



Justice Reinvestment

A Toolkit for Local Leaders

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JRLL is a partnership between the Urban Institute and three local jurisdictions: Alachua County, FL; Allegheny County, PA; and Travis County, TX. Justice reinvestment enables county and city leaders to manage criminal justice costs without compromising public safety through interventions to address inefficiencies within the system.

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Introduction

The rapid escalation of criminal justice costs over the past several years, combined with a devastating decline in the economy, has likely affected your jurisdiction's budget. Leaders like you have begun to question whether the costs associated with the criminal justice system are yielding the intended public safety benefits. In response, many have adopted a justice reinvestment strategy.

About the Justice Reinvestment Initiative

In addition to this toolkit and its companion publications, the federal government has funded the Center for Effective Public Policy and the Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice to provide technical assistance to localities following the justice reinvestment model. Funds are provided through the Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI), a partnership between the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), a component of the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs, and the Pew Center on the States. On a more limited basis, some federal resources were provided to aid jurisdictions in the implementation of justice reinvestment strategies. For information on JRI, please refer to BJA's JRI website: https://www.bja.gov/ProgramDetails.aspx?Program_ID=92.

Justice reinvestment is an approach to spending criminal justice resources more effectively. The approach is not just a list of steps, but a new way of making policy and allocating resources. It uses a jurisdiction's data to identify the drivers of criminal justice costs and implement strategies to reduce spending while maintaining public safety. A portion of the generated savings is then invested back into the jurisdiction.

This toolkit is designed to present an overview of the justice reinvestment process to local leaders—those who have both an understanding of the different agencies in the criminal justice system and some executive authority over the programmatic, policy, and/or fiscal operations of at least one local criminal justice agency. These leaders include

- county executives,
- county managers,
- mayors,
- sheriffs, and
- police chiefs.

Although local leaders represent this toolkit's intended primary audience, all readers with an interest in implementing justice reinvestment will find the contents useful.

This toolkit begins by explaining the need for justice reinvestment and describing the justice reinvestment model. It then explains the importance

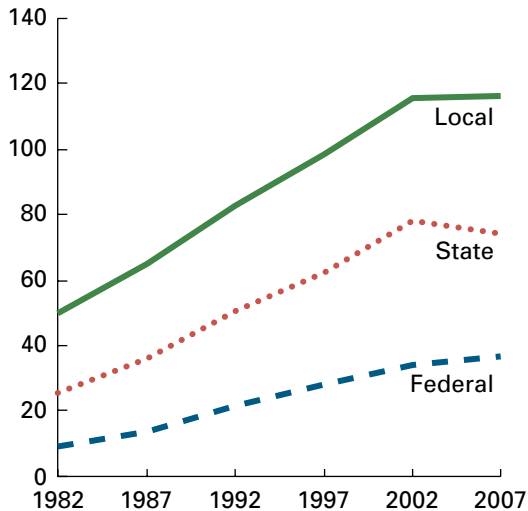
of interagency strategic planning and implementation efforts and how to set up a collaborative body. Next, each step of the justice reinvestment model is described in detail: collecting and analyzing data, identifying cost-saving strategies, implementing the strategies, monitoring progress, and reinvesting savings. The toolkit concludes with final thoughts and further resources for leaders as they begin the justice reinvestment process.

The Need for Justice Reinvestment

Cities and counties across the country are experiencing declining revenues at a time when the need for social services and support systems is on the rise. This reduction in resources has led many jurisdictions to reconsider their investments in education, public safety, health care, economic development, and services for vulnerable populations. In other words, jurisdictions are questioning whether they are efficiently allocating and spending local resources.

These issues are particularly salient in the local¹ criminal justice system, where expenditures for city and county policing, court services, and corrections continue to grow despite steadily decreasing violent and property crime rates. Local criminal justice spending, weighing in at \$116 billion in 2007, accounts for approximately half of total justice spending (see figure 1).²

Figure 1. Criminal Justice Spending in Billions of Dollars, 1982–2007



Source: T. Kyckelhahn, “Justice Expenditures and Employment, 1982–2007: Statistical Tables” (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

Note: Estimates adjusted for inflation.

At the same time spending is increasing, most local governments face declining revenues that require them to delay purchases and repairs, institute staff furloughs and hiring freezes, and lay off workers.³ Justice costs create difficult choices for public officials, many of whom are forced to divert funds away from the programs and social services aimed at preventing people from entering the criminal justice system in the first place.

This situation has led many local leaders to scrutinize spending and assess whether large criminal justice expenditures have produced the desired return on investment. The justice reinvestment model provides a data-driven process by which to conduct such an examination. The following section describes the local justice reinvestment model.

The Local Justice Reinvestment Model

The local justice reinvestment model is an iterative process in which jurisdictions prioritize their scarce criminal justice resources for those who pose the greatest risk to public safety, while diverting and treating those who pose relatively little risk to public safety but nonetheless could be a drain on the system. Although justice reinvestment can be a time-consuming approach, it can yield great benefits for a jurisdiction.

The components of the justice reinvestment model are shown in figure 2.

Continuous Interagency Strategic Planning and Implementation

Interagency strategic planning and a collaborative commitment to system change underlie the entire justice reinvestment model. The criminal justice system in your jurisdiction likely spans many departments and actors. Therefore, you will need to collect data from as many local criminal justice agencies as possible to understand the causes of high criminal justice costs. Implementing solutions may prove quite complex; it will likely involve the collaboration of multiple agencies and may also require the involvement and support of non-criminal justice entities.

Figure 2. JRL Model



Step 1: Collect and Analyze Criminal Justice Data

The jurisdiction undertakes an intensive analysis of its data to determine the drivers of criminal justice populations and costs. This involves taking an inventory of available data, preparing data for analysis, and using the data to identify the points at which resources could be used in a more cost-effective way.

Step 2: Identify Cost-Saving Public Safety Strategies

Once cost drivers are identified, cost-saving public safety strategies are developed to address those drivers. The

strategies will be unique to each jurisdiction and will need to be crafted with input and collaboration from multiple local stakeholders. Stakeholders will consider various strategies and agree to pursue cost-reduction efforts that maintain or enhance community safety.

Step 3: Implement Cost-Saving Public Safety Strategies

Implementing the cost-saving strategies involves making the appropriate statutory or policy changes, including documenting the changes to preserve institutional memory. A great deal of planning is required to identify the funding, modifications to day-to-day operations, and training needed to make the cost-saving strategies a reality. Because implementation will likely involve a number of independent agencies, memoranda of agreement or other methods of documenting commitments and specific strategies will be important tools.

Step 4: Document Savings and Public Safety Impact

In keeping with the principles of data-driven policymaking, a jurisdiction must document the results of the cost-saving strategies. Quantifying the impacts will help a jurisdiction determine whether the strategies worked as intended and where improvement is needed.

Step 5: Implement and Assess Justice Reinvestment Strategies

When a strategy's cost savings are calculated, jurisdictions will have a sense of how much money is available for reinvestment. Once implemented,

reinvestment strategies must also be assessed for impact. With further data analysis, local leaders can determine effective avenues for reinvestment.

The following section describes the prerequisite for a successful justice reinvestment effort: forming an inter-agency strategic planning body.

Guiding Justice Reinvestment

Building a collaborative interagency planning body

A common theme that has emerged across jurisdictions engaging in justice reinvestment is the importance of interagency strategic planning. The justice reinvestment effort must be managed by a consortium of leaders who have wide-reaching authority and control over the local criminal justice system or related agencies. Your jurisdiction is unique; only you know the key personalities and issues that will come into play when launching a justice reinvestment effort. It is critical to ensure that no key stakeholders are absent from the conversation.

Although executive-level stakeholders may not need to be involved in every detail or step of the justice reinvestment effort, these stakeholders must be **committed to engaging in the effort**. Strong and consistent leaders will be needed to generate enthusiasm, dedicate staff and resources, and ensure

Justice reinvestment leaders must prioritize resources and staff time in order to collect and analyze data, agree to look objectively at the results of the analyses, be willing to implement strategies to reduce local criminal justice populations and costs effectively, and agree to consider how agencies should allocate their resources based on results of the data analyses.

that progress is sustained. Those leaders will also need to garner the support of agencies and other stakeholders that can influence local justice spending or offer insights into potential policy changes.⁴

Strong Leadership

The strategic planning group should be directed by a chair or two co-chairs. Decisions within the criminal justice system are made by agencies at different levels and at different times. These agencies all have a shared goal of public safety, but their responsibilities, their actions, and the beliefs of their leaders may not necessarily align. Thus, strong leadership is critical to facilitating discussion, resolving disputes, holding other key stakeholders accountable, and keeping the initiative on track.

Representative Membership

Involving multiple entities through a collaborative body will help jurisdictions actualize and sustain justice reinvestment changes. To maximize success, membership of the collaborative body should be representative of all criminal justice stakeholders. You should aim to recruit participants from within the criminal justice system (such as judges) and from agencies affiliated with the criminal justice system (such as community service providers). Each participant should be highly knowledgeable about his or her agency,

Potential Members

- County Administrator
- Chief Judge
- Court Administrator
- Criminal Justice Planning Agency Head
- District Attorney
- Public Defender
- Jail Warden
- Police Chief
- Sheriff
- Pretrial Services Administrator
- Probation Administrator
- Social Service Providers
- Victims Advocate
- Community Representatives

have the authority to represent the agency during planning meetings, and have the ability to implement decisions. It is especially important to engage those who may oppose justice reinvestment. Even if certain agencies refuse to participate in planning meetings, keeping them informed of the progress and considering their feedback can prevent or minimize disagreements in the later stages of the justice reinvestment process.

Clear Organizational Structure

The strategic planning entity can be structured in a number of ways, but it is often useful to organize participants based on

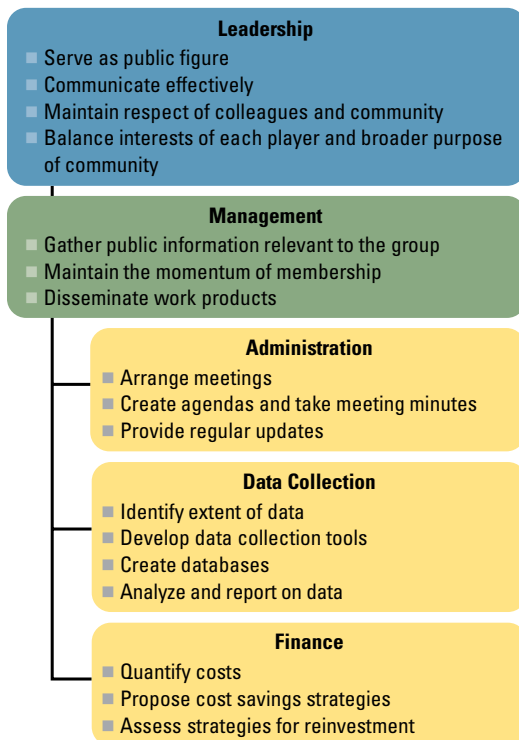
roles within a hierarchical decisionmaking structure (see figure 3). In this structure, the top tier (leadership) represents high-level executive decisionmakers who have authority and influence over policies and practices. The second tier (management) consists of the staff charged with implementing those changes. The third tier comprises subcommittees responsible for specific aspects of the justice reinvestment process. For instance, the data collection and analysis committee

focuses on presenting data analyses to the rest of the planning body, while the finance committee develops cost-saving and reinvestment projections for consideration. Also, an administrative team or point person is needed to arrange and document meetings and maintain communication among planning body members.

Existing Collaborative Bodies

Your jurisdiction may already have a collaborative body responsible for overseeing the criminal justice system. Before establishing a new planning body, determine whether the existing body can also direct a justice reinvestment initiative. By using existing collaborations, jurisdictions benefit from familiarity with partner agencies' staff, procedures, hierarchies, and structures.

Figure 3. Suggested Planning Entity Organizational Structure



Summary

Planning for justice reinvestment requires a collaborative entity that represents the wide array of stakeholders in the criminal justice system. Careful design of the structure and membership of the strategic planning entity will help ensure that appropriate actors are engaged, accountability measures exist for achieving outcomes, and progress toward goals is regularly assessed.⁵ The next section describes Step 1 of the justice reinvestment model: collecting and analyzing criminal justice data.

Step 1: What's Driving Criminal Justice Costs?

Determining the local drivers of criminal justice costs and populations

Justice reinvestment provides jurisdictional leaders with the opportunity to examine where—and how—scarce local resources are expended.

Justice reinvestment must be **informed by data**. The collaborative body must use evidence and measures from its own criminal justice system to identify opportunities for increased criminal justice efficiencies. Anecdotal evidence and gut feelings may point to potential areas for change, but data can help validate, refute, and prioritize concerns by measuring the extent of those problems. Policy options and reinvestment strategies should not be considered or implemented until the local criminal justice drivers have been clearly identified.

Staff will need to complete this task, but **local leaders and their partners must support and direct these efforts**. In order to minimize conflict, confusion, or lack of buy-in regarding the process and its results, data collection and analysis activities must be conducted in accordance with procedures agreed upon by the interagency strategic planning body. Details of what data must be collected and how to analyze them for the purposes of the justice reinvestment effort are outlined in the *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide*, second edition, and *The Criminal Justice Planner's Toolkit for Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level*.

Surveying Available Data

The collaborative body must take a full inventory of what data exist locally so that this information can be collected and analyzed. Numerous agencies will have data relevant to justice reinvestment:

- Law enforcement agencies (sheriff, city police)
- Courts (all levels, including staffing for judges and clerks)
- Jail/detention facility
- Prosecutors/defense attorneys
- Court services
- Alternative/diversion programs
- Probation/parole
- Pretrial services agencies
- Health and human services (including child support enforcement)
- Hospitals/clinics
- Tax collection agencies
- Departments of motor vehicles
- Community agencies that work with jail-involved clients

Two types of criminal justice data inform justice reinvestment: **population data** and **cost data**. A combined review of population and cost data provides jurisdictions with direction on how best to reduce local criminal populations and related expenses, and how best to target reinvestment strategies to address the needs of the community.

Population Data to Analyze

- **Demographics:** race, ethnicity, gender, age, immigration status
- **Special populations:** homeless, mentally ill, elderly, veteran, substance abusing, gang affiliated
- **Risk:** risk of reoffense based on a criminogenic needs assessment, pretrial risk assessment of failure to appear or likelihood to commit new crimes in the community
- **Criminal history:** past charges, recidivism
- **Socioeconomic factors:** indigence, education, employment
- **Geography:** neighborhood/block of offense, neighborhood of criminal justice-involved population
- **Current status:** pretrial status, length of stay for those sentenced and pretrial, length of sentence, current charges, violations

Population data describe who enters the system, how they move through it, and how much time passes between stages. These data can be used to identify populations that may be better served with less detention time or alternatives to detention, populations that frequently use criminal justice resources, and decisionmaking points that may serve as bottlenecks. Population data can

also be used to monitor progress and to enable a swift response to problems developing within the system.

Cost data enable jurisdictions to determine the scope and size of criminal justice spending at various points in the system at any particular time. These calculations can identify activities and populations that consume a disproportionate amount of resources and can quantify savings for reinvestment.

Identifying Cost Drivers

After collecting the necessary data, the planning body can conduct analyses to identify cost drivers. Analyzing your system's data to identify drivers of criminal justice costs can reveal the people and locations that are consuming the greatest share of resources and the reasons behind that resource consumption. It can highlight inefficient processes and policies that lead to unnecessary detentions or extensions of jail stays. Additionally, examining your jurisdiction's population drivers is helpful for estimating future expenditures.

Some data may be readily available, while other data may take more time to obtain. Waiting for all available data may unnecessarily delay the justice reinvestment process, so analyses should be conducted as data is received. The system analyses can then be expanded upon as more data are obtained. For

example, arrest data may take longer to receive, but the lack of arrest data does not preclude an analysis of jail population demographics.

Another challenge to conducting data analysis is linking data across various agencies' data systems. To understand an individual's trajectory through the entire criminal justice system, a jurisdiction must be able to extract data from different databases and be sure that the data describe the same individual. A jurisdiction may already use unique identifiers, such as a Social Security number or case number. If it does not, it may need to use a combination of static variables, such as name and date of birth, to link individual data across systems.

Incarceration often accounts for the bulk of a local jurisdiction's criminal justice spending. Individuals begin incurring costs to the system from the moment they arrive at the jail for booking. At the booking stage alone, jails should consider the per-person costs of processing, screening, classifying, transporting, and assessing. For example, Milwaukee's data analyses concluded that 49 percent of jail bookings in 2011 were for pretrial inmates, and the average length of stay for pretrial inmates was 7.8 days. This equated to consuming 24 percent of the county's total jail resources (measured in bed days). From the data analyses, Milwaukee uncovered

opportunities to reduce its pretrial population and their lengths of stay. By using deferred prosecution and diversion programs for its pretrial population, Milwaukee aims to decrease its jail population by 14 percent over the next five years, saving \$6.6 million.

However, it is important to remember that jail staff have very little discretion over the number of people admitted to the facility or their lengths of stay. Moreover, spending occurs at many other points in the criminal justice system, including court case processing, alternatives to incarceration, and arrest processing. For example, San Francisco's data analyses found that most who fail probation do so within 24 months. However, most felony probationers had sentences of three years. This implied that San Francisco was expending unnecessary resources to supervise some probationers beyond the first 24 months of their sentences.

The costs of recidivism and victimization within the community are also important costs to consider.⁶ Recidivism acts as a multiplier on the costs mentioned above, necessitating virtually all the same costs each time an individual cycles through the system.

Points in the System to Analyze

- Jail booking
- Operations and personnel
- Arrest and court processing
- Victim services
- Offender services

Summary

Compiling and analyzing data from the various local criminal justice system partners is no small feat. Successful data analysis, however, will reveal levers to reduce local criminal justice spending while maintaining public safety. The next step of the justice reinvestment process is to develop strategies to help pull those levers. This will likely be a natural extension of the data analysis results. Local leaders will be inclined to ask, "Now that we know what's driving our local criminal justice system costs, what strategies can we implement to achieve better results?" The factors associated with identifying cost-saving public safety strategies are discussed in the following section.

Step 2: How Can Criminal Justice Costs Be Reduced?

Linking concrete policy options to criminal justice cost and population drivers

Collecting and analyzing criminal justice data may be a very time- and resource-consuming process; the results, however, will provide your jurisdiction with **concrete evidence of what is driving criminal justice costs**. With this knowledge in hand, you can identify cost-saving public safety strategies that address those drivers.

Multiple resources exist to help jurisdictions locate strategies that are proven to be effective or have demonstrated promise, including

Crime Solutions: This resource of the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs offers information on what works in criminal justice, juvenile justice, and crime victim services.

<http://www.crimesolutions.gov/>

What Works in Reentry Clearinghouse: The National Reentry Resource Center provides information on reentry

programs and strategies that have been evaluated for effectiveness.

http://www.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/what_works

National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices:

The U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration administers this online searchable database, which provides information on interventions found to be effective in mental health promotion, substance abuse prevention, and mental health and substance abuse treatment.

<http://www.nrepp.samhsa.gov/>

Often, jurisdictions will have identified numerous drivers; moreover, multiple strategies can impact each driver. As such, jurisdictions will likely need to winnow down a list of strategies to those that are the most feasible and promising, resulting in a package—or suite—of strategies to implement.

How does a jurisdiction go about selecting the right suite of strategies? In designing an intervention, it is important to remember that populations that consume significant amounts of justice resources are typically not confined to one stage of the system. In fact, their overrepresentation at one stage is likely the result of systemic issues that can be

“Evidence-Based” Practices

In recent years, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers have strived to determine “what works” and to develop a comprehensive literature of evidence-based practices that can be successfully replicated in other jurisdictions. The term “evidence-based” has two meanings: that rigorous evaluative research has found the particular practice to produce desired outcomes, or that data was used to guide decisions. Both of these meanings go hand-in-hand in the justice reinvestment process, which uses data to identify strategies that are supported by prior research to improve outcomes in the criminal justice system.

addressed through multistaged interventions. For example, a jurisdiction may have identified pretrial detainees with mental health diagnoses and charged with low-level crimes as a cost driver. Interventions may be implemented at the following stages:

- **law enforcement interaction** (e.g., implementing crisis intervention teams);
- **booking** (e.g., service referrals for nondetainees);
- **charging/first appearance** (e.g., alternative to warrant for failures to appear);

- **pretrial placement** (e.g., supervised community release);
- **case processing** (e.g., dismissal, preadjudication diversion);
- **sentencing** (e.g., community-based treatment and services);
- **discharge** (e.g., specialized reentry planning); and
- **community supervision** (e.g., additional services and monitoring, additional treatment in lieu of jail for violations of probation or parole conditions).

Jurisdictions might also wish to determine when the criminal justice cost driver first became a problem and how they have addressed this driver in the past. Understanding what has been attempted and why it was unsuccessful can help inform the development and implementation of more effective strategies.

The publications *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide*, second edition, and *The Criminal Justice Planner's Toolkit for Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level* detail many strategy options. The remainder of this section discusses briefly how the results of data analyses are linked to concrete, cost-saving public safety strategies.

Linking Strategies to Drivers

Just as cost can be attributed to criminal justice populations, it can also be

attributed to specific policy decisions that influence the resource consumption of those populations. These decisions are typically organized around these **eight key points** within the criminal justice system:

- **law enforcement interaction,**
- **booking,**
- **charging/first appearance,**
- **pretrial placement,**
- **case processing,**
- **sentencing,**
- **jail custody and release,** and
- **community supervision.**

This section will focus on the two most common drivers identified in local justice reinvestment analyses: pretrial detention and repeat clients (populations that cycle repeatedly through the system). Strategies that have been linked to these drivers are also discussed below.

Pretrial detention

The vast majority of jail detainees across the country are being held on a pretrial status. This represents a major shift over the past several decades. In 1990, the share of jail detainees held pretrial was virtually equal to that of sentenced individuals.⁷ By 2008, individuals detained pretrial in local jails on any given day increased to more than 60 percent of the total population

in local jails nationwide.⁸ This growth is not explained by a rise in jail detention for individuals charged with violent offenses. In fact, estimates report that just 35 percent of those individuals housed pretrial in local jails on any given day have been charged with a crime of violence.⁹

Fortunately, jurisdictions typically have a great deal of discretion over who is detained in jail. While public safety threats and/or statutory requirements prevent pretrial release for certain cases, pretrial release can be a viable option with minimal risk to public safety for many individuals. Indeed, failure-to-appear and recidivism rates are very low for most individuals involved in the local criminal justice system; identifying these individuals and replacing their jail detention with other community supervision strategies can yield significant cost savings.

Jurisdictions typically have a great deal of discretion over who is detained in jail.

Using criminogenic risk/needs assessment and screening tools is one strategy to guide pretrial release decisions. Many of these tools have proven to be reliable predictors of future criminal activity and likelihood of appearing

Jail Release Coordinator

Alachua County, Florida, identified delays in pretrial processing as a cost driver in its data analyses. It created a new jail release coordinator position to investigate why detainees were being held longer than expected. In nine months, the new jail release coordinator was able to release 166 pretrial detainees early.

for scheduled court appointments, and several are available at no cost to the jurisdiction. By relying on evidence-based criminogenic risk/needs information, jurisdictions can prioritize scarce jail space for those individuals who pose the greatest flight risk or risk to the community. For more information on criminogenic risk/needs assessment and screening tools, please refer to G. Christensen, J. Jannetta, and J. Buck-Willison, “The Role of Screening and Assessment in Jail Reentry” (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2012).

To reduce the average length of pretrial detainment, case processing should be a focus for intervention. Many factors are associated with efficient case processing; they are often attributable to scheduling conflicts, the handling of evidence and/or witnesses, and justice system holds (e.g., warrants, probation violation holds). Many of these factors are resolvable, but they require the attention of skilled and adequately resourced personnel. One

strategy to improve case processing is assigning knowledgeable staff to regularly review (often daily) the cases of individuals housed in the jail for more than a predetermined period (e.g., three days for misdemeanor pretrial detainees, one week for felony pretrial detainees). This helps identify and address any delays in case processing, and thus prevents people from languishing in the jail, which costs the jurisdiction precious resources.

Jurisdictions refer to these positions as jail expeditors, jail population managers, and other similar descriptions. Regardless of title, having staff dedicated to reviewing the processing of cases through the local criminal justice system, particularly for the detained population, has demonstrated cost savings and other system efficiencies in several jurisdictions across the United States.¹⁰

Repeat clients

Justice reinvestment analyses in many jurisdictions have revealed that a relatively small volume of people are responsible for a large proportion of jail bookings. In Denver, Colorado, the top 99 repeat offenders each entered the system an average of 63 times a year and cost four city agencies more than \$2 million in 2011. Similarly, one-third of all jail bookings in Travis County, Texas, were for individuals with two or more prior bookings.¹¹

These numbers demonstrate that typically a small share of people is responsible for a large proportion of the local criminal justice interactions, disproportionately consuming local criminal justice resources. Upon further review of the characteristics of frequent residents of jail, it is typical that their charges are low-level infractions (sometimes just violations and not even misdemeanors), their lengths of stay in jail are short (resulting from the minor level of offense), and their personal characteristics often involve lengthy substance abuse and/or mental health histories as well as homelessness. It is not uncommon that homeless populations in certain jurisdictions are arrested and

Million-Dollar Murray

Murray Barr of Reno, Nevada, was a chronic inebriant and heavy consumer of government services. His alcohol addiction led him to cycle repeatedly in and out of local jails for public drunkenness and in and out of local hospitals, substance abuse treatment facilities, and numerous doctors' offices for alcohol-related illnesses and injuries. Police estimate that between his hospital bills for the 10 years that he had been on the streets, substance abuse treatment costs, doctors' fees, and other expenses, Murray Barr probably cost the government "one million dollars not to do something about Murray."¹²

booked into jail hundreds of times over the course of a given year.

Often these are the same people who are disturbing the peace and creating unsafe conditions in public spaces (e.g., city streets). Thus, police are charged with removing them from these public spaces when complaints are received about their behavior (e.g., panhandling, public intoxication, urinating in public). Most jurisdictions have no place but the local jail for police to take individuals who are disturbing the public or violating public codes.

However, a few jurisdictions across the country have developed strategies to more cost-effectively (and often more humanely) handle the needs of those creating disturbances in public spaces. For example, chronic inebriants could be transported to detoxification and treatment facilities, as opposed to the jail. Moreover, a number of jurisdictions have demonstrated great success in achieving positive client-level outcomes and reducing costs by introducing harm-reduction supportive housing placements for homeless individuals who have long histories of criminal justice involvement. In these environments, clients are

encouraged to decrease their drug and/or alcohol use, but sobriety is often not a condition of services. Evidence suggests that having a safe, supportive place to live results in decreased involvement with the criminal justice system and decreased drug and alcohol use.¹³

Summary

After your jurisdiction identifies the drivers of its local criminal justice costs, the collaborative body can begin developing policy options to achieve cost savings. It is helpful to incorporate the lessons learned from other jurisdictions' programs, but you and your justice reinvestment partners need to learn what works for you locally. This is a crucial step for the interagency strategic planning body and requires that jurisdictional leaders agree on a strategy or package of strategies, as well as how any savings generated from the intervention will be reinvested. After identifying feasible strategies, the process of implementation must begin. The following section presents some important considerations when implementing cost-saving public safety strategies.

Step 3: How Should Cost-Saving Measures Be Implemented?

Factors to consider when implementing strategies

Successful implementation of cost-saving public safety strategies is the linchpin of achieving the desired outcomes of increased criminal justice efficiency and reduced costs. Implementation requires the continued leadership, involvement, and support of the interagency strategic planning body. Indeed, at this point, the body steps into an implementation role—accepting responsibility for system change efforts. Without close involvement and vigilant review, implementation efforts can be thwarted, compromising the success and sustainability of the efforts.

This section discusses implementation lessons learned and strategies to overcome potential challenges from previous justice reinvestment efforts. Important implementation strategies include

- learning from past reform efforts,
- reviewing opportunities for legal change,
- assessing and pursuing financial resources,

- developing a sound implementation plan,
- engaging line staff, and
- communicating with the community.

The strategies and challenges discussed are not necessarily exhaustive of what a locality may experience and are not presented to discourage justice reinvestment efforts. For a more detailed review of the potential barriers and strategies related to implementing cost-saving public safety policies, please review the *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide*, second edition.

Learning from Past Reform Efforts

In some jurisdictions, evidence-based strategies may have been attempted in prior years but never fully implemented, or they may have been implemented but not sustained. In these scenarios, jurisdictions might consider the following questions to gain insight into why these strategies were unsuccessful in the past:

- Has this population or program been identified as a heavy system consumer in the past?
- What, if anything, has been done to address this system driver in past? Which programs are still in existence? Which have ended? Why?

- Was this strategy implemented in the past?
 - If yes: Why did it end? What barriers prevented sustainability?
 - If no: Was it considered? What barriers prevented implementation?

The answers to these questions can help jurisdictions avoid repeating past mistakes by identifying and anticipating historical challenges.

Perhaps a past initiative was not successful because leaders failed to prioritize it, or there was turnover in leadership. A jurisdiction may uncover that a strategy was not sustained because it was not properly memorialized. To maintain institutional knowledge and promote sustainability, jurisdictions should document their strategies and the reasoning behind them. Methods of memorialization include, but are not limited to, memorandums of understanding (MOUs), a judge's bench book, and statutes. These tools can help sustain the momentum for reform, which is another important factor for success.

Reviewing Opportunities for Legal Change

Legal barriers certainly have the potential to derail implementation of a justice reinvestment strategy, but they can often

be remedied early in the process if all decisionmakers (e.g., state and local legislators) are involved and support the process. Key questions include

- What legal barriers exist to implementing this type of strategy?
- Can these barriers be resolved through a change in local or state statute?
- Can these barriers be resolved through an MOU?

Many legal barriers to justice reinvestment can be remedied through changes to state and local law. In certain cases, a jurisdiction may want to restructure certain state-mandated programs; even though this may serve the target population, it may violate state statute. For example, a state law may mandate that every individual convicted of his or her second drug offense complete a treatment program, but the mandate conflicts with a justice reinvestment analysis that indicates the program should be targeted only to certain people convicted of drug offenses. In this case, if state legislators are engaged in justice reinvestment, they could introduce legislation that amends the law to produce better outcomes. Of course, some legal barriers will be more challenging than others, particularly when jurisdictions seek collaborative agreements with agencies that serve special populations

and keep highly confidential data (such as agencies serving those with mental health issues).

Assessing and Pursuing Financial Resources

Resource barriers can pose a different challenge to justice reinvestment: a jurisdiction may identify an exemplary, evidence-based approach to use but lack the funding to properly implement the strategy. Jurisdictions must distinguish between strategies that can be implemented with existing resources and those that will require considerably more funds. Once strategies requiring additional funds are identified, the collaborative body can brainstorm new sources of funding. The following questions will help your jurisdiction develop a funding plan:

Public/Private Partnerships

Travis County, Texas, identified supportive housing as a strategy to better serve frequent jail users who were homeless and had histories of mental health issues. The collaborative body was able to leverage resources from the local housing authority as well as the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the Arnold Foundation to implement and evaluate a supportive housing program.

- What type of costs will this strategy incur?
- Does the existing technology support this strategy?
- Is new construction part of this strategy?
- What financial resources exist to support this strategy? Does this strategy require new funding?
- Does this strategy benefit a stakeholder who might be willing to contribute resources?
- Are there state, federal, or private resources available for this strategy?

The answers to these questions will help your jurisdiction consider the resource requirements of each justice reinvestment strategy. They can also point to areas in need of fundraising through private sources or cost-sharing from partner agencies within the jurisdiction.

Developing a Sound Implementation Plan

Logistical barriers are common causes of implementation failures. Justice reinvestment strategies often require the collaboration of multiple actors and complicated logistics. Ideally, stakeholders involved in justice reinvestment have collaborated well throughout the planning process, and they should make

every effort to continue doing so during implementation. To gain the support of stakeholders and develop a sound implementation plan, the collaborative body should define the strategies in terms of how they will impact each part of the criminal justice system. Stakeholders should ask

- Does this strategy require coordination between two or more agencies?
- What agencies stand to benefit from implementation, and how can they be brought to the table (if not already there)?
- How long will it take for this strategy to generate savings?
- Are savings substantial enough to yield resources for reinvestment purposes?

Because many of these questions relate to coordination, the justice reinvestment planning body should address some of these questions early in the process. However, a challenging obstacle may come when a strategy is implemented in one part of the system and has an impact on another part of the system. In these instances, it is especially important to help stakeholders understand how they will benefit from policy changes. For example, police officers may ask themselves, “What incentive do we have to use

citations over arrests when these policies only impact the jail?” The answer is that even though the most conspicuous effect is seen in another part of the system, the police can also benefit because the labor resources (i.e., time required to transport an individual to and from the booking facility) would be available for other tasks.

Engaging Individual Actors

Although the support line staff and other implementers are crucial to the success of a policy, they are not always involved in the planning process. If not previously involved with the effort, line staff may be surprised to learn that a justice reinvestment strategy will affect their jobs. In addition to identifying the affected agencies, the collaborative body should identify individuals affected by the proposed justice reinvestment strategy. Fidelity to the collaborative body’s prescribed policy depends on the cooperation of individual staff members. It is, therefore, important to predict whether line staff will oppose a justice reinvestment strategy and to understand why. The questions below should be addressed throughout the planning process to anticipate and prevent opposition:

- How might line staff respond to this strategy? Why?
- How might line staff benefit from it?

- How might unions respond to this strategy? Why?
- How can staff give feedback and feel like they have ownership of the strategy?

Discussing cost-saving strategies is likely to raise concerns among some stakeholders, especially during a time when agencies have already been forced to freeze hiring or lay off staff. However, it is important to remember that this effort is focused on reinvestment and

Although a corrections deputy cannot become a drug treatment provider, and vice versa, each could benefit from strategies that help them lighten their caseloads and better manage high-risk and high-needs clients.

reallocation—money is not being taken away, unless the jurisdiction must cut the budget anyway. Instead, it is being repurposed to maximize public safety. Although a corrections deputy cannot simply become a drug treatment provider, and vice versa, each could benefit from justice reinvestment strategies that

help them lighten their caseloads, better manage high-risk and high-needs clients, and focus their attentions appropriately.

Implementation fidelity may still be an issue even if individual implementers fully support the policy change. Justice reinvestment strategies will change day-to-day operations and likely represent a different philosophical approach to dealing with criminal justice populations. Without proper guidance and resources, staff may be unable to learn new procedures, develop necessary skills, and change habits. The collaborative body should answer the following questions to identify training and coaching needs:

- Which individuals must change their practices or operations to implement the justice reinvestment strategy?
- Who is a credible source of information and guidance to these individuals?
- With what training format do these individuals learn and retain new skills and information?
- Are there staff members who can mentor others in implementing the strategy?
- Are there opportunities to practice new skills?
- What procedures should agencies adopt to train new staff and refresh training for current staff?

Communicating with the Community

Including community representatives in the justice reinvestment process is important for developing thoughtful and sustainable policy changes. Community representatives bring to bear perspectives that agency officials may not have. In fact, some local organizations may already have years of experience in advocating for criminal justice reforms. Their experiences can inform the collaborative body's strategies for developing and implementing changes to the criminal justice system.

It is also important to include representatives from potential opponents in the justice reinvestment planning process. Community groups, particularly business associations, may oppose justice reinvestment if they were not consulted in a process that affects them or if the justice reinvestment strategies appear "soft on crime." Many counties express frustration that there is a huge treatment gap in the community, resulting in detainees not being able to access services upon their release. However, many community residents fall prey to NIMBYism ("not in my back yard") and oppose the building of substance abuse treatment facilities, halfway houses, and shelters in their neighborhoods.

Understandably, it may not be possible to include every community

representative. Having a well-developed communications plan and engaging community members at the start of the justice reinvestment process can help members of the community take ownership of the process. Including more stakeholders will provide valuable feedback and reduce the likelihood that these stakeholders will feel left out and/or oppose justice reinvestment policies.

Before beginning a marketing strategy to communicate the benefits of the justice reinvestment strategies, stakeholders should ask themselves

- Who are criminal justice system stakeholders beyond those in government agencies?
 - Is it appropriate to include a particular stakeholder in the collaborative planning body? If not, how might the collaborative body include the stakeholder's views in the justice reinvestment process?
 - What groups have supported or opposed criminal justice policy changes in the past?
- How might the business community respond to this type of strategy?
 - How might the public respond to this type of strategy?
 - Why do opponents oppose the strategy, and how might their concerns be alleviated?

Summary

Strategies may be based on strong evidence, but implementation must be strong to prevent failure. While developing the details of implementation, your jurisdiction must review why these strategies are not currently in place. The reasons will help your jurisdiction determine which strategies are feasible to implement and how to coordinate them into a successful initiative. Further, strategies that require little up-front investment and result in immediate savings should be implemented early to free up funds for other strategies that may be more resource intensive.

Step 4: How to Know What's Working

Documenting budgetary and public safety impacts

As noted previously, justice reinvestment is an iterative process that requires ongoing monitoring and quality control. Although using evidence-based practices increases the likelihood of success, it does not guarantee success. Knowing whether a strategy has worked for your jurisdiction depends on the careful evaluation of goals, capacity, fidelity, and outcomes. Performance monitoring is highly beneficial. First, quantifying success can garner support for a strategy, while quantifying barriers to success can help you improve a strategy. Second, without the establishment of accountability mechanisms, the system may quickly regress to the conditions experienced prior to the justice reinvestment initiative. This section briefly discusses some measures that you can use to assess the costs and savings associated with the justice reinvestment strategies.

Measuring and Monitoring Progress

The identification of performance metrics is vital for monitoring progress. Improper identification of measures will yield a misleading picture of your policy changes and their fiscal impact.

For each strategy, your jurisdiction will want to identify the associated activities and how they will be measured. Many of the measures required for monitoring progress will have been used for the data analysis, such as costs, population changes, and public safety trends. Again, data from multiple agencies will likely be needed to fully assess the policy change.

Additional measures are required for this step of justice reinvestment. First, jurisdictions will need to measure the level of implementation. For example, if a strategy were to increase the use of

Knowing whether a strategy has worked for your jurisdiction depends on the careful evaluation of goals, capacity, fidelity, and outcomes.

citations, a jurisdiction would need to measure the number of citations issued and to whom. This type of information can reveal where strategies are not being implemented and where further training or intervention is needed. Second, jurisdictions will need to monitor the success rates of the criminal justice populations participating in the new strategies. For example, a jurisdiction implementing pretrial supervision must be able to examine the arrest and failure-to-appear

rates for those who participated in the program. Additionally, making sure that baseline data are available (or can be collected) for each of the chosen measures is crucial for measuring change.

Calculating Savings

In order to generate savings that can later be reinvested in the community and in longer-term public safety strategies, your jurisdiction must be able to demonstrate a *tangible* and *sustainable* reduction in current and/or future criminal justice spending. Ideally, new strategies should generate resources to pay for their implementation (if applicable) and yield net savings that can be used for later investments.

Some of these savings will be in the form of **reductions in current spending**, whereas other savings may result from **averted costs**. Both types of savings may stem from increased efficiency or population declines, but they are calculated differently. Reductions in current spending are calculated by subtracting post-justice reinvestment spending from pre-justice reinvestment spending. Averted costs are instead calculated by subtracting post-justice reinvestment spending from *projected* future costs had justice reinvestment not occurred. Averted costs are usually larger than reductions in current spending, because jurisdictions will likely have higher future costs than

current costs. Yet, because averted costs are calculated from future spending that is not realized, these savings may not be tangible to stakeholders, though they may be very real to a jurisdiction that was clearly on a path to constructing a new facility or other large spending commitments.

Calculating the marginal costs of individuals involved in the criminal justice system is essential to calculating both real savings and averted spending. Each individual in the jail is associated with certain direct expenses (e.g., the cost of meals and clothing) and unit costs (e.g., contracts for health care). Preventing that individual from entering the jail will reduce direct expenses immediately, but many unit-cost savings can be generated only if a population reduction is significant enough to close a wing or facility. Thus, marginal costs

may change based on volume, rather than on maintaining a flat per-person cost.

Summary

Measuring changes in criminal justice spending and public safety outcomes associated with your jurisdiction's strategies is a critical step for success. Jurisdictions must monitor how well strategies have achieved stated goals and modify strategies to ensure that their benefits are realized. Tangible dollars saved through strategies implemented in Step 3 and monitored in Step 4 should result in more money available for beneficial programs and policies. This money can be used in the next and final step of a justice reinvestment approach: reinvesting in public safety and community well-being.

Step 5: How Should Savings Be Reinvested?

Reinvesting savings into much-needed programs and services

The overarching goal of justice reinvestment is to reduce local criminal justice costs and reinvest resources to improve public safety and community well-being. Although adhering to the justice reinvestment model is important, the model itself will not ensure success. Jurisdictions cannot follow a prescribed set of steps, declare victory, and move on. Success requires a tangible and meaningful shift in local decisions about resource allocation and public safety initiatives. Because savings and potential reinvestment areas will span multiple agencies, key stakeholders must agree on where resources will be reinvested. This may require a discussion and commitment to specific reinvestment strategies prior to implementing the cost-saving strategies.

Reinvesting in the Criminal Justice System

Reinvestments made in the criminal justice system will likely be similar to the cost-saving public safety strategies that are identified in Step 2 of the justice reinvestment model. Both cost-saving and reinvestment efforts will focus on reducing criminal activity through the implementation of evidence-based practices.

However, reinvestment strategies differ in that they

- do not need to result in immediate cost savings,
- tend to focus on longer-term public safety and community outcomes,
- need not necessarily target only those individuals assessed as driving criminal justice costs, and
- do not always involve operational changes that increase efficiency.

Examples of some criminal justice system reinvestments include in-jail education, law enforcement training, health care, and substance abuse treatment interventions.

To identify these reinvestment opportunities, local leaders can look to the policies and strategies identified in Step 2 that may have required more up-front investment in dollars and time for planning than was feasible to implement at that time. For example, a justice reinvestment strategy focused on community improvements to reduce future criminal offending may take several years to generate benefits.

Reinvesting in the Community

Jurisdictions can also reinvest dollars directly into community-based services that serve a wider scope of the population than justice-involved people. The

following are examples of *community-based* strategies.

Jobs and education

Many people engage in crime because they do not have alternative means to support themselves. Jurisdictions can use resources saved through justice reinvestment to develop education and employment strategies that can target the initial causes of entrance into the criminal justice system.

Housing

Housing services can target the needs of individuals who are homeless or experiencing housing instability. There are many different types of housing that jurisdictions can invest in as short-term remedies for homelessness, including transitional housing and shelter services. Research has shown that a promising model is to provide supportive housing where individuals can access services that will address other needs (including substance abuse and mental health issues). Permanent housing solutions might require jurisdictions to provide a significant initial investment, but, in the long term, this investment will likely yield savings that stem from homeless individuals interacting less frequently with the local criminal justice system and other costly emergency services.

Substance abuse and mental health services

More than half of the individuals who interact with the criminal justice system have substance abuse and mental health problems. In many jurisdictions, jails are the largest providers of health care resources; thus, incarceration is one of the few ways that individuals can access the treatment they may need (despite the fact that this process is inefficient and extremely expensive). By expanding the available treatment options in the community, jurisdictions can limit the interaction these individuals have with the criminal justice system and potentially reduce demand for costly emergency services in the community. They can also expand these services to the broader population of individuals who struggle with addiction and untreated physical and mental illness.

Early childhood and family programs

Numerous studies have found that some of the most effective community-based services involve support for families with young children. This includes supporting home visiting programs for pregnant women and new mothers. Although the return on investment for this type of strategy may take a long time to accrue, results from these programs

are impressive. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy found that an average of \$2.24 is saved for every dollar invested in these programs; these savings emerged from decreased criminal justice system involvement, reduced spending for health and other related services, lower reliance upon assistance from public welfare, and increased tax revenues resulting from maternal employment. Universal prekindergarten, home nursing visitation, and other similar programs designed as very early intervention services are often hard to justify in short-term budget cycles. However, their proven demonstration to reduce future interactions with the criminal justice system, to increase the quality of life for underserved and poor populations, and to decrease overall consumption of public resources makes these options a good choice for targeted reinvestments in the community.

Mechanisms for Reinvestment

Reinvestment strategies will likely require the allocation of new funds or the shifting of funds from one entity to another. This process can be difficult and may not occur without continued vigilance or a mechanism for setting aside funds for reinvestment. The best mechanism for reinvestment will depend on your jurisdiction's context, the

stakeholders involved, and the political climate. The following are some ways to allocate funds that can help your jurisdiction brainstorm a fitting reinvestment method:

1. Jurisdictions may make an **up-front investment** in anticipation of cost savings while support for justice reinvestment is fresh and many of the original members of the collaborative body are still involved. However, this is difficult for jurisdictions that operate on annual budgets.
2. Jurisdictions may allocate funds **after savings** have been calculated. This method may engender political conflict once funds are about to be allocated. To prevent backsliding, the collaborative body may opt to sign a MOU clearly describing the reinvestment strategies and the level of funding that must be allocated to them. The Board of County Commissioners, or appropriate budgeting body, must be involved in this process.
3. Jurisdictions can establish an **ongoing mechanism** for setting aside funds for reinvestment. For example, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, plans to establish a reinvestment fund that will be used to expand treatment in

the jail and support the activities of the local criminal justice agencies. The reinvestment fund will be supported by charging agencies a minimal fee (\$1.00) to view the results of a risk assessment. This strategy rests on the assumption that using the risk assessment will ultimately save money and be cost-effective for agencies.

Assessing the Impact of Reinvestment Strategies

Jurisdictions must continue to assess the impact of reinvestment strategies in the same manner that they assess their cost-saving strategies. This involves continuous collection and analysis of data relevant to the criminal justice system and the wider community. Doing so will enable leaders to adapt to both demographic changes in the local criminal justice population and structural changes within the system. In order to support responsible reinvestment, any population and spending reductions must be sustained over the long term.

The same process used in Step 4 to assess the impact of cost-saving public safety strategies on system costs and public safety outcomes can also be used here to examine the effectiveness of reinvestment strategies. Over the long term, these metrics will be important for

tracking changes in other parts of the system as reinvestments continue to reduce the need for justice services.

Summary

When criminal justice expenditures are controlled or reduced, the resulting savings can be dedicated to interventions designed to address the root causes of criminal behavior. This will help your

community lower the odds that people will enter (or reenter) the criminal justice system. Because of this far-reaching goal, the reinvestment component can occur both within and outside the criminal justice system. Regardless of whether funds are reallocated to another program within the same agency or transferred to another entity, it will be important that all stakeholders agree to the reinvestment strategy.

Achieving Justice Reinvestment

Putting the steps into action

For the past several decades, jurisdictions across the United States have experienced massive increases in their criminal justice populations and costs. Local jurisdictions in particular have had to bear the brunt of these increases. The recent economic recession has exacerbated the problem, with crippling reductions in revenue. These factors have led jurisdictions to closely examine their populations' needs and their spending priorities. The justice reinvestment process was developed to guide localities in shifting their priorities toward an evidence-based approach to criminal justice that is cost-efficient and results in enhanced public safety.

Through a five-step iterative model centered on interagency strategic planning, the justice reinvestment approach enables jurisdictions to (1) determine what drives local criminal justice costs and populations, (2) identify cost-saving public safety strategies designed to address the local drivers, (3) implement those identified cost-saving public safety strategies, (4) document savings and the impact on public safety, and (5) implement and assess justice reinvestment strategies. When the steps of the model are successfully implemented, localities achieve system change that uses more cost-efficient processes to produce better outcomes for criminal justice-involved people and the community as a whole.

The centrality of strategic planning in this iterative approach cannot be overstated. Justice reinvestment decisions require the participation of multiple system players because changes in policies within one agency can easily be countered (whether intentionally or unintentionally) by the actions of others. Thus, the interagency strategic planning body must convene to engage in discussions and to monitor progress.

Justice reinvestment is by no means an easy undertaking. Jurisdictions engaging in this work should be prepared for the challenges of collaboration and data sharing. They should also possess a commitment to interagency coordination and ongoing problem solving. Those who view

justice reinvestment as a discrete project with a clear beginning, middle, and end are unlikely to achieve sustainable results. In sum, the challenges of justice

Those who view justice reinvestment as a discrete project with a clear beginning, middle, and end are unlikely to achieve sustainable results.

reinvestment are great, but so are the opportunities. Jurisdictions that engage in this work with purpose and diligence can yield great benefits to their fiscal strength, public safety, and community well-being.

Resources

Companion publications to this toolkit present more in-depth guidance on the various facets of justice reinvestment. *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide*, second edition, details each of the essential components of the justice reinvestment model and describes how criminal justice stakeholders in a local jurisdiction should approach the justice reinvestment process. A technical toolkit, *The Criminal Justice Planner's Toolkit for Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level*, designed for criminal justice planners and analysts, examines the logistical and analytical areas related to identifying drivers of costs and designing strategies to address them. Additional information related to this toolkit is also available in briefs that profile important components of the local justice reinvestment approach.

For additional resources, visit the Urban Institute's justice reinvestment website:
<http://www.urban.org/center/jpc/justice-reinvestment/index.cfm>.

Notes

1. This toolkit uses the term “local” to refer to criminal justice system operations and costs that are not under the authority of a state or federal governmental entity.
2. Spending is driven by increased demand (justice-involved individuals) and by the increased cost of doing business. Every year, the cost of living increases and governments must spend more money to employ workers, purchase equipment, maintain buildings, and offer programs and services. See J. Byers, *Coping with the New Normal: An Economic Status Survey of Counties* (Washington, DC: National Association of Counties, 2011).
3. J. Byers, *The Recession Continues: An Economic Status Survey of Counties* (Washington, DC: National Association of Counties, 2011).
4. Much of the work that is required of planners and other analysts is detailed in P. Lachman, S. R. Neusteter, E. Davies, and N. G. La Vigne, *The Criminal Justice Planner’s Toolkit for Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2013).
5. Text from this section has been drawn from J. Archer, S. R. Neusteter, and P. Lachman, “Improving Strategic Planning through Collaborative Bodies” (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2012). Please refer to this brief or to N. G. La Vigne, E. Davies, P. Lachman, and S. R. Neusteter, *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level: Planning and Implementation Guide*, second edition (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2013) for additional guidance on inter-agency strategic planning.
6. Recidivism refers broadly to the reinvolvement of criminal justice system clients in crime and/or the system (e.g., reoffending, rearrest, revocation, reincarceration in jail or prison). Victimization costs include both out-of-pocket costs for victims, quality-of-life costs personally and throughout the community, and lost opportunity costs for the victims and their families.

7. J. J. Stephan and L. W. Jankowski, "Jail Inmates, 1990" (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1991).
8. T. D. Minton and W. J. Sabol, "Jail Inmates at Midyear 2008—Statistical Tables" (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2009).
9. D. J. James, "Special Report: Profile of Jail Inmates, 2002" (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004).
10. Please refer to La Vigne et al., *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level*, for descriptions of jurisdictions that have deployed this justice reinvestment strategy and for further discussion of how tactics for improving case processing can translate to cost savings.
11. See Center for Effective Public Policy, "Justice Reinvestment Initiative at the Local Level: Getting to Know Denver, Colorado" (Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy, 2013) and "Justice Reinvestment Initiative at the Local Level: Getting to Know Travis County, Texas" (Silver Spring, MD: Center for Effective Public Policy, 2012).
12. M. Gladwell, "Million-Dollar Murray," *New Yorker*, February 13, 2006.
13. Several programs that follow this approach, notably the Frequent User Service Enhancement initiative, are discussed in greater detail in La Vigne et al., *Justice Reinvestment at the Local Level*.



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