Blueprint for Smart Justice Arizona



Blueprint for Smart Justice

Arizona

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Executive Summary

Over the past five decades, the United States has dramatically increased its reliance on the criminal justice system as a way to respond to drug addiction, mental illness, and poverty. As a result, the United States today incarcerates more people, in both absolute numbers and per capita, than any other nation in the world. Millions of lives have been upended and families torn apart. This mass incarceration crisis has transformed American society, has damaged families and communities, and has wasted trillions of taxpayer dollars.

We all want to live in safe and healthy communities, and our criminal justice policies should be focused on the most effective approaches to achieving that goal. But the current system has failed us. It's time for the United States to end its reliance on incarceration, invest instead in alternatives to prison and in approaches better designed to break the cycle of crime and recidivism, and help people rebuild their lives.

The ACLU's Campaign for Smart Justice is committed to transforming our nation's criminal justice system and building a new vision of safety and justice.

The Campaign is dedicated to cutting the nation's incarcerated population in half and combatting racial disparities in the criminal justice system.

To advance these goals, the Campaign partnered with the Urban Institute to conduct a two-year research project to analyze the kind of changes needed to cut by half the number of people in prison in every state and reduce racial disparities in incarceration. In each state and the District of Columbia, we identified primary drivers of incarceration and predicted the impact of reducing prison admissions and length of

stay on state prison populations, state budgets, and the racial disparity of those imprisoned.

The analysis was eye-opening.

In every state, we found that reducing the prison population by itself does little to diminish racial disparities in incarceration — and in some cases would worsen them. This finding confirms that urgent work remains for advocates, policymakers, and communities across the nation to focus on efforts like policing or prosecutorial reform that are specific to combatting these disparities.

Among the key findings in Arizona is that drug-related offenses dominate prison admissions and contribute to a growing prison population. More than half of the people in Arizona prisons were imprisoned for an offense that did not involve violence, with more than one in five imprisoned for a drug-related offense. The state's criminal justice system also creates a disparate impact on communities of color and has the highest rate of Latino imprisonment in the country.

So what's the path forward?

To confront Arizona's unique challenges and reach a 50 percent reduction in incarceration, the state's reform effort should include a fundamental shift in drug policy. Policymakers should eliminate prison admissions for drug possession and establish alternatives to imprisonment for many of the people charged with drug distribution.

In addition, Arizona should try new approaches to how it prevents and responds to violence that are more effective and do more to help crime survivors — for

example, by cutting the average prison sentence for assault in half and creating alternatives to prison, like restorative justice programs that hold people accountable and reduce recidivism. Arizona should also significantly reduce its mandatory "truth in sentencing" scheme, which forces people to remain in prison long after they can be safely released. Finally, since reducing the prison population by itself does little to diminish racial disparities in incarceration, criminal justice reform must include policies that focus specifically on combatting racial disparities.

The answer is ultimately up to Arizona's voters, policymakers, communities, and criminal justice advocates as they move forward with the urgent work of ending Arizona's obsession with mass incarceration.

The State of the Arizona Prison System

Based on the most recently available national data (2016), Arizona has the fourth highest imprisonment rate in the United States, at 589 per 100,000 compared to a national state imprisonment rate of 397 per 100,000. In 2017, 41,964 people were imprisoned in Arizona – more than nine times greater than the state's prison population in 1980.

Between 2000 and 2016, Arizona's per capita imprisonment rate increased by 20 percent.⁵ Due to this increase, the state's prison population rose to 42,902 in 2016, before declining slightly in 2017. During this period, the national state imprisonment rate per capita declined by 7 percent. Without reform, the Arizona Department of Corrections projects that the state's prison population will continue to increase in coming years.⁶

AT A GLANCE

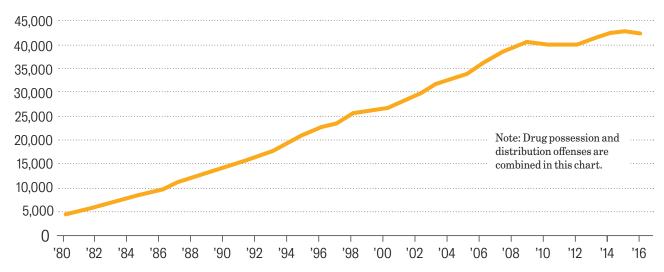
ARIZONA PRISONS

Arizona has the **fourth** highest per-capita imprisonment rate in the country.

41,964 people were imprisoned in Arizona in 2017.

Arizona's per capita imprisonment rate rose **20 percent** between 2000 and 2016.

ARIZONA PRISON POPULATION



What Is Driving People Into Prison?

A litany of offenses drives people into Arizona prisons — with drug possession being the most common, accounting for 20 percent of prison admissions in 2017. In the same year, drug offenses, including possession and distribution, accounted for nearly 1 in 3 admissions into prison. Other common offenses that result in prison admissions include assault (12 percent), burglary (8 percent), and driving under the influence (7 percent).

Drug offenses are a driving force for imprisonment in Arizona. More than 1 in 5 people in Arizona prisons are serving time for a drug-related offense—a number that has increased over time. ¹⁰ In 2017, marijuana-related charges in particular dominated prison admissions. Around 1 in 5 people admitted to prison for drug offenses were imprisoned for drug cases involving marijuana. ¹¹

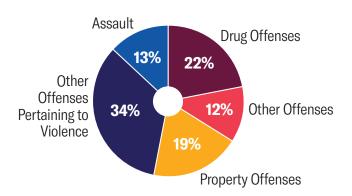
Harsh sentencing laws—like mandatory minimum sentences that require a specific length of sentence regardless of the circumstances, and habitual offender laws, which increase mandatory sentences for people with prior felony offenses—further contribute to the growth of the prison population over time.

The Current Prison and Jail Population

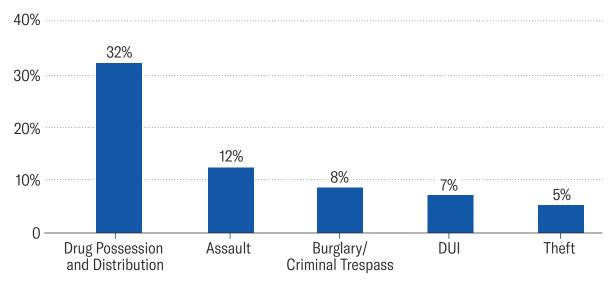
In 2015, Arizona incarcerated an estimated 13,385 people in county jails. Three out of 4 people serving time in county jails were awaiting trial and had not been convicted of a crime. 12

Between 2000 and 2016, the number of people imprisoned in private prisons in Arizona increased nearly sixfold. By 2016, approximately 20 percent of the total prison population in Arizona was imprisoned

ARIZONA PRISON POPULATION BY TOP OFFENSE TYPE (FY 2017)



ARIZONA PRISON ADMISSIONS BY TOP OFFENSE TYPES (FY 2017)



AT A GLANCE

ARIZONA JAIL AND PRISON POPULATION

50 percent of those imprisoned are serving their first prison term with the Arizona Department of Corrections.

75 percent of people in county jails were awaiting trial in 2015.

14 percent of Arizona's prison population is imprisoned for drug distribution offenses.*

The number of people imprisoned in Arizona private prisons grew nearly **sixfold** between 2000 and 2016.

in private facilities. This is more than four times the national state average private imprisonment rate.¹³

In 2017, drug distribution offenses accounted for the largest share — 14 percent — of the total Arizona prison population. ¹⁴ Drug distribution was followed by assault (13 percent), drug possession (9 percent), robbery (9 percent), and burglary (7 percent). Across the board, half of those imprisoned are serving their first prison term with the Arizona Department of Corrections, while 34 percent entered prison with no prior felony history. ¹⁵

Why Do People Stay in Prison for So Long?

Despite a recent decline in prison admissions, the prison population in Arizona has continued to grow. Since 2009, there has been a 9 percent decline in the number of people who are released from prison each year and a 4 percent growth in the prison population. The average individual released from prison in 2017 served more than two years in prison, 31 percent

more time than the average individual released in 2009. ¹⁶

Harsh sentencing laws and the lack of smart release options help explain why people are imprisoned for so long. Arizona's sentencing laws trigger long mandatory minimum sentences for crimes, particularly those relating to drug offenses and drug distribution, which affects a large percentage of incarcerated people. And release options that allow people to earn time against their sentence through participation in reentry programs, like education or treatment, are limited in Arizona.

Who Is Imprisoned

Latino Arizonans: In Arizona, mass incarceration has an enormous impact on people of color, especially Latinos. According to the most recently available national data (2014), Arizona has the highest rate of imprisoned Latinos in the country. To One in 40 adult Latino men in Arizona was in prison as of 2016, accounting for 40 percent of the prison population. Latinos account for 27 percent of the overall state population. Percent of the overall state population.

Black Arizonans: Black people are also disproportionately imprisoned. As of 2016, 1 in 19 black men in Arizona was imprisoned, making up 14 percent of the prison population. Black people constitute only 4 percent of the total state population in Arizona. In 2014, the Black imprisonment rate in Arizona was the sixth highest in the country. ²⁰

Female Arizonans: The female prison population has grown at nearly three times the rate of the male prison population over the past five years, a trend that has necessitated an increase in beds at women's prisons and raised concerns about prison capacity. ²¹ The imprisonment rate for women in Arizona in 2016 (106 per 100,000 residents) was almost twice the national state imprisonment rate for women (57 per 100,000 residents). In 2016, Arizona had the sixth highest imprisonment rate for women of any state. ²²

Older Arizonans: The percentage of incarcerated individuals 55 and older has increased 65 percent in

^{*}Drug distribution includes both sales and trafficking offenses.

AT A GLANCE

DEMOGRAPHICS

Arizona has the **highest** Latino imprisonment rate in the country.

Black men made up **14 percent** of the Arizona prison population in 2016, even though Black people constitute only 4 percent of the total state population.

The percentage of incarcerated individuals older than 55 years rose **65 percent** over the last eight years.

the last eight years. One in 10 is older than 55 years, despite evidence that older individuals pose the lowest risk for criminal behavior.²³

People With Mental Health and Substance Use Disorders

Mental health and substance use disorder issues are prevalent in the Arizona prison population. The state Department of Corrections has found that more than 50 percent of those serving time have mental

health needs, with nearly 30 percent demonstrating a moderate to high mental health need.

More than 90 percent of imprisoned people in Arizona have a demonstrated need for substance abuse education and/or treatment, and 37 percent have demonstrated an intense need for treatment.²⁴

Budget Strains

As Arizona's prison population has increased, so has the cost burden. Since 1985, general fund spending on corrections has grown 241 percent, ²⁵ while spending on higher education has declined. In 2016, Arizona spent more than \$1 billion of its general fund on corrections — accounting for more than 10 percent of the state general fund expenditures. ²⁶

AT A GLANCE

MENTAL HEALTH AND SUBSTANCE USE DISORDERS

56 percent of the Arizona prison population is identified as having mental health needs.

28 percent of the prison population is identified as having moderate to high mental health needs.

91 percent of incarcerated individuals had a demonstrated need for substance abuse education and/or treatment.

Ending Mass Incarceration in Arizona: A Path Forward

There are many potential policy changes that can help Arizona end its mass incarceration crisis, but it will be up to the people and policymakers of Arizona to decide which changes to pursue. To reach a 50 percent reduction, policy reforms will need to reduce the amount of time people serve in prisons and/or reduce the number of people entering prison in the first place.

Reducing Admissions

To end mass incarceration, Arizona must break its overreliance on prisons to hold people accountable for their crimes. In fact, evidence indicates that prisons seldom offer adequate solutions to wrongful behavior. At worst, imprisonment can be counterproductive—failing to end cycles of misbehavior and violence or to provide rehabilitation for incarcerated people or adequate accountability to the survivors of crime. ²⁷ Here are some strategies:

- Sentencing reform: Reduce incarceration by taking prison time off the table for less serious offenses, like drug possession and minor property offenses, by reclassifying them as misdemeanors instead of felonies. For other offenses, the Legislature can reduce admissions by reforming Arizona's harsh mandatory minimum and severe sentencing enhancements, which often take alternatives off the table and require a prison sentence.²⁸
- Alternatives to incarceration: Offer alternative programs that provide substance abuse treatment, mental health care, employment, housing, health care, and

vocational training. Such programs — often with some community service requirement — can significantly cut recidivism rates for participants. For crimes involving violence, restorative justice programs — designed to hold people accountable and support those who were harmed — can be promising. When they are rigorous and well-implemented, these strategies have been shown to reduce recidivism²⁹ and decrease symptoms of posttraumatic stress in crime survivors.³⁰

By embracing these approaches, prosecutors and judges may be able to achieve better results for public safety and better support crime survivors in their healing than imprisonment can deliver. Other successful models include law-enforcement-led programs, which divert people to treatment and support services at the time of arrest and prosecutor-led programs, which divert people before they are charged.

• Judicial discretion: Judges should be given a variety of options at their disposal outside of incarceration that allow for treatment, mental health care, restorative justice, or other evidence-based alternatives to incarceration. These programs should be available to the court in all or most cases, regardless of the severity of the offense or someone's prior criminal history. The court, not the Legislature, should be in a position to decide whether such an option is appropriate in individual cases.

Reducing Time Served

Reducing the amount of time people serve, even by just a few months, can lead to thousands of fewer people in Arizona's prisons. Here's how:

- Sentencing reform: Amend Arizona laws to reduce sentencing ranges, especially for drug offenses, assault, burglary, and robbery. The Legislature could reform the various complex sentencing enhancements that drive up sentencing ranges based on other criminal convictions. Arizona's sentencing enhancement laws, especially those triggered by prior or multiple convictions, are among the harshest in the country.
- Release policy reform: Reforming the state's harsh restrictions on release could reduce the amount of time people spend in prison. Arizona's "truth in sentencing" laws severely limit the amount of time someone can earn against his or her sentence by participating in rehabilitative programs. The Legislature could take steps to significantly expand opportunities for people to reduce their sentences by earning credits through participation in educational, vocational, and other opportunities while in prison. For example, Arizona could provide special release opportunities for older people who have served a portion of their sentence and have reached a certain age.31

Reducing Racial Disparities

Reducing the number of people who are imprisoned in Arizona will not on its own significantly reduce racial disparities in the prison system.

People of color (especially Black, Latino, and Native American people) are at a higher risk of becoming involved in the justice system, including living under heightened police surveillance and being at higher risk for arrest. This imbalance cannot be accounted for by disparate involvement in illegal activity,

"Merely reducing sentence lengths, by itself, does not disturb the basic architecture of the New Jim Crow. So long as large numbers of African Americans continue to be arrested and labeled drug criminals, they will continue to be relegated to a permanent second-class status upon their release, no matter how much (or how little) time they spend behind bars. The system of mass incarceration is based on the prison label, not prison time." 35

- From The New Jim Crow, Michelle Alexander

and it grows at each stage in the justice system, beginning with initial law enforcement contact and increasing at subsequent stages, such as pretrial detention, conviction, sentencing, and postrelease opportunity. ³² Focusing on only one of the factors that drives racial disparity does not address issues across the whole system.

Racial disparity is so ingrained in the system that it cannot be mitigated by solely reducing the scale of mass incarceration. Shrinking the prison population across the board will likely result in lowering imprisonment rates for all racial and ethnic populations, but it will not address comparative disproportionality across populations. For example, focusing on reductions to prison admissions and length of stay in prison is critically important, but those reforms do not address the policies and practices among police, prosecutors, and judges that contribute greatly to the racial disparities that plague the prison system.

New Jersey, for example, is often heralded as one of the most successful examples of reversing mass incarceration, passing justice reforms that led to a 26 percent decline in the state prison population between 1999 and 2012.³³ However, the state did not target racial disparities in incarceration and, in 2016, Black people in New Jersey were still more than 12 times as

likely to be imprisoned as white people — the highest disparity of any state in the nation. 34

Ending mass incarceration is critical to eliminating racial disparities, but insufficient without companion efforts that take aim at other drivers of racial inequities outside of the criminal justice system. Reductions in disparate imprisonment rates require implementing explicit racial justice strategies.

Some examples include:

- Ending overpolicing in communities of color
- Evaluating prosecutors' charging and pleabargaining practices to identify and eliminate bias
- Investing in diversion/alternatives to detention in communities of color
- Reducing the use of pretrial detention and eliminating wealth-based incarceration
- Ending sentencing enhancements based on location (drug-free school zones)
- Reducing exposure to reincarceration due to revocations from supervision

- Requiring racial impact statements before any new criminal law or regulation is passed and requiring legislation to proactively rectify any potential disparities that may result with new laws or rules
- Fighting discriminatory gang sentencing enhancements that disproportionately target people of color
- Addressing any potential racial bias in risk assessment instruments used to assist decision making in the criminal justice system
- Shifting funding from law enforcement and corrections to community organizations, job creation, schools, drug and mental health treatment, and other social service providers

TAKING THE LEAD

Prosecutors: They decide on what charges to bring and which plea deals to offer. They can decide to divert more people to treatment programs (for example, drug or mental health programs) rather than send them to prison. And they can decide to charge enhancements that require the imposition of prison sentences.

State lawmakers: They decide which offenses to criminalize, how long sentences can be, and when to take away judges' discretion. They can change criminal laws to remove prison as an option when better alternatives exist, and they can also fund the creation of new alternatives.

Judges: They often have discretion over pretrial conditions imposed on defendants, which can make a difference. For example, individuals who are jailed while awaiting trial are more likely to plead guilty and accept longer prison sentences than people who are not held in jail pretrial. Judges can also have discretion in sentencing and should consider alternatives to incarceration when possible.

Forecaster Chart

There are many pathways to cutting the prison population in Arizona by 50 percent. To help end mass incarceration, communities and policymakers will need to determine the optimal strategy to do so. This table presents one potential matrix of reductions that can contribute to cutting the state prison population

in half by 2025. The reductions in admissions and length of stay for each offense category were selected based on the potential to reduce the prison population, as well as other factors. To chart your own path to reducing mass incarceration in Arizona, visit the interactive online tool at https://urbn.is/ppf.

CUTTING BY 50%: PROJECTED REFORM IMPACTS ON POPULATION, DISPARITIES, AND BUDGET

Impact Compared to 2025 Baseline*					
Offense category	Policy Outcome	Prison population impact	Impact on racial and ethnic makeup of prison population**	Cost savings***	
Drug offenses	 Reduce time served for all drug offenses by 50% (from 1.55 to 0.78 years). Institute alternatives that end all admissions for drug possession (3,736 fewer people). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions for drug distribution by 50% (1,468 fewer people). 	21.29% reduction (9,599 fewer people)	White: 0.9% increase Black: 3.0% increase Hispanic/Latino: 3.6% decrease Native American: 14.3% increase Asian: 1.3% decrease Other: 1.5% decrease	\$219,547,641	
Assault	 Reduce average time served by 50% (from 2.11 to 1.05 years). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 30% (758 fewer people admitted). 	7.54% reduction (3,400 fewer people)	White: 1.5% increase Black: 1.0% decrease Hispanic/Latino: 0.4% decrease Native American: 6.5% decrease Asian: 2.6% increase Other: 0.6% increase	\$47,906,352	
Burglary	 Reduce average time served by 50% (from 2.56 to 1.28 years). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 30% (401 fewer people admitted). 	4.78% reduction (2,156 fewer people)	White: 0.6% decrease Black: 0.2% decrease Hispanic/Latino: 0.3% increase Native American: 1.8% increase Asian: 0.5% increase Other: 2.4% increase	\$30,281,400	

Impact Compared to 2025 Baseline*

Offense category	Policy Outcome	Prison population impact	Impact on racial and ethnic makeup of prison population**	Cost savings***
Theft	 Reduce average time served by 50% (from 1.83 to 0.92 years). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 30% (451 fewer people admitted). 	3.97% reduction (1,792 fewer people)	White: 1.1% decrease Black: 1.1% increase Hispanic/Latino: 0.6% increase Native American: 0.2% increase Asian: 2.6% increase Other: 2.3% increase	\$26,728,112
Robbery	 Reduce average time served by 50% (from 3.94 to 1.97 years). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 10% (71 fewer people admitted). 	3.14% reduction (1,415 fewer people)	White: 1.2% increase Black: 2.5% decrease Hispanic/Latino: 0.4% decrease Native American: No change Asian: 0.5% increase Other: 0.8% increase	\$17,712,752
DUI	 Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 30% (400 fewer people admitted). Reduce average time served by 50% (from 1.49 to 0.75 years). 	2.90% reduction (1,308 fewer people)	White: 0.5% increase Black: 1.0% increase Hispanic/Latino: 0.1% increase Native American: 8.1% decrease Asian: 1.0% increase Other: 0.5% decrease	\$21,196,318
Public order offenses****	 Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 80% (1,016 fewer people admitted). Reduce average time served by 50% (from 1.00 to 0.50 years). 	2.55% reduction (1,148 fewer people)	White: No change Black: 0.5% decrease Hispanic/Latino: 0.2% increase Native American: 1.0% decrease Asian: 0.9% increase Other: 0.9% increase	\$20,113,933
Weapons offenses****	• Reduce average time served by 50% (from 2.25 to 1.13 years).	2.52% reduction (1,138 fewer people)	White: 0.6% increase Black: 0.8% decrease Hispanic/Latino: 0.5% decrease Native American: 1.0% increase Asian: 0.2% increase Other: 1.2% increase	\$14,633,960

Impact Compared to 2025 Baseline*				
Offense category	Policy Outcome	Prison population impact	Impact on racial and ethnic makeup of prison population**	Cost savings***
Fraud	 Reduce average time served by 50% (from 2.00 to 1.00 years). Institute alternatives that reduce admissions by 30% (245 fewer people admitted). 	:	White: 1.1% decrease Black: 0.4% increase Hispanic/Latino: 0.8% increase Native American: 1.2% increase Asian: 0.5% decrease Other: 0.2% increase	\$16,132,467

^{*} The baseline refers to the projected prison population based on historical trends, assuming that no significant policy or practice changes are made.

Total Fiscal Impact

If Arizona were to carry out reforms leading to the changes above, 23,021 fewer people would be in prison in Arizona by 2025, a 51.07 percent decrease. This would lead to a total cost savings of \$1,098,505,375 by 2025.

Methodology Overview

This analysis uses prison term record data from the National Corrections Reporting Program to estimate the impact of different policy outcomes on the size of Arizona's prison population, racial and ethnic representation in the prison population, and state corrections spending. First, trends in admissions and exit rates for each offense category in recent years are analyzed and projected out to estimate a baseline state prison population projection through

2025, assuming recent trends will continue. Then, a mathematical model was used to estimate how various offense-specific reform scenarios (for example, a 10 percent reduction in admissions for drug possession or a 15 percent reduction in length of stay for robbery) would change the 2025 baseline projected prison population. The model allows for reform scenarios to include changes to the number of people admitted to prison and/or the average length of time served for specific offenses. The model then estimates the effect that these changes would have by 2025 on the number of people in prison, the racial and ethnic makeup of the prison population, and spending on prison. The analysis assumes that the changes outlined will occur incrementally and be fully realized by 2025.

All results are measured in terms of how outcomes under the reform scenario differ from the baseline projection for 2025. Prison population size impacts are measured as the difference between the 2025

^{**} Racial and ethnic disproportionality is traditionally measured by comparing the number of people in prison — of a certain race—to the number of people in the state's general population of that same race. For example, nationally, Black people comprise 13 percent of the population, while white people comprise 77 percent. Meanwhile, 35 percent of people in state or federal prison are Black, compared to 34 percent who are white. While the proportion of people in prison who are Black or white is equal, Black people are incarcerated at nearly three times their representation in the general population. This is evident in Arizona where Black people make up 14 percent of the male prison population, but only constitute 4 percent of the state's total population.

^{***} Note: Cost impact for each individual policy change represents the effect of implementing that change alone and in 2015 dollars. The combined cost savings from implementing two or more of these changes would be greater than the sum of their combined individual cost savings, since more capital costs would be affected by the population reductions.

^{****} Some public order offenses include drunk or disorderly conduct, escape from custody, obstruction of law enforcement, court offenses, failure to comply with sex offense registration requirements, prostitution, and stalking, as well as other uncategorized offenses.

^{*****} Some weapons offenses include unlawful possession, sale, or use of a firearm or other type of weapon (e.g., explosive device).

prison population under the baseline scenario and the forecasted population in that year with the specified changes applied. Impacts on the racial and ethnic makeup of the 2025 prison population are measured by comparing the share of the prison population made up by a certain racial or ethnic group in the 2025 baseline population to that same statistic under the reform scenario and calculating the percent change between these two proportions. Cost savings are calculated by estimating the funds that would be saved each year based on prison population reductions relative to the baseline estimate, assuming that annual savings grow as less infrastructure is needed to maintain a shrinking prison population. Savings relative to baseline spending are calculated in each year between the last year of available data and 2025, then added up to generate a measure of cumulative dollars saved over that time period.

Endnotes

- ADC, Inmate Population Fact Sheet 2017.
- 2 The Sentencing Project, The Color of Race and Justice: Racial and Ethnic Disparity in State Prisons, 2016.
- 3 BJS, Correctional Statistical Analysis Tool; Note: Imprisonment rate in this case calculated as the rate of people in prison for sentences greater than one year, so as to be directly comparable across states, which have differing sentencing structures. Total jurisdictional imprisonment rate in Arizona is 611 per 100,000.
- 4 ADC, Inmate Population Fact Sheet 2017; BJS, Correctional Statistical Analysis Tool.
 - Note: While the analysis in this blueprint contemplates both Arizona jail and prison populations, the decarceration, fiscal, and racial impact analysis found in the chart on pages 8 to 9 only examines Arizona's prison population.
- 5 BJS, Correctional Statistical Analysis Tool.
- 6 ADC, Five-Year Strategic Plan FY 2018-2022.
- 7 Prison admissions reflect the number of people entering Arizona prisons in a given year, while the total prison population refers to the total number of people incarcerated at the end of each fiscal year (defined in this case as June 30).
- 8 Note: Drug distribution includes both sales and trafficking offenses.
- 9 ADC, Inmate Population Fact Sheet 2017.
- 10 ADC, Corrections At A Glance, 2010; ADC Inmate Population Fact Sheet 2017.
- 11 Note: Drug distribution includes both sales and trafficking offenses.
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- 30 Research gate, https://www.researchgate.net/
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