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Results First at the Local Level

Evidence-based policymaking in four California counties

Overview

Since partnering with the Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative in 2013, four California counties—Fresno, Kern, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz—have used evidence-based policymaking to meet the challenges of the state's landmark criminal justice reform effort, the Public Safety Realignment Act (commonly known as Realignment). The law, passed in 2011, has altered the landscape of the state's criminal justice system, transferring responsibility for more than 60,000 offenders to California's 58 counties and requiring county governments to develop facilities, policies, and programs to serve this population. Fresno, Kern, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz counties are using rigorous evidence to assess their current strategies and guide funding and policy decisions that will reduce recidivism, with assistance from Results First.

This report documents the progress of these four counties, which are on the cutting edge of a nationwide movement to make data-driven decisions. Over the past two years, each county has made advancements in addressing the challenges posed by Realignment by using the Results First approach to:

- Direct resources toward cost-effective programs shown to work.
- Inform the planning and development of new programs.
- Restructure contracting and grant processes to prioritize evidence-based programs.
- Ensure that programs are delivered with fidelity to practices most likely to produce results.

Results First: A Model for Cost-Effective Policy Choices

The Results First Initiative, a project of The Pew Charitable Trusts and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, works with states and localities to develop the tools that policymakers need to identify and invest in effective programs that yield high returns on investment. Using innovative methods that can be customized, Results First partners learn to:

- **Create an inventory of currently funded programs.**
- **Review which programs work.**
- **Conduct benefit-cost analysis to compare programs' likely return on investment.**
- **Use evidence to inform spending and policy decisions.**

These efforts have helped leaders improve public outcomes, reduce costs, and increase accountability by ensuring that resources go to effective, cost-beneficial approaches.

A need for evidence-based programming in California

Since 2009, lawmakers have worked to reduce the size of the state's prison population, enacting pivotal legislation—the Community Corrections Performance Incentives Act of 2009 and the Public Safety Realignment Act of 2011—that shifted responsibility for the management and care of thousands of offenders from state to local control.

These laws have dramatically affected the size, composition, and priorities of the criminal justice system in California's 58 counties:

- **More offenders are under the care and supervision of county governments.** Since 2011, when the second of the two laws went into effect, the number of people in county jails or under county supervision in the community has increased substantially. To prevent overcrowding in jails, many of which have been operating above capacity for a decade or more, counties have been releasing some inmates early to community supervision. This change has led to higher caseloads for community supervision staff and a greater need for programming and services for this population.
- **County systems are serving a higher-risk population with longer sentences.** In the past three years, county governments have seen a marked increase in the percentage of people under their control who are at higher risk for reoffending and have a longer length of stay within the system. The percentage of high-risk probationers increased from 25 percent to 31 percent from 2011 to 2014.[3] By 2014, county jails were housing

over 1,700 inmates serving sentences of more than five years, compared with the pre-Realignment maximum stay of one year.[4] To manage this heightened risk profile and substantially longer stays in jail, counties have been working to develop and expand services targeted for these offenders.

- **Counties have limited resources to identify and implement evidence-based solutions.** Although legislation in California requires and encourages use of evidence-based programming in local corrections, implementation has been slow. A 2013 survey found that only 26 percent of counties reported using evidence-based treatment practices, noting that the availability of evaluated treatment programs was a significant obstacle to providing effective services and that probation departments often had difficulty determining whether the programs being operated were in fact evidence-based interventions.[5]

These three factors—more offenders under local control, a higher-risk population with substantially longer stays in jail, and limited resources to implement evidence-based programming—made Results First a natural fit for California's counties.

Building the Results First toolbox

Since 2013, staff members from the Results First Initiative have worked closely with staff and leadership from each of the four counties to develop customized tools to help them identify and invest in effective programs that yield high returns. These tools and the Results First process enable leaders to catalog what programs they are operating, assess the evidence of these programs' effectiveness, and compare current and alternative programs based on their expected return on investment and the impact on key outcomes such as reduction in recidivism. The Results First staff also works with county leaders to locate opportunities to use this information to inform budget and policy decisions.

By implementing the Results First approach, each county has forged critical partnerships that encompass a wide range of criminal justice agencies, including offices of sheriffs, probation, courts, public defenders, district attorneys, and police, as well as other social service and health agencies. The counties have also formed cross-agency teams to gather, share, and analyze data to address common challenges of reducing recidivism and improving public safety.

Although there were some differences across counties, each followed the same general process in implementing the Results First approach. This process began with developing an inventory of currently funded programs that included information on each program's design, costs, capacity, and populations served. Next, the counties assessed the programs against the evidence base and built a customized benefit-cost model. Finally, policymakers have used these tools to help guide budget and policy decisions.

> You never have enough resources to do everything you wish you could. We can make better choices for our community when we use empirical information rather than gut instinct."
>
> — **Susan Mauriello,** *county administrative officer, Santa Cruz County*

Program inventory

A complete inventory of currently funded programs provides policymakers with critical information on the interventions operating in the county and is useful for identifying gaps and duplication in services. Most governments, including the four counties, initially lacked this information.

Results First staff worked with partners in each of the counties to build this resource, cataloging all in-custody and community-based programs offered to offenders. County staff collected cost and performance data from various criminal justice agencies.

Evidence review

As part of the second stage, each county used the Results First Clearinghouse Database—a one-stop online resource that enables users to quickly access ratings of program effectiveness that have been issued by eight national research clearinghouses—to help determine which of its programs matched evidence-based interventions that are proved to reduce recidivism. With this baseline established, county leaders can work to expand programs with strong evidence of effectiveness, reduce funding for programs that research has shown to be ineffective, and identify programs that should be evaluated further.

Although some counties completed this evidence review in a matter of months, others chose to collect supplemental data to gain a deeper understanding of the types of services being provided to offenders. For example, Santa Barbara created an in-depth survey that asked jail- and community-based service providers to identify which interventions were considered evidence-based, to provide proof of this assertion, and to describe the extent to which each program was operated with fidelity to its original design. The survey revealed that a number of community-based programs were not closely aligned with evidence-based practices, prompting county officials to offer training and other technical assistance to providers to help them identify alternative evidence-based programs or modify existing programs. "We used the inventory process as a way to engage our [community-based organizations]," said Tanja Heitman, deputy chief probation officer.[6]

> *The program inventory laid it all out for us, showing us where we were doing things right and where we were not. That, along with the research knowledge we gained through Results First, helped us make the right adjustments to create a continuum of care for our population."*
>
> **—Cassaundra Friedberg,** *departmental analyst, Kern County Probation Department*

Leaders in Kern County used their program inventory and evidence review to identify areas where services could be consolidated or coordinated to more effectively address recidivism. "Before Results First, a lot of agencies kept lists of their own programs but did not really share them with other agencies or know where partners were directing their clients," said Cassaundra Friedberg, departmental analyst for the Kern County Probation Department.[7] "The program inventory laid it all out for us, showing us where we were doing things right and where we were not. That, along with the research knowledge we gained through Results First, helped us make the right adjustments to create a continuum of care for our population. We now know what programs are serving the corrections population in Kern County and who is referring clients to which program. We can better see and address gaps in our services."

Benefit-cost analysis

With the help of Results First staff, agency officials in each county developed a customized benefit-cost model that allowed them to estimate the long-term costs and benefits of both currently funded and alternative programs and compare those interventions based on their predicted return on investment. This process included three basic steps. The first, a recidivism analysis, provided a baseline for comparing the impact of any programmatic or policy changes on recidivism. For leaders in Kern County, this information proved to be critical for measuring the effect of their efforts. "One of the benefits Results First brought to us was that we'd never had a true recidivism rate," said Chief Probation Officer TR Merickel.[8] "With their assistance [from Results First], we looked at our data and got a recidivism baseline. If you're going to effect change, you need to know your baseline."

The second step involved identifying all of the costs related to the return of offenders to the criminal justice system. The total costs often surprised county leaders and spurred them to take action. Santa Cruz County Supervisor John Leopold said the cost information has been particularly helpful to leaders like himself, who have to make difficult budget decisions. "When you see the cost of recidivism, which is $40,000 [for every person who reoffends] in Santa Cruz, it's sobering. Reducing recidivism is not only the best approach for public safety, it's also the most cost-effective approach we have."[9]

Once all of the cost information was collected, county staff members used their customized benefit-cost model to estimate the return on investment of each program, along with the impact of each program on reducing recidivism, and then compared the results across programs operating in the county. Several county officials reported that this analysis helped galvanize support from leadership. For example, Santa Cruz's analysis validated the county's commitment to using risk, need, and responsivity (RNR) principles to address recidivism, which include assigning offenders to treatment based on an assessment of their needs. The analysis also demonstrated to policymakers that the use of RNR principles was cost-beneficial, producing returns of $2.85 in benefits for every dollar invested.

Evidence-based policymaking

With their benefit-cost model built, policymakers and managers needed to use evidence to inform their decisions—perhaps the most critical step. To facilitate this process, Results First staff met regularly with agency leaders, members of county councils and boards, and other key stakeholders, including each county's Community Corrections Partnership. The staff provided updates on the work and answered questions from policymakers on how the tools could be used to support their goals. All four counties reported that these efforts helped policymakers start to rely more heavily on evidence to guide funding and policy choices.

Investing in what works

The four counties have begun to use their new insights and tools developed through participation in Results First to guide funding toward evidence-based programs. While some counties have focused on shifting funding to specific programs, others have taken a more expansive approach that incorporates evidence-based program requirements into contracts and major planning efforts, ensuring a sustained focus on implementing proven, cost-effective ways to reduce recidivism.

Santa Barbara County
At a glance
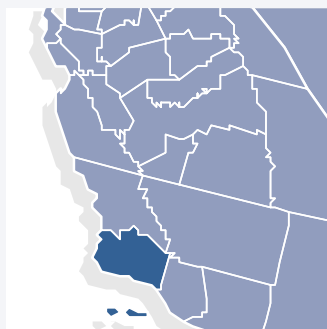
Population[*]	434,510
Violent crime[†]	1,294
Property (nonviolent) crime[‡]	9,088
Jail population[§]	989
County supervised population[‖]	4,506

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[*] State of California, Department of Finance, Table E1: "Population Estimates for Cities, Counties, and the State, Jan. 1, 2014 and 2015," http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/estimates/e-1/view.php.

[†] State of California, Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General, "CJSC Statistics: Crimes Clearances" (2014), http://oag.ca.gov/crime/cjsc/stats/crimes-clearances.

[‡] Ibid.

[§] California Board of State and Community Corrections, "Jail Profile Survey" (June 2014), http://www.bscc.ca.gov/s_fsojailprofilesurvey.php (average daily jail population).

[‖] Unpublished county data. Includes post-release community supervision, felony and misdemeanor probation, not including parole or those wanted on a warrant status as of June 30, 2014. Estimates are based on internal analysis of these data.

Santa Barbara became the first county to join Results First after the Board of Supervisors approved in August 2013. Although the county had demonstrated a commitment to evidence-based practice in the past, including participation in the Transition from Jail to Community Initiative[10] in 2012, county officials cited a need for additional tools to identify specific evidence-based programs that they could incorporate into their long-range realignment and internal strategic planning efforts. Tanja Heitman, the county's deputy chief probation officer, noted that the partnership with Results First is helping the county address this need. "We had the funding, but we didn't have the technical assistance to make sure we were headed in the right direction. It was a really beautiful transition into Results First, and I think we're leading the effort in making sure that we use our dollars for evidence-based programs and bringing our corrections community along," she said.
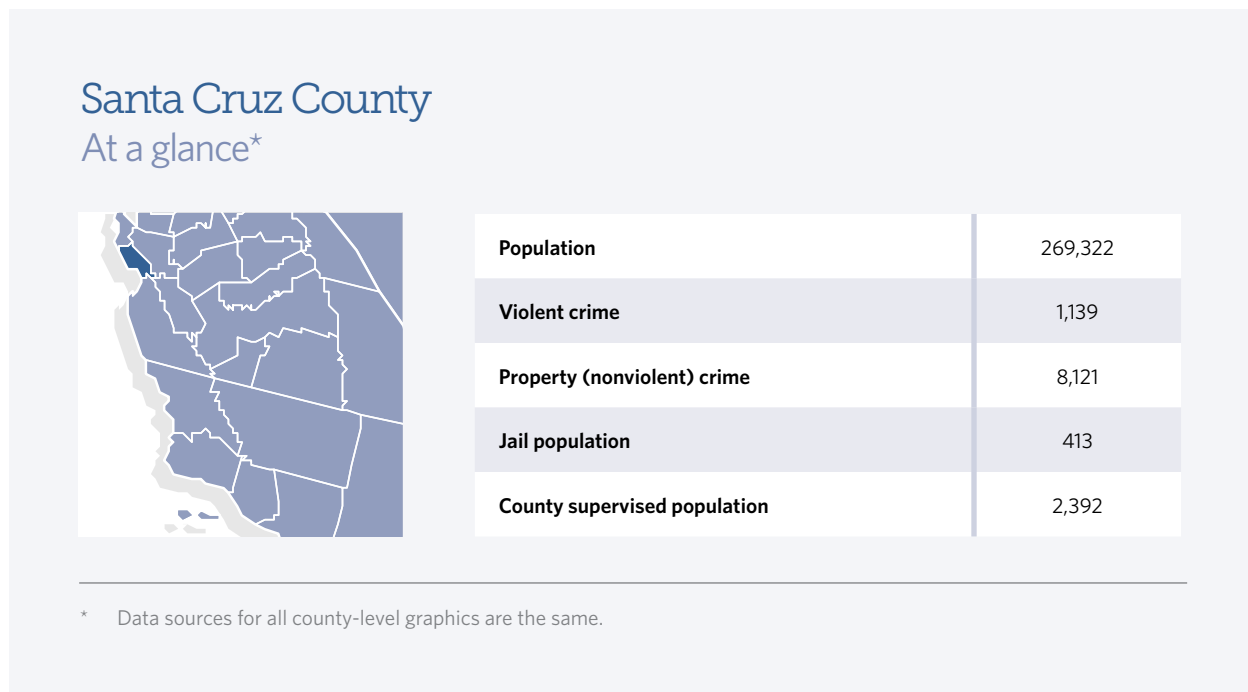
> " When Realignment came, it put enormous demand on the system and created a tremendous challenge. We knew where we wanted to go, but we had a huge new population, so Results First came on the scene with us at just the right time. We had the funding, but we didn't have the technical assistance to make sure we were headed in the right direction. It was a really beautiful transition into Results First, and I think we're leading the effort in making sure that we use our dollars for evidence-based programs and bringing our corrections community along."
>
> **—Tanja Heitman,** *deputy chief probation officer, Santa Barbara County*

Two key factors in Santa Barbara County's success have been a commitment to use rigorous evaluation methods and the ability of agency leaders to effectively communicate findings from their work to county officials. Through detailed planning, analysis, and reporting, the county has been able to make several important changes to its criminal justice system:

- **Directing resources toward cost-effective programs shown to work**: By developing their benefit-cost model, county leaders learned—to their surprise—that 63 percent of high-risk offenders had been reconvicted within seven years, at an average cost of approximately $60,000[11] per offender. "We had never done a recidivism study with as long of a time frame as the Results First model," Heitman said. "So when we looked that long and saw how high the recidivism rate went and then we layered in the cost, it was downright shocking."

  The county is using this information to direct funding to effective recidivism strategies. For example, county leaders have used the results of their benefit-cost model to support additional funding for a cognitive behavioral therapy program, Reasoning and Rehabilitation, which is expected to return $19.49 for every dollar invested. The county plans to expand capacity to provide this and other evidence-based cognitive behavioral therapy programs to 75 percent of high-risk probationers.

- **Modifying or replacing programs to ensure adherence to evidence-based practice**: The Santa Barbara Results First model showed that one of the county's local substance abuse treatment programs achieved positive outcomes, but its benefit-cost ratio barely broke even. "We realized that, even though it is an evidence-based program, the cost was too high for the limited benefits we were getting," said Heitman. The county is now piloting another cognitive behavioral therapy intervention, Moral Reconation Therapy, which research predicts will achieve better outcomes at lower costs. The county plans to evaluate the pilot program before expanding to other areas.

- **Planning future programming**: Santa Barbara is using its Results First analysis to ensure that evidence-based programming is incorporated into the design of a new jail facility—for example, providing sufficient space for inmate programs in a setting that is conducive to learning. "We're using the Results First model to look at programming we want to launch in a new rehabilitation part of the jail that will be coming online in 2017," said Heitman. "Our treatment team is reviewing in-custody programs that are in the [Results First] Clearinghouse to determine which ones they would like to run through the [benefit-cost] model ... before they make a final decision on what their treatment programs should look like."

Santa Cruz County
At a glance*

Population	269,322
Violent crime	1,139
Property (nonviolent) crime	8,121
Jail population	413
County supervised population	2,392

* Data sources for all county-level graphics are the same.

Considered one of the leaders in the evidence-based movement in California, Santa Cruz joined the Results First Initiative in October 2013, armed with a technically advanced staff and an already well-developed portfolio of evidence-based programs. But leaders were missing a way to continue to expand investments in proven programs and to identify those that generate cost savings. "We want to save money, reduce recidivism, and make wise decisions about programs," said County Administrative Officer Susan Mauriello.[12] "We want to ensure that low-cost items that benefit a large population are prioritized—and that high-cost items that benefit a smaller population are used judiciously."

Santa Cruz's Results First analysis provided county officials with critical information about the programs operating in the county, leading to a number of notable changes:

- **Directing resources toward cost-effective programs**: Using its benefit-cost model, officials found that one of the county's most widely used programs, cognitive behavioral therapy, was predicted to avoid $418,950 in costs and reduce recidivism by 13.4 percent. Leaders will use this information, along with other data, in discussions with their Community Corrections Partnership to justify their recommendation to increase funding for the program in their fiscal 2016-17 budget.

- **Modifying or replacing programs to ensure adherence to evidence-based practice**: After reviewing the research from the Results First Clearinghouse Database, officials determined that their correctional education programs lacked some of the key components necessary to achieve the predicted outcomes of those programs in the Results First model. For example, some GED programs were not provided frequently enough to achieve the desired impact. Now the county is working to better align those programs to effective practices and is considering other alternatives. "We know that in-custody education programs generally have a [positive impact on recidivism], but our programs don't match those in the model because they are not the right dosage," said Andrew Davis, senior departmental analyst for the Santa Cruz Probation Department. "We realize that we need to tailor our programs to be more effective."[13]

  "We were surprised by how poorly the various drug treatment programs did, at least in terms of their cost-benefit ratio," said Chief Deputy Craig Wilson from the county Sheriff's Office.[14] "These are expensive programs, and it may mean that we need to target these services more to the offenders who really need it and where the county will get the best return on its investment." Officials in Santa Cruz have also noted the importance of balancing community priorities with the results predicted by their benefit-cost models, noting that perhaps some programs should be preserved in the absence of an effective alternative.

- **Establishing new contracting requirements**: Santa Cruz County plans to rebid its contracts for community-based services in late 2015. Contract administrators intend to prioritize a portion of funding for programs that the benefit-cost model identified as most likely to reduce recidivism and generate cost savings. Contracts will also require service providers to track and report outcomes, submit data to allow for program evaluations, and describe how each program will ensure fidelity to its design. Davis described the changes in the contracting process as a more effective way to do business. "We used to look around to see if we had resources and see what services we could buy. Now we're in a position where we are directing what services we need based on [the needs of] the population we serve," he said.

- **Planning future programming**: The county's A.B. 109 Treatment and Intervention Services Work Group is using the Results First Clearinghouse, along with findings from the county's benefit-cost model, to inform planning efforts for a new rehabilitation center. The center, which is being renovated as part of an expansion scheduled to be completed in 2018, currently provides only limited services for offenders. Wilson noted the importance of having objective criteria for making decisions about what to fund in the facility. "We will get lots of ideas on the programs and services from the community and others, all well-intentioned, but they need to have an evidence base behind them," he said.

Leaders in Santa Cruz County have also used the knowledge gained through Results First to identify programs that must be evaluated to determine their effectiveness. "We realize [there is] a need for more local evaluation for some of these treatment programs," said Chief Probation Officer Fernando Giraldo.[15] "We're doing a lot of it, but it's expensive [and] it doesn't necessarily impact recidivism. Now we want to evaluate [treatment programs] locally." Davis reiterated the need to evaluate programs for which the county has limited evidence: "We have dozens of legacy programs that have been put in place over the last 20 years that are well-intentioned but have no evidence to support them."
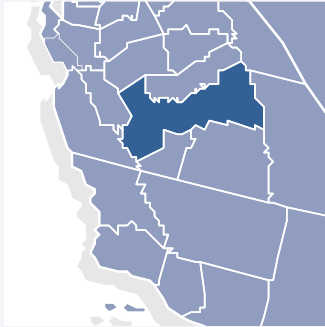
> **"** For the first time, we will be able to look at programs and see if we are getting a return on the investment we have made."
>
> **—Rick Chavez,** *chief probation officer, Fresno County*

Fresno County
At a glance*

Population	963,375
Violent crime total	4,457
Property (nonviolent) crime	32,535
Jail population	2,915
County supervised population	8,615

* Data sources for all county-level graphics are the same.

A partner with Results First since January 2014, Fresno County is completing its program inventory and benefit-cost model for probation and jail programs. County leaders plan to use those tools to help them address some of the challenges they face in responding to increased demands from Realignment. "As A.B. 109 becomes more of an opportunity, we can expand our treatment options, which will be informed by the Realignment and Results First process," said Chief Probation Officer Rick Chavez.[16] "Results First can help us fine tune these services to our population."

Although they are still early in the process, leaders are considering ways to use the inventory information when it becomes available, such as directing investments to improve public safety and reduce recidivism without additional spending. Fresno plans to use the Results First model to identify evidence-based programs for its new jail facility, which is in the planning stages and should be completed by 2019. "Results First has already helped us when discussing programming we want to include [in the new jail]," said Jeannie Figueroa, deputy county administrative officer.[17] "The information that we have gathered through [the program inventory] has helped us think about which programs we want to provide for inmates."

> " Prior to Realignment, counties did not have programs [in their jails] because the maximum stay was less than a year. Now you have inmates staying for 10, 15 years. By default, we have to start developing programming for long-term inmates."
>
> **—John Navarrette,** *county administrative officer, Fresno County*

County leaders also expressed confidence that, although there is still a lot of work to be done, the criminal justice system is on the right track by relying more heavily on evidence to make programming and policy decisions. As Kay Hickman, a consultant to the Fresno Probation Department, noted: "Programming has always been so limited in Fresno, without a lot of money to do anything. [We] never really paid attention to the [cost-effectiveness] of programs, because we didn't have much to spend, although we should have."[18] Chavez added, "For the first time, we will be able to look at programs and see if we are getting a return on the investment we have made."

Kern County
At a glance*
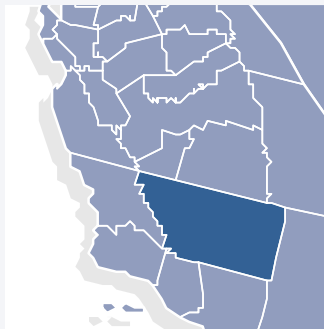
Population	868,610
Violent crime total	4,465
Property (nonviolent) crime	28,283
Jail population	2,582
County supervised population	8,071

* Data sources for all county-level graphics are the same.

Evidence-based programming represents a practical solution to Kern County's ongoing struggle to manage the influx of higher-risk, longer-stay offenders. Before joining Results First, the county faced myriad challenges associated with its new population of offenders, from increased caseloads and crowded facilities to heightened levels of inmate fighting, drug trafficking, gang activity, and destruction of property in its jails.[19] Historically, Kern had focused on security and control to address these concerns,[20] but recently it began to consider evidence-based programming as an alternate approach.

Agency staff members launched their Results First analysis after receiving official board approval in May 2014. Within a year, the county had fleshed out a program inventory and developed a fully functional benefit-cost model. As a result, Kern was able to use tools such as the program inventory and apply the information to ongoing efforts.

Kern's efforts have paid off, resulting in many accomplishments to date:

- **Directing resources toward cost-effective programs in county jails:** As of July 2015, the county is implementing five evidence-based programs and has shifted the focus from keeping offenders busy to

providing them with tools to change their behavior. For example, the Sheriff's Office replaced unstructured art activities with Aggression Replacement Training, a program proved to reduce recidivism. "Before Realignment, we really were not doing a lot of treatment programs," said Lt. Greg Gonzales of the Kern County Sheriff's Office.[21] "We were only providing the classes that we were required to, which were education- or vocational-based. Now we are running several evidence-based programs."

Kern County officials have used this approach to reassess the staffing needs of their jails. They began by replacing four uniformed jail positions with "program specialists"—a new position classification that required training in psychology or mental health services—to more effectively deliver the treatment services. This change was so successful that the county allocated funding for four additional program specialist positions to expand the number of treatment classes.

- **Establishing new contracting requirements:** In 2015, Kern County received community recidivism reduction grants from the Board of State and Community Corrections (BSCC), and leaders plan to use their Results First models to inform allocation of those funds. The county intends to make the implementation of evidence-based programming a key requirement of future contracts for its community-based providers. It will issue a request for applications in the fall of 2015 and has assigned a committee to help distribute a $375,000 BSCC grant, prioritizing funding for programs predicted by rigorous research to achieve good outcomes. The county plans to use a similar approach for a much larger proposal request—an estimated $5.2 million—to community-based providers later this year. "We're definitely going to use the information from Results First to help shape the kind of services we're looking for," said Merickel, the Kern County chief probation officer. "We're going to say that we want to use evidence-based programs wherever we can."

> **Before Realignment, we really were not doing a lot of treatment programs. We were only providing the classes that we were required to, which were education- or vocational-based."**
>
> **—Lt. Greg Gonzales,** *Sheriff's Office, Kern County*

- **Planning future programming:** The Sheriff's Office also plans to use the analysis in designing a new jail facility, scheduled for completion in August 2017. "Classrooms will be specifically designed to provide evidence-based programs," said Gonzales, "[and we are going to be] using the Results First Clearinghouse to inform the types of programs we offer."

- **Ensuring that programs are implemented with fidelity:** Kern County has dedicated 10 new staff members in its Probation Department to ensuring that programs are implemented effectively and achieve desired results. "Prior to Results First, we had a push for evidence-based programming, but we were not keeping up with program fidelity," said Merickel. "With that in mind, we've developed an Evidence-Based Programming Unit with a program supervisor and program specialists that will be able to verify fidelity of the evidence-based programs being provided in the community. You can do an evidence-based program, but if you're not doing it with fidelity, you're just throwing your money away."
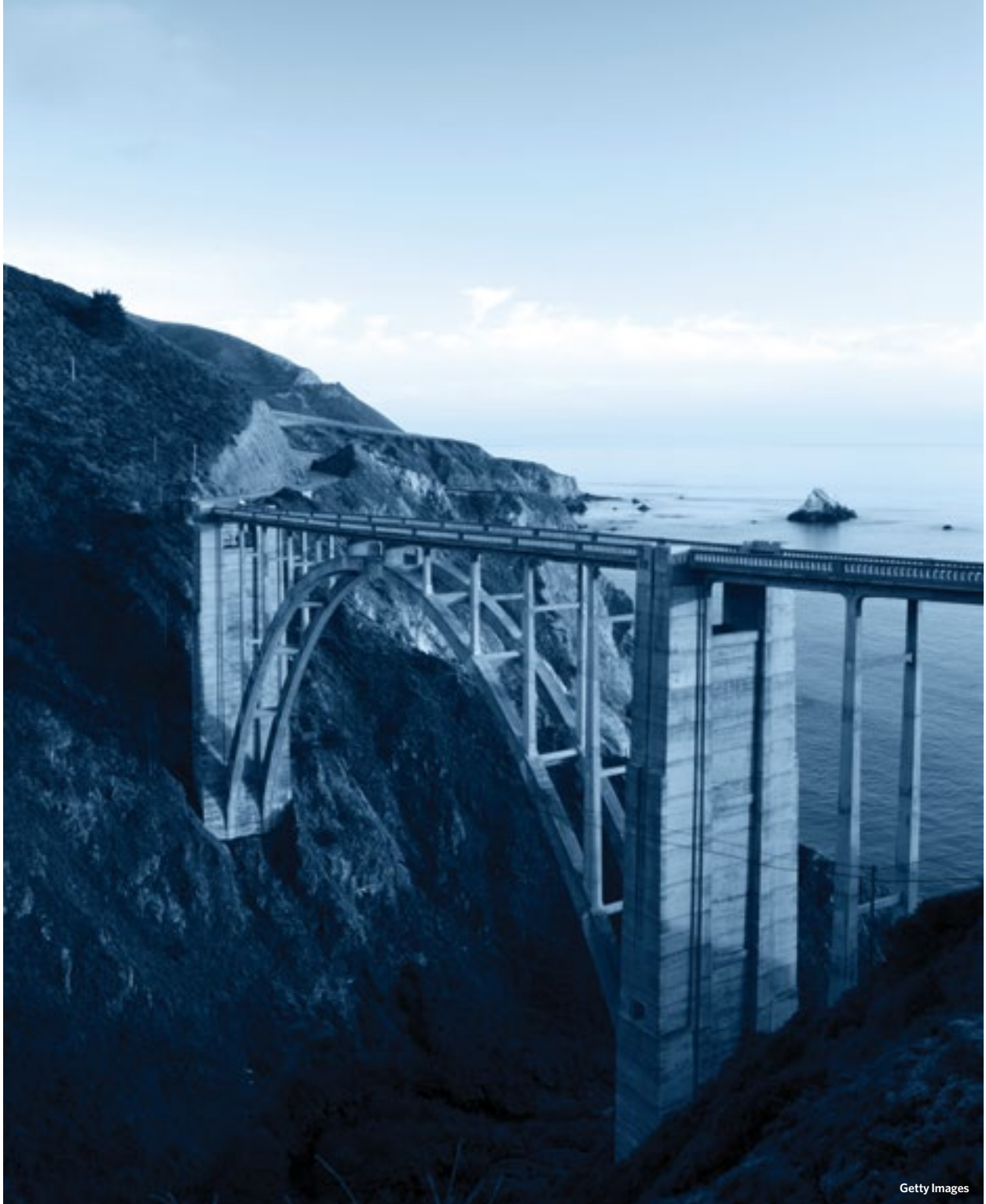
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Building an evidence-based culture in California

Each of the four counties highlighted in this report began with a different starting point and trajectory in moving toward a new approach to criminal justice focused on using research and data to guide decision-making. Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara counties had a history of implementing such programs and have used Results First to help them accelerate their efforts. Fresno County is using its technical assistance resources to plan for future programming expansion, including a new jail facility that will incorporate research-based practices. Kern County has quickly moved to significantly expand the number of offenders, both in custody and in the community, who are served through evidence-based programs.

Realignment has had a profound impact on county criminal justice systems in California, resulting in significant new responsibilities and challenges. The four counties profiled here have chosen an evidence-based approach to building their criminal justice systems to respond to the challenge of Realignment and to lay the groundwork for the future. Other counties can follow their lead by using a similar approach: identifying what works and directing resources to programs and policies that have been proved effective and that show the best return on the investment of local dollars.

Endnotes

1   Judicial Council of California, Administrative Office of the Courts, *Report to the Legislature: Findings From the S.B. 678 (California Community Corrections Performance Incentives Act of 2009) Program* (June 2014), http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/jc-20140627-itemC.pdf.

2   Ibid.

3   Ibid.

4   Public Policy Institute of California, "Just the Facts: California's County Jails," accessed July 6, 2015, http://www.ppic.org/main/publication_show.asp?i=1061.

5   Judicial Council of California, Administrative Office of the Courts, *Report to the Legislature: Findings From the S.B. 678 (California Community Corrections Performance Incentives Act of 2009) Program* (April 2013), http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/lr-SB-678-April-2013.pdf.

6   Tanja Heitman, interview by Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, June 25, 2015.

7   Cassaundra Friedberg, interview by Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, June 2, 2015.

8   TR Merickel, interview by Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, June 2, 2015.

9   John Leopold, interview by Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 15, 2015.

10 The Transition from Jail to Community initiative started in 2007 as a partnership between the National Institute of Corrections and the Urban Institute to support jurisdictions in managing their systems for the transition of individuals between jail and the community.

11 The cost of recidivism, in this case, is based on high-risk offenders only and therefore is not comparable to recidivism rates in other counties presented in this report, which are based on overall population.

12 Susan Mauriello, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, June 3, 2015.

13 Andrew Davis, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 12, 2015.

14 Craig Wilson, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 7, 2015.

15 Fernando Giraldo, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 12, 2015.

16 Rick Chavez, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 8, 2015.

17 Jeannie Figueroa, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 8, 2015.

18 Kay Hickman, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, May 8, 2015.

19 County of Kern, "Public Safety Realignment Act, FY 2013-14 Plan," http://www.bscc.ca.gov/downloads/Kern_County_2013-2014.pdf.

20 Jeffrey Lin and Joan Petersillia, *Follow the Money: How California Counties Are Spending Their Public Safety Realignment Funds* (2014), https://www.law.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publication/443760/doc/slspublic/Lin%20Money%20Final%20Report%20022814.pdf.

21 Greg Gonzales, interview with Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative, June 2, 2015.

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