

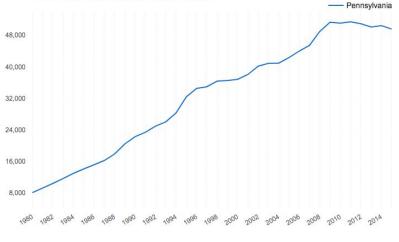


VOTING RIGHTS, IMMIGRATION, MASS INCARCERATION

Mass Incarceration in Pennsylvania

The United States has only 5 percent of the world's population but more than 20 percent of the world's incarcerated population.¹





As of January 2016, there were over 48,034 people incarcerated in Pennsylvania², with another 36,720 in jail.³ Taken together, along with the 112,351 on parole and the 67 undocumented women and children detained at Berks Detention Center, that is 198,649 people. If you then include the hundreds of thousands of individuals on probation in PA - 360,800⁴ in 2014, the last time the data was collected. There are many terrible stories about the impact of Incarceration, especially on children. Over 81,000 children in Pennsylvania have a parent who is incarcerated.⁵

The prison population in United States and Pennsylvania has skyrocketed since 1980. This is not because of a massive increase of criminal activity. This is because of changes in legislation and policy, backed by millions of lobbying from

correctional industries.

The result? As of March 2018, 18 out of the 25 Pennsylvania-run correctional institutions are **over capacity**, while all community corrections centers, federal prisons, and contracted facilities are at full capacity.⁶ There is money to be made at keeping our prisons full - full of our mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, sisters, brothers, comrades and friends.

Race

Mass incarceration impacts Pennsylvanians of all races. As of December 2016, Pennsylvania reported the following numbers of people who were incarcerated, by race:⁷

- 23,783 are Black;
- 20,810 are White;
- 5,155 are Latinx; and
- 348 are reported as having another race, undefined.

¹ United States. Department of Education. Policy and Program Study Service. *State and Local Expenditures on Corrections and Education*. July 2016. Accessed May 12, 2018.

² United States. Pennsylvania Department of Corrections. Bureau of Planning, Research, & Statistics. *PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS* MONTHLY POPULATION REPORT As Of March 31, 2018. Accessed May 12, 2018.

³ "State-by-State Data." The Sentencing Project. Accessed May 12, 2018.

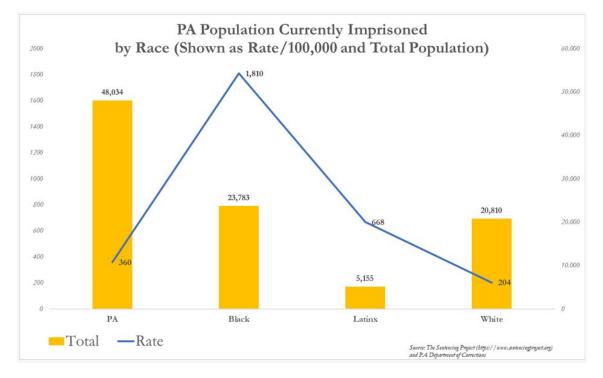
⁴ United States. US Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Correctional Populations in the United States, 2014. By Danielle Kaeble, Lauren Glaze, Anastasios TSoutis, and Todd Minton. December 2015. Accessed May 12, 2018.

⁵ Mursch, Alyssa. *Lehigh Valley Live*. <u>http://www.lehighvalleylive.com/news/index.ssf/2017/06/pennsylvania_senators_unveil_l.html</u>

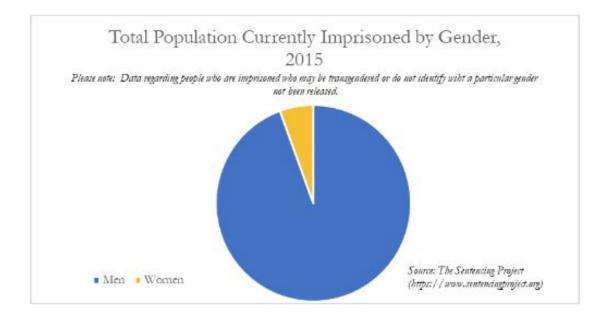
⁶ http://www.cor.pa.gov/About%20Us/Statistics/Documents/current%20 monthly%20 population.pdf

⁷ http://www.cor.pa.gov/About%20Us/Statistics/Documents/current%20monthly%20population.pdf

Black Pennsylvanians are not only the largest population of people incarcerated, they are incarcerated at **almost 9 times the rate of whites in Pennsylvania.** Hispanics are incarcerated at more than 3 times the rates of whites, however, since sometimes Hispanics are counted in the white prison population, the white rate of incarceration may appear higher than it is and the black/white and Hispanic/white ratios of disparity would be lower as well.⁸



Gender



⁸ https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/color-of-justice-racial-and-ethnic-disparity-in-state-prisons/

While men currently make up the majority of the prison population in Pennsylvania, women have become the fastest-growing segment of the incarcerated population in the United States.⁹

The Prison Policy reports:¹⁰

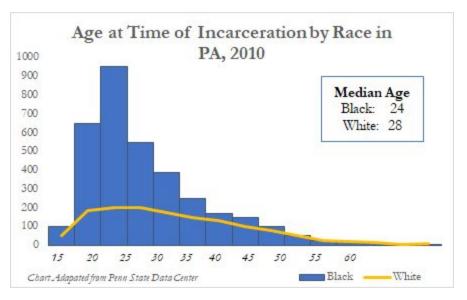
- "Women are more likely to enter prison with a **history of abuse, trauma, and mental health problems**. In prison, women face sexual abuse by correctional staff or other incarcerated women, and are more likely than men to experience serious psychological distress.
- Women have different physical health needs, including reproductive healthcare, management of menopause, nutrition, and very often treatment for substance use disorders. The health systems in prisons designed for men frequently fail to meet these basic needs.
- While they are incarcerated, women may face a **greater likelihood of disciplinary action** and more severe sanctions for similar behavior when compared to men.
- Most women in prison (62%) are mothers of minor children. These women are more likely than fathers in prison to be the primary caretakers of their children, so the increasing number of women in prisons means more and more family disruption and insecurity.
- Economically, women with a history of incarceration face particularly daunting obstacles when they return to their communities. Even before they are incarcerated, women in prison earn less than men in prison, and earn less than non-incarcerated women of the same age and race."

Death by Incarceration: Life Without Parole

Pennsylvania is one of only six states that denies the possibility of parole to people with life sentences.

Poor people and people of color disportionately are condemned to life without parole.

Black men are more than 20x more likely to serve life without parole, and black women are more than 7x more likely to serve life without parole.



5,100 Pennsylvanians Serving Life Without Parole

Z5 Countries around the World Call Life Without Parole - Unconstitutional 480

PA Juveniles serving Life Without Parole (highest among any state) 230%

Increase in Life Without Parole over the last 20 years

⁹ https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/women_overtime.html
¹⁰ https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/women_overtime.html

"I have a son who's serving a life without parole sentence for the last 20 years. He has learned from his time, and he is ready to give back to his community. The ones who have been there so long - 20, 30, 40 years - they know what they did and they are ready to redeem themselves. They want to come out, not just for their own sake, but to help others and our communities.

They deserve a chance to come home and speak to the young people who are out in our communities, facing the same struggles and making the same mistakes that they made years ago Many of them are living in poor communities, often black and brown communities that have been targeted by mass incarceration. They need housing, healthcare, a real education, all of which have been destroyed in our communities. These young people deserve a **first chance at life**. Give them a first chance. And they need the direction and guidance of our loved ones on the inside, mothers and fathers and elders who have learned from their mistakes and can teach what they have learned. Give them a second chance. Give our communities a second chance."

BRENDA HARRIS, PHILADELPHIA - COALITION TO ABOLISH DEATH BY INCARCERATION (CADBI)

Immigration: Deportation and Detention

Congressional law requires that U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) maintain 34,000 immigration detention beds on a daily basis.¹¹ This quota has steadily increased since its establishment in 2009, approved under the Obama administration. No other law enforcement agency is subject to a statutory quota on the number of individuals to hold in detention. Nearly half of immigrants that are detained are housed by a private prison.¹²

In 2016, there were up to 40,000 people (a historic high) detained in the United States. That number is expected to continue to rise annually.¹³ Eight people died in ICE custody in the 2017 fiscal year. All but one of the deaths this occurred in privately run prisons.¹⁴

40,000

People detained in the United State in 2016 11,643

Cases pending in PA's immigration Courts 62%

Increase in PA immigration cases compared to 2016 64% Of ICE's at-large arrests of

the immigrants in Pennsylvania had **no** criminal convictions.

• As of March 2017, there were 11,643 cases pending in Pennsylvania's immigration courts, a 62% increase over the end of fiscal 2016.¹⁵ In 2017, 64% of ICE's at-large arrests of the immigrants arrested in Pennsylvania had no

¹¹ U.S. Congress. Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act of 2010. 111th Cong. Cong. 111-83. Government Publishing Office, 2009.

¹² Cohen, Michael. "How For-profit Prisons Have Become the Biggest Lobby No One Is Talking about." The Washington Post, April 28, 2015. Accessed May 12, 2018.

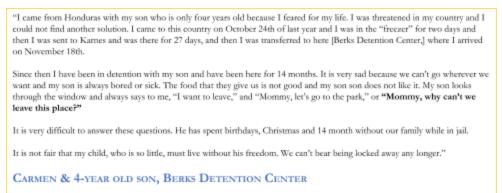
¹³ Devlin Barrett. "Record Immigrant Numbers Force Homeland Security to Search for New Jail Space." The Wall Street Journal, October 21, 2016. Accessed May 12, 2018

¹⁴ Glawe, Justin. "Immigrant Deaths in Private Prisons Explode Over Trump." The Daily Beast. May 30, 2017. Accessed May 15, 2018.

¹⁵ Sontag, Deborah, and Dale Rossakoff. "In Pennsylvania, It's Open Season on Undocumented Immigrants." ProPublica. April 12, 2018. Accessed May 12, 2018.

criminal convictions. However, regardless of whether an undocumented person has a criminal record, these raids are an unjustified terrorist act.

Most recently, on May 9, ICE raided five workplaces across 2 counties (Adams and Franklin counties,) detaining 11 people.¹⁶



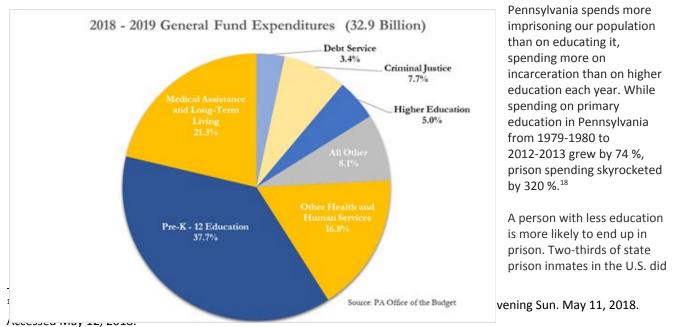
Criminalizing Poverty

Debtors Prisons

Thousands of Pennsylvanians are locked up because they can not afford bail.¹⁷ Existing law prohibits jailing defendants who lack the ability to pay and who are not willfully refusing to pay. However, Pennsylvania law provides no guidance to courts on how to evaluate defendant's' ability to pay fines and fees. **This means that the poor are kept in jail** *for being poor.*

School to Prison Pipeline

Budget Spending on Incarceration vs. Education



¹⁷ "Debtors' Prison." American Civil Liberties Union Pennsylvania. Accessed May 12, 2018.

¹⁸ United States. Department of Education. Policy and Program Study Service. State and Local Expenditures on Corrections and Education. July 2016. Accessed May 12, 2018.

not graduate from high school (in 2003.)¹⁹

Cost of detention

Pennsylvania spent \$42,727 a year per inmate in 2015. ²⁰ Pennsylvania residents pay an average of \$168 per year on state prisons, the 9th highest in the nation. That money isn't going to a quality of life of inmates; the majority of the funds are spent on corporate and other salaries, lawsuits and rising pension costs. It's also not spent on the things the are poor in our communities needs: education, benefits, housing, a decent income.

The cost of incarcerating those serving Life Without Parole, particularly the elderly, is even higher. There are currently thousands of elderly prisoners serving Life Without Parole in Pennsylvania, at an average cost of \$66,000 each person a year.²¹

Nationally, ICE spends \$159 to detain one person per day. Over the course of a year, immigration detention costs the United States over \$2 billion, approximately \$5.5 million each day.²²

While legislators will sometimes talk about reducing criminal justice costs, the only way to truly reduce the massive financial burden of prisons and detention programs is to reduce the prison population.

The Corruption That Makes This Possible

Voter Suppression - Voter ID Law

Lawmakers propose 62 photo-ID bills in 37 states in the 2011 and 2012 sessions, with multiple bills introduced in some states. More than half of these bills were sponsored by members or conference attendees of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a Washington-based, tax-exempt organization.²³ In Pennsylvania, **HB 934: Voter ID Law**, passed in 2011-2012 (introduced by Representative Metcalfe, an ALEC member.) It was singed into a law almost immediately after passing in the House, and just a week after it passed in the Senate.

The true reason for the legislation was revealed after House Majority Leader Mike Turzai (a then ALEC member) was caught on video saying the law would ensure 2012 presidential candidate Mitt Romney's victory in Pennsylvania. While the legislation was declared unconstitutional by the PA Supreme Court in 2014, an ID is still required for first-time voters.

"They could not take our water away without taking our democracy first."

-CLAIRE MCCLINTON, FLINT DEMOCRACY DEFENSE LEAGUE

¹⁹ United States. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Education and Correctional Populations. By Caroline Wolf Harlow. January 2003. Accessed May 12, 2018.

²⁰ https://www.vera.org/publications/price-of-prisons-2015-state-spending-trends

²¹ https://www.aclu.org/blog/mass-incarceration/why-are-we-spending-so-much-lock-elderly-prisoners-who-pose-little-threat

²² https://www.immigrantjustice.org/staff/blog/immigration-detention-bed-quota-timeline

²³ Daily News

Who benefits from these policies? Not US!

Private Prisons

While the cost to the poor people of the United States is high (financially, physically, and spiritually,) there are a handful of rich men that are making millions of dollars in profit off of incarceration.

Private prisons were introduced in the 1980's as a cheaper way to manage the explosion of the prison population. In total, there are now about 130 private prisons in the country, holding about 157,000 beds.²⁴

According to a Department of Justice study, private prisons are more dangerous and poorly run than their federally run counterparts and do not save on costs.²⁵ Because of this study, the Obama administration ordered a phasing out of the federal government's use of private prisons. However, Trump's administration reversed that plan in February 2017, paving the way for new government contracts for the industry.

These government contracts earn private prison companies like GEO Group and CoreCivic - the two largest private prison companies - billions in in annual revenue.²⁶ GEO Group has received \$774 million in government contracts in 2017 so far, including a \$110 million government contract to build an immigrant detention center in Texas.²⁷

There are currently 605 inmates housed in private federal prisons in PA.²⁸ In Pennsylvania, GEO Group, owns and operates 22 facilities, including Moshannon Valley, prison in Philipsburg, Centre County, that houses undocumented immigrants who have been convicted of other crimes. In PA alone, there has been at least 8 deaths deaths at GEO facilities.

State-run centers can be also be major source of income for Pennsylvania counties. Berks Detention Center, a Pennsylvania-owned detention center for the families, has generated nearly \$7 million for Berks County. These funds are paid to the county by ICE for operating the facility on their behalf.²⁹

Campaign Donations and Lobbying

Nationally, the American Bail Coalition (ABC) spent \$3.1 million nationally lobbying for judges to set higher bail amounts between 2002 and 2011. GEO Group, Core Civic and other private prisons their associates have donated more than \$10 million to candidates since 1989 and have spent nearly \$25 million on lobbying efforts to continue to increase the number of arrests and detentions and to keep their prisons filled. ³⁰ The industry is a particular friend of President Trump's. GEO

24

²⁸ state

http://www.propublica.org/article/by-the-numbers-the-u.s.s-growing-for-profit-detention-industry

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/08/18/justice-department-says-it-will-end-use-of-private-prisons/?utm_term=.04be8afe d7ea

²⁶https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/04/28/how-for-profit-prisons-have-become-the-biggest-lobby-no-one-is-talking-about/
²⁷ https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/texas/articles/2017-04-13/texas-getting-first-immigrant-lockup-built-under-trump

²⁹

https://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/Inside-Look-at-ICE-Berks-County-Residential-Center-1-Million-Boon-for-Local-Government-437112913.ht ml

 $https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/04/28/how-for-profit-prisons-have-become-the-biggest-lobby-no-one-is-talking-about/?utm_term=.22f3842818e1$

Group and CoreCivic donated \$250,000 to Trump's Inaugural Committee alone and even held their annual conference at Trump National Doral.³¹

Pennsylvania is one of only ten states with no campaign finance limitations - meaning corporations or individuals can give as much as they want to any candidate. While it difficult to exactly quantify what this lobbying gets you, **there are times when you can see the effects of lobbying quite clearly:**

As a State Senator, Lt. Gov. Stack received \$11,000 from a lobbyist with the ABC, who is now the current president of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) newest project, the American City County Exchange.³² After receiving these donations, Stack (D) and Senator Alloway (R) (an ALEC member,) introduced SB 1141, a bill that deregulates the bail industry, allowing private companies to operate bail and gutting regulation that would requires bail bondsmen to be registered, have an office and have a listed phone number, in every county in which they wanted to operate. The bill was sent to Stack's Committee, which passed the legislation after listening to the testimony of the same lobbyist that donated \$11,000 to Stack. While that bill died in the House, Alloway reintroduced the legislation in 2016. Wolf (with Stack now serving as Lt. Gov.,) signed it into law.

Stack is not the only recipient of prison lobbyist funds. In 2018, State Rep. Rick Saccone received over \$2100 from GEO Group for his successful congressional bid. Additionally, the following Pennsylvania federal officials have received the following:

- In 2014 Reps. Charlie Dent and Pat Meehan both received \$1,000 from GEO Group;
- In 2016, Senator Pat Toomey received **over \$21,000** from GEO Group, while his challenger Katie McGinty received \$1,000 from CoreCivic.

Pennsylvania is also one of only ten states in which it is legal to gift anything to legislators - meaning that bribery is completely legal in our state. These campaign contributions do not even account for what incarceration lobbyists have spent on gifts for our elected officials, of which there is little transparency or accountability. Legislators are only required to report gifts that are valued at more than \$250/\$650 for transportation,) and when they do not report, there is little consequence.

Because of this, democracy is bought and sold in Pennsylvania, and our people are imprisoned, detained and suffering for the profit and exploitations of others.

Democracy is rooted in the dignity of every human being. Democracy is when everybody has a seat at the decision making table, when everybody has a voice and a vote on the decisions that govern our lives. Pennsylvania is not a democracy. Too many residents of Pennsylvania are silenced through mass incarceration and inhumane immigration laws. And those who do have a vote are marginalized and frustrated by the corruption of those on the ballot. Pennsylvania is the fifth most corrupt state in the Union, and that corruption maintains systems of economic oppression, ecological devastation, racism, and poverty. When we can ensure fair access to the ballot, when our public servants serve the public and not their donors and party bosses, when we the people (all of us together) make the decisions that govern our lives, we will be able to live with dignity and **move forward together, and not one step back**!

-RABBI MICHAEL POLLACK, PHILADELPHIA - MARCHONHARRISBURG

³¹ http://observer.com/2017/10/geo-group-private-prison-industry-profits-soar-under-trump/

³² Kitchen, Sean. "How Pennsylvania's Democratic Lieutenant Governor & An ALEC Lobbyist Deregulated the Bail Bond Industry." Raging Chicken Press. January 20, 2016. Accessed May 12, 2018.