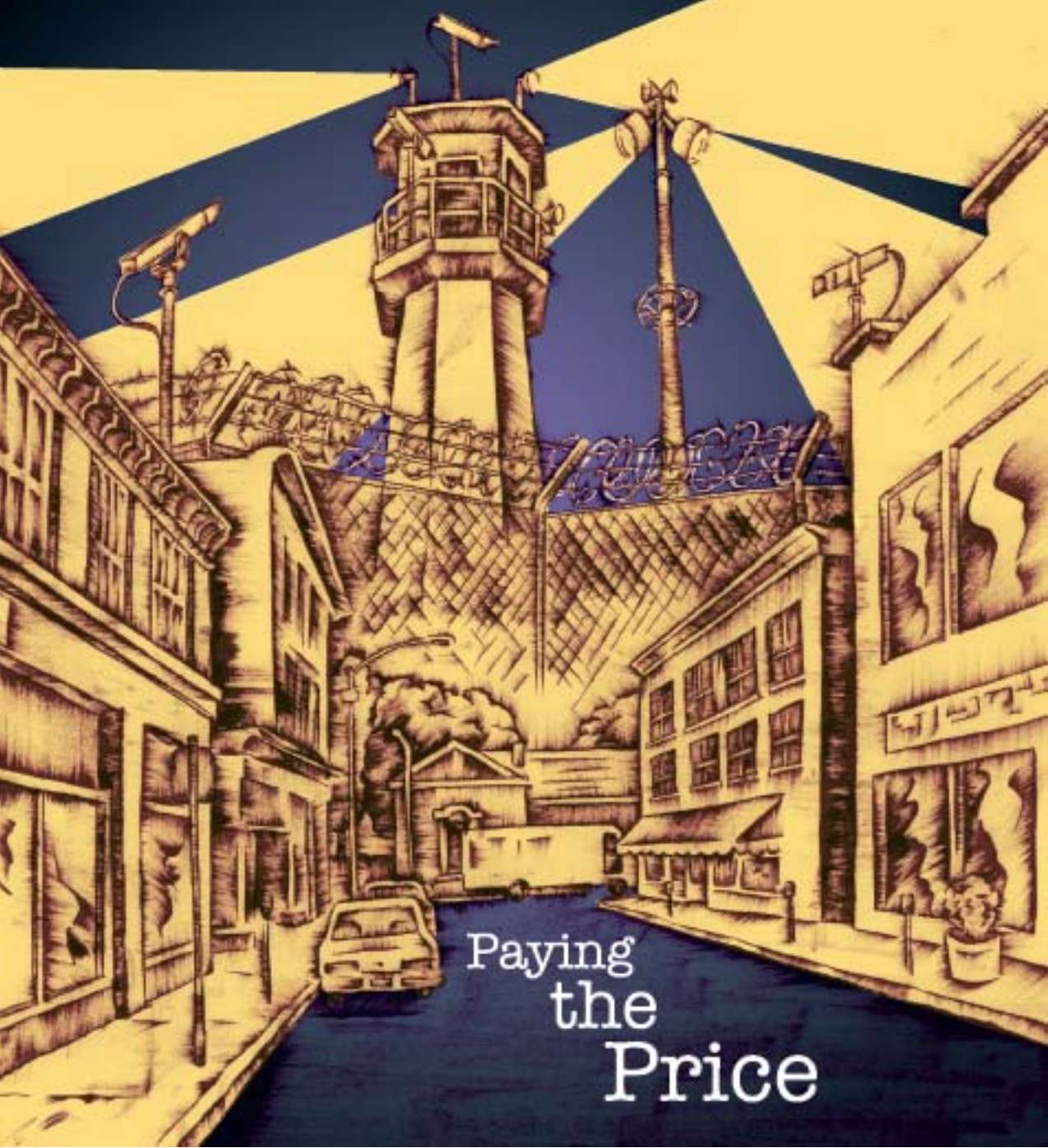


the real cost of prisons project™

Prison Town



Paying
the
Price

Prison Town

Paying the Price

Artist: Kevin Pyle • Writers: Kevin Pyle & Craig Gilmore

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The Real Cost of Prisons Project brings together prison/justice policy activists with political economists to create workshops and materials which explore both the immediate and long-term costs of mass incarceration on the individual, her/his family, community and the nation.

Two additional comic books are part of this series: *Prisoners of the War on Drugs* and *Prisoners of Hard Times: Women and Children*. If you would like copies of these comic books to assist your group in its organizing work, contact Lois Ahrens. Or you can go to www.realcostofprisons.org and download the entire series.

This comic book can be downloaded free of charge from the Real Cost of Prisons website. Please credit the Real Cost of Prisons Project. Any reproduction requires written permission of the Real Cost of Prisons Project, except for small excerpts for review or publicity purposes.

The Real Cost of Prisons Project is an activity of The Sentencing Project, a Washington, DC based non-profit dedicated to reducing over-reliance on incarceration. The Real Cost of Prisons Project is supported by a grant from the Community Advocacy Project of the Open Society Institute.

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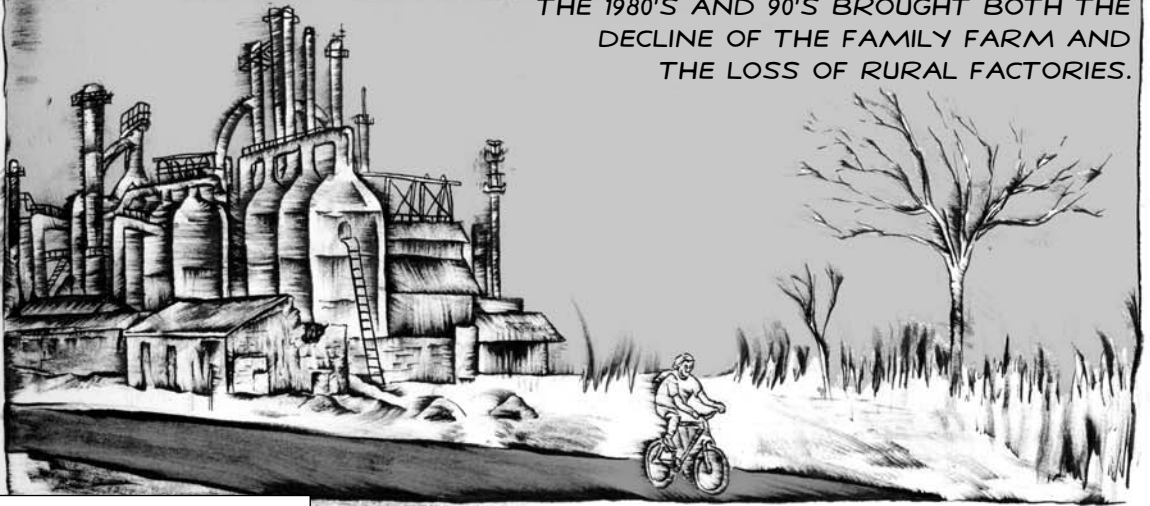
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ANYTOWN U.S.A. - ONCE A THRIVING FARM COMMUNITY - HAS FALLEN ON HARD TIMES.



THE 1980'S AND 90'S BROUGHT BOTH THE DECLINE OF THE FAMILY FARM AND THE LOSS OF RURAL FACTORIES.



THE JOBS THAT STUCK AROUND TENDED TO BE LOW-WAGE AND INSECURE SEASONAL JOBS FOR GLOBAL CORPORATIONS THAT DRAIN MONEY OUT OF THE TOWN.

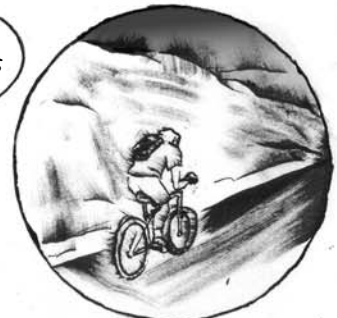
SO LOCAL OFFICIALS OF THESE TOWNS STARTED LOOKING AROUND FOR A NEW "GROWTH" INDUSTRY.



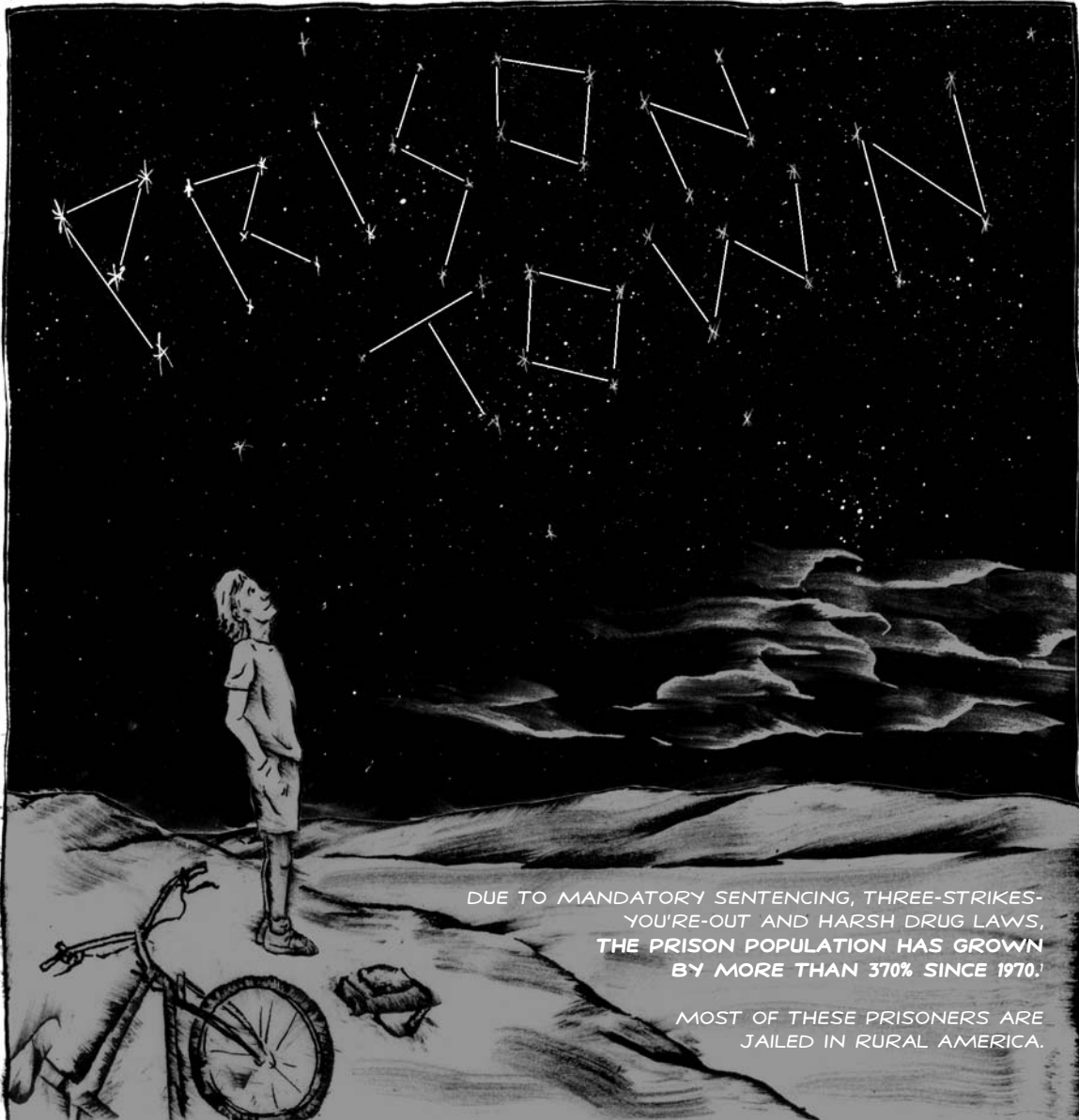
WE NEED TO DO SOMETHING!

I'M TELLING YOU IT'S THE PERFECT THING.

WELL, I SUPPOSE THERE'LL ALWAYS BE WORK.



SOMETIMES IT FOUND THEM FIRST.



DUE TO MANDATORY SENTENCING, THREE-STRIKES-YOU'RE-OUT AND HARSH DRUG LAWS, THE PRISON POPULATION HAS GROWN BY MORE THAN 370% SINCE 1970.¹

MOST OF THESE PRISONERS ARE JAILED IN RURAL AMERICA.

BETWEEN 1990 AND 1999, 245 JAILS AND PRISONS WERE BUILT IN RURAL AND SMALL TOWN COMMUNITIES, WITH A NEW ONE OPENING SOMEWHERE EVERY FIFTEEN DAYS.²

THERE ARE MORE PRISONS IN AMERICA THAN WALMARTS. THERE ARE MORE PRISONERS IN AMERICA TODAY THAN FARMERS.³



THESE PRISONERS ARE NOW SEEN AS AN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

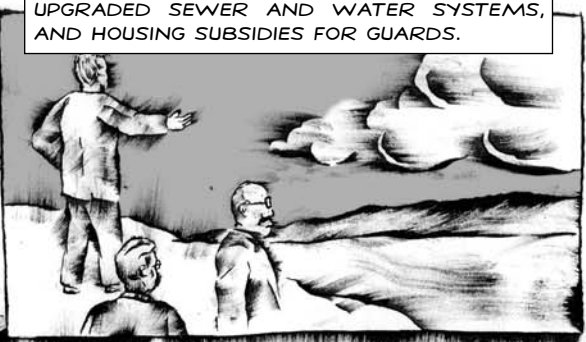
"WHEN LEGISLATORS CRY 'LOCK'EM UP!,' THEY OFTEN MEAN 'LOCK'EM UP IN MY DISTRICT!'"⁴

-FORMER NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATOR DANIEL FELDMAN.



IN THE BEGINNING OF THE BUILDING BOOM, FEDERAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES OFTEN OFFERED REWARDS TO TOWNS TO BUILD PRISONS. WANTING TO GET A PIECE OF THE 49 BILLION \$ PIE, MANY TOWNS NOW COMPETE FOR THE CHANCE TO HAVE A PRISON.

TO BE CONSIDERED "COMPETITIVE" IN THE BIDDING WARS FOR PRISONS, SOME TOWNS SWEETEN THE DEAL WITH FREE LAND, UPGRADED SEWER AND WATER SYSTEMS, AND HOUSING SUBSIDIES FOR GUARDS.



FEDERAL AND STATE OFFICIALS, PRIVATE-PRISON SALESMEN OR, MORE RECENTLY, INVESTMENT BANKERS WILL VISIT THE POTENTIAL HOST TOWN IN ORDER TO SELL THE IDEA.



SUCH MEETINGS ARE DONE QUIETLY, OFTEN BEHIND CLOSED DOORS. "PREMATURE DISCLOSURE," ACCORDING TO THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN PRISONS,

CAN MAKE SITING A PRISON DIFFICULT BECAUSE THE PUBLIC MIGHT FIND OUT BEFORE THE DEAL IS SET.⁵

WHILE LOCAL OFFICIALS CHARGED WITH THE TASK OF CREATING JOBS AND REVENUE MAY WANT A PRISON OR TO EXPAND THEIR JAIL, THE GENERAL PUBLIC OFTEN NEEDS MORE CONVINCING

IT'S A NON-POLLUTING, WELL-PAYING, RECESSION-PROOF INDUSTRY THAT GOES 24/7, 365 DAYS A YEAR.




TOWN MEETINGS ARE SPONSORED AND COMMUNITY GROUPS LOBBIED. A JUSTICE DEPT. BRIEFING ADVISES "LIMITING THE TIME PERIOD FOR DECISIONMAKING."⁶

TYPICALLY A PR CAMPAIGN WILL BE LAUNCHED, FLOODING THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AND TV WITH POSITIVE SPIN ON THE BENEFITS OF BUILDING A PRISON.



I'M JUST NOT GONNA BE ABLE TO MAKE THAT MEETING 'MORROW NIGHT.





IN 1996, OREGON SITED SIX PRISONS IN SIX MONTHS UNDER OREGON'S "SUPER SITING LAW" WHICH MADE PRISONS EXEMPT FROM STATE LEVEL ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW.⁷

IN MENDOTA, CA WHERE THE FBOP WANTED TO BUILD A 5 PRISON "CORRECTIONS COMPLEX," THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT WAS AVAILABLE ONLY IN ENGLISH DESPITE THE FACT THAT 86% OF THE LOCAL POPULATION SPEAKS SPANISH. EVENTUALLY A SPANISH-TRANSLATED 10 PAGE SUMMARY OF THE 1000 PAGE DOCUMENT WAS PROVIDED.⁸

A FLORIDA D.O.C. TASK FORCE FOUND THAT LOCAL ZONING LAWS HINDER ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR NEW FACILITIES. IN RESPONSE, THE LEGISLATURE PASSED THE CORRECTIONAL REFORM ACT OF 1983, WHICH GAVE THE STATE THE AUTHORITY TO OVERRIDE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN SELECTING SITES FOR CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES.⁹

REEVES COUNTY, TEXAS ISSUED 3 BONDS OVER 15 YEARS, \$90 MILLION, TO BUILD 3 FACILITIES IN THE DYING OIL TOWN OF PECOS. JUDGE JIMMY GALINDO, THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE DEAL SAYS: "... WE LIVE IN A PART OF THE COUNTRY WHERE IT'S VERY DIFFICULT TO CREATE AND SUSTAIN JOBS IN A GLOBAL MARKET. [PRISONS] BECOME A VERY CLEAN INDUSTRY FOR US TO PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT TO CITIZENS."
"I LOOK AT IT AS A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT."¹⁰

MANY MUNICIPALITIES ARE EXPANDING THEIR JAIL FACILITIES IN ORDER TO RENT BEDS TO OVERCROWDED FEDERAL AND STATE PRISONS.

SANILAC COUNTY, MI HOPES IT WILL GET ABOUT \$900,000 IN REVENUE THIS YEAR FROM RENTING BEDS.¹¹

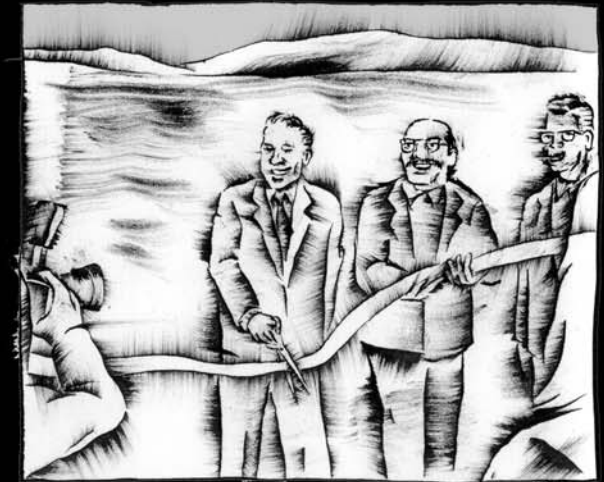
IN STANLEY, WI PRIVATE DEVELOPERS MANAGED TO SITE AND BUILD A \$60 MILLION 1,326-BED PRISON WITHOUT ONE ELECTED OFFICIAL CASTING A VOTE OR SIGNING A BILL.¹² IN 2001 THE STATE BOUGHT THE PRISON FOR \$82.5 MILLION.¹³

"IT FLATLY INTRODUCES MONEY AND THE DESIRE FOR PROFIT INTO THE IMPRISONMENT POLICY DEBATE, BECAUSE YOU'VE GOT AN ENTITY IN WISCONSIN, A PRIVATE ENTITY, WITH A STRONG FINANCIAL INTEREST IN KEEPING PEOPLE IN PRISON AND HAVING THEM SENTENCED TO PRISON."¹⁴ -WALTER DICKEY- FORMER WISCONSIN STATE CORRECTIONS CHIEF.

TODAY IN MISSISSIPPI, WHERE THE CELL SUPPLY HAS OUTRUN THE CRIMINAL SUPPLY, LAW-MAKERS, LOCAL SHERIFFS, AND PRIVATE-PRISON INTERESTS ARE ALL COMPETING FOR THE SCARCE SUPPLY OF PRISONERS.¹⁵

ONE WEBSITE, JAILBEDSPACE.COM, CONNECTS RENTERS WITH SELLERS. "IT'S A GOOD MARKETING TOOL," SAY LT. ROBERT LEFEVER OF THE PUTNAM COUNTY CORRECTIONAL FACILITY, WHICH RENTS OUT AN AVERAGE OF 60 BEDS PER DAY.¹⁶

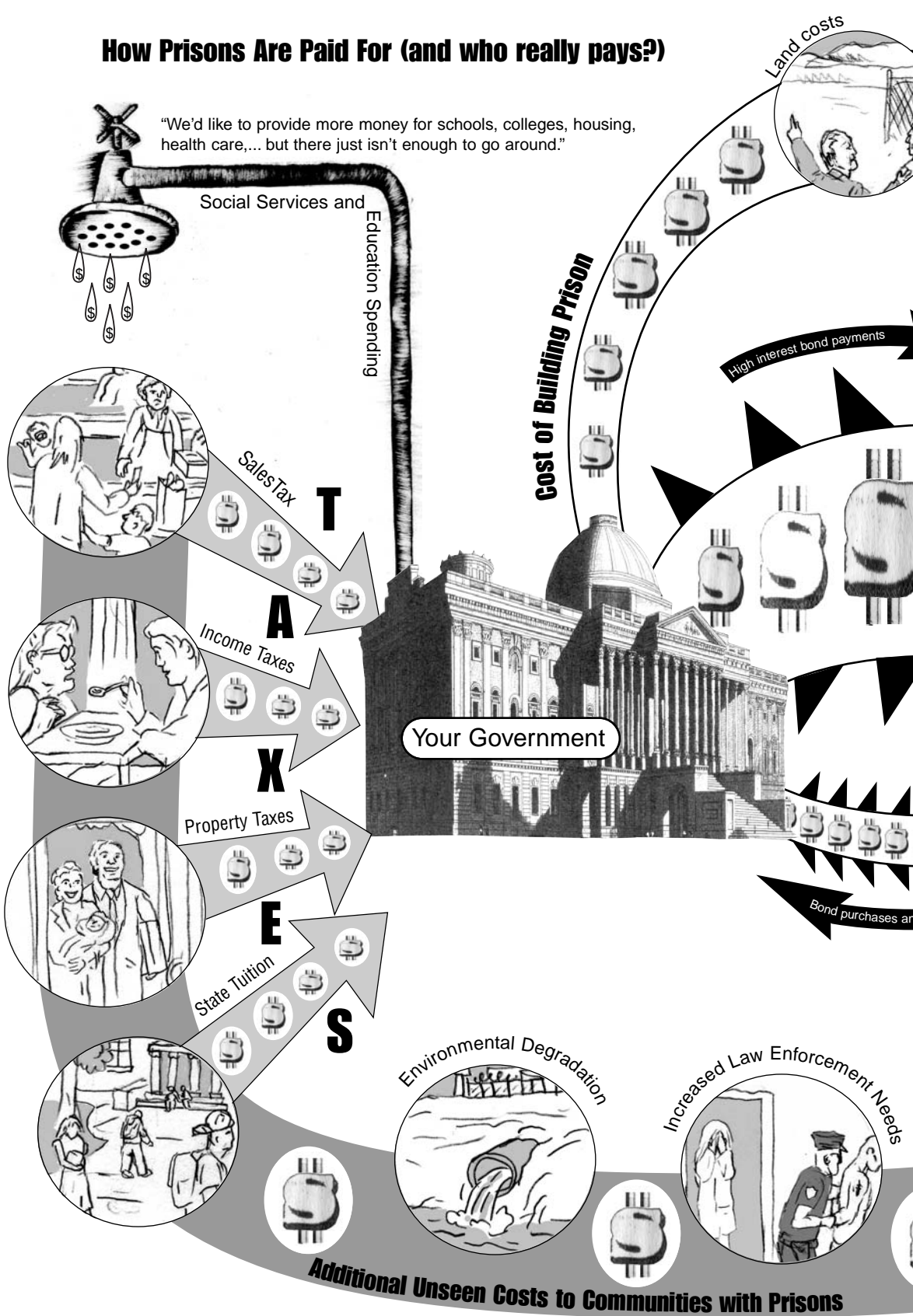
IN ANYTOWN U.S.A., WHERE PRISONS ARE SEEN AS ECONOMIC SAVIORS, LEADERS FIND A WAY TO APPROVE THEM DESPITE WHATEVER RESERVATIONS THE LOCALS MAY HAVE.



SO THE PRISON IS BUILT AND THE PRISONERS ARRIVE AND THE TOWN WAITS TO SEE WHAT IT WILL BECOME.



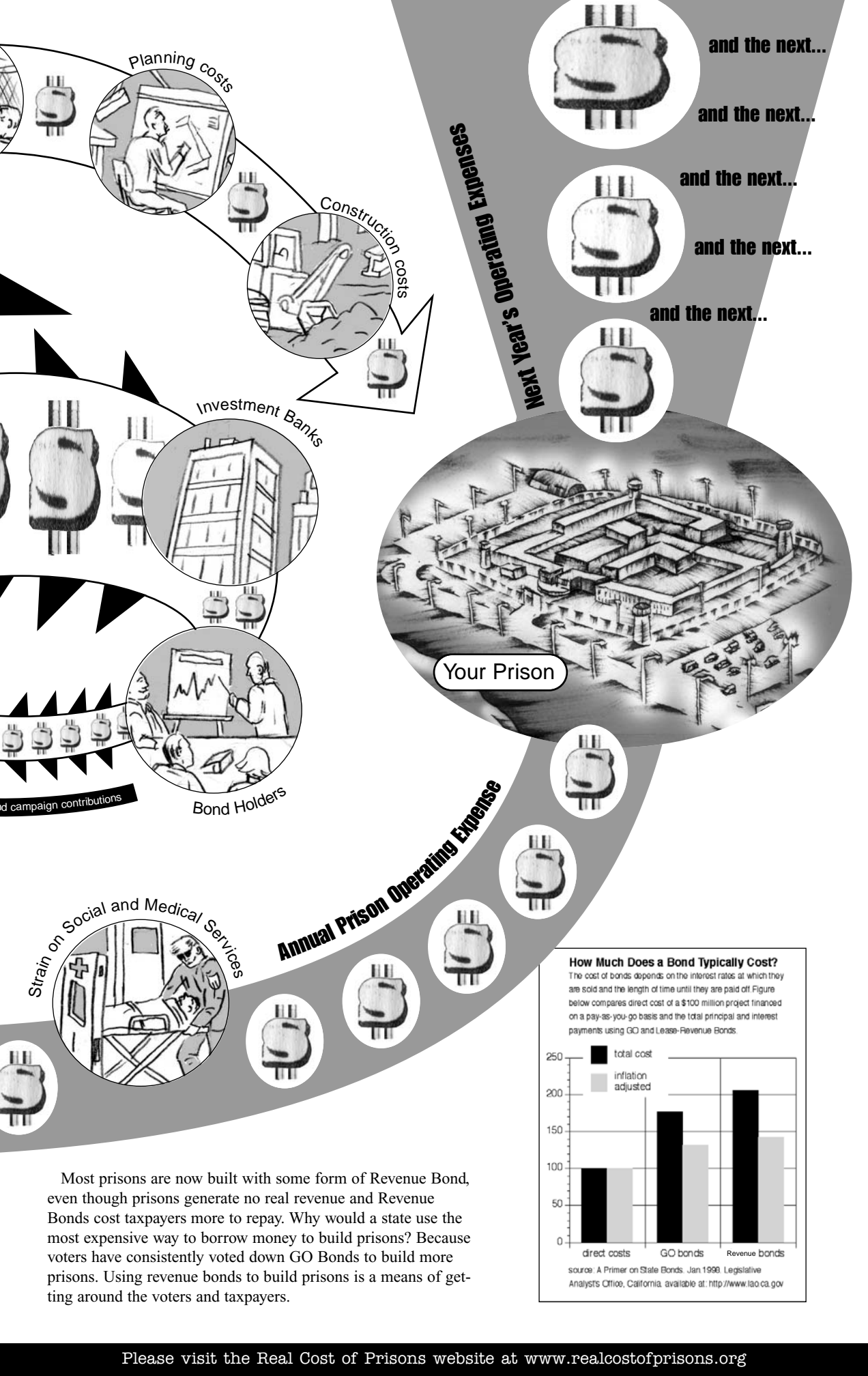
How Prisons Are Paid For (and who really pays?)



What is a bond? A bond is a loan made to a government. Governments pay investment bankers to make the loan attractive ('structure the deal') and find lenders ('issue the bonds'). Governments then pay lenders ('bondholders') principal and interest on the loans.

Governments issue two broad categories of bond: General Obligation (GO) bonds and Revenue Bonds.

General Obligation bonds are guaranteed by the taxing power of the state. Most GO Bonds require approval by the voters, and in many states by 2/3 of the voters. Revenue Bonds are designed to be paid off by revenues generated by the project being built, like highway tolls, bridge tolls, student tuition, etc.



Planning costs

Construction costs

Investment Banks

Bond Holders

Strain on Social and Medical Services

Annual Prison Operating Expense

Next Year's Operating Expenses

Your Prison

and the next...

and the next...

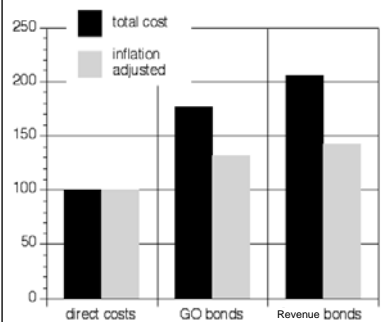
and the next...

and the next...

and the next...

How Much Does a Bond Typically Cost?

The cost of bonds depends on the interest rates at which they are sold and the length of time until they are paid off. Figure below compares direct cost of a \$100 million project financed on a pay-as-you-go basis and the total principal and interest payments using GO and Lease-Revenue Bonds.

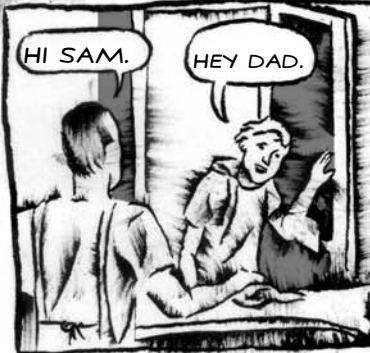


source: A Primer on State Bonds, Jan 1998 Legislative Analysts Office, California, available at: <http://www.lao.ca.gov>

Most prisons are now built with some form of Revenue Bond, even though prisons generate no real revenue and Revenue Bonds cost taxpayers more to repay. Why would a state use the most expensive way to borrow money to build prisons? Because voters have consistently voted down GO Bonds to build more prisons. Using revenue bonds to build prisons is a means of getting around the voters and taxpayers.



IN THE 1990'S, AN AVERAGE OF 25 PRISONS A YEAR WERE BUILT IN RURAL AMERICA.¹⁷



HI SAM.

HEY DAD.

ON AVERAGE, 80% OF NEW PRISON JOBS GO TO FOLKS WHO DON'T LIVE, OR PAY TAXES, IN THE PRISON TOWN.¹⁸



CUTTING IT CLOSE TODAY.

JUST 'ELIMINATING INEFFICIENCY.

CAN'T ARGUE WITH THAT.

IN DELANO, CA THE NEW PRISON CREATED 1,600 JOBS.



HELP YOU?

COFFEE

79 WENT TO LOCAL RESIDENTS.¹⁹



NATIONALLY, PRISON EMPLOYEES HAVE SHOWN LITTLE INTEREST IN BUYING HOMES IN A NEW PRISON TOWN.



SO YOU HEAR ABOUT THE DUNKIN DOUGHNUTS GOING IN? RIGHT ACROSS FROM THE PRISON?

YOU CAN BET I TOLD THE MAYOR WHAT I THOUGHT OF THAT.

YEA.

AND, AS IT TURNS OUT, PRISONS ATTRACT CHAIN STORES, WHICH PUSH OUT LOCALLY-OWNED BUSINESS.²⁰

ACCORDING TO THOMAS JOHNSON, AN ECONOMIST AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, PRISONS ARE NOT VERY GOOD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES BECAUSE THEY CREATE FEW LINKS TO THE LOCAL ECONOMY.²¹



PRISONS GENERALLY ORDER FOOD AND SUPPLIES FROM CENTRALIZED STATE WAREHOUSES - NOT LOCAL GROCERY OR HARDWARE STORES.²²



COMMUNITY WORK PROJECTS PERFORMED BY PRISONERS ARE VERY COMMON AND PRISON OFFICIALS SEE THEM AS GOOD "COMMUNITY RELATIONS."²³ IN THE PAST, HOWEVER, THESE JOBS EMPLOYED LOCAL RESIDENTS WHO PAID TAXES AND SPENT LOCALLY.



THERE ARE OTHER, LESS EASILY MEASURED EFFECTS.



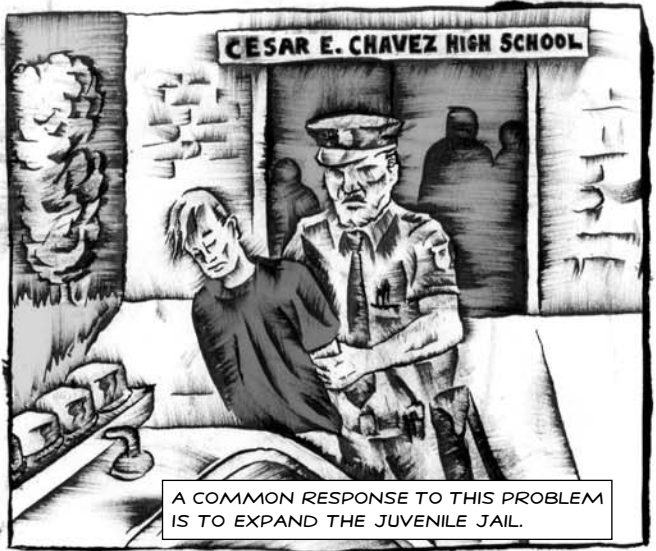


AFTER A PRISON WAS BUILT IN SUSANVILLE, CA, CAROL JELDNESS, A MEDIATOR FOR THE FAMILY COURT, SAW HER CASELOAD, MAINLY CHILD CUSTODY AND DIVORCE, JUMP FROM 167 TO 320 IN ONE YEAR.²⁴

"I SPENT 8 TO 16 HOURS A DAY IN SOLID BULLSHIT... YOU HEAR CURSING ALL DAY, AND YOU COME HOME AND THAT'S ALL YOU THINK ABOUT. IT DID TRAGEDY ON MY FAMILY." - GUARD AT SUSANVILLE PRISON²⁵



ANOTHER SOCIAL COST IS A RISE IN JUVENILE PROBLEMS WITH DRUGS AND VIOLENCE.



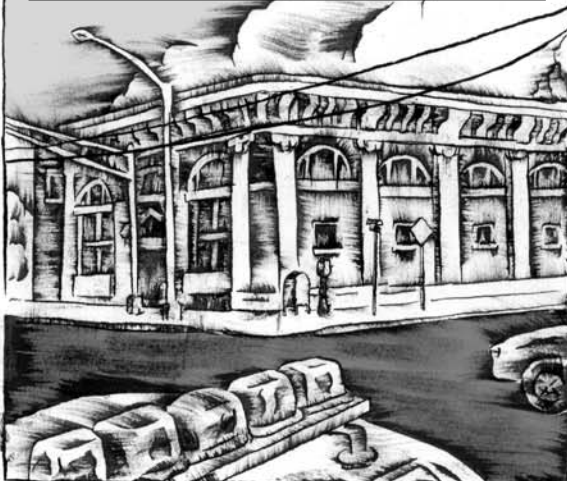
IN THE COMPETITION TO LURE PRISONS MANY RURAL TOWNS HAVE PUT THE INTERESTS OF THE PRISON BEFORE THE INTERESTS OF IT'S RESIDENTS.



REEVES COUNTY, TEXAS FOUND ITSELF SERVING A BOND DEBT CLOSE TO \$ 1/2 MILLION A MONTH FOR THREE PRISONS THEY BUILT ON SPEC. WHEN THEY COULDN'T KEEP ONE OF THEM FILLED, THEY PAID \$ 62,000 A MONTH TO GEO GROUP, A PRIVATE PRISONS CORPORATION, TO FIND INMATES.



REEVES COUNTY STILL HAS TO SERVICE THAT DEBT AS WELL ALL THE OPERATING EXPENSES OF THE 3 PRISONS. ²⁶



IN LAKEVIEW, OREGON A CONTRACT WITH THE PRISON SAYS THAT IN EVENT OF WATER SHORTAGES THE PRISON HAS PRIORITY ²⁷



"WASTEWATER MANAGEMENT HAS BEEN A MAJOR ISSUE AT EVERY PRISON WE HAVE BUILT." ²⁸-FORMER COLORADO DOC DIRECTOR JOHN SUTHERS

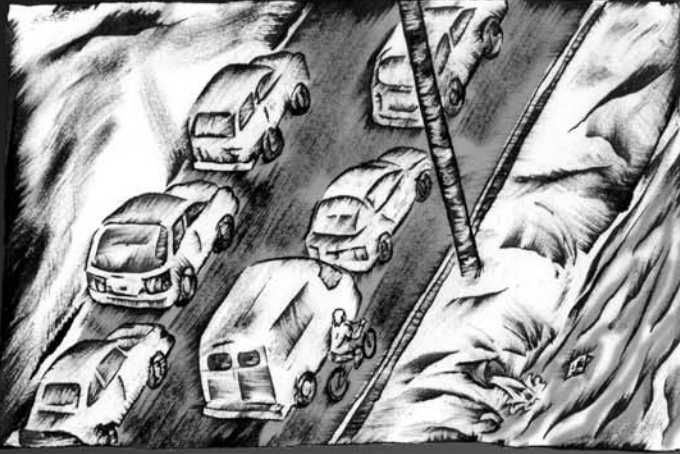


SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS LIKE THESE MAY SEAL THE FATE OF A PRISON TOWN.



"ONCE YOU HAVE THE REPUTATION OF A PRISON TOWN, YOU WON'T BECOME A FORTUNE 500 COMPANY TOWN, OR AN INTERNET OR SOFTWARE COMPANY TOWN, OR EVEN A DIVERSE TOURISM AND COMPANY TOWN." ²⁹

SO NOW ANYTOWN, U.S.A. IS PRISON TOWN, U.S.A.,
LIKE THOUSANDS OF TOWNS ACROSS THE COUNTRY.



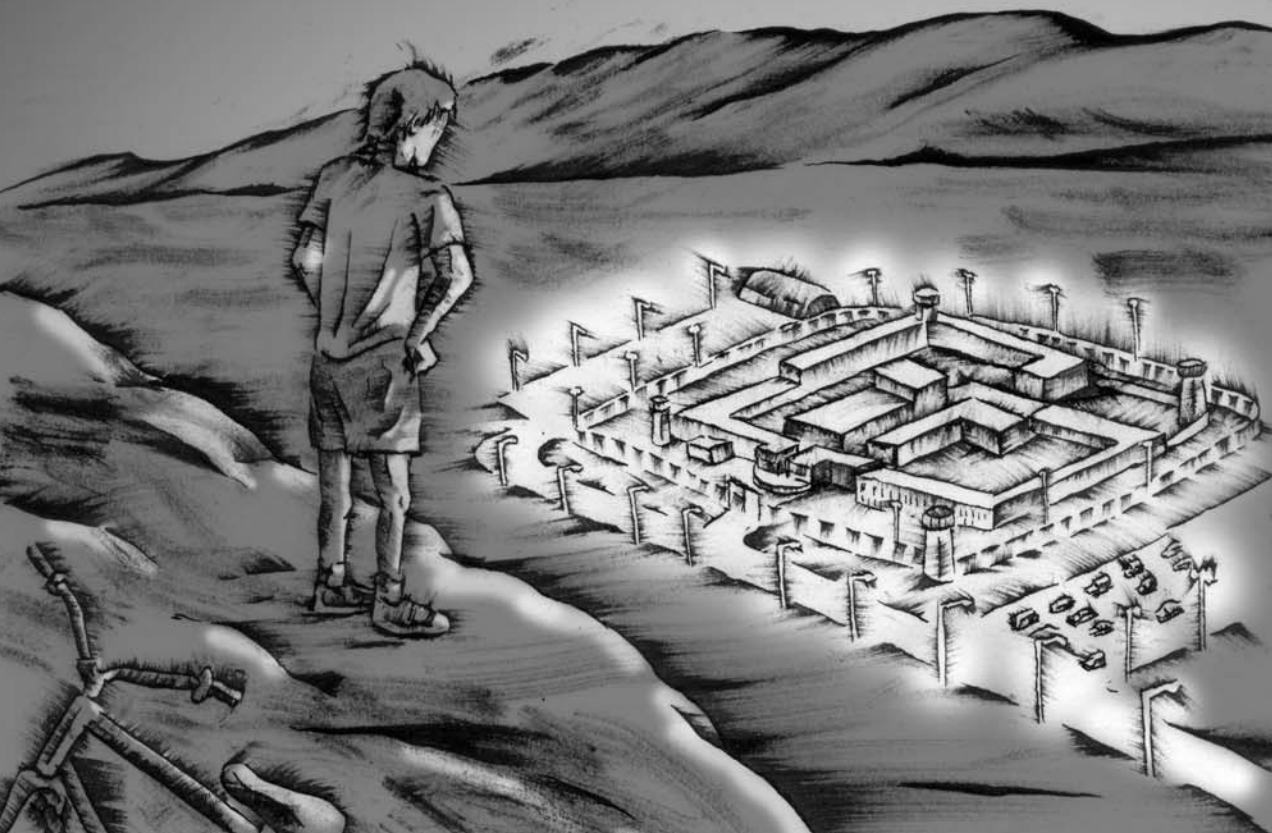
OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS, MOST
PRISON TOWNS HAVE GROWN
POORER AND MORE DESPERATE.



PRISONS ARE ANOTHER PROBLEM,
NOT A SOLUTION.

WHAT IS UNKNOWNABLE IS
WHAT THE PRISON WILL DO TO
THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF
THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE HERE.

THOSE WHO CAN LEAVE
AND THOSE WHO CAN NOT. . .



MILLION DOLLAR BLOCKS³⁰

THERE ARE BLOCKS IN BROOKLYN, NY, AND OTHER PLACES, WHERE THE GOVERNMENT IS SPENDING \$1 MILLION A YEAR.³¹



THE MONEY IS NOT BEING SPENT ON DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAMS.



IT'S NOT BEING SPENT ON PRE-NATAL CARE OR HEALTH CARE.

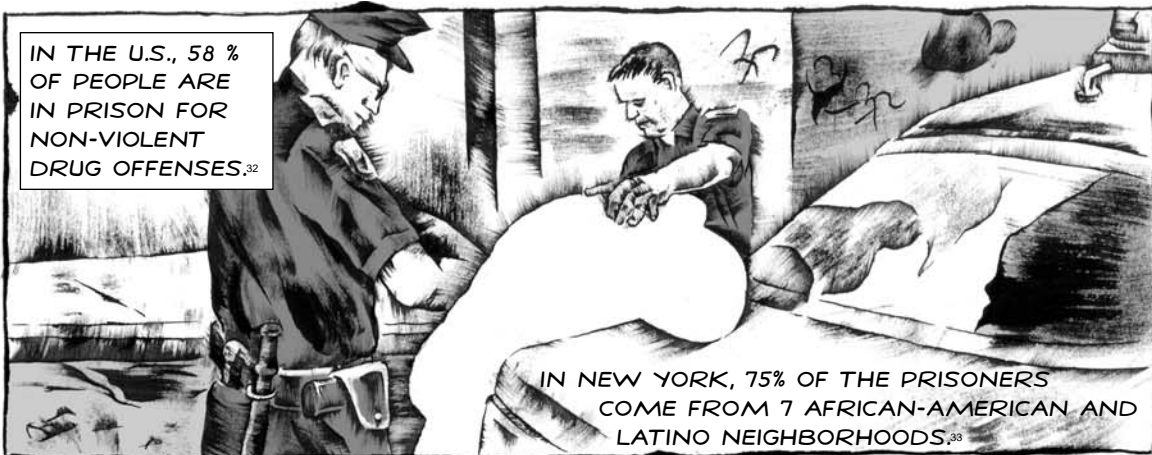


IT'S NOT BEING SPENT ON EDUCATION OR JOB TRAINING.



IT'S BEING SPENT ON IMPRISONMENT.

IN THE U.S., 58 %
OF PEOPLE ARE
IN PRISON FOR
NON-VIOLENT
DRUG OFFENSES.³²



IN NEW YORK, 75% OF THE PRISONERS
COME FROM 7 AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND
LATINO NEIGHBORHOODS.³³



PEOPLE OF COLOR MAKE UP 87% OF
THE NEW YORK PRISON
POPULATION GROWTH
SINCE 1970'S.³⁴



65% OF FEMALE
U.S. STATE
PRISONERS
HAVE YOUNG
CHILDREN.³⁵

87% OF PRISONERS IN
NEW YORK
ARE CAGED
MORE THAN
2 HOURS
FROM NEW
YORK CITY.³⁶

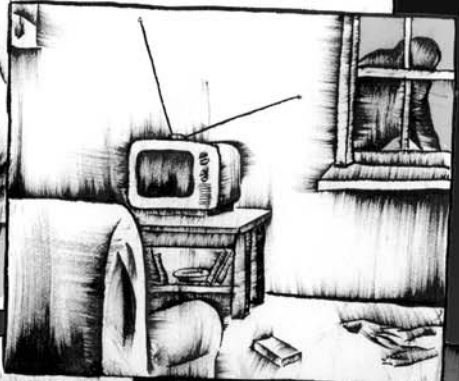


ALL RIGHT DARLINGS -
SUIT UP - IT'S TIME TO GO.

AUNTIE!!

THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT REMOVING SO MANY PEOPLE FROM A COMMUNITY MAKES IT SAFER.

IN FACT, GIVEN THE HUGE CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE BEING LOCKED UP FROM TARGETED NEIGHBORHOODS, THE OPPOSITE APPEARS TO BE TRUE.³⁷



WHEN YOU TURN SOMEONE INTO A PRISONER YOU PUT THEM ON A ROAD THAT IS VERY HARD TO GET OFF. TWO IN THREE PEOPLE WILL END UP BACK IN PRISON - HALF OF THOSE DUE TO PAROLE VIOLATIONS, NOT NEW CRIME.³⁸

WHEN YOU TURN SOMEONE INTO A PRISONER, YOU TRANSFER THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POWER, REAL OR POTENTIAL, TO THE PEOPLE WHO BUILD AND WORK IN PRISONS. THEY CAN NO LONGER VOTE, TAKE CARE OF THEIR KIDS, OR PROVIDE FOR THEIR FAMILY.




WITH EACH PERSON REMOVED FROM A COMMUNITY, THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BONDS BREAK DOWN A LITTLE MORE.

WITH 98% OF PEOPLE LEAVING PRISON RETURNING TO THAT SAME, UNCHANGED BLOCK, A PLACE WITHOUT JOBS, EFFECTIVE DRUG COUNSELING, OR AFFORDABLE HOUSING,³⁹ DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO SPEND A MILLION DOLLARS THIS WAY?




SO WHAT IF THAT MONEY WAS SPENT ON OTHER THINGS?

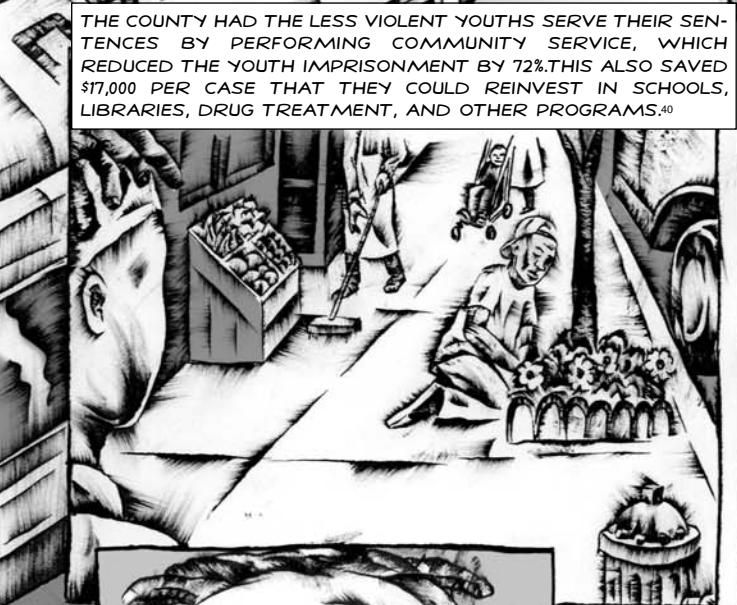




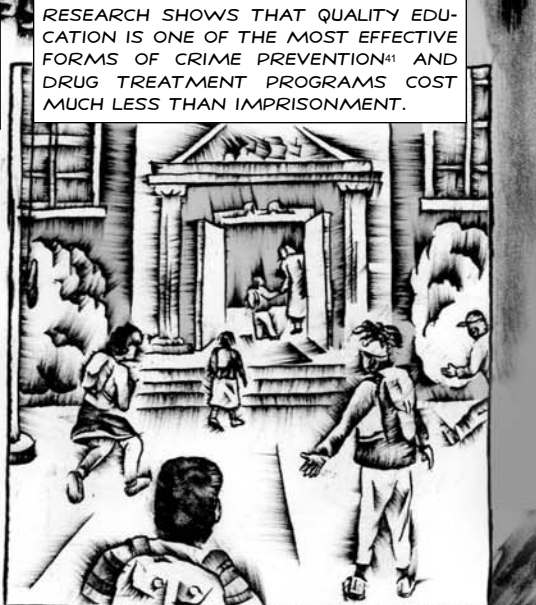
IN OREGON AND OHIO PROGRAMS ARE ATTEMPTING TO CHANGE THIS BY RECHANNELING MONEY BACK INTO THE HIGH CRIME AREAS. IN DESCHUTES COUNTY, THE STATE TURNED OVER THE COST OF LOCKING UP YOUTH, \$50,000 PER YOUTH PER YEAR, TO THE COUNTY.



BY MAKING LOCAL OFFICIALS AND PAROLE OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES, THEY HAVE PROVIDED A DIRECT INCENTIVE TO MAKE THE STREETS SAFER.



THE COUNTY HAD THE LESS VIOLENT YOUTHS SERVE THEIR SENTENCES BY PERFORMING COMMUNITY SERVICE, WHICH REDUCED THE YOUTH IMPRISONMENT BY 72%. THIS ALSO SAVED \$17,000 PER CASE THAT THEY COULD REINVEST IN SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, DRUG TREATMENT, AND OTHER PROGRAMS.⁴⁰



RESEARCH SHOWS THAT QUALITY EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORMS OF CRIME PREVENTION⁴¹ AND DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAMS COST MUCH LESS THAN IMPRISONMENT.



SO INSTEAD OF REMOVING PEOPLE, THE COMMUNITY SEEKS TO HELP THEM STAY OUT OF PRISON.



WHERE THEY BELONG.

GLOSSARY

Coercive Migration: The movements of people from their neighborhoods, through the courts and jails to prison and back. The concentrations of large numbers of prisoners in certain rural prisons and the fact that their former homes are concentrated in relatively few neighborhoods of urban poverty leads to huge impacts for the urban neighborhoods who deal with constant turnover of their population and disrupt the unity of family and neighborhoods.

Community Reinvestment: The alternative to "Million Dollar Blocks." A program that redirects money spent on prisons to investment on the blocks where current or formerly incarcerated men and women live, spending money on health care, job training, education, drug treatment and other services instead of incarceration.

Corrections: (as in Department of Corrections) Term used with no apparent sense of irony to describe government departments in charge of prisons and the prison industry as a whole.

Criminalization: the process of making behaviors illegal or of radically increasing the severity of the punishment. Also used to describe the populations targeted by these policies, for example, the criminalization of the homeless or of Black youth.

Development Subsidies: the opposite of mitigation funds. Subsidies are money paid by local or state governments to attract or retain businesses. They can include city or state tax breaks, tax-advantaged financing, investment in roads, housing or transportation funds for industry employees. Such subsidies, often called "Corporate Welfare," rarely pay off for the town.

Industry of Last Resort: those industries who have trouble

finding host communities because they are unpleasant neighborhoods, for example: incinerators, prisons, concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs), toxic waste dumps. Industries of last resort seek communities desperate for jobs and tax revenues and where they believe people will not exercise their political power. For example: poor rural communities and inner city neighborhoods.

Million DollarBlock: A city block in which the state is spending \$1,000,000 or more to incarcerate former residents or to supervise the formerly incarcerated.

Mitigation: state money paid to local governments to pay the costs of siting including extending roads, sewage pipes, increased use of courts, etc. Mitigation offered by the state is usually far short of the real costs to the host community, leaving them in a deeper financial hole.

Police State: (1) Any state or country that relies primarily on police and prisons to control some or all of the population. (2) A state dependent on fear to keep people in order. (3) A place in which 'safety' is defined narrowly as security from acts of random violence rather than, for example, freedom to drive a car and not be stopped and searched for no reason.

Prison Industrial Complex: (often PIC): an informal or formal alliance of government bureaucrats, politicians, private industry, bankers, real estate developers and labor leaders who push criminalization, harsher sentences, more police and prisons which increases their political power and/or private incomes.

Siting: (Host) The process in which a prison (or other industry) chooses a location and convinces that community to welcome it. The community in which the prison is built is called the "host."

FOOTNOTES

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- 2: Calvin Beale, "Cellular Rural Development: New Prisons in Rural and Small Town Areas in the 1990's," paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Albuquerque, New Mexico, August 18, 2001. "From Building a Prison Economy in Rural America," by Tracy Huling, pg. 2
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- 4: Daniel Feldman, "20 Years of Prison Expansion: A Failing National Strategy," in *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 53, No. 6, November/December, 1993. From "Building a Prison Economy in Rural America," by Tracy Huling, pg. 20
- 5: Critical Resistance East California Prison Moratorium Project, New Forms of Environmental Racism, www.criticalresistance.org.
- 6: Issues in Siting Correctional Facilities, Department Of Justice, pg. 17
- 7: Prison Siting Forces Lawsuit Against U.S. DOJ, Western Prison Project, westernprisonproject.org.
- 8: Critical Resistance East & California Prison Moratorium Project, New Forms of Environmental Racism, www.criticalresistance.org.
- 9: Issues in Siting Correctional Facilities, Department Of Justice, pg. 17
- 10: Sasha Abramsky, "Incarceration Inc.," *The Nation*, 7/19/04.
- 11: David Jesse, "Cells For Rent," *Times Herald*, 5/11/04.
- 12: Richard P. Jones and Mary Zahn, "Decision to Build Prisons Moves Out of State's Hands," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 1/23/00.
- 13: Charles Westerberg, "Tough on Crime, Easy on Big Business," *FightingBob.com*, 6/26/03.
- 14: Richard P. Jones and Mary Zahn, "Decision to Build Prisons Moves Out of State's Hands," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 1/23/00.
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- 17: Peter Wagner, *The Prison Index*, 2003, pg. 35
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- 21: Douglas Clement, "Big House On The Prairie," *Fedgazette*, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Vol. 14, No. 1, January, 2002. "From Building a Prison Economy in Rural America," by Tracy Huling, pg. 7.
- 22: John K. Wiley, "Study: Hosting Prisons Could Harm Small Towns' Economic Prospects," Associated Press, 7/17/04.
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- 26: Sasha Abramsky, "Incarceration Inc.," *The Nation*, 7/19/04.
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- 28: Stephen Raher, "Research Memo Re: Economic Impacts of Rural Prisons," Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition. 5/22/2003.
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- 33: Tracy Huling, "Prisons as a Growth Industry in Rural America: An Exploratory Discussion of the Effects on Young African American Men in the Inner Cities." 05/15/99.
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- 40: Susan B. Tucker and Eric Cadora, "From Prisons to Parks in Oregon," *Ideas for an Open Society*, vol.3 number 3, 11/03, pg2.
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NATIONAL AVERAGE
COST TO IMPRISON
A PERSON FOR ONE
YEAR: \$29,041



the cost of a cage



NATIONAL
AVERAGE COST
OF ONE YEAR
OF COMMUNITY
COLLEGE: \$1,518

