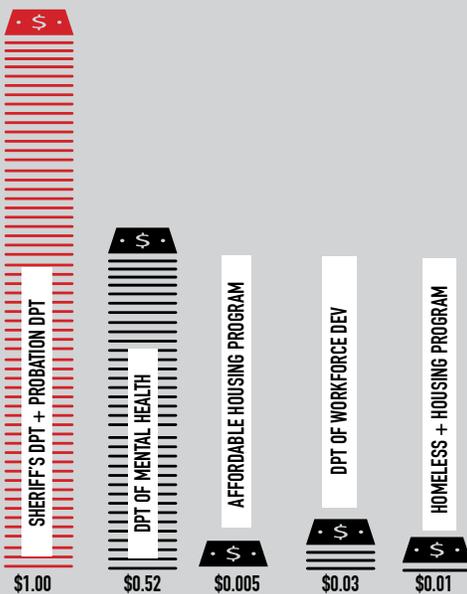


# RECLAIM, REIMAGINE AND REINVEST

## AN ANALYSIS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY'S CRIMINALIZATION BUDGET

### THE L.A. COUNTY BUDGET: DOLLARS TO CENTS



SOURCE: RECOMMENDED LA COUNTY BUDGET, 2017-2018 ▼

- For every dollar allocated to the combined Sheriff's Department and Probation Department budgets, the Affordable Housing Program, which provides funding for the development and preservation of affordable housing, receives less than one cent.
- The Department of Mental Health receives 52 cents for every dollar allocated to the combined Sheriff's Department and Probation Department budgets, the Homeless and Housing Program receives one cent and the Department of Workforce Development, Aging and Community Services receives three cents.

For too long, Los Angeles County ("the County") has viewed public safety exclusively through a policing and incarceration lens and poured billions of limited public resources into failing solutions. Over the past 20 years, the County has dramatically increased the budgets of its Sheriff's Department and Probation Department. These decisions were made despite evidence that policing and incarceration do not significantly impact crime rates<sup>1</sup> and a mandate from the majority of Californians to decrease reliance on incarceration and punitive responses to public health and safety issues.<sup>2</sup>

The County has not adequately invested in the community-based infrastructure that is required to holistically address the root causes and symptoms of crime and violence. Instead of sufficiently funding youth and community development, creating employment opportunities, addressing homelessness, treating mental health issues, or providing treatment for drug dependency, the County continues to flood resources to the Sheriff's Department

and Probation Department, which have long histories of abuse, ongoing issues of brutality and a lack of transparency and accountability.<sup>3</sup>

Today, in addition to the billions of dollars the County spends on the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department annually, the County plans to dedicate at least an additional \$2.3 billion to the construction of two entirely new jails.<sup>4</sup> Strikingly, \$2.3 billion is seen as a conservative estimate of the total cost.<sup>5</sup> With the repayment of bonds, expenditures could total \$3.5 billion or more.<sup>6</sup> In 2013, the County contracted with a private firm to develop a comprehensive jail expansion plan. Yet the County continues to proceed with its jail expansion plan without reassessing need, ignoring recent shifts by the state to move away from carceral solutions and towards justice reinvestment.<sup>7</sup>

This budget brief details the historical, current, and proposed investments in criminalization and incarceration by L.A. County. It then highlights alternative investments in community-based public safety solutions that would provide sustainable development for residents, while simultaneously addressing the root causes of health and safety inequities in the County.

## What keeps us safe?

Jails are not the solution to addressing communities' health and economic challenges.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, they make them worse. Studies show that jails are not conducive to providing appropriate mental health treatment.<sup>9</sup> Spending time in jail exacerbates mental illness,<sup>10</sup> fails to reduce dependency on drugs,<sup>11</sup> and results in long-term financial instability.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, no conclusive findings exist that demonstrate increased incarceration has a meaningful impact on reducing crime.<sup>13</sup> Instead, study after study shows that a living wage, access to holistic health services and treatment, educational opportunity, and stable housing are far more successful in reducing crime than police or prisons.<sup>14</sup>

## Budget Breakdown

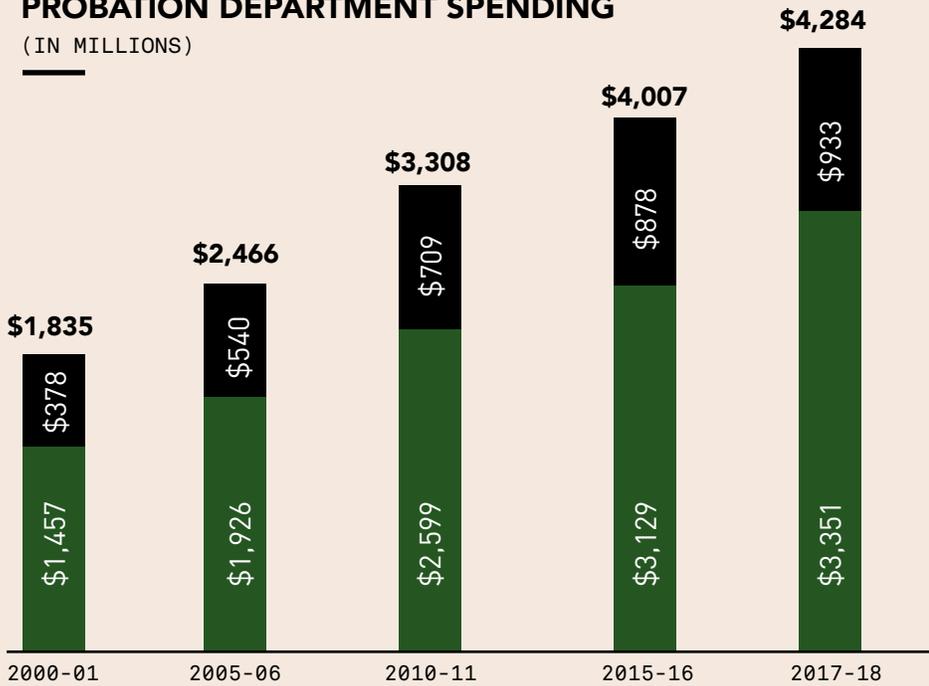
Despite the evidence that incarceration does not actually keep communities safe, L.A. County allocates a large proportion of

its annual budget to the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department (\$4.28 billion, or 14.3 percent of total expenditures, in the 2017-2018 recommended budget), while underfunding many of the critical resources needed to keep communities truly safe. For example, the Department of Mental Health was allocated \$2.2 billion in the 2017-2018 recommended budget—or 52 cents for every dollar spent on the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department. Since 2000, the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department budgets have grown by a combined \$2.4 billion, and budgeted positions for these departments have increased by nearly 5,800 positions.

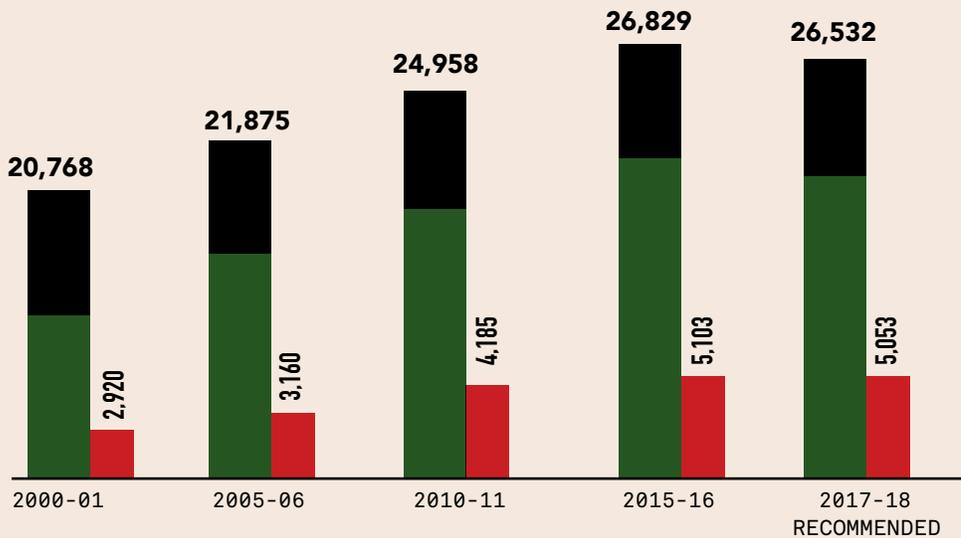
The California Budget and Policy Center reports that in fiscal year 2015-2016, the County dedicated more than 15.6 percent of its budget to incarceration and responses to crime, which are defined as adult and juvenile detention, jail facilities, district attorney prosecution, probation, public defenders, certain trial court activities, grand juries, juvenile wards of the court, and related capital outlay.<sup>15</sup>

## SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT AND PROBATION DEPARTMENT SPENDING

(IN MILLIONS)



## BUDGETED POSITIONS: SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT AND PROBATION DEPARTMENT -VS- MENTAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT



### 2017-2018 Recommended Budget

**Sheriff's Dept + Probation Dept:** \$4.28 billion  
**Department of Mental Health:** \$2.22 billion  
**Affordable Housing Program:** \$20.4 million  
**Homeless and Housing Programs:** \$60.2 million  
**Department of Workforce Development, Aging, and Community Service:** \$109.8 million

SOURCE: L.A. COUNTY BUDGET DOCUMENTS, 2000-2001 TO 2017-2018

- Since 2000, combined allocations to the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department have increased by \$2.4 billion. Sheriff's Department allocations have increased by \$1.9 billion and Probation Department allocations have increased by \$555 million.

- Since 2000, combined allocations to the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department have increased as a proportion of the total budget, from 11.8 percent in 2000-2011, to 14.3 percent in the 2017-2018 recommended budget.

- Since 2000, combined allocations to the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department increased by 133 percent, while the total budget grew by 93 percent.

■ SHERIFF  
 ■ PROBATION

SOURCE: L.A. COUNTY BUDGET DOCUMENTS, 2000-2001 TO 2017-2018

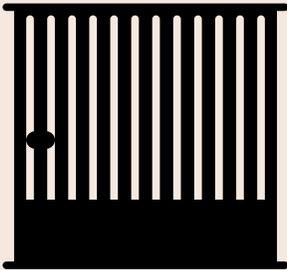
- Since 2000, the combined Sheriff's and Probation Departments' budgeted positions increased by 5,764. The Department of Mental Health's budgeted positions increased by 2,133.

- In the recommended 2017-2018 budget, the Sheriff's and Probation Departments have more than five times the number of budgeted positions than the Department of Mental Health.<sup>16</sup>

■ SHERIFF  
 ■ PROBATION  
 ■ MENTAL HEALTH

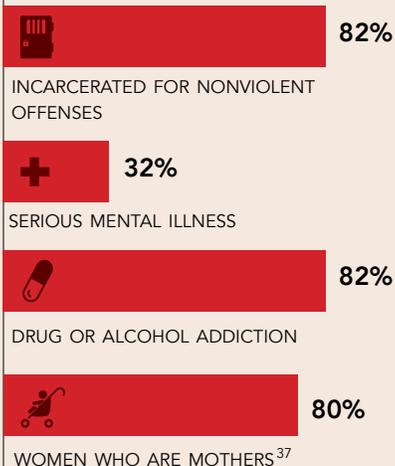
# \$3.5B

## THE COST OF CONSTRUCTING TWO NEW JAILS



The County plans to build a **1,600-bed women's facility** in Lancaster as part of the jail expansion plan.<sup>21</sup>

### Snapshot: Incarcerated Women (Nationally)



In addition to the billions of dollars the County spends on the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department every year, it now plans to dedicate an additional \$2.3 billion to the construction of two new jails.<sup>17</sup> This is a conservative estimate of the total cost, which could be as much as \$3.5 billion with the repayment of bonds,<sup>18</sup> and would also require an estimated \$400 million annually in operational costs.<sup>19</sup> In the 2017-18 recommended budget, the Sheriff's Department was appropriated \$271.6 million through the capital projects general fund budget. This was an increase from the previous year, reflecting funding for the new jail construction project.<sup>20</sup>

### How did we get here?

Throughout the last few decades, California has added thousands of new criminal laws that drive resources towards criminalization and incarceration.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, L.A. County has recently channeled hundreds of millions of state AB109 realignment<sup>23</sup> dollars back to the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department, instead of directing them into communities as deliberately contemplated by advocates and elected officials.<sup>24</sup> However, no conclusive research has indicated that either increased policing or incarceration has a meaningful impact on crime reduction efforts.<sup>25</sup> In fact, research

has shown that incarceration has zero impact on crime.<sup>26</sup>

Jurisdictions within L.A. County have experienced varied and diverging crime trends since 2010.<sup>27</sup> However, one countywide constant is the steadily increasing Sheriff's Department and Probation Department budgets and the underinvestment in community resources. This reality is compounded by the aggressive enforcement of criminal statutes by police and prosecutors, many of which simply criminalize poverty and mental health issues.<sup>28</sup> As a result, L.A. County jails are filled with people who are often desperately in need of care--and certainly not cages.

A majority of people in L.A. County jails have mental health issues, drug dependencies, or are criminalized because of their economic circumstances.<sup>29</sup> For example:

- The majority of L.A. County's incarcerated population is there for nonviolent offenses (about 63 percent of the incarcerated population). These offenses are often a result of efforts to survive without resources, a home, or community support services.
- Twenty-five percent of the total population incarcerated in L.A. County jails have mental health needs,<sup>30</sup> which are only exacerbated by jail. Nearly 44 percent of people in L.A. County jails diagnosed with a "serious mental health illness" are Black.<sup>31</sup>
- In Los Angeles (the largest city in L.A. County) arrests of homeless people have increased at a faster rate than the growth of the Los Angeles homeless population (21 percent versus 37 percent from 2011 to 2016).<sup>32</sup> Today, one in every three homeless people have been arrested--17 times the arrest rate among the total city population.<sup>33</sup>

● Estimates show that up to ten percent of the 8,000 to 10,000 people released from L.A. County jails each month end up homeless and living on the streets.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, those with mental health issues and drug dependency who are processed through the L.A. County jail system are also likely to find themselves re-arrested and re-incarcerated.<sup>35</sup>

Instead of investing in police and jails, the County should be investing in resources like housing, drug treatment, and mental health supports--public safety investments that will truly enable communities to thrive.<sup>36</sup>

## Snapshot: Our Young People (L.A. County)



cost per year to incarcerate **ONE** young person in a County 'Probation Camp'<sup>39</sup>

**\$247,236**

THE SAME AS



Full year tuition at Cal State for **50** students



cost per year to incarcerate **ONE** young person in a County Juvenile Hall

**\$281,327**

THE SAME AS



**FIVE** full-time Mental Health Counselors in schools<sup>38</sup>

## Learning From Other Localities

L.A. County can learn from other jurisdictions that are making smarter investment choices and seeing results that are more humane, effective, and cost-efficient.

**The 1811 Eastlake Project** in Seattle, Washington provides housing, mental health, and drug abuse and alcohol dependency treatment for men and women with chronic alcohol addiction who are experiencing homelessness.<sup>40</sup>

**Costs:** Operating costs were \$1.1 million while saving the city \$4 million by cutting residents medical expenses, county jail bookings, sobering center usage, and shelter usage. Annual average costs per person while homeless, the year before moving in, were \$86,062. By comparison, it costs \$13,440 per person per year to administer the housing program.<sup>41</sup>

**Impact:** Residents have access to: state-licensed mental health and substance use disorder treatment; onsite health care services; daily meals and weekly outings to food banks; case management and payee services; medication monitoring; and weekly community-building activities. Presently, this project serves 75 men and women who are experiencing chronic alcoholism.<sup>42</sup>

**The Cook County Community Triage Center** in Illinois helps to stabilize people experiencing an acute mental crisis and provides an alternative to incarceration. People can walk-in or the police can drop off people.<sup>43</sup>

**Cost:** The program was started with \$3 million from Cook County Health and Hospitals along with some federal and community grants.<sup>44</sup>

**Impact:** It is estimated that about 20 percent of the people in Cook County Jails have a mental disorder. The Community Triage Center gives people who are having a mental crisis somewhere to go apart from jail. They can either be referred by family or taken and dropped off by the police, which is done at the police officer's discretion.<sup>45</sup>

Before 2000, **Miami-Dade County** had the nation's largest jail population of mentally ill people. But in 2000, they implemented a mental health diversion program that cut back the re-offense rate to 20 percent — 55 points below Los Angeles'. The program in Miami was so successful that the city actually closed a jail.<sup>46</sup>

L.A. County law enforcement officials even took a \$18,000 trip to Miami and saw firsthand its success in diverting mentally ill arrestees into treatment, which was part of the group's "best practices" tour around the nation. L.A. Sheriff's officials met with Miami's top brass and received detailed guidance about the steps required to establish a comprehensive mental health diversion program, but thus far, nothing appears to have come of it.<sup>47</sup>

★ Fully funding the Office of Re-entry and Diversion, which implements criminal justice diversion for those with mental and/or substance use issues and provides re-entry support

★ Expanding youth centers and programs

★ Investing the resources necessary to provide a holistic community mental health infrastructure (which were promised in the 1980s and never delivered)<sup>48</sup>

★ Redirecting 50 percent of the Sheriff's AB109 budget to community-based alternatives

★ Supporting community-based organizations with training on how to access County funds for their services and streamline the process for community-based organizations to acquire County funds

★ Creating mental health alternative custody pilot programs administered through the County Department of Public Health

## Where do we go from here?

**L.A. County** has the strategic opportunity and moral obligation to increase investments that address the root causes of health and safety inequities, while reducing the criminalization budgets of the Sheriff's Department and Probation Department.

These interventions include:

★ Canceling the \$3.5 billion jail expansion plan and redirecting that money towards sustainable public safety and health investments

*The strong public mandate and moral imperative for systemic reform of the criminal justice system in Los Angeles provides an opportunity for lawmakers to address the root causes of crime and violence and stop investing in failing solutions.*

**#JUSTICELANow**

**justicelanow.org**

**#FreedomToThrive**

## About the Authors

**JUSTICELA**

is a partnership of organizations working with directly impacted communities fighting to realize the promise of diversion and re-entry through a justice reinvestment strategy for Los Angeles.



is a national network of community organizations working to create equity, opportunity, and a dynamic democracy through a pro-worker, pro-immigrant, racial and economic justice agenda.



is a network of over 3600 radical lawyers, law students, and legal workers committed to helping build the power of Black communities and organizers.

## Endnotes

1. David Roodman, "The impact of incarceration on crime," Open Philanthropy Project, September 2017, [http://files.openphilanthropy.org/files/Focus\\_Areas-Criminal\\_Justice\\_Reform/The\\_impacts\\_of\\_incarceration\\_on\\_crime\\_10.pdf](http://files.openphilanthropy.org/files/Focus_Areas-Criminal_Justice_Reform/The_impacts_of_incarceration_on_crime_10.pdf); "Rethinking the Blues: How we Police in the U.S. and at What Cost," Justice Policy Institute, May 2012, [http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/rethinkingtheblues\\_final.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/rethinkingtheblues_final.pdf)
2. Voters have approved a series of de-incarceration and supportive services measures including Proposition 47, Proposition 57, Proposition HHH and Proposition H.
3. "County Oversight Probation Commission," County of Los Angeles, Accessed November 2017, <http://ridley-thomas.lacounty.gov/index.php/probation-oversight/>; "Report on the Citizens' Commission on Jail Violence," County of Los Angeles, September 2012, <http://www.lacounty.gov/files/CCJV-Report.pdf>
4. "Los Angeles County Jail Plan: Independent Review and Comprehensive Report," Volume 1, County of Los Angeles, April 21, 2014.
5. "The Jail Plan," JusticeLA, Accessed November 27, 2017, <http://justicelanon.org/jailplan/>
6. *Ibid.*
7. "Vanir LA County jail plan fails to provide alternatives to incarceration," ACLU of Southern California, July 9, 2013, <https://www.aclusocal.org/en/press-releases/vanir-la-county-jail-plan-fails-to-provide-alternatives-to-incarceration> Elizabeth Davies et al, "The Justice Reinvestment Initiative: Thinking Local for State Justice Reinvestment" Urban Institute, March 2015, <https://www.bja.gov/Publications/UI-JRIThinkingLocal.pdf>, 7-8 "Proposition 57, the Public Safety and Rehabilitation Act of 2016," California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, Accessed December 2017, <http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/proposition57/>
8. See, for example: "Exploring the Criminal Justice/Mental Health Intersection Project: Twin Towers Correctional Facility Site Visit Summary, Mental Health Services Oversight & Accountability Commission," Accessed December 2017, <http://mhsoc.ca.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2016-11/Twin%20Towers%20Site%20Visit%20Summary.pdf>; Robert DeFina and Lance Hannon "The Impact of Mass Incarceration on Poverty," Crime & Delinquency, Vol 59, Issue 4, 2013, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0011128708328864>, 562-586
9. See, for example: Jamie Fellner, "A Corrections Quandary: Mental Illness and Prison Rules," Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, 41(2), 2006, [http://www.antonioscasella.eu/archiv/Fellner\\_2006.pdf](http://www.antonioscasella.eu/archiv/Fellner_2006.pdf) 391-412; Phil Hirschhorn and Russ Mitchell, "Mentally Ill Crowd America's Jails," CBS News, January 24, 2011, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mentally-ill-crowd-americas-jails/> Maria Cramer et al, "There may be no worse place for mentally ill people to receive treatment than prison, yet a growing number end up in the 'new asylums,'" *The Boston Globe*, November 25, 2016, [https://apps.bostonglobe.com/spotlight/the-desperate-and-the-dead/series/prisons/?p1=Spotlight\\_ML\\_Story\\_Explore\\_Mental\\_Health\\_and\\_Prisons](https://apps.bostonglobe.com/spotlight/the-desperate-and-the-dead/series/prisons/?p1=Spotlight_ML_Story_Explore_Mental_Health_and_Prisons)," World Health Organization and ICRI, Accessed December 5, 2017, [http://www.who.int/mental\\_health/policy/mh\\_in\\_prison.pdf](http://www.who.int/mental_health/policy/mh_in_prison.pdf)
10. Dahlia Lithwick, "Prisons Have become America's New Asylums," *Slate*, January 5, 2016, [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/jurisprudence/2016/01/prisons\\_have\\_become\\_warehouses\\_for\\_the\\_mentally\\_ill.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/01/prisons_have_become_warehouses_for_the_mentally_ill.html) KiDeuk Kim et al, "The Processing and Treatment of Mentally Ill Persons in the Criminal Justice System: A Scan of Practice and Background Analysis," Urban Institute, April 7, 2015, <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/processing-and-treatment-mentally-ill-persons-criminal-justice-system>
11. See, for example: Doug McVay et al, "Treatment or Incarceration? National and State Findings on the Efficacy and Cost Savings of Drug Treatment Versus Imprisonment," Justice Policy Institute, 2004, [http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/04-01\\_rep\\_mdreatmentorincarceration\\_ac-dp.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/04-01_rep_mdreatmentorincarceration_ac-dp.pdf) Kara Danksy, "Jail Doesn't Help Addicts. Let's Stop Sending the There," ACLU, October 14, 2014, <https://www.aclu.org/blog/mass-incarceration/jail-doesnt-help-addicts-lets-stop-sending-them-there>
12. Robert DeFina and Lance Hannon, "The Impact of Mass Incarceration on Poverty."
13. David Roodman, "The impact of incarceration on crime."
14. See, for example: Juleyka Lantigua-Williams, "Raise the Minimum Wage, Reduce Crime?" *The Atlantic*, May 3, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/raise-the-minimum-wage-reduce-crime/480912/> Ryan S. King, Marc Mauer, and Malcolm C. Young, "Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship," The Sentencing Project, <http://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Incarceration-and-Crime-A-Complex-Relationship.pdf>; Doug McVay, Vincent Schiraldi, and Jason Ziedenberg, "Treatment or Incarceration? National and State Findings on the Efficacy and Cost Savings of Drug Treatment versus Imprisonment," Justice Policy Institute, January 2004, [http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/04-01\\_rep\\_mdreatmentorincarceration\\_ac-dp.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/04-01_rep_mdreatmentorincarceration_ac-dp.pdf); Steven Hawkins, "Education vs. Incarceration," *The American Prospect*, December 6, 2010, <http://prospect.org/article/education-vs-incarceration>; Lance Lochner and Enrico Moretti, "The Effect of Education on Crime: Evidence from Prison Inmates, Arrests, and Self-Reports," October 2003, <http://eml.berkeley.edu/~moretti/lm46.pdf>, 27; "Housing and Public Safety," Justice Policy Institute, November 1, 2007, [http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/07-11\\_rep\\_housingpublicsaftey\\_ac-ps.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/07-11_rep_housingpublicsaftey_ac-ps.pdf), 1.
15. "Los Angeles County: County Spending on Incarceration and Responding to Crime," California Budget and Policy Center, November 2017, [http://calbudgetcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/Fact-Sheet\\_Incarceration-Crime-Spending-2017\\_Los-Angeles.pdf](http://calbudgetcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/Fact-Sheet_Incarceration-Crime-Spending-2017_Los-Angeles.pdf)
16. L.A. County Budget, Recommended FY 17-18, <http://ceo.lacounty.gov/pdf/budget/2017-18/2017-18%20Recommended%20Budget%20Volume%20I.pdf>, 48.1 and 58.1.
16. "Los Angeles County Jail Plan: Independent Review and Comprehensive Report," Volume 1, 1-2.
17. "The Jail Plan," JusticeLA, Accessed November 27, 2017, <http://justicelanon.org/jailplan/>
18. "The L.A. County Jail Plan--Not a Done Deal," Californians United for a Responsible Budget," Accessed December 2017, <https://salsa3.salsalabs.com/o/51040/images/Why%20We%20Keep%20Fighting.pdf>
20. L.A. County Budget, Recommended FY 17-18, <http://ceo.lacounty.gov/pdf/budget/2017-18/2017-18%20Recommended%20Budget%20Volume%20I.pdf>, 10.2.
21. Nina Agrawal, "Black Lives Matter, other activists protest to stop jail expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 2017, <http://beta.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-black-lives-matter-protests-jail-expansion-20170926-story.html>
22. Lenore Anderson, "In California's Experience, It Isn't Bigger Prisons that Crime Victims Want," *Penal Reform Int'l*, August 25, 2015, <http://www.penalreform.org/blog/in-californias-experience-it-isnt-bigger-prisons-that>. Recently, California voters began to acknowledge the problems of overcriminalization with the passage of Proposition 47, a law that changed six low-level offenses (drug possession and five petty theft-related crimes) from potential felonies to misdemeanors. See: "Proposition 47: Frequently Asked Questions," Californians for Safety and Justice, Accessed December 2017, <http://www.safeandjust.org/prop47faq>.
23. AB 109 establishes the California Public Safety Realignment Act of 2011 which allows for current non-violent, non-serious, and non-sex offenders to be supervised at the local County level. See: "What is AB109?" County of Los Angeles Probation Department, Accessed December 2017, [http://probation.lacounty.gov/wps/portal/probation/lut/p/b0/04\\_Sj9CPyKssY0x-PLmMz0vMAfGjz0LDdAwM3P2dgo3cvX2NDBwNHD0d\\_T3DDE3cTfULsh0VAXzj0O8I/](http://probation.lacounty.gov/wps/portal/probation/lut/p/b0/04_Sj9CPyKssY0x-PLmMz0vMAfGjz0LDdAwM3P2dgo3cvX2NDBwNHD0d_T3DDE3cTfULsh0VAXzj0O8I/)
24. In the first three years of realignment, 80 percent of the AB 109 realignment dollars went to the Sheriff's Department. See: "The L.A. County Jail Plan--Not a Done Deal," Californians United for a Responsible Budget."
25. "Rethinking the Blues," Justice Policy Institute, 3
26. Ryan S. King, Marc Mauer, and Malcolm C. Young, "Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship," The Sentencing Project, <http://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Incarceration-and-Crime-A-Complex-Relationship.pdf>, 8
27. The L.A. County crime rate is comprised of many divergent trends, with some cities showing increases and others decreases. For example, property crime went down in El Monte, Monrovia, and Pasadena, but increased in neighboring Rosemead and South Pasadena. See: Mike Males, "Los Angeles Jurisdictions Show Diverging Crime Trends During Justice Reform Era, 2010-2016," Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice, December 2017, [http://www.cjcr.org/uploads/cjcr/documents/la\\_county\\_jurisdictions\\_show\\_diverging\\_trends\\_during\\_justice\\_reform\\_era.pdf](http://www.cjcr.org/uploads/cjcr/documents/la_county_jurisdictions_show_diverging_trends_during_justice_reform_era.pdf), 1.
28. Alice Wang, "The Continuing Criminalization of Homelessness in Los Angeles," Harvard Civil Rights, Civil Liberties Law Review, March 29, 2016, <http://harvardcrcl.org/the-continuing-criminalization-of-homelessness-in-los-angeles/>; "Homes not Handcuffs: The Criminalization of Homelessness in U.S. Cities," The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty and the National Coalition for the Homeless, July 2009, [http://www.nationalhomeless.org/publications/crimreport/crimreport\\_2009.pdf](http://www.nationalhomeless.org/publications/crimreport/crimreport_2009.pdf)
29. Breanna Hare and Lisa Rose, "Pop. 17,049: Welcome to America's largest jail," *CNN*, September 26, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/22/us/lisa-ling-this-is-life-la-county-jail-by-the-numbers/index.html>; James Austin et al, "Evaluation of the Current and Future Los Angeles County Jail Population," The JFA Institute, April 10, 2012, [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/austin\\_report\\_20120410.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/austin_report_20120410.pdf)
30. "Custody Division Year End Review," Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, 2016, [http://www.la-sheriff.org/s2/static\\_content/info/documents/PMB\\_YER2016.pdf](http://www.la-sheriff.org/s2/static_content/info/documents/PMB_YER2016.pdf) 31.
31. "Impact of Disproportionate Incarceration and Violence Against Black People with Mental Health Conditions in the World's Largest Jail System," Dignity and Power Now, 2014, [http://dignityandpowernow.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CERD\\_Report\\_2014.8.pdf](http://dignityandpowernow.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CERD_Report_2014.8.pdf), 3.
32. Danielle Dupuy et al, "Policing the Homeless: Arrests by the LAPD (2011-2016)," <http://milliondollarhoods.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/MDHHouselessReport-3.pdf>
33. *Ibid.*
34. Gale Holland, "To tackle homelessness, look to jails, hospitals, foster homes, group says," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-1022-homeless-discharge-20151023-story.html>
35. Maria Cramer et al, "There may be no worse place for mentally ill people to receive treatment than prison, yet a growing number end up in the 'new asylums.'"
36. See, for example: Juleyka Lantigua-Williams, "Raise the Minimum Wage, Reduce Crime?" *The Atlantic*, Ryan S. King et al, "Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship," Doug McVay et al, "Treatment or Incarceration?"; Steven Hawkins, "Education vs. Incarceration," Lance Lochner and Enrico Moretti, "The Effect of Education on Crime," "Housing and Public Safety," Justice Policy Institute, 1.
37. Rachel Leah, "86 percent of women in jail are sexual violence survivors," *Salon*, November 11, 2017, <https://www.salon.com/2017/11/11/86-percent-of-women-in-jail-are-sexual-violence-survivors/>
38. Youth Justice Coalition data from 2015 Rand Corporation study.
39. In Alameda County, the average cost of placing a young person on probation is \$23,000 per year. Alameda County's restorative justice program has a marginal cost of \$4,500 per year. See: sujatha baliga et al, "Restorative Community Conferencing: A Study of Community Works West's restorative justice youth diversion program in Alameda County," Impact Justice and Community Works, [http://impactjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/CWW-Report\\_Final\\_6.14.17\\_electronic.pdf](http://impactjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/CWW-Report_Final_6.14.17_electronic.pdf), 16.
40. "Downtown Emergency Services Center: 1811 Eastlake," Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2011, <http://www.csh.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/EastlakeWA.pdf>
41. "1811 Eastlake," DESC, <http://www.apainc.org/wp-content/uploads/1811-Guide.pdf>
42. "Housing and health to end homelessness," DESC, Accessed December 1, 2017, <https://www.desc.org/>; "Downtown Emergency Services Center: 1811 Eastlake," Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2011; "1811 Eastlake," DESC.
43. "Cook County Announces Bold Plans to Address Behavioral Health, Cook County Health and Hospital Systems, February 29, 2016, <http://www.cookcountyhhs.org/press-releases/cook-county-announces-bold-plans-to-address-behavioral-health/>
44. *Ibid.*
45. E. Fuller Torrey et al, "The Treatment of Persons with Mental Illness in Prisons and Jails: A State Survey," Cook County Health & Hospitals System, <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1095566/persons-with-mental-illness-in-jails-and-prisons-2.pdf>
46. Chris Walker, "L.A. County jail plan is a \$2 billion blunder that embraces incarceration, not treatment, for mentally ill," *LA Weekly*, August 24, 2018, <http://www.laweekly.com/content/printView/5036044>
47. *Ibid.*
48. Terry Kupers, "Report on Mental Health Issues at Los Angeles County Jail," June 27, 2008, [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/lacountyjail\\_kupersreport.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/lacountyjail_kupersreport.pdf), 3.