSO training and that officers weren't trained in a particular model of community policing. Insufficient training is likely a contributing factor to uneven implementation of the initiative.

*PSO Training is 40 hrs. It's not nearly enough. There is a need to get away from*

*OJT [on the job] training and move towards more formal training.*

*I had one PSO who had been on the job for several months. He hadn't received any training. He approached me after a meeting and said, 'Would you mind having lunch with me so that I can pick your brain about being a PSO, what I'm supposed to be doing 'cause I have no idea and the training isn't for another few months.' He didn't understand what he was supposed to be doing.*

***Finding 2.5:*** *While police services staff reported the use of crime data analysis to solve problems, the use of data to track changes in crime or to educate residents about the source of crime was not observed at the NCPC meetings. The number of crime analysts is low compared to other cities of similar size.*

In site visits to six NCPC meetings, evaluators saw little evidence of the use of data to track progress in addressing priority problems identified by NCPCs or in plotting crime hot spots on maps. Opportunities exist for using beat crime data to educate residents and build their understanding of neighborhood and citywide crime patterns and Measure Y efforts to address them. There was almost no evidence of the use of information systems to provide this data to residents or to use in NCPC-PSO problem solving. While not the sole cause for under-utilization of crime data, without question, budget constraints have limited OPD's capacity to maximize use of technology. Until recently OPD had only two crime analysts. As noted above, this has been increased by one and augmented with the support of interns from San Jose State University. This represents a small fraction of the number in other similar

sized urban jurisdictions, however, even with existing resources better use of technology and data could be achieved.

***Finding 2.6:*** *OPD's information systems limit the Department's capacity to capture data on the nature of its expenditures, operations, and Measure Y activities. However, the Department has taken important steps to addressing this problem by developing a new database for PSOs.*

Use of information systems is about more than crime and police activity data and includes capacity to organize, use and present data related to expenditures, personnel, and other facets of organizational operations. In trying to assemble a better picture of how OPD has utilized Measure Y funds the Department provided financial and personnel summaries that provided limited information on how Measure Y funds and Measure funded-personnel were actually used. Specifically:

- Financial summaries could not be provided that would isolate the level of Measure Y funding used to support various forms of overtime;
- Personnel data could not isolate the proportion of hours PSOs devoted to overtime duties or the amount of time they were on leave; and
- Financial summaries could not isolate how equipment and training funding had been utilized in terms of the kind of recruitment and training activities supported by the funding and in terms of which officers were receiving the training.

A preliminary review of PSO use of the new police activity log software reveals consistent use throughout the department. This is an encouraging

sign and should allow for deeper analysis of police problem-solving activities in next year's evaluation.

***Finding 2.7: Collaboration between PSOs, Neighborhood Services division, residents and other city agencies is a strength of the community policing initiative in Oakland.***

Effective collaboration between police and community stakeholders is considered an essential element of effective community policing programs. In almost every key informant interview, police service staff and community stakeholders were able to describe a particular success story in which PSOs worked closely with city agencies, residents and the police to address problems that were compromising the quality of life or public safety in their neighborhoods. Residents, Neighborhood Services Coordinators, and other community stakeholders were generally satisfied with the level of collaboration and coordination with police to address problems. Stakeholders identified multiple forums that facilitate such collaboration:

1. *Service Delivery Systems-* Provide an important forum for bringing city agencies together to solve problems that require the participation of Public Works, CEDA, City Attorney, Police and/or City Hall.

2. *Neighborhood Services Coordinators-* Staff of the Neighborhood Services Division who work closely on a daily or weekly basis with PSOs to educate residents about available resources and appropriate actions; they coordinate resources and services with other city

agencies and organizations for those actions that do not require police involvement.

3. *NCPCs-* NCPCs help residents identify priorities and receive updates on problem solving progress. Also provides an opportunity for PSOs to educate residents about ways they can support problem solving activities.

4. *Measure Y funded programs-* While PSOs did not report collaboration with most Violence Prevention Programs funded through Measure Y, the Mayor's Street Outreach program was a resource that PSOs called upon to address loitering and truancy concerns.

5. *City Council Staff-* City council staff frequently communicate resident concerns and priorities to PSOs, educate residents about appropriate avenues and actions, coordinate responses with other city agencies, and advocate for resources that will improve the quality of life and public safety within their district.

***Finding 2.8: Resident participation in problem solving varies from beat to beat. Resident participation in the NCPCs was particularly strong in about half of the beats surveyed in the case study and weak in the other half.***

Residents are active in solving problems of concern to their communities, with their level of involvement being highest at the problem identification phase. While the NCPCs are commonly viewed as the primary vehicle for residents to identify problems, residents use a variety of other forums to communicate

their priorities and concerns, such as calls for service, accessing the drug hotline, calling their city council person, or accessing appropriate agencies for problems outside the purview of police.

Residents support problem solving, as well as crime prevention, by providing information on criminal or suspicious activity to police, forming Neighborhood Watch groups, engaging in political advocacy to bring resources to the community, and/or conducting outreach to their neighbors to expand participation in the NCPs.

The level of involvement of residents at the NCP level varied significantly among the NCPs surveyed in this evaluation, with anywhere between 4 and 35 residents attending the meetings we observed. The lowest levels of participation were at those beats located in primarily immigrant communities, with the highest levels of participation at those beats with higher levels home ownership, English speaking residents and mixed income level.

***Finding 2.9: Oakland uses a best practice in problem-solving, the SARA model. However, SARA is not used uniformly across the Department. Some officers use it as a reporting tool, whereas others use it as a problem-solving approach.***

Best practice approaches to problem-solving have been introduced throughout OPD through the use of the Scanning Analysis Responding Assessing (SARA) and these practices are strongly reinforced in CPTED training, to a limited degree in the personnel review process, and in the development of a new data base

designed to track police problem solving activity. However, the SARA process is not used consistently among PSOs. Some see it as an approach to problem solving, whereas others use it as a reporting tool. A more detailed discussion of problem solving in Oakland will be presented below under Evaluation Question # 3.

### ***Recommendations: Evaluation Question #2***

The following recommendations address the findings related to evaluation question #2:

***Recommendation # 2.1: Recruitment materials should specifically reference community policing, public speaking, and working in partnerships with residents and city agencies to encourage candidates interested in these activities to apply.***

***Recommendation # 2.2: OPD should offer the 40-hour PSO training twice annually and create a 1 day PSO-basic orientation for all new PSOs before they assume PSO responsibilities if they will be assigned prior to participating in the 40-hour training.***

***Recommendation # 2.4: OPD should define performance measures for PSOs based on best practices in community policing, as well as their actual duties***

***Recommendation # 2.5: OPD should use crime data to help inform selection of beat priorities.***

***Recommendation # 2.6: To ensure accountability to the community, OPD should develop personnel and financial reports that are easy to generate and***

*that convey precisely how funding is being used.*

**Evaluation Question # 3: Did Problem-Solving Officers (PSOs) effectively solve problems in their beat?**

**Finding 3.1:** PSOs, in collaboration with the Neighborhood Services and other community stakeholders, have successfully solved a range of quality of life, property, and narcotics sale problems. Quantitative data tracking how efficiently or effectively problems are solved will not be available until the 2009-10 evaluation.

Answering the third evaluation question involved synthesizing interviews conducted with PSOs, NSCs, city council aides and city council members, and residents in the case study beats. The qualitative analysis found compelling evidence that PSOs are successfully solving problems in their beat. Most stakeholders interviewed could cite a number of success stories that resulted from the work of PSOs to address concerns in their beats.

In order to assess the return on investment or efficiency of problem solving efforts, data on the number of problems solved, the number of hours spent on each problem, and the parties that participated is needed. It was not available. During the 2008-09 evaluation, the Department began using a database to track problem solving activities in each beat. The new database will allow analysis of:

- The kinds of problems that are being opened and solved,

- The kinds of problem-solving steps that tend to lead to successful resolution of problems;
- The kinds of partnerships and/or city agency involvement that leads to positive resolution of specific types of problems; and
- The kinds of resident actions that can contribute to effectively solving specific kinds of problems.

For this year, qualitative analysis gleaned from the case study was used to answer this evaluation question.

**The Nature of Problems in the Case Study Beats**

Problems addressed by PSOs fall into two broad categories- quality of life problems and those related to violent or criminal activity. There is frequently overlap between these two categories- a gang presence in the neighborhood may cause residents to identify graffiti as a priority concern. In fact residents frequently observe the symptoms of a problem related to criminal activity, as opposed to the source of the problem. The problems in high stressor beats were more entrenched, difficult to solve, and in need of a greater coordination of resources to be addressed successfully. This was particularly challenging in neighborhoods with long-standing narcotics sales problems. Rooting out a problem on one block often meant the problem reappeared three blocks away. Non-stressor beats faced primarily quality of life problems, but also had isolated instances of criminal activity-related problems. The nature and number of problems facing non-stressor beats required a lower level of intervention and resources. The table below outlines the problems residents, stakeholders and PSOs identified as key

neighborhood concerns in the case study beats.

**Case Study Beats: Problems Identified at NCPC Meetings**

Quality of Life Problems	Criminal Activity
x Infrastructure problems (i.e. streets, sidewalks, dangerous trees, broken curbs)	x Narcotics/drug dealing or using them in public spaces
x Traffic	x Prostitution
x Truancy	x Weapons
x Illegal dumping	x Homicide
x Graffiti	x Robbery/burglary
x Blight	x Assault
x Foreclosures	x Gang Activity
x Speeding	x Sideshows
x Abandoned vehicles	
x Loitering	
x Homelessness	
x Public intoxication	
x Businesses that promote criminal activity	

Problem solving activities resulted in resolution of individual problems (often tied to a particular building or residence) related to narcotics, illegal weapons, prostitution or quality of life issues such as blight. In high stressor beats, residents and police did not report that their activities had an impact on reducing criminal activity within the beat. If crime reduction is a primary goal of the community policing initiative, resources were not adequately targeted to those beats with the highest levels of criminal activity.

**Data on Projects Closed**

PSOs commonly refer to their priority problems as “projects.” A common

indicator of the success of projects is the number of projects closed (or solved) during a specific time period. The Department provided information on the number of projects closed during a six-month period by PSOs in each of the six services areas. The scope of this data is limited, as beat level summaries of problems opened and closed or the type of problems that were addressed was not available.

<b>Projects Open-Closed December 2008-May 2009</b>		
<b>Service Area</b>	<b>Opened</b>	<b>Closed</b>
PSO 1**	22	5
PSO 2	79	40
PSO 3	65	30
PSO 4	77	67
PSO 5	37	9
PSO 6	82	42
Total	362	193

This data raises important questions:

- How similar or dissimilar are problems being addressed in each service area?
- Is Area IV more effective in addressing resident identified problems or have they selected problems that are easier to resolve successfully?
- Is Area I not fully engaged in problem-solving or are they simply not recording their problem-solving efforts resulting in these efforts not being captured in the data?
- To what can we attribute the differences in the volume of problems opened and the percentage of problems solved?

### **Success Stories**

Problem solving officers, residents, and community stakeholders all recounted

examples of successful problem solving. Below are some of the success stories shared by problem solving officers:

*We had an apartment complex on Bromley. There was a heavy amount of narcotics, drug dealing, violence and shootings taking place there. Residents were very concerned about what was happening there, they didn't feel safe. This complex was a source of a lot of problems in the neighborhood. Homeless people would go there to buy and use drugs. It was a very long process, but I worked with the City Attorney, Code Enforcement to get it shut down. They shut it down and fenced it off. It will hopefully be bulldozed shortly.*

*We had a problem on Bancroft with an older lady who rented the property. There were young kids (her grandkids) selling drugs; they terrorized the block. We had 4-5 arrests made in connection with what was happening there. We had to get the family removed. We spent a lot of time with the City Manager's office, talking with the property owner, getting residents involved. The housing authority helped because she was on Section 8. We had an 8-hour meeting on how one problem was the center of a neighborhood problem. They moved her to another property and she was at risk of losing her Section 8. Legal aid helped her out, but she got the message. On that block it's been quiet as a church.*

In the absence of data on police activity, problem-solving steps and the kinds of problems being opened and closed, we cannot generalize about how

consistently this type of problem solving is taking place.

***Finding 3.2: The process of problem identification varies significantly by beat and is dependent on the preferences and perceptions of residents who attend the NCPC meetings. A rigorous analysis of data to identify problems or sources of resident concerns was not reported by police or observed at NCPC meetings.***

Researchers observed the identification of priority problems at the six NCPCs in the case study and asked stakeholders and police services staff about how priority problems were identified. The current practice observed at the six beats is as follows: A co-chair, PSO or Neighborhood Service Coordinator solicits input from residents about areas of concern, problems, or issues they would like the NCPC to consider as priority problems. Some NCPCs go through a ranking process where members vote on the priorities they would like to be adopted. Other NCPCs do not go through a formal ranking process (this appeared to occur at NCPCs with low resident participation). In this case, the PSO follows up on the items residents identified.

Residents were not asked to consider specific criteria when ranking items, nor did officers present data about crime trends within the beat for residents to consider when prioritizing problems. As a result, the types of problems selected depended largely on who attended the NCPC meeting. In a neighborhood with a chronic narcotics problem in one area, illegal parking could be identified as a top priority if a resident raised it at the meeting. While resident identification of priorities builds greater trust in the

police, crime-related problems may go unaddressed. Problem solving has been most effective at reducing crime when data is used to identify crime trends, which in turn inform the priorities a community selects.

***Finding 3.3: PSOs did not report a common approach to problem solving. While the Department has adopted the SARA process, which outlines the problem-solving steps, the specific strategies that officers are expected to use during the analysis and response phases have not been articulated. As a result, problem solving varies greatly from beat to beat.***

Police services staff and stakeholders were also asked questions about problem solving approaches during key informant interviews. Problem solving strategies to reduce criminal activity in high stressor beats in a strategic and comprehensive way were not observed or reported. Approaches varied by PSO. While some officers focus exclusively on the priorities and concerns identified at the NCPC level, others described a more extensive investigation process to identify the source of problems identified through a variety of sources (i.e. NCPCs, Drug Hotlines, Crime Stats, Calls for Service) that may result in quality of life or public safety concerns. The SARA process was viewed by some as a reporting requirement and by others as a strategy for solving problems. The following comments from three PSO's represent the range of understandings:

*Our job is to crunch data, look at all the data sources to determine what constitutes a project. A homeless person walking down the street is not a project. We look at the data, go to the site of the problem and try to determine the source. I try to bridge the gap between what neighbors are concerned about and the source of the problem. Sometimes the things they are concerned about are symptoms of a larger problem. I try to educate them about this.*

*Our role is to address quality of life issues.*

*We're divided by area command. There is a lot of variation within the PSO program; the way PSOs are run in area one is very different from area three. It's very disparate.*

### **Recommendations: Evaluation Question #3**

The following recommendations relate to findings for evaluation question #3:

**Recommendation 3.1:** *OPD should use best practices in other communities to more clearly articulate the mission, goals, and strategies of the community policing initiative in its documents and practices.*

**Recommendation 3.2:** *OPD should develop more specific performance measures for PSOs that are aligned to their actual responsibilities, especially in relation to problem solving activities.*

**Recommendation 3.3:** *OPD should invest in training its PSOs on problem solving techniques, particularly in relation to using data to document problems and implementing strategies to address entrenched problems related to narcotics, prostitution or gang activity.*

**Recommendation 3.4:** *PSOs should develop strategies for educating*

*residents about how to use data and more specific criteria to identify priority problems.*

### **Evaluation Question # 4: Did relationships between police and residents improve as a result of services?**

**Finding 4.1:** *The community policing initiative has strengthened relationships between residents and the police in the neighborhoods surveyed in the case study. However, police-community relationships in high stressor beats with low levels of home ownership were more strained than those with low to moderate stressor levels.*

Police and residents interviewed as part of the case study process concurred that community policing activities had strengthened resident-police relationships, improved perceptions of police and resulted in increased cooperation from residents in general. However, in high stressor beats, particularly those with historically poor relationships between residents and the police, the police-community relationships remain strained. This strain was attributed to a number of factors, including:

- Historical mistrust of police
- High turnover among PSOs
- Disparate expectations of the community's and police's role in reducing crime in neighborhoods with high crime levels
- Lack of police knowledge of community
- Inability to solve narcotics and prostitution related problems.

It is important to note that interviews with NCPC members and PSOs

represent a very small sampling of the Oakland population and are not representative of the total city population.

**Finding 4.2:** *The resident survey found significant support for the community policing initiative and Measure Y in general. Knowledge of the Measure Y initiative was moderate.*

To obtain a more representative view of how Oakland residents view Measure Y, community policing, and the effectiveness of Oakland's response to crime, a Resident Survey with a representative sampling of almost 500 Oakland residents was conducted. Among the key findings:

- Over 80% of those sampled indicated that it is “very important” to have community policing in Oakland;
- Over 57% of those sampled were aware of community policing efforts in their neighborhood;
- Over 63% of those sampled were aware of Neighborhood Watch activity in their neighborhood; and
- Of those individuals who had interacted with a PSO, over 79% received good or excellent service.

While these trends indicate that community policing and Measure Y have the potential for significantly improving community perceptions related to the police, the survey also indicated that knowledge of the Measure Y initiative is moderate.

- Less than half (45%) of those sampled had heard of Measure Y; and
- Less than half (43%) of those sampled were aware of NCPD meetings in their neighborhood.

**Recommendation 4.1:** *The City of Oakland should continue to publicize the Measure Y initiative to build public support.*

**Evaluation Question # 5: Did resident's perception of neighborhood safety improve?**

**Finding 5.1:** *The Resident Survey found that residents perceived an increase in crime in their neighborhoods over the last few years.*

The 2005 Oakland survey asked respondents if they perceived crime to have increased or decreased in their neighborhoods over the past five years. The 2008 survey asked respondents if they perceived increases or decreases over the past three years. Comparisons are provided below.

Over the last few years crime in my neighborhood has...	(five years) 2005	(three years) 2008
Decreased a lot	8.7%	2.5%
Decreased a little	19.4%	8.5%
Remained the same	42.9%	32.4%
Increased a little	16.1%	29.9%
Increased a lot	13.0%	26.8%
Total n	448	933
Total %	100%	100%

Because respondents were asked to reflect upon crime trends over different periods of time (three years and five years), the measures are not parallel and therefore not strictly comparable. A comparison between 2005 perceptions and 2008 perceptions does, however, demonstrate a trend toward increased perceptions of crime. The difference, if measures were parallel, would be

statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). A comparison of means found a statistically significant difference in the direction of increased perceptions of crime ( $p < .001$ ).

**Finding 5.2: The Resident Survey found a decrease in perceptions of public safety since 2005.**

In 2005, a survey of 1000 Oakland residents asked questions regarding sense of safety in various settings and times of day. Our questionnaire, administered in December 2008, asked the same questions. Responses from 2005 have been laid out in comparison with the findings from our December 2008 telephone survey of Oakland residents.

<b>During the day I feel safe walking around my neighborhood</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2008</b>
Strongly Agree	53.4%	40.1%
Agree	31.6%	40.5%
Neutral	3.7%	6.7%
Disagree	6.5%	6.9%
Strongly Disagree	4.7%	5.8%
Total	100%	100%

<b>During the day I feel safe walking around Downtown Oakland</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2008</b>
Strongly Agree	35.9%	26.6%
Agree	41.8%	47.4%
Neutral	5.5%	14.4%
Disagree	10.4%	6.9%
Strongly Disagree	6.3%	4.7%
Total	100%	100%

<b>At night I feel safe walking around my neighborhood</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2008</b>
Strongly Agree	21.8%	13.4%
Agree	31.3%	31.2%
Neutral	3.5%	12.2%
Disagree	20.0%	21.0%
Strongly Disagree	23.4%	22.2%
Total	100%	100%

<b>At night I feel safe walking around Downtown Oakland</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2008</b>
Strongly Agree	7.0%	3.5%
Agree	24.4%	16.0%
Neutral	7.1%	19.9%
Disagree	27.2%	31.4%
Strongly Disagree	34.3%	29.2%
Total	100%	100%

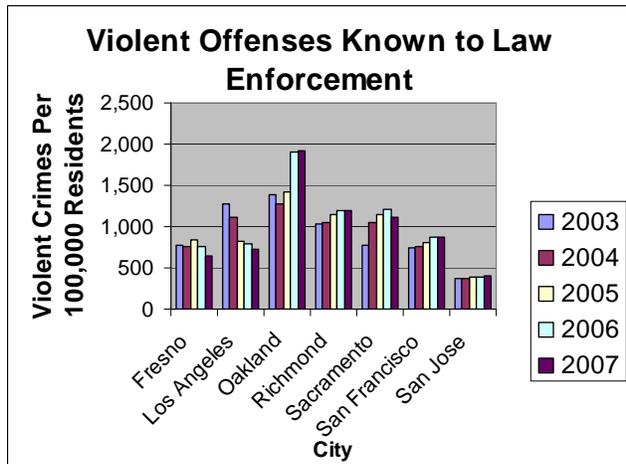
All of the tables show statistically significant differences between 2005 and 2008 respondents' perceptions of safety ( $p < .001$ ). In 2008 a lower percentage of respondents feel safe walking around in Oakland than in 2005, across all places and times of day presented. Interestingly, the tables also show a lower percentage of 2008 respondents feeling unsafe, while, in all time and place scenarios, a larger portion of 2008 respondents report feeling "neutral." While there is clear and statistically significant movement away from the most positive category of perceived safety, the strongest trend is a movement toward neutral (rather than a clear movement toward feeling unsafe).

**Recommendation 5.1: Measure Y staff should share data on actual crime trends and perceptions of public safety at NCPC meetings.**

**Evaluation Question # 6: Did Measure Y funding allocated to community policing reduce or prevent crime and violence in Oakland?**

**Finding 6.1** While rates of crime in Oakland have declined significantly since August of 2008, this decline cannot be attributed solely to Measure Y funded community policing activities or to any one factor. Despite these decreases, Oakland's crime rate is significantly higher than other urban cities.

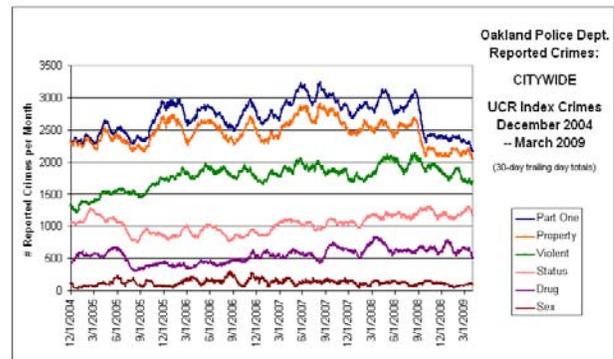
Resource Development Associates (RDA) produced an in-depth analysis of trends in criminal activity in Oakland from 2003-2009. The complete report on crime trends can be found in Section



3: Crime Trends and Neighborhood Conditions Analysis. This analysis provides more specific detail about trends in the types of crime and shifts over time. The reported crimes chart puts the picture in perspective; over the past five years, Oakland has had roughly twice the rate of violent crime as San Francisco and almost four times the rate of violent crime as San Jose.

The data presented on the following page shows steadily increasing levels of crime of all types from 2004 through much of 2008 with a plateau reached in August 2008 followed by a steep decline in September 2008 and continued modest declines since then.

The crime trend chart depicts Oakland's monthly Reported Crimes totals in each of six crime indexes. The trend lines plot 30-day trailing totals, in order to eliminate apparent variations due to calendar months having varying durations. The UCR Part One Crimes Index is the uppermost line and is composed of the most serious violent offenses and property offenses.



While the reported crime trend is a positive sign, many factors can influence the increase or decrease in criminal activity in a community, including changes in socio-economic conditions, shifts in unemployment rates, and sudden increases in gang-initiated acts of retaliation. Over the past year, most forms of reported crimes have decreased significantly in Oakland; this change cannot be attributed solely to Measure Y.

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## **CONCLUSION**

This evaluation report identifies many encouraging signs. Among the more important:

1. Full implementation of Measure Y staffing levels has been achieved; all beats in the City are served by a PSO;
2. New changes in OPD organizational structures that create more geographic accountability have strengthened the Department's commitment to community policing;
3. Problem solving officers are collaborating effectively with residents, NCPCs, Neighborhood Services Coordinators, offices of City Council members, other City Agencies, and community stakeholders to solve problems of concern in their beats.
4. A new data system for entering PSO problem solving activity will allow the Department to analyze the different kinds of problems being addressed by PSOs and the kinds of investigative and collaborative actions that contribute to solving them.

The evaluation also points to areas that can and should be improved:

1. OPD's information systems limit the Department's capacity to capture data on the nature of its expenditures, operations, and Measure Y activities.
2. Turnover among PSOs is a barrier to successful implementation. Personnel practices, such as recruitment, assignment and promotion do not adequately consider the interests of community policing and should be revised to

reduce turnover and interruptions in service.

3. A shared vision and clearly articulated approach to Community Policing was not evident throughout the Department. The Department should define performance measures aligned to the duties of PSOs to achieve more even implementation of the initiative across the city.

The City of Oakland is now in its fourth year of implementing Measure Y. The research makes clear that transforming a police department from a traditional model of policing to a highly collaborative community operation is a complex process that requires transformation in every aspect of police operations.