Buffalo Commons Student Perspectives

Responsible Jail Improvements in Erie County

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About the Series
The Buffalo Commons Student Perspectives Series gives students an opportunity to share original research and analysis on issues of importance to Partnership for the Public Good and its partners. This paper was prepared in Fall 2026 for the **Lawyers as Change Agents course at the University at Buffalo School of Law**. Thank you to Professor Sam Magavern for facilitating this student research.

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Executive Summary

Erie County's two correctional facilities require substantial investment to address deteriorating infrastructure, inadequate medical and mental-health spaces, and deficiencies affecting the safety of incarcerated people and staff. However, declining jail populations and significant unused capacity raise questions about the need for costly expansions or replacement facilities. The county's 2025 Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment identifies extensive deficiencies at both facilities, providing a foundation for prioritizing improvements according to urgency and operational needs.

This policy brief recommends prioritizing critical building and environmental hazards, redesigning intake and crisis-response areas, improving medical and mental-health services, and incorporating therapeutic design principles. The county should also address staff safety and working conditions as part of a comprehensive modernization strategy.

Rather than expanding jail capacity, Erie County should evaluate opportunities to convert underused housing areas into treatment facilities, classrooms, recreation spaces, and rehabilitative programming areas. Examples from other jurisdictions demonstrate that existing correctional facilities can be renovated and repurposed to meet changing needs. Finally, the county should strengthen diversion programs and community-based alternatives to incarceration to reduce future demand for jail beds. By prioritizing health, safety, treatment, and rehabilitation over additional confinement capacity, Erie County can make responsible investments that improve jail conditions while directing public resources toward the greatest public benefit.

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I. Erie County's Jail Problem

Erie County's two jails need substantial improvements, although the need for jail cells has decreased. The Erie County Holding Center in downtown Buffalo dates to 1937, with an addition completed in the 1980s. The Erie County Correctional Facility in Alden opened in 1985. Together, they have 1,380 beds. Yet the county's incarcerated population has fallen sharply in recent years. In 2025, the Holding Center was operating at about 38 percent of capacity and the Correctional Facility at about 51 percent.[1]

The county's 2025 Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment confirms that both facilities require substantial investment. It identifies outdated layouts, inadequate sightlines, aging building systems, plumbing problems, security concerns, and insufficient space for medical care and programming.[2] The assessment also reveals that the facilities' problems extend beyond aging equipment. Some areas are poorly designed for the delivery of health services, the safe supervision of incarcerated people, and the daily needs of correctional staff. In some instances, the physical environment itself may contribute to stress, anxiety, and unsafe behavior.



Erie County Holding Center Exterior (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Author: Fortunate4now).

The financial implications are considerable. The county has considered several options, ranging from continuing to operate both facilities at an estimated $218.3 million to renovating and expanding the Correctional Facility in Alden for $428.8 million. Building a new downtown

facility would cost approximately $696 million to $698 million.[3] These estimates raise an important policy question: How should Erie County prioritize its investments when its existing facilities have serious deficiencies, but its current jail population does not require every available bed?

The county's assessment provides an important starting point for answering that question. Rather than treating every deficiency as equally urgent, the county should carefully evaluate conditions that directly threaten health and safety, shortcomings that interfere with effective medical and mental-health treatment, and improvements that would enhance the long-term operation of the facilities. It should also determine whether underused housing areas can be converted into spaces that better serve incarcerated people and staff.[4]

This approach is consistent with the argument made by Partnership for the Public Good (PPG). PPG has argued that Erie County's declining jail population creates an opportunity to redirect resources toward prevention and alternatives to incarceration rather than continuing to invest heavily in excess capacity.[5] The goal should not be to spend as little as possible on the jails. It should be to direct public money toward the improvements that will produce the greatest gains in health, safety, and public well-being.



Erie County Correctional Facility Exterior (Erie County Department of Environment and Planning, 2025).

II. What Must Be Fixed: Prioritizing Health, Safety, and Treatment

Erie County should begin by addressing deficiencies that present the most immediate risks to incarcerated people and employees. The Facility Assessment identifies problems involving building systems, environmental conditions, intake procedures, housing layouts, and clinical facilities. These findings suggest that the county should establish a prioritized renovation plan rather than pursue improvements solely according to convenience or the age of individual buildings.[6]

A. FIRST PRIORITY: ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS AND FAILING BUILDING SYSTEMS

The county's physical conditions assessment identifies several conditions that warrant prompt investigation and, where necessary, remediation. At the Holding Center, inspectors observed deteriorating exterior stone panels, including areas of spalling and delamination that could pose a risk to people and property below. Approximately two-thirds of the laminated safety windows in resident areas were reported to be in poor condition or broken, with delamination and cracking. The assessment also identified moisture-related problems, including ceiling leaks, mold growth in a pipe chase, and concerns involving vents and shower areas.[7]

The findings at the Correctional Facility are also significant. Inspectors observed deterioration at the bases of concrete-block walls surrounding outdoor recreation areas, missing mortar in portions of exterior walls, and a bowed window lintel near the public lobby that warranted evaluation by a structural engineer. The assessment also identified stress and settlement cracks in concrete-block walls throughout the facility. Moisture deposits and potential mildew problems were noted in multiple areas, including pipe chases, vents, shower rooms, and ceilings in the annex dormitory.[8]

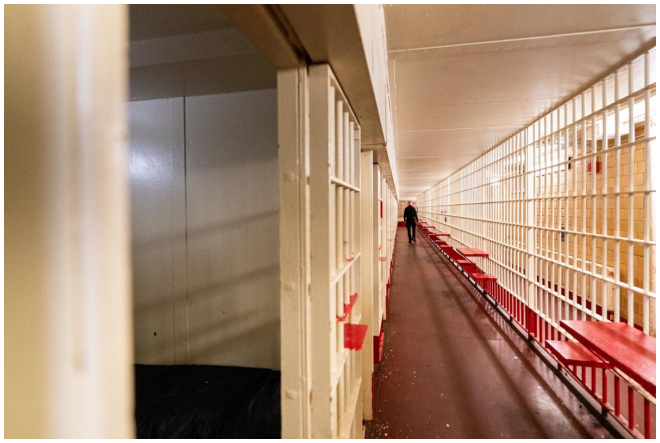
The assessment further identified potential hazardous materials at both facilities. These include lead-based paint and materials that may contain asbestos. At the Holding Center, inspectors identified potential asbestos-containing materials in areas such as holding cells and building systems. At the Correctional Facility, potential asbestos-containing materials were identified in several building components, including ceiling tiles, pipe insulation, and shower tile adhesive. The report also raised concerns about lead exposure and the handling of certain chemical products. These findings require appropriate testing to establish the presence and extent of any hazards before remediation or construction work proceeds.[9]

These conditions should not be dismissed as cosmetic problems. Deteriorating building materials, persistent moisture, and damaged windows can affect the quality and safety of the environment in which people live and work. Potential exposure to hazardous materials also requires careful management, particularly when renovation activities could disturb them. The county should therefore prioritize a building-condition review that identifies hazards requiring immediate intervention, establishes a schedule for repairs, and determines which deficiencies can be addressed through routine maintenance and which require larger projects. Exterior materials that could fall and injure people, confirmed environmental hazards, persistent water intrusion, and deficiencies affecting essential building systems should receive particular attention.

The county should also evaluate and repair the facilities' mechanical, electrical, plumbing, and fire-protection systems according to their severity and operational consequences. The Facility Assessment identifies deficiencies involving building systems, and its physical inspection methodology relied substantially on visual observations and discussions with facilities personnel.[10] The county should use those findings as a starting point for more detailed engineering evaluations where necessary, rather than assuming that a visual inspection establishes the full

condition of every system. Because fire safety is fundamental, the county should establish whether any deficiencies require immediate corrective action and ensure that necessary repairs, testing, and maintenance are completed. The same principle should apply to the plumbing failures, ventilation deficiencies, and other building-system problems that could directly affect health or emergency response.[11]

These projects should take precedence over aesthetic renovations. Replacing outdated furniture or refreshing finishes may improve the appearance of a facility, but those expenditures should not displace work necessary to prevent injury, control environmental hazards, maintain sanitation, or ensure reliable emergency systems.



Erie County Holding Center Interior (Buffalo News, 2026).

B. SECOND PRIORITY: REDESIGN INTAKE AND CRISIS-RESPONSE AREAS

The second major priority should be the areas where people enter the jail, undergo screening, and receive initial medical or mental health assessments. The county's assessment identifies serious functional deficiencies in these spaces, particularly at the Holding Center. The Holding Center's intake area is poorly designed for the volume and variety of activities it must accommodate. The assessment describes congestion during busy periods, inadequate circulation between people entering and leaving the facility, and a lack of clinical examination rooms and private interview spaces. Booking officers also face blind spots, including holding cells used for special observation that are not within their direct line of sight. The report notes that the lighting, acoustics, and spatial arrangement may contribute to anxiety and aggression.[12]

These deficiencies have consequences for both incarcerated people and staff. Intake is often the first point of contact between an individual and the correctional system. It is also where staff must identify urgent medical conditions, withdrawal symptoms, mental-health crises, and suicide risks. A congested environment with inadequate clinical space and limited visibility makes these responsibilities more difficult. Erie County should therefore redesign intake areas to support orderly movement, confidential screening, and direct supervision. The improvements should

include appropriately equipped examination rooms, private interview spaces, designated areas for mental-health triage, and safer observation arrangements. The layout should separate incoming and departing individuals where feasible and reduce unnecessary congestion during booking and transportation.

The county should also ensure that staff can observe individuals who require close supervision without compromising their dignity or confidentiality. The existing arrangement at the Holding Center is particularly concerning because some special-watch holding cells are not within booking officers' direct sightlines. The report also identifies a lack of specialized safety cells for individuals experiencing a crisis. These are high-priority deficiencies because they affect the ability to identify emergencies and respond appropriately.[13]



Erie County Correctional Facility Entrance Sign (Erie County Sheriff's Office, 2026).

The Correctional Facility has its own intake problems. Although its vehicle garage is generally adequate, the intake area is not designed for mass movement. Its layout does not efficiently accommodate processing and transportation, and the available space is insufficient to separate people according to gender, risk, and individual needs during busy periods.[14]

The county should address these deficiencies through facility-specific improvements rather than assume that one standardized renovation will solve both jails' problems. The Holding Center requires particular attention to clinical screening, observation, congestion, and the movement of people entering and leaving the facility. The Correctional Facility needs improvements that make intake more efficient and support appropriate separation during processing.

C. THIRD PRIORITY: EXPAND AND IMPROVE MEDICAL AND MENTAL-HEALTH SPACE

Medical and mental health services should receive comparable priority. Erie County's jails have a history of serious problems in this area. In 2009, the U.S. Department of Justice sued Erie County over conditions at both facilities, alleging deficiencies in medical care, mental-health care, suicide prevention, protection from harm, and environmental health and safety. Fourteen

years later, the Department of Justice reported substantial improvements, including a Stabilization Treatment Unit, improved suicide-risk assessment, medication-assisted treatment, and stronger medical oversight.[15]

The county has continued to build on those improvements. Its Correctional Health Division provides medical and mental-health services, substance-use treatment, suicide prevention, dental care, and reentry-related care. The National Commission on Correctional Health Care has also accredited the county's correctional health system.[16] Modernization should make these services easier to deliver and more responsive to individual needs, not simply provide additional housing capacity.

The county's assessment identifies specific limitations that should guide the county's next investments. At the Holding Center, medical services are constrained by insufficient space. The assessment reports that the facility lacks infirmary-level care and specialized clinics, has no dedicated room for safely and effectively passing medications, and does not provide a female detoxification dormitory. Medical rooms are too small, the centralized clinical area has an inefficient layout and sightline problems, and staff lack sufficient space for private triage and treatment.[17]

These deficiencies should inform a dedicated medical-services renovation. Erie County should determine whether underused housing areas can be converted into appropriately equipped clinical examination rooms, medication-administration space, private consultation rooms, and treatment areas. It should also evaluate whether existing space can support additional specialized services or whether certain needs would be better met through partnerships and other arrangements. The absence of a female detoxification dormitory deserves particular attention. The county should assess the needs of women experiencing withdrawal and determine how to provide appropriate, clinically supervised detoxification space.

Mental-health services require a similarly targeted approach. The assessment recognizes the capabilities of the Holding Center's Forensic Unit but explains that the growth of its clinical staff has created a need for additional private offices, individual treatment rooms, and group-therapy space. The assessment also identifies limited programming space for people with cognitive impairments and inadequate environments for individuals experiencing mental-health crises.[18]

The county should convert suitable unused areas into private clinical offices, individual and group therapy rooms, and spaces for structured activities. These areas should be located near the people who need services when feasible, reducing the logistical burden of escorting individuals across the facility. They should also be designed to support confidential conversations and therapeutic activities.

The Correctional Facility presents a different set of challenges. Although the assessment describes its centralized medical and behavioral-health treatment spaces as generally adequate, it notes that their location makes access difficult for individuals who require an escort. Shared treatment

and counseling rooms are reportedly underused, while behavioral-health consultation rooms lack important therapeutic features, including acoustic treatment, daylight, and views of nature. The assessment also finds inadequate exercise and activity resources and a lack of dedicated de-escalation spaces within mental-health housing.[19] This suggests that the Correctional Facility does not necessarily need a wholesale expansion of its medical facilities. It needs to make better use of existing space and improve the quality and accessibility of the spaces already available. The county should consider converting underused rooms into accessible treatment areas, improving privacy and acoustics, and creating dedicated spaces where people can de-escalate from a crisis with appropriate supervision and clinical support.

Recent independent observations reinforce the importance of these investments. The Erie County Clergy Jail Visiting Project conducted six visits to the two facilities over two years and interviewed more than 100 incarcerated people. Its December 2025 report praised increased programming and the reduction in jail deaths, but it also identified five major areas of concern: racial disparities, food, equal treatment for women, medical care, and religious services.[20]



Rev. Rebecca Barnes, Clergy Jail Visiting Project (Buffalo Toronto Public Media, 2025).

The medical findings are particularly significant. Nearly half of respondents in the project's structured interviews reported that medications they had been taking before incarceration were not provided or were delayed for three weeks or more. The report recommended filling vacant medical positions and establishing procedures to provide prescribed medications, including medications for opioid-use disorder, within seventy-two hours of admission.[21]

Facility renovations alone will not solve these problems. Medication procedures, staffing, clinical oversight, and administrative practices must also improve. Nevertheless, appropriately designed intake and medication spaces can support more reliable care. Erie County should therefore pair its capital investments with operational reforms that measure how quickly people receive necessary medications and how promptly medical and mental health concerns are addressed.

D. FOURTH PRIORITY: APPLY THERAPEUTIC DESIGN PRINCIPLES

The assessment proposes therapeutic design elements, explaining that such design choices can reduce stress and anxiety, limit aggression, and promote dignity for both incarcerated people and staff. It identifies appropriate artificial lighting, natural light, lighting that reinforces circadian rhythms, comfortable temperatures, good acoustics, suitable colors, less confining spaces, and activities that promote healthy sleep as important design considerations.[22]

These principles should inform the county's renovation decisions rather than be treated as optional aesthetic improvements. A facility's physical environment affects how people experience confinement, how well they sleep, how they communicate, and how easily staff can supervise and assist them. For example, improvements to lighting and acoustics should be incorporated into the redesign of intake areas, mental-health housing, clinical rooms, and counseling spaces. Where feasible, the county should introduce natural light and views of nature into treatment areas. Temperature control and ventilation should be addressed alongside other infrastructure repairs. Housing areas should also provide appropriate opportunities for recreation, movement, and meaningful activity.

The assessment's findings at the Correctional Facility make this especially important. Its behavioral-health consultation rooms lack daylight and acoustic treatment, and the report identifies inadequate exercise and activity resources. These conditions undermine the goal of creating an environment that supports treatment and recovery.[23] Renovations should therefore address the physical qualities of these spaces as well as their basic functionality.

Therapeutic design must also be reconciled with safety. The Facility Assessment recommends eliminating opportunities for weaponization, using ligature-resistant features where appropriate, improving circulation and wayfinding, maintaining clear lines of sight, providing secondary means of egress and paths of retreat, and using effective emergency-response and monitoring technologies.[24] The county should apply these principles together. A space should not be considered successful simply because it is comfortable, nor should safety be understood solely in terms of restricting movement. The objective should be an environment that permits effective supervision, protects people from foreseeable harm, and supports constructive behavior.

E. FIFTH PRIORITY: IMPROVE STAFF SAFETY AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Modernization should also address the conditions in which correctional officers and other employees work. The assessment identifies inadequate staff support spaces at both facilities, including limited access to natural light, insufficient training space, and shortcomings in break and wellness areas.[25]

At the Holding Center, administrative and clinical employees face significant space constraints. Staff occupy scattered locations, share offices, or work in spaces that were not designed for their functions. Substance-use counselors frequently meet clients in common housing dayrooms

because private offices are unavailable. The mental-health clinicians are concentrated in one room, and the facility lacks sufficient administrative support, dedicated briefing space, and an adequate staff breakroom. The report also describes an undersized training room that cannot accommodate larger classes or realistic situational training exercises.[26]

These problems affect more than employee comfort. Confidential clinical conversations require appropriate privacy. Effective training requires suitable space and equipment. Staff also need a functional environment in which to prepare for shifts, take breaks, and communicate about incidents. At the Correctional Facility, the assessment identifies inadequate lockers, limited staff amenities, a lack of dedicated quiet or decompression rooms, and insufficient dining space. The existing indoor gymnasium used for staff workouts and training is poorly lit and reportedly underused.[27] The county should evaluate whether these spaces can be redesigned or repurposed to better support employees.

Security operations also need attention. The assessment notes that the Correctional Facility lacks a dedicated security-equipment room, forcing staff to collect equipment from different locations. It also identifies inefficient use of the security suite and inadequate storage of confiscated property.[28] Consolidating equipment and improving the layout of security operations could reduce unnecessary movement, improve readiness, and make it easier for employees to begin their shifts efficiently. These improvements should not displace urgent life-safety or medical renovations. However, staff support should be included in the overall modernization plan because employee safety and well-being are integral to the safe operation of a correctional facility.

III. Other Countries Are Renovating What They Already Have

Erie County does not have to choose between doing nothing and building an entirely new jail. Other jurisdictions have renovated existing facilities, sometimes at relatively modest costs. Five counties in Texas offer useful examples.

- Wood County completed an approximately $8 million jail project added housing and kitchen space but also converted the existing kitchen into visitation space and an existing maintenance area into a medical examination room.[29] The project demonstrates how a jail can use its existing footprint for different purposes as needs change.
- Runnels County provides an even simpler example. Its $2.1 million project focuses on mechanical, electrical, and plumbing upgrades and minor renovations to its existing 15,000-square-foot jail.[30]
- Tarrant County is renovating its 44,000-square-foot Cold Springs Jail for approximately $14 million, converting an existing minimum-security facility into a medium-security facility.

- Dallas County spent an estimated $35 million renovating three floors of an existing seven-story jail tower for medical purposes.
- Rockwall County combined an expansion with renovations to medical, visitation, kitchen, booking, and other spaces and converted an existing sallyport into a workshop.[31]

In Ohio, Montgomery County is spending approximately $9.18 million in federal recovery funds to renovate portions of its existing jail. The project will convert 226 general-population beds into a behavioral-health and medical wing and add detoxification space, suicide-prevention cells, and expanded medical services.[32] This is precisely the type of investment Erie County should examine. Instead of treating every unused cell as a reason to maintain housing capacity, a county can convert some of that capacity into services that address the needs of people entering and returning to jail.



Montgomery County Jail (Montgomery County Sheriff's Office, 2025).

Clark County, Washington, offers another useful comparison because its planning separates renovation from expansion. Its 2025 analysis estimated approximately $156.8 million for renovating the existing building as part of a larger $471.5 million project.[33] Erie County should similarly distinguish the cost of making existing facilities safe and functional from the cost of adding new beds.

These examples do not establish that Erie County can achieve the same results at the same prices. The facilities, local requirements, and project scopes differ. They do, however, demonstrate why the county should evaluate renovation and adaptive reuse as serious alternatives to replacement or expansion.

IV. Turning Empty Cells into Treatment Space

The most promising opportunity for Erie County may be its excess capacity. If the county does not need every existing cell, it should ask what those spaces could do instead. The assessment

provides a basis for answering that question because it identifies shortages of clinical rooms, treatment spaces, programming areas, and staff support facilities at both jails.

Mental-health treatment is an obvious possibility. In Florida, Miami-Dade County converted three existing jail housing units into a Mental Health Treatment Center. The facility provides therapy, recreation, classes, group treatment, and medical care.[34] Erie County could use a similar model by converting selected housing areas into treatment rooms, group spaces, clinical offices, and recreation areas. As mentioned above, the county should consider whether underused housing or shared rooms can be repurposed into accessible treatment areas and therapeutic programming spaces at the Correctional Facility specifically.

There is a strong public-safety rationale for doing so. RAND's research found that correctional education is associated with lower recidivism and improved employment after release. Similarly, the Urban Institute found that people who participated in postsecondary correctional education in three states were less likely to recidivate during the first year after release.[35] These findings show that education is a legitimate correctional investment rather than an optional amenity.

Recreation and meaningful out-of-cell activity should also be part of this strategy. The Erie County clergy report found that incarcerated people strongly valued the county's expanded programming but also noted that limited capacity made it difficult for everyone to participate.[36] Converting unused housing space into classrooms, treatment rooms, recreation areas, or multipurpose rooms could therefore improve conditions without increasing the number of beds.

V. Reducing the Need for Jail Beds

Facility improvements should be paired with efforts to reduce unnecessary incarceration. Otherwise, Erie County could spend hundreds of millions of dollars improving its facilities only to face the same capacity question later. Whatcom County, Washington, provides a useful example. The Vera Institute of Justice examined the county's jail population and identified strategies involving diversion, behavioral health, case processing, and alternatives to incarceration. Whatcom County later evaluated progress toward implementing those recommendations.[37]

The National Association of Counties similarly identifies diversion, behavioral-health programs, and alternatives to incarceration as tools for reducing jail populations and costs.[38] Erie County should therefore examine opportunities to divert people with mental-health and substance-use needs into community-based treatment when public safety allows. These programs should not be viewed as alternatives to jail modernization. They are part of modernization. If fewer people need to be incarcerated, Erie County can devote more of its existing physical space to treatment and programming rather than maintaining empty cells.

VI. Conclusion

Erie County's jail facilities are outdated and require substantial investment, but the solution is not building a new facility. Other counties show that existing facilities can be renovated and repurposed. Wood County converted existing space into medical and visitation areas. Montgomery County, Ohio is converting jail beds into behavioral-health and medical space. Dallas County transformed portions of an existing jail tower for medical services. These projects show that modernization can mean changing what existing space does, not simply building more of it.

Erie County should therefore prioritize the improvements that matter most: safe building systems, medical and mental health care, officer safety, and meaningful programming. It should use excess space for treatment, education, recreation, and reentry. And it should invest in diversion and prevention so that the need for jail beds continues to fall. Responsible jail improvement is not about spending as little as possible; rather, it is about spending public money where it can help the most.

[1]Erie County Department of Environment and Planning, *Erie County Holding Center and Erie County Correctional Facility Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment* (May 2025); Erie County Executive's Office, "Poloncarz, Garcia Present Results of Erie County Holding Center and Erie County Correctional Facility Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment," May 30, 2025.
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[3] Erie County Executive's Office, "Poloncarz, Garcia Present Results of Erie County Holding Center and Erie County Correctional Facility Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment," May 30, 2025.
[4] Erie County Department of Environment and Planning, *Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment*, pp. 93-120.
[5] Colleen Kristich, *Shrinking Jails, Rising Costs: Erie County's Wasteful Jail Budget*, Partnership for the Public Good, November 21, 2020.
[6] Erie County Department of Environment and Planning, *Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment*, pp. 93-120.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 95.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., pp. 104-106.
[13] Ibid., p. 105.
[14] Ibid., pp. 104-105.
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[18] Ibid. pp. 109-110.
[19] Ibid. 109.
[20] Erie County Clergy Jail Visiting Project, *Improving Erie County's Jails: Findings and Recommendations*, December 8, 2025.
[21] Ibid.; Jeff Russo, "Clergy Group Releases First Public Report on Erie County Jail Conditions," WKBW, December 10, 2025.
[22] Erie County Department of Environment and Planning, *Comprehensive Facility and Operational Needs Assessment*, p. 94.
[23] Ibid., p. 109.
[24] Ibid., p. 94.
[25] Ibid., pp. 101-102.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 102.
[28] Ibid., p. 104.
[29] Texas Department of Licensing and Regulation, *Wood County Jail Additions and Renovations*, Project No. TABS2025001004, 2024-2025.
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[35] Lois M. Davis et al., *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education*, RAND Corporation, 2013; Laura Winterfield et al., *The Effects of Postsecondary Correctional Education*, Urban Institute, September 3, 2009.
[36] Erie County Clergy Jail Visiting Project, *Improving Erie County's Jails: Findings and Recommendations*, December 8, 2025.
[37] Vera Institute of Justice, *Report to Whatcom County Stakeholders on Jail Reduction Strategies*, 2017; Whatcom County, *Report to Whatcom County Stakeholders on Progress Towards Reducing the Jail Population*, 2023.
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