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# MEMORANDUM

City Administrator

**TO:** HONORABLE MAYOR & CITY COUNCIL

**DATE:** December 30, 2013 **SUBJECT:** Citywide Public Safety Report

FROM: Deanna J. Santana

### **INFORMATION**

As you may recall, the City of Oakland engaged with external consultants, from the Strategic Policy Partnership (SPP), to produce three reports to improve public safety in Oakland. The first two reports were completed specifically for the Oakland Police Department (OPD) and are posted on their website. Additionally, they were recurrently re-released to ensure clarity of issued reports. Many of the key recommendations have already been implemented by OPD and they continue to produce excellent results; in particular, the reorganization to district based policing is believed to be a significant factor to current crime reduction trends in certain categories.

As a component of the SPP contract, the City engaged the SPP to conduct a more thorough review of citywide crime reduction and violence prevention strategies. The consultants worked with a wide variety of community members and city officials during their extensive engagement. The enclosed report titled, "Addressing Crime in Oakland, Zeroing Out Crime, A Strategy for Total Community Action," provides an overview of strong community and organizational assets that are used or may be used in public safety efforts and community building.

Over the next three months, city staff will work with elected officials, Community Policing Advisory Board, Measure Y Steering Committee, Youth Commission, and other stakeholders as we create our specific action steps for moving forward in a town hall fashion. Our goal is to complete this engagement process by end of March to begin active implementation in 2014. This is vital to ensure the next steps incorporate broad based support and commitments from all community stakeholders. Additionally, this report provided an analysis of police officer staffing ratios in other cities, and offers them as a basis for discussion of the appropriate staffing levels for OPD. It does not propose a staffing number for OPD.

As recommended in the report, the City will reach out to Professor George Kelling for feedback regarding our action steps prior to implementation and around the March/April timeframe. We look forward to the vibrant discussion and stakeholder participation as we take action towards a safer Oakland.

#### To: HONORABLE MAYOR & CITY COUNCIL

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Any questions regarding this report can be directed to Interim Assistant Police Chief Paul Figueroa at 510-238-3365.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ DEANNA J. SANTANA City Administrator

Attachment (1)

1) Addressing Crime in Oakland, Zeroing Out Crime, A Strategy for Total Community Action

# **Addressing Crime in Oakland**



# **Zeroing Out Crime**

**December 2013** 

**A Strategy for Total Community Action** 

Strategic Policy Partnership, LLC

Box 577 West Tisbury, Massachusetts 02575 This strategy is dedicated to the many residents and business people in Oakland who want to see a safe and secure city; and to the many police officers and other city workers who tirelessly provide service to the community.

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#### Introduction

This report sets forth a strategy for reducing crime in Oakland, California. The strategy provides a means of moving Oakland from a city with high violence, disorder and other crime to a city where safety becomes the norm. As a strategy, we lay out actions that can be taken to make a real difference in the level of violence, disorder and crime throughout the city.

The actions to be taken are not complex, but they require coordination, constant championing by elected officials and community leaders and a commitment from residents that they will fully participate. Achieving that can be a challenge.

The vision? What can be achieved is the following:

- Oakland will be a community that makes safety and security a top priority.
- The community will be intolerant of crime and violence.
- The community will have recognized the need to assist those who are disadvantaged, and also recognize that life situations can never be an excuse for engaging in crime.
- The Oakland Police Department will be recognized as a police agency that operates at the highest level of professionalism and has developed trusting relationships with all parts of the community.
- Free speech and other Constitutional protections are taken seriously and create an atmosphere where people feel they can freely express their thoughts, so long as they do not infringe on other person's rights.

The report is a Call to Action for every resident, government official and businessperson in the City who is committed to a safe and secure Oakland community. As a result of our research, we found that most people want to be committed to these goals. Many have different ideas about how to achieve that end, which can be a great strength of the city as long as there can be agreement on the overarching objective: a safe and secure Oakland. If everyone can agree on that end objective, there is lots of room for different perspectives and levels of commitment. Oakland can be the model of how a wonderfully diverse community came together to achieve an essential goal.

#### The Oakland Environment

The City of Oakland, California with a population of about 400,000, situated across the bay from San Francisco, is an ethnically diverse, progressive

community with high levels of civic engagement and a strong commitment to preserving a safe and healthy environment to live, work and play. By all accounts, Oakland is a magnet city – one that is a truly desirable place to be. People have been drawn to Oakland for many individual reasons. Many like the general quality of life. Others like the political atmosphere or the general liberalism that can be found among the population. Others love the weather. But one common denominator is a belief among residents and business people that they want a safe and secure Oakland, free of crime and disorder.

It is clear that while there is broad based agreement regarding the need for a comprehensive community public safety strategy, there is little agreement among the population on a course of action and more importantly who – or what – is responsible for the positive changes that virtually everyone believes in. In a city where the erosion of public confidence in even the ability to create a safe environment has taken years to cement into place, simple changes in police procedure or updates in training will not be sufficient to achieve the desired result.

A city wide commitment based both practically and psychologically, is the only successful strategy to combat the notion that "it's someone else's problem." This report seeks to address the city wide actions that should be embraced to achieve an environment where safety and security is the norm and there is a cultural intolerance against crime and violence.

The strategies articulated here were developed by the Strategic Police Partnership, LLC, with the assistance of many people in Oakland Government and the Oakland community. It follows identification of best practices to be adopted within the Oakland Police Department and represents a call to action to every resident, businessperson, community leader and government official. Without this commitment, the dedication of the community to change the environment, no policing strategy will have the desired results.

### The Oakland Demographic

Oakland brings together in one geographic space a wide diversity of individuals, each who tends to have:

- A political perspective
- Socio-economic status
- A high level of civic engagement and community attachment
- Attitudes regarding safety and security.

The demographic of Oakland residents, visitors and officials reflects the following elements:

## General Demographic

- Age
- Gender
- Race / ethnicity
- Sexual orientation

### Socio-economic Demographic

- Income
- Education
- Homeowner status
- Employment status
- Marital status
- U.S. resident status
- Parent of child(ren)
- Parent of school-aged child(ren)

## Civic engagement / community attachment

- Politically engaged (e.g., voter, active in local politics)
- Social activism
- · Time lived in Oakland
- Support local businesses
- Transitory or permanent resident
- Use of government and social services
- Criminally active

#### **Attitudinal**

- Sense of safety
- Sense of community / sense of belonging
- Sense of choice over where you live
- · Legitimacy of rule of law
- Legitimacy of police
- Whether pro-law enforcement
- Whether pro-business
- Political leaning (very liberal to very conservative)
- Satisfaction with government services
- Sense of self-empowerment

Individuals tend to have different combinations of characteristics in each of these areas. Appendix A applies those characteristics to a range of personality outlooks. Except for those who are committed to violence, there is a role for everyone in making Oakland a safe and secure community. The roles that

individuals must play to some degree will reflect their orientation and affiliation.

Some people fit more than one description set forth in the tables in Appendix A, but each person has a primary perspective, as has been shown in the numerous interviews and public forums held about crime in Oakland. The roles individuals can assume in making Oakland a safe community, without fear and disorder, will have to reflect their political perspective. Each demographic – each person – has an important role.

As we noted in the Introduction, the common denominator for everyone in Oakland must be a commitment to community safety. For meaningful community action to occur, involving all the people of Oakland, each individual must be willing to celebrate the diversity of the city and view people by their contribution, not their personal orientation. Adopting this viewpoint will take strong community and government leadership and a new spirit of cooperation. But everyone must make a commitment to a safe and secure Oakland, including a commitment to support and engage in activities that will prevent future criminal acts.

**Reaching the Tipping Point**. Over time, if the steps taken are successful as they were in crime ridden New York and Los Angeles, there will come a time when the norm suddenly changes from one where disorder and violent crime rules to one in which community safety and an absence of violent crime and disorder rules. This is the tipping point, where Oakland is no longer a community of violence but a community of safety and absence of crime; a community in which the public recognizes the importance of investment not only in police but also in the community's youth through a wide range of excellent community programs and initiatives. Oakland will be the city where cynicism is in the past and residents are proud of their achievements.

Oakland must strive to achieve this tipping point if these efforts are to be sustained over the long term.

**Current City Services**. Both the City of Oakland and Alameda County currently offer a wide range of programs and initiatives that serve a large part of the Oakland community, particularly people of need. Every City and County agency currently makes a contribution to community safety through its programs, some more directly than others. Understanding the range of current program offerings is particularly important if the community is to strengthen the offerings and provide needed public support. As noted earlier, most people were not aware of the immense number of programs and the scope of services that already exist in the community. Our recommendation is that resources be allocated to further support existing programs with an emphasis on

coordination of those services, rather than investing on new programs unless an outstanding need is clear. Members of the Oakland community must understand the breadth of the City and County offerings, many of which are described below.

**Department of Human Services** 

Senior Companion and Foster	Provides volunteer opportunities by
Grandparents Programs	training adults 55 and older to meet
	a wide range of community needs
	including assistance to frail elders
	and at risk youth
ASSETS Employment Training	Case management, employment
	services and supportive services to
	aid low income older adults in re-
	entering the job market
Oakland Paratransit for the Elderly	Utilizes taxis and accessible van
and Disabled	drivers to provide daily subsidized
	transportation; peer escorted
	transportation for grocery shopping
	and medical appointments; affordable
	transportation to preventative
	medical services
Head Start/Early Head Start	Provides comprehensive early care
, ,	and educational services including
	nutrition, family services, disability
	services, health and mental services
Senior Centers	Provides programming and meals to
	seniors Monday - Friday, 9 - 5
Oakland Unite	Gang awareness and prevention
	training for school and community
	based personnel; family
	strengthening for families and
	caregivers; young adult re-entry
	services pre and post incarceration;
	restorative justice youth trainings
	and community building; street
	outreach workers provide conflict
	mediation for youth and young
	adults; outreach, counseling, support
	and financial assistance for families
	of victims of homicide; Juvenile
	Justice Strategy serving youth leaving
	juvenile hall and returning to the
	community; youth employment and

	training; crisis intervention and domestic violence services; intensive outreach and drop in center for children who have been sexually exploited; case management for young victims of shootings; Ceasefire case management
Oakland Fund for Children and	Provides grant funding to non-profit
Youth	agencies citywide to provide direct services to children and youth
Safe Walk to School Program	Adults ensure child safety daily at
	busy intersections and report on
	neighborhood safety and blight
Alameda County-Oakland	Partners work together to help
Community Action Partnership	eradicate poverty
Multi-Service Senior Program	Social work and Nurse Care
	Managers provide home visits to frail
	elderly; coordinate with other
	agencies to help reduce safety
	hazards and promote independent
	living

**Community and Economic Development Agency** 

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Neighborhood Satellite Sites for Small	Commercial corridor beautification;
Business Assistance Center	outdoor mural galleries; outreach and
	recruitment for Mayor's Summer
	Jobs Program for youth
Merchant Engagement	Merchants encouraged to sweep in
	front of their businesses; merchants
	to be outside when children are
	traveling to and from school;
	commercial corridor beautification;
	mosaics on city trash bins; painting
	of utility boxes

Office of Economic and Workforce Development

Community Benefit Districts and	Street maintenance and cleaning,
Business Improvement Districts	graffiti abatement; walking the
Maintenance and Safety Ambassador	districts aiding employees, customers
Programs	and visitors with information, first
	aid assistance and directions; group
	meetings to discuss and prioritize
	issues and need for city services;

coordinate meeting between Public
Works, Building Services and the
Police Department

Planning and Building - Building Services Division

Foreclosed and defaulted residential	Local property management firm
properties (OMC Ch. 8.54)	hired by lender to pro-actively
	monitor foreclosed and defaulted
	properties
Property Maintenance (OMC Ch.	Abatement notice mailing and site
8.24)	posting
Building Maintenance	Property owners notified of violations
(OMC Ch. 15.08)	by mail
SMART Inspections	Citywide property and building
_	maintenance - OPD requested

Public Works Agency

Convert over 30,000 street lights to
LED; maintain 36,000 street lights
and 671 traffic signals
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Clean over 805 miles of Oakland
streets with mechanical sweepers;
sweep 492 controlled routes per
month; repair over 11,000 potholes
annually; pave 10 miles of streets
Maintain and clean over 309 building
and facilities; over 640 acres of
parks, grounds and plazas; paint
over 1 million square feet of graffiti
off of public buildings annually
Respond to over 14,000 illegal
dumping service requests annually
Provide support for the Police
Department emergency operations
The Call Center handles some non-
emergency issues for Police and Fire
including animal care and control,
and dangerous vegetation conditions
Adopt-a-spot, Creek to Bay Day and
Earth Day are collaborative efforts
with many city departments, the
NSC's, Police Department and
outside public and private agencies.

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	This program provides for
	community members to come out
	and clean and green the street, parks
	and creeks.
Neighborhood Traffic/Transportation	PWA works with neighborhood
Programs	residents, the Police Department,
	elected officials and other city
	departments to assess and
	implement traffic safety and
	neighborhood traffic calming projects
Homeless Encampments	PWA works with Caltrans, the Police
	Department, Human Services and
	other partners to abate homeless
	encampments
Caltrans/Railroads/Other	A multi-agency effort involving Police,
Interagency Work	Fire, Human Services and a number
	of outside public agencies to address
	blight and homeless issues on
	Caltrans and railroad property
	adjacent to the city of Oakland
Provide Fleet to Police and other city	Acquire and maintain 581 vehicles
agencies	and equipment
Team Oakland and Reentry Programs	Team Oakland Program operates in
	the summer and employs 100
	Oakland youth to clean and green
	the city. Reentry programs partner
	with Public Works to place youth and
	adult reentry individuals to work
	alongside Public Work crews. PWA
	provides worksites for the Mayor's
	Summer Youth Jobs Program;
	Environmental Services contracts
	with Civicorps for a recycling intern
	providing real world job experience

Library

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Outreach	Increase library card membership
	and awareness of library programs
	and volunteer opportunities
Teen Zone Spaces at 6 libraries	Weekly programs, studying,
	socializing, computer access,
	activities when school is out

Meeting room space and bulletin	Job readiness classes; Ready, Set,
boards for community	Connect! - a workforce development
	program for youth age 16 - 24; Teen
	Digital Media Workshop; summer
	activities and programming; adult
	and children literacy

# Office of Parks and Recreation

City Wide Ace Kids Golf Program	Youth from Camp Sweeney
	participated, 5 selected to participate
	in 6 week job training program; some
	youth engage weekly
East Oakland Sports Center	Free swimming for youth and families
	Fridays, 3-7 pm
Allendale Dance Battles	Fridays, 6-9 pm for youth ages 16 -
	21
Oakland Discovery Centers	Science in the "Hood" - positive
	activities for children and youth ages
	10 - 16; serve as afterhours contact
	point for referral to community
	services
Franklin Afterschool Program	Monday - Friday, 3 - 6pm, kids
	participate in constructive activities
	in a safe environment
Franklin Youth Sports	Structured sports program in a safe
	environment
Franklin Youth Internship Program	Trains youth interns to develop skills
	and learn how to work with young
	kids and others in OPR programs
Franklin Boy Scouts	Provides hands on activities; boys
	learn to work together and bond
Franklin Girls Club	Foster girls' self-esteem and
	community building
Franklin Teen Club	Monday - Friday, 3 - 6pm; supporting
	teen's academics in a safe place
Oakland Boating - Sailing into	Monday - Friday, 3 - 6pm during the
Science	school year; youth ages 9 - 15 from
	city of Oakland Recreation Centers
Graffiti Battles and Walls	Ongoing cleanup in the Arroyo Creek
	Oakland High Environmental
Golden Gate Recreation Center	Health cooking class and gardening
	program

Program  Snacks and take pride in a clean neighborhood  Parent Gang Education  Fridays, 7 - 9:30pm, ages 3 - adult; ongoing training and education on gang alternatives through Aztec Dance Program  Social Service Referrals  Late night leagues in the winter and spring  Outdoor Adventures After School  Oakland Boating Summer Camps  Monday - Friday, 3 - 6pm during the school year for youth ages 9 - 15; connect with Oakland outdoors on land and water  Monday - Friday, 9am - 3:30pm from June - August for ages 7 - 17; learn boating and water safety skills  Oakland Boating Environmental  Science  Oakland Boating  Tuesdays, 11am - 3pm, September - June; Counselor in Training Program for Oakland High School youth  Youth ages 5 - 15 from Ira Jenkins, the Inclusion Center and Arroyo went to Arden Woods Farms  Youth ages 5 - 15 from Ira Jenkins, the Inclusion Center and Arroyo went to Arden Woods Farms
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Outdoor Adventure and Team  Building  Youth ages 5 - 15 from Ira Jenkins, the Inclusion Center and Arroyo went
Building the Inclusion Center and Arroyo went
S S
to Arden Woods Farms
Oakland Discovery Centers Science Bike repair/mechanical training for
in the "Hood" Mechanical Training youth ages 10 - 20
Activities
Oakland Discovery Centers Provide safe after hours services
Community Contact Center Monday - Friday until 7pm and
Saturdays
Mentorship Program Arroyo provided cheer and rap
sessions on December 1st for World
Aids Day
Park Beautification Projects San Antonio monthly beautification project
Student Training Program  Young adults age 18 and up provided
with an instruction in painting
techniques; participants provided

	with a certificate of completion,
	allowed to keep equipment, and
	connected to labor unions for jobs
Golden Gate Recreation Center After	Recreational activities and homework
School Program	study hours for youth and teens
Healthy snack and food distribution	Ongoing snacks for afterschool
	participants and monthly meals for
	families
Late night live program in the parks	Summer
Redwood heights afterschool rockets	Monday - Friday, 3 - 6pm,
program	(Wednesday 1:30 - 6pm) for kids ages
	5 - 11; provides homework tutoring,
	recreational activities, snacks and
	mentoring
Redwood heights elementary sports	Monday - Friday, 3:30 - 4:45pm and
	Saturday for 2 hours; structured
	sports program for grades 2 - 5
Redwood heights summer teen	Teens in 9th and 10th grade assist
volunteer program	day camp counselors and learn skills
Toldinoon programm	to possibly become a recreation aide
Girl Scouts at Redwood Heights	3 different troops for girls ages 5 -11
Redwood Heights Teen Karate	Tuesday and Thursday, 6 - 7:30pm
Outdoor Movies in the Park @	April - October fun and safe setting
Redwood Heights	for families to enjoy movies and
reawood Heighto	activities
Lincoln Square Drop In Playground	Supervised safe haven after school.
Efficient Square Brop in Flayground	outreach to youth regarding case
	management, health and career
Lincoln Square Counselors in	Year round. Middle and high school
Training	age youth mentored under leadership
Training	of OPR staff
Arroyo Inclusive Playgroups	Tuesday - Friday, 9 - 1pm; early
Throyo merasive riaygroups	intervention services for children ages
	1 - 5 at high risk for acquiring life
	changing developmental disabilities
Carmen Flores Recreation at Josie	
De La Cruz Park	Afterschool programming for children ages 5 - 13 including assistance with
	homework, sports activities and
	<u> </u>
Carmen Flores Recreation at Josie	healthy cooking
De La Cruz Park	Healthy, structured activities
	including Zumba and Karate
Dimond Recreation Center Homebase	Structured classes and activities for
Afterschool Program	elementary age youth

Ira Jinkins Community Service	Monday - Saturday, participants from
	local community perform various
	maintenance/beautification tasks
Ira Jinkins Kidz Club Afterschool	Monday - Friday, kids age 5 - 12
Program	receive homework assistance and
	structured activities
Teen Eco Action Week	Clean up/restoration projects at
	parks in their local communities for
	teens age 13 - 17; teens receive a
	stipend and certification of
	attendance/completion
Teen/Young Adult Basketball	Weekday evenings for teens and
	young adults age 18 - 25
Ira Jinkins Community Service	Community participants perform
	maintenance and beautification tasks
	around facility and grounds
Youth Urban Farm Project in	Summer program for youth to learn
Partnership with Acta Non Verba	gardening and farming techniques,
	the value of eating fresh food, and
	participate in physical activities
East Oakland Sports Center	Fridays, drop in free exercise
	activities for all ages and a teen
	nutrition and fitness program
Aquatic Unit Junior Lifeguard and	Certification course for lifeguard
Lifeguard Training Program	training and opportunities for junior
	lifeguards to shadow lifeguards and
	swim instructors
Youth Fitness Program	Fridays 6:00 - 8:30pm for ages 10 -
	17; lessons in nutrition and fitness
Boot Camp	Tuesday and Thursday 6 - 7pm;
	fitness workouts for multiple ages
EOSC: Youth Fitness; educating	Friday between 5:30 PM and 8:30 PM
youth on fitness, nutrition and more	
EOSC: Performance Group	Free dance performance and
	choreography
Karate Classes: Redwood Heights	Tues/Thus 6:00 PM to 9:00 PM
Ballet instruction	Saturdays from 10:AM to 2:00 PM
Karate Classes: Ira Jenkins	Mon & Wed 4:00 Pm to 5:00 PM
Studio One: Middle School Arts	Mondays: 3:00 PM to 6:00 PM
Academy	
Studio One: Peace Nature Program	Saturdays
Arroyo: Science in the Hood	Wednesday 3:)) PM to 5:00 PM
Arroyo: After School Program	Mon-Fri 3:00 PM to 6:00 PM

Arroyo: Kickback	Saturday, 10:00 AM to 4:00 PM
Arroyo: Cheer Program	Tuesdays 6:00 PM to 8:00 PM
Arroyo: Tennis Program	Tues and Thurs 3:00 PM to 5:00 PM
STRIDE: Program exposing youth to available job opportunities (Striving to Redirect Individuals in a Difficult Environment)	
Urban Electronics	

Fire Department

Household waste enforcement	
FFI Academy	Partner with BAY EMT
EMT Academy	Partner with Bay EMT
Youth Explorer Academy	
Summer Job Program	Partner with Youth Uprising
Mayor's Summer Job Program	Participant
Career Fairs	Outreach to school age children
Ride-Along Programs for EMT	Partner with Merritt College
Students	_
Spark mentoring program	

There are excellent examples of collaboration between city agencies, and between city agencies and other agencies. The partnerships between Oakland Fund for Children and Youth and Oakland Unite with the city and County agencies provide important services to youth and families. Street outreach and efforts to address commercially sexually exploited children (CSEC) and domestic violence services are coordinated closely with the Oakland Police Department. The Department of Human Services partners its homeless Collaborative for Outreach and Encampment Abatement with OHA, PWA, OPD and other agencies. The Department's Messengers for Change initiative is closely partnered with Oakland Unite, OPR, OPD and the Fire Department, among others. The funded Juvenile Justice Strategy includes Probation, the school district, Health Care, Oakland Unite and various other communitybased organizations, receiving Federal recognition because of the collaboration and impact. Oakland Unite provides grant funding through Measure Y dollars to non-profit and public agencies for violence prevention efforts, raises additional dollars from state and Federal government to supplement Measure Y dollars, includes case management, community engagement and coordination of street outreach, crisis response and juvenile justice work, and can include all agencies funded for violence prevention. The County, of course, provides important services such as probation and mental health among many others.

Clearly there are substantial resources already existing in the community that support thousands of residents, with a special emphasis on youth. These programs fill an important need for the community and must be maintained, and hopefully increased. The challenge is for the city to coordinate all of these initiatives in a meaningful way.

Even given the breadth of these programs and initiatives, each can increase its contribution if agency personnel think creatively, focusing on ways the initiatives can further contribute to preventing the movement of young people toward crime and violence.

The issue here is not the amount or scope of initiatives but: (1) clearly-defined collaborative oversight to ensure that the total picture is known and strengthened as a collaboration between government, CBOs and the community and (2) pushing initiatives into identifying additional actions that will keep youth off the streets and into constructive activities and away from a violent atmosphere.

# The Challenges

Achieving the objectives of this strategy requires an understanding of several complex issues, each of which presents challenges for implementation of a meaningful set of strategy actions.

#### Crime

Oakland currently is a community plagued by an unacceptable level of violent and non-violent crime. Perpetrators of the violence not only victimize individuals but create a sense of fear and disorder throughout the city. Residents must not only be safe, but feel safe in their neighborhoods. Even reading about crime, watching news reports on TV or social media can create a sense of insecurity throughout the city, even if most persons are not directly impacted by crime events.

Most of the violent crime is committed by young adults. The experiences of youth in their homes, in school and on the streets can determine whether they get involved in violent acts or as victims when they become young adults. Addressing youth when they are at the formative teen years is critical if they are to remain away from the young adult crime and violence activity.

### **Police Legitimacy**

There were years, some many years ago and some not that long ago, when police actions were offensive to a number of residents in the community. As a result, the Department faces a true challenge in overcoming community perceptions about their current conduct. Now, although major improvements have been made and others are underway, it will be difficult to change those perceptions, which sometimes take on a life of their own and become a part of the oral history passed from generation to generation. It will be imperative for members of the Department to be willing to acknowledge serious issues in the past. That recognition and sensitivity will go a long way to setting the stage for improved relationships.

Further, the Department has often viewed itself as a "special agency" within city government. Coordination of actions with other agencies providing services has not been as strong as it ought to be. The police have major responsibility for addressing crime but other should also city departments play an important role. The collaboration between agencies (and eventually the community itself) is a key requirement if success is to be achieved.

### Quality of Life Issues

In many neighborhoods in Oakland, the key issue is not violent crime but quality of life issues such as vandalism, illegal dumping and trash, graffiti and congregating disorderly groups. Not only do these problems affect residents and their perception of safety, but have a negative impact on business in already struggling neighborhoods. In such situations, residents and businesspeople are quick to identify the problem but lack the ability to come collaboratively together with police and other city agencies to take action that will eliminate the problem in a manner that will be acceptable to residents of the neighborhoods.

### Responsibility

Unfortunately, a re-occurring theme among residents and leadership of Oakland is a culture of opinion but lack of action. Many individuals expressed that everyone complains but few actually join in taking action. Individuals express concern, place blame and offer solutions, but few take personal responsibility to act in coordination with others. This must change if Oakland is going to realize its potential as a world class city. Policing is generally viewed by the community as separate from other community initiatives, responsible for combating crime and disorder, not integrated in city initiatives. A robust, multidimensional coordination and execution of city resources, including but not solely relying on the police department, is needed to overcome these cultural realities in the city.

# **Action Items**

# The Oakland Police Department

Since the mid 1990s until recently, it was widely believed that the best way to eliminate crime was to increase the amount of arrests, regardless of the circumstances. Today we recognize that while arrest of those who commit violent crime is a core requirement, we cannot arrest our way out of the crime problem. Progressive police departments have moved to a focus on crime prediction, prevention and community engagement. This policing strategy seeks to identify through pattern analysis where the next crimes will occur and to assign resources to that area as a preventative measure. In this strategy, prevention is multifaceted, involving the entire community and all of government, not just a reliance on one aspect of a city – the police – to address a deeply rooted issue. Coupled with strong law enforcement action, trusting relationships within the community are essential to reducing crime, disorder and fear.

There is no question that the Department has recently made major strides toward developing improved relationships of trust with the Oakland community, particularly with the implementation of the District organizational structure. Under progressive leadership, the Department has adopted new strategies, such as Ceasefire, that are beginning to pay important dividends, has greatly improved officer training, has developed far better field practices as a result of the Negotiated Settlement Agreement and has a majority of Officers who really do want to make a difference for the people of Oakland. Please see the Best Practices Review¹ conducted by Strategic Policy Partnership, LLC, and the District Based Investigations report² by The Bratton Group, LLC in conjunction with Strategic Policy Partnership - both illustrate the significant reforms that the Department is in the process of implementing.

More can be done. Following are action items the department should adopt:

#### **Expansion of the Ceasefire Initiative**

The Oakland Police Department is already involved in a proven method of crime reduction – Project Ceasefire. While implementation requires a high level of commitment and perseverance, the impact can be significant. For the Department to maximize its goals it must fully embrace the principals of the initiative based on the important work by David Kennedy at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City.

- Build community support for creating a moral voice against violence, particularly among communities of faith;
- Identify persons most at risk of being involved in violent acts, and identifying the groups to which those individuals belong;
- Call in leaders of those groups to advise them that tough enforcement action will occur if a member of their group engages in violence;
- Provide at these "call ins" community representation and social agency personnel who offer to assist group members with alternatives to violence; and
- Form strong collaborations with state, federal and county criminal
  justice agencies to ensure there is rapid enforcement action following the
  next violent act.

The Department took some time to organize itself in support of the initiative but in recent months has dramatically improved its performance. For the program to continue to thrive, dedicated and predictable funding for Ceasefire must be obtained and the initiative must be fully staffed. The Ceasefire initiative is the most effective means for address violent crime in Oakland and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://www2.oaklandnet.com/oakca1/groups/police/documents/webcontent/oak043785.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://www2.oaklandnet.com/oakca1/groups/police/documents/webcontent/oak041034.pdf

it should always have the highest priority. Not only is it effective in stopping the patterns of violent crime in the city but it provides support for those who would continue to be involved in these acts by linking them with service providers who can help them break out of the patterns of behavior that not only lead to violent crime but make them potential victims themselves in the future. Ceasefire is tough on offenders but highly supportive of those who want to change their life patterns.

Additionally, the Department must improve its investigative strategies, reduce calls for service with the Call Reduction Strategy underway, submit fingerprints recovered from crime scenes into the Automated Fingerprint System in real time, and use technology such as vehicle license plate readers to protect neighborhoods where there are patters of robbery and burglary.

Also important is the necessity to address the acceptable gun culture in some neighborhoods. Individuals who carry illegal firearms do so to reinforce a sense of self-importance and power or address their fear of being attacked by others. Currently the California Partnership is finalizing analysis and is likely to report that less than 1% of people are carrying an illegal firearm in the community. While it is imperative that law enforcement treats these individuals strongly, the community must also move swiftly to reject any thought that such behavior is acceptable.

The success of Ceasefire has shown that carefully coordinated community actions, coupled with strategic policing initiatives are the key to creating a better environment in urban communities. The same is true in Oakland.

# **Rethinking Community Policing**

According to the Office of Community Oriented Policing in the Department of Justice, the core elements of community policing involve organizational transformation, problem solving and community partnerships. The key factor in successful community policing is involvement with the community, in every neighborhood, in matters that impact the safety and security of the neighborhood. The concept of community policing is misunderstood among many in Oakland and in the Police Department. Community policing cannot only be a few officers who work on problem-solving; every Officer in the Department must be responsible for policing in this manner. Every police contact is an opportunity to engage with the community, increase police legitimacy, and be responsive to neighborhood concerns. Police working in a neighborhood must have a felt presence, not just walk or drive through the area without interacting with many whom they pass. Likewise, the community is responsible for participating, in coordination with the police, in the safety of themselves and their neighbors.

Until recently, the focus for community policing has primarily been on the assignment of a small group of Problem Solving Officers to specific areas of the city to work with Neighborhood Crime Prevention Councils. Some time ago, the NCS Coordinators were removed from the Police Department. For a more fully coordinated community policing effort, they need to be returned to the Department and work as partners with the PSOs under the District Captains.

This initiative has been reasonably successful, in that many PSOs have developed excellent relationships with their respective organizations and engage in meaningful problem solving. However, a far broader orientation is required for a truly successful implementation of community policing. To achieve an organizational transformation, the community should be involved in development of police policy, strategy and tactics. The community should share responsibility for outcomes and not simply resort to placing blame. The Community Policing Advisory Board should be more integrated in the development of strategies and have more regular contact with the District Captains. The entire Police Department, not just PSOs, should be focused on relationship building.

#### **Evaluation Metrics**

It has become common to judge community policing solely in terms of the number of projects initiated and completed by PSOs. This measure is not conducive to support the true goals of community policing. The metrics of a safe community must reflect outcomes, not activities. Efforts should be made to determine and measure:

- the perception of community members that policing is making a difference, that priority neighborhood problems are being addressed;
- the number of community residents that are actively engaged in activities formally associated with creating a safe and secure environment;
- perception that residents are being treated with respect and dignity;
- culture that violence in any form is unacceptable;
- belief among youth that carrying a firearm is unhealthy, dangerous and unacceptable in their environment;
- sense among residents and businesspeople that quality of life issues are being effectively addressed;
- the feeling among residents that it is safe to be in their neighborhoods.

#### **Restorative Justice**

Restorative Justice processes bring together both the offender and the victim to help the offender understand the impact of his or her actions on the community – issues that offenders rarely consider. Typically available as an alternative to court proceedings, restorative justice, when well organized, has a

substantial impact on reducing the level of disorder in the neighborhood where it is implemented.

The school district has been incorporating restorative justice principles to the school environment, aimed at building a sense of community, respond to student mis-conduct, lower suspensions and expulsions and create a positive school climate. Moving these practices into the community, neighborhood by neighborhood, is clearly the best way to address neighborhood disprder and minor crimes in a manner that brings community into the process and can prevent future crime and disorder occurrences.

### **Police Staffing**

As in many similar cities across the country, the personnel strength of the Oakland Police Department was substantially cut some years ago in response to the economic pressures of the weakened economy. Despite this reality, it is clear that the current number of sworn officers is not sufficient to support an effective crime reduction strategy.

The current strength of the Oakland Department reflects a ratio of approximately 1.55/thousand residents. As a comparison<sup>3</sup>:

City	Officers per
	thousand
San Jose	1.30
Denver	2.42
Los Angeles	2.57
San Francisco	2.75
Newark	4.67
Washington DC	6.56

When determining optimal staffing levels, consideration should be made for factors such as:

- Police officers per thousand of population
- Responding to citizen calls for service within specific time frames
- Requirements for addressing levels of crime
- Patrol requirements for coverage in a designated geographic area
- Special situations requiring police attention such as major sporting events, public events, demonstrations, business district patrols
- Call for service reduction initiatives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.governing.com/gov-data/safety-justice/law-enforcement-police-department-employee-totals-forcities.html

#### Personnel attrition

Using a strict ratio per thousand formula is not an appropriate measurement for Oakland because of the level of violent crime and nature of disorder in sections of the community and overly simplistic analysis of law enforcement.

Solving the financial reality of the city or the nation is not included in the scope of this report; rather we seek to encourage a replenishment of staff with a priority on the sworn compliment based on a ratio of 2.0 Officers per thousand residents.

Priority positions are: full staffing of the new police districts, assignment of investigative teams in every District as recommended by the Bratton Group analysis, strengthened homicide investigative teams and increased intelligence abilities linked to the Ceasefire Program.

Sworn staff can be culled from assignments that civilians can fill, particularly technically in nature. Politically, it is often difficult for the City to propose adding civilian personnel, but it is a serious mistake to only add Officers. Well trained, strategically placed civilians can free up Officers' unique skill set to be more appropriately assigned to positions where they can have a more direct impact on crime, fear and disorder. Examples of this exist in the support of field policing activities such as crime analysis and laboratory technical staff for the Automated Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS).

#### **Police Accreditation**

The Department has remained under a court order to meet important standards of constitutional policing. Hopefully, with the appointment of the Compliance Director, the Department will soon be able to meet 100% compliance and be removed from monitor oversight. Once that oversight has ended, the Department should seek accreditation from the Commission on Accreditation of Law Enforcement Agencies. Accreditation will lessen the liability the Department has faced over past years from being challenged that procedures and processes are not according to professional standards. Also, accreditation will send a strong message to police officers and the community that there is a positive future for policing in Oakland.

#### Legitimacy Training

The city and the community should strongly support the Police Department's efforts in training officers in police legitimacy issues, where officers come to understand community perspectives and how police interactions with the community can build relationships of trust. The training modules developed at the Chicago Police Department by Tom Tyler and Tracey Meares of Yale University have had a dramatic impact on changing police perspectives of

community and understanding how police can change community perceptions about police.

#### Communication

The Department should communicate regularly using a variety of methods with the community about the state of public safety. It is important to not only inform residents about crime trends and incidents, but also successful interventions and other positive happenings. Use social media, the Department's website, traditional media and email blasts to keep people informed. Request that there be a standing item on the city council's agenda to receive an update from the Department. Develop a public service campaign with tips for community members to preserve safety and a sense of security. The Department should hold briefings for other city departments to educate them about police initiatives such as Ceasefire.

# **Measure Y Support**

It is important to continue involving the community in generating support to re-fund Measure Y. To strengthen the collaboration between Neighborhood Service Coordinators and the District police, the city should bring the Neighborhood Service Coordinators under the management of the District Commander so they can be a direct resource for the Captain and Problem Solving Officers (PSO). Additionally, the city should negotiate with the Police Union to pay a stipend to officers who are willing to remain in PSO positions at least a year so long as they receive a satisfactory performance evaluation. The culture of the PSO program must to be more fully distributed throughout the Department – every officer should fundamentally believe he or she is a Community Policing Officer. It is also imperative that the Department commit that PSOs will not be drawn from their neighborhood beat unless a true emergency occurs. Finally, it is important to review the non-police elements of the funding so that priority is given to addressing gun violence and focused on individuals with the highest risk of being victims or perpetrators gun violence.

Many people view Measure Y as solely a police initiative. That view is shortsighted. Crime grows from a number of factors, including the disruptive and unsupportive family life in many youth's homes, and the poor quality of (or absence of) affordable housing for poorer members of the community. Given the above, it is critical that all Measure Y initiatives (not only police support) be viewed as a comprehensive approach to violence reduction and prevention. Policing has tended to be the focus of all the attention but recognizing the importance of addressing the neighborhood, family and individual issues that contribute to the Oakland violent environment in poorer neighborhoods of the city. Measure Y is a comprehensive initiative and must be viewed that way.

# **City Wide Coordination**

As Oakland has already seen, efforts on the part of the police acting alone are not sufficient to address deeply rooted issues in the city. City agencies and governmental leadership must embrace the police department and include them in initiatives to address issues of concern in the community. Every agency must see itself as part of the crime solution and coordinate initiatives. Following are action items that the city should adopt:

# Obtain a Commitment from City Government Officials (Elected and Appointed) that reducing crime is the number one priority for action

There is no more important priority than getting a handle on crime; to ensure that every resident and businessperson in Oakland commits to get involved in addressing the issue. While perceptions, perspectives and priorities may differ among public officials, there needs to be a consensus that the objective is to reduce violent crime in Oakland. Let there be debates on the exact strategy but every public official should make it clear that they support broad-based, high impact action with the community to zero out crime.

# **Appoint a Director of Community Improvement**

This individual will be responsible for coordinating collaborative action by city agencies, community groups and state and federal partners, to address both quality of life issues and crime in a manner that seeks to prevent future occurrences. This position should be a direct report to the City Administrator and one of importance and responsibility with the authority to utilize city resources and personnel to carry out the mission. Include crime reduction and quality of life issues as a regular agenda item in department head meetings. Appoint personnel from every department to coordinate interdepartmental efforts. Regularly provide information to the community about progress, ongoing challenges and what specifically residents should do to participate in success.

# **City Coordinating Committee**

The Mayor should appoint a team of representatives from the community to work with the Director of Community Improvement, the Police Department and other government agencies to insure community coordination. The City Council should refer candidates to the committee and be involved as stakeholders in the strategy. Create subcommittees to include topics such as policing strategy, neighborhood engagement, quality of life strategies, funding and resources and

communications. Subcommittees should also develop city wide strategies for homelessness, pan handling, disorderly youth and trash dumping. The Committee might have a sub-committee for programming "at-risk" youth and young adults. Committee members should be mindful that the answers to these pressing issues do not rest solely with the police department.

#### **Create Crisis Intervention Teams**

Organize teams of parents, school personnel, social workers, mental health professionals, residents and other personnel to coordinate with the police department when there is actual or the potential for community disorder. Seek funding from state and federal agencies to train these individuals and put the teams in place.

# **Involve the School Community**

Public school staff is in an important position to influence youth with respect to crime and disorder. There are three key areas of involvement for schools.

- 1. Maintaining order and a constructive learning environment with the school and on its grounds
- 2. Engaging with students about issues of violence and disorder, and
- 3. Influence schools and their staff have in the community through parent linkages and related activities.

The school district has creatively addressed many of these issues within the schools themselves. Teachers and school administrators often have constructive relationships with students and can help get important messages across regarding community safety. They should be working with police to identify at risk youth and intervene. Within the school, there must be discussion among faculty and the administration regarding safety in the greater community and the role teachers and staff have in supporting that objective. The discussion must not only focus on in-school issues but also neighborhood issues.

Outside the school where there are locations that have disorder among students after school, explore using the Boston Transit Police StopWatch Initiative<sup>4</sup> as a model to address after school disorder, placing multi disciplinary volunteer teams at potential hot spots to remove youth anonymity. The Boston StopWatch program fields a group of volunteer school personnel, social workers and parents to join one or two police officers in monitoring problem locations through which large numbers of youth travel after school.

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<sup>4</sup> http://strategiesforyouth.org/mbta-stopwatch-program/

The initiative has been sustained every school day for over nine years with great success. Schools should also incorporate discussions about violence and its impact into curriculum and provide guidance about how to avoid being involved in a violent culture.

# **Quality of Life Issues**

City Government should work to place attending to quality of life issues a high priority. Some recommendations are:

- Bring Security Ambassadors into the crime reduction strategic plan and require advanced training to those who patrol downtown areas, so they are active and have the ability to intervene in minor situations that impact public security
- Invite George Kelling, the author of the famous "Broken Windows" concept to Oakland as a speaker or to advise the Coordinating Committee on ways to address public order and quality of life issues without arrest
- Involve the Environmental Protection Agency in addressing the problem of illegal dumping
- Seek to prosecute businesses or individuals who illegally dump trash
- Encourage neighbors to take pictures of those illegally dumping and obtain vehicle license number of offenders
- Implement a 311 system for non-emergency calls for service, not only for police but for all city service requests
- Consider having on-duty city crews respond in real time to calls for service use the Boston initiative (where calls for service are immediately dispatched to working crews upon receipt during some hours of the day)) as a model
- Strengthen homeless outreach initiatives, including mental illness services, for a more integrated approach

#### **Demonstrations**

There remains a sense within the community that demonstrations are solely a policing matter. The responsibility for protecting property and lives certainly rests largely with the police, but there are ways that members of the community can participate in lessening the chance that there will be violence. While there has been substantial violence at some demonstrations, the majority of demonstrations are peaceful but filled with strong emotions regarding issues important to the participants. When there is violence, it is often focused at local or national businesses – sometimes targeted because of

socio-political reasons. In recent months, police have been well trained regarding effective tactics for maintaining order and responding to disruption in a manner that protects life and property and still respects people's rights.

Demonstrations that have internal monitors generally have less problematic behavior and should be required as part of the permitting process. When violence occurs, offenders must be dealt with harshly by the Oakland community. The Courts must be pressed to pass sentences that include community service and payment for damages, and the business community must sue offenders for the cost of lost business and repair of physical damage. Further, the community must speak out that violence of any type is unacceptable and it is the fault of the perpetrators of such actions.

# **Community Engagement**

Perhaps the most important element of a successful crime and disorder strategy is relationships in the community and the culture of residents to reject violence as a part of their lives. An essential element in the Crime Reduction Strategy is the community – both residents and business people.

# Speak Out

People invested in Oakland must speak out about a bottom line intolerance of violence of any kind. Individuals should speak out to their neighbors, to their children, relatives, the media and government officials. They should organize neighborhood residents to speak out against violence and join in becoming a force against violence and enthusiastically support funding to support safety and assistance for those in need – housing, employment, social services, medical care and counseling. Individuals should challenge those who claim that poverty can justify crime and violence by using real life examples of the negative ramifications of these actions.

#### **Positive Culture**

Community leaders and residents should seek to be a positive force in creating a safe Oakland, not only in their individual actions but making efforts to join forces with the neighborhood groups, government organizations and the police. Residents and business people regularly ask, "What can I do to participate in a strategy for improving a violent Oakland environment?"

- Sign up to be a participant in strategy implementation;
- Become a moral voice against crime and violence in the city;
- Pass the word of your commitment and ask others to join;
- Report things you see as potential problems;
- Take photographs of problem situations such as illegal dumping and submit them to your PSO;
- Actively support funding for this strategy with elected and appointed officials;
- Join in community walks and peaceful demonstrations;
- Get to know your local PSO, District Captain and other Officers; and
- Spread the word in the neighborhood when a resident is involved in violent crime and advise police even confidentially when you know if someone is carrying a gun so an intervention can be made.

#### **Demonstrate Commitment**

- Community Groups should organize "commitment events" throughout the city with the intent of educating the public and ask for support
- Provide sign up commitment agreement cards for residents and businesses to show support and post the cards some place prominent in the city
- Organize community walks in neighborhoods that have quality of life issues or potential for violent crime
- Secure press coverage of events to publicize participation
- Have a contest to develop an anti-violence logo or motto for the city
- Business groups to fund anti-violence t-shirts
- Organize community concerts and events with well-known artists who will support and espouse the theme that violence is unacceptable

#### **Initiating Action**

To get the ball rolling, we recommend the following steps:

- 1. Review this plan with government officials and the community in every section of the city. Get the "buzz" started about the actions that are needed.
- 2. Brief the Community Policing Advisory Board and the Measure Y Oversight Committee, City Council and others on the projected actions.
- 3. Make adjustments, as needed to the action plan to reflect community suggestions. The involvement of the community in this review will prime

- residents and businesspeople to be prepared to commit to engagement and participation in upcoming actions.
- 4. Roll out the strategy to the community through a series of forums in every neighborhood. Press the "buzz" forward, getting people talking about the need for action and their participation.
- 5. Form a Coordinating Committee and the sub-committees referenced in the Strategy. Ensure that the Coordinating Committee is diverse and can become the central champions of the effort.
- 6. Begin a massive campaign to enlist residents and businesspeople to sign commitment pledges against crime and violence in Oakland.
- 7. Host open forums for City Departments with community residents to identify ways that city agencies can expand their service offerings to address challenges such as finding places for youth to congregate in safe areas.
- 8. Encourage residents to volunteer with community based-organizations that are working to address violence.
- 9. Begin community walks every night and begin to take other community actions reflected in the Strategy.

Oakland has tremendous resources with strong city and community leadership which can have a substantial impact on the level of crime in the city. To be successful, it is critical to have:

- Coordination between agencies, residents, leaders
- Commitment to fully engage in making a difference
- Creativity in identifying new solutions to old problems
- Communication keep everyone informed of actions and strategy
- Collaboration essential to the success of the strategy

Failure will occur when there is a culture of:

• Cynicism – always believing that nothing will work

We understand that the community expectation may be that this report should be primarily focused on the Police Department and its responsibility it is important to acknowledge that an absence of involvement, or even worse cynicism, about the ability of the community to impact change is just as vital to the success of any crime strategy – especially in Oakland. There are many recommendations included here that should be – and we have confidence will be – taken toward improvement in the Police Department. The Police Department is not enough.

While Oakland has adopted Community Policing and adapted it to the city, a new paradigm of crime fighting should be embraced – what Commissioner Bill Bratton of the New York Police Department has recently termed and defined:

# **Collaborative Policing**

Collaborative policing is based on Sir Robert Peel's principle #5. "Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence."

Whereas "community policing" focused on sending police officers into the community, "collaborative policing" goes further by bringing the community into policing.

Clearly this is a new concept for Oakland and needs to be tailored to the unique city that Oakland is. If the strategies here are adopted, embraced, and all members of the community are committed then Oakland will enjoy the benefits of a safe and secure city they call home.

# Principals for a Safe Oakland

- Oakland is a community that makes safety and security a top priority.
- Oakland is a community that is intolerant of crime and violence.
- Oakland is a community that assists those who are disadvantaged, and recognizes that life situations are not an excuse for engaging in crime
- Oakland is a community that protects free speech and other constitutional guarantees to create an atmosphere where people feel they can express their thoughts so long as they do not infringe on another's rights.
- Oakland is a community whose Police Department operates at the highest level of professionalism and has trusting relationships with all residents.
- Oakland is a community whose Police Department is community centric, focused on maintaining a partnership with other law enforcement agencies, government entities and the community to prevent crime and create an atmosphere of safety and security.

# Appendix A

# Oakland Personal Demographics Categories

Demographic	Possible Relevant Categories
Upper class	Age, income, homeowner status, transitory v.
homeowners	permanent, sense of choice over where you live, sense
	of self-empowerment
Street people	Income, homeowner status, employment status,
	transitory v. permanent
Old time activists	Age, politically engaged, social activism, sense of self-
	empowerment, political leaning
People with a cause	Politically engaged, social activism, sense of self-
	empowerment, political leaning
Small business owners	Income, employment status, support local businesses,
	whether pro-business, sense of self-empowerment
Anarchists	Age, social activism, sense of community, criminally
	active, legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy of police,
	whether pro-business, whether pro-law enforcement,
	sense of self-empowerment
Middle class	Age, income, homeowner status, transitory v.
homeowners	permanent, sense of choice over where you live, sense
	of self-empowerment
Lower class	Age, income, homeowner status, transitory v.
homeowners	permanent, sense of choice over where you live, sense
	of self-empowerment

Disrespect Authority Individuals	Legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy of police, whether pro- law enforcement
Concerned Citizens	Politically engaged, sense of community, sense of safety, satisfaction with government services
Police Junkies	Legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy of police, whether pro- law enforcement
Gang and Group Members	Age, gender, criminally active, sense of self-empowerment, sense of community
Small time criminals	Criminally active, sense of self-empowerment
Youth	Age
Educated adults	Age, education
Educated elite	Education, income
Educated non-elite	Education, income
I can do whatever I	Sense of community, legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy
want	of police, whether pro-law enforcement, satisfaction with government services, sense of self-empowerment

The environment is out	Sense of safety, satisfaction with government services,
of control and no one	sense of self-empowerment
does anything about it	
Crime is out of control	Sense of safety
Tough enforcement	Legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy of police, whether pro-
folks (lock them all up)	law enforcement, political leaning
Lack of social services	Use of government services, satisfaction with government
and jobs are the causes	services
of crime	
Police wannabes	Age, legitimacy of rule of law, legitimacy of police, pro-law
	enforcement
I love Oakland	Politically engaged, support local businesses, sense of
	community
I want control and	Sense of self-empowerment
influence	