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## **Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) External Evaluation**

### **San Francisco LEAD Fidelity Assessment**

**By**

**Dina Perrone, Ph.D.**

**Aili Malm, Ph.D.**

**Erica Magana, BSc**

**Elijah Bueno, BSc**

**School of Criminology, Criminal Justice and Emergency Management**

**California State University Long Beach**

**1250 Bellflower Boulevard**

**Long Beach, CA 90840-4603**

**(562) 985-0438**

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## Executive Summary

This report provides preliminary results from the first nine (9) months of LEAD SF in the form of a fidelity assessment. Fidelity assessments utilize qualitative (e.g., policy documentation, interviews and focus groups) and quantitative data (e.g., treatment provider data) to measure program fidelity, which refers to “a concept informing whether treatment services are delivered consistent with program theory and design” (Miller & Miller, 2015, p. 339). Measuring program implementation can help researchers and evaluators assess whether a policy or program’s outcomes are attributable to the theory and model design or to adaptations and changes to the model during implementation. And, through a fidelity assessment, the program implementers and evaluators can assess if procedures are implemented as outlined and to identify challenges and facilitators to program implementation.

This report addresses the following questions:

- Does LEAD SF model past LEAD efforts in Seattle? What are the similarities and differences?
- What was the nature of the trainings received?
- What were the barriers and facilitators to program implementation? How were barriers addressed?
- Has the program progressed toward achieving its stated goals?

### LEAD Goals

We analyzed LEAD SF policy documents to assess how San Francisco’s model adheres to or deviates from LEAD Seattle’s Model, including its goals and objectives, core principles, and processes. LEAD Seattle’s model puts forth six goals: (1) reorient, (2) improve, (3) reduce, (4) undo, (5) sustain, and (6) strengthen. First, Seattle seeks to reorient traditional government responses to crime, public safety, public order, and health-related problems. Second, it aims to improve public safety and public health by utilizing evidence-based practices, such as harm-reduction. Third, it intends to reduce the rate of low-level drug and prostitution offenders cycling through the criminal justice system. Fourth, it plans to undo racial disparities, resulting from criminal justice system involvement. Fifth, it aims to sustain funding by utilizing LEAD systems’ cost savings. Sixth, it seeks to strengthen and improve police-community relations.

The LEAD SF grant proposal and Policy Committee documents outline three LEAD SF goals: (1) reduce low-level drug offender and alcohol offender recidivism, (2) strengthen partnership collaboration between city and community-based services to meet the needs of LEAD participants, and (3) improve the health and housing status of LEAD participants (San Francisco Department of Public Health, 2017). More generally, San Francisco seeks to improve public health, safety, and order. San Francisco’s goals are based on the prevalence of alcohol and drug offenses in the Mission and Tenderloin Districts, the racial disparities in the city’s jail systems (San Francisco Department of Public Health, 2017), and the size of the city’s jail population (Policy Committee Meeting 06/12/17). The city aims to use LEAD SF to expand existing harm reduction-based services to include those who are typically processed through the criminal justice system. Through LEAD SF, the city also seeks to improve police-community

relationships by reorienting the way in which law enforcement interacts with individuals with drug-related criminal charges, individuals with substance dependence, individuals with mental illness, and those who are homeless. *San Francisco's goals are consistent with LEAD Seattle's model.*

### Core Principles

The LEAD National Support Bureau states that LEAD is an adaptable model; however, certain core principles and components are indispensable. LEAD SF's proposed core principles are consistent with those established by LEAD Seattle's model. In fact, LEAD SF's core principles, including those for case management, policing, prosecutors, and community public safety groups were created by the LEAD Bureau and specifically branded for LEAD SF. Data from focus groups, Policy Committee meetings, and Quarterly Reports suggest LEAD SF adhered to the various core components of the LEAD Seattle model. Data indicate positive collaboration across agencies and service providers, which facilitated the rate at which LEAD SF connected clients to services.

The Policy Committee minutes and the focus groups highlight how case managers have been able to build rapport and trust with clients, address client's immediate needs, and give clients a sense of self-worth. Focus group data also revealed that several case managers have "lived" experience, which enable their cultural competence to work with the population they serve.

Two challenges emerged in the early days of LEAD SF: 1) building meaningful police partnerships, and 2) providing a Housing First framework.

### LEAD Eligibility and Exclusion Criteria

A fair comparison of LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF eligibility criteria is difficult considering those crimes that constitute a felony and a misdemeanor vary by state. San Francisco encountered problems in finding suitable eligibility charges given that several drug charges in SF are misdemeanors and not routinely pursued through the criminal justice system. To expand harm reduction-based services to those typically processed through the criminal justice system, LEAD SF expanded its eligible charges to include certain vandalism, theft, and vehicle-related felony charges. Otherwise, both sites share similar eligible criteria for pre-booking referrals. In both LEAD Seattle and SF, for social contact referrals, individuals must have a history of eligible charges within the past 24 months, and officers must have reason to believe that an individual has engaged in or is likely to engage in LEAD-eligible behavior.

Notable key differences are evident in the exclusion criteria for pre-booking referrals. Seattle's drug offense charges are capped at seven grams, while LEAD SF's are maxed at five grams. An individual's past criminal convictions that make them ineligible for LEAD are similar in both sites, with two exceptions. Seattle has 10-year limitations on certain criminal convictions and automatic ineligibility regardless of time when convicted for other crimes. In contrast, LEAD SF has 8-year limitations on certain criminal convictions but no convictions that warrant automatic ineligibility. Importantly, both sites allow LEAD District Attorneys to waive any of the exclusions, permitting the individual to enter LEAD.

## Referral Process

The one key difference between the LEAD SF and LEAD Seattle is that the SF referral protocol has officers refer individuals to an intake clinician at the Department of Public Health (DPH) before they are referred to a case management agency. This clinician enters the new clients into a city-wide client database to facilitate collaboration amongst other providers. The intake clinician is responsible for conducting an initial needs and risk assessment, including referring to same day emergency services when appropriate. After the initial intake, the intake clinician refers individuals to one of two case management agencies based on severity of mental health needs and location of diversion. The case managers work with the individual to develop an individual intervention plan. While LEAD Seattle also has an intake clinician, the clinician is in the same agency as the case managers and only works business hours. This additional layer emerged in LEAD SF focus groups with case management staff and law enforcement as a potential barrier to securing client buy-in.

## Implementation Successes and Challenges

To identify implementation successes and challenges, we conducted a thematic analysis of the focus group data, LEAD SF policy documents, and LEAD SF Quarterly Reports. Several themes emerged from the data that describe the implementation process.

### Successes

Those themes categorized as successes are *client successes, collaboration, relationship building, and changing perceptions of police*. These themes are interlinked, as accomplishments in one area can lead to success in another. These successes show that LEAD SF is on track to meeting two of their three goals: to strengthen partnership collaboration between city and community-based services to meet the needs of LEAD participants, and to improve the health and housing status of LEAD participants.

### Challenges

Themes that emerged as challenges in the early days of implementation are *stakeholder investment, cultural shifts, training, policy and goal interpretation, procedural ambiguity, autonomy, LEAD applicability, open communication, and messaging*. Specifically, LEAD Administration faced early challenges in securing law enforcement buy-in and communicating LEAD SF goals, values, and procedures to LEAD partners.

## Treatment Provider Data

We report on treatment provider data through the first six months of implementation (October 2017 – March 2018) to assess program fidelity. During this period, 64 individuals were referred by law enforcement – 26 pre-booking and 38 social contact. Of these, 48 became active LEAD clients (17 pre-booking and 31 social contact). Some statistically significant differences between the social contact and pre-booking diversions were found. Pre-booking diversion referrals are significantly younger and from the Tenderloin district. Pre-booking active clients are significantly younger, less likely to be homeless and unemployed, and more likely to have health insurance.

These results can be contextualized with focus group and Quarterly Report data. LEAD administration reported that officers were quick to use the social contact mechanism to refer

individuals they deemed in need of LEAD. However, due to grant restrictions on the number of social contact referrals (50 social contact versus 200 pre-booking), LEAD SF briefly put a hold on social contact referrals after the first three weeks of implementation.

While we do not yet have treatment provider data to analyze whether the initial differences between social contact and pre-booking diversions have remained consistent, Quarterly Report data show us that the police did substantially reduce social contact referrals. From April through June 2018, police made 68 referrals – 43 pre-booking and 25 social contacts. Of these referrals, 21 pre-booking diversions became active clients, compared to 15 social contact diversions.

### Lessons from LEAD SF

Based on the analysis conducted in this fidelity assessment, some lessons can be learned from the first months of LEAD implementation in San Francisco: (1) early visits to LEAD Seattle, (2) investment from police officers, (3) trainings in harm reduction, (4) committed program management, (5) monitoring client referrals and flow, (6) patience, and (7) flexibility are necessary for success.

### Conclusion

This fidelity assessment answered four key questions about early LEAD implementation in San Francisco. The first question asked whether LEAD SF modeled past LEAD efforts in Seattle. In short, the answer was yes, with slight differences in the intake process. The second question asked about the nature and success of LEAD training in the first nine months. For the most part, trainings have been exhaustive and successful; however, additional harm-reduction trainings, prior to launching and specifically tailored to law enforcement, would have been beneficial. General harm reduction trainings were offered, but few officers attended. This created an early challenge for LEAD implementation. The third question asked about barriers and facilitators to program implementation. The site has celebrated and communicated its successes and gone to great lengths to address each of the challenges, particularly in reference to building meaningful police partnerships. Finally, we investigated whether LEAD SF has progressed toward achieving its stated goals. And, for the most part, LEAD SF is headed toward success in all areas.

## Introduction

The Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion Program (LEAD) was developed and implemented in Seattle, WA in 2011. LEAD is a harm reduction-based pre-arrest and pre-arrest diversion program for low-level drug offenders and sex workers. It connects individuals to community-based treatment and social support services in lieu of criminal justice system involvement. LEAD currently operates in 20 jurisdictions, including Seattle, WA, Albany, NY, and Santa Fe, NM. Several other locations are exploring, developing, or in the process of launching LEAD (LEAD National Support Bureau, n.d.). LEAD has a “promising practices” designation from the National Institute of Justice on the strength of the Seattle evaluation (National Institute of Justice, 2016).

In accordance with Senate Bill 843 (2016), the California Board of State and Community Corrections (BSCC) administered a two-year pilot implementation of LEAD in two sites: Los Angeles County and San Francisco. Each site was awarded a grant to support program implementation. Under SB 843, BSCC contracted the California State University, Long Beach (CSULB) to conduct evaluations in both sites and submit a report on LEAD’s impact on recidivism and criminal justice costs by January 1, 2020 (BSCC, n.d.).

San Francisco officially launched LEAD SF on October 26, 2017. LEAD SF seeks to reduce low-level drug and alcohol offender recidivism, strengthen city and community partnership collaboration, and improve the health and housing status of LEAD participants (BSCC, n.d.) To accomplish these goals, LEAD SF serves to expand the nexus of existing harm reduction, health, and social services to LEAD participants who might have otherwise been processed through the criminal justice system. Like LEAD Seattle, LEAD SF is a multi-agency collaboration, including the SF Department of Public Health (DPH), SF Police Department, SF

Sheriff Department, BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) Police Department, SF District Attorney's Office, SF Public Defender's Office, SF Adult Probation Department, Glide Foundation, and Felton Institute. Other partners include the Drug Policy Alliance, SF Public Health Foundation, Hatchuel Tabernik and Associates (HTA), and Harder + Co. Over the two-year implementation phase, LEAD SF plans to enroll a minimum of 250 individuals: 200 pre-booking and 50 social contacts. Their LEAD catchment areas are the Tenderloin and Mission Districts in San Francisco.

To evaluate LEAD SF, CSULB has planned a three-part evaluation: process evaluation, outcome evaluation, and cost-benefit analysis. We will present the final evaluation to the legislature by January 1, 2020. This report provides preliminary results on the first nine months of LEAD SF in the form of a fidelity assessment. Fidelity assessments utilize qualitative (e.g., policy documentation, interviews and focus groups) and quantitative data (e.g., treatment provider data) to measure program fidelity, which refers to “a concept informing whether treatment services are delivered consistent with program theory and design” (Miller & Miller, 2015, p. 339). Measuring program implementation can help researchers and evaluators assess whether a policy or program's outcomes are attributable to the theory and model design or to adaptations and changes to the model during implementation. And, through a fidelity assessment, program implementers and evaluators can assess if procedures are implemented as outlined and to identify challenges and facilitators to program implementation.<sup>i</sup>

This report addresses the following questions:

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- What was the nature of the trainings received?

- What were the barriers and facilitators to program implementation? How were barriers addressed?
- Has the program progressed toward achieving its stated goals?

## Data Collection

The CSULB LEAD Evaluation Team obtained documents and conducted focus groups of LEAD SF implementers covering July 2017-October 2018. We relied on the BSCC, the LEAD SF Administration Staff, and the LEAD SF-created website to obtain applicable documents. As of October 2018, we interviewed the following focus groups twice: LEAD SF Administration Staff<sup>ii</sup> (ADMIN), LEAD SF Case Managers (CM), LEAD SF Case Management Administrators (CMA), LEAD SF Legal Staff (LEGAL), LEAD SF Senior Commanding Officers (CLE), and LEAD SF Police Officers (LE). LEAD SF Administration Staff scheduled the focus groups and invited the attendees, which occurred in January 2018 and June 2018 (See Table 1). The purpose of the focus groups were/are to (a) gain a better understanding of staff roles and processes, (b) identify implementation changes, adaptations, barriers, and facilitators, and (c) identify program successes and challenges. Lastly, we received treatment provider data from October 2017 – March 2018. The treatment provider database includes client demographics and program outcome variables such as employment, housing, public benefits, mental health and medical needs, etc.

*Table 1: Focus Groups (n=11)*

<b>Focus Group Dates</b>	<b>Staff Classification</b>	<b>Staff Count</b>
1.10.18	Administration Staff	3
1.11.18 and 6.5.18	Case Manager Administrators	3 and 4

1.10.18 and 6.4.18	Case Managers	7 and 6
1.11.18 and 6.4.18	Legal Staff	6 and 5
1.1.18 and 6.5.18	Senior Commanding Officers	4 and 6
1.10.18 and 6.6.18	Police Officers	10 and 5

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## Analytic Plan

We conducted three types of analyses on the data: 1) a content analysis and .pdf Comparison Report to examine the policy documents, including the various iterations of the LEAD SF Procedures and the Law Enforcement Cover Sheet; 2) a thematic analysis<sup>iii</sup> to code, organize, and analyze focus group data; and, 3) statistical analyses of the treatment provider database.

## Assessment and Evaluation

### LEAD Goals

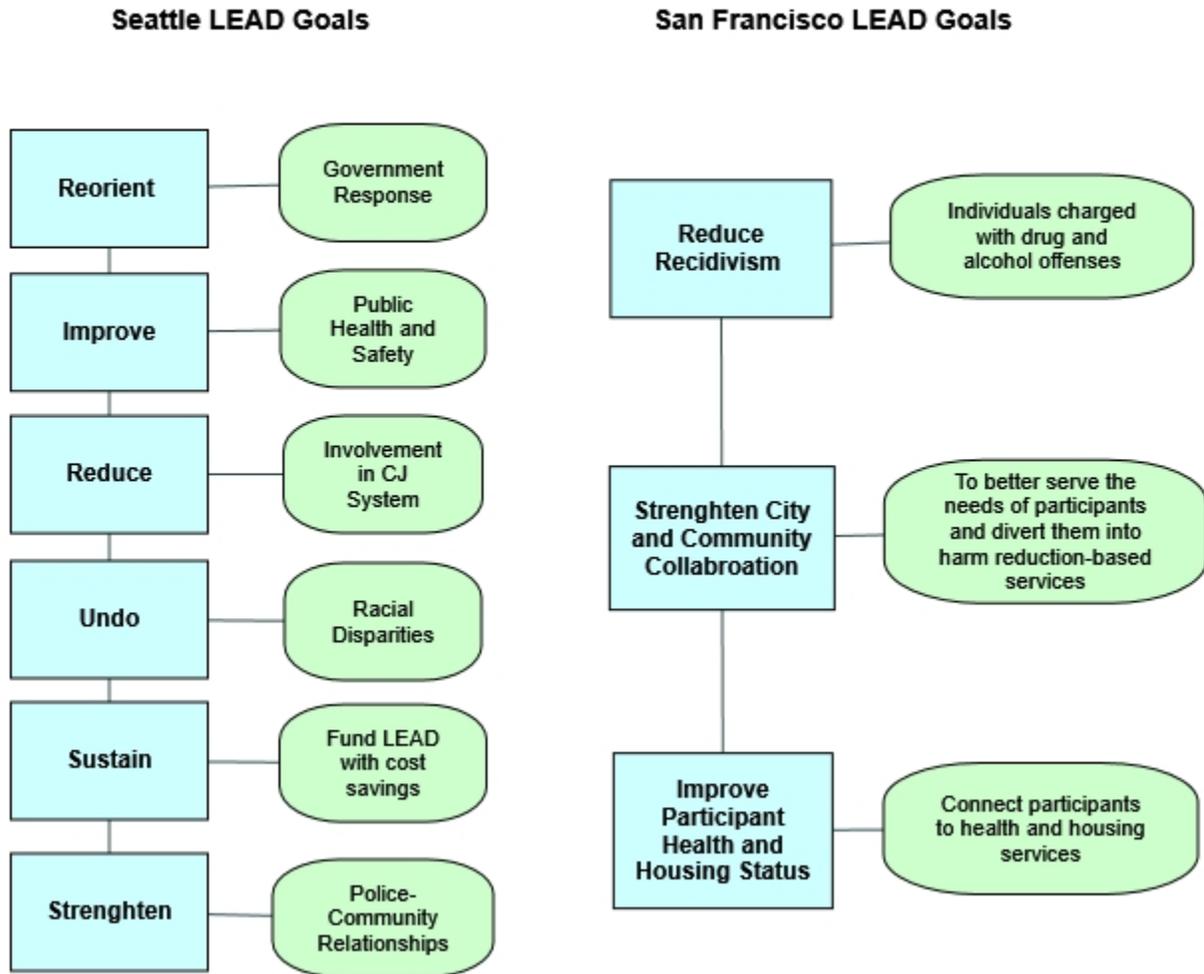
We analyzed LEAD SF policy documents to assess how San Francisco’s model adheres to or deviates from LEAD Seattle’s Model, including its goals and objectives, core principles, and processes. Figure 1 illustrates a goals comparison of the LEAD Seattle with LEAD SF.

LEAD Seattle’s model puts forth six goals: (1) reorient, (2) improve, (3) reduce, (4) undo, (5) sustain, and (6) strengthen. First, Seattle seeks to reorient traditional government responses to crime, public safety and order, and health-related problems. Second, it aims to improve public safety and public health by utilizing evidence-based practices, such as harm reduction. Third, it intends to reduce the rate of low-level drug and prostitution offenders cycling through the criminal justice system. Fourth, it plans to undo racial disparities resulting from criminal justice system involvement. Fifth, it aims to sustain funding by utilizing LEAD

systems' cost savings. Sixth, it seeks to strengthen and improve police-community relations (LEAD National Support Bureau, n.d.).

The LEAD SF grant proposal and Policy Committee documents outline three LEAD SF goals: (1) reduce low-level drug offender and alcohol offender recidivism, (2) strengthen partnership collaboration between city and community-based services to meet the needs of LEAD participants, and (3) improve the health and housing status of LEAD participants (San Francisco Department of Public Health, 2017). More generally, San Francisco seeks to improve public health, safety, and order. San Francisco's goals are based on the prevalence of alcohol and drug offenses in the Mission and Tenderloin Districts, the racial disparities in the city's jail systems (San Francisco Department of Public Health, 2017), and the size of the city's jail population (Policy Committee Meeting 06/12/17). The city aims to use LEAD SF to expand existing harm reduction-based services to include those who are typically processed through the criminal justice system. Through LEAD SF, the city also seeks to improve police-community relationships by reorienting the way in which law enforcement interacts with individuals with drug-related criminal charges, individuals with substance dependence, individuals with mental illness, and those who are homeless. *San Francisco's goals are consistent with LEAD Seattle's model.*

*Figure 1: Goal Comparison*



**Core Principles**

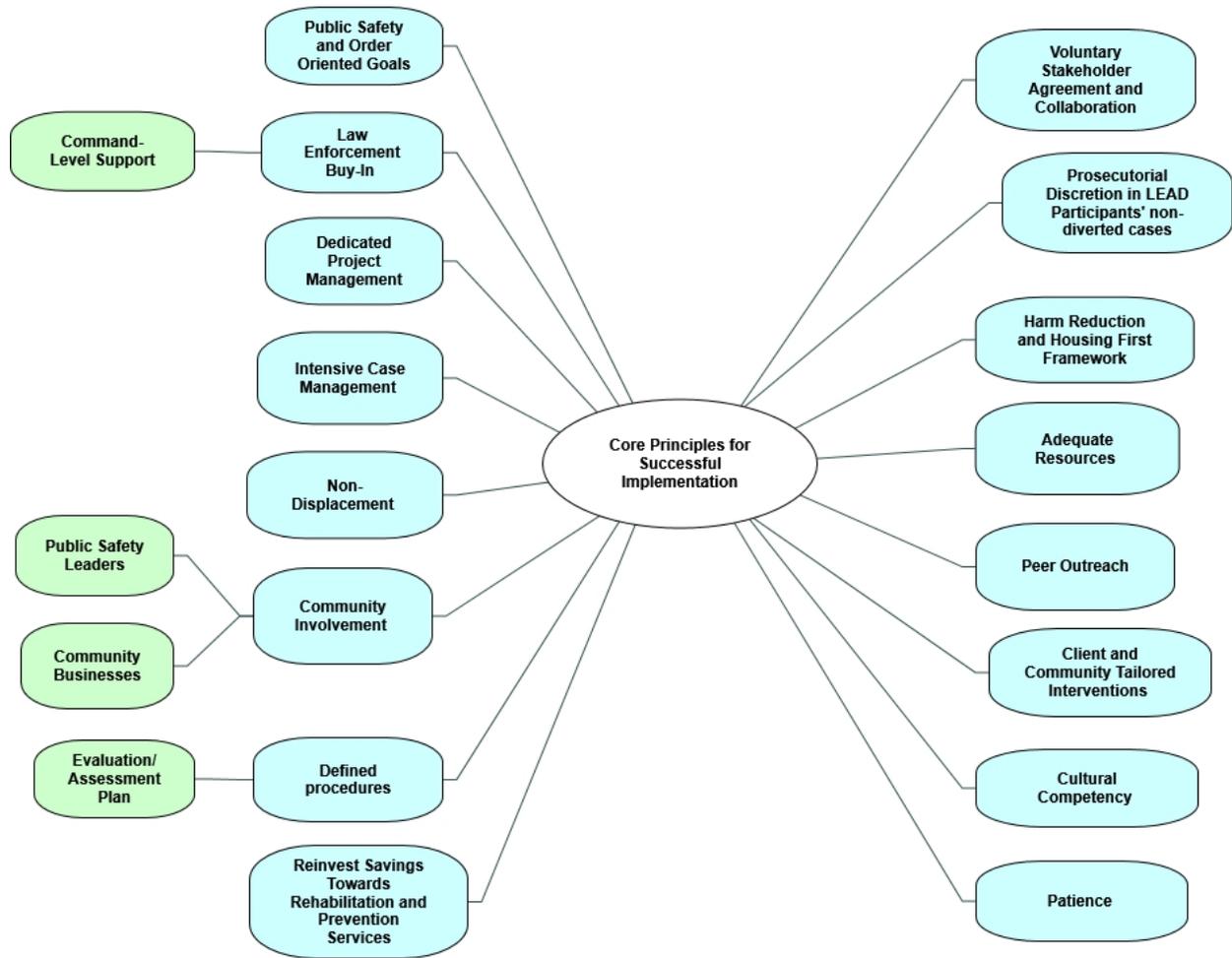
The LEAD National Support Bureau states that LEAD is an adaptable model; however, certain core principles and components are indispensable. For other sites to see results like those in Seattle, the following components must be present: harm reduction-based approaches, a Housing First framework, and meaningful police partnerships. The Bureau (2017) identified several other core principles necessary for a successful implementation of LEAD (see Figure 2).

*LEAD SF's proposed core principles are consistent with those established by LEAD Seattle's model.* In fact, LEAD SF's core principles, including those for case management, policing, prosecutors, and community public safety groups were created by the Bureau and specifically branded for LEAD SF (San Francisco Department of Public Health, n.d.). Data from focus groups, Policy Committee meetings, and Quarterly Reports suggest LEAD SF adhered to the various core components of the LEAD Seattle model. Data indicate positive collaboration across agencies and service providers, which facilitated the rate at which LEAD SF connected clients to services.

The Policy Committee minutes and the focus groups highlight how case managers have been able to build rapport and trust with clients, address client's immediate needs, and give clients a sense of self-worth. Focus group data also revealed that several case managers have "lived" experience, which strengthens their cultural competence to work with the population they serve.

*CM: I have a criminal record also. And I use it to my advantage on the street. I use it to link myself with clients and police. Okay, I can't go out there and worry about that – excuse me, prison mentality that you're a snitch 'cause you see me talking to a policeman. No, you're going to see me talking to this policeman, I'm going to come over and I'll talk to you, I'll tell you what I'm about, I'll tell what I'm here for, I'm going to tell you how I can stop that policeman from taking you to jail if I can, and you're going to understand that I'm your ally. And that policeman is my ally. It might take once, twice, three times for me to bump into you that, but you're going to get the message. And you know, my street ability and knowledge and my prison – they're there so I can talk to you on your terms. If you want to talk street we talk street. You want to talk how to get this thing done we'll talk about how to get it done, you know what I mean?*

Figure 2: LEAD Seattle Core Principles



In practice, LEAD SF struggled with two components of the Seattle LEAD model in early implementation— building meaningful police partnerships and maintaining a Housing First framework. The thematic analysis indicates LEAD SF faced early challenges in securing and maintaining law enforcement buy-in (see thematic analysis below), and the analysis of the Quarterly Reports and Case Management Database describe challenges in finding available resources necessary for connecting clients to housing.

### LEAD Eligibility and Exclusion Criteria

A fair comparison of LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF eligibility criteria is difficult considering those crimes that constitute a felony and a misdemeanor vary by state. San Francisco

encountered problems in finding suitable eligibility charges given that several drug charges in SF are misdemeanors and not routinely pursued through the criminal justice system. In fact, LEAD SF expanded its eligible charges to include certain vandalism, theft, and vehicle-related felony charges. Otherwise, both sites share similar eligible criteria for pre-booking referrals. In both LEAD Seattle and SF, social contact individuals must have a history of eligible charges within the past 24 months, and officers must have reason to believe that an individual has engaged in or is likely to engage in LEAD-eligible behavior.

Notable key differences are evident in the exclusion criteria for pre-booking referrals (see Table 2). Seattle's drug offense charges are capped at seven grams, while LEAD SF's are maxed at five grams. An individual's past criminal convictions that make them ineligible for LEAD are similar in both sites, with two exceptions. Seattle has 10-year limitations on certain convictions (e.g., domestic violence) and automatic ineligibility regardless of time when convicted for other crimes (e.g., murder 1). In contrast, LEAD SF has 8-year limitations on certain criminal convictions but no convictions that warrant automatic ineligibility. Importantly, both sites allow the LEAD District Attorneys discretion to waive any of the exclusions, permitting the individual to enter LEAD.

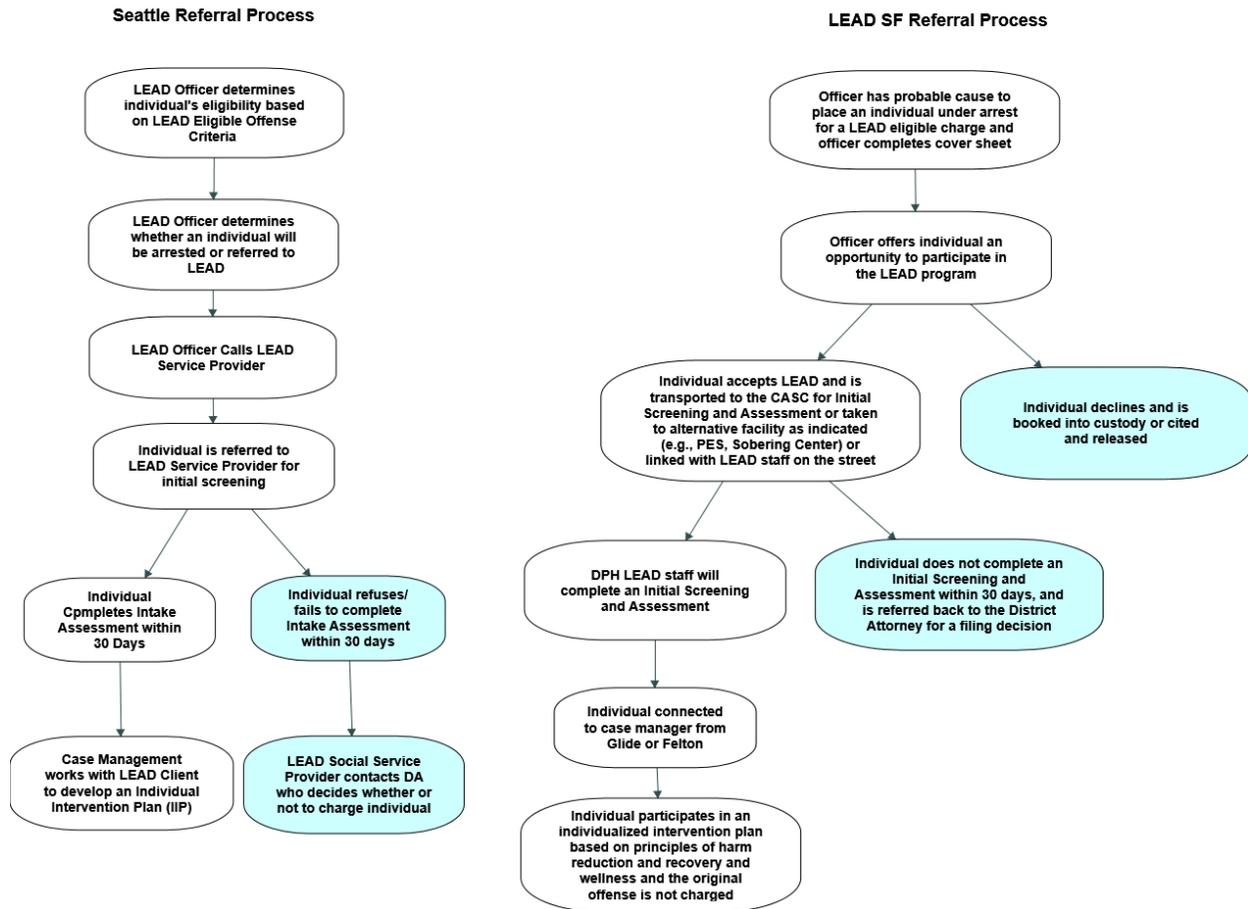
**Table 2. LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF Eligibility Criteria Comparison**

LEAD Seattle Eligibility Criteria (Protocol June 2015)	LEAD SF Eligibility Criteria
<p><b>Pre-booking</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• VUCSA (Violation of the Uniform Controlled Substance Act) and Prostitution Offenses</li> </ul> <p><b>Social Contact</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Verification by law enforcement that the individual is involved with narcotics (possession or delivery) or prostitution.</li> <li>• Verification by law enforcement means: Police reports, arrests, jail bookings, criminal charges, or convictions indicating that the individual was engaged in narcotics or prostitution activity; or</li> <li>• Law enforcement has directly observed the individual's narcotics or prostitution activity; or</li> <li>• Law enforcement has a reliable basis of information to believe that the individual is engaged in narcotics or prostitution, such as information provided by another first responder, a professional, or credible community members.</li> <li>• The individual's involvement with narcotics or prostitution must have occurred within the LEAD catchment area.</li> <li>• The individual's involvement with narcotics or prostitution must have occurred within 24 months of the date of referral.</li> <li>• No existing case in Drug Diversion Court or Mental Health Court.</li> <li>• The individual cannot have an existing no contact order, temporary restraining order, or anti-harassment order, prohibiting contact with a current LEAD participant.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pre-booking</b></p> <p><u>Misdemeanor Charges</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• H&amp;S 11350, 11357, 11377 <i>Possession</i></li> <li>• H&amp;S 11550 <i>Under influence</i></li> <li>• PC 647 (b), 653.22 <i>Prostitution (sex workers only)</i> (“sex workers only” specified 09/17/18)</li> </ul> <p><u>Felony Charges</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• H&amp;S 11352, 11360, 11379, 11379.5 <i>Sale</i></li> <li>• H&amp;S 11351, 11351.5, 11359, 11378, 11378.5 <i>Possession for Sale</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Added 04/03/18:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PC 594 <i>Vandalism (damages less than \$2000)</i></li> <li>• PC 484, 459 2nd, 470, 476, 477, 478, 487, 496, 666 <i>Theft related (loss less than \$2000)</i></li> <li>• VC 10852 <i>Tampering with a vehicle</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Social Contacts</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual has history of prior involvement with LEAD eligible behavior within the last 24 months</li> <li>• The history of LEAD eligible behavior occurred in the Mission or Tenderloin districts</li> </ul> <p>AND one of the following is present</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Law Enforcement has directly observed LEAD eligible behavior</li> <li>• Law Enforcement has a reliable basis of information to believe that the individual has engaged in LEAD eligible behavior (e.g., first responder report, a professional, or a credible community member)</li> </ul>

**Table 3. LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF Exclusion Criteria Comparison**

LEAD Seattle Exclusion Criteria (Protocol June 2015)	LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF Exclusion Criteria
<p><b>Pre-booking</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The amount of drugs involved exceeds 7grams (except that where an individual has been arrested for delivery of or possession with intent to deliver marijuana, or possession, delivery or possession with intent to deliver prescription controlled substances (pills), officers will consider the other criteria listed here without reference to the amount limitation);</li> <li>• The individual does not appear amenable to diversion;</li> <li>• The suspected drug activity involves delivery or possession with intent to deliver (PWI), and there is reason to believe the suspect is dealing for profit above a subsistence income;</li> <li>• The individual appears to exploit minors or others in a drug dealing enterprise;</li> <li>• The individual is suspected of promoting prostitution;</li> <li>• The individual has an existing no contact order, temporary restraining order, or anti-harassment order prohibiting contact with a current LEAD participant;</li> <li>• The individual has an open case in Drug Diversion Court or King County District Court Mental Health Court; and/or the individual has disqualifying criminal history as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Without time limitation: Any conviction for Murder 1 or 2 , Arson 1, Robbery 1, Assault 1, Kidnapping, VUFA 1, or any sex offense (or attempt of any crime listed here). Unless more than 10 years has elapsed since conviction on any of the following: Robbery 2, Assault 2 or 3, Burglary 1. Unless more than 5 years have elapsed since conviction on any of the following: Assault 4 – DV, Violation of a Domestic Violence No Contact Order, Violation of a Domestic Violence Protection Order, Burglary 2, or VUFA 2.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>Pre-booking</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual has an existing no contact order, temporary restraining order, or anti-harassment order from a current LEAD participant (for exclusion to be waived, it must be discussed in the Operational Workgroup and approved for participation, including receiving treatment at a different site)</li> <li>• Sales to minors or in school zones (Health and Safety 11353.6)</li> <li>• Controlled substance quantities over 5 grams</li> <li>• Individuals arrested for a LEAD eligible offense and who are on community supervision through the Adult Probation Department, including formal probation, mandatory supervision, and post release community supervision (for exclusion to be waived, it must receive that agency’s approval)</li> <li>• Individuals arrested for a LEAD eligible offense and who are on parole through the Department of Adult Parole Operations (for exclusion to be waived, it must receive that agency’s approval)</li> <li>• Individuals arrested for a LEAD eligible offense and who are under custodial supervision through the San Francisco Sheriff’s Department and participating in a community program (e.g., electronic monitoring [for exclusion to be waived, it must receive that agency’s approval])</li> <li>• Prior strike convictions within eight years</li> <li>• Open cases (misdemeanor or felony) involving violence or weapons possessions</li> </ul> <p><b>Social Contact</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual has an existing no contact order, temporary restraining order, or anti-harassment order from a current LEAD participant (for exclusion to be waived, it must be discussed in the Operational Workgroup and approved for participation, including receiving treatment at a different site)</li> <li>• The individual has pending or active case in Drug Court or Behavioral Health Court</li> </ul>

**Figure 3: Referral Process Comparison**



**Referral Process**

Figure 3 compares LEAD Seattle and LEAD SF’s referral process. The key difference between the two sites is that the LEAD SF referral protocol requires officers to first refer individuals to the Department of Public Health (DPH) before they are referred to case management. DPH is responsible for conducting the initial intake, and individuals are then connected with case management, who works with the individual to develop an individual intervention plan. This additional layer emerged in LEAD SF focus groups as having both pros and cons. Case managers (CM) described that having clients travel to different agencies is a

hurdle to LEAD participation, while project administration describes the additional layer as facilitating access and providing important program knowledge:

*CM#1: I would say that like – I don't know if it's the biggest, but one of the ones is the way referrals happen. So there's – you know, the officer has a referral in front of them, so they call somebody else... Who then calls us, to show up, right, and then if the person does want to participate, we have to take them someplace else to have somebody else do an assessment... Yeah. So then, DPH has to do this assessment, and a lot of times that's like right when the client is like, 'Uhh, I gotta do what? We'll do that some other time.'*

*CM#2: It's a hurdle that a lot of clients aren't prepared to jump over, and I think in the context of a police situation, where people are intimidated, people are nervous, people are overwhelmed, um – if there are drugs involved there may be some kind of like, chemical thing happening with them that makes it really uncomfortable for them. So, I think that hoop, I think that – you know, in retrospect I think it would have been easier to build the structure of LEAD more like it was intended in Seattle where there were the officers went straight to the case managers so there wasn't this other hurdle to jump through.*

*CMA: Like, I agree with having a mental health assessment. I don't understand why that's being done at the intake and engagement point rather than the assessment point. Because it just operationally makes it really difficult that you know – the moment we get to interact with somebody, as LEAD has been designed in Seattle – is when that process happens. Here we have to stop, take them off to CASC, have them meet with a mental health professional who then will give them a diagnosis – and then we get to start with them. And, that makes absolutely no sense to me, especially because [CM agency] can do that.*

*ADMIN: The additional DPH layer of intake has been really helpful. It has been great to have that access and knowledge about navigating the City's systems. Case managers often call to brainstorm about programs and strategies. It's also been really helpful that clients are entered into the Avatar database so that we get notified when our clients show up in other programs. We wouldn't have this collaboration available if we weren't tapped into DPH's system.*

As case manager #2 explains, unlike LEAD SF, LEAD Seattle's service providing agency (i.e., case management) handles both the intake and individual assessment plans. While the case managers describe how many clients must travel to the intake office and are hesitant to complete the assessment at that time, the individuals are not required to complete the assessment then; they can return to the intake office for assessment within 30 days. The DPH intake clinician has also

been flexible and conducts many assessments in the field or wherever the individual is most comfortable (Policy Committee Slides 04/23/18). One case manager noted that these mobile screenings have been beneficial:

*CM: Right, that's sort of the fix that we put in place after some of the early kind of complaints about the situation [DPH client intake] because what happened was that [intake clinician] was able to do mobile intakes out in the field, which is great, actually. It doesn't always work out, but when it does it's really awesome. [Intake clinician] even did a couple, a couple weeks ago, in front of city hall, on the grass.*

*ADMIN: It is really important to be able to complete assessments and enroll clients on the fly – wherever clients might be in the moment. The intake clinician has been able to reach folks in parks, in cafes, in bus shelters, and in jail.*

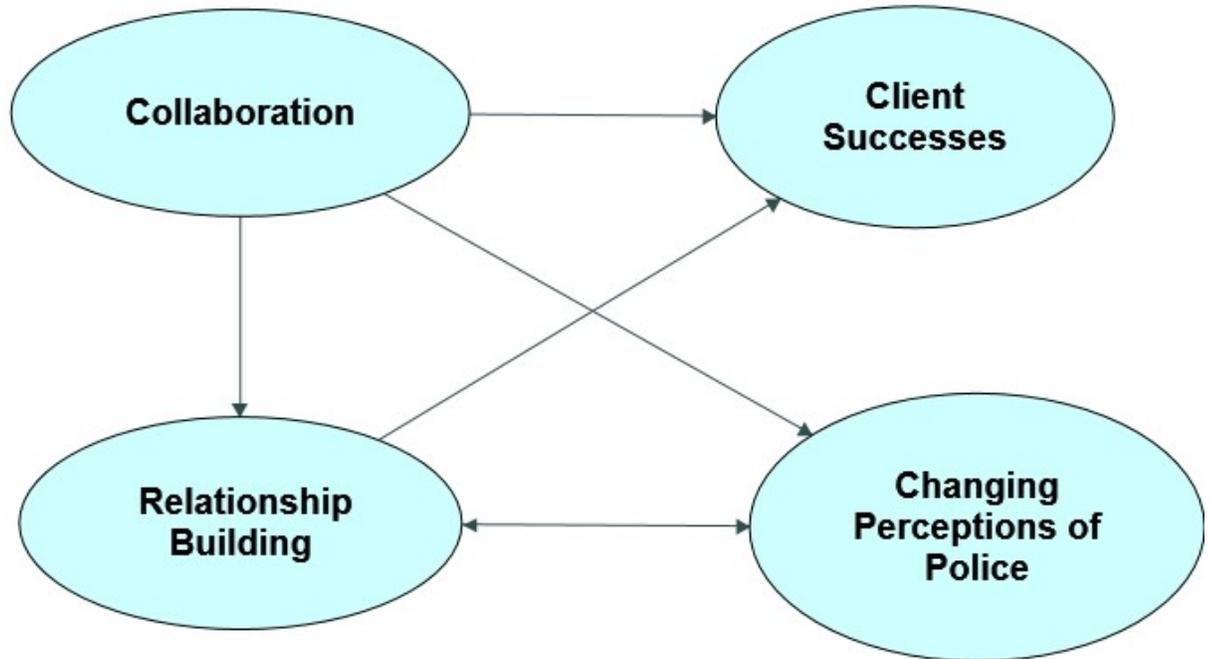
### Implementation Successes and Challenges

To identify implementation successes and challenges, the team conducted a thematic analysis of the focus group data, LEAD SF policy documents, and LEAD SF Quarterly Reports. Several themes emerged from the data that describe the implementation process. The themes are *stakeholder investment, cultural shifts, training, policy and goal interpretation, procedural ambiguity, autonomy, LEAD applicability, open communication, messaging, client successes, collaboration, changing police perceptions, and relationship building*. Evidence of these emergent themes were also identified in the Policy Documents and Quarterly Reports. This suggests that each of the partners were aware of their challenges and consistently highlighted their successes – both big and small.

#### Successes

Those themes categorized as successes are *client successes, collaboration, relationship building, and changing perceptions of police*. These themes are interlinked, as accomplishments in one area can lead to success in another (see Figure 4). These successes also indicate that LEAD SF is on track to meeting two of their three goals.

Figure 4: LEAD SF Success Themes



*Client Successes.* LEAD partners explain that connecting clients to services has been positive. According to the LEAD SF focus groups and Quarterly Reports, LEAD SF is on the right path to achieving its third goal, “Improve LEAD participants’ health and housing status.” The Quarterly Reports identify successes connecting clients to medical, health, and housing services; providing legal support to address clients’ warrants; and case managers building relationships with clients. Small successes among the clients are also notable. For clients with substance use problems and/or mental illness, completing ordinary tasks may be arduous undertakings and significant hurdles to further progress.

*CM: But when we see somebody like [name redacted] get a haircut, and that boosts his whole ego enough to go back home to see his family and daughter that he hasn’t – that he’s been disenfranchised from, you know, things like that – that shit makes my day. That boosted his whole confidence. Something that would have been really challenging for him to do himself, you know? Because he has competing priorities. You know? A simple haircut boosted everything about him. He’s like a different dude now, you know. So those are the little sparks, and things like this happen every day.*

*LE: But we did have one legitimate success where – her name was [name redacted], but she went by a street name of [name redacted]. She was very scared of law enforcement. She was getting a bad name on the streets. She ended up getting arrested by us...Lost her dog, right, but [name redacted] and those guys at [case manager agency] got a hold of us. And, together we found her dog – which kind of gave us a new look in her eye. And, she became an active participant, and seeing [case manager agency] and all the sort of stuff.*

*CMA: Oh – there's so much success with the clients, honestly. The clients that we have, we are doing great things with. I think my favorite one is someone who's trained as a psychologist is – we have a client, and who is still to this day very difficult – causes some staff splitting between us and DPH, as we just realize – but this was a woman who has a serious medical condition that she was unwilling to treat, extensive mental health issues, was not willing to even discuss them at all, and through just a really consistent patience on the part of our case manager, she is now taking medication for her medical treatment – for her medical needs, taking psychotropic medication for the first time, treating very serious anxiety, and actually went into one of our acute facilities for 60 days to kind of take a breather and really get some care. So that is so exciting to me because she is extremely complex from a mental health perspective and substance use perspective. But to see that change in a couple of months – and it's a lot of hard work, but it's been – that's so gratifying, and it shows that intensive case management from a harm reduction – we're not sitting in an office, we're there with her wherever she is on a daily basis... We're able to work with her in a way that deescalates her and can move things forward.*

*Collaboration.* The collaboration among the LEAD SF agencies is progressing and solidifying, and LEAD SF is likely to achieve their second goal:

Strengthen collaboration across city departments and with community based organizations to better meet the needs of individuals with a history of substance abuse and low-level drug offenses by diverting them from the criminal justice system and into harm reduction based social services. (LEAD SF Grant Proposal, p. 11).

One case manager's quote exemplifies this success:

*CM: I feel like one of the magic things about LEAD is this like – un-silo-ization of these formerly compartmentalized and siloed-in – organizations that didn't have any connection to each other, and here's an opportunity for us all to come to the same table and look at the same issues in a collaborative way and work together in ways that didn't – weren't really happening before. So, I think that's definitely one of the things that's working.*

This collaboration, most importantly, enhanced each partner's ability to effectively serve the

clients.

*INTERVIEWER: So, I need to know though what has been really helpful in carrying out your LEAD duties?*

*CM#1: And that's been actually -- having the public defender has been really helpful.*

*CM#2: The public defender.*

*CM#3: Yeah, definitely going to throw that in there as one of the most...*

*CM: I want to say that DPH is – there's some advantages of having them as one of the partners. There's some access to care that – and access to services that if they weren't involved, wouldn't be as easily accessible.*

*ADMIN: When case managers struggle to find appropriate resources for their clients, or when particular intake criteria in programs present challenges, the DPH staff are often able to problem-solve and/or advocate for clients.*

*CMA: I work with [name redacted] and [name redacted], with a client that [name redacted] had to leave OW to engage and try to get him ...I can't remember exactly which program, but [name redacted] was really having a hard time getting this client into a detox, I believe. And so I was in the lobby downstairs working with [name redacted] and [name redacted] and both of them were just working together and – 'Well, you know, you can go back and sit with him, and I'll go make the calls and I'll check.' – which kind of was my take to begin with, I thought [LEAD SF Administration Staff] would have been most effective in really helping the case managers, partly with the navigating, partly with the knowledge of the mental health system and being able to, you know, come in when needed and collaborate rather than being on the front end on the screening part. I thought that went really, really well. It was nice to see both of them working together the way that was, and it was great that [LEAD SF Administration Staff] did have a role in really supporting our case managers that way and not kind of leaving them in the dark.*

Law enforcement officers specifically highlighted how being able to engage a potential LEAD participant, contact a case manager, and then immediately pass the client to a case manager (i.e., the warm handoff) are unique, meaningful, and valuable components of the LEAD SF program.

*LE#1: Well, I'll tell you, it's the handoffs. The social referral is (A) it cuts down on relatively no paperwork. You just contact [case management agency] and just say, 'I've got a social referral,' and they – you fill that out. There you go, 'all the best,' off you go. And, then they take them down to the CASC Center, get them evaluated, and now they're in their docket. But more so they have [case management agency] keeping an eye on them... So when we work – shit. So, when we work, we'll call [case management agency] and say, 'Hey, we're on – who you looking for?' And they'll say. 'Oh, we're looking for blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah' – and then we'll walk through – 'Hey, I just found – he's here – we'll stand by with him until you get here.' 'Hey, how's it going? Boom. Hey,*

*who are you looking for? Hey, I got him, he's here – boom.' It's warm handoffs. It's not, 'Hey, come back next Monday at three o'clock.'*

*LE#2: I thought it [LEAD] had potential for the simple fact that it was a warm body handoff. I thought that was the one thing that a lot of programs were missing, right? And that was great.*

The LEAD SF collaboration also facilitated identifying implementation challenges and seeking solutions to address those challenges. Figure 5 demonstrates how, according to the Quarterly Reports, the LEAD SF partners collaborated to problem-solve and ensure fidelity to program goals and objectives, as stated in the grant proposal. One example from the focus groups shows how the LEAD team helped to foster law enforcement investment and highlight the applicability and value of LEAD SF by conducting mini-LEAD trainings during officer roll calls:

*LEGAL: We do trainings for the officers, just talking about LEAD, the policy and the purpose, and the reason for which it's implemented. We talk about the criteria for LEAD, what type of cases we're looking for, and why they should believe in the program. And then we're recently—when we go to the roll calls, it's been very quick. Kind of quick and dirty in a sense because we only get like maybe ten to fifteen minutes during roll call. And there, we have just talked about the nuts and bolts of what it looks like procedurally for an officer on the street – what would they do, how would they fill out the cover sheet, what type of person they're looking for. We're very deferential to the officer because we do recognize that their buy-in is key and important, and being able to speak their language so that they understand that we understand, you know, their concerns. Because some officers are very skeptical, and we've received that as well, like, you know, 'What's going to happen if they're rearrested'? Or, 'Why should we believe in this program? We have so many programs in San Francisco. And so, getting them to see the value of LEAD.*

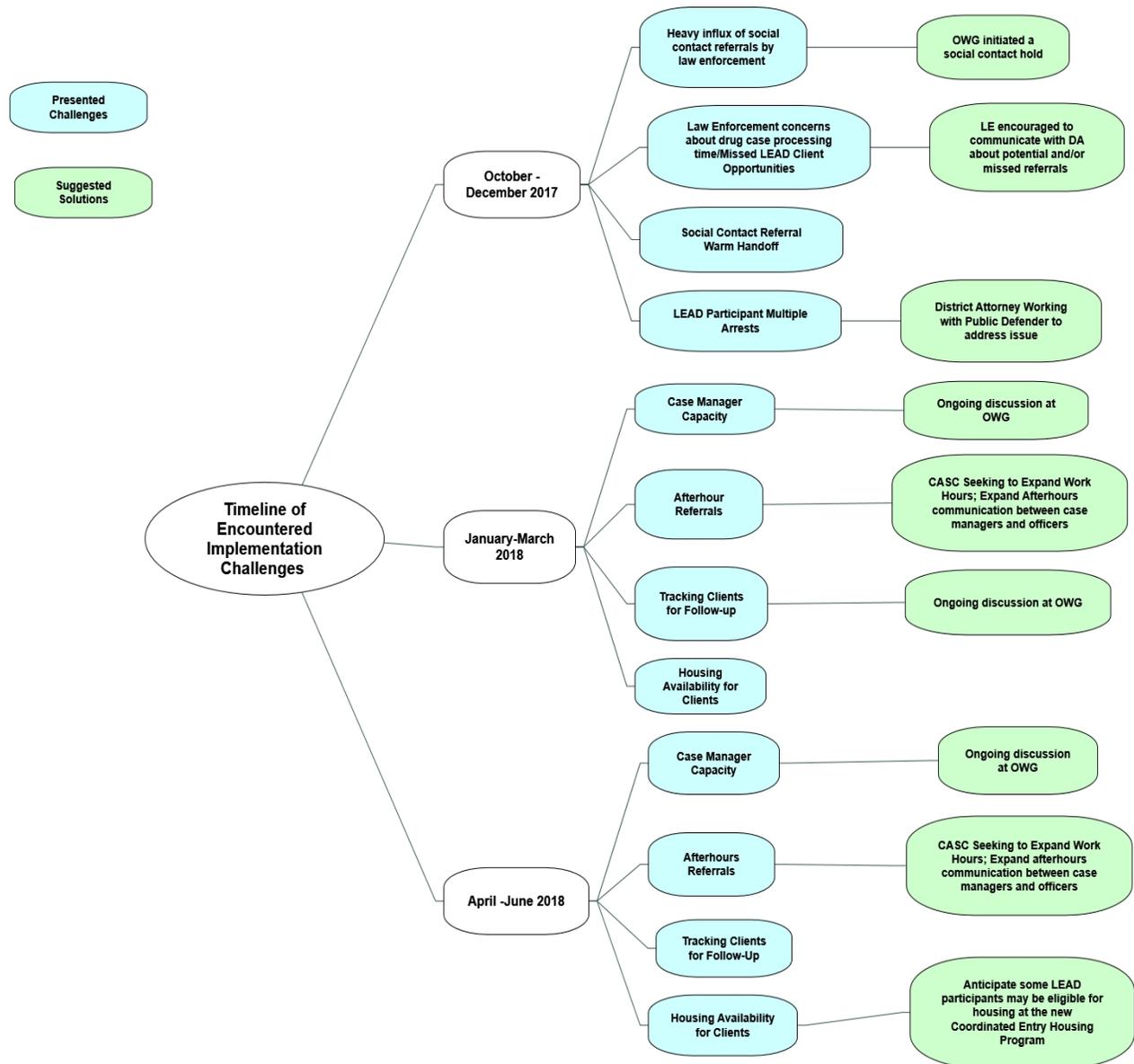
Also reported in Quarterly Reports, LEAD partners created an important collaboration with the LEAD National Support Bureau to further identify solutions to policy and procedural barriers and enhance fidelity to the LEAD program:

We have participated in the monthly scheduled LEAD Learning Collaborative calls with the LEAD National Support Bureau. These calls have provided the LEAD SF Team with an opportunity to discuss ways to best coordinate with law enforcement, and challenges with social contact vs. pre-booking referrals. In addition, they are coordinating another

site visit in April 2018. (Quarterly Report 3)

LEAD SF collaboration with the Bureau helped “coordinate with law enforcement” (Quarterly Report 3); address “challenges with social contact vs. pre-booking referrals” (Quarterly Report 3); and “strategize about increasing law enforcement referrals” (Quarterly Report, 4).

Figure 5: Challenges and Solutions via Quarterly Reports



*Relationship Building.* LEAD SF has helped build positive relationships—relationships that have historically been adversarial or non-existent—between agencies. Even among agencies who collaborate, such as law enforcement and the district attorney collaborating on cases, relation building can be absent. The LEAD SF collaboration afforded all LEAD partners an opportunity to gain a better understanding of and appreciate one another's roles, especially between law enforcement and other partners. Through that understanding, they have been able to connect and effectively work together.

*LE#1: On the [law enforcement agency's] side, there's been more communication. But we've also invited them [DA], you know, to come out, them [DA] and the public defender, you know, to kind of brainstorm ideas on some of the people that we're dealing with in the program. And then maybe – and potentially others that don't fit this program. INTERVIEWER: That's a really interesting approach. So, what kind of prompted that? LE#2: Well, just the fact that we've never had that relationship with them, you know, so this is kind of an opportunity to build one.*

*ADMIN: Yeah, I was just thinking – I know that the case managers have been really active about building relationships with officers...So, both of the two case management agencies have gone to stations to talk about the program and have built, you know, direct communication tunnels with law enforcement in those areas. And it just seems like that, hearing from law enforcement, that's been very helpful for them. To have a person that they know, that they can call, and then also to the case managers' credit, like, being very responsive. Like, being there right away, being outside all the time – I've heard that that's been really helpful.*

*LE#2: For us at [law enforcement agency], we've developed a pretty good relationship with the [case management agency], you know, the [case management agency] program*

*ADMIN: Just this morning we did a walk-around with some police officers, so that kind of thing, you know, just sort of building the relationships with them and having them show us what they do.*

*CMA: We're building allies with other clinicians as well as law enforcement and meeting clinicians all around San Francisco, right. We're building allies. So, law enforcement will call us, as well as we might reach out to them as well when we're on the streets.*

*CM: We actually have a meeting with [law enforcement agency] pretty regularly. Like, we sit down with the [law enforcement agency] police before the Operational Workgroup and kind of go over the caseload and say where everyone is at and da, da, da. That's the*

*kind of relationship that I would like to see with [other law enforcement agency] at some point...*

*Changing Perceptions of Law Enforcement.* LEAD SF's collaborative nature has facilitated a significant and positive shift in perceptions of law enforcement, especially among case managers. Research on the LEAD Seattle project (see Beckett, 2014) also identified this unintended yet beneficial outcome.

*CM#1: So yeah, definitely, like...just getting to know little shit about officers – excuse my language. Getting to know little stuff about, you know, these people, and seeing them as people, not just as a presence on the streets with the gun and the badge.*

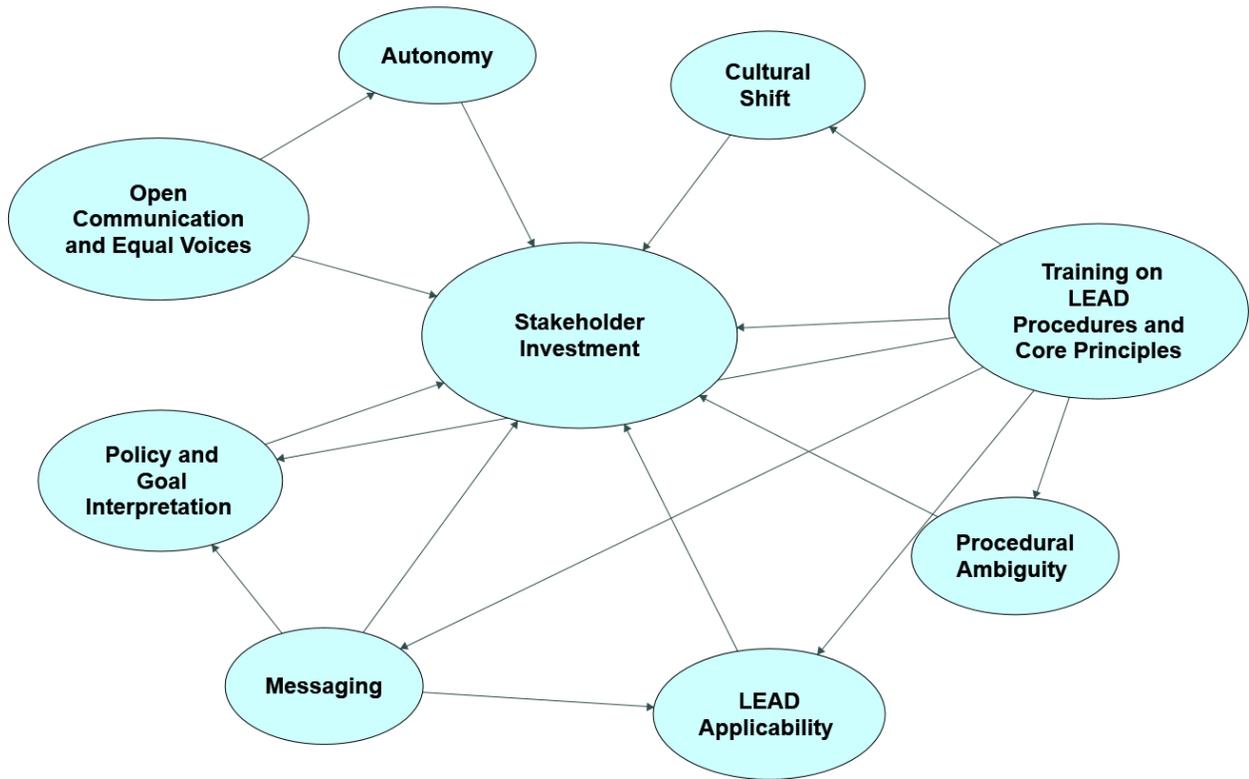
*CM#2: So that's definitely changed my lens and the type of work they have to put in, you know, the type of work they have to do and the shit they have to see every day. So that's changed my view of them a lot. A lot of the law enforcement officers I've met -- I can't even say I've met one law enforcement officer I'm like, god, that guy is a dick. You know, I can't say that. I don't know if you guys' view is any different.*

*CM#3: But I think it's true, like, it's having this glimpse of the actual working processes of law enforcement – as like any of us typically see their human side, in a way that I don't know that I've ever seen it, and also have a little respect for the challenge.*

## Challenges

Themes that emerged as challenges in the initial implementation are *stakeholder investment, cultural shifts, training, policy and goal interpretation, procedural ambiguity, autonomy, LEAD applicability, open communication, and messaging* (see Figure 6). Specifically, LEAD Administration faced early challenges in securing law enforcement buy-in and clearly communicating LEAD SF goals, values, and procedures to LEAD partners.

*Figure 6: LEAD SF Challenges*



These themes echo prior studies on challenges to policy implementation. Policy theories and research have identified conditions necessary for successful policy implementation, and a key condition is securing stakeholder buy-in (Lypsky, 1980; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975; Welsh & Harris, 2016). Stakeholders must be committed to the program mission and goals. Of particular importance is ensuring buy-in from policy implementers, also referred to as street-level bureaucrats (SLB [Lypsky, 1980]). Securing SLB buy-in is especially important when the policy's goals and values significantly drift from those of an SLB. Several factors affect stakeholder buy-in, especially at the SLB level. These include ambiguity in the policy, procedures, and implementer roles (Lypsky, 1980; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). The extent to which a policy's standards and objectives are clearly communicated and understood affects how well SLBs implement the

policy in practice. Relatedly, training is necessary to ensure staff can implement the policy or program skillfully, knowledgeably, and with fidelity.

An SLB's level of autonomy also affects SLB buy-in (Lypsky, 1980; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Lypsky (1980) writes that discretion is inevitable and sometimes necessary given the nature of SLB roles (e.g., police officers, teachers, nurses, etc.). SLBs may feel that they have greater and more accurate knowledge of the target population and that they best know how to help those individuals (Lypsky, 1980). SLB discretion is rarely viewed in a positive light, and, generally, discretion is often restricted from a top-down level. However, limiting an SLB's discretion affects their willingness to invest in the program and execute their duties with integrity. Researchers have proposed that programs that give SLB's some level of authority and are inclusive of their perspectives and suggestions can increase implementation success (Maynard-Moody, Musheno, & Palumbo, 1990). Like the research identifies, LEAD SF faced these challenges, particularly with their law enforcement partners – both in command positions and on patrol. LEAD SF regularly relied on their data, their partners, and the LEAD National Support Bureau to strategize and devise solutions to address these challenges (see *Collaboration* above and Quarterly Reports 2-4).

*Stakeholder Investment.* LEAD staff noted the importance of securing early buy-in from stakeholders, specifically law enforcement.

*LEGAL#1: Related to that is to try and get a police department buy-in at the grant making stage. Because I think here, one of the struggles has been gaining momentum with the police department, which they weren't part of the grant, from what I understand.*

*LEGAL#2: Because they didn't have specific officers assigned, and there were some messaging issues and buy -in issues with who was addressing the rest of the staff, I think there's some work that needs to be done there.*

*ADMIN: I mean, law enforcement, it's important to get the right people on board. So, I'm not sure we're totally there yet, but they are very important personality-wise.*

Notably, Seattle LEAD also faced difficulties securing police officer buy-in during implementation (see Beckett, 2014). The partners across the LEAD SF focus groups attribute the challenge to securing and maintaining officer buy-in to: the significant cultural shift; the challenges providing sufficient law enforcement training both on procedures and in harm reduction; difficulties associated with providing consistent messaging about LEAD's goals, principles, and procedures; and LEAD SF officer perceptions that they neither have open lines of communication nor an equal voice in LEAD.

*Cultural Shift.* Law enforcement and other stakeholders identified how practicing and valuing LEAD's principles of harm reduction and diversion is crucial, albeit difficult because the partnership required between police officers and case managers is unique, and LEAD is a significant shift from traditional policing. Most case managers have not worked closely with law enforcement, and many were hesitant about doing so.

*CMA: Most of them [case managers] have never worked in this, you know, truly diverse, multi-disciplinary team. You know, working with law enforcement, you have to allow these folks that are working, you know, for these programs, that live on the streets, that they were addicts themselves, or they've been in jail or had these experiences with law enforcement. So, for them it's a growing experience as well.*

*INTERVIEWER: Has your relationships with the police or having the police be this conduit to harm reduction made you more effective at reaching a population you wouldn't have otherwise been reaching?*

*CM#1: I mean, yeah, it's helping us reach the police.*

*CM#2: That's definitely a population that we've not been able to connect with before.*

*CM#3: The only thing was, I was hesitant when they said working with law enforcement because of my past history. But the cool thing is we get to educate the officers.*

The police also struggled with certain agency partnerships:

*CLE: So, it's a weird relationship to try to be partners with people who like the commander said, calls a press conference and says, 'Look at all these dirty cops, look at the sheriffs, look what they do in their jails. You know, they're all terrible people. But*

*let's be a partner now because you're going to help us keep people out of jail. Because we're true believers.*

A member of the Legal Team explained the significance of the cultural shift, particularly for law enforcement:

*...One thing that has occurred to me is that, you know, it is a huge culture shift to tell police officers here, 'this is the way you've been arresting people for 20 years; now stop...' If you work in any organization [and] there is a culture about it, and for us to all of a sudden switch to a different culture, I think it would be hard.*

A law enforcement officer emphasized that a cultural shift in policing does not happen overnight:

*I've been around...cops for almost thirty years, and it's not going to be like – it's not going to be push a button or snap your fingers and everybody is going to go, 'Okay, we'll do it different.'*

The Legal Team emphasized the need to explain to law enforcement why such a cultural shift is necessary (i.e., traditional criminal justice system approaches may be ineffective in addressing the causes of criminal behavior):

*And I think that rather than just sort of talking about the LEAD program, I do think we need to talk about sort of, you know, from a sort of clinical-behavioral training, like not something coming from either office, not something coming from internally, but sort of, you know, this idea about, 'Hey, this is sort of what's happening to somebody who is, you know, who you keep incarcerating, and this is, you know, even if it is to a crime like breaking into a car at which everyone is upset about. And this is why this system is not going to solve your problem.'*

Part of the issue the Legal Team identified was how the cultural shift could be smoother if law enforcement was more educated on the consequences and limitations of their approach.

Similarly, case managers and case management administration identified the need for law enforcement to have more training in LEAD core principles and harm reduction methods and effectiveness, since that is the foundation of the LEAD program.

*Training on LEAD Procedures and Core Principles.* In the grant proposal, LEAD SF indicated that during the startup period, a training plan would be developed to ensure partners

received training in LEAD goals and procedures and harm reduction. The LEAD National Support Bureau, the Harm Reduction Coalition, and the Drug Policy Alliance (DPA) would provide trainings. Law enforcement were to receive additional training in the LEAD referral protocol and implicit bias. Case managers and outreach workers were to receive additional trainings in harm reduction, effective case management, and LEAD procedures, including service referrals and data entry.

LEAD SF’s Policy Committee meeting minutes and presentations indicate the committee began their preliminary discussions about a training plan between June and August 2017 with an anticipated start date of September 2017. As per the Quarterly Reports, 29 trainings occurred between September 22, 2017 and March 28, 2018 (see Table 4). Training topics included an overview of LEAD with the LEAD National Support Bureau, harm reduction, motivational interviewing, total reform care, and behavioral huddles. Trainings reported in LEAD SF’s Quarterly Reports are consistent with staff’s reported trainings.

**Table 4. Trainings**

<b>Training Date</b>	<b>Training Name</b>	<b>Description/Purpose</b>	<b>Attendees: Role and Count</b>
09.22.17	Harm Reduction	Harm reduction principles and practices	Case Manager: 5 Project Manager :1 District Attorney/Prosecutors : 2 Sheriff/Police: 12 CBOs: 1 Other Service Providers:4 Other: 1

10.2.17 - 10.4.17	Seattle LEAD Visit	Seattle LEAD Program Overview; Discuss LEAD SF Pilot	Case Manager: 3 Project Manager: 1 District Attorney/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 4 CBOs: 3 Probation : 1 Other Treatment Providers: 1 Other Service Providers: 2 Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Public Defender)
10.12.17 - 10.14.17	Drug Policy Alliance Conference 2017	To provide/improve an understanding of harm reduction skill and drug policy and reform	Case Manager: 4 CBOs: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (Behavioral Health Clinician) Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Public Defender)
10.19.17	Behavioral Health 101	Provide Background of system of case & symptom clusters	Case Manager: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (Behavioral Health Clinician) Other Service Providers: 2 (Outreach Providers)
10.24.17	BART Police LEAD Training	LEAD Program and Referral Procedures	Project Managers: 1 District Attorneys/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 7 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (Behavioral Health Clinician) Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Public Defender)
10.25.17	SF Sheriff's Dept. LEAD Training	LEAD Program and Procedures	Project Managers: 1 District Attorneys/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 7 Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Public Defender)
10.25.17	SFPD LEAD Training - Mission Station	LEAD Referral Procedures	Case Manager: 1 Project Manager: 1 District Attorney/Prosecutors: 2 Sheriff/Police: 14 CBOs : 1 Probation: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (Behavioral Health Clinician) Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Public Defender)
10.31.17	Transforming Stress and Trauma	Trauma informed practices	Case Manager: 3 CBOs: 2 Other Service Providers: 2 Key Stakeholders: 5

11.2.17	BART Police Training - Swing Shift	LEAD Orientation	Case Manager: 5 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 8 CBOs: 2 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (Behavioral Health Clinician) OW Members: 1 (Public Defender)
11.7.17	Breaking the Cycle	Integrate perspectives and share regional lessons regarding frequent users of government services	OW Members: 2 (Public Defender)
11.14.17	Transforming Stress and Trauma	Trauma informed practices	Case Manager: 2 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 8 CBOs: 2 Key Stakeholders: 1 OW Members: 1 (Public Defender)
11.15.17	LEAD Law Enforcement Orientation	LEAD Orientation	Case Manager: 4 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Sheriff/Police: 8
11.20.17	Motivational Interviewing	Provide LEAD team with a basic foundation of how to utilize MI communication techniques to more effectively work with clients.	Case Manager: 2 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 3 (Drug Court, SFDPH LEAD Staff) OW Members: 1 (Public Defender)
11.29.17	Case Management 101	Case management training	Case Manager: 6
12.7.17	LEAD Law Enforcement Orientation	LEAD Orientation	Case Manager: 2 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 11 Probation: 1 Other Service Providers: 1
12.12.17	Harm Reduction Training	Ensure LEAD key stakeholders are trained in a harm-	Case Manager: 2 Other Service Providers: 1

		reduction approach and best practices	
12.13.17	LEAD Law Enforcement Orientation - Mission	LEAD Orientation	Case Manager: 3 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 17 CBOs: 1 OW Members: 1 (Public Defender)
12.13.17	LEAD Law Enforcement Orientation - Tenderloin	LEAD Orientation	Case Manager: 4 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Sheriff/Police: 10 Other Service Providers: 1 OW Members: 1 (Public Defender)
12.21.17	Motivational Interviewing	Provide LEAD team with a basic foundation of how to utilize MI communication techniques to more effectively work with clients.	Case Manager: 5 Sheriff/Police: 6 Other Treatment Providers: 2 (Drug Court) Key Stakeholders: 5 (DA's Office Analyst, Citywide, HTA)
Training Provided Upon Hire	Compliance, Privacy and Data Collection Training	Compliance and privacy policies at Felton Institute including HIPPA regulations and the CIRCE case management system for data collection	Case Manager: 3
Oct, Nov, & Dec. 2017	Trauma Informed Gender Sensitivity Training	A 3-part training that on understanding systemic privilege, overview of the spectrum of bias, and positive communication skills and strategies.	Case Manager: 4
Unknown	Narcan Training	Overdose Prevention with Narcan	Case Manager: 1
1.4.18	Motivational Interviewing	Communication techniques to more effectively work with clients.	Other Service Providers: 1 (LEAD Behavioral Health Clinician)

1.9.18	LEAD Program Overview	LEAD Program Overview for SF Judges	Other: 15
1.9.18	Tour of SF Dept. of Homelessness & Supportive Housing Navigation Center	Learn about available resources	Case Manager: 5 Project Manager :1 District Attorney/Prosecutors : 1 Probation: 1 Other Service Provider: 1 Other: 1 (Public Defender)
1.9.18	Medicine with Street Medicine Team	Care Collaboration	Case Manager: 7 Project Manager: 1 CBOs: 1 Other Treatment Provider: 1 (LEAD Behavioral Health Clinician) Other Service Providers: 18
1.12.18	Harm Reduction Training	Ensure LEAD staff are trained in harm-reduction approach & best practices	Other Treatment Providers: 11 Other Service Providers: LEAD Behavioral Health Clinician Operational Workgroup Members: 1 (Director-Forensic/Justice Involved Behavioral)
1.16.18-1.17.18	Seattle LEAD Visit	Understanding Seattle's LEAD Program	District Attorneys/Prosecutors: 15
1.19.18	Legal Training Part 1	Enhance understanding of criminal justice system	Case Manager: 6 LEAD Project Manager: 1 CBOs: 1 Other Service Providers: 1 Key Stakeholders: 1 Other: 1
1.19.18	A Woman's Place	New program orientation	Case Manager: 7 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Probation: 2 Other Service Providers: 1 Other: 1 (Public Defender)
1.19.18	Ethics Training	Required legal education on professional responsibility rules	Other: 1 (Public Defender)
1.24.18	Substance Abuse Training	Required for CLE (Continuing Legal Education Program)	Other: 1 (Public Defender)

1.25.18	Syringe Access	Learn about available resources	Case Manager: 6 LEAD Project Manager: 1 CBOs: 1 Other Service Providers: 1
1.26.18	New Laws	Review of new laws that potentially affect LEAD clients	Other: 1 (Public Defender)
1.30.18	Mission Police Station Community Meeting	Inform public about LEAD	Case Manager: 1 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Sheriff/Police: 4 Community Members: 38
1.30.18	Harbor Lights Info Session and Tour	Learn about available resources	Case Manager: 6 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 3 Other Service Providers: 1 Other: 1 (Public Defender)
1.31.18	Boundaries and Disclosure in Harm Reduction with Drug Users	Discuss boundary and self-disclosure issues in working with this population	Case Manager: 2 Other Treatment Providers: 1 Other Service Providers: 22
2.2.18	Legal Training Part 2	Enhance understanding of criminal justice system	Case Manager: 6 LEAD Project Manager: 1 CBOs: 1 Other Service Providers: 1 Key Stakeholders: 1 Other: 1
2.6.18	Tour of Dore Urgent Care Mental Health Facility	Familiarize LEAD staff with services available to LEAD clients	Case Manager: 7 LEAD Project Manager: 1 DAs/Prosecutors: 1 Probation: 1 Other Service Providers: 2 OW Members: 1 Other: 1 (Public Defender)
2.8.18	Medication Assisted Treatment for Substance Use Disorders	Familiarize LEAD staff with services available to LEAD clients	Case Manager: 2 Other: 1 (Public Defender)

2.27.18	Community Meeting - Tenderloin Police Station	Educate community about LEAD	Case Manager: 2 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Sheriff/Police: 3 Other Treatment Provider: 1 Community Members: 43
3.5.18	HIV Services	Learn about available resources	Case Manager: 4 LEAD Project Manager: 1 Probation: 1 Other Treatment Providers: 3
3.9.18	Trauma Informed Care, Social Justice and Healing	Consider ways to more deeply integrate these ideas into service provision	Case Manager: 2 Other Treatment Providers: 1 (LEAD Behavioral Health Clinician)
3.14.18	Complex Trauma		Case Manager: 2 Other Treatment Providers: 17 OW Members: 1
3.28.18	Motivational Interviewing II	Provide LEAD Team with basic foundation of MI communication techniques to work effectively with clients	Case Manager: 4 (Glide/Felton) CBOs: 2 (BART Police) Other Service Providers: 2 (DPH)
3.30.18	Racial Justice and Immigration		Other: 1 (Public Defender)

Harm reduction-specific trainings occurred on four separate occasions, once in September 2017 and December 2017, and twice in January 2018. The law enforcement department trainings in October 2017 also contained harm reduction content. The first training on harm reduction occurred on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2017, and 14 officers were in attendance. On October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017 (7 officers attended) and again on November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017 (8 officers attended), trainings were held for BART PD. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, one training was held for SF Sheriffs (7 officers were in attendance) and one training was held for SFPD (14 officers attended). In December, LEAD Orientation for Law Enforcement trainings were held on the 7<sup>th</sup> (11 officers attended) and on the 13<sup>th</sup> in the Mission (17 officers attended) and in the Tenderloin (10 officers

attended). According to SF Staff Administration, approximately 50% of these department trainings covered harm reduction. The next harm reduction-specific trainings occurred on January 12 and January 31, 2018. The January 12<sup>th</sup> training on harm reduction was solely for DPH staff, and no officers attended the January 31<sup>st</sup> training.

Because LEAD SF launched throughout all LEAD SF partnering police departments, it would have been incredibly difficult to train all officers. For example, SFPD has about 2,000 officers (San Francisco Police Department, 2018), and training all officers both in LEAD and in harm reduction are inevitable challenges. Further, because officers frequently change precincts, it is also possible that those trained are no longer assigned to the Mission or the Tenderloin.

Nonetheless, the data suggest that law enforcement could have benefited from more harm reduction trainings that are tailored to police officers. For example, when asked during a focus group of 10 officers in January about harm reduction and again in June with five officers, the police officers neither knew nor heard of it.

*LE#1: Yeah, I've never heard that term, so.*

*LE#2: So what I figured out, on my own, is that the Department of Public Health has what's called a harm reduction. Harm reduction is everything. It's panacea. It's the golden chalice. As long as something is a little bit better than when I first talked to this person five minutes ago, like, you know, giving them a sandwich – I just had a success.*

LEAD case managers in focus groups also iterated this sentiment. They emphasized the need to train law enforcement in harm reduction principles and commented that the harm reduction training for law enforcement may have been insufficient:

*CM#1: Teaching them [law enforcement] about harm reduction, that helps a lot. It's not an easy sell, but that's huge. Because as they learn about harm reduction and the way that it is best practiced, then they start getting a little more comfortable with it.*

*CM#2: The police did not get front-end training on this. We weren't training with a bunch of people with lots of bars and stars and all kinds of stuff, that took ten, fifteen, twenty years to get. But the line cops, our best stuff is the cops that we talk to on the*

*street that didn't get any training but learned about it from us. And well, guess what, a half hour discussion with a couple people on the street isn't good enough for any one or two officers who care to learn about LEAD.*

*CM#3: I listen a little more to them [the police officers]. I don't personalize – so I don't get my emotions in the way. And since I'm listening to them, then I get to find areas where I can help educate and make my clients more relevant to them, and with a different lens. I get to help them shape their lens. Because now I get to let them see my clients differently; look at my clients differently than the way they see them, while acknowledging how they see them.*

LEAD Seattle's process evaluation also stressed “the need for dialogue and education about harm reduction principles with line officers” (Beckett, 2014, p. 36). These dialogues must be “on-going...rather than as a one-time intervention” (Beckett, 2014, p. 36). LEAD SF Administration has offered additional trainings that are grounded in harm reduction (e.g., syringe access, Narcan, social justice, and medication-assisted treatment). However, few LEAD SF partners attended the trainings (see Table 4), and only two officers attended a motivational interviewing training that LEAD SF Administration Staff describes as “steeped in harm reduction principles.” Low law enforcement attendance at these trainings led the LEAD SF Administration Staff to discuss harm reduction at “*use any available moment*” during their Operational Workgroup meetings:

*ADMIN: Because of the challenges of getting a bunch of law enforcement officers to take time off of the streets to attend trainings, our team has really made an effort to use any available moment to take about how harm reduction works with our clients. In our Operational Workgroup meetings, when each client is discussed, we try to give examples of how small gains and relationship building with clients are so crucial to future success.*

The officers also identified the need for training on the core principles and procedures of LEAD Seattle. They stressed communication and exposure with the LEAD National Support Bureau should have occurred prior to the program launch. While four officers went to Seattle prior to launch in October 2017, other officers stated it would have been beneficial to work with the Seattle team prior to launching the program. They would have preferred to gain a hands-on

perspective about the referral processes and learn from Seattle officers of challenges officers might expect throughout program implementation:

*CLE#1: We should have gone to Seattle first. We should have been able to spend at least three or four days there, then try and implement it and learn from their mistakes because they're already going to be able to show us maybe shortcuts or things that you're just inevitably going to run into versus just what we're trying to fight our way through, right?*

Moreover, officers noted a thorough and longer training with the Seattle Team (i.e., the LEAD National Support Bureau) would have been beneficial:

*LE: I think a week or at least three days of being on patrol with the officers who are doing it, so you're seeing them engaged, and seeing how they are doing it, followed up prior, post, with some classroom experience, hands on stuff, so then when you come back, you are better able to explain what's going on. Have the questions already answered – then when there is that rare question you aren't prepared for, you know exactly who to call to get that answer.*

Prior to the launch of LEAD SF (October 2017), four officers went to Seattle for LEAD training, and 28 police officers were trained in LEAD procedures in SF, with the expectation that those officers would educate other officers in their department about LEAD. However, for some, that was not the case.

*INTERVIEWER: You didn't get like the policies and procedures about what to do?*  
*CLE: Nothing... That when you – you bring over a potential individual that qualifies for LEADs – so he came to the station, we met, and we discussed it. And because my officers really had no clue on how to implement LEADs, it was just like – here. Here's LEADs. Go talk about it. Even if you'd read it, it didn't make sense. There was no— you know, a police officer is smart. They're like, 'Whoa' – they're like, 'Okay, you do this, this, this, and that.' They don't want you to read through a paragraph and try to figure out what needs to be done.*

Both LEAD SF Legal Staff and LEAD SF Administration Staff emphasized that, in fact, many trainings or information sessions were held. From November 2017 through January 2018, these agencies held LEAD-specific policy and procedure trainings for law enforcement and attended roll calls to inform line officers about LEAD.

*LEGAL: We do trainings for the officers, just talking about LEAD, the policy and the purpose, and the reason for which it's implemented. We talk about the criteria for LEAD, what type of cases we're looking for, and why they should believe in the program.*

At officer roll calls, they discussed the “nuts and bolts” of LEAD in SF.

*LEGAL: We only get like maybe ten to fifteen minutes during roll call. And, there we have just talked about the nuts and bolts of what it looks like procedurally for an officer on the street – what would they do, how would they fill out the cover sheet, what type of person they're looking for. We're very deferential to the officer because we do recognize that their buy-in is key and important, and being able to speak their language so that they understand that we understand, you know, their concerns.*

However, by June 2018, the LEAD SF senior command officers stressed to LEAD SF

Administrative Staff that, “*they had had enough training and that the rest would be done*

*internally.”* The LEAD SF Administrative Staff then concluded that “*command staff meant there would be no more roll calls.*” Still, SF Legal underscored the need to return to officer roll calls.

*LEGAL: One of the things we had talked about that we haven't operationalized yet is going back to the police department's roll calls and kind of regularized meetings and presenting again [on] what we need – because there are other charges that people are eligible for...so I think that's something we need to do to follow up on.*

The pause in roll call trainings could have led to procedural ambiguity in the referral process. Many officers expressed dissatisfaction about not having a thorough understanding of the process. Moreover, an analysis of the evolution of the Law Enforcement Cover Sheet shows many additions and deletions within the first five months, including the addition of eligible felony charges and reordering and clarifying steps to initiate a referral (i.e., whom officers first contact, when they email documents to each recipient, and when they contact case managers [See Figure 7]). Since the cover sheet was first finalized in October 2017 to its most current form as of September 2018, many changes occurred. Other changes made to the Law Enforcement Cover Sheet reflect LEAD SF administrative and case management needs, including the referring

officer's contact information and information on where and when the referred client is typically seen.

*ADMIN: At almost every Operational Workgroup, there were suggestions about how we could improve as a program, and we tried to implement these suggestions and constantly work towards a smoother process. We went through a bunch of versions of the referral coversheet because we found that what made sense before launch was different in practice. I like to think that we are responsive to feedback – I'm sure we'll have many more edits to come.*

The changes to the Law Enforcement Cover Sheet demonstrate the commitment to both improving the protocol and addressing the needs of law enforcement and case managers. These changes show the responsiveness of the SF administration staff and the communication among the partners at the OW. However, these changes in the process could also explain the officers' sentiments and lack of investment in LEAD implementation, especially if the alterations were not effectively communicated to line officers:

*Interviewer: So, you didn't get any of the lists of the all new offenses?*

*LE1: I'm not aware of any.*

*LE2: I don't think you just have the current LEAD sheet...The current referral sheet has that.*

*LE1: When did it come out?*

*Interviewer: In April.*

*LE2: Yeah, well, I don't – a lot of times [name redacted] will hand out the new LEAD sheets at the meetings. So, if you're not there at the meetings or –*

*LE1: I have – yeah. You know, this all began, I don't know, a few months ago when they gave us a stack of sheets, and I still have – you know, several, from –*

*LE2: So, you have the original sheet.*

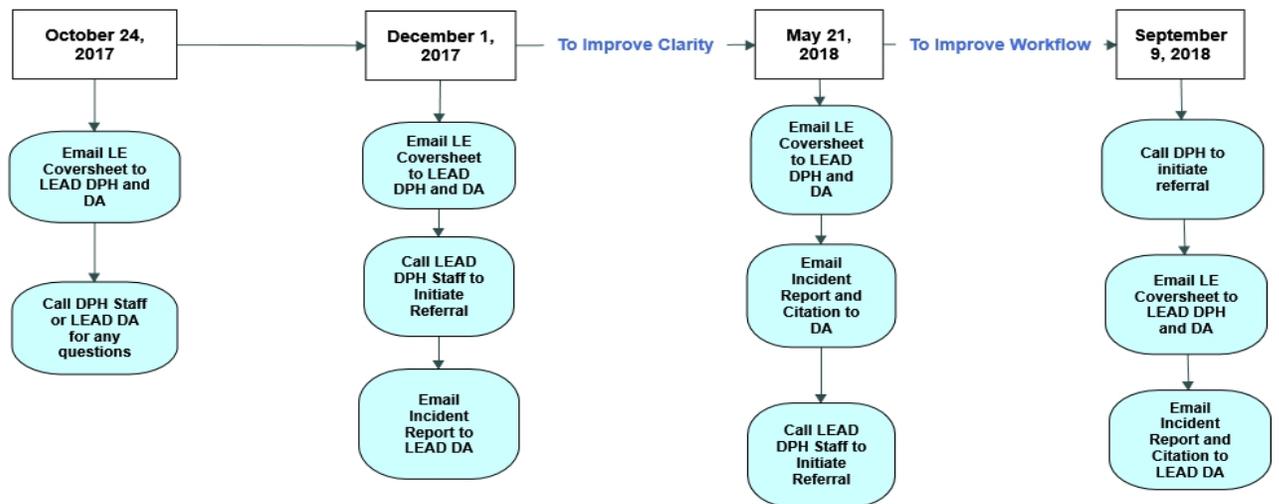
*LE1: Whatever they gave us. But no one's told us since –*

*LE2: It's changed three times. Well, I mean, I'm not going to throw LEAD constantly under the bus because that's not the point of this. I do know that LEAD has been very proactive in changing the sheets, [LEAD SF Administration] has been emailing them out, and there are a lot more [law enforcement] at the meetings now. There's been a captain, a couple of sergeants, and also...Yeah, so they have been more active in that. So, I know [law enforcement agency] has the new LEAD sheets. You guys might not have it, but I know that they've been taken...*

*LE1: Yeah, I mean, I'm not saying that they're not, and there may be, but I mean, we're like a month – I don't know.... Yeah. So I mean, it may just not have trickled down or someone – they're somewhere and we just haven't seen them.*

To encourage officer buy-in and develop a further understanding of harm reduction, the LEAD SF Administration coordinated a site visit with the LEAD National Support Bureau and Seattle law enforcement officers at the end of June to discuss “the values of LEAD and strategies of making it effective in San Francisco” (Quarterly Report 4).

**Figure 7: Law Enforcement Cover Sheet Evolution**



*Messaging.* Law enforcement also identified a lack of information dissemination about the LEAD program to officers. One officer explained:

*I think if I look at it in a whole nutshell, it's like I said, there's a lot of policemen out there that don't even know about LEAD. So, you take the ones in the Tenderloin, and you see cops on the street beat walking right in the middle of that junk we're talking about. They might not even understand what LEAD program is because the police department is not actually fully presenting this to the whole enforcement unit. ....Just like in Mission, I talk to cops, they don't know what LEAD's about – because they just don't know. But how can you not know when you're from the Mission Station and your captain is supposed to be on top of this?*

Case managers also emphasize the need for effective, accurate, and consistent messaging around LEAD.

*And, start that relationship early. And, roll it out together instead of just saying let's go. Because the hard part is reinforcing the same message over and over and then trying to clean up poor messaging, because that's really – that takes more work because now I*

*have to make sure the person receives the better message and then I have to educate the person delivering the bad message.*

Research demonstrates that the lack of or inconsistent communication about a policy's goals and objectives makes it difficult for implementers to carry out the policy as intended (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Additionally, when communication about a program or policy comes from various sources (e.g., command officers, LEAD SF case managers, LEAD SF legal team, LEAD SF administration) and is inconsistent, it creates room for procedural ambiguity and policy misinterpretation, leading SLB's (i.e., front-line staff) to refrain from or have difficulty implementing the program. The SF Legal Staff argue that LEAD messaging to law enforcement would best come from commanders:

*LEGAL#1: ...getting someone that the police officers can hear and understand and gain some credibility. Because I think when we go and do these things at the roll call, and by we, I mean...the DA and public defender and the probation department, I think it's just kind of like, 'oh, LEAD. You're just pushing LEAD on us.' And so, I think, we need to sort of focus at this point of like what really can we do.*

*LEGAL#2: ...I totally agree with that, because even internally in our department, it's who the message is coming from that makes the biggest impact.*

*LEGAL#1: Exactly.*

*LEGAL#3: So, like, I see your vision, but I see like a training with sergeants and above that are truly learning this information, and them being the ones that stand in front of their members at roll call and having that sergeant saying, 'Okay, this is what's happening.' Because you know, if we could get them fully engaged and them completely literate on what's going on, I think they will be the key in making, you know, that change, that we need...They still don't have marching orders, right, and so we're just kind of sitting here. It's like, you know, standing in front of them telling them what we expect them to do, and they're looking at us like we're just a bunch of, like, graduate social workers, you know.*

None of these challenges is unexpected. It is especially difficult to ensure effective communication when you are implementing a program that challenges traditional police culture, such as LEAD. We have seen this with violence reduction initiatives (Kennedy, 2009) and in the implementation of technology, such as body-worn cameras (Young & Ready, 2015). Obstacles to clear communication within police organizations are well-documented, and so are the solutions. We expect officers to be influenced through both formal and informal communication channels. Ideally, officers targeted for training should be innovative champions within the

department who facilitate change (Rogers, 2005). These champions then serve as a conduit, linking the commanding officers who set policy to the line officers who are implementing the program. LEAD SF is addressing this challenge head-on through increased law enforcement engagement.

*ADMIN: At first, it was hard to make any headway into a collaboration with law enforcement because they were – understandably - wary of this new program, but as we had time to collaborate, we've built some really strong partners in the police department, and we're able to tackle tough issues together.*

*LEAD Applicability.* The topic of LEAD applicability to San Francisco was a recurring theme in three contexts. First, California's Proposition 47 impacted client eligibility. Second, the eligibility and exclusion criteria were obstacles to enrolling pre-booking clients. Third, the services LEAD provides, such as homeless outreach, are already present in San Francisco.

A common perception among many LEAD SF officers is that Prop 47 (California Courts, 2018), the reduction from a felony to a misdemeanor charge for certain crimes, makes meeting the goal of LEAD, to divert low-level drug and alcohol offenders from the system, more challenging. Specifically, in San Francisco, officers state that they seldom arrest individuals for low-level drug offenses. This poses a challenge for officers who are trying to divert individuals into LEAD, as they do not have a "hammer".

*CLE#1: Just how the criminal justice system works in San Francisco, and what's a felony and what's not a felony. And these – everything in LEAD are just misdemeanors. So, there's no consequence. You're better off just taking the citation than having to do this program. And that's one of the feedbacks from one of the deputies that was trying to do LEAD. They'd offer it, and the person went, 'Nah, I'll just take the citation.' Because there's no jail time associated with it. So, it's just a misdemeanor cite and release.*

*CLE#2 The way the laws are here now, and especially so here in San Francisco, there really is no hammer. So, for these lower offenders, let's say, it's like, 'Why would I want to get bothered with something like that when it's not going to do anything for me?' That's the way I look at it. I'd rather just go like, 'Give me my ticket, I'm on my way, and I'm just continuing the way I'm going.'*

Relatedly, SF Legal noted the impact of the eligibility and exclusion criteria on the number of pre-booking referrals. Specifically, SF Legal raised concerns that the eligibility makes it difficult for officers to bring pre-booking referrals:

*It's been a struggle for law enforcement to make those pre-booking referrals. What we're hearing from them is that they're not arresting folks for drug offenses or the DA's office doesn't prosecute those, and so it's definitely been a conversation that's ongoing of how do we get those referrals and – you know, are those people going to jail instead of being referred?*

Officers echoed this sentiment:

*Can't sell it. And we don't – we don't make the type of arrest that LEAD is like. Look, they said we're not making those arrests, so we would actually have to like, potentially make arrests that are like – that fit the mold for a LEAD case. We don't make those arrests anymore.*

As a result of the eligibility issues, the policy group met to discuss expanding eligible charges to include certain felonies. One member of the SF Legal focus group explained:

*Yeah, anything that will help to lend itself to widening the net for how many pre-bookings we could get, you know, definitely to help to offer more services to a wider range of people than we're doing.*

However, LEAD SF officers who attended the focus groups objected. They expressed concern that the expansion to include additional felony charges may face community resistance:

*CLE#1: Honestly, that's what I'm anticipating that we're going to get. They're going to basically – they're going to go, 'Oh, no, it's [LEAD] going to work here.' So, you will take – they are going to expand it to more serious crimes. Guaranteed. That's what all – that's what all of us, at least at my station, are anticipating. And – which is really not going over well. Because the community – that's not what the community wants. Oh, let's say, 'Oh, he broke into a car – put him in jail!' That's – in the Tenderloin, as liberal as it is. You broke into a car, you did violence, you go to jail. There's no – 'We don't want you to go to [case management agency].' [Case management agency's] there to provide social services. That's not what they want down there.*

*CLE#2: We [this officer and another] discussed policy and what should and shouldn't be eligible offenses. And [name redacted] – he's a lieutenant that works at my station and he – I was on vacation or something – and he was there, and he said that he objected to*

*all these things. When he came on, he even said that [name redacted] objected to a lot of these offenses, and their one of the managers in the DA's office. But then, all of a sudden, those things came out as eligible offenses.*

At the Policy Committee meeting, the committee voted to add the following charges to the list of those eligible in hopes of bringing in more pre-booking referrals (see Table 5). On April 23, 2018, the committee reached a modified consensus vote (9 full approval and 4 conditional, as per the minutes) to include felony vandalism and felony theft-related charges with a requirement that those felony charges are believed to support subsistence living.

**Table 5. Approved LEAD Eligible Charges**

Felony Vandalism with damages less than \$2000
Felony Theft-related offenses with a loss under \$2000:
• PC 484 (including credit card frauds)
• PC 459end (including auto burglary cases)
• PC 470, 476, 477, 478, 496, 666
• VC 10952

*Policy and Goal Interpretation.* An early sentiment among police officers who attended the focus groups was that LEAD is not necessary in San Francisco. They argued that a multitude of diversion and related services already exist. Specifically, officers noted that LEAD is simply a duplication of services and that LEAD funds would be better utilized to support existing services:

*CLE#1: Let's put it this way. We have 160 non-profit providers in the Tenderloin. We don't need another one. We don't. We just don't need it.*

*CLE#2: If we had 161, I mean, that would be – we just don't need another way to – and if that's the case, if we're just going to do social contact, then we could be out of it.*

*CLE#3...well, we already have all these programs in existence in San Francisco, and the officers are already using it – so it's just redundant.*

*LE#1: The HOT [Homeless Outreach Team] has always worked. And you know what, they ran out of funds years ago -- I got a whole parking lot of homeless people inside*

*because the HOT team had the funding back then. I was giving SROs [Single Room Occupancy] – SRO’s away like candy. But they run short, the case managers, they didn’t have the money for the case managers and stuff – if you’re going to invest in something, invest it in the HOT team.*

The lack of training could have led the law enforcement team to interpret LEAD as a typical diversion program or could have led to a misunderstanding of the program goal. One LEAD SF officer stated that “*We kept arguing, what’s our mission? What’s our goal?*” In contrast, those agency officials who were familiar with and/or effectively trained in LEAD and harm reduction differentiated LEAD from other programs and services by pointing to LEAD’s pre-booking component, harm reduction philosophy, and its collaborative nature:

*CMA: The whole idea of the pre-booking was very important to me and very interesting to me because having that stop there before you walk into the Hall of Justice is a very important point in this program, and I think it’s very, very forward thinking. So, when we were talking about LEAD, it was already kind of a natural progression from all the other types of diversionary type of courts and programs that we were already implementing.*

LEAD’s philosophy is centered on harm reduction principles, which differentiate the program from other services in that it seeks to take a client-centered approach by providing services based on what the client wants (i.e., medically-assisted treatment; use reduction; a shower). It creates an understanding that criminal behaviors are, in some instances, driven by factors, such as substance use and mental health:

*LEGAL: We recognize that the majority of auto thefts happen because people need to, you know, avoid withdrawals and they’re long time users. So, we can engage them into a harm reduction type of approach. Then, the idea is that we can get them into treatment and services that may or may not be abstinence-based versus having them get picked up for, you know, those other charges.*

Because LEAD is collaborative, law enforcement and case managers identify the ease through which it can access agencies, services, and help clients address warrants (see [Collaboration](#) above). However, some of the procedures around providing these services are still unclear.

*Procedural Ambiguity.* Partners reported a lack of procedural clarity in three contexts: warrants, the referral process, and out of county referrals. The first LEAD SF Procedures document was created in July 2017 (three months prior to launch), and procedural changes are expected throughout the launch. The March 2018 procedures has many additions and deletions that lengthened the document from 4 to 27 pages. While numerous insertions and replacements were made, the following are considered major revisions: addition of sex workers to LEAD SF's target population; addition of harm reduction principles; revised law enforcement client contact and transportation processes; adjustments to social contact eligibility and exclusion criteria; updates to Operational Workgroup responsibilities; updates to DPH initial intake screening and assessment responsibilities; updates to LEAD SF flexible funds spending policies (including short-term housing); and addition of policies about taking photos of clients. Other insertions include finalized documents (The Media Plan, the Law Enforcement Cover sheet, Consent Form, the Operational Workgroup Confidentiality Agreement, and the Emergency Stabilization SRO Hotel Rules Agreement). These changes to the policy and procedures highlight LEAD SF's commitment to improving and clarifying the LEAD referral, case management, and booking processes. A new LEAD SF procedure document is expected in December 2018.

Still, line officers would have liked a procedural manual or working draft tailored to the officers prior to launching LEAD SF:

*...[if] we created a binder or some kind of internal binder with it before we even rolled out the program, and we would have had like at least a working draft of like, 'Okay, well, this is what the police procedures are going to look like when it goes to the officer,' and then when we went out and did some training, we would have been able to answer some of those questions that was left, you know, on the table. I think that that would have been really important to have some written for them [the officers].*

Other LEAD partners highlighted that many policy or procedural questions remain unanswered.

LEAD SF Legal noted the lack of specific guidelines in how to deal with clients who have

criminal charges and/or warrants in a different county; is it the responsibility of the District Attorney or Public Defender to contact outside counties?

*LEGAL: We're still working it out as to whether when an individual picks up another line offense here and want to participate in LEAD, how is that going to affect them in the other county?...we don't have an agreement with outside counties that they won't necessarily violate... And so, we're still – we only have one case where that's been an issue or a concern – so, we're still trying to work out.*

*ADMIN: There are some legal issues that the legal team haven't fully come to agreements about, but they have been really good about coming together on a case by case basis and finding the best solution for the moment. In this way, they can be even more client centered and not follow a one size fits all approach.*

The LEAD SF Administration noted they faced challenges in Operational Workgroup Meetings (OW) in terms of figuring out the priority of various discussion topics (e.g., discussing clients versus addressing procedural and policy questions). Legal and case management staff in the focus groups explained that they sought to address procedural issues, whereas law enforcement and LEAD SF Administration sought to discuss LEAD clients. Specifically, law enforcement emphasized the importance of communicating client successes.

*ADMIN: And we did get feedback from law enforcement that they really need to hear about the successes, because they don't necessarily see successes – you know, somebody will just disappear. And they need to be reassured that things are happening, so, we'll need to figure out ways of communicating that.*

Case management staff echoed this sentiment and noted that the definitions of success are different for law enforcement. To law enforcement, for example, success for a LEAD client would mean off of the streets, abstinent from drugs, and in secure housing. However, under harm reduction even small wins, like taking a shower, getting a haircut, and getting an identification card, are celebrated. While these wins may appear insignificant to some, such small wins can be significant challenges for individuals dealing with drug addiction, mental illness, and homelessness.

*ADMIN: You might scoff at the small wins that we consider “successes”, but part of the harm reduction approach allows for helping clients address the small challenges that they are ready to address in a process that builds relationships and builds confidence needed to address bigger issues in the future.*

*CLE: I can tell you that the last Operational Working Group meeting that I went to, we had – we’ve had different people from the police come from the two stations, right. We try to help kind of get the word out, which we try to expose them to so that they can go back and talk about it. And there was one lieutenant who came in to one of the meetings and they had done an operation in the Mission for prostitution because it’s a huge problem, neighbors are complaining – I think two years ago we had four homicides related to prostitution – two women who were doing the work and two pimps and that night they had two women who took LEAD referrals and the lieutenant was all excited because she [LEAD SF] was saying, ‘Oh yeah, I saw so and so, you know. She’s doing good; she’s staying at this hotel – you know.’ So that – so those kind of like, you know, even if it’s a little success, that was – you know, so to hear a police – so, I think that’s one example of what’s going well.*

*CMA: I would love – we have a client that I would love for you to talk to, the mother and son team, African Americans who live on the street in the Tenderloin, and they have a dog. And the dog was like – someone complained about the dog, the dog was taken away from them. We had to – we got them back their dog, the paperwork that gives them permission to have the dog – all of the ancillary equipment that the dog needs to be muzzled and safe, the licenses, everything, and this took – took months to get this happen, and they were going to kill the dog. They were just going to confiscate the dog because it’s two black people living on the street in the Tenderloin, with boxes and an angry dog. And we’re just going to take that thing and put it down. It was a huge success for my team. Oh my god, it’s huge.*

These findings echo research on street-level bureaucrat (SLB) willingness to implement a policy or program. For example, Tummers & Bekkers (2014) found that the extent to which an SLB feels that the policy or program is beneficial to the client, the more willing they are to implement it. In relation to LEAD, communicating small successes to law enforcement can increase their perceptions of client meaningfulness. Because law enforcement frequently see clients after the referral takes place (meaning they may still be living on the streets and perhaps still using substances), knowing that the program is serving as a valuable resource for the clients, no matter how small, can impact their willingness to buy-in into LEAD. And, using the OW for this purpose is consistent with the LEAD SF grant proposal.

The LEAD SF grant proposal establishes that the role of OW is to discuss clients. One

LEAD SF Administration staff member explained:

*I think there's been, I mean, certainly in the Operational Workgroup, there's been some back and forth, I mean, there's always tension around whether they're supposed to be strictly reviewing clients and cases type of meeting versus talking about process, procedure – so I think there's been back and forth and I know we – because there are so many things to discuss on top of the folks that we're serving. Um – the parking lot sort of meeting was designed for that.*

However, allotted OW meeting time (two hours) is rarely enough to thoroughly discuss client cases in addition to other issues. Because OW meeting topics should focus on clients and eligibility and exclusion criteria, staff created “parking lot meetings,” in which they meet on a separate occasion to discuss items not covered in OW. LEAD SF Administration staff commented that parking lot meetings grew out of necessity:

*ADMIN: Because there wasn't enough time in the OWs. So, it was out of necessity that way. Otherwise, we would get into more of the procedural and policy discussions and there wouldn't be enough time to go over it.*

*CMA: ...in the Operations Workgroup where [name redacted] and [name redacted] were present – and in the parking lot meeting before it – I had said, like, I wanna address how we're going to manage out of county referrals. Because there are issues with out of county – like, clients' access to services in San Francisco if they're located – their stuff is in Alameda or CoCo County or San Bruno – is a huge issue, and we keep getting these out of county referrals and that was a topic I wanted to discuss. We didn't have time for it in the parking lot, so I brought it up again in the OW, and a couple of out of county clients were presented and decisions were like – well, we're going to do this in that case and this in that case and that in that case – and what I brought up at the end of all of that – ‘So, can we come to some conclusion and some decision as to how we're going to do out of county referrals?’ I was like – I was told in that meeting, ‘We just discussed that.’ I was like, ‘We didn't have a decision. Nobody made a decision and said going forward, this is how we're going to manage out of county referrals. You talked about individual clients.’ But I was told, ‘Oh, we just closed that topic.’ So, you know, I find that – to me, that's gaslighting. You know, I'm just going to say, it's frustrating.*

Discussing policies and procedures with the OW rather than solely with the Policy Committee is important for the success of implementation.

*ADMIN: Most of the procedural issues that have come up have been resolved in the Operational Workgroup. We have been able to problem-solve and make decisions as a group in that setting. The only policy decision that has had to go back to the Policy Committee, since launch, has been the one to expand the eligible charges.*

LEAD SF focus groups identified both a lack of communication and disconnect between the OW and the Policy Committee. Some partners argued that the Policy Committee is not well informed about implementation at the ground-level:

*ADMIN: I mean, I wonder if there is – I don't know, I haven't really parsed this out, but I wonder if there were some way to create more linkages between the policy committee, the larger policy committee, and then the operational work group, because, you know, if - there is kind of a divide between those things, it wasn't necessarily seamless, and so you're left with a bunch of folks who have to implement with a lot of questions that another group of folks decided on. So – and I don't know how that necessarily would have happened but it feels like we could have been more seamless.*

*CMA: But the two lenses have to come together at some point because there has to be a funnel where we're saying as the boots on the ground, we're actually directly communicating with the clients, we're entrenched in the community on a daily basis. We have information for you that could inform how you're implementing policy that you need to have. So, for me that's a huge disconnect that's happening, right, it's like, well, LEAD should look like this and the grant's written like that and here's your box, and you're trying to get out of the box, and I'm like – because the box doesn't fit what's really happening, so we need to change the shape of the box, but the box is the box and you can't slip out of the box.*

*LE: So, my understanding is in the policy committee, it's all department heads... And you know, yeah, they're up there for a reason; they're knowledgeable, but sometimes you just have to bring in the line back to get things done, to get the solutions and the procedures, and you know –*

The greater the understanding of a policy and the more implementers (i.e., SLBs) feel like they can contribute when creating and/or adapting policy, the more willing they are to implement it (Lypsky, 1980; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). In fact, many LEAD SF partners felt they had limited voices in the LEAD implementation process. The research on effective collaborations consistently shows the value of all voices being heard and included (Lypsky, 1980; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

*Open Communication and Equal Voices.* Officers perceived their voices as not being heard. Specifically, officers expressed disappointment that their efforts are not recognized by other LEAD partners, particularly at the policy level and that during OW, their concerns were dismissed:

LE #1: *And [name redacted]... said, 'well, we're all supposed to be equal.' I said, 'well, how are we equal as cops in the back of the room, like little kids, while the adults talk, and they only talk to us when, – "hey, you guys, you wrote out the form, do you have anything you want to add? Good, okay, anyway, so–" and then they start in – "so, anyone want to accept who the officers added?" Yeah, no, I got a problem. I don't want them in. I said, 'So, what are we supposed to be doing? What do I do?' I talk to somebody out there, when they ask me, 'What's LEAD?' I don't know what to tell them. I see them again, 'So, what's going on with LEAD?' 'I don't know, sir. I got you in and you're supposed to trust me as a cop, but I have nothing to tell you, because they won't talk to us.' They won't work with us, and they definitely don't want us running it.*

CLE#1: *And what I heard in Seattle was everyone at this table has an equal voice, right? And we talked about this when we implemented this, you know, we tried to step on the gas and get a little bit more activity or in the area of referrals, and it's about the cops have to be heard. Because they're the ones doing the work, not [name redacted], not me, none of us. They're the ones doing the work. And if they're not listened to, like they don't feel like their input is valuable, then, you know, game over.*

LE #2: *I mean, you know, I hate to sound like a little kid, like, you know, you hurt my feelings, but it's just like, if you're going to do this, and you want to be successful, I would say that everybody has to have an equal voice, and then everybody has to listen, and sometimes you're going to have to agree to disagree, and there can't be agendas. We don't have an agenda in this. The police department doesn't have an agenda. You know, we're sitting at the table going, 'Okay, fine, you want us to try this, we'll try this.'*

Officers also reported feeling frustrated at their perception that their contributions or concerns at meetings are either dismissed or forced into silence:

*I would rather spend the time – no, we need to talk – once again, because DPH is in charge, they set the agenda instead of us, and they lose their sense of priorities and importance in life, because they go back to an office, we go back to the street, with these girls – and I got shut down on the last one. I don't know if you guys were there. Because I brought up how they're getting – the girls, they're all raped; some of them multiple times. They're coming to me and telling me this – human trafficking going on – including the drug dealers are being human trafficked over here. They're paying off the debt – the mules, selling the dope. And I can't even discuss that. And other people got mad in LEAD saying, 'You know what, that's important to the officers. We should have that discussion.'*

*I was told that was triggering people, and I had to be aware of other people's triggers – which is bullshit – so again, the mindsets between law enforcement DPH and social workers are so different – we can't even work together as a professional group. It's completely unprofessional. And we're now going on six months, and we can't even bring up things we want to discuss because I might trigger somebody in the room. And talk about things that don't affect clients.*

Officers noted that conversations about racial disparity among law enforcement, LEAD SF Administration, and case management are tense and difficult. The LEAD SF focus groups highlight how maintaining open communication and allowing all an equal voice has been a challenge for LEAD SF Administration, especially with “the way meetings are facilitated:”

*CMA#1: I feel like as – you know, mature professionals, we could be having the conversation about race and everyone is fucking so afraid if you bring up race in the OW, everybody just freaks out, and I'm like, 'We cannot do this if we cannot maturely and professionally have difficult conversations about sticky uncomfortable topics, right?'*

*CMA#2: I expect it from the officers, but that's not necessarily who's been having the difficulty making space for the conversations too, so – I mean, the way the meetings are facilitated...*

*CMA#3: And the work – if you say racial disparity, people freak out. I'm like, 'Really?' Everybody kind of wilts and cringes and is like – I got shut down for using that term in – when we were meeting...*

A perceived lack of open communication and equal voices around the table hinders stakeholder investment, collaboration, as well as agency autonomy.

*CMA#3: ...say that there are these – there are – this is an issue, and how can we address it and let's use the Operations Workgroups to have some fucking transparent, real, honest conversations about what the struggles are, what the challenges are, what the resistances are, and how we can overcome them, instead of being like, 'Oh, what you see isn't really what you see;' 'Don't really look over there because you're not seeing what you see.' It's bullshit. We're not going to have – this program is never going to work until we're all honestly at the table transparently and collaborating. And butting heads – that's where the transformation comes from...*

*Agency Autonomy.* Officers were concerned about the general perceived lack of trust in officer discretion and accusations of biased client selection. For example, officers who attended the focus groups described how one of the LEAD partners suggested that they document the

reasons a person was arrested for a LEAD eligible offense rather than offered LEAD. While this was rejected, it affected law enforcement:

*Like they wanted to have – they wanted to fill out a sheet – they wanted the cops to fill out a sheet – that was for, you know, I was in on – where the cops explained why they didn't make a LEAD referral. Right, it's kind of like – you can't – in my opinion you can't do that to the police officers. You either trust them or you don't, right? And we can talk about that here. But you from the public defender's office, you from the DA's office, you from any outside of our own – that is going to be received as criticism, that's going to be received as judgment.*

Officer frustration regarding the questioning of their discretionary actions is consistent with their dissatisfaction of poor communication. To illustrate, the LEAD SF Principles for Policing Role (LEAD SF, n.d.) policy document states that officers are to document their decisions to offer LEAD or not offer LEAD to individuals:

Documenting the decision to divert or not divert eligible arrestees. Since the program relies on officer/sergeant discretion, documenting how that discretion is used is important for review and re-training.

The perceived lack of trust and the push for oversight highlighted the lack of autonomy the officers have felt in the implementation process. While the police officers seek to effectively carryout their responsibilities, they feel that they are frequently criticized and often directed on how to perform their duties.

*LE: So, there it is. You ask me how to fix it and where the problem is – we're talking about language. [Name redacted] says it's speak, communication – we're not speaking the same language. When it's run by DPH, they don't understand what we do as cops. So, to them it's just easy to say, 'fill out this form. Fill out that form. Fill out that one.' We drown in paperwork. If the DA's office and the police were running this program... we could say, 'Oh, no, no, no, no, no – you want pre-booking, we're going to have to sit down, and we are going to make it happen.'*

This highlights the need for the LEAD SF's goal of collaboration and relationship building among city and community partners.

Some partners identified how other agencies interfered with their operations or violated role boundaries (i.e., attempted to dictate best practices to agencies). Law enforcement described how case management overstepped their boundaries and how they were able to successfully resolve it:

*LE: We had a run in with – not a run in, but whatever, one of the lieutenants actually was making an arrest and some LEAD people from [CM agency] said, ‘Wait, that’s our client, we’re trying to get—’ and we’re like, ‘No, they have a warrant, and they have to—’ but why does – ‘ We knew he’d get away. So, there were two incidents like that. So, we met with [the CM agency] to work that out and that was resolved. They don’t come and interfere anymore with our arrests.*

Case management and law enforcement both reported that these concerns were partially addressed by having officers and case management meet to discuss and reach a point of understanding:

*CM: Yeah, we sat down with them over that too because our officers witnessed that and they ended up venting, you know, about [police officers] to our [case management] guys and then our [case management] guys told them, ‘You know, you can’t be saying or doing that. They gotta do their job, you know, and you don’t know what’s going on, and you can’t intervene in that.’ So, we also had to sit down with those guys about that and – so that kind of made the relationship a little better because we had a head to head with it – a little discussion, because those things aren’t understood clearly either, you know, for the clinic and the social worker and the case workers out on the street. You know, this is new to them too.*

It has been a learning curve for law enforcement and case managers to work together. Keeping open lines of communication across the partners can facilitate collaboration and relationship building (Lypsky, 1980; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

## Treatment Provider Data

In this section, we report on treatment provider data through the first six months of implementation (October 2017 – March 2018) to assess program fidelity. During this period, 64 individuals were referred by law enforcement – 26 pre-booking and 38 social contact. Of these, 48 became active LEAD clients (17 pre-booking and 31 social contact). Table 6 shows the

demographic differences between the two groups at referral, and Table 7 presents active client differences.

**Table 6: Referral Demographics**

	Pre-booking (N=26)	Social Contact (N=38)	Total (N=64)
Age (Mean)*	31	37	34
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	76.5%	67.7%	70.8%
Female	23.5%	32.3%	29.2%
<b>Race</b>			
White	58.8%	45.2%	50.0%
Black or African American	23.5%	29.0%	27.0%
Hispanic/Latinx	11.8%	12.9%	12.5%
Asian	0%	6.5%	4.2%
Other	5.9%	6.5%	6.3%
<b>Neighborhood**</b>			
Tenderloin	88.5%	55.3%	31.3%
Mission	11.5%	44.7%	68.7%

\*significant at .05 level

\*\*significant at .01 level

**Table 7: Active Client Demographics**

	Pre-booking (N=17)	Social Contact (N=31)	Total (N=48)
Age (Mean)*	32	36	35
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	71.4%	66.7%	68.2%
Female	28.6%	33.3%	31.8%
<b>Race</b>			
White	57.2%	44.4%	48.8%
Black or African American	21.4%	26%	24.4%
Hispanic/Latinx	7.1%	11.1%	9.8%
Asian	0	7.4%	4.9%
Other	14.3%	11.1%	12.1%
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Single/Never Married	76.9%	82.1%	80.5%
Married	7.7%	3.6%	5.0%
Separated	0	3.6%	2.4%
Widowed	7.7%	0	2.4%
Divorced	7.7%	7.1%	7.3%

Remarried	0	3.6%	2.4%
Education Level			
Less Than High School	16.7%	33.3%	26.7%
High School Graduate	41.6%	27.8%	33.3%
Some College	25.0%	33.3%	30.0%
College Graduate	0	5.6%	3.3%
Graduate Studies	16.7%	0	6.7%
Homeless**	50.0%	100.0%	86.7%
Unemployed*	75.0%	100.0%	93.3%
On Public Benefits	57.1%	41.7%	47.4%
No Health Insurance*	11.1%	54.5%	41.9%
History of Overdose	11.1%	20%	17.2%

\*significant at .05 level

\*\*significant at .01 level

Some statistically significant differences between social contact and pre-booking diversions were found. Pre-booking diversion referrals are significantly younger and from the Tenderloin district (see Table 6). Pre-booking active clients are significantly younger, less likely to be homeless and unemployed, and more likely to have health insurance (see Table 7).

These results can be contextualized with focus group and Quarterly Report data. LEAD SF Administration reported that officers were quick to use the social contact mechanism to refer individuals they deemed in need of LEAD. However, due to grant restrictions on the number of social contact referrals (50 social contact versus 200 pre-booking), LEAD SF temporarily put a hold on social contact referrals after the first three weeks of implementation.

One of our challenges has been receiving an abundance of social contact referrals from law enforcement. Officers in the field have clearly been thinking about potential participants and were ready to make social contact referrals in the first few weeks of programming. The Operational Workgroup decided collaboratively to pause social contact referrals and focus on pre-booking referrals so as not to overwhelm case managers and ensure that we were meeting the grant requirements of prioritizing pre-booking referrals. (Quarterly Report 2)

*CLE: Yeah, so right out of the gate, when we started with LEAD a couple months back, we – I can't say we had a ton of them, but social contact were the only way to go – and I guess on the positive side, we're now getting a little more creative with that. I understand there's still the pause button on social contacts, but a couple of my cops came to me yesterday, 'What do you think, we – we're not money hungry, but how about we come in on one of our days off, on a Wednesday, and we'll dress a different way than the*

*dark blues, and we'll just do nothing but LEAD related stuff? Just know, that it's probably going to be the social contact angle of it because it's pretty hard for us to come upon people in our locations when they're actively dealing.'*

While we do not yet have treatment provider data to analyze whether the initial differences between social contact and pre-booking diversions have remained consistent, Quarterly Report data show that the police did substantially reduce social contact referrals. From April through June 2018, police made 68 referrals – 43 pre-booking and 25 social contacts. Of these referrals, 21 pre-booking diversions became active clients, compared to 15 social contact diversions.

## Lessons from LEAD SF

Based on the analysis conducted in this fidelity assessment, some lessons can be learned from the successes and challenges during the first few months of LEAD implementation in San Francisco: (1) early visits to LEAD Seattle; (2) investment from police officers; (3) trainings in harm reduction; (4) committed program management; (5) monitoring client referrals and flow; (6) patience; and (7) flexibility. These conclusions were reiterated when LEAD SF partners were asked in the focus groups to provide advice to other sites seeking to implement LEAD. Notably, these suggestions compliment the LEAD National Support Bureau's (2017) Core Principles for Successful Implementation.

## Early Visits to LEAD Seattle

Law enforcement noted that earlier visits to Seattle, prior to implementation, would have been helpful in providing officers a better understanding and hand-on experience of LEAD operations. It would have also given officers an opportunity to discuss with Seattle PD those potential barriers/facilitators throughout implementation.

*CLE: Now that the program's been in place for a few months, now the officers are going up for a few days to get that ride-alongs with the Seattle PD to see how they do it. So that trip would have been great way back in the beginning.*

Other officers echoed this sentiment,

*LE#1: We should have gone to Seattle first.*

*LE#2: But that's how it should start. You know, you should take your instructors, send them up to Seattle, not for one day – like anything else, and most of us, I think – cops in general, I think we're visual learners. A week would be nice, just because – a week's nice. No, I think in all honesty, I think a week or at least three days of being on patrol with the officers who are doing it...*

In addition, officers noted it would have been helpful to have LEAD Seattle provide officers the opportunity to go on ride-alongs during the initial LEAD Seattle visit. Having that interactive experience would have provided officers insight in how Seattle PD implements LEAD on their streets.

*CLE: Um, I heard from those two guys that went to Seattle – so I went to Seattle, and then I – well, we went to Seattle, the law enforcement, we were just given a couple of lectures and whatnot, and presentations – whereas the project – not the project managers. The civilian role – they got ride-alongs with the PD [police department] to see how it goes...So, I urged our next group of law enforcement officers to go to Seattle to get the ride-alongs – they got the same thing we got. Just lectures and presentations. They didn't get any ride-alongs.*

*LE: And the service providers had gone on a ride along with the police department, Seattle PD – we got a bunch of presentations and lectures on the law enforcement side, and then came home.*

### Early Investment from Police Officers

The need for securing law enforcement buy-in was recurring among LEAD partners in the focus groups. As such, LEAD partners advise other sites to secure early buy-in from police partners.

*LEGAL#1: ... get a police department buy-in ... so that everyone kind of comes in with a little bit more momentum.*

*LEGAL#2: Early buy in from the police officers, for sure, and if there's going to be a grant written and people are going to get funded make sure the police department gets funded.*

*CM: Get buy-in from the police, not just glad-handing bullshit. But, get some real commitments and get people that actually know harm reduction to be part of that process.*

Police officers voiced similar suggestions:

*LE: And even when you're in the beginning planning stages, have those people already on board. Don't have your command staff doing all this planning and then roll it out. You need to have the participants on board from day one.*

Specifically, one officer emphasized the importance of having LEAD specific officers as opposed to implementing a program department-wide. Securing buy-in from a large department is a difficult task:

*LE: You've gotta specify good people who are assigned to that citywide versus trying to do that at each station, just have a call center. Because if you try to sell to an entire department, you're not going to get many buyers. But if you say this is a volunteer assignment, who wants to do it, you're going to be a citywide unit, that's what I think would work best.*

LEAD partners also commented on the importance of giving officers an equal voice at the table to help them feel more invested in the program.

*LEGAL#3: If this is truly a law enforcement tool, then there has to be a better way of having law enforcement interact in our Operational Workgroups. Whether if they co-facilitate with the program design or, you know, whether you give them a role where they feel more engaged.*

*LE: Line officers, yes, they need to be part of that planning, so they can offer suggestions, like we are now, and say, 'Hey, maybe this would work better.' 'Sir, if we rolled it out this way.'*

The LEAD National Support Bureau (2017) also stress the importance of ensuring law enforcement is invested, has an equal voice, and is involved in design, implementation, and improvement. The Bureau's second Core Principle of Successful Implementation states:

Law enforcement officer 'buy-in' is critical. LEAD only works because of the effort and insight of line officers and their sergeants. The program relies on their initiative and discretion. They must be equal partners of the program and must be involved in operational design and improvement conversations.

## Trainings in Harm Reduction

Another thread of advice that emerged from focus groups is training LEAD partners in harm reduction. LEAD partners should have a clear understanding of the meaning of harm reduction, especially for partners coming from a different perspective on substance use. The training should include the effectiveness of harm reduction approaches, particularly in contrast to traditional criminal justice system involvement. With such a training, LEAD partners will have harm reduction knowledge and can understand that clients' progress may be slow and incremental, and clients may never reach abstinence.

*CMA#1: My advice would be get a lot of training and harm reduction. I think we got really lucky in that San Francisco already does a lot of that. And particularly all of our case managers are great...And, I think when they're working with clients, we really see that excel and that can be a hard sell for people especially who are coming from a more traditional, you know, abstinence-based kind of place.*

*CMA#2: Yeah, and I actually think that's a role [LEAD SF Administration] could take as a city agency and be super helpful. So, when they set up trainings that our team and officers came to and worked together and got to know each other and talked about harm reduction – I mean, they could have such an important role.*

The LEAD National Support Bureau (2017) identifies harm reduction as one of the Core Principles of LEAD. The Bureau's Core Principle states:

A harm reduction/Housing First framework requires a focus on individual and community wellness, rather than an exclusive focus on sobriety. The goal should be to address the participant's drug activity and any other factors driving his/her problematic behavior – even if abstinence from drug use is not achieved – and to build long-term relationships with participants without employing coercion or shame.

## Committed Program Management

LEAD partners made references to the importance of having a committed and independent program manager, with effective leadership and communication skills. Dedicated managers and leaders are necessary to facilitate meetings, communication, and program development.

*CMA#1: I mean, I would say it's been wonderful having [name redacted] and [name redacted] on board, and if I could have had a program manager sooner that would have been really nice instead of two weeks before we launched, because I definitely think it required a lot of time and commitment to like, meet with all the different partners, develop the procedures – like, really have those conversations – and so I think it really needs somebody who is able to be 100 percent committed to the program, so.*

LEAD partners also stressed that the program manager should not be linked or employed by any of the partnering agencies.

*CMA#2: I think along the lines of that, I think an independent facility – project manager would have been better. You know, somebody who is outside of the different entities to help coordinate them all, rather than having one of the entities be responsible for it. I think that – I think it does shift the balance, you know, if we're all standing on this platform, that there isn't a sort of objectivity around how to do this...*

The LEAD SF partners further identified the key qualities of a committed program manager, which include listening and leadership skills.

*LEGAL#1: And you know, just somebody who's a good listener, I mean, all of those qualities that you want in somebody who's a manager. You know, a good leader, a good listener, somebody who's professional, somebody who can advocate without being unprofessional, and I think that especially in a room where we are true adversaries – the police department and the public defender, [the public defender] role with a police officer on the stand, versus [the public defender] role with a police officer in a meeting – you know, the principles could be the same, but how you do it is completely different, and it's – yeah, it's hard.*

*LEGAL#2: I think you have to have a strong facilitator of the Operational Workgroup as well in the sense of one – we've been very fortunate here with everybody, I think that's a major part of the program, is that the facilitator of the Operational Workgroup has to know how to lead a group and respect each of those lenses and then to bring it back in a way to where there's some next steps that the group can go back and feel like there's some sense of accomplishment or there's some little wins. Because if you think about human nature, everyone wants to feel like they've completed like one task, or if they've completed some goals. So, I think it's really huge for whoever is in a position of, you know, facilitating the Operational Workgroups to have those strong leadership qualities – that can look at everyone's positions and kind of recognize and acknowledge those positions – keep the meetings on task and focused, and then also to bring us back to some next steps like, 'Okay, well, here are some new things that we need to do next time,' and then to be able to say, 'Okay, well, we've accomplished it.' do you – you know, or 'Hey, we still have a little bit of ways to go.' But I think that's important because at the end of the day when I leave the assignment, I'd like to know that, you know, there was some type of goals and expectations that were met at the end.*

The LEAD National Support Bureau (2017) also lists the “dedicated project manager,” who is “independent from all political and operational stakeholders,” as one of the Core

#### Principles of LEAD:

A dedicated project manager is critical. The project manager troubleshoots stakeholders’ concerns, works to identify resources, facilitates meetings, develops information-sharing systems, and streamlines communication. Because LEAD is a consortium of politically independent actors, it is desirable for the project manager to be primarily loyal to the program itself, independent from all political and operational stakeholders.

#### Monitoring client referrals and flow

LEAD SF benefited from early and consistent monitoring of client flow through the two different referral mechanisms. Project management noted law enforcement’s early reliance on social contact diversions and, through communication with Policy Committee partners, asked law enforcement to focus on pre-booking diversions to better support the original goals of the program.

*ADMIN: So, when we started we had both referral streams open, officers could refer either way, and for understandable reasons, we got far more social contacts at the beginning, and so just in terms of grant goal numbers, although we can’t<sup>iv</sup> exceed those, we got far more social contact numbers at first. We got 25 in the first two or three weeks out of our goal of 50, which is a lot. So, I think with that came not only just complicated conversations trying to explain to stakeholders, ‘You know, we do have these two referral streams, but because of our grant requirements and our goals and capacity of the case managers, we need to stop social contacts for now, because that’s’ – it feels better to refer that way. A lot of the officers we work with don’t want to arrest people, so that has been difficult just to frame that in a way that makes sense. And then also, although we’re seeing a shift now as we get more participants in, a lot of those initial referrals were racially, ethnically not reflective of the jail population. So just having that conversation, and that is shifting now, it’s still not where we’d like it to be, but we also only have 36 clients, so.*

#### Patience

LEAD partners emphasized the value of being patient and setting realistic expectations about the program and client successes. LEAD partners should recognize that implementation

rollout may be slow, as unexpected barriers are confronted and the process is refined accordingly.

*CMA: There's still a learning curve – once you actually see how it's going to work for your people, then you really get started. So, I think that's the – just be prepared for that. As ready as you feel, you're not really ready until it starts moving.*

*LEGAL: I would also talk seriously about everybody's expectations because I do remember – and I was okay with the slow roll, but I remember one of the DPH people in the first meeting saying, 'You know, it's okay, I know we have a slow start.' Everyone was already jittery because we didn't have any pre-bookings, and there was a few social contacts, and everybody wasn't fully, like, prepared for the disappointment that we didn't have a hundred referrals in the first week, and, you know, those of us who have launched collaborative work, we kind of know that it takes a slow start. So, I think having really appropriate expectations of how much work it takes and how it actually is going to look like once it hits the ground.*

Similarly, making change in the lives of clients is likely to be slow. For individuals facing problematic substance use, mental health challenges, and who are suffering from homelessness, simple tasks, like taking shower, are significant hurdles. Having patience with clients and building rapport and establishing relationships can help clients be more willing and able to seek a greater change in the long-run.

*CMA: Yeah, and this part of this program is – it's totally harm reduction based, so we're not forcing them to do anything. We're not even pushing hard to do anything. We're working with them and trying to figure out what they want and how we can make some gains in their lives.*

*CM: I also think it's different when you're working with somebody who's been in custody for a period of time and hasn't been using substances, versus working with somebody who's actively using substances in the community. And I think that's part of what contributes to it being a slower process. But I mean, I think we're very – in San Francisco we're very client centered. Meeting clients where they're at, physically what they're able to do and what they want to do.*

The LEAD National Support stress in the last Core Principle this very sentiment:

Real change takes time and patience. LEAD participants, who are usually drug-dependent and often homeless, sometimes take months or even years to make major behavior changes. When they do, they almost unanimously say they found the strength to change in part because case managers and officers refused to give up on them, and didn't rely on

shaming techniques. Patience and relationship-building can eventually yield results that shorter-term strategies cannot.

This final case manager quote exemplifies this principle:

*CM: And a lot of the times these people have said, 'Man, you're one of the few people that care about me. I don't have a mother or father. I don't have...' I had this one guy we talked with earlier today – he started to cry a little bit, and I said, 'It's good, man, because you're finally feeling emotion again. That's bad because that's a trigger because you've been shooting up and doing these things to bury the emotion, but the mere fact that it's starting to come to the top is all right.' So, we invest, right, without putting any pressure on them.*

## Flexibility

Policy implementation can be very unpredictable, chaotic, and disorganized<sup>v</sup>, rarely does it go smoothly. One case manager describes their experience in the implementation phase:

*CM: Get ready for a rough ride and learn how to do some like, really ballistic self-care. Because it's – it's super taxing, and it's super intense, and you see a lot of traumatic stuff... you know, so, come in ready because the shit's going to hit the fan right when you come through the door, you know? It's pretty intense from day to day.*

Thus, being open and flexible – in both project design and funds allocation – can facilitate program implementation success.

*LEGAL: Just that openness that they will need to think wider and real progressive...*

*CMA#1: Yeah. And I would say to be like – to be very flexible and not rigid, right? Not try to create a paradigm and an outline that you can't veer from and improvise around, right? Because when challenges come up, you need to be creative in how it's going to work for you. And find your workarounds. And I think that's one of the things that's happening with us, is we have this piece of paper and everybody is like, 'Don't!' 'No!' 'Right there, it says, see, there's a period there, so you can't use a comma.' It's like, that's not going to work. So flexibility...*

*CMA#2: One thing we haven't mentioned at all is about the flexible funds, and I think that's a major – we couldn't – you couldn't do it without it, so don't even try. Having that flexible money to do whatever is needed in a harm reduction approach.*

## Conclusion

This fidelity assessment answered four key questions about the LEAD implementation in San Francisco. The first question asked whether LEAD SF modeled past LEAD efforts in

Seattle. In short, the answer was yes; however, San Francisco has a slightly different intake process (meeting with DPH prior to case management) and has struggled with meaningful police partnerships and implementing a Housing First framework. The LEAD SF site continues to work toward these goals. The second question asked about the nature and success of LEAD training. For the most part, trainings have been exhaustive and successful; however, harm-reduction training specifically tailored to law enforcement was lacking. General harm reduction trainings were offered, but few officers attended, and the trainings could have been more thorough. As a result, project implementation suffered. The third question asked about barriers and facilitators to program implementation. The site has celebrated and communicated its successes and gone to great lengths to address each of the challenges. Finally, we investigated whether LEAD SF has progressed toward achieving its stated goals. And, for the most part, LEAD SF is headed toward success in all areas.

In addition to answering these four questions, we identified several important themes to help guide LEAD SF into the future and serve as best practices for other sites seeking to implement LEAD. Securing stakeholder buy-in is crucial, especially buy-in from policy/program implementers. Policy/program implementers shall also be delegated some authority and participation in the development of the program to improve their willingness to implement the program and facilitate its overall success. Clear and consistent communication of policy goals and objectives is imperative to ensure implementers understand how to effectively execute the policy/program in practice. Notifying law enforcement of client successes, even when small, is also important because doing so can positively influence an officer's perception that the policy or program is of value to the client; this also facilitates buy-in from implementers. Open lines of communication and collaboration between policy staff and line staff is needed to reduce

ambiguities in processes and to facilitate successful implementation. And finally, practice patience and flexibility, as implementation can be a slow and dynamic process. Embracing harm reduction and developing effective collaboration across the agencies takes time. And, LEAD SF is well on their way to achieving these goals.

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<sup>i</sup> Despite the importance of fidelity assessments and process evaluations, there is a dearth of fidelity research in criminal justice policy and program evaluation (Miller & Miller, 2015, see also Duwe & Clark, 2015; Esbensen, Matsuda, Taylor, & Peterson, 2011; Esbensen, Peterson, Taylor, & Osgood, 2011; Miller & Miller, 2016; Mihalic, Fagan, & Argamaso, 2006). Evaluations have traditionally relied on quantitative outcomes (e.g., recidivism, cost savings) as a measure of effectiveness. However, the process evaluation component can provide a more thorough assessment (Duwe & Clark, 2015; Miller & Miller, 2015; Miller & Miller, 2016), with some studies showing that when programs adhere to their proposed model designs, they are more likely to have positive outcomes (Duwe & Clark, 2015; Miller & Miller, 2016).

<sup>ii</sup> The June 2018 LEAD SF ADMIN focus group recording was damaged and never transcribed.

<sup>iii</sup> A thematic analysis is a flexible qualitative method used for “identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.6). Themes refer to patterns of information within the data in relation to the study’s research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

<sup>iv</sup> The evaluation team recognizes that the ADMIN must have misspoke here, as they are able to exceed those numbers.

<sup>v</sup> See Welsh & Harris, 2016.