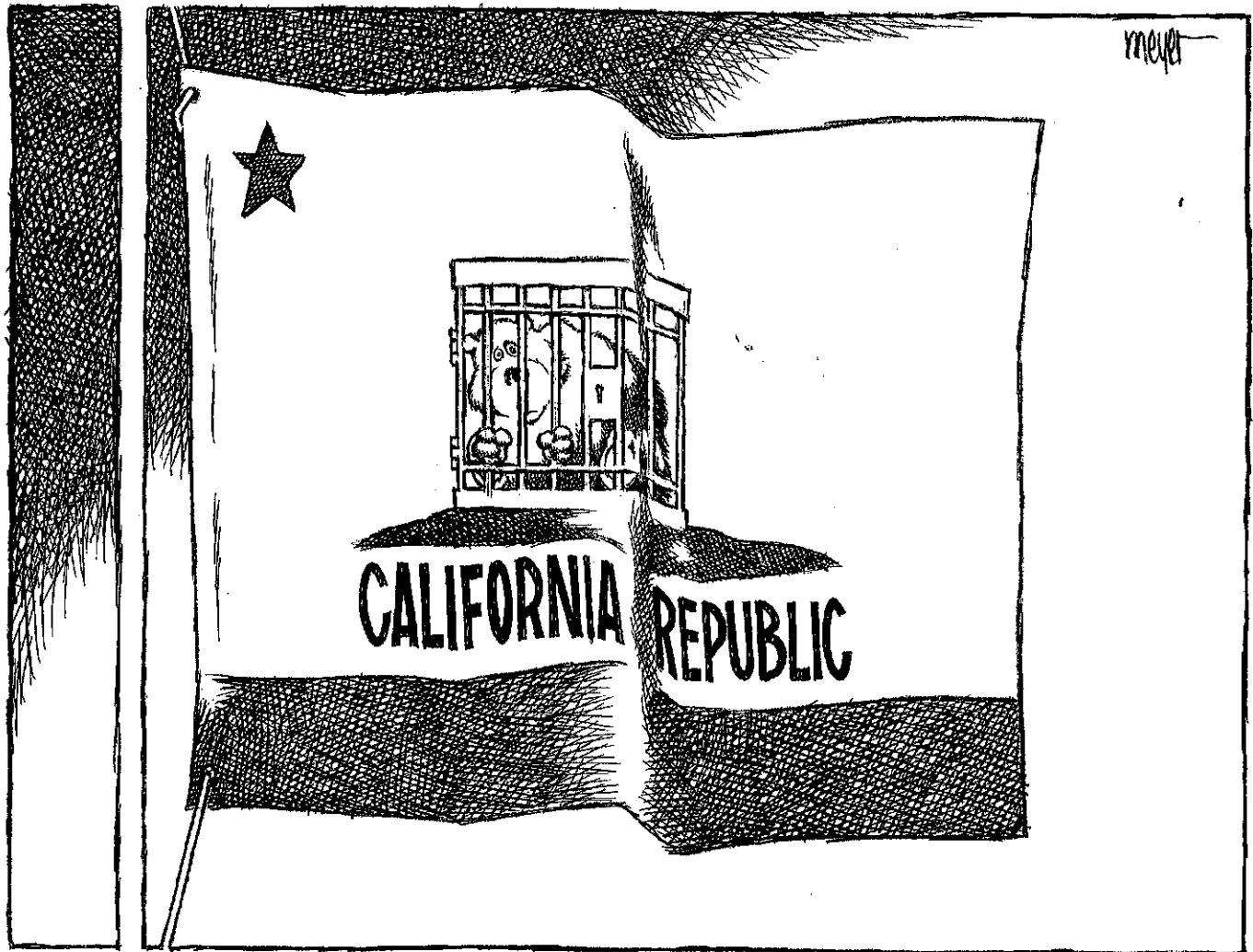


Center on  
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Report



## SINGAPORE WEST

**THE INCARCERATION OF 200,000 CALIFORNIANS**

by  
Mark Koetting and Vincent Schiraldi

*Two hundred years later, the State of California is falsely fortified by its own Bastille, a system of prisons and jails that locks up more people - as a percentage of the general population - than any other nation in the world.*

### THE NEW BASTILLE

On July 14, 1789, a mob of Parisians stormed a massive French prison known as the Bastille. History records that the former medieval fortress had come to symbolize a political power structure that no longer worked. In fact, its destruction helped commence the French Revolution.

Two hundred years later, the State of California is falsely fortified by its own Bastille, a system of prisons and jails that locks up more people - as a percentage of the general population - than any other nation in the world. This time, however, there is no revolution in sight.

California currently holds approximately **200,000** adults behind bars, and the number is growing steadily (see FIGURE I). The state incarcerates adult offenders at a rate of **626 per 100,000** people in the general population, based on total state institution and jail statistics.<sup>1</sup> In the last 23 years, this rate increased **175%**; in 1970 it was at **228 per 100,000**.<sup>2</sup> Still, in that same period, the violent crime rate climbed **125%** (see FIGURE II).<sup>3</sup> Clearly, as a vehicle for providing for the safety of its citizens, the explosive growth of California's prison system has been an expensive failure.

This unlikely pair of trends continues to go unheeded by politicians and policy makers as the Department of Corrections (CDC) estimates its inmate population to exceed

**126,000** by July 1994, and **171,000** by 1999.<sup>4</sup> On the local level, city and county jails confined **67,576** people in 1993, and the Board of Corrections expects an additional **31,000** in the next six years.<sup>5</sup> Given the projected effects of the 'Three-Strikes' initiative, even these estimates seem conservative.

A closer look at these numbers reveals that African-Americans in California are imprisoned at **9** times the rate of whites (see FIGURE III). No fewer than **1,951 per 100,000** African-Americans are in California's prisons, dwarfing the white rate of **215 per 100,000**. While African-Americans constitute under **7%** of the

**FIGURE I**  
**200,000 PEOPLE BEHIND BARS IN CALIFORNIA**

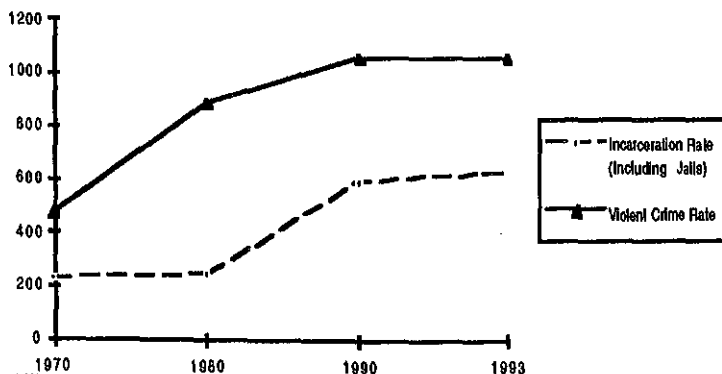
CDC Population	126,000
City and County Jail Population	68,000
CYA Adult Population	<u>6,000</u>
Total Adult Population Behind Bars*	200,000

\* Not including Californians incarcerated in Federal Institutions. Numbers are rounded.

SOURCES: California Department of Corrections;

California Board of Corrections; California Youth Authority

**FIGURE II**  
**CALIFORNIA'S INCARCERATION AND VIOLENT CRIME RATES**  
**LAST 23 YEARS (Per 100,000 Population)**



SOURCES: California Department of Corrections; California Youth Authority; Board of Corrections; California Department of Justice

state's total population, they make up **32.4%** of prison inmates. Similarly, Latinos occupy California's state prisons at a rate of **543 per 100,000**. Although they account for **24%** of the state's total population, they make up **34%** of the CDC's population. If these two groups were imprisoned at the rate of whites, the CDC's total population would be **57,700** inmates, less than half its current number.<sup>6</sup>

As our state stubbornly shovels tax dollars into a failed correctional gulag, violent crime defiantly rises. Despite the CDC's own concession that "Since the early 1980s, Corrections has been involved in the largest prison building program in the United States," costing the State **\$5.05** billion, the total crime rate and violent crime rate were greater in 1993 than in 1983, and the

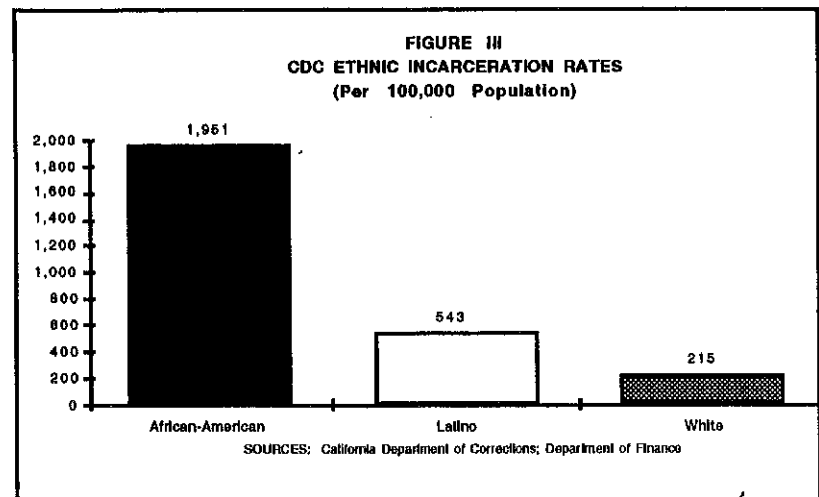
incidence of violent crime is among the highest ever.<sup>7</sup> For **19** out of the last **21** years (1972-93), CDC's population has grown.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, the state has experienced a reduction in the violent crime rate in only **five** of those **19** years.<sup>9</sup> In fact, for one of the two periods in which the prison population *decreased* (1976-'77), the total crime rate also decreased!<sup>10</sup> These data corroborate the national research which has consistently shown no correlation between imprisonment rates and rates of crime.

Despite these sobering facts, California spends approximately **\$4 billion** per year - including prisons and jails - simply to *maintain* a massive system that unequivocally fails to cut crime.<sup>11</sup> And an analysis of the new budget reveals that, "[a]s a result of its current construction plan, the [CDC] will have activated six prisons within a three-year period (through 1995-96)." However, "[n]one of these prison activations relate to the Governor's proposal to construct an additional six prisons".<sup>12</sup> Additionally, the so-called "Three Strikes and You're Out" bill, signed into law this year, will ultimately require the construction of **80** new prisons in California at a cost of **\$21 billion**.<sup>13</sup>

In sum, California incarcerates offenders at the highest rate in its history and spends more money than ever before in maintaining this "lock-'em-up" pace. This dubious feat, however, embarrassingly coincides with the fact that the violent crime rate is among the highest *in the history of our state*. The last time the homicide rate was as high as it is currently was in 1981.<sup>14</sup>

### THE WORLD LEADER IN PRISONERS AND VIOLENT CRIME

Though striking when isolated, the above statistics assume even greater significance when viewed in a world context. The following comparisons and contrasts of California to other selected nations - in the areas of incarceration and crime - poignantly illustrate our state's precarious position as a world leader in locking up its citizens.<sup>15</sup>



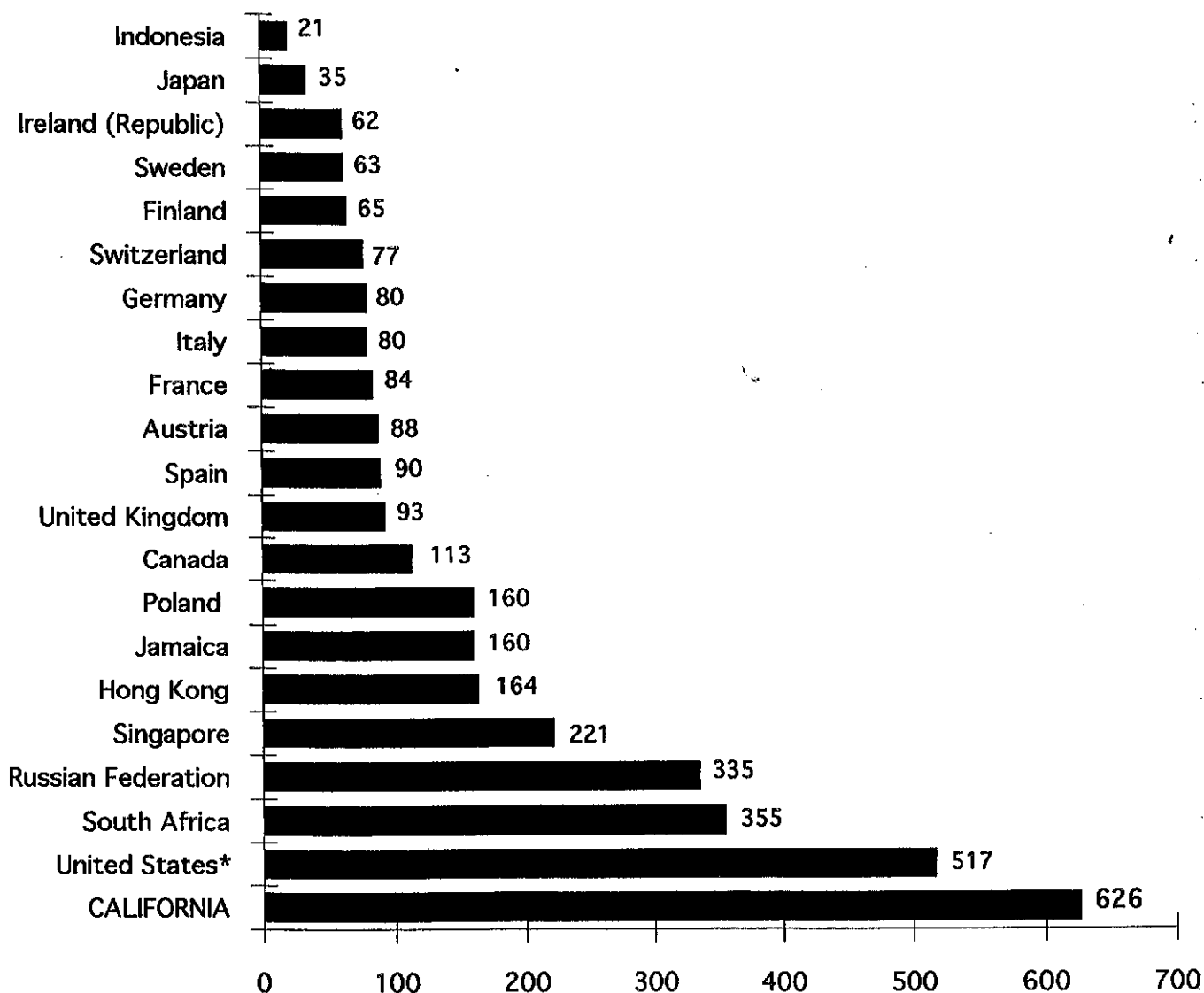
If California were a nation - and its general population of nearly **32** million is larger than that of many countries in the world - its incarceration rate *and* violent crime rate would lead the world (see FIGURES IV and V). Every one of the **51** nations for which CJCJ acquired incarceration data manifests a lower rate, often by **400%** or more; and every one of the **33** nations for which CJCJ obtained violent crime data exhibits a lower rate, often by over **200%**.<sup>16</sup>

### Occupied Israel

The only territory that even "competes" with California in the business of locking people up is the occupied regions of Israel (not Israel proper). In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, **667** Palestinians per 100,000 are imprisoned, although most of them are detained on the grounds of security, unrelated to actual crime.<sup>17</sup> In other words, California incarcerates people at a rate comparable to that of a government whose citizenry includes a group of people with whom it has been engaged in political battle for over 40 years. Ironically, given reforms currently under way in the Gaza Strip, that competition is likely to slip further back into the pack, leaving California substantially ahead of the rest of the U.S. and nearly **double** our two closest foreign competitors, South Africa and the Russian Federation.<sup>18</sup>

*For 19 out of the last 21 years (1972-93), CDC's population has grown. Meanwhile, the state has experienced a reduction in the violent crime rate in only five of those 19 years.*

**FIGURE IV**  
**LEADING THE WORLD IN INCARCERATION**  
**(Per 100,000 Population)**



\*Does not include California.

SOURCES: Council of Europe; Penal Reform International; Australia Institute of Criminology; Human Rights Watch/ Prison Project; the Sentencing Project; National Criminal Justice Commission; California Department of Corrections; California Youth Authority; Board of Corrections.

FIGURE V VIOLENT CRIME RATES CALIFORNIA & SELECTED NATIONS (Per 100,000 Population)		
JURISDICTION	VIOLENT CRIMES	HOMICIDE
California	1,059	12.8
United States*	732	17.2
Jamaica	731	20.9
Hong Kong	322	2.6
United Kingdom	316	10.3
Spain	304	2.4
France	205	4.5
Sweden	129	7
Finland	111	0.6
Poland	104	2.8
Switzerland	86	3.2
Singapore	69	1.5
Austria	63	2.3
Ireland	52	0.8
Japan	19	1
Indonesia	11	0.9
*Includes California		
SOURCES: California Department of Justice; International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol)		

**Western Europe**

Some remarkable differences emerge upon contrasting California with Western Europe. Whereas California's *general* population equals about 9% of Western Europe's total population, our state's *incarcerated* population equals no less than 70% of Western Europe's *total incarcerated* population. Furthermore, California currently locks up more offenders than France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and Finland, combined (see FIGURE VI). These countries are inhabited by approximately 240 million people, compared to California's 32 million. A closer look at some selected nations is illustrative of California's excessive reliance on incarceration.

**France**

Should France, in an effort to reduce crime, decide to incarcerate its citizens as frequently as the Golden State, it would need to lock up an *additional 300,340* people. The misguided attempt would translate into

a prison population explosion of over 500%. But if France decided to save the money instead and maintain its current prison population, it could still boast a violent crime rate that is less than **one-fifth** that of California. More specifically, a resident of our state is nearly **three** times more likely to be murdered than an inhabitant of France.

California currently confines approximately 75,000 people in its prison system for non-violent drug and property offenses.<sup>19</sup> This number exceeds France's entire incarcerated population. Nevertheless, no one seems to be turning to California to find out how to win the "War on Drugs."

**United Kingdom**

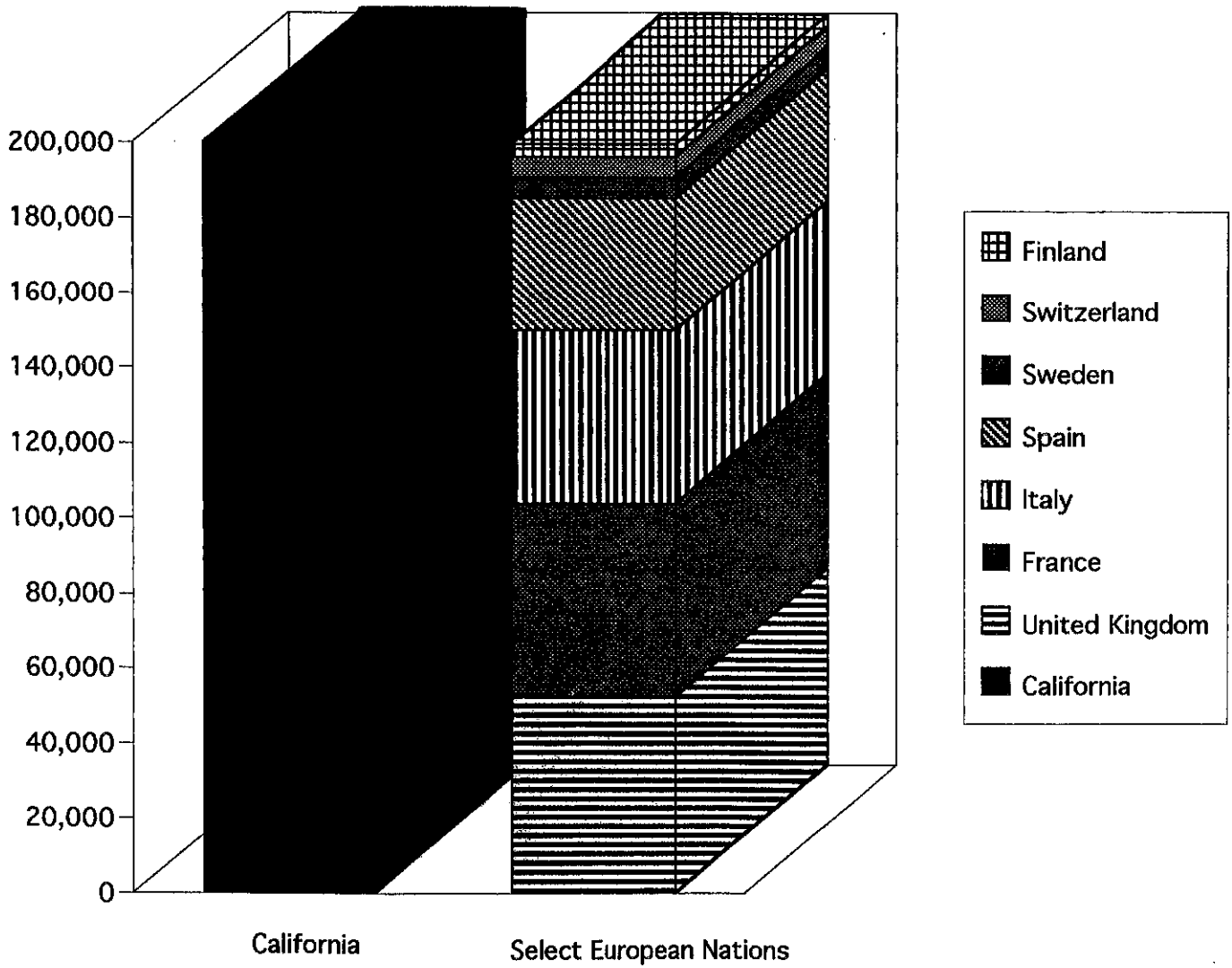
If California were to lock up offenders at the rate of the United Kingdom, it would need to *reduce* its incarcerated population by over 170,000 people. Surely, profess "tough on crime" advocates, such a radical policy of decarceration would result in an unprecedented surge in crime. Maybe. However, the last time California experienced a violent crime rate as low as the U.K's, which averages 316 per 100,000, was in 1967. And it has been 40 years since California's homicide rate was as low as England's 2.3 per 100,000. England nevertheless has an incarceration rate that is **one-sixth** that of California.

**Spain**

As an industrialized, Western European nation whose general population approximates California's in number, Spain serves as a unique object of comparison. California incarcerates offenders at a rate seven times the rate of Spain. Even though Spain's general population exceeds California's by several million, our state keeps about 164,000 more people behind bars. Indeed, California's local jail population alone is almost *double* Spain's entire incarcerated population. How does this conspicuous difference affect the respective crime rates? California's total crime rate is 24% higher than Spain's.

*The last time California experienced a violent crime rate as low as the U.K's, which averages 316 per 100,000, was in 1967. And it has been 40 years since California's homicide rate was as low as England's 2.3 per 100,000.*

**FIGURE VI**  
**Number of People Behind Bars in**  
**California and Select European Nations**



Additionally, approximately **220,000** more violent crimes were committed in California than in Spain, including **3,000** more homicides.

Even if our state's prison system displayed the racial and ethnic parity discussed above and reduced our prison population to about **57,000** inmates, it would still have more people behind bars than Spain. Indeed, Spain locks up fewer total Spaniards (**35,246**) than California does Latinos (**42,000** in prisons alone).<sup>20</sup> This disparity is highlighted by the fact that there are more Spaniards in Spain (**39 million**) than the total population of California (**32 million**). Incidentally, California maintains over twice the number of Latinos in prison than the total number of prisoners in Peru, a nation of over **20 million**.<sup>21</sup>

**Incarceration as a Non Sequitur**

Western Europe is perhaps most similar to California on political, social and economic grounds, and thus considered the most suitable object of comparison for the purposes of this report. It is clear from the data presented above that Western Europe exhibits often radically lower incarceration and crime rates than California. When reaching beyond these parameters to other selected countries, however, the argument that a comparatively high rate of incarceration often fails to reduce crime is further strengthened.

Out of the nations for which CJCJ obtained both incarceration and crime data, the United States (excluding California), Jamaica, and Hong Kong - in addition to California - rank in the top six in both incarceration *and* crime.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the leading four jurisdictions in violent crime - including California - are also among those leading in incarceration.

Conversely, the three nations with the lowest incarceration rates - Indonesia, Japan, and Ireland - dually rank as the lowest three in violent crime.<sup>23</sup> Japan incarcerates its citizens at **one-eighteenth** the rate of California, yet California's violent crime

rate is nearly **56** times Japan's. Whereas Indonesia's incarceration rate is nearly negligible compared to California's, Indonesia's homicide rate is a mere **7%** of California's. Finally, even though California's general population is **27** times smaller than India's, California keeps about **3,000** more people behind bars.<sup>24</sup> (For a comprehensive listing of the data referred to in this report, please see FIGURE VII.)

*Singapore, with its widely hailed paradigm of sound penology, incarcerates its offenders at about one-third the rate of California.*

**SINGAPORE WEST**

Recently, the comparatively small nation of Singapore (population three million) has been the object of much publicity for its corporal punishment policy for graffiti violators. "Tough on crime" proponents continue to compare its purportedly

**FIGURE VII  
INCARCERATION AND CRIME RATES,  
CALIFORNIA & SELECTED NATIONS  
(Per 100,000 Population)**

JURISDICTION	INCARCERATION	RANK	VIOLENT CRIME	RANK	HOMICIDE	RANK
California	626	1	1059	1	12.8	3
Austria	88	11	63	13	2.3	13
Canada	113	8	...	...	5.7	7
Finland	65	15	111	9	0.6	18
France	84	12	205	7	4.5	8
Hong Kong	164	6	322	4	2.6	11
Indonesia	21	19	11	15	0.9	16
Germany	80	13	...	...	...	...
Ireland	62	17	52	14	0.8	17
Italy	80	12	...	...	6.4	6
Jamaica	160	7	731	3	20.9	1
Japan	35	18	19	...	1	15
Poland	160	6	104	10	2.8	10
Russian Federation	335	4	...	...	...	...
Singapore	221	5	69	12	1.5	14
South Africa	355	3	...	...	...	...
Spain	90	10	304	6	2.4	12
Sweden	63	16	129	8	7	5
Switzerland	77	14	86	11	3.2	9
United Kingdom	93	9	316	5	10.3	4
United States*	517	2	732	2	17.2	2

\*Does not include California

SOURCES: Council of Europe; Penal Reform International; Human Rights Watch/Prison Project Australia Institute of Criminology; the Sentencing Project; National Criminal Justice Committ International Criminal Police Organization; California Department of Justice; California Department of Corrections; California Youth Authority; Board of Corrections; Department of Finance; World Almanac.

effective criminal justice system to those of the United States and California - its violent crime rate is, after all, a mere fraction of California's. Their conclusion is that we should learn something from Singapore's unique solutions to crime.<sup>25</sup>

While this conclusion may be true, the lesson to be learned is *not* that we need to lock up more people: Singapore, with its widely hailed paradigm of sound penology, incarcerates its offenders at about **one-third** the rate of California.<sup>26</sup> If it is the "lock em up" approach to crime that defines "tough on crime" advocates, California should be their model - not Singapore.

*Most of the "tough on crime prescriptions" for curing crime in our ailing state have been founded upon the erroneous diagnosis that we have been "soft on crime" to begin with*

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS: STORMING THE NEW BASTILLE**

The overriding conclusion emerging from this report is clear: despite its position as a world leader in the percentage of its people that it incarcerates, California manifests an intolerably high incidence of violent crime, on both an absolute and comparative level. The apparent necessity that results - independent of grandstanding and political pandering - is that a new crime-control strategy, which is both more effective and less costly than incarceration, must be developed and implemented.

#### **Rational Debate**

The most fundamental requirement for establishing a comprehensive crime reduction policy in California is the depoliticization of the debate. Just as the Bastille of the 18th century symbolized a political, albeit tyrannical, structure overstepping its bounds, there is no place for political posturing in the effort to cut crime in California. An apolitical fact is that there exists an abundance of evidence that the link between more incarceration and less crime is non-existent.

This study is not the first to urge the depoliticization of the crime issue. The Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy in

Washington, D.C. has gathered approximately **850** signatures from some of our nation's most respected criminal justice professionals including prosecutors, law enforcement and correctional officials, judges, and policy makers. An excerpt of their statement reads:

*...we urge all candidates to refrain from politicizing crime and punishment policy. Appeals to base human instincts and demagoguery will ultimately make the problem worse. We call on candidates for political office to engage in an informed debate about effective responses to the problem and to avoid advocating simple and quick-fix solutions.<sup>27</sup>*

Until this call is respected, "solutions" to crime will be sparked by high emotion, antiquated notions of punishment, and cheap attempts at gaining votes. It is time for a rational debate on the bulging problem of crime, a debate that considers primarily *long-term* public safety and cost-effectiveness.

#### **Katzenbach Commission Revisited**

As Barry Krisberg, President of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, once noted, it is time to end the "barroom conversation" our state has been having on crime and punishment - a debate driven more by hyperbolic cases and tabloid information than by research and hard data. Most of the "tough on crime prescriptions" for curing crime in our ailing state have been founded upon the erroneous diagnosis that we have been "soft on crime" to begin with, a conclusion effectively refuted by the information in this report.

California desperately needs to empanel a blue ribbon commission, focused not just on corrections as Governor Deukmejian's was, but on confronting workable solutions to crime from a broad systemic view. One of the regular frustrations of the California Blue Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management was that its members quickly recognized that even broad reforms to the back-end system of



jails and prisons in our state were destined to have a limited impact on overall crime.<sup>28</sup> As with the Katzenbach Commission under President Johnson, this commission must truly grapple with *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* and develop some solutions particular to California as it enters the 21st century.

### Rewriting the Penal Code

California is unnecessarily and ineffectively incarcerating thousands of its citizens. The state's current practice of spending \$23,000 (of taxpayers' money) per inmate per year on 75,000 non-violent drug and property offenders could only be justified if it yielded impressive crime control results. As this and other studies have shown, such results seem to be lacking.<sup>29</sup>

Since 1977, when the Determinate Sentencing Act became law, more than 1,000 bills have passed creating new crimes and lengthening sentences. These bills have created a penal code fraught with confusion, unfairness, and an absence of basic common sense. As one example of the latter, California currently imprisons twice as many persons for the offense of repeat petty theft as for rape.<sup>30</sup>

Separate and apart from the commission called for above, a time and task limited commission of criminal justice professionals must be established whose objective it is to deconstruct the intricacies and amendments *du jour* that plague California's Penal Code. Such a commission needs to develop a code that, to the extent possible, infuses fairness, certainty, and reasonable discretion into our state's sentencing policies. Such a sentencing commission has been recommended by the Little Hoover Commission, Corrections 2000, and the Blue Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management.

### Continuum of Programs

Criminologists James Austin and John Irwin

cite a study that found 15 "social stress indicators" to be more prevalent in areas with relatively high crime rates.<sup>31</sup> These stressors include high school dropouts, illegitimate births, new welfare cases, unemployment claims, and business failures. These and other social ills must be addressed in any serious attempt to reduce crime. For example, the drug addict is less likely to commit a robbery or a theft if he receives some form of treatment; yet it is our "corrections" department that rarely provides these types of services to inmates.<sup>32</sup>

Funneling even a small percentage of California's prodigious Corrections budget into a broad continuum of social service programs designed for appropriate offenders - including drug treatment and job training for parolees, counseling services, affordable transitional housing, mentoring and other support programs - is one way to ease overcrowding while confronting crime responsibly. As Caleb Foote, Professor of Law Emeritus at U.C. Berkeley, states: "The underlying philosophy which the state needs to affirm is the use of state prison only as a last resort when no other less expensive and more effective alternative sanction can be implemented."<sup>33</sup>

### More Funding For Prevention

In the last fifteen years in California, the tail of prisons has been wagging the dog of public safety. It is time to acknowledge the inefficiency portrayed in this metaphor. A nearly exponential expansion of the state's correctional-industrial complex has yielded a negligible impact on crime, especially violent crime. Joan Petersilia, director of the Rand Corporation's Criminal Justice Program, helps explain why:

*Of the approximately 34 million serious felonies [committed in the U.S.] in 1990, 31 million never entered the criminal-justice system, because they were either unreported or unsolved. This means that 90% of serious crime remains outside the purview of police, courts and prison officials.*

*The remaining 10% is further eroded as a result of screening by prosecutors and dismissals or acquittals. In California, 65% of adults arrested for felonies are convicted, and of these, 20% are sent to state institutions.<sup>34</sup>*

*In the last fifteen years in California, the tail of prisons has been wagging the dog of public safety.*

In the face of such statistical realities, crime prevention becomes crucial. It is thus only rational that the state be required to spend at least as much money on crime prevention programs as it does on prisons and jails. This is the only feasible way to address the 90% of felonies that will otherwise frustrate the preservation of public safety.

**CONCLUSION: AN INSANE EXPERIMENT GONE AWRY**

*Insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result.*  
- Albert Einstein

In both relative and absolute terms, California has engaged in the type of experiment rarely seen in public policy circles. That experiment - the prison experiment - has been an abject failure, costing the state billions and draining money

from other areas that could have resulted in a safer and healthier society. If incarceration were the simple answer to crime its proponents contend it to be, California would be a crime-free paradise by now.

As California is poised to enter the 21st century, this is a watershed moment in the state's history. We can move into the future prepared to compete with our international economic rivals by shoring up our physical and human infrastructure. Investments in education, enterprise zones, high technology industries, and statewide transportation will prepare us to bring to our state the types of good paying jobs for which California has long been known.

Or, we can take another path. We can invest every additional dollar into large correctional facilities, generally constructed in rural counties with high unemployment rates, encumbering future generations with both debt and operating costs reaching well into the next century. Thus far, the results of that policy have been disappointing at best.

Future generations await our decision.

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The Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice is a public policy organization which engages in research and provides technical assistance on criminal and juvenile justice issues.

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**METHODOLOGY**

Complete information on the sources of the data in this section is cited in the Endnotes.

**NOTE ON CRIME COMPARISONS**

WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO MAKE CROSS-NATIONAL CRIME RATE COMPARISONS DUE TO DIFFERENT WAYS OF MEASURING CRIME, THE MAGNITUDE OF THE DIFFERENCES DOCUMENTED IN THIS REPORT PROVIDES A CLEAR INDICATION OF NATIONAL TRENDS.

**CALIFORNIA****General population (31,960,600)**

California Department of Finance, Research and Demographics Division, as of January 1994.

**Incarceration**

Total population behind bars (numbers are rounded): CDC inmate population: 126,000 projected for July 1994; Total jail population: 68,000 average daily count, 1993; CYA population over 18: 6,000, June 1994.

Rate: 200,000 adults per 31,960,600 general population equals 626 per 100,000.

**Crime**

Total crime, from Department of Justice's California Crime Index, includes violent crimes, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Violent crimes include homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. These crimes are measured as "crimes reported to law enforcement agencies."

**SELECTED NATIONS**

Every attempt was made to obtain the most recent data, which was collected from sources throughout the world. For the purposes of this study, Western Europe includes France, Germany, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Belgium, Austria, Portugal, Switzerland, Greece, Cypress, and Luxemburg. Data on the United Kingdom refer to the average of England & Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland.

**General Population**

Except for the general population figures used in the violent crime rates, which came from Interpol, all figures are taken from: World Almanac, 1993, Pharos Books (New York), 1992.

**Incarceration**

Sources: Council of Europe; Penal Reform International; Human Rights Watch/Prison Project; Australia Institute of Criminology; Sentencing Project; and the National Criminal Justice Commission. All data correspond to 1992-1994, except Jamaica (1990). Some incarceration rates are not exact because when only a prison population (and no rate) was obtained for a given nation, CJCJ used 1991 general population figures to calculate that nation's incarceration rate. Since overall populations for most nations fluctuate less than 2% a year, the margin of error due to this discrepancy is very small.

**Crime**

All cross-national crime data are taken from the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol). Interpol measures crime as the "number of cases known to the police," a definition very similar to California's. So as to maintain consistency, violent crimes - as used in this report - include murder, rape, "serious assault", and "robbery and violent theft". These categories are virtually the same as California's. Rates were calculated using the total of these four categories and the general population figures provided by Interpol. Interpol does not have complete violent crime data for Canada, Italy, Germany, the Russian Federation, and South Africa. All the crime data, which is the most recent available, corresponds to 1990. Even though California's crime data is for 1993, its 1990 figures are very similar, e.g. the 1990 violent crime rate was 1,055 per 100,000.

**UNITED STATES****Incarceration**

The rate of 517 cited in this report - which excludes California - is based on information in a 1994 National Criminal Justice Commission report (see Endnotes), which documents a rate of 555. After subtracting the U.S. juvenile incarcerated population and California's incarcerated population from their calculation, a rate of 517 results. The U.S. general population used in this calculation corresponds to 1994, and was obtained from the California Department of Finance, Research and Demographics Division.

**Crime**

So as to maintain consistency with the other selected nations, the U.S. violent crime and homicide rates are taken from Interpol (1990). These rates include California data.

**ENDNOTES**

- 1) California Department of Corrections (CDC); the Board of Corrections; California Youth Authority (CYA), Information Systems Unit.
- 2) Department of Justice, Division of Law Enforcement, Statistical Analysis Center.
- 3) All California crime data in this report, except for 1993, from: Department of Justice, Division of Law Enforcement, Law Enforcement Information Center, Crime and Delinquency in California, 1992, p.106. For 1993's figures: San Francisco Chronicle, "State Crime Down in Major Offenses: Sole Exception is Homicide - Up 4.5 Percent," June 1994.
- 4) Legislative Analyst's Office, Analysis of the 1994-95 Budget Bill, February 1994, p.D-32.
- 5) Board of Corrections, Corrections Standards and Services Division, Status Report on the County Correctional Facility Capital Expenditure Fund: Annual Report to the Legislature, December 1993, p.13.
- 6) Department of Finance, Research and Demographics Division; CDC, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch.

- 7) Quotation from: CDC, Communications Office, "CDC Facts," February 1, 1993. In 1983 the violent crime rate was 776, compared to 1,059 in 1993.
- 8) CDC, Offender Information Services Branch, "Historical Trends 1971-1991," April 1992. For 1991-92 increase: Department of Justice, Division of Law Enforcement, Law Enforcement Information Center, Crime and Delinquency in California, 1992, p.155. For 1992-93 increase: CDC, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch, "Weekly Report of Population."
- 9) The actual number of violent crimes went down in only four of those 19 years.
- 10) From 1976-77, the CDC population decreased by about 1,400 inmates while the total crime rate went down by about eight points.
- 11) Department of Justice, Division of Law Enforcement, Law Enforcement Information Center, Crime and Delinquency in California, 1992, p.161. This total refers to expenditures for 1991-92. The 1994-95 budget proposes an increase of 9.7% for Youth and Adult Corrections.
- 12) Legislative Analyst's Office, Analysis of the 1994-95 Budget Bill, February 1994, p.D-38.
- 13) Offender Information Services Branch, "Estimate of the 'Three Strikes' Initiative", February 28, 1994.
- 14) 1993's homicide rate is 12.8 per 100,000, which is up from 12.5 in '92.
- 15) All of the crime figures in this section are from: International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol: Lyons, France), International Crime Statistics, 1989-1990. Except where otherwise noted, all incarceration data is from 1) Penal Reform International (the Netherlands). 2) The Home Office (United Kingdom), Research and Planning Department, International Unit, "International Comparisons of the Prison Population," The Magistrate, April 1994. This data is from the Council of Europe's latest, unpublished figures. 3) Council of Europe, "Penological Information Bulletin," December 1992.
- 16) See Methodology section at end of report for more information on the cross-national data.
- 17) Human Rights Watch/Prison Project (New York), The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Prisons, June 1993, p.180.
- 18) U.S.: Austin, James. "An Overview on Incarceration Trends in the United States and Their Impact on Crime," National Criminal Justice Commission, March 1994. This report uses Bureau of Justice Statistics data. South Africa and Russian Federation: Human Rights Watch/Prison Project (New York), The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Prisons, June 1993, pp. 226, 222.
- 19) Foote, Caleb, "The Prison Population Explosion: California's Rogue Elephant," CJCI, June 1993, p.14.
- 20) CDC, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch.
- 21) Human Rights Watch/Prison Project (New York), The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Prisons, June 1993, p.198.
- 22) Jamaica: Human Rights Watch/Prison Project (New York), The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Prisons, June 1993, p.188. Hong Kong: Australian Institute of Criminology, "Prisoners in Asia and the Pacific," June 1993, p.1.
- 23) Indonesia and Japan: Australian Institute of Criminology, "Prisoners in Asia and the Pacific," June 1993, p.1.
- 24) Australian Institute of Criminology, "Prisoners in Asia and the Pacific," June 1993, p.1.
- 25) See, for example: San Jose Mercury News, "Bill Proposes Paddling for Graffiti Vandals," May 25, 1994. Oakland Tribune, "Support, Spray-Painted Taunts Meet Graffiti Proposal," May 27, 1994.
- 26) Australian Institute of Criminology, "Prisoners in Asia and the Pacific," June 1993, p.1.
- 27) Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy (Washington, D.C.), "A Call for a Rational Debate on Crime and Punishment," initiated in 1992.
- 28) Blue Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management (Sacramento), Final Report, January 1990.
- 29) See, for example: Mauer, Marc, "Americans Behind Bars: One Year Later," The Sentencing Project, February 1992. Austin, James and John Irwin, "Does Imprisonment Reduce Crime? A Critique of 'Voodoo' Criminology," National Council on Crime and Delinquency, February 1993. Foote, Caleb, "The Prison Population Explosion: California's Rogue Elephant," CJCI, June 1993.
- 30) Legislative Analyst's Office (Sacramento), "Crime in California," January 1994, p.38 (prepared by Craig Cornett).
- 31) Austin, James and John Irwin, "Does Imprisonment Reduce Crime? A Critique of 'Voodoo' Criminology," National Council on Crime and Delinquency, February 1993. The study they cite is: Linsky, Arnold and Murray Straus, Social Stress in the United States, Auburn House Publishing Company (Dover, MA), 1986.
- 32) Assembly Ways and Means Committee, "Initial Review of the Governor's Proposed 1992-93 California State Budget," January 1992, p.79. This report states: "According to Corrections, as many as 90% of all inmates have a substance abuse problem. Aside from the three percent of inmates who receive AA or NA services, less than two percent receive specialized services." The same committee's report on the 1994-95 proposed budget states that substance abuse programs, academic education, vocational training, and counseling programs have suffered budget cuts and could be targeted for additional cuts in 1994-95 (p.85).
- 33) Foote, Caleb, "The Prison Population Explosion: California's Rogue Elephant," CJCI, June 1993, p.14.
- 34) Petersilia, Joan, "Building More Jail Cells Will Not Make Us Safer," Los Angeles Times, October 4, 1992.