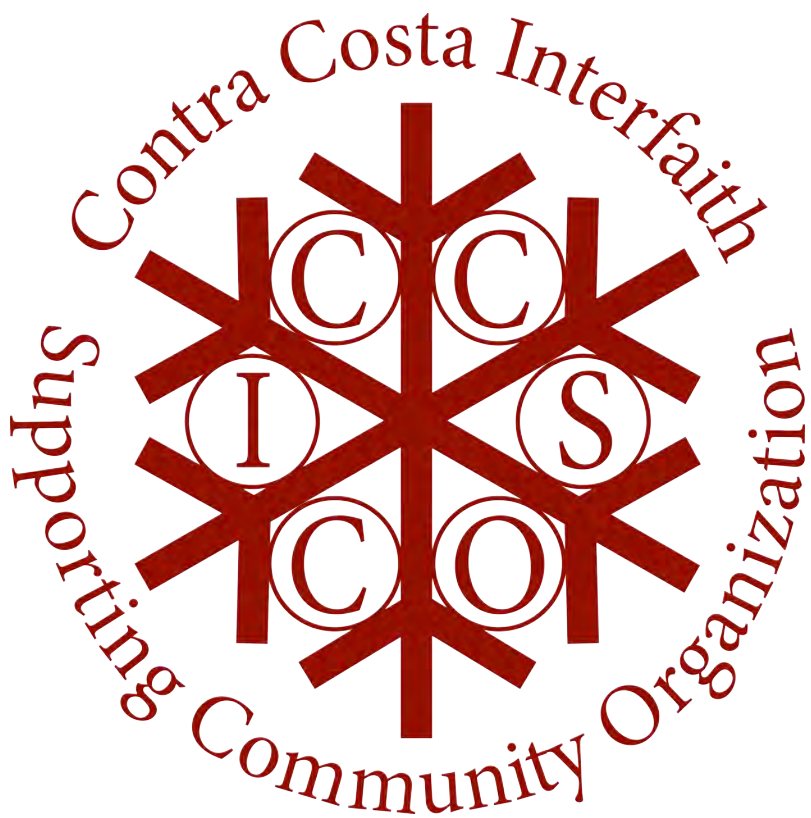




INVEST IN PEOPLE, NOT PRISONS: BUILDING STRATEGIC CAPACITY TO END MASS INCARCERATION IN CONTRA COSTA COUNTY AND CALIFORNIA

**DECEMBER 2012: PREPARED BY
CCISCO & SAFE RETURN PROJECT**



Contra Costa Interfaith Supporting Community Organization

CCISCO is committed to building civic engagement and increasing public participation by those most affected by injustice and inequity in Contra Costa County. We are a multi-racial, multi-generational, interfaith federation. CCISCO helps everyday people win extraordinary victories by providing a vehicle for them to speak, act and engage in public arenas. We believe in the power of relationships and that by acting together on our common values, we can imagine and create a new world. Since 1996, we have been organizing a voice for justice and equity in Contra Costa. We are a multi-ethnic, multi-generational, interfaith federation of 25 congregations and youth institutions representing over 35,000 families.

CCISCO is a member of the PICO National Network and PICO California.

The Safe Return Project

The Safe Return Team is a group of formerly incarcerated Richmond residents working to strengthen the relationship of people coming home from incarceration with the broader community. We understand that breaking the cycle of incarceration and crime will take changes in the way our community relates to members coming home, and positive leadership by formerly incarcerated residents contributing to the greater community. We are carrying out research, community organizing, and policy advocacy to build our community's power to make this change. We work with fellow formerly incarcerated residents, their families, service providers, public officials and agencies, and employers and others to develop strategies and taken action. Our supporting organizations are CCISCO, Pacific Institute, and Richmond Office of Neighborhood Safety.



INVEST IN PEOPLE, NOT PRISONS

“Mass incarceration on a scale almost unexampled in human history is a fundamental fact of our country today—perhaps the fundamental fact, as slavery was the fundamental fact of 1850. In truth, there are more black men in the grip of the criminal-justice system—in prison, on probation, or on parole—than were in slavery then. Over all, there are now more people under “correctional supervision” in America—more than six million—than were in the Gulag Archipelago under Stalin at its height.” Adam Gopnik, “The Caging of America,” The New Yorker, January 30, 2012



WHAT IS AT STAKE?

Mass incarceration presents one of the great threats to the future of American democracy and shared prosperity. At the same time, this crisis presents a tremendous opportunity to build strategic alliances that can help to transform our region, state and country. Today, more than half of California's counties are investing funding they received from the state to build or expand their local jails. Contra Costa County is the first county in the state of California to defeat a proposed jail expansion and has invested in an ambitious strategy to build pathways to self-sufficiency and lifelong liberty that shuts the revolving door to prison. We believe that there are a set of learnings from the organizing and movement-building experience in Contra Costa County that can help to inform a powerful movement to dismantle mass incarceration and expand freedom and opportunity to the most marginalized communities in California. It is critical to understand that the current conditions are not natural, rational, inevitable or sustainable. They can only be resolved by a sustained confrontation and dialogue about our values and commitment to live in a multiracial and equitable democracy. This is not a technical challenge about planning and policy, but rather a more fundamental confrontation with the essential questions of racial equity, control, and power in California.



““The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor.” Luke 4:18-19

In this statement of the meaning and purpose of his public ministry, Jesus declares that he would invest his resources in people, not prisons, and he called this good news for the poor. Telling us that you would like to create more jail cells for our mothers, fathers, daughters and sons is not good news for the people of Contra Costa County. This is because a society that invests its scarce resources in jails has to also commit to filling those jails and keeping them filled. Incarceration then be-

comes an obligation and recidivism an expectation. This way of solving the criminal justice problems in our state has failed. That is why we are here today, and is not good news for the poor.

On the other hand, a society that invests in bail reform, human services, housing, and jobs for ex-offenders makes community based solutions an obligation, and safe return and reintegration an expectation. This is good news for the people of Contra Costa County. In committing our souls and resources to investing in people, not prisons we are following the leading of the Lord, and fulfilling the gospel mandate to make lifting the lives of the least of these our highest priority.”

- Rev. Kamal Hassan



KEY LEARNINGS

- Invest in the capacity and leadership of returning residents to transform the public narrative around incarceration and criminal justice;
- Build real multi-racial alliances that link communities of color around a shared agenda of dismantling mass incarceration and mass deportations;
- Engage a powerful prophetic moral voice and constituency through engaging clergy and religious congregations;
- Forge alliances with progressive leaders within law enforcement to expose the failings of the status quo and acknowledge that we cannot “arrest our way out of the problem”; and
- Align organizing in key regions to shape decision-making at the county-level and capitalize on the opportunity created by realignment in California.



ALL POLITICS ARE LOCAL

Columnist Dan Walters has argued that California is the most “culturally complex society in the Western hemisphere.” Contra Costa County mirrors this complexity and has been one of the fastest growing and rapidly changing counties in California. Over the past ten years, poverty has grown significantly in outer-rim suburban cities, especially areas with limited access to public transit. Contra Costa is the county that is most emblematic of this growing “suburbanization of poverty” in the San Francisco Bay Area. The county is home to many of the emerging pockets of poverty in cities like Antioch, which has the fastest growing rate of poverty among African-Americans in the Bay Area. There is a strong legacy of racism and white supremacy in the region: a mosque was burned down in 2007 and there was a lynching in the early 1990s. Violence and incarceration have created a crisis in the region. Children born in Contra Costa County have historically been more likely to die a violent death before the age of 25 than in any other county in Northern California, despite being home to some of the most affluent communities in America. Concentrated poverty and racial isolation has fueled low educational attainment, chronic unemployment, and high levels of violence and incarceration in Latino and African-American communities.

REALIGNMENT & CLOSING THE REVOLVING DOOR TO PRISON

After decades of expanding mass incarceration, California has reached a potential turning point where it literally cannot afford to sustain the status quo of the criminal justice system. Multiple factors lead the state to ‘Realignment’, including decades of grassroots organizing and advocacy, a fiscal crisis with prison spending coming with more and more severe tradeoffs, and an order from the Supreme Court to reduce inhumane overcrowding at state prisons. Realignment shifts authority and responsibility for people with non-serious, non-severe, non-sexual convictions to county agencies – probation, sheriff, and courts. However, realignment legislation does not say exactly how the counties should handle this responsibility – whether they should just build more jails or use alternatives. The state leaves it to each of the 58 counties to decide how to implement realignment, and directs each county to create a seven member Executive Committee to develop plans and budgets to be adopted by the board of Supervisors. In short, realignment did not fix the broken criminal justice system, but it acknowledged the system being broken and shifted power to counties to shape the future justice system. By shifting decision-making power to the county level, it has also created a significant opening to advance a substantive agenda for reform that would dramatically reduce the prison population; dramatically lower recidivism rates; and create meaningful alternatives to incarceration. Taking advantage of this opening does require an investment in strategic capacity to contend for power at a county level in a meaningful way.

BUILDING A PUBLIC NARRATIVE OF REDEMPTION AND HEALING

In organizing, we believe that all evil and injustice are the result of people believing in lies. The “big lies” that sustain mass incarceration are that people of color are inherently violent and lazy; that formerly in-

carcerated people are incapable of changing; and that there is simply not enough to provide opportunity for everyone. The dominant narrative about people of color and incarceration has been powerfully ingrained in our individual and collective consciousness. If we are serious about building strategic capacity to transform this system, it is imperative to invest in the leadership and capacity of formerly incarcerated people to lead this movement and tell their own stories of struggle and redemption.

In 2010, CCISCO partnered with the Pacific Institute and Richmond’s Office of Neighborhood Safety to launch the Safe Return Project with an initial investment by The California Endowment. The Safe Return Project was created to build capacity of formerly incarcerated Richmond residents to research, advocate and organize to transform conditions for residents returning home from incarceration. Over the past two years, Safe Return Project members have received hundreds of hours of training in personal development, leadership, participatory research, policy analysis, advocacy, and organizing. They have conducted over 500 relational meetings to build a common narrative about the challenges of mass incarceration. They developed the first ever participant-led research into the existing conditions for people coming home from incarceration and have advanced a set of policies designed to save lives, build opportunity and stop the revolving door to prison.

The most critical dimension of their work has been to build a new public narrative about the real experiences of people who have been incarcerated. They have helped to humanize the real challenges faced by people returning home from incarceration. They have told their stories in front of thousands of residents in the region and generated dozens of media stories that have challenged the “big lies” about the incarcerated.



“Once I made that mistake it seemed like everything constructive I have done and all the potential I had didn’t matter,” Clarence told the diverse crowd of public officials, clergy and community members. “Now I’m seen as a felon and an outcast to society, but I am more than that. I am a son, I am a big brother, I’m a college student with a 3.0. I am hopeful and confident that people can change if given the opportunity. Don’t fear me, but embrace me.”

- Clarence Ford, Safe Return Project

Clarence Ford is one of the youngest members of the Safe Return Project. He is a bright and engaging young Black man and he shared his story in front of a packed church sanctuary at a community action on Mother’s Day weekend in 2012. “Once I made that mistake it seemed like everything constructive I have done and all the potential I had didn’t matter,” Clarence told the diverse crowd of public officials, clergy and community members. “Now I’m seen as a felon and an outcast to society, but I am more than that. I am a son, I am a big brother, I’m a college student with a 3.0. I am hopeful and confident that people can change if given the opportunity. Don’t fear me, but embrace me.”

Clarence and the members of the Safe Return Project have been essential to the transformation of Contra Costa County. Their courage and example have helped to fundamentally shift the perception of formerly incarcerated people in this debate. Throughout the campaign, public officials have referenced the power of their stories and the quality of their research and preparation. Law enforcement officials who sit on the executive committee Community Corrections Partnership who swore a year ago that they would never sit across the table from formerly incarcerated residents now exchange business cards after meetings. After a contentious meeting where hundreds of community members compelled the Community Corrections Partnership to delay a vote to fund the proposed jail expansion (which would ultimately be taken off the



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table), Chief Probation Officer Phil Kader closed the public comment section by sharing, “I want to say how deeply moved and impressed I have been with the testimonies of formerly incarcerated people at this meeting.”

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TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF SHARED OPPRESSION & LIBERATION

A critical dimension of the struggle in Contra Costa County was forging a linkage between mass incarceration and mass deportations. This was instrumental in building enough collective power to contend for serious change at a county level. It was vital in building a strong sense of shared oppression and solidarity between immigrant and African-American communities. Three of the major population centers in Contra Costa County (Richmond, Antioch, Pittsburg) are primarily African-American and Latino. There have been historic tensions that divide the two dominant racial groups and have prevented efforts to build effective alliances.

Contra Costa County has been plagued by a series of federal immigration raids beginning in 2007 and culminating in the present with high-level cooperation

by Sheriff David Livingston with the “Secure Communities” program and a multi-million dollar contract to detain immigrants on ICE holds in the region. It also has the highest rate of “non-criminal” deportations in Northern California with over 70% of deportations in Contra Costa involving people without criminal charges. Nearly 400,000 immigrants are detained (largely in private detention centers) across the country and Latinos now make up the largest population (over 51%) in federal prison. CCISCO has had a long history of organizing around immigrant rights and we began an intentional process to help our immigrant leaders understand the linkage between their fears about deportation under Secure Communities and the broader injustice of mass incarceration.

At CCISCO, we have made a deep commitment to building capacity and leadership within both the African-American and immigrant communities. A critical turning point came in January of 2012 at a strategic planning retreat when Rev. Dr. Alvin Bernstine challenged a diverse group of forty leaders and said, “When are we going to stop pretending that we all get along? When are we going to really say what we are feeling?” That sparked a commitment to engage in a much deeper dialogue about racial identity and what Rabbi Michael Lerner describes as “surplus powerlessness.” CCISCO leaders engaged in a series of dialogues and trainings about multi-racial alliance building and began to confront their own internalized racism and made commitments about building more authentic relationships based on a commitment to interdependence and solidarity.

Andres Abarra of the Safe Return Project and Andres Velasco of St. Paul’s Catholic Church forged a special bond during these trainings. They made a commitment to help model this commitment to shared oppression and liberation and gave a shared testimony in English and Spanish at the “Alive, Free and United”

action in May of 2012. “Me and Andres we share a name and we share a common destiny,” they shared. “When my brother Andres is hurt I suffer, when my brother Andres loses his freedom and is separated from his family I suffer. When my brother Andres finds opportunity and work I rejoice. This is how we need to live, there are too many who would try to divide us with fear, but our faith, our hope and our love are stronger than that.”

It is critical to understand that in the final analysis, the crisis of mass incarceration and mass deportations is not about immigration or criminal justice policy. It is about race and power in our society and the intense racial anxiety about the tremendous demographic transformation in our society. We need to make serious investments in building capacity to forge authentic multi-racial alliances if we want to be successful in advancing this agenda.

LIBERTY TO THE CAPTIVES: BUILDING A PROPHETIC VOICE FOR REDEMPTION

Faith leaders and religious congregations play a key role in helping to build a powerful constituency to advance this agenda. People of faith have a moral mandate to really engage with people behind bars. It is a mandate embedded in all of the sacred texts of most world religions. Congregations also play a key role as a refuge for formerly incarcerated people and people of color. They are a natural and necessary constituency for the battle to dismantle mass incarceration.

CCISCO faith leaders played a vital role in providing moral and strategic leadership throughout the campaign. Nearly 80 clergy signed onto a “Prophetic Statement to End Mass Incarcerations and Mass Deportations” at the launch of our campaign and dozens of faith leaders helped to lead a prayer vigil with over 120 people as a delegation negotiated with Sheriff Livingston around our shared demands that he stop the



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proposed jail expansion; join the Ceasefire-Lifelines to Healing movement in Richmond; and stop honoring ICE holds. Although he refused to negotiate with any of our demands, we discovered that he was a devout Catholic and was clearly moved by the presence of so many clergy and people of faith.

Throughout the campaign, clergy played a powerful symbolic role and would lead busloads of CCISCO and Safe Return Project leaders into each CCP meeting. Clergy and congregations played a critical role as we would load up buses at 7:00am at the congregations that formed the anchor of the organizing. CCISCO clergy projected a powerful image as we would assemble for a press briefing at 7:50am each month and then would march us into the meetings where we would quickly fill the room to overflow capacity.

“In his statement of the meaning and purpose of his public ministry, Jesus declares that he would invest his resources in people, not prisons, and he called this good news for the poor,” Rev. Kamal Hassan, pastor of Sojourner Truth Presbyterian Church and CCISCO leader shared at a CCP meeting during a key moment in the campaign. “A society that invests in bail reform, human services, housing, and jobs for ex-offenders makes community based solutions an obligation, and safe return and reintegration an expectation. This is good news for the people of Contra Costa County. In committing our souls and resources to investing in people, not prisons we are following the leading of the Lord, and fulfilling the gospel mandate to make lifting the lives of the least of these our highest priority.”



ALIVE AND FREE: CEASEFIRE AND BUILDING ALLIANCES WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

There is growing acknowledgement among law enforcement leaders that we cannot “arrest our way” out of the current crisis. High recidivism rates have only served to jeopardize public safety and a growing body of evidence shows that longer sentences have no real public benefit. In Richmond, the epidemic of gun violence has given birth to the “Ceasefire-Lifelines to Healing” movement which is part of a national movement to reduce gun violence by building broad collaborations between clergy, community, service provider and law enforcement leaders to communicate with those most impacted by gun violence and provide a message of accountability and opportunity. “We love you, we want you to be alive and free, but the violence has to stop,” is the core message of Ceasefire in Richmond.

CCISCO and the Safe Return Project have been key partners in the Ceasefire-Lifelines movement in Richmond. Every week, CCISCO and Safe Return Project leaders walk the most dangerous neighborhoods in Richmond to bring the Ceasefire message. Every week, CCISCO and Safe Return Project leaders sit across the table from law enforcement partners to build strategies to engage those at the “spears tip” of gun violence through a series of



face-to-face meetings known as “call-ins.” Richmond is the first city in the country to create a formal role for formerly incarcerated residents at the working group, which is the committee responsible for the implementation of the Ceasefire strategy. This has resulted in newfound trust and respect between local law enforcement leaders and formerly incarcerated residents. This collaboration has helped to contribute to a nearly 60% decrease in homicides and injury shootings in Richmond over the past nine months. It has also resulted in a key strategic alliance with Richmond Police Chief Chris Magnus who became a pivotal figure in the transformation of the criminal justice system in Contra Costa County. It is critical to invest in building strategic partnerships with progressive law enforcement leaders that allows us to shatter the false consensus around mass incarceration.

CRISIS AS OPPORTUNITY: THE “INVEST IN PEOPLE, NOT PRISONS” CAMPAIGN

The “Invest in People, Not Prisons” movement was born in June 2012 when Sheriff David Livingston announced that he was requesting AB109 funds to build 150 new beds at the West County Detention Center. Frustration within the community had already been mounting as efforts to engage the Sheriff around supporting the Ceasefire-Lifelines strategy (the Sheriff was the only law enforcement leader in the county who did not send any representatives to the regular working group meetings); stopping honoring ICE holds (Contra Costa had the highest rate of “non-criminal” deportations in Northern California); and supporting re-entry services (the CCP had not funded any community-based re-entry services during the first round of AB109 funding). A few months earlier, the ACLU released a report that described how 80% of county jail inmates were not sentenced. The proposed jail expansion quickly galvanized a broad cross-section of the community around a shared set of demands to reduce the jail population by investing in bail reform; alternatives to incarceration; and releasing non-violent immigrants who were being held on ICE holds.

Over the next six months, CCISCO and Safe Return Project leaders built a series of alliances with congregations and organizations across the region including the League of Women Voters and an assortment of service providers, progressive allies, and immigrant rights organizations. We mobilized hundreds of clergy and community leaders from across the region to dominate the public discussion at the monthly CCP meetings and

forced a series of public confrontations which demonstrated broad opposition to the proposed jail expansion. Every week, there were different actions to advance our narrative and demands and align with new allies. In the third month of the campaign, Richmond Police Chief Chris Magnus made headlines when he publicly announced his opposition to the jail and a series of heated disagreements were published in the local papers. Efforts by the Sheriff to remove Chief Magnus from the CCP were met with fierce public resistance and roundly criticized in the editorial pages. As the campaign grew stronger and stronger, Sheriff David Livingston voluntarily withdrew the jail expansion proposal to sustained public applause.

Earlier advocacy of Safe Return and allies had lead the CCP to create a Community Advisory Board, a body of twelve members including formerly incarcerated residents, service providers, and other local leaders. This body, along with an Ad-hoc committee created by the CCP to develop an Operational Plan for realignment implementation, were key venues for Safe Return and CCISCO leaders to build broad consensus around policy and budget priorities. We worked closely with Community Advisory Board members with technical support from Pacific Institute to formulate a series of budget proposals that reflected the priorities of bail reform; pre-release services; funding an integrated system of “first stop welcoming centers”; transitional housing and transitional employment.



“I am a leader with CCISCO and the Safe Return Project and am formerly incarcerated and right now they are packing up my belongings at the Brookside Shelter,” shared Lawrence Jackson at the beginning of public comment. “I had to ask special permission to come to this meeting. I am real human being and these are real issues. We need to invest in housing and jobs so that I can rebuild my life.”

Before the CCP voted on the \$5.2 million proposal for community priorities, a series of speakers echoed the message Rev. Dr. Alvin Bernstine, one of the architects and key faith leaders of the movement, shared during the public comment: “We are asking you to bet on people, this is about investing in people, investing in redemption and hope.”

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With the passage of their 2012/13 budget, the CCP allocated \$5.2 million (25% of the total funding) toward community-based alternatives to incarceration, including transitional housing, first-stop reentry centers, bail reform, and \$2 million toward transitional employment. “Self-sufficiency” and “lifelong liberty” have become the outcomes-driven mantra of the “Invest in People, Not Prisons” movement.



OUR IMPACT

“This has been an extraordinary meeting, and I hope everyone realizes what a tribute to democracy this whole process has been,” she stated as she appeared to hold back tears. “I am in awe of you guys, I’m in awe of this community and the testimony you’ve given. And the fact that it is really coming together with such promise for developing a whole new system. The whole promise of AB109 is not to replicate the failed system of the state level, but to build a new system that will break the cycle of crime and poverty and violence and put people on another track.”

At the meeting in September where Sheriff Livingston withdrew the proposed jail expansion, Senator Loni Hancock provided the closing remarks. “This has been an extraordinary meeting, and I hope everyone realizes what a tribute to democracy this whole process has been,” she stated as she appeared to hold back tears. “I am in awe of you guys, I’m in awe of this community and the testimony you’ve given. And the fact that it is really coming together with such promise for developing a whole new system. The whole promise of AB109 is not to replicate the failed system of the state level, but to build a new system that will break the cycle of crime and poverty and violence and put people on another track. Everybody talks about it almost nobody has done it successfully, and it sounds to me like Contra Costa is on the road to doing it successfully. You will make history if you do that, you will be a model for other places that are struggling with these tough issues. Just thank you, every single one of you for what you’ve done here.”

As a result of this strategic campaign, we have a series of key victories in transforming realignment in Contra Costa County, including:

- Establishment of “Community Advisory Board” with formal representation for formerly incarcerated residents and voting power on sub-committees;
- Defeat of proposed jail expansion;
- Passage and development of local and county detainer policies to prevent incarceration and deportation of immigrants;
- Approval of support for transitional and subsidized employment as alternative to incarceration;
- Development of “operational plan” which prioritizes “self-sufficiency” and “long-term liberty” and builds out framework for reducing jail population through bail reform; pre-release services; creating county-wide integrated system of care through “first-stop welcoming centers”; and investments in transitional housing and employment; and
- Allocation of \$5.2 million in creating “first stop welcoming centers”; transitional housing and \$2 million for transitional employment.

We believe that our work highlights the opportunity for other counties to seize the opportunity to shape realignment in California and set a course to dismantle mass incarceration in the coming years.

BUILDING A NEW ELECTORATE: SHARED PROSPERITY, OPPORTUNITY AND REDEMPTION

There is broad and growing public consensus about the need to invest in alternatives to incarceration and stop the revolving door to prison,

and awareness that this is a critical approach to preserve public safety. In a recent public opinion poll conducted Tulchin and Associates, 80% of likely California voters responded that they support deep investment in alternatives to incarceration.

The California electorate confirmed this consensus on November 6, 2012 when nearly 70% of Californians voted to reform the “Three Strikes” legislation. At CCISCO and with our brothers and sisters in PICO California and the Reclaim California’s Future coalition, we helped to move 1.6 million voters to support the passage of Proposition 30 which will guarantee ongoing funding for public education and realignment. Contra Costa County had the third-highest rate of support for Proposition 30 and fourth-highest voter turnout rate in the state this past November and CCISCO organized the largest volunteer-led civic engagement effort in the county and reached out to over 116,000 voters in Contra Costa. Through the “Invest in People, Not Prisons” campaign and the six months of the public participation in the budget deliberations at the CCP meetings, citizens in Contra Costa County are part of the growing chorus across the state calling for investments in alternatives to incarceration and the fundamental recognition that we cannot replicate the past failures of state criminal justice policy.

MOVING FORWARD: SIX STEPS TO BUILDING A MOVEMENT TO END MASS INCARCERATION IN CALIFORNIA

We are committed to supporting a bold statewide strategy to build on our momentum to spark a movement to transform the state.



We think that there are six simple steps that can help to catalyze a movement to end mass incarceration in California:

1. Invest in five high-profile county strategies in the Central Valley & Southern California.
2. Forge strong linkage with the immigrant rights movement and link to dismantling “Secure Communities” program and passage of the TRUST Act.
3. Build cohort of progressive law enforcement allies and utilize Ceasefire-Lifelines to Healing framework.
4. Launch “freedom to work” campaigns around the state to pass local and statewide “ban the box” policies (with “Would California Hire Moses?” revivals and Dimas Journey dialogues based on successful Ohio Prophetic Voices campaign).
5. Build momentum to reform realignment to solidify community and returning resident voice.
6. Lay the groundwork to launch sentencing reform campaign.

If we invest in the power and strategic capacity of those most impacted by mass incarceration, we know that we can contend for power at a county level to fulfill the promise of realignment and build pathways to healing and redemption across California.



SELECTED MEDIA COVERAGE

Invest in People, Not Prisons - Scoop.it Summary of Media Coverage -

<http://www.scoop.it/t/invest-in-people-not-prisons>

http://www.contracostatimes.com/ci_22148560/contra-costa-breaks-felon-realignment-funding-logjam?IADID=Search-www.contracostatimes.com-www.contracostatimes.com

<http://richmondconfidential.org/2012/10/30/formerly-incarcerated-men-encourage-others-to-vote/>

http://richmondconfidential.org/2012/10/19/safe_return/

<https://soundcloud.com/kpfa-fm-94-1-berkeley/sheriff-withdraws-jail>

<http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/johnson/article/Busloads-protest-plan-to-expand-jail-3845883.php#photo-3417222>

<https://richmondconfidential.org/2012/09/07/contra-costa-tables-controversial-jail-expansion/>

Contra Costa Times editorial: Leave power politics out of jail debate - San Jose Mercury News

http://www.contracostatimes.com/news/ci_21265101/your-turn-criminal-justice-system-is-at-crossroads