

Shrinking Jails, Rising Costs: Erie County's Wasteful Jail Budget

Colleen Kristich

Overview

The Erie County jail population is shrinking rapidly.

Due to successful state bail reform and precautions required by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Holding Center population is 59% lower than September 2019, and the Erie County Correctional Facility population in Alden is 29% lower. Huge reductions in the number of sentenced inmates being held at both facilities has led to this decrease (an 83-86% drop), as well as significant declines in the number of people being held pretrial at the Holding Center (a 53% decrease). Both facilities have reduced the number of people being held on technical parole violations (meaning the person has not been accused of committing a crime) by 39-46%. The number of people being held in the Holding Center while waiting to be transferred to a state prison has also dropped by 80%.¹

The jail population could be safely reduced even further.

- As shown in Table 1, about 10% of the population, 48 people, are held solely on **technical parole violations**. This means they are accused of a non-criminal violation of parole rules (staying out past a curfew, missing an appointment with a parole officer, changing jobs without permission, for example), not of a crime. Incarceration for a technical violation is inappropriate, and these people should be released. State legislation known as the Less is More bill is pending, and if passed will end incarceration for these technical parole violations.
- Just 7% of the population, 36 people, make up the **sentenced population** between both facilities. These are people who have been sentenced to serving a year or less in a county jail, typically for misdemeanors. Such a small number of people with minor charges could be held in an alternate, much smaller facility, or resentenced to a non-carceral punishment.

This policy brief presents data on the makeup of the Erie County jail population, which has reduced by 48% since 2017. It examines the capacity of both jails and determines that one jail could be closed, with savings redirected to other community-based harm reduction services.

The brief compares Erie County spending on jails with spending on mental and public health, and makes recommendations for County leaders to further reduce the jail population, capture the savings of decarceration, and solicit public input into the jail closure process.

This policy brief was drafted by Colleen Kristich, LMSW, a Community Researcher at Partnership for Public Good.



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TABLE 1: DAILY POPULATION IN ERIE COUNTY JAILS

Average Daily Jail Population by Month

	09/2019	10/2019	11/2019	12/2019	01/2020	02/2020	03/2020	04/2020	05/2020	06/2020	07/2020	08/2020	09/2020	09/2019 vs 09/2020
Erie County Correctional Facility														
Census/In House	439	408	409	346	301	285	284	230	209	249	321	301	311	-29.2%
Sentenced	140	130	116	105	96	94	107	77	56	45	32	28	24	-82.9%
Technical Parole Violators	49	52	58	49	47	57	43	34	35	42	43	32	30	-38.8%
State Transfers	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	7	9	8	0.0%
Other Unsentenced**	249	226	234	192	158	130	134	118	117	159	238	232	250	0.4%
Erie County Holding Center														
Census/In House	441	428	424	361	358	369	323	292	309	255	156	179	179	-59.4%
Sentenced	85	78	72	75	74	80	63	41	30	20	12	12	12	-85.9%
Technical Parole Violators	33	40	43	43	66	62	46	40	43	36	20	20	18	-45.5%
State Transfers	10	8	7	6	5	9	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	-80.0%
Other Unsentenced**	313	300	301	235	211	217	211	208	233	196	122	145	146	-53.4%

Source: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, "Jail Population By Month Report," accessed September 2020, available from https://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/crimnet/ojsa/jail_population.pdf.

- A very small number, 2% of the population or 10 people, are **awaiting transfer to state prison.**
- Finally, the vast majority of people held in county jails are **unsentenced.** 80% of the population at the Correctional Facility and 82% of the population at the Holding Center, 396 people total, are either legally innocent pretrial defendants, or are convicted and awaiting sentencing. The pretrial defendants who are only incarcerated because they are not able to pay money bail should be released. Personal wealth should not be a determining factor in deciding a person's freedom.

Drastic changes to the jail population has meant that neither facility is anywhere close to capacity. As of September 2020, the Holding Center was at 28% capacity, housing 179 people out of a total capacity of 638. The Erie County Correctional Facility in Alden was at 39% capacity, with 311 people housed out of a total of 794 beds.² **Combined, the jails are at 34% capacity,** with 490 people held out of a 1,432-person capacity. **The entire jail population could be housed at either facility with at least a hundred beds to spare.** If the total population moved to ECCF in Alden, there would be 304 extra beds; if the whole population were moved to ECHC, there would be 148 extra beds.

Currently, the security staff in Erie County jails outnumber incarcerated people by a ratio of 1.4 to 1 (684 full and part time security staff positions for 490 prisoners). As outlined above, the people incarcerated in Erie County are largely considered low-medium risk or are legally innocent. In fact, in state prisons where the majority of incarcerated people have been convicted of felonies and are presumably more in need of supervision, the average ratio of filled uniform staff positions to incarcerated people was 1 to 2.5.³

The Erie County budget estimated a daily combined jail population of 825 for 2020, a number which was close to accurate at the beginning of the year but is now very inaccurate, with September average populations showing less than 500 inmates total between the two facilities.⁴ The total estimated number of intakes or inmates processed at both facilities for 2020 was 16,305. However, as of October 2020 the estimate of actual intakes was 3,100, 77% less than predicted.⁵

Combined, the jails are at 34% capacity, with 490 people held out of a 1,432-person capacity.

The entire jail population could be housed at either facility with at least a hundred beds to spare.

TABLE 2: JAIL MANAGEMENT DIVISION - KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

	Actual 2019	Estimated 2020	Estimated 2021
Inmates Admitted to Facility	10,196	3,100	3,410
Average Daily Population	851	556	612

Source: Erie County 2021 Budget: PROPOSED, Book A – Operating Funds

Together, both jails were funded in 2020 for 738 full-time and 42 part-time positions (780 positions total) and cost Erie County taxpayers \$48.2 million in jail staff salaries alone.

When fringe benefits, food, maintenance, and other operating costs are included, the total budget for Jail Management in 2020 was \$97.3 million, a 6.4% increase from 2019 even though the population of both jails has been steadily and significantly dropping since 2018. In 2020, the correctional health department budget adds an additional \$14.3 million to the jail system costs.

With these budgets combined, **Erie County allocated \$111.5 million in 2020 to operate both jails**, or, using the county's estimates above, about \$6,838 per intake or \$135,152 per person incarcerated for a year. In reality, using the October 2020 estimate of intakes and the actual September 2020 jail population, Erie County is spending \$35,968 per intake or \$227,551 per person incarcerated for a year.

In contrast, the 2020 Mental Health Program Administration total budget decreased 4.2%—from \$52,074,475 in 2019 to \$49,889,254 in 2020. The primary role of the department is to provide re-grants to community based mental health programs including inpatient and outpatient psychiatric and chemical dependency treatment, as well as Emergency Outreach, Supported Housing and Assertive Community Treatment. Together these programs serve over 35,000 people each year.

Forensic mental health (which, among other services, is responsible for providing mental healthcare in both jails), is a separate division and was allocated \$1.76 million in 2020.

At current jail population rates, Erie County is spending **\$35,968 per jail intake,**
or
\$227,551 per person incarcerated for a year.

The Department of Health total budget was \$94,872,695 in 2020. Of this, only \$7.2 million was allocated to the Division of Public Health, Safety and Wellness which includes all health education, outreach, and prevention programming.

TABLE 3: COMPARING COUNTY SPENDING ON JAILS, MENTAL HEALTH, AND HEALTH

	2019 (Adjusted for Actual Spending)	2020 (Adopted)	2019 – 2020 Percent Change
Jail Management and Correctional Health Divisions Combined*			
Total Appropriation	\$105,319,627	\$111,584,695	+ 5.9%
Revenue	\$1,417,631 (1% of total)	\$968,310 (1% of total)	- 31.7%
County Share	103,901,518 (99% of total)	110,616,385 (99% of total)	+ 6.5%
Mental Health Program Administration			
Total Appropriation	\$52,074,475	\$49,889,254	- 4.2%
Revenue	\$47,735,896 (92% of total)	\$45,798,844 (92% of total)	- 4.1%
County Share	\$4,338,579 (8% of total)	\$4,090,410 (8% of total)	- 5.7%
Department of Health			
Total Appropriation	\$88,827,911	\$94,872,695	+6.8%
Revenue	\$47,113,785 (53% of total)	\$50,543,049 (53% of total)	+7.2%
County Share	\$41,714,126 (47% of total)	\$44,329,646 (47% of total)	+6.2%

Source: Erie County Adopted Budget 2020, Book A – Operating Funds

*The Jail Management and Correctional Health budgets are listed separately in Appendix 2.

From 2019 to 2020, jail system spending increased by 6%, while mental health spending decreased by 4%.

In 2019, Erie County spent twice on jails what it spent on mental health.⁶ For every \$1 spent on mental health services, Erie County spent \$2 on jails.

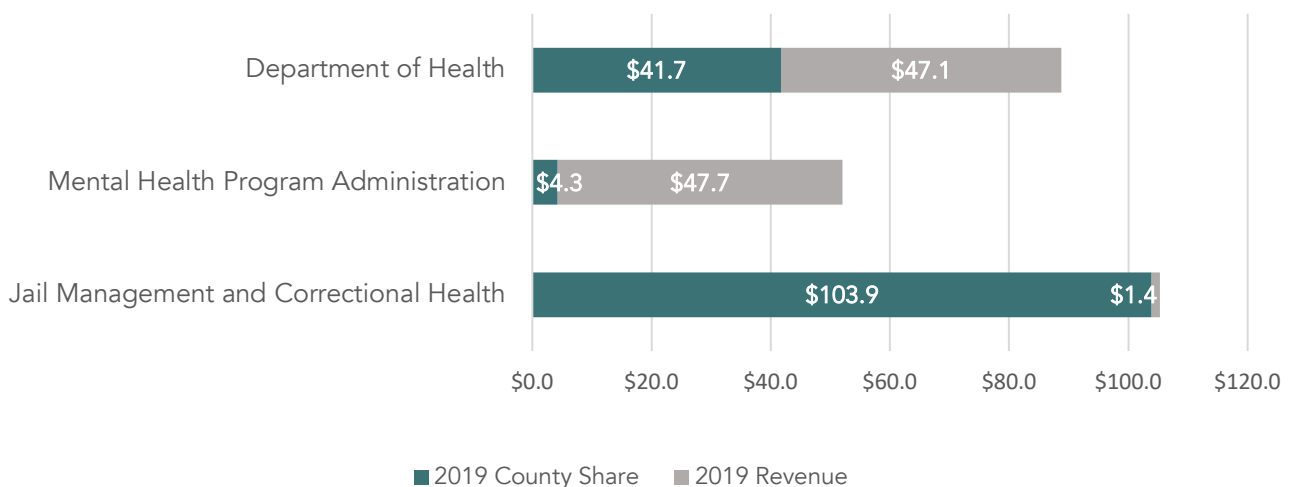
As shown in Table 3 above, the Erie County budget divides each department or division's budget between two sources of funds: 1) revenue, which includes state and federal aid and grants, and 2) "county share," which is largely made up of local taxpayer dollars (property tax, sales tax, fines and fees, etc.).

It is striking to note that the jail system's budget is funded 99% by the county share, and only 1% by revenue, while mental health programs are funded only 8% by the county share, and 92% by revenue. This means far more local taxpayer dollars are going into the jail system than into mental health or health services.

This larger investment of local dollars into jails instead of mental health and health services reflects poor priorities in County government. The Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 64% of jail inmates have a mental health concern.⁷ Providing free and accessible community-based mental health care to all community members could help to prevent harm and address it when it occurs, keep people in their homes and communities instead of being locked in jail, and more effectively use county resources to address underlying problems instead of only the symptoms.

In 2019, for every \$1 spent on mental health services, Erie County spent \$2 on jails.

GRAPH 1: COUNTY SPENDING ON JAILS, MENTAL HEALTH, AND HEALTH IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS



The health, mental health, and jails budgets are pictured in the graph above, comparing again the total spending and the county share vs. revenue spending in each area. Local taxpayer dollars should be reallocated from outsized jail spending to health services, mental health programs, and community-based harm reduction services.

Right-Sizing Erie County Jails Spending and Staffing

There is a clear fiscal responsibility to make severe cuts to the Jail Management Division budget in response to the steep decline in population and number of inmates processed. This is especially evident this year, considering the deficit in the 2020 county budget due to COVID-19 and the dire need for additional safety net supports during this time of high unemployment and economic insecurity. Erie County can make these cuts and capture the savings by consolidating the jail population into one facility and closing the other. However, determining which facility to close, when to close it, how to transition jail staff into other jobs, and the needs of the jail population are all questions with many factors to consider. And they are questions that community members have not been given a chance to weigh in on.

The Sheriff's Office announced a tentative plan on June 4, 2020 to consolidate incarcerated people into the Correctional Facility in Alden, purportedly to save \$10 million by cutting 42 part-time Jail Management positions, eliminating 78 vacant full-time positions, and "cutting back on maintenance supplies and food."⁸ The proposed 2021 budget released by the County Executive's office on October 15, 2020 contains a small budget cut of 12% (from \$97.3 million to \$86 million) for the division, and reduces the number of full-time positions by 25. According to reporting by the Buffalo News, 19 of these positions are currently filled and will require laying off workers.⁹ Altogether, the proposed cuts to the Jail Management Division account for an \$11.3 million reduction from last year's adopted budget which, if realized, would fulfill the claims of the Sheriff's Office. Together with the Correctional Health budget of \$12 million, the County would spend \$98 million in 2021 to operate the jails, or, based on the proposed 2021 budget estimate of the number of intakes and the average population, **\$28,739 per intake or \$160,131 per inmate per year.**

In the proposed 2021 budget, the County will spend **\$98 million to operate the jails, or—according to the County's jail population estimates—\$28,739 per intake or \$160,131 per inmate per year.**

The County Executive's proposal continues to fund the Holding Center at full staff capacity (380 full-time security staff, 23 support staff, and 20 administrators), even though the facility is supposed to be effectively closed. The current proposed plan is to turn the Holding Center into a "pre-release" facility, provide re-entry services, and hold a small number of people (around 150) considered high-risk or in greater need of health services at the facility.¹⁰ News reports state that community partners will be providing the re-entry services and are unclear about the details of the new model.¹¹ A written plan has not yet been released by the Sheriff's Department. This raises the question of what this large security staff will be doing under this new model. Why would Erie County continue to employ over 400 people to supervise 150 incarcerated people? Is the county continuing to keep both facilities open in case the jail population increases? Or is it simply a reluctance to downsize the county workforce?

It is unlikely that the jail population will significantly increase from its current low. Though progress has been slow and unsteady, New York has made significant changes to criminal justice laws and crime rates are at historic lows, which has resulted in a 36% decrease in the New York prison population since its peak in 1999.¹² Around the state, 17 prisons have closed since 2010 and more closures are proposed.¹³ Rollbacks to bail reform that took effect in July have not impacted the overall Erie County jail population, which has remained around 500 since the end of June. The 2021 proposed budget estimates an average daily population of 612. While there does not seem to be any rationale for why the population would increase by 100, the population could be housed in either facility at this increased level. But fully staffing both facilities and incarcerating people in both facilities will ensure that both jails remain open for the foreseeable future. This may well be the objective of the Sheriff's Office and the unions representing jail management staff, rather than sound fiscal policy and reducing unnecessary incarceration.

Reducing Minimum Staffing Requirements

In order to right-size the number of staff for the new number of inmates, Jail Management officials need to submit a request to the NYS Commission of Correction to be approved for a revised jail

Why would Erie County continue to employ over 400 people to supervise 150 incarcerated people at the Holding Center?

capacity number.¹⁴ The Commission of Correction mandates a certain minimum staffing requirement for every jail in New York State, determined by looking at a facility's physical size, inmate capacity and other factors.¹⁵ Once the Commission makes their determination of minimum staffing, that decision can only be altered if the chief administrator applies for it to be changed, in which case the Commission can review the situation and assess a new capacity limit.¹⁶ In other words, both the Holding Center and the Correctional Facility are required by the state to maintain a full staff as if both facilities were filled with 1,400 people, even though both are nearly empty.

In order for this to change, **the Sheriff's Office needs to apply to the state for a reduced capacity ceiling.** The Sheriff's Office has not indicated that they are willing to make this change, and until they do, taxpayers will continue to fund a nearly 700-person staff to guard jails that are two-thirds empty. The County Legislature, which reviews and approves all department budgets, could make their approval of the Sheriff's Office Budget contingent on taking this step.

Alternatively, the County Legislature could take action to formulate a plan to actually and fully close one facility, significantly cut the Jail Management budget, and find a way to transition displaced staff into new positions. In fact, unless the Sheriff requests a reduced capacity number, this would be the only way for the county to capture the savings of a small jail population—since 85% of the Jail Management Division budget goes towards salaries and benefits for staff.

The trajectory of corrections as an overall industry in New York state is dim, and besides reduced future career prospects, correctional officers face higher rates of PTSD than military veterans, and commit suicide at a rate nearly twice that of police officers.¹⁷ As a profession, corrections officers face a risk of suicide 39% higher than the average for all other professions.¹⁸ The average life expectancy of a correctional officer is 59 years old, 16 years lower than average.¹⁹ **Transitioning workers from such dangerous and traumatizing jobs into new careers is timely and benefits society long-term.**

The Erie County 2021 budget continues to fund nearly 700 staff positions to supervise around 500 incarcerated people.

Corrections officers face a risk of suicide 39% higher than the average for other professions, and their life expectancy is 59 years old—16 years lower than average.

The County Legislature should move quickly to solicit public input and formulate a plan to transition workers. The next year is timely for action: the county's collective bargaining agreement with CSEA Correction Officers who represent the Erie County Correctional Facility security staff expires in December 2021;²⁰ the contract with Teamsters Captains and Lieutenants and Teamsters Sworn and Civilian who represent the Holding Center security and medical staff expires in December 2023.

Weighing Factors on Closing a County Jail

From the public dialogue that has happened since the Jail Management Division announced its plan for the Holding Center, it is apparent there are complicated factors to take into account when considering closing either county jail facility.

Partnership for the Public Good administered a community survey in October 2020, asking residents to weigh in on closing one county jail.

FACTORS IN FAVOR OF CLOSING THE HOLDING CENTER

Preliminary results show that fully shuttering the Holding Center appeals to many in the community due to the horrific conditions that have made headlines and led to over 30 deaths, most preventable, in the last 15 years.²¹ Community members describe experiencing violence and verbal abuse from guards and other inmates, extreme temperatures, little, poor quality food, rats, and other unhygienic conditions, all which have been confirmed in multiple lawsuits²² and investigations by the state which labeled the facility one of the top 5 worst jails in the state of New York.²³ The facility, built in 1938, is aging, the structure of the rooms and cells are outdated, and significant remodeling would need to take place in order to bring the facility up to a decent, modern standard, in addition to an overhaul of workplace culture in order to provide a safe and therapeutic environment. Changes to healthcare are desperately needed; though a Medication Assisted Treatment program was approved for the Holding Center in 2019²⁴, the program has yet to get off the ground and many have reported prescribed medications being withheld by jail staff, for both physical and mental healthcare needs.

The Jail Management Division's plan prioritizes the Correctional Facility in Alden due to it being "newer, larger, and easier to maintain."²⁵ Built in 1985, the Alden facility is slightly larger than the Holding Center, with around 800 beds compared to the Holding Center's 600, which may allow prisoners to distance themselves more easily to avoid COVID-19, though it's not clear whether jail management and staff are implementing social distancing. There is more outdoor green space and purportedly more programming available to prisoners, though many report that they are not able to access the outdoor space and often given very little time in the library or other programs. Fewer high-profile deaths have occurred at the Correctional Facility, though at least one suicide happened in 2019,²⁶ and in another incident an inmate who was bit by a spider at the facility had half of his foot amputated after jail staff ignored his pleas for medical care for days.²⁷ Prisoners report similar problems at the facility with accessing prescribed medications and obtaining prescriptions from loved ones is more difficult since the facility is so remote, with no public transportation options.

Like the Holding Center, the Correctional Facility was listed in the top 5 worst jails in the state by the Commission of Correction.²⁸ Former prisoners report being discharged in the middle of the night with no transportation and having to walk miles along a rural road with no sidewalk to get to a place with a bus stop. For family members who have their own transportation, making a visit to ECCF is difficult; because there are no visiting hours on weekends, family members must make the drive to Alden on a workday, over an hour round-trip, before visiting hours end at 2 pm.

FACTORS AGAINST CLOSING THE HOLDING CENTER

The Holding Center is located in downtown Buffalo and is very accessible by public transit and for this reason the jail is much more suitable for many prisoner needs: families are able to visit their loved one in the Holding Center, lawyers are able to visit clients, people who are released from the Holding Center have a way to get home, prisoners with healthcare needs are much closer to medical facilities including emergency care, and it is much simpler to transport prisoners to court appointments typically located just across the street.

Both the Holding Center and the Correctional Facility are listed in the top 5 worst jails in New York State by the Commission of Correction.

The Corrections Specialist Advisory Board and Erie County Legislature Chairwoman April Baskin have raised these concerns and for these reasons have suggested that perhaps closing the Alden facility and renovating the Holding Center would be the right choice.²⁹

Currently the jail population is split about 70% at ECCF and 30% in ECHC, while the number of staff at the Alden facility is significantly fewer than those at the holding center, about 230 compared to about 390. The negative aspects of both facilities are already affecting the jail population and should be addressed regardless of when and if a facility is closed. From a staffing perspective, closing the ECCF would result in overall fewer lost jobs, and the contract with these employees is up for negotiation at the end of 2021.

Looking at base salaries alone, the major expense at both facilities, closing the Holding Center would save Erie County over \$26 million per year, and closing the Alden facility would save over \$15 million per year, which could be redirected to making improvements at the remaining facility, or invested into preventive community services such as behavioral healthcare. Millions of dollars in additional savings from reduced fringe benefits, food, transportation, utilities, maintenance, and Correctional Health needs would be likely.

Ensuring Public Input and Capturing the Savings

There is not a clear consensus yet about what the right next step is, but it is clear that a golden opportunity has been presented to Erie County in the form of a small jail population. Instead of only looking at what is, county leaders and residents should use this opportunity to think about what might be and how systems can be reimagined and improved. As previously mentioned, there are ways that the jail population could be downsized further; in addition to less carceral pretrial decisions from judges, the District Attorney could stop prosecuting low-level drug possession offenses which are the number one arrest in Buffalo and make up 30% of all misdemeanor arrests.³⁰ By implementing the Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program, most cases involving behavioral health needs could be diverted into voluntary, harm

reduction-based treatment instead of incarceration. Savings from jail closure being redirected to community behavioral health programs could greatly expand the number of beds available for substance use and mental health treatment; currently there are only 248 inpatient mental health beds and 405 inpatient substance use treatment beds, far fewer than the number of jail beds.³¹ By reforming sentencing decisions and prioritizing community service, probation or income-based fines for misdemeanor convictions, the small sentenced population at the county jails could be eliminated.

Perhaps areas of the Holding Center could be renovated to mimic the more therapeutic settings of jail facilities in Germany, Norway, the Netherlands and other European countries where normalization and rehabilitation is prioritized, where prisoners wear their own clothes and live in apartment-like facilities with kitchens for cooking their own meals. All of this contributes to recidivism rates far lower than in the U.S. and thus keeps jail costs low, despite better services and success rates.³²

Perhaps both jails should be closed and a smaller facility, located in the city, could be built or renovated to house the few people who are determined by the legal process to require detention. At minimum, any facility must provide adequate healthcare including Medication Assisted Treatment, humane living conditions, professional, accountable and respectful staff, and real opportunities for educational, social and personal growth and development, aspects which are severely lacking in the current jail models. County officials should realize this opportunity for not only harvesting needed fiscal savings, but positively transforming Erie County's most shameful institution.

Recommendations

Partnership for the Public Good recommends that County government take the following steps to address the persistently high costs of our shrinking jails:

- The County Legislature should immediately begin the process of closing one of the county jails, with robust public input into the decision-making process. County leaders must prioritize the rights of prisoners to due process, healthcare, visitation, and

In Erie County, there are more than double the number of jail beds than inpatient beds for mental health and substance use treatment.

safety, including protection from COVID-19.

- County government should make a transition plan for the hundreds of jail staff to retrain and enter alternate and less harmful employment. The staff, building, and funds from one facility must make a just transition into new jobs and new use.
- The County Sheriff should begin the process of requesting NYS reduce jail capacity, and thus reduce minimum staff requirements—allowing Erie County to capture the savings from the dramatically reduced jail population.
- The County Legislature and County Executive should not approve the Sheriff's jail budget without a commitment to this right-sizing process.

By closing one jail facility, Erie County can ensure resources are used in ways that make our community healthy and safe for all. Finally, county officials should view this opportunity as a turning point for Erie County to divest from the machinations of mass incarceration that have weakened our county for decades, and invest in community strengthening programs that reduce harm and make Erie County a just, safe, and equitable place to live.

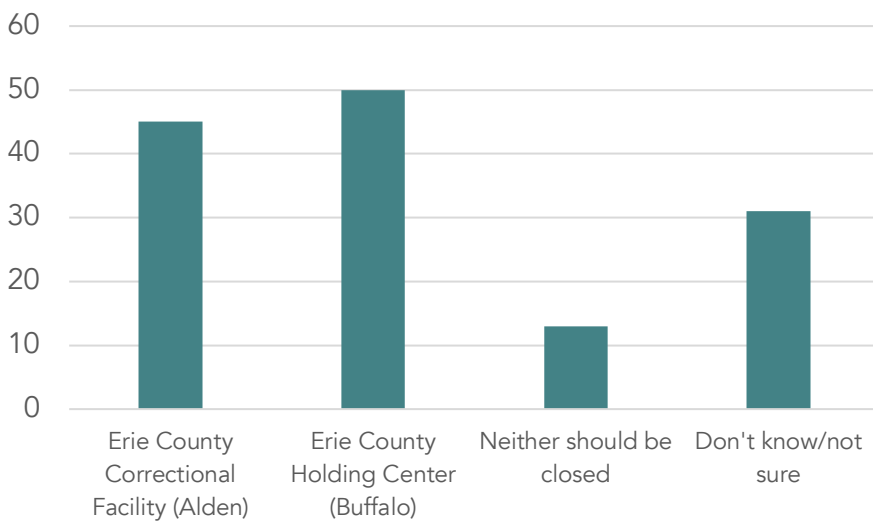
Appendix 1. Survey Results

PPG administered a Community Opinion Survey between October 19 and November 20, 2020, on the potential closure of one of the Erie County jails, either the Correctional Facility in Alden or the Holding Center in downtown Buffalo. As of November 20, we received 139 responses to the survey. Key findings are summarized on this page.

Do respondents have personal experience with the Erie County Holding Center or the Erie County Correctional Facility?



Which jail should be closed?



What are the top considerations in closing one of the county jails?

- Location and accessibility to family/lawyer visits (81%)
- Violent conditions/toxic environment in the facility (81%)
- The physical condition of the facility (60%)
- The spread of COVID-19 (47%)

91% of respondents thought that at least one county jail should be closed.

14% said that **both facilities** should close.

Appendix 2. Jail Management and Correctional Health Division Budget Detail

	2019 (Adjusted for Actual Spending)	2020 (Adopted)	2019 – 2020 Percent Change
Jail Management Division			
Total Appropriation	\$91,464,627	\$97,294,288	+ 6.4%
Revenue	\$1,417,331 (2% of total)	\$967,810 (1% of total)	- 31.7%
County Share	\$90,047,296 (98% of total)	\$96,326,478 (99% of total)	+ 7.0%
Correctional Health Division			
Total Appropriation	\$13,854,522	\$14,290,407	+ 3.1%
Revenue	\$300 (0.1% of total)	\$500 (0.1% of total)	+ 66.7%
County Share	\$13,854,222 (99.9% of total)	\$14,289,907 (99.9% of total)	+ 3.1%

Source: Erie County Adopted Budget 2020, Book A – Operating Funds

Sources

- ¹ New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services “Jail Population in New York State,” September 2020, https://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/crimnet/ojsa/jail_population.pdf
- ² Erie County 2021 Budget Proposed: Book A (Operating Funds), page 259. Available from <https://www2.erie.gov/budget/sites/www2.erie.gov.budget/files/uploads/2021%20Book%20A%20Print.pdf> see also New York State Commission of Correction. The worst offenders: The most problematic local correctional facilities in New York State. February 2018, p. 54, available at <https://scoc.ny.gov/pdfdocs/Problematic-Jails-Report-2-2018.pdf>
- ³ NYS Department of Corrections and Community Supervision. DOCCS Fact Sheet, January 1, 2020, available from <https://doccs.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2020/01/january-monthly-report.pdf>
- ⁴ Erie County Adopted Budget 2020, Book A (Operating Funds) <https://www2.erie.gov/budget/sites/www2.erie.gov.budget/files/uploads/pdfs/2020-Adopted-Budget-Book-A.pdf>
- ⁵ Erie County Proposed Budget 2021, <https://www2.erie.gov/budget/sites/www2.erie.gov.budget/files/uploads/2021%20Book%20A%20Print.pdf>
- ⁶ Actual 2019 County Share of the Division of Jail Management was \$89.7 million, actual 2019 county share of Mental Health Program Administration (including Forensic Mental Health) was \$6.6 million.
- ⁷ U.S Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Mental Health Problems of Prison and Jail Inmates,” September 2006, available from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/mhppji.pdf>
- ⁸ Sandra Tan, “Erie County plans layoffs, cuts and move of Holding Center inmates to close \$137.8M deficit,” *The Buffalo News*, June 4, 2020, available from https://buffalonews.com/news/local/erie-county-plans-layoffs-cuts-and-move-of-holding-center-inmates-to-close-137-8m/article_4439012a-7e03-54e8-9025-091ddc773ac7.html#:~:text=Erie%20County%20Executive%20Mark%20Poloncarz,faces%20without%20federal%20stimulus%20money. and Sandra Tan, “Erie County jail consolidation 'a long way from being finalized',” *The Buffalo News*, July 14, 2020, available from [https://buffalonews.com/news/local/government-and-politics/no-frills-erie-county-budget-proposal-would-cut-jobs-scale-back-roadwork/article_aa4aebc4-0e37-11eb-b1e4-a743bbe14cb0.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/erie-county-jail-consolidation-a-long-way-from-being-finalized/article_0dae5224-c5df-11ea-ab26-7fc8e4fa6ed6.html)
- ⁹ Sandra Tan, “No-frills Erie County budget proposal would cut jobs, scale back roadwork,” October 15, 2020, available from https://buffalonews.com/news/local/government-and-politics/no-frills-erie-county-budget-proposal-would-cut-jobs-scale-back-roadwork/article_aa4aebc4-0e37-11eb-b1e4-a743bbe14cb0.html
- ¹⁰ Undersheriff John Greenan, public statement at a meeting of the Corrections Specialist Advisory Board on November 17, 2020.
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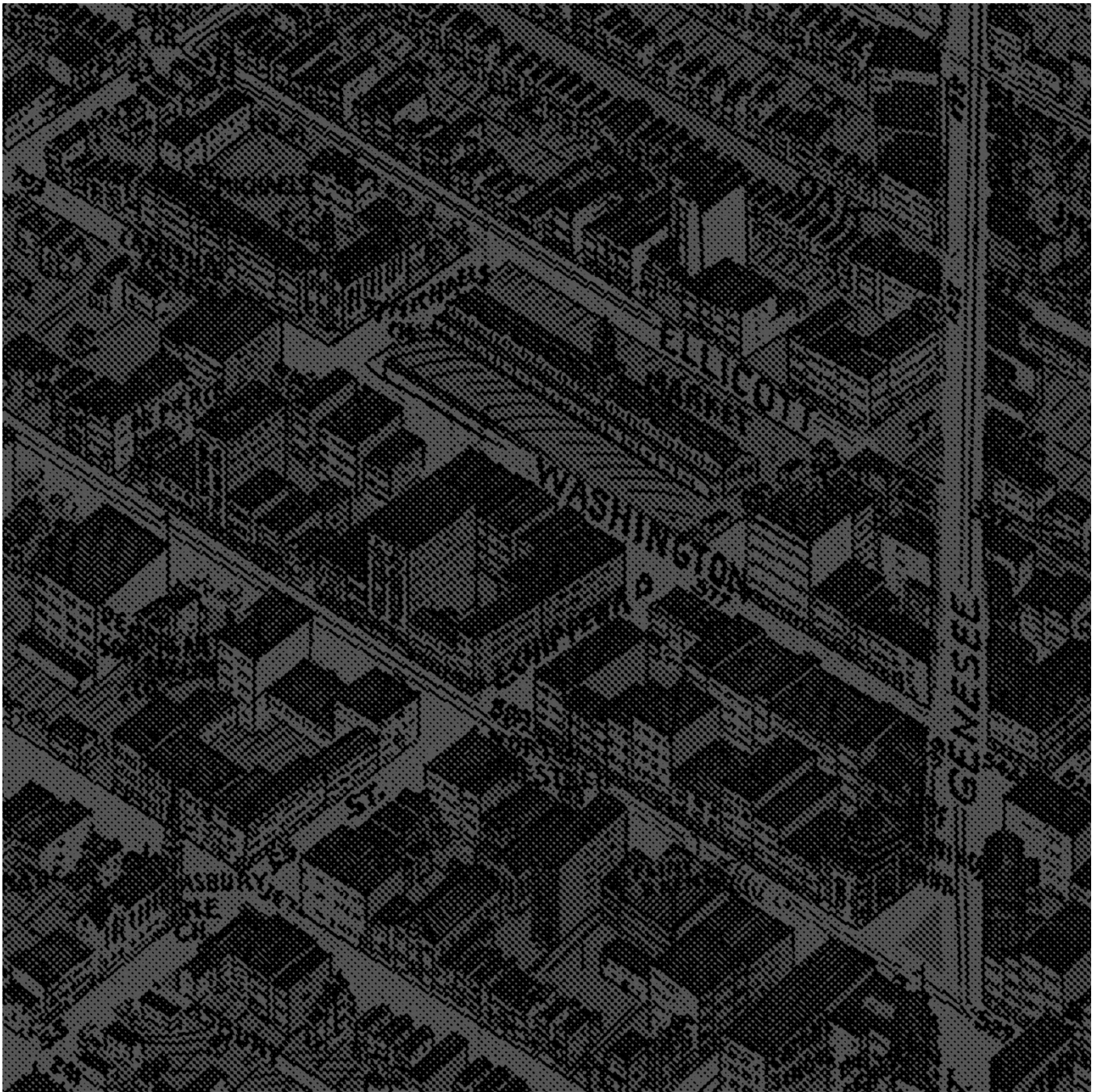
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