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Alternatives to Prosecution: San Francisco's Collaborative Courts and Pretrial Diversion

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Alternatives to Prosecution: San Francisco's Collaborative Courts and Pretrial Diversion

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Executive Summary

Criminal justice reform has gained bipartisan support at a national level in recent years. One common reform practice is to divert some defendants from traditional criminal justice proceedings to alternative programs that provide social services or attempt to address underlying drivers of criminal justice involvement. San Francisco referred over 16,000 individuals between 2008 and 2018 through the Collaborative Courts and Pretrial Diversion programs; overall one quarter of filed criminal cases were referred to diversion. A larger share of new filings were referred to diversion in recent years as San Francisco's filing rates decreased at a faster pace than the diversion referral rate. In keeping with the general criminal justice-involved population in San Francisco, individuals referred to diversion programs were more likely to be young men of color than the average San Franciscan. People who were referred to diversion programs had longer criminal justice histories than those whose cases were not referred, but were otherwise demographically similar. Referred cases had lower conviction rates than non-diverted cases, but referred individuals had higher rates of subsequent criminal justice contact, on average. Individuals who were re-arrested after a diversion referral were typically arrested on less severe offenses than the original offenses. While this paper does not present causal estimates of the effects of diversion programs, future research will estimate the impacts of a referral to diversion on case outcomes and subsequent criminal justice contact, among other outcomes.

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Introduction

In today's fractured political environment, criminal justice reform stands out as an issue that garners bipartisan support. The general public has grown increasingly supportive of a wide range of reforms, from policing to sentencing to incarceration. In California, state-wide initiatives including public safety realignment, marijuana legalization, and bail reform have changed the criminal justice system throughout the state. Beyond the state and national trend towards reform, San Francisco is an outlier in its progressive approach to criminal justice. Several reform-minded individuals have held the office of District Attorney in recent years, with the election in 2019 of Chesa Boudin, a former public defender, providing the most recent example.

At the front-end of the system, reforms have focused on identifying and diverting defendants who might be better served by programs outside of the standard criminal justice system. In San Francisco, a series of diversion programs are available to divert defendants from the trial process and instead provide them with programming aimed at addressing the factors driving their criminal involvement. Successful completion of a diversion program can result in reduction or dismissal of charges and diversion has been shown to improve case outcomes and reduce recidivism among participants.

San Francisco currently diverts individuals through two main programs: Pretrial Diversion and the Collaborative Courts. The individual diversion programs are tailored to different populations and vary in the intensity of the interactions with, and requirements of, participants.

Pretrial Diversion (PTD) is the city's oldest diversion program; it has been operating since the 1970s and is run by a nonprofit — the San Francisco Pretrial Diversion Project. SFPDP is contracted by the City to operate several programs for justice-involved adults, one of which is Pretrial Diversion. The program serves first-time misdemeanor offenders. The programming and requirements are relatively light-touch. Participants have a two-year window in which to complete the required activities, which range from community service hours, to educational programs, to counseling. The program has a high capacity for participants at any given time and receives an average of 370 referrals per year.¹

The **Collaborative Courts** is an initiative managed by the Superior Court of San Francisco comprising a series of court dockets serving different target populations. For example, two courts provide care to people experiencing

¹ Pretrial Diversion was created pursuant to the California Penal Code: https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/codes_displayText.xhtml?lawCode=PEN&division=&title=6.&part=2.&chapter=2.7. The SF Pretrial Diversion Project operates several other programs in addition to the Pretrial Diversion Program, many of which serve more individuals and involve higher touch case management than PTD.

serious mental illness, and one is specifically designed for young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 charged with a felony. The Collaborative Courts portfolio includes: Behavioral Health Court (BHC), Community Justice Center (CJC), Drug Court (DC), Family Treatment Court (FTC), Intensive Supervision Court (ISC), Juvenile Re-entry Court (JRC), Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court (MBHC), Veterans Justice Court (VJC), and Young Adult Court (YAC).² These courts differ in the populations served and the nature of the programming provided, but share a goal of addressing the behavioral health and social service needs that contribute to the criminal involvement of participants through a problem-solving, rather than adversarial courtroom process (see brief program descriptions in [Table 1](#)).

Jurisdictions across the country are adopting pretrial diversion programs. In California, the state penal code permits local justice agencies to create such programs or provide other alternatives to traditional criminal justice processes. San Francisco stands out for its early creation of numerous diversion programs. While community courts and other diversion programs for first offenses have been used across the country for decades, San Francisco is part of a more recent trend towards providing diversion opportunities for individuals beyond first arrests for minor charges. A national survey of prosecutor-led diversion found that as of 2017, only half of diversion programs were accepting individuals charged with felonies and only one-third of programs accepted individuals with prior felony convictions (Lowry and Kerodal, 2019). In contrast, many of San Francisco's diversion programs serve individuals charged with felonies and with long criminal histories. Because many of these individuals have complicated social service needs, serving these populations poses multiple challenges. This report provides a descriptive overview of San Francisco's main diversion programs — the Collaborative Courts and Pretrial Diversion. It details the referral process, describes the defendants who participate, and presents average case outcomes and subsequent contact with the criminal justice system.

² This analysis excludes Family Treatment Court (FTC), Intensive Supervision Court (ISC), and Juvenile Reentry Court (JRC). These programs are outside of the scope of this analysis due to administration and target populations; FTC and JRC are family/juvenile programs and the ISC is a program run by the Probation Department.

San Francisco’s Diversion Programs

A defendant can receive a referral to a diversion program at any point during their involvement with the criminal justice system on a specific case, however, referrals are typically made at first arraignment, after the District Attorney’s office has filed charges. The Collaborative Courts are truly collaborative in nature — a defendant’s involvement in a program is jointly determined by judges, prosecutors, the defense team, and program staff. While referrals to Pretrial Diversion are similar to Collaborative Court referrals and can be made at any point during the case process, most first-time misdemeanor offenders are eligible for and automatically referred to Pretrial Diversion. San Francisco’s diversion programs differ in the programming and requirements of participants (Table 1).

TABLE 1 Summary of San Francisco’s diversion programs (from least to most intense)

PROGRAM	YEAR STARTED	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	ELIGIBILITY
Pretrial Diversion (PTD)	1976	SF’s first diversion program. Provides first-time, misdemeanor offenders with a light-touch alternative to criminal trial. Administered by the San Francisco Pretrial Diversion Project. Large program.	First-time misdemeanor arrestees
Community Justice Center (CJC)	2009	Addresses issues that have led to criminal justice involvement through services for behavioral health and other issues common in the Tenderloin. Large program.	Individuals arrested in a catchment zone for misdemeanor and some felony charges
Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court (MBHC)	2015	A program reserved specifically for individuals charged with misdemeanors. Very small program.	Misdemeanor arrestees with behavioral health needs
Drug Court (DC)	1995	Outpatient and/or residential treatment intended to support a life free from substance use. Large program.	Individuals with substance use disorders and non-violent arrest charges
Veterans Justice Court (VJC)	2013/2015	Social service, educational, and vocational support for veterans. It began within the CJC in 2013, and was established as its own court in 2015. Small program.	Arrestees who are veterans
Young Adult Court (YAC)	2015	Works with transitional aged adult youth charged with a range of nonviolent and violent crimes. Very small program.	Transitional-age youth (ages 18–25)
Behavioral Health Court (BHC)	2002	Works with individuals who have serious and persistent mental illness in their efforts toward community re-integration and greater self-sufficiency. Small program.	Felony arrestees with behavioral health needs

Source: San Francisco Collaborative Courts webpage: <https://www.sfsuperiorcourt.org/divisions/collaborative>

Two important dimensions along which San Francisco’s diversion programs differ from one another are the size of the program (based both on referral numbers and enrollment rates) and the intensity of the program requirements. Intensity is a measure of the requirements of program participants and the resources required to administer the program. Intensity and size correlate with one another — more intense programs are smaller, requiring higher staff-to-client ratios, while less intense programs generally have more capacity for participants. The smallest programs — the Young Adult Court and the two Behavioral Health Courts — are also the most intensive programs. For example, the Behavioral Health Court is a small and high-intensity program with the capacity to serve approximately 140 individuals at any given time and requires a full year of participation. During that time, participants must comply with individualized treatment that includes intensive case management, medication management, psychiatric rehabilitation, supportive living arrangements, and substance abuse treatment. Meanwhile, the Community Justice Center and Pretrial Diversion are two of the largest programs, but are also two of the least intense in terms of program requirements. For some participants, Pretrial Diversion requires completion of a single educational course or community service experience.

For ease of interpretation, we group the Collaborative Court diversion programs into two categories largely based on the nature of the services provided:

1. Behavioral health programs (**BHC, MBHC, DC**)
2. Community-based support programs (**CJC, VJC**)

The behavioral health programs all provide services to individuals with diagnosed substance abuse disorders or mental illnesses. A motivating reason for grouping the Community Justice Center and Veterans’ Justice Court programs together is that the Veterans’ Justice Court began as a pilot within the Community Justice Center. However, the VJC is much smaller than CJC and involves much more intensive programming for participants.

The Young Adult Court (**YAC**) — which is very small and serves only transitional-age youth — and Pretrial Diversion (**PTD**) — which is large and serves first-time misdemeanants — are considered separately due to the unique populations they serve. We apply this categorization in our analysis of referral trends, demographic characteristics, program performance, and subsequent contact with the justice system.

Who is diverted in San Francisco?

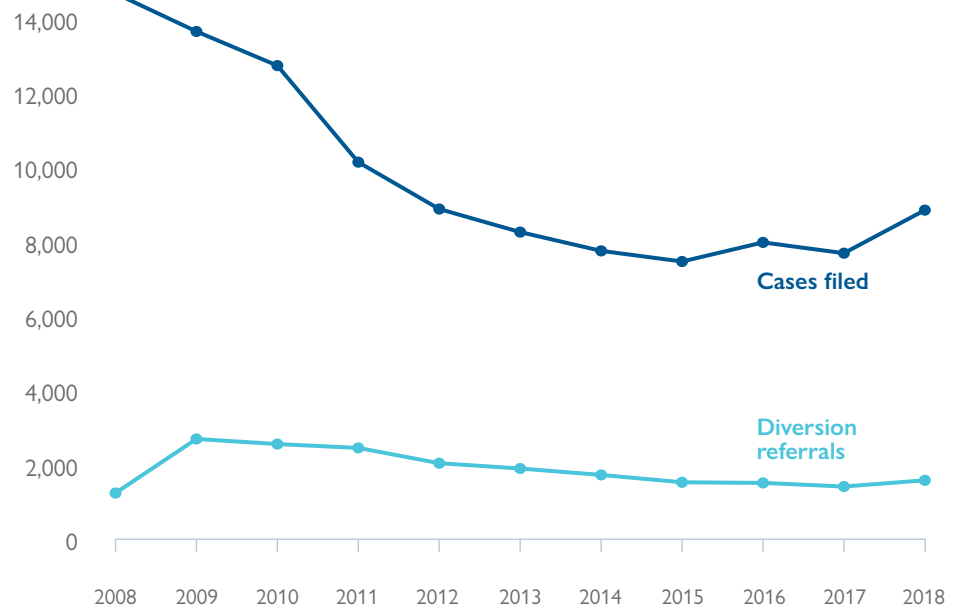
The California Policy Lab constructed an analysis sample of all court filings in San Francisco between 2008 and 2018 by linking data from the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, the San Francisco Office of the Sheriff, the Collaborative Courts, and state records of arrests and prosecutions (RAP sheets) from the California Department of Justice.³

Referral trends

Between 2008 and 2018, 16,000 people were referred to one of San Francisco's diversion programs on 26,000 unique filed court cases.⁴ This represents 26% of the 100,000 new cases filed in San Francisco in that time period. The Community Justice Center received the largest overall number of referrals in the 11 years with 8,000 referrals, followed by Drug Court, which received 4,700.⁵

While new case filings and referrals to diversion both decreased between 2013 and 2018, diversion referrals represent a larger share of all cases over time (18% of filings in 2018 were referred to a diversion programs compared with 8% in 2008) (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1 Total number of diversion referrals and filed cases in San Francisco, by year



Source: SF District Attorney, Sheriff's Office, and Courts.

3 See Appendix D for a detailed discussion of the data.

4 This chart depicts unique referrals to SF's diversion programs in a given year. Individuals can be referred to a program on multiple open cases at the same time (a unique referral is considered a diversion "episode" and can consist of one or multiple court cases).

5 See Table 12 in Appendix A for referrals by program and year.

In San Francisco, drug filings and referrals to Drug Court started a declining trend in the 2010s in conjunction with the passage of Proposition 47, which reclassified many drug crimes from felonies to misdemeanors. The Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court, Veterans Justice Court, and Young Adult Court were started in the mid-2010s. These programs are relatively small in terms of their capacity for participants, and together represent a small share of the overall number of diversion referrals (each program had approximately 400 total referrals through 2018).

Following a referral to a diversion program, eligibility for the program is assessed. Eligibility for a given program is evaluated on three general criteria: legal eligibility, perceived suitability to participate and comply with program requirements, and in some cases (such as the behavioral health programs) clinical eligibility (Table 2).

TABLE 2 Eligibility criteria

Legal — eligibility to all diversion programs is guided by the legal eligibility criteria of the different programs.

For example, the Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court and Pretrial Diversion are restricted to participants charged with a misdemeanor offense. Pretrial Diversion is reserved for first-time misdemeanor arrestees. The Community Justice Center is largely restricted to misdemeanor cases, but certain felony cases (charges including theft, for example) are permitted.

Suitability — suitability is a broad category that ranges from individual characteristics, to willingness to participate in the program, to residential ties to the community.

For example, the Young Adult Court is designed for and restricted to adults under the age of 26 and the Veterans Justice Court is reserved for veterans of the US military.

Clinical — some programs have clinical eligibility requirements in addition to the legal and suitability requirements.

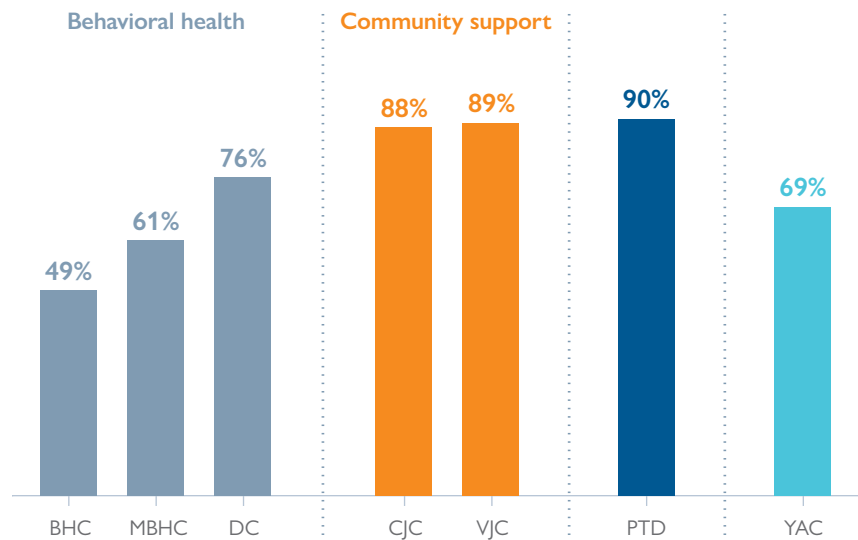
For example, the Behavioral Health Court and Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court only accept referrals for individuals who have an Axis I mental health diagnosis that was a primary motivator of their criminal activity. Drug Court is reserved for participants with a substance use diagnosis.

While each diversion program has a specific set of eligibility criteria, the criteria operate largely as guidelines for who should be diverted to that program. Exceptions to any of the eligibility criteria can be granted.

Once someone has been deemed eligible or has otherwise been accepted into a program, enrollment in the program is not a guarantee. Common reasons that eligible individuals do not enroll include: the program has reached its capacity and cannot accept new clients, the individual is unwilling or unable to comply with the requirements of the program, or the defendant chooses an alternative to participation or to remain in the traditional criminal court process. In some cases, the alternative to participation in a lengthy diversion program is a plea deal that will result in an earlier case resolution and more immediate release from custody.

For the purposes of this analysis, we define **enrollment** in the program as an individual continuing to appear in the diversion courtroom and actively participating for six weeks or more. Individuals who are referred to a program but who do not participate or appear in the court for at least six weeks are classified as **referred**.⁶ Enrollment rates vary across the programs, with behavioral health programs having lower enrollment rates on average, and community support programs having higher enrollment rates (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2 Enrollment rate of referrals



Source: SF District Attorney, Sheriff's Office, and Courts.

Because any engagement with a diversion program can be meaningful, many of the following analyses consider everyone referred to a diversion program, which includes those who subsequently enroll as well as those who do not. It is noted when an analysis is restricted to enrollees.

⁶ The six-week threshold for enrollment consideration was determined by the District Attorney's office based on the belief that someone who is regularly complying with a program for six weeks has demonstrated intent to remain enrolled.

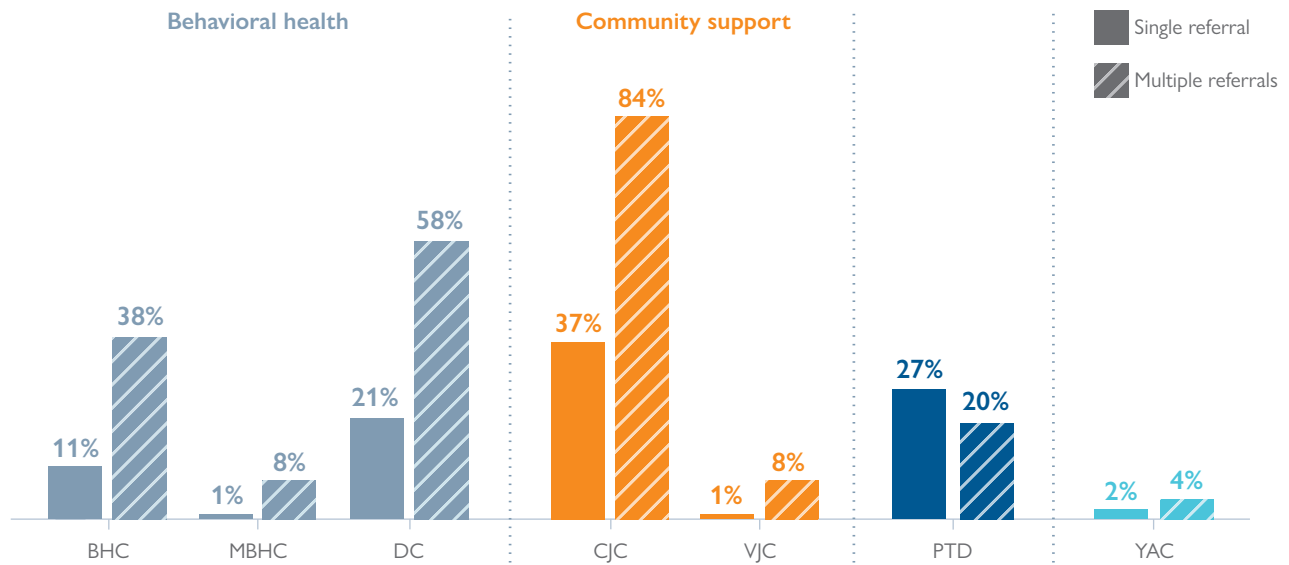
Multiple referrals

Matching defendants to appropriate diversion programs can be difficult. In fact, approximately one-fifth of all defendants referred to diversion programs are referred to more than one. After the first referral, if necessary, defendants can move to another diversion program that will more adequately address their needs or that has a different set of participation requirements. Generally, movements between programs tend to be from a less intense program towards a more intense program. Individuals can be referred to multiple diversion programs over time on a given court case, or the same program multiple times across different court cases.

The phenomenon of multiple referrals reflects the truly collaborative nature of the Collaborative Courts and the intention of prioritizing the social service needs of the individual. It also highlights that the individuals referred to diversion often have multiple co-existing needs. The spirit of the Collaborative Courts is to identify situations where an individual's needs are not being met and consider alternative diversion options before proceeding with normal court processing.

The Collaborative Court programs serve many of the same clients over time. Specifically, the Community Justice Center, Behavioral Health Court, and Drug Court serve large shares of individuals who are referred to multiple diversion programs, sometimes on the same case and at other times across different cases ([Figure 3](#)). Almost all individuals referred to multiple programs are referred to the Community Justice Center at some point (84%) and more than half are referred to Drug Court (58%). Patterns of multiple referrals suggest that some defendants have needs that are not fully addressed by the program they are originally referred to. Many individuals who are referred to multiple programs begin at the Community Justice Center (42%), which may not offer programming that is adequate to address, for example, a serious mental illness or drug addiction. In contrast, Pretrial Diversion, a light-touch and short program for first-time misdemeanor arrestees, predominately serves individuals with only a single referral.

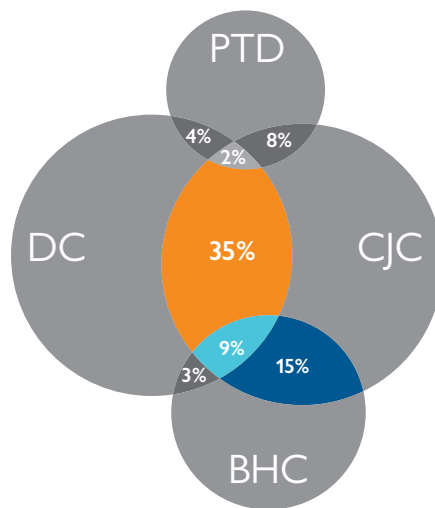
FIGURE 3 Share of individuals referred to diversion programs, by multiple or single referral status⁷



Source: SF District Attorney, Sheriff's Office, and Courts.

Clients who are referred to multiple programs — both on one court number and on subsequent incidents — are most often referred to both the Community Justice Center and Drug Court (one-third of all those referred to multiple programs) (Figure 4). The second most common combination of referrals is to the Behavioral Health Court and Community Justice Center (15% of individuals referred to multiple programs). Nine percent of clients who receive multiple referrals are referred to the Behavioral Health Court, Community Justice Center, and Drug Court. Three percent of clients who receive multiple referrals are referred to the Behavioral Health Court, Community Justice Center, and Drug Court.

FIGURE 4 Most common referral combinations among those referred to multiple programs⁸



Source: SF District Attorney, Sheriff's Office, and Courts.

7 The figure presents the share of individuals referred to multiple programs, who are referred to each program (the blue bars, which are not mutually exclusive and therefore add up to more than 100%), and the share of individuals who received only one referral referred to each program (the orange bars, which sum to 100%).

8 See Table 14 in Appendix A summarizing the most common referrals to multiple programs.

Client characteristics

Demographics

Young men of color are disproportionately represented in San Francisco's criminal justice system (MacDonald and Raphael, 2017).⁹ However, the demographics of individuals referred to diversion programs are largely similar to those who are not referred to diversion (Table 3).

TABLE 3 Demographic differences

	NOT DIVERTED	DIVERTED	SF POPULATION
Black	40%	43%	6%
Latinx ¹⁰	11%	8%	15%
White	36%	36%	53%
Male	76%	74%	51%
Mean age	35.1	35.9	38.5

Note: SF population statistics are from the U.S. Census Bureau; <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/sanfranciscocountycalifornia>

The characteristics of individuals referred to the different diversion programs reflect the target populations they serve. For example, the Veterans Justice Court, which restricts eligibility to veterans, serves a population that is representative of the veteran population in San Francisco, with more white, older men than any of the other programs. The Young Adult Court, which serves individuals under the age of 26, mostly serves men of color due to their overrepresentation in the San Francisco criminal justice system. Due to the fact that Pretrial Diversion serves first-time misdemeanants, it is the program most likely to receive female referrals and has the youngest referrals after the Young Adult Court (Table 4).

⁹ We provide San Francisco's demographic breakdown as a comparison, but also acknowledge that is not an ideal comparison as people who are not residents of San Francisco comprise a share of jail bookings.

¹⁰ Ethnicity is not consistently recorded in the District Attorney's data. We estimate that an individual is Latinx if 85% or more of individuals with the same last name identify as Latinx according to the Census Bureau and that individual's race is listed as "White", "Other", or "Missing" in the District Attorney's data (Frequently Occurring Surnames from the 2010 Census – File B. The United States Census Bureau | https://www.census.gov/topics/population/genealogy/data/2010_surnames.html). As a result of this imprecise estimation of ethnicity, we are likely underreporting Latinx. The demographic makeup of diversion referrals has evolved over time: in 2018, 15% of referrals were Latinx compared to 11% in 2008; 36% of referrals in 2018 were Black compared to 40% in 2008, and 35% of 2015 referrals were White compared to 38% in 2008.

TABLE 4 Diversion program demographics

	Behavioral health			Community support		Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion
	BHC	MBHC	DC	VJC	CJC		
Black	44%	39%	42%	34%	43%	54%	28%
Latinx	10%	11%	12%	8%	8%	18%	14%
White	35%	36%	36%	48%	36%	13%	37%
Male	79%	76%	80%	96%	74%	84%	69%
Mean age	36.2	33.2	36.0	42.5	35.9	20.2	32.7

Criminal histories

Many of San Francisco’s diversion programs — the Collaborative Court programs in particular — specifically target hard-to-serve individuals with the goal of addressing underlying causes of criminal justice contact. For example, defendants referred to diversion have on average five more prior arrests and 0.5 more prior convictions than defendants who are not referred to diversion (Table 5). This is true for referrals to both the behavioral health programs and community support programs: defendants referred to these programs had, on average, more than twenty prior arrests and approximately four convictions at the time of referral to diversion.

TABLE 5 Criminal histories

	Behavioral health	Community support	Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Not diverted
In CalDOJ data (%) ¹¹	89	87	86	88	82
Number of prior arrests (avg.) ¹²	20.80	21.88	8.11	8.22	11.1
Number of prior convictions (avg.)	4.37	4.54	0.88	1.51	2.68
Prior felony arrest (%)	91	80	90	74	78
Prior felony conviction (%)	52	51	19	20	38
Prior prison sentence (%)	26	25	5	6	17
Prior probation supervision (%)	67	65	32	33	53
Prior jail sentence (%)	67	64	33	31	52

11 Criminal history information comes from the California Department of Justice data. We were not able to match the entirety of local records with the CalDOJ data, and this table only reports on those who were matched successfully.

12 The fact that Pretrial Diversion participants had, on average, 8.22 prior arrests, is a clear example of the role discretion plays in referrals to diversion programs because Pretrial Diversion was established for first-time misdemeanor arrestees, however San Francisco is willing to refer people with prior arrests and even convictions.

The Young Adult Court and Pretrial Diversion programs are intended for young adults or individuals with first-time offenses. Individuals referred to these programs are much less likely to have been incarcerated previously and have lower rates of prior arrests and convictions than non-diverted individuals and individuals referred to the other Collaborative Court diversion programs. Still, most of these defendants have had prior contact with the justice system; they have eight prior arrests, on average, and one-third have previously been on probation or served a jail sentence. Individuals referred to multiple diversion programs have more significant criminal histories (including more prior arrests, more prior convictions, a higher likelihood of a felony conviction and any sentence to incarceration or supervision) than those referred to one single program.¹³

Details of the current case

Charged offense

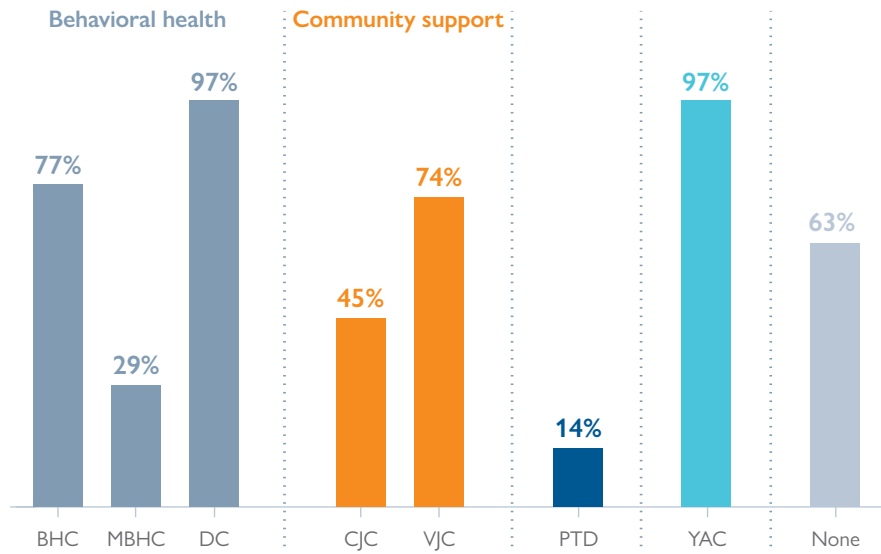
As described above, eligibility for the diversion programs is partially determined by the details of the filed charges. However, the charge-based eligibility criteria tend not to be strict — defense attorneys can advocate for a client's placement in a program even if they fail to meet the eligibility criteria, exceptions can be made by prosecutors, and judges have ultimate authority to admit individuals. This is demonstrated by the fact that 14% of cases referred to Pretrial Diversion and 29% of cases referred to Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court involve a felony charge, despite the programs being intended for misdemeanor defendants (Figure 5).¹⁴

The Behavioral Health Court, Drug Court, Veterans Justice Court, and Young Adult Court are primarily intended for cases charged with felonies, and over three-quarters of the referrals they receive are for felony charges. The Community Justice Center accepts individuals charged with both misdemeanors and some non-violent felonies. More than half of cases that were not referred to any diversion program had felony charges filed (63%).

¹³ See Table 15 in Appendix A.

¹⁴ Note that felony cases can be reduced to a misdemeanor to permit participation in MBHC or PTD. The data does not have this level of detail, we only observe the original filed charge.

FIGURE 5 Share of referrals that were initiated as felony cases



Source: SF District Attorney, Sheriff's Office, and Courts.

The behavioral health diversion programs serve defendants charged with offenses that may be considered more severe — drug crimes and crimes against a person (Table 6). The community support programs, the Young Adult Court, and Pretrial Diversion serve larger shares of defendants charged with property crimes than the behavioral health programs.

TABLE 6 Filed charge category (percent)

	Behavioral health			Community support		Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Not Diverted
	BHC	MBHC	DC	CJC	VJC			
Drug	15	4	64	25	12	17	8	23
Person	48	54	8	15	42	46	31	30
Property	21	17	25	44	33	31	40	18
Other	17	24	2	15	13	6	22	28

Location of arrest

Most diversion programs accept individuals arrested from any neighborhood in San Francisco. The exception is the Community Justice Center, which has a geographical catchment zone that partially determines an individual's eligibility for participation in the program. While the Community Justice Center is the only geographically limited diversion program, all of the programs exhibit a geographic concentration among referrals. Sixty-five percent of referrals to community support programs come from arrests made in two police districts, Southern and Tenderloin, along with 40% of the referrals to behavioral health programs (Table 7). Almost one-third of referrals to Young Adult Court and Pretrial Diversion are based on arrests from those districts as well.

TABLE 7 Referrals (percent) by location of arrest (police district)

	Behavioral health	Community support	Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Not diverted
Bayview	5	2	9	5	8
Central	6	5	13	9	6
Ingleside	4	1	4	6	6
Mission	11	4	6	14	11
Northern	9	8	9	8	7
Park	4	1	-	4	4
Richmond	2	1	5	3	3
Southern	17	26	17	18	12
Taraval	3	1	5	9	5
Tenderloin	23	39	12	11	11
Missing	14	12	19	15	28

Diversion outcomes

By removing defendants from the usual court process, the diversion programs aim to (1) avoid a new conviction on the defendant’s record, (2) address the defendant’s unmet needs such as unemployment or mental and behavioral health challenges that contributed to past criminal behavior, and (3) foster desistance from future contact with the justice system.

A diversion is considered successful if the court record reflects a program completion, a program graduation, and/or dismissal of the criminal case. If someone fails to meet the requirements of a diversion program they can be terminated from the program at which point they return to regular justice processing. This is also the point at which an individual can be referred to a different diversion program that may more appropriately suit their needs. A **court-termination** is a program removal at the behest of the court, whereas a **self-termination** is at the behest of the individual, who can opt out of the program at any point in time, and return to regular justice processing. It is important to note that the status of a diversion at its completion is not fully deterministic of how the individual’s criminal case will end: an individual can successfully complete diversion, yet still receive a conviction on their original case. For this reason, we consider diversion outcomes and case outcomes separately.

On average, half of diversion enrollments end in a termination, and slightly less than half end successfully (Table 8). Pretrial Diversion has the highest success rate (77%), while approximately one-third of diversions to the behavioral health and community support programs end successfully.

TABLE 8 Diversion outcomes of all enrollees (percent)¹⁵

	Behavioral health	Community support	Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Total across all programs
Active	1	1	49	1	2
Other ¹⁶	5	6	-	1	4
Success	36	33	14	77	43
Termination	59	59	36	21	50

¹⁵ See Appendix C for a program and termination year cohort breakdown of diversion outcomes.

¹⁶ “Other” includes death during the program, placement in conservatorship, or enrolled and inactive.

As is noted above, individuals can be referred to multiple diversion programs, either on the same court number or across multiple incidents. Those with complex or multi-dimensional needs may be referred to multiple programs to better suit their needs if an initial referral is not successful. Individuals who are referred to multiple diversion programs tend to fare worse, on average, than those referred to one program. Half of individuals referred to and enrolled in only one program finish the program successfully, while only 30% of enrollments after multiple referrals end in success. Individuals who are first referred to the Community Justice Center, but who are ultimately enrolled in at least one other diversion program over the course of the analysis period, are fourteen percentage points less likely to successfully complete their final diversion program than individuals who enroll only in the Community Justice Center.

Individuals referred to other programs after the Community Justice Center have a 25% success rate after enrolling in the last program they are referred to, compared to a 39% success rate of individuals enrolled solely in the Community Justice Center. Individuals who move from the Community Justice Center to Drug Court, the most common trajectory among multiple referrals, are half as likely to succeed in their Drug Court enrollment as individuals who enroll only in Drug Court (41% versus 17%).

Program completion is one marker of a successful diversion, but non-completion may also result in a successful outcome. For example, a termination from one diversion program can lead to a referral to another program that may be a better fit for the individual. In addition, an individual may benefit from many months of treatment before withdrawing from a diversion program, which would technically be classified as a termination. In this report, we also measure an individual's case outcomes and their interactions with the justice system after diversion ends.¹⁷

Case outcomes

Short-term measures of success for diversion programs include how quickly cases are disposed, whether individuals are rearrested prior to case disposition, and whether they are convicted on the current case. By design, individuals who enroll in a diversion program have lower rates of conviction on their initial case than non-diverted cases. However, enrollment in a diversion program does not guarantee quick resolution of the current case: the average length of time to disposition is longer for enrollees in all diversion programs than for individuals who are not diverted (Table 9). It is critical to note that while diversion programs take longer to dispose on average than non-diverted cases, most diversions that end successfully also mark the closure of a case and cessation of any supervision or involvement with the criminal justice system. In contrast, cases that are

¹⁷ Ideally, we would measure the success of diversion on a broader set of outcomes, including employment, housing, and behavioral health. For this report, we are restricted to criminal justice outcomes due to data limitations, but intend to study other domains in future work.

not diverted often end with a probation term or a sentence to incarceration, meaning that the individual's contact with the system will continue for additional months or years beyond their case disposition. For some participants, particularly those diverted on their first contact with the criminal justice system, successful completion of diversion can erase any record of criminal justice contact, therefore creating a clean slate for the individual. For others, success may still be a conviction, but could be a sentence to jail or probation in lieu of prison.

TABLE 9 Case outcomes among all enrollees

	Behavioral health	Community support	Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Not diverted
Time to disposition (days) ¹⁸	504	524	632	396	236
Number of pre-disposition arrests	3.3	4.4	3.6	0.8	1.0
Conviction rate ¹⁹	29%	18%	16%	4%	45%

Still, a longer time to case disposition means more time for diversion enrollees to be arrested again. Defendants enrolled in Collaborative Court programs have more arrests during the pretrial period, on average, than defendants who are not diverted (Table 9). To be sure, differences in the average characteristics of the individuals enrolled in these alternative programs must certainly be contributing to the higher average number of pre-trial arrests. As we document in Figure 3, the enrollees in behavioral health programs as well as enrollees in the community support programs are more likely to be referred to multiple programs. Moreover, these enrollees have more extensive arrest and conviction records (as documented in Table 5). Hence, the Collaborative Courts are more likely to be receiving and serving referrals with multiple co-existing needs, who come to the programs with a high-risk of pre-disposition arrest. The exception is Pretrial Diversion: while enrollees in Pretrial Diversion have longer case durations than individuals who are not diverted, they have fewer pre-disposition arrests. However, these enrollees also have less extensive criminal histories and are less likely to be subsequently referred to multiple programs.

Individuals referred to multiple diversion programs spend about two more months enrolled in their final program on average (519 versus 448 days), and have twice as many arrests pre-disposition than those enrolled in a single program (4.1 versus 2.0). One-quarter of individuals referred to multiple diversions are

18 Time to disposition is calculated as time between arrest and final disposition date. For diverted cases, it is time between the first arrest date and the latest disposition associated with a diversion episode.

19 The conviction rate excludes pleas of guilty or no contest that are entered on a case as a prerequisite of enrolling in a diversion program (known as a deferred entry of judgment). The conviction rate includes individuals who graduated from the Collaborative Court, but were ultimately convicted.

unsuccessful in their diversion and end up with a conviction after enrolling in the last program referred to, compared with 14% of those referred to one program. Individuals who are enrolled in Pretrial Diversion after prior referrals fare especially poorly when compared with those enrolled in Pretrial Diversion alone, with far longer case times, seven times the number of arrests pre-disposition, and a higher conviction rate (Table 10).

TABLE 10 Case outcome of last program enrolled in, by number of referrals

	Behavioral health		Community support		Young Adult Court		Pretrial Diversion	
	Single	Multiple	Single	Multiple	Single	Multiple	Single	Multiple
Time to disposition (days)	481	497	464	534	638	484	390	524
Number of pre-disposition arrests	1.9	3.9	3.1	4.4	2.5	3.7	0.6	4.4
Conviction rate	25%	29%	14%	20%	17%	15%	3%	19%

Subsequent contact

Another measure of the success of diversion programs is desistance from future criminal activity post-diversion, regardless of whether the individual completed their diversion program. San Francisco defines subsequent contact as any new arrest, filing, or conviction for new criminal activity post-disposition.²⁰ This report is limited to considering subsequent contact only within the state of California due to data availability.

We measure subsequent contact (arrests and convictions for new criminal activity) at three points in time: one, two, and three years following the disposition. Another critical measure of subsequent contact is the severity of the new charge — was the new arrest for something more severe than the initial arrest that led to diversion?

Assessing the actual effect of diversion programs on subsequent criminal justice contact is an extraordinarily difficult task. Doing so requires assessing how the observed outcome (for example, percent arrested within one year for those referred to Drug Court) would compare to the comparable outcome in a world where the individuals were prosecuted rather than diverted. One should not compare the average outcomes for cases referred to diversion programs to those for cases not referred and conclude that the difference is reflective of the relative efficacy of these programs. Moreover, one should not draw similar conclusions

²⁰ Note that new activity on existing charges —such as bench warrants or motions to revoke probation or parole— are not counted in calculations of subsequent criminal justice contact. This is because new activity on existing charges may be triggered by non-criminal behavior, such as violation of a probation or parole condition.

from comparing average outcomes across the programs. As we have documented in this report, many of these programs are serving individuals with multiple co-existing needs, including mental health as well as substance abuse problems, and in many instances lengthy arrest and conviction histories. Given these large differences, one cannot infer too much from raw outcomes comparisons across programs. Hence, the presentation here is purely descriptive, with the observed differences across programs and compared to non-referred cases largely reflective of the difference in the average characteristics of enrollees.

On average, diversion enrollees have higher rates of subsequent criminal justice contact after their case disposition than non-diverted individuals (Table 11). However, this statistic obscures variation among the different diversion programs. Pretrial Diversion participants have lower rates of subsequent contact with the criminal justice system than participants in the Collaborative Courts or those who do not participate in any diversion program. Participants in the community support programs (Community Justice Center and Veterans Justice Court) and the behavioral health programs (Behavioral Health Court, Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court, and Drug Court) demonstrate consistently higher contact post-diversion. **Importantly, among participants diverted to the behavioral health programs and Young Adult Court, subsequent contact is more often for an offense that is less severe than the original arrest charge.** This suggests that their subsequent contact is less serious than their original involvement in the criminal justice system.²¹

²¹ Most serious offense is determined relying on the hierarchy outlined in Appendix C of the California Department of Justice technical manual for the monthly arrest and citation register (MACR) data file. For outcomes broken down by demographic groups, crime type, and number of referrals, see Appendix C. For a breakdown of subsequent contact crime types, see Table 23 in Appendix B.

TABLE 11 Subsequent contact rates among enrollees (percent)

		Behavioral health	Community support	Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion	Not diverted
Share with a new arrest	1 year after disposition	41	42	38	25	34
	2 years after disposition	49	46	31	34	41
	3 years after disposition	52	46	-	38	45
	That is more severe than index arrest charge	9	16	6	18	14
Share with a new conviction	1 year after disposition	17	18	19	10	14
	2 years after disposition	25	23	21	16	20
	3 years after disposition	28	24	-	19	24

Note: these calculations are restricted to the group of individuals who have disposed at least 1 year (and then 2 years, and 3 years) before the end of the analysis window, December 31, 2018. This means that the share of enrollees with a new arrest three years after disposition is the number of individuals with at least one arrest during the three-year period, divided by the total number of enrollees for whom we observe three years of data following disposition. See Appendix B for more on outcomes by program and termination year, as well as the crime type of an individual's first arrest after the index case disposed.

Individuals referred to multiple diversion programs tend to have slightly lower rates of subsequent criminal justice contact following their final enrollment than the overall average among all program enrollees (Appendix C). This suggests that at the end of their participation in multiple diversion programs, these individuals are more likely to desist from subsequent contact. Across the board, individuals referred to a Collaborative Court last have a lower likelihood of a new conviction in the three years following the disposition of their final referred case than the average Collaborative Court participant. Those enrolled in a behavioral health program last also have lower likelihood of a new arrest following their final enrollment. Conversely, individuals referred to Pretrial Diversion after previous referrals to other diversion programs have a five percentage point higher chance of a new conviction and a 20 percentage point higher chance of a new arrest in the three years following the disposition of their final enrolled case than the average Pretrial Diversion participant.

Conclusion

San Francisco has developed a set of diversion programs aimed at addressing the underlying causes of criminal justice contact, limiting any negative effects of criminal justice processing, and preventing future contact with the system. It is therefore important that policymakers and the criminal justice community understand whether they are achieving those goals.

Descriptively, this report demonstrates that many of San Francisco's diversion programs target a high-risk sub-group of the justice-involved population. Participants in these programs experience lower conviction rates than non-diverted counterparts, on average, but continue to have high rates of contact with the criminal justice system — both during and following diversion.

These are not estimates of the causal effect of participation in diversion programs on outcomes. In this report, we are not able to distinguish whether outcomes are driven by program participation, or by the individual characteristics of those who choose to participate relative to those who do not. Future research will expand this work to consider outcomes beyond criminal justice contact and will use quasi-experimental research designs to draw out what causal connections, if any, exist between a diversion referral and these important outcomes.

Appendices

A. Data tables

TABLE 12 Referrals by program and year²²

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Behavioral Health Court	255	256	266	242	321	327	282	224	212	150	162	2,697
Community Justice Center	35	844	1,218	1,043	1,073	928	799	475	486	481	657	8,039
Drug Court	663	898	518	580	333	344	306	384	289	177	179	4,671
Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	120	105	90	367
Pretrial Diversion	290	699	557	590	312	258	269	219	258	282	306	4,040
Veterans Justice Court	-	-	-	-	-	43	72	83	62	77	76	421
Young Adult Court	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96	88	146	115	448
TOTAL	1,243	2,697	2,560	2,456	2,045	1,902	1,730	1,532	1,515	1,418	1,585	20,683

²² Referral does not indicate program enrollment. This number represents unique referral episodes, not unique court cases.

TABLE 13 Incident charge category (percent)

	BEHAVIORAL HEALTH COURT	COMMUNITY JUSTICE CENTER	DRUG COURT	MISDEMEANOR BEHAVIORAL HEALTH COURT	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	VETERANS JUSTICE COURT	YOUNG ADULT COURT	NOT DIVERTED
Most serious initially filed offense								
Felony Drug Possession	2	7	34	-	3	4	5	9
Felony Drug Sales	12	15	29	-	1	7	12	12
Felony Other	4	1	1	-	1	5	4	8
Felony Person	36	6	8	17	3	28	42	17
Felony Property	18	14	24	7	6	27	31	12
Felony Sex	1	0	0	-	0	1	-	1
Homicide/ Manslaughter	3	0	0	-	0	3	-	2
Misdemeanor Drug	1	3	1	-	4	1	-	2
Misdemeanor Other	12	12	0	22	20	8	-	18
Misdemeanor Person	8	9	0	36	28	10	-	10
Misdemeanor Property	3	30	1	10	34	6	-	6
Missing	0	0	0	-	0	0	-	0
Other	1	2	1	-	1	0	-	2
Initial filed case type								
Felony	77	45	97	29	14	74	97	63

TABLE 14 Most common programs for multiple referrals

PROGRAMS	PERCENT OF INDIVIDUALS REFERRED TO MULTIPLE PROGRAMS
Community Justice Center & Drug Court	35
Behavioral Health Court & Community Justice Center	15
Behavioral Health Court, Community Justice Center, & Drug Court	9
Community Justice Center & Pretrial Diversion	8
Drug Court & Pretrial Diversion	4
Behavioral Health Court & Drug Court	3
Community Justice Center, Pretrial Diversion, & Drug Court	2

TABLE 15 Criminal histories by number of diversion referrals

	MULTIPLE REFERRALS	SINGLE REFERRAL	NOT DIVERTED
Found in CalDOJ data (%)	91	87	82
Number of prior arrests (avg.)	23.9	13.34	10.4
Number of prior convictions (avg.)	4.91	2.84	2.52
With prior felony arrest (%)	92	78	77
With prior felony conviction (%)	56	36	37
With prior prison sentence (%)	30	16	16
With prior probation supervision (%)	69	50	51
With prior jail sentence (%)	69	49	50

B. Outcomes by program

Below we summarize diversion outcomes by program and year of termination. The bottom row of each table represents the total number of cases in the program in that year. Note that cells with 10 or fewer individuals are repressed.

TABLE 16 Behavioral Health Court outcomes

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Never enrolled	84	98	100	124	135	133	116	90	69	73	72	1,094
Other	-	-	-	-	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	80
Success	-	33	50	59	64	116	78	62	33	36	12	548
Termination	-	49	51	46	49	54	53	73	84	119	94	679
TOTAL	96	186	211	239	260	315	255	231	196	231	186	2,406

TABLE 17 Community Justice Center outcomes

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	31
Never enrolled	91	152	113	103	71	57	21	-	42	116	773
Other	-	37	43	37	19	40	23	55	26	-	291
Success	102	313	313	289	287	254	175	198	316	91	2,338
Termination	163	409	417	562	505	493	404	470	480	343	4,249
TOTAL	364	911	886	991	882	844	623	730	866	582	7,682

TABLE 18 Drug Court outcomes

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Never enrolled	62	99	96	73	116	100	71	63	36	24	37	777
Other	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	11	14	15	-	80
Success	65	290	251	201	119	72	65	55	43	40	16	1,217
Termination	193	384	330	277	160	159	154	146	150	161	85	2,199
TOTAL	322	776	680	556	397	345	299	275	243	241	145	4,279

TABLE 19 Misdemeanor Behavioral Health Court outcomes

	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-
Never enrolled	-	-	28	31	35
Other	-	-	-	-	-
Success	-	-	20	18	19
Termination	-	-	29	41	48
TOTAL	-	16	78	91	109

TABLE 20 Pretrial Diversion outcomes

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Never enrolled	-	24	25	25	21	22	14	19	20	12	54	241
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Success	173	497	452	493	272	172	185	133	140	162	110	2,789
Termination	-	39	64	86	72	51	60	72	95	120	67	734
TOTAL	186	562	541	606	365	247	265	227	258	298	239	3,794

TABLE 21 Veterans Justice Court outcomes

	2013	2014	2015	-	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Never enrolled	-	-	-	-	-	17	27
Other	-	-	-	30	16	-	41
Success	-	17	37	40	24	22	131
Termination	-	13	32	81	39	37	164
TOTAL	-	41	77	81	84	82	369

TABLE 22 Young Adult Court outcomes

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Active	-	-	25	29	36	100
Never enrolled	-	-	18	20	29	71
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Success	-	-	-	23	11	44
Termination	-	-	31	42	32	111
TOTAL	-	21	83	115	109	328

Subsequent arrests

Individuals with a subsequent arrest in the three years following case disposition after enrollment in a behavioral health program are most often arrested for felony drug (21%) and felony property (22%) charges. Those who are arrested for new criminal activity after enrollment in a community support program or Pretrial Diversion are most often arrested for a misdemeanor (51%). Almost one-third of those arrested after enrollment in the Community Justice Center are arrested for a misdemeanor or felony property crime (28%).

TABLE 23 Crime category of first re-arrest post disposition (share of enrollees with a subsequent arrest) (percent)

	Behavioral health			Community support		Pretrial Diversion	Young Adult Court	Not Diverted
	BHC	MBHC	DC	CJC	VJC			
Felony Drug	13	-	25	15	3	9	12	16
Felony Other	7	-	4	5	6	4	-	9
Felony Person	23	15	8	10	13	14	18	15
Felony Property	16	12	25	19	24	15	32	15
Misdemeanor Drug	6	-	7	8	8	5	-	5
Misdemeanor Other	16	24	17	21	20	27	11	23
Misdemeanor Person	9	24	5	7	7	11	-	7
Misdemeanor Property	4	-	4	9	9	8	-	4
Other	8	-	4	6	10	5	-	6

C. Outcomes among referred sub-groups

Demographics

Across almost all outcomes, Latinx and White diverted defendants tend to fare better than their Asian and Pacific Islander and Black counterparts, and women experience better outcomes than men.

TABLE 24 Outcomes for diverted individuals, by demographic groups

		RACE/ETHNICITY				SEX	
		Asian/Pacific Islander	Black	Latinx	White	Female	Male
Index case outcomes	Time to disposition (days)	458.0	485.3	429.8	444.3	429.9	455.3
	Number of pre-disposition arrests	3.2	4.1	2.3	2.8	2.1	3.4
	Conviction rate	26%	24%	21%	23%	18%	24%
Subsequent contact							
Share with a new arrest (percent)	in 1 year	39	43	35	37	32	39
	in 2 years	42	49	41	43	39	45
	in 3 years	41	52	43	44	41	47
	more severe than index arrest charge	11	16	13	13	13	14
Share with a new conviction (percent)	in 1 year	17	17	14	16	13	16
	in 2 years	26	24	19	21	18	23
	in 3 years	28	28	21	24	20	26

Filed Charges

The differences in case outcomes, when broken down by filed charges on the index case, are almost indistinguishable. The exception is individuals whose charges are categorized into the “other” category.²³ Individuals charged with property crimes have higher rates of subsequent criminal justice contact than those charged with drug crimes, crimes against another person, or with crimes that do not fit within this categorization. Individuals charged with felonies fare worse than those charged with misdemeanors on all outcomes, though individuals charged with misdemeanors are more likely to subsequently be arrested on a more severe charge.

TABLE 25 Outcomes for diverted individuals, by crime type

		CRIME TYPE				CASE TYPE	
		Drug	Person	Property	Other	Felony	Misdemeanor
Index case outcomes	Time to disposition (days)	442.7	473.8	455.5	403.2	518.1	367.9
	Number of Pre-disposition arrests	3.3	3.2	3.4	1.9	4.4	1.5
	Conviction rate	21%	26%	22%	19%	30%	12%
Subsequent contact							
Share with a new arrest (percent)	in 1 year	33	39	41	37	17	14
	in 2 years	41	44	45	43	23	19
	in 3 years	45	45	46	47	26	21
	more severe than index arrest charge	11	9	14	25		
Share with a new conviction (percent)	in 1 year	13	15	19	13	41	33
	in 2 years	19	21	26	18	46	40
	in 3 years	23	23	27	22	48	42

²³ This category is broad and can include infractions, local ordinances, and other crimes that do not fit the definition of a drug crime, a property crime, or a crime against another person.

Multiple referrals

Approximately one-fifth of diverted individuals are referred to multiple diversion programs over the study period.

TABLE 26 Outcomes of individuals referred to multiple programs after final referral, among those who enroll in their final referred program

		Behavioral health			Community support		Young Adult Court	Pretrial Diversion
		BHC	MBHC	DC	CJC	VJC		
Index case outcomes	Time to disposition (days)	497	400	528	545	557	484	523
	Number of pre-disposition arrests	3.9	2.7	2.5	4.4	4.6	3.7	4.4
	Conviction rate	29%	14%	12%	20%	39%	15%	19%
Subsequent contact								
Share with a new arrest (percent)	in 1 year	43	41	43	44	46	24	44
	in 2 years	47	45	52	48	50	13	49
	in 3 years	48	49	52	47	51	-	48
	more severe than index arrest charge	8	-	16	15	8	9	17
Share with a new conviction (percent)	in 1 year	16	12	17	18	19	10	18
	in 2 years	22	17	21	23	26	10	24
	in 3 years	24	20	22	23	27	-	24

D. Data

The backbone of the analysis data is the District Attorney's case management system, DAMION. The master dataset details every court event for all cases handled by the SF District Attorney's office between January 2008 and December 2018. To identify cases that are diverted to pretrial diversion programs, we use regular expression keyword analysis. We merge supplementary information on arrest details, filed charges, and case dispositions using separate files also maintained by the DA's office, all of which contain data through December 2019. Supplemental information on pretrial diversion comes from the Collaborative Court records and the Pretrial Diversion data provided by the San Francisco Pretrial Diversion Project, both of which provide a list of some of the cases diverted to the various programs along with entry and exit dates. Given that a single individual can be referred to a diversion program on multiple cases at the same time, we construct diversion "episodes" to avoid double-counting the same treatment being received on multiple cases. We restrict our analysis of diverted cases to one case per diversion episode.

Arrest location details come from DataSF's publicly available data on incident locations in San Francisco, which allows us to impute the location of arrest on 78% of cases.²⁴

While San Francisco uses a unique person identifier to track individuals through the criminal justice system known as the SF Number, it is not always faithfully recorded. In order to identify individuals across time and our data sources, we developed a supervised machine learning program that creates a unique identifier based on name, date of birth, SSN, and SF Number. We stripped all personal identifiers from the data after creation of the unique ID field in order to conduct analysis on anonymized data. Note that cells with 10 or fewer individuals are repressed throughout this report.

We restrict the data to new cases with filed charges in San Francisco. We remove all misdemeanor DUI cases from the data since these cases are ineligible for diversion, and the "not diverted" group is restricted to individuals who receive no diversion referrals in the entire data period. Subsequent contact is defined as subsequent arrests, arraignments, and convictions that occur after the index case is closed. When examining subsequent contact, we restrict our index sample to cases that have disposed at least one year before our outcome data ends and subsequently subset the data to cases with dispositions two or three years prior in order to compare two- and three-year subsequent contact rates.

We rely on data from the California Department of Justice to determine statewide criminal history and subsequent criminal justice involvement rates.

Our final sample has 72,000 cases.

²⁴ Incident location data is available at DataSF's website: <https://data.sfgov.org/Public-Safety/Police-Department-Incident-Reports-Historical-2003/tmnf-yvry>.

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