

Lancaster County Can Reduce Its Jail Spending by Investing in Supportive Services

Lancaster County is currently considering plans to build a large new jail¹ estimated to cost residents between \$385 million and \$407 million (excluding professional fees).² Though the county initially planned to build 1,212 jail beds based on a needs assessment conducted in 2023 by CGL Companies, that number was revised to roughly 1,000 after an analysis found flaws in CGL’s jail population projections.³ Even with this lower bed count, there remain vital questions about whether the county should proceed with this costly project at this scale.

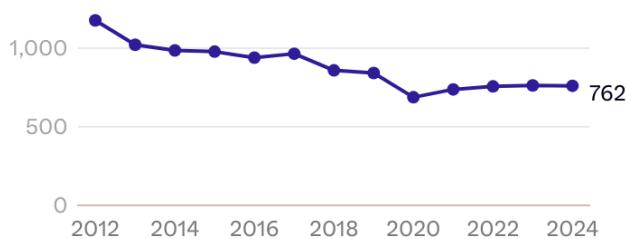
Before committing taxpayers to paying for a large and expensive new jail over decades to come, Lancaster County should consider whether this approach will benefit community safety and well-being. Jails can undermine public safety: research shows that even 23 hours in jail increases the likelihood that someone will be arrested again because of the destabilizing effect of detention and the resulting loss of employment, housing, and community ties.⁴ Further, Black and Latinx Pennsylvanians are disproportionately subject to these consequences.⁵ To ensure public safety for years to come, the county should engage in meaningful reforms to permanently reduce the jail population and shift more dollars to supportive resources that prevent crime by helping people meet their health, housing, and economic needs and avoid contact with the criminal legal system.

The Lancaster County jail population has decreased over the last decade, but its jail budget has increased

From its peak at 1,178 people in 2012, the average daily jail population declined by more than a third to 762 people in 2024.⁶ This number is significantly lower than the current capacity of 1,085 beds, the roughly 1,200 beds that CGL projected in their needs assessment, or the 994 beds that the county is currently considering.⁷ The reduction is in part due to policy changes that reduced the time people detained pretrial wait for their court hearings and reduced the number of people detained on lower-level charges, showing how concerted efforts can continue to reduce the number of people in jail.⁸ It also reflects decreases in crime and jail admissions in the county over the last decade.⁹

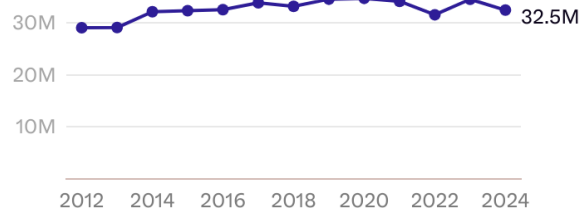
However, even as crime and jail admissions have declined, the county has continued to invest more money in the jail. From 2012 to 2024, the jail budget grew by 12 percent, from \$29.1 million to \$32.5 million, adjusted for inflation.¹⁰ Like other jails, spending on personnel services has consistently accounted for the largest share of the Lancaster County jail budget—approximately 70 to 74 percent over the last decade.¹¹ As the jail population declines, the county should question whether this level of spending remains justified.

Lancaster County Average Jail Population



Lancaster County Jail Budget

(Adjusted for inflation)



Notes: Average daily population for 2024 only goes through April 2024. Population calculated using Vera’s Incarceration Trends Project and publicly available county data. Budget adjusted for inflation using the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (CPI-U).

In 2024, Lancaster County budgeted \$32,473,468 for the existing jail. For every \$100 in property taxes, \$23 goes to the county jail.

The county jail is the largest, and growing, burden on local taxpayers

The proposed operating budget for the Lancaster County jail in 2024 was \$32,473,468, with an additional \$1,846,651 for maintenance costs.¹² Together, this represents 18.8 percent of the county's total budgeted general fund expenditures (funded by property taxes, state and federal grants, fines and fees, and interest earnings), making it the most expensive county agency.¹³ The jail is a significant burden on local taxpayers: for every \$100 in property taxes paid to the county, more than \$23 goes to the jail.¹⁴ These figures do not include costs associated with constructing a new jail that will continue to burden residents, including \$5 million in capital expenses for the ongoing design of the new jail.¹⁵ In addition to these costs, the county has already sunk \$3 million into land for the new jail and \$2.4 million into planning and design.¹⁶

The county is extracting money from residents in poverty—especially Black and Latinx people—to subsidize the jail budget

Although more than 90 percent of money to operate the current jail comes from local taxes, it receives some revenue via user fees that harm families experiencing poverty and are disproportionately extracted from Black and Latinx communities.¹⁷ In 2024, the jail planned to collect \$25,000 in “weekender fees” and \$23,000 in bail processing fees, as well as \$2 million in “other fees” whose origins are not specified in the budget.¹⁸ Some jail revenue also comes from the sale of commissary items for food and hygiene essentials and processing fees (\$1,052,328 in 2023)—costs that are often passed on to family members of those who are incarcerated.¹⁹ Finally, while the jail has historically received a share of profits from Securus Technologies (\$871,535 in 2023), which provides phone and video services to people in the Lancaster jail, the Federal Communications Commission banned such commissions in 2024.²⁰

The county currently underfunds supportive services and other programs that could reduce the need for jail spending

Supportive Services

By reducing the likelihood that people will resort to criminalized behavior, investments in healthcare (including mental and behavioral health and substance use treatment), youth employment, and affordable housing effectively prevent crime.²¹ Lancaster County funds several government agencies that help people meet their basic health and economic needs. However, these programs need more funding to meet the scale of local needs. Moreover, funding for these programs comes primarily from state and federal sources rather than local funds, leaving them in a precarious position if state or federal grant programs are cut.

Dedicating more local tax dollars to these and similar programs could safely reduce incarceration and even save the county money in the process. For example, a 2016 study found that the presence of one additional substance use treatment facility in a county generates annual county-level savings of between \$5.4 and \$7.65 million due to reductions in drug-related mortality and municipal crimes.²² Lancaster County's current programs include:

- 1. Substance Use:** The county's Drug & Alcohol Commission (LCDAC) provides access to high-quality, community-based alcohol and drug prevention programming and services for uninsured and low-income residents. In 2024, it had nine funded positions and a \$7.9 million budget, 87 percent of which came from state and federal sources.²³ LCDAC provided services to 1,104 people between July 1, 2022 and June 30, 2023.²⁴ However, most of LCDAC's services are funded via Medicaid and

thus are only eligible to Medicaid-eligible individuals.²⁵ As a result, there is a large unmet need for substance use disorder treatment services in Lancaster County—particularly for prevention and education services, which are not funded by Medicaid.

A 2019 study found that more than half of people arrested more than once reported having a substance use disorder.²⁶ Public health research shows that people who need substance use treatment are better served in non-carceral settings.²⁷

- 2. Mental Illness:** The county’s Office of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services (BHDS), provides comprehensive care to people with serious mental illness via its Behavioral Health Department.²⁸ The department operates a range of programs including outpatient treatment, socialization and vocational programs, housing supports, and case management. In 2024, it had 106 funded positions and a \$20.2 million budget, 78.6 percent of which came from state and federal grants.²⁹ As of June 2024, about 13 percent of people in Lancaster County’s jail had a severe mental illness, up from 7 to 8 percent in prior years.³⁰

Incarceration can exacerbate behavioral health concerns, undermining safety within both the community and the jail.³¹ Community-based strategies better address the needs of people with behavioral health needs, reducing the need for criminal legal spending.³²

- 3. Housing:** BHDS connects people with serious mental illness with subsidized supportive housing.³³ This program had a 2024 budget of \$853,700, 60 percent of which came from federal grants including the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Permanent Supportive Housing Program.³⁴ The county’s Redevelopment Authority provides additional services for people experiencing homelessness or housing insecurity, including rental assistance for low-income families.³⁵

Providing sufficient affordable housing is fundamental to reducing jail populations. People experiencing homelessness are up to 11 times more likely to be arrested.³⁶

- 4. Developmental Services:** The county’s Intellectual and Developmental Disability program, also run through BHDS, has established a local task force to support people who are involved with or at risk of being involved with the criminal legal system. In 2024, the department overall had a \$7.9 million budget, which was 99.7 percent funded via state and federal sources—although only a small fraction of that money likely goes to the task force.³⁷

Incarceration can be incredibly dangerous for people with disabilities. People in jail are four times more likely to have a disability—and six times more likely to have a cognitive disability—than the general public.³⁸

Public Defense

Lancaster county’s Public Defender’s Office provides representation to indigent clients at trial. In 2024, it had a \$3.4 million budget and 34 funded positions, of which 25 are attorneys and the remainder are support staff.³⁹ Public defenders play an important role in reducing unnecessary detention, but public defender offices across Pennsylvania are significantly under-resourced, and Lancaster County is no exception.⁴⁰ A 2024 study found that Lancaster County would need to hire an additional 40 public defenders to meet constitutional standards for a right to effective counsel, and the county had the state’s 11th-highest public defender shortfall.⁴¹ This year, the Pennsylvania legislature for the first time approved \$7.5 million for indigent defense.⁴² However, as this amount will be shared across the state’s 67 counties, it is unlikely to alleviate the gap in indigent defense in Lancaster County without additional local investment.⁴³

Diversions

Lancaster County has several programs that divert people from jail after arrest. In 2022, the Lancaster County District Attorney's Office started Pathways to Recovery, which diverts people charged with some low-level offenses related to substance and alcohol use into voluntary treatment; if they complete the program their charges will be dismissed, although they will still have to go through an expungement process to remove the charges from their conviction history.⁴⁴ Additionally, the Court of Common Pleas runs three problem-solving courts: a drug court, a mental health court, and a veterans court; successful completion of these programs may result in the reduction or dismissal of some or all charges or reduction or termination of supervision.⁴⁵ The District Court also runs a DUI court and a domestic violence court, which enable participants to avoid a jail sentence by pleading guilty under the Accelerated Rehabilitative Disposition (ARD) program.⁴⁶

Post-arrest diversion programs like these reduce the burden on jails and prevent some of the collateral consequences of conviction and incarceration.⁴⁷ However, they have important limitations: Prosecutor-led diversion programs focused on low-level offenses and problem-solving courts that exclude people charged with more serious offenses leave out many people who could benefit from these programs.⁴⁸ For example, the "Pathways to Recovery" program is only open to people with certain low-level charges and excludes people with certain conviction histories.⁴⁹ Diversion programs for more serious charges, like unlawful firearm possession, are nascent but promising, as demonstrated by a 2024 study of a program in Minneapolis.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Lancaster County's three problem-solving courts only had 55 total admissions in 2022, suggesting they are vastly underutilized.⁵¹ Beyond the limited eligibility criteria, these courts' strict program requirements, fines and fees, and punitive sanctions for non-compliance can create unnecessary barriers to participation and completion. For example, in addition to paying any restitution owed within six months, participants in Pathways to Recovery are required to pay a \$100 program fee, and some participants are required to pay an additional \$75 fee for a "Skills for Life" program—costs that may be unaffordable for people living at or below the poverty line.⁵²

Finally, one of the biggest limitations of Lancaster County's diversion programs is that they are only available after a person has already been arrested and potentially spent time in jail. Lancaster County could reduce spending on jail and court costs by investing in strategies that move people out of the criminal legal system as early as possible, allowing more people to avoid the negative consequences of detention.⁵³ Promising models include civilian-led crisis response systems, which avoid arrest by sending unarmed teams of clinicians, peers, and other specially trained civilian responders to people in crisis.⁵⁴

Conclusion

Lancaster County is at a critical juncture, facing decisions that will shape the county's approach to community well-being and safety as well as its financial future. A new jail will come at a heavy cost and effectively commit the county to a high level of incarceration moving forward.⁵⁵ The current jail absorbs a substantial amount of county funds and leaves little to go toward preventative and supportive resources, a disparity in budget allocation that will only increase with the construction of a large new jail. By reevaluating investment priorities and embracing an approach to public safety that prioritizes meeting people's health, housing, and economic needs and keeping jail as a last resort, there is an opportunity to lay the foundation for a thriving, safer community.

Endnotes

- ¹ In most parts of the country, “jails” refers to locally run facilities that primarily hold people pretrial and shorter serving local sentences, while “prisons” are state or federal institutions where people serve longer sentences of imprisonment. However, in Pennsylvania, including Lancaster County, local facilities are called “county prisons” rather than “jails.” For clarity, this report will refer to local facilities as “jails” using the more common definition.
- ² For information about the proposed jail, see Lancaster County Correction Facility, “Project Details,” <https://lccf-pa.com/project-details>. For the estimated cost, see Tom Lisi, “Lancaster County Reveals Updated Designs, Cost Estimate for New Jail Project,” Lancaster Online, August 9, 2024, https://lancasteronline.com/news/local/lancaster-county-reveals-updated-designs-cost-estimate-for-new-jail-project/article_8b4a9cd6-5697-11ef-8760-97ff80f3a02f.html.
- ³ For the needs assessment, see CGL Companies, *Needs Assessment Final Report* (Miami, FL: CGL Companies, 2023), <https://lccf-pa.com/download/17228809/>. CGL Companies designs and maintains jails and other criminal legal system facilities. CGL Companies, “What We Do,” <https://cglcompanies.com/what-we-do>. For the analysis of the needs assessment, see Memorandum from Sarah Staudt, Director of Policy and Advocacy, and Emmett Sanders, Policy and Advocacy Associate, Prison Policy Initiative, to Lancaster Bail Fund re: “Lancaster County Jail Needs Assessment and Possible Alternatives to Incarceration,” March 8, 2024, 8, <https://perma.cc/BZ8D-USDY>. For the revised bed-count, see Tom Lisi, Lancaster Online, “Fewer Beds Needed at Lancaster County Prison as County Commissioners Approve Target of 1,000,” January 31, 2024, https://lancasteronline.com/news/local/fewer-beds-needed-at-lancaster-county-prison-as-county-commissioners-approve-target-of-1-000/article_412c5164-c02c-11ee-b722-2707f9ed4090.html
- ⁴ Core Correctional Solutions, *The Hidden Costs of Pretrial Detention Revisited* (Houston, TX: Arnold Ventures, 2022), 4, perma.cc/99VE-QLG8.
- ⁵ Prison Policy Initiative, “Pennsylvania Profile,” <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/PA.html>.
- ⁶ Data on average daily jail population from 2010 to 2021 comes from Vera’s Incarceration Trends project, which compiles information on jail populations from the Bureau of Justice Statistics and state and local sources: https://trends.vera.org/state/PA/county/lancaster_county. Data on the average daily jail population from 2022 to 2024 comes from the Administrative Prison Board Reports shared at the January 18, 2024 and August 15, 2024 meetings of the Lancaster County Prison Board, respectively. Meeting minutes are available at Lancaster County, “Agenda Center,” <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/AgendaCenter/Prison-Board-2>.
- ⁷ Tom Lisi, Lancaster Online, “Fewer Beds Needed at Lancaster County Prison as County Commissioners Approve Target of 1,000,” January 31, 2024, https://lancasteronline.com/news/local/fewer-beds-needed-at-lancaster-county-prison-as-county-commissioners-approve-target-of-1-000/article_412c5164-c02c-11ee-b722-2707f9ed4090.html; and Tom Lisi, “Lancaster County Reveals Updated Designs, Cost Estimate for New Jail Project,” Lancaster Online, August 9, 2024, https://lancasteronline.com/news/local/lancaster-county-reveals-updated-designs-cost-estimate-for-new-jail-project/article_8b4a9cd6-5697-11ef-8760-97ff80f3a02f.html.
- ⁸ Tim Stuhldreher, “Prison Board Hears Projections for New Site’s Capacity Needs,” One United Lancaster, December 16, 2022, <https://oneunitedlancaster.com/government/prison-board-hears-projections-for-new-sites-capacity-needs>; and Tim Stuhldreher, “What Does the Needs Assessment Say about Lancaster County Corrections?” One United Lancaster, December 16, 2022, <https://oneunitedlancaster.com/government/what-does-the-needs-assessment-say-about-lancaster-county-corrections>.
- ⁹ CGL Companies, LLC and JFA Institute, *Needs Assessment Final Report Revised February 2023* (Miami, FL: CGL, 2023), 8-12, <https://lccf-pa.com/document-center>.
- ¹⁰ Jail budget calculated using publicly available county data. Lancaster County, “Budget & Financial Information,” <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/591/Budget-Financial-Information>. To allow for accurate historical comparisons, numbers have been adjusted for inflation using the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (CPI-U). BLI, “Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject,” updated through January 2024, <https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/CUUR0000SA0>.
- ¹¹ A Vera Institute of Justice study found that jails in 48 large U.S. cities spent an average of 73 percent of their local budget on staffing expenses. See Vera Institute of Justice, *What Jails Cost: A Look at Jail Spending in America’s Large Cities* (New York: Vera, 2021), <https://www.vera.org/publications/what-jails-cost-cities>. To determine the share of the Lancaster jail budget spent on personnel services, Vera compiled detailed jail expenses from the county’s publicly available 2014 to 2024 budget reports. Lancaster County, “Budget & Financial Information,” <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/591/Budget-Financial-Information>. For example, see County of Lancaster Pennsylvania, *County Budget for the Fiscal Year January 1, 2024 to December 31, 2024* (Lancaster, PA: Office of the Commissioner, 2023), 120, <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/DocumentCenter/View/16123/Lancaster-County-Budget-Book-2024>. To allow for accurate historical comparisons, numbers have been adjusted for inflation using the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (CPI-U). BLI, “Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject,” updated through January 2024, <https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/CUUR0000SA0>.
- ¹² County of Lancaster Pennsylvania, *County Budget for the Fiscal Year January 1, 2024 to December 31, 2024* (Lancaster, PA: Office of the Commissioner, 2023), 72, <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/DocumentCenter/View/16123/Lancaster-County-Budget-Book-2024>. Data on additional jail maintenance costs comes from a financial report shared at the August 15, 2024, meeting of the Lancaster County Prison Board. Lancaster County, “Agenda Center,” <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/AgendaCenter/Prison-Board-2>.
- ¹³ Spending on the jail was second only to spending on the “Fiscal Affairs” department, a section of the county budget that does not represent any specific operating department or agency and includes appropriations for numerous purposes, including county

debt service payments and banking charges. The budgeted general fund expenditures total \$182,661,641. County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 4.

- ¹⁴ In 2024, the county received \$127,223,428 in tax receipts (not including delinquent taxes). The county jail budget was \$32,473,468, of which \$2,728,311 came from revenues such as commissary proceeds, user fees, rent & royalty payments, and money from state grants. Therefore, the total amount of funding for the jail that came from local taxes was \$29,745,157, which is 23.38 percent of the total tax revenue of \$127,223,428. County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 4 and 72.
- ¹⁵ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 125.
- ¹⁶ County of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *Annual Comprehensive Financial Report for the Year Ended December 31, 2022* (Lancaster, PA: Controller's Office, 2023), 4, <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/ArchiveCenter/ViewFile/Item/3280>.
- ¹⁷ In 2024, The county jail budget was \$32,473,468, of which \$29,745,157 came from tax revenue. County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 4 and 72. Black people made up 20.2 percent of people released from the Lancaster County jail from September 2021 to September 2022 and only 5.6 percent of county residents in 2022. Hispanic/Latinx people made up 23.2 percent of people released from the jail over the same time period and 11.6 percent of county residents. For data on jail releases, see CGL and JFA, *Needs Assessment Final Report*, 2023, 22, Table 10. For data on resident population by race, see U.S. Census Bureau, "QuickFacts, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/lancastercountypennsylvania.lancastercitypennsylvania/SEX255222>.
- ¹⁸ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 101. A weekender fee is a fee paid by people who receive permission from a judge to serve their sentence on only weekend days, allowing them to maintain employment and meet family obligations. A bail processing fee is a fee charged for posting bail at the jail.
- ¹⁹ Lancaster County, "Fee Structure," <https://www.co.lancaster.pa.us/DocumentCenter/View/11341/Fee-Structure>. For commissary and processing fee revenues, see Lancaster County Prison, "2023 Administrative Prison Board Report," in *Lancaster County Prison Board Agenda: January 18, 2024* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Prison Board, 2024), 43, <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/AgendaCenter/ViewFile/Agenda/01182024-3027>.
- ²⁰ For revenues from Securus, see Lancaster County Prison, "2023 Administrative Prison Board Report," 2024, 43. For the FCC decision, see Wanda Bertram, "FCC Votes to Slash Prison and Jail Calling Rates and Ban Corporate Kickbacks," *Prison Policy Initiative*, July 18, 2024, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2024/07/18/fcc-vote>.
- ²¹ For example, see Jacob Vogler, "Access to Health Care and Criminal Behavior: Short-Run Evidence from the ACA Medicaid Expansions," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 39, no. 4 (2020), 1166-1213, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22239> (paywall-free pre-publication version available at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3042267; Samuel Bondurant, Jason M. Lindo, and Isaac D. Swensen, "Substance Abuse Treatment Centers and Local Crime," *Journal of Urban Economics* 104 (2018), 124-133, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2018.01.007> (paywall-free pre-publication version available at <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2840152>; Alicia Sasser Modestino, "How Do Summer Youth Employment Programs Improve Criminal Justice Outcomes, and for Whom?" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 38, no. 3 (2019), 600-628 <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22138>; and Matthew Freedman and Emily G. Owens, "Low-Income Housing Development and Crime," *Journal of Urban Economics* 70, nos. 2-3 (2011), 115-131, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2011.04.001>.
- ²² Bondurant et al., "Substance Abuse Treatment Centers and Local Crime," 2018, 132.
- ²³ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 146 and 160. The share of revenues from state and federal funding were calculated by totaling the revenue amounts for "Federal Grants," "State Grants," and "State Direct" on p. 160 (\$6,877,455) and dividing by the total expenditures listed on p. 146 (\$7,898,307). Total intergovernmental revenues are also listed on p. 147.
- ²⁴ Lancaster County Drug and Alcohol Commission (LCDAC), *Annual Report: FY 2022-2023* (Lancaster, PA: LCDAC, 2024), 8, <https://lancastercountypa.gov/DocumentCenter/View/15349/Annual-Report-2022-23?bidId=>.
- ²⁵ LCDAC, *2022-2023 Block Grant Narrative* (Lancaster, PA: LCDAC, 2023), 2, 4-5, <https://perma.cc/JA2Q-6F44>.
- ²⁶ Alexi Jones and Wendy Sawyer, *Arrest, Release, Repeat: How Police and Jails Are Misused to Respond to Social Problems* (Northampton, MA: Prison Policy Initiative, 2019), <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/repeatarrests.html>.
- ²⁷ Emily Widra, "Addicted to Punishment: Jails and Prisons Punish Drug Use Far More than They Treat It," *Prison Policy Initiative*, January 30, 2024, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2024/01/30/punishing-drug-use>.
- ²⁸ Lancaster County Behavioral Health & Developmental Services, <https://www.lancastercountybhds.org>.
- ²⁹ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 148 and 160. The share of revenues from state and federal funding were calculated by summing the revenue amounts for "Federal Grants," "Title Xx," "State Grants," and "Medical Assistance" on p.160 (\$16,191,516) and dividing by the total expenditures listed on p.146 (\$20,292,546). Total intergovernmental revenues are also listed on p.149.
- ³⁰ Tim Stuhldreher, "Prison Stat: County Reviews Data for First Half of 2024," One United Lancaster, August 21, 2024, <https://oneunitedlancaster.com/government/prison-stat-county-reviews-data-for-first-half-of-2024>.
- ³¹ Leah Wang, "Rise in Jail Deaths Is Especially Troubling as Jail Populations Become More Rural and More Female," *Prison Policy Initiative*, June 23, 2021, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2021/06/23/jail_mortality.
- ³² Constance Hull and Collete Marcellin, "Community-Based Supports Are Essential to Better Address Behavioral Health Needs and Reduce Incarceration," *Urban Institute*, October 29, 2020, <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/community-based-supports-are-essential-better-address-behavioral-health-needs-and-reduce-incarceration>.
- ³³ Lancaster County Office of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services, *Permanent Housing for Adults with Mental Illness* (Lancaster, PA: BHDS, 2019), <https://lancastercountybhds.org/DocumentCenter/View/37/Housing-PDF>.

- ³⁴ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 154 and 160. The share of revenues from federal funding was calculated using the revenue amount for “Federal Grants,” on p.160 (\$514,932) and dividing by the total expenditures listed on p.154 (\$853,655). Total intergovernmental revenues are also listed on p.155.
- ³⁵ Lancaster County Redevelopment Authority, <https://lchra.com/about>.
- ³⁶ National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (NLCHP), *Housing Not Handcuffs 2019* (Washington, DC: NLCHP, 2019), 50, <https://perma.cc/A7JU-5HDL>. For a more general look at the cycle of homelessness and incarceration, see Madeline Bailey, Erica Crew, and Madz Reeve, *No Access to Justice: Breaking the Cycle of Homelessness and Jail* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2020), <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/no-access-to-justice.pdf>.
- ³⁷ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 150 and 160. The share of revenues from state and federal funding were calculated by totaling the revenue amounts for “Federal Grants,” “Title Xx,” “State Grants,” and “Medical Assistance” on p.160 (\$7,855,522) and dividing by the total expenditures listed on p.150 (\$7,880,722). Total intergovernmental revenues are also listed on p. 151.
- ³⁸ Rebecca Vallas, *Disabled Behind Bars: The Mass Incarceration of People With Disabilities in America’s Jails and Prisons* (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2016), <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/disabled-behind-bars>.
- ³⁹ County of Lancaster, *County Budget 2024, 2023*, 46. For the current number of attorneys, see Lancaster County, “Public Defender,” accessed August 14, 2024, <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/156/Public-Defender>.
- ⁴⁰ National Legal Aid & Defender Association (NLADA), *Rethinking Jails, Reframing Public Defense: Making the Case for the System-Wide Benefits of Effective Defenders* (Washington, DC: NLADA, 2016), <https://www.nlada.org/sites/default/files/NLADA-SJC-reframing-public-defense-toolkit.pdf>. See also Aaron Gottlieb and Kelsey Arnold, “The Effect of Public Defender and Support Staff Caseloads on Incarceration Outcomes for Felony Defendants,” *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research* 12, no. 3 (2021), 569-589, <https://doi.org/10.1086/712924>.
- ⁴¹ The study estimated that to represent clients at the minimum constitutional standard, each attorney currently working would need to spend approximately 5,394 hours per year working directly on cases, or more than 100 hours per week, in addition to any necessary administrative time. For comparison, the attorney with the most estimated billable hours at any large, demanding top-100 law firm in 2023 billed 3,737 hours—about 72 hours per week. Paul Heaton, *Gideon’s Promise Versus Gideon’s Reality: Resource Shortfalls in Pennsylvania Public Defense*, (Philadelphia, PA: Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice, University of Pennsylvania, 2024), <https://www.law.upenn.edu/institutes/quattronecenter/reports/indigent-defense-funding/resource-shortfalls-in-public-defense>.
- ⁴² Danielle Ohl, “Pennsylvania Provides State Money for Public Defense for the First Time,” Spotlight PA, January 11, 2024, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2024/01/pennsylvania-public-defense-state-funded>.
- ⁴³ The funding is estimated to raise the state’s average public defense spending per capita by \$0.58, to \$10.25; the national average is nearly double that amount. Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney and Second Chance PA, *Pathways to Recovery: Information to Participants* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney, 2022), <https://perma.cc/2CJH-MJSM>.
- ⁴⁵ Lancaster County Court of Common Pleas, *Treatment Courts* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Court of Common Pleas, 2024), <https://www.court.co.lancaster.pa.us/DocumentCenter/View/22/Treatment-Courts-Description?bidId=>.
- ⁴⁶ Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney, “ARD/DUI,” <https://co.lancaster.pa.us/567/ARD-DUI>; and Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney, “DV Court After One Year,” August 29, 2018, <https://perma.cc/4NV3-BXLL>.
- ⁴⁷ Leah Wang and Katie Rose Quandt, “Building Exits off the Highway to Mass Incarceration: Diversion Programs Explained,” Prison Policy Initiative, July 20, 2021, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/diversion.html>.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Eligible offenses include possession of a controlled substance or drug paraphernalia, summary or misdemeanor theft crimes related to drug or alcohol addiction, or underage drinking or public intoxication. Potential applicants are excluded if they have been convicted of certain charges—including any weapon charge—in the past ten years, or any “crime of violence” defined in 42 Pa. C.S. §9714(g) at any time. See Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney and Second Chance PA, *Pathways to Recovery: Information to Participants*, 2022.
- ⁵⁰ Matthew W. Epperson, Rachel C. Garthe, Hannah Lee and Angela Hawken, “An Examination of Recidivism Outcomes for a Novel Prosecutor-Led Gun Diversion Program,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 92 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2024.102196>.
- ⁵¹ Unified Judicial System of Pennsylvania, “Problem Solving Courts Data Dashboard,” database (Philadelphia, Unified Judicial System of Pennsylvania), accessed August 13, 2024, <https://www.pacourts.us/news-and-statistics/research-and-statistics/dashboard-table-of-contents/adult-drug-court-data>.
- ⁵² Lancaster County Office of the District Attorney and Second Chance PA, *Pathways to Recovery: Information to Participants*, 2022.
- ⁵³ Wang and Quandt, “Building Exits off the Highway,” 2021.
- ⁵⁴ Amy C. Watson, Michael T. Compton, and Leah G. Pope, *Crisis Response Services for People with Mental Illnesses or Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities: A Review of the Literature on Police-based and Other First Response Models* (New York: Vera, 2019), <https://www.vera.org/publications/crisis-response-services-for-people-with-mental-illnesses-or-intellectual-and-developmental-disabilities>; and Jackson Beck, Aaron Stagoff-Belfort, and Jason Tan de Bibiana, *Civilian Crisis Response: A Toolkit for Equitable Alternatives to Police* (New York: Vera, 2022), <https://www.vera.org/civilian-crisis-response-toolkit>.
- ⁵⁵ A 2019 study showed that regardless of projected incarceration needs, jurisdictions that add jail beds typically fill them, sometimes at the cost of finding other solutions. Chris Mai, Mikalina Belaineh, Ram Subramanian, and Jacob Kang-Brown, *Broken Ground: Why America Keeps Building More Jails and What It Can Do Instead* (New York: Vera, 2019), 26, <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/broken-ground-jail-construction.pdf>.