



IDEAS

EQUAL JUSTICE

POLICY OF THE YEAR NOMINEE:

**The Consent Concern:
Addressing Sexual
Assault at the
University of Georgia**



FOR EQUAL JUSTICE 2015

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Who We Are

The Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network, the nation's largest student policy organization, engages young people in a unique form of civic participation that empowers them as leaders and promotes their ideas for change. Through coordination with political actors and community leaders, Network members design and implement solutions to the pressing issues facing their towns, counties, and states. Now boasting 120 chapters in 38 states with thousands of members, we're building a network of young people who are filling the ideas gap in communities across the country. In doing so, we're preparing a new generation of thinkers and policymakers to burst forth onto the nation's political stage.

What You're Holding

Now in its seventh year, the *10 Ideas* series promotes the most promising student-generated ideas from across our network. This journal, which includes submissions from schools located from California to Georgia to New York, stands as a testament to the depth and breadth of our network of innovators.

Our *10 Ideas* memos are selected for publication because they are smart, rigorously researched, and, most importantly, feasible. We want to see these ideas become a reality.

How You Can Join

As you explore these ideas, we encourage you to take special note of the "Next Steps" sections. Here, our authors have outlined how their ideas can move from the pages of this journal to implementation. We invite you to join our authors in the process. Contact us on our website or by tweeting with us @VivaRoosevelt using the hashtag #solve2015.

Thank you for reading and supporting student generated ideas. Together we will design the future of our communities, from towns to countries and all that lies in-between.

WELCOME!

Dear Readers,

Young people on college campuses are often asked to make phone calls, knock on doors, and campaign for existing agendas, but they're rarely asked about their own policy ideas. Since 2004, we have been working to change that norm. At its core, the Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network seeks to defy the public's expectations of young people in politics today.

Over the past 10 years, we have built an engaged, community-driven network of students who are committed to using policy to transform their cities and states now and build the foundation for a sustainable future. We believe that broader participation in the policy process will not only improve representation but produce more creative ideas with the potential for real impact.

In this year's *10 Ideas* journal, we present some of most promising and innovative ideas from students in our network. With chapters on 120 campuses in 38 states, from Los Angeles, California, to Conway, Arkansas, to New York City, we have the potential to effect policy ideas that transcend the parameters of our current national debate. Our student authors push for practical, community-focused solutions, from using pavement to improve sanitation in Louisville, Kentucky, to creating community benefit agreements for

publicly funded stadiums in Lansing, Michigan, to building workforce development programs for agricultural literacy in Athens, Georgia.

Policy matters most when we take it beyond the page and bring it to the communities and institutions that can turn it into reality. Many of the students in this year's publication have committed to pressing for impact. They're connecting with decision-makers in city halls and state capitols, armed with the power of their own ideas.

The breadth and depth of our network is reflected in the diversity of the proposals featured in this journal. We hope you'll enjoy reading them as much we did. The next generation of innovative minds and passionate advocates is here, and it's changing this country one idea at a time.

Sincerely,

Joelle Gamble

National Director

Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network



CONGRATULATIONS TO

Cali Callaway

author of *The Consent Concern: Addressing Sexual Assault at the University of Georgia*

Nominee for Policy Of The Year

A jury of Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network members, staff, and alumni select one piece from each journal to nominate for the honor of Policy of the Year. We base our nominees off of the quality of idea, rigor of research and potential for implementation. The cover design of this journal portrays this year's nominee in visual form.

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The Consent Concern: Addressing Sexual Assault at the University of Georgia

Cali Callaway, University of Georgia

With four separate on-campus entities with varying definitions of consent overseeing sexual assault response at the University of Georgia (UGA), unnecessary convulsion of institutional policy significantly contributes to the severe underreporting of this heinous crime. To simplify and standardize policy between state law and school proceedings, the state of Georgia should enact a consistent, formal definition of consent for application to the university system and its flagship institution.

The Equal Opportunity Office (EEO) is responsible for all sexual assaults that take place on campus, connect to UGA programs, or threaten the community. These incidences are handled by the Title IX Coordinator, a federally mandated position in EEO, and her team of investigators who act under their formal definition of consent.^{1,2} If this policy alone defined the procedure for sexual assault response at UGA, students would have a clear standard for action; however, three additional entities also oversee the handling of these cases.

If an act of sex violence occurs at the hands of a UGA student outside the “University Community,” the student faces investigation from Judiciary, a board of peers tasked with evaluating violations of the UGA Code of Conduct. This document, which clearly defines the standard of actions for UGA students, does not have a definition of consent.³

KEY FACTS

- Only 1 percent of an estimated 1,200 sexual assaults were reported to UGA campus police in 2013.^{11,12}
- Perpetrators are often serial offenders, averaging 5.6 rapes per person.¹³
- The Campus Sexual Assault study found 19 percent of women and 6 percent of men claimed to have experienced attempted or completed sexual assault during college.¹⁴

The Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention (RSVP) Office, which is responsible for aiding students in need, maintains their own “gold standard” definition shared through educational seminars.⁴ Additionally, UGA Police operate under Georgia State Law, which lacks a formal definition of consent.

Four separate bodies in different locations on campus are simultaneously holding students to different standards. Even university faculty members are often unaware of the steps to take in the event a student seeks their aid during a crisis.⁵ It’s unreasonable to expect students to know and abide by policies that experts in the field fail to grasp. Until these inconsistencies are addressed on a scale larger than the university, false information will continue to circulate throughout the student body.

In order to improve both campus understanding and legal proceedings, the Georgia Legislature should adopt a formal definition of consent to be applied at UGA and the University System of Georgia.

ANALYSIS

In the state of Georgia, all sex crimes are defined as committing a specific sexual act without consent; however, consent is not defined.⁶ This unfortunate reality means determining the validity of a charge depends upon a nebulous cloud of questions determined by an officer, judge, or university administrator.⁷ This policy eliminates the discrepancy between academic and legal entities by providing a standard upon which students can guide their decisions and investigators can choose their questions. In other words, the university would abide by word of law instead of informal school code.

TALKING POINTS

- Both a national grass roots movement and federal governmental activities set the stage for action in Georgia.
 - Georgia would be the first Southern state to overtly respond to this issue.
-

Given clear misconceptions about sexual assault, clarifying this definition would also help to dispel some of the notions that drive sexual decision-making. A recent survey found that 35 percent of college-aged men reported that friends thought getting a woman drunk for sex was acceptable.⁸ Considering that 73 percent of all assaults occur at the hands of an acquaintance, it follows that many men and women committing these crimes just need education.⁹

Media attention, as demonstrated by the California “yes means yes” policy, would further highlight the importance of this issue, educate the public, and allow for open dialogue about sexual assault.¹⁰ All of these benefits come only at the cost of time and effort required to lobby current legislators. The Republican-dominated House of Representatives could dissent, but national momentum may sway opinions.

Next Steps

RSVP, UGA Police, EOO, and University Judiciary should partner to agree on a single definition of consent. Key student groups should also work with UGA to pressure the state legislature and the Governor’s policy office for change. A group of Georgia lawmakers must eventually respond to this pressure from students and administrators and propose this definition to the legislature.

ENDNOTES

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Social Reparations: Re-Allocating Virginia Alcoholic Beverage Control Profits Toward Sexual Assault Care

Emma Copeland and Taylor Pigram, George Mason University

Due to Virginia's inadequate education on sexual assault prevention and inaccessible after-care, the Commonwealth should re-allocate 20 percent of profits made by the Alcoholic Beverage Control Department to provide sexual assault services to college students on public university campuses.

Since 1975, the cost of college has tripled.² In 1997, the Virginia Criminal Injuries Compensation Fund was created to include services and compensation for victims of any crime due to the rapid increase of reported cases of sexual assault.¹ Sexual assault is defined by the Department of Justice as “any type of sexual contact or behavior that occurs without the explicit consent of the recipient.”² Survivors are required to go through a forensic examination with intent to prosecute. Intending to prosecute is a significant responsibility put on recent survivors, and few alternatives exist; so, they are forced either to consent to this procedure and report the case or say nothing.

Most sexual assaults occur on weekends between the hours of midnight and 6:00 AM.³ On-campus student health services at public universities are generally open during daytime hours on weekdays.

In April 2014, President Obama launched the “It’s on Us” campaign to increase campuses’ awareness of sexual assault and equip them

KEY FACTS

- The Department of Justice defines sexual assault as “any type of sexual contact or behavior that occurs without the explicit consent of the recipient.”¹⁰
- College-aged women are four times more likely to face sexual assault than any other age group.¹¹
- At least 79 percent of reported sexual assault cases occur when at least one party is under the influence of alcohol.¹²

with tools to prevent sexual violence on campus. The campaign has been successful in creating a dialogue on campus for students to become informed; however, it is not a comprehensive project that provides care for victims, nor does it introduce a permanent plan to educate students on the topic.

Because one in five women is sexually assaulted on college campuses,⁴ it makes symbolic sense to use that fraction to represent the amount of profit reallocated from the Virginia Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC) towards the creation of new programs and after-care options for victims. The ABC brings in \$134 million in profit each year.⁵ 20 percent would be approximately \$27 million to go towards the creation of programming on Virginia public college campuses.

ANALYSIS

According to the Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 79 percent of reported sexual assaults occur when at least one party was under the influence of alcohol.⁶ Alcohol is often used as a scapegoat either to blame the victim or safeguard the perpetrator, and ABC should take responsibility.

The services provided will include the creation of an “after-hours” clinic, open 24 hours and staffed with one to two nurses. Based on Virginia averages, staffing each public university 24 hours a day, 365 days a year would cost approximately \$286,000.⁷ Additionally, programming on how to prevent sexual assault will be provided to educate students and staff to establish a standard of care. Such services are not provided at public universities in Virginia.

George Mason University (GMU) has very comprehensive options for “after-hours” healthcare, whereby an on-call nurse is available for students to contact at any hour, but this is not enough to give

TALKING POINTS

- The number of reported sexual assault cases doubled between 2012 and 2013 at the University of Virginia.¹³
- There is no center that directly works to prevent sexual assault at universities in Virginia.
- Given the definition of sexual assault, one in 12 college-aged men admit to perpetrating this crime at some point in their college career.¹⁴

care immediately. Moreover, GMU provides only after-care services, not preventative ones. Preventative education must be provided if universities hope to decrease sexual assault on campus.

Next Steps

Due to extremely low tobacco costs in Virginia, the Commonwealth should lobby Big Tobacco to raise taxes to make up reallocated ABC profits. There is currently a \$0.30 excise tax on a pack of cigarettes in the Commonwealth, and, in fiscal year 2013, \$169 million was generated in revenue for the Commonwealth.⁸ If Virginia doubled the tax, the number of smokers would stay relatively the same, with a decrease of only one cigarette per day on average.⁹ The ABC reallocation program could then be scaled to move into other states with similar alcohol regulations. By successfully piloting such a program in Virginia, this campaign has the potential to be implemented on every public university campus in the country.

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Raising the Bars: Holding Arizona Private Prisons Accountable

Julius Goldberg-Lewis, University Of Michigan; Andrea Sosa, Goucher College; and Kitty Lan, Georgetown University

The Arizona Department of Corrections should create more rigorous standards for private prison contracts that take into account outcomes, and allow an open bidding process when contracts are renegotiated.

Privatization of the prison system, which began with a bid by the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) in 1985, has expanded since its introduction as a result of more than \$45 million spent on campaign donations and lobbying.¹ Where there were once only five private prisons with 2,000 inmates, there are now over one hundred institutions for 62,000 people.² In Arizona, the CCA's lobbying, led by Chuck Coughlin, a close friend and advisor to Governor Jan Brewer and former U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini, has led to new contracts.³ That very same year in 2012, Governor Brewer increased the Arizona Department of Corrections' budget by \$10 million, the only major department that did not receive a cut.⁴ Last year, the CCA reaped more than \$162 million in profit, with over 57 percent of the income stemming from state contracts.⁵ Currently, Arizona contracts are based on occupancy quotas in which the state guarantees a payment based on a predetermined level of occupancy regardless of actual occupancy. This reduces the prison's financial risk, but burdens taxpayers.⁶ The Arizona private prison system is trapped in a cycle that rewards lobbying for tougher

KEY FACTS

- Arizona Department of Correction reviews have found that Arizona private prisons cost more than their public equivalents, with the state overpaying these private institutions by \$10 million.¹²
- The three largest private prison corporations MTC,¹³ CCA,¹⁴ and GEO¹⁵ Group have donated tens of thousands of dollars to campaigns and PACs in Arizona, alongside traditional lobbying.
- There is currently a severe lack of accountability and oversight in Arizona private prisons – despite recent reforms, private prisons are still not held accountable to the state or taxpayers.¹⁶

sentences and laws,⁷ which lead to a higher incarceration rate, with little accountability.

Arizona should develop a holistic rubric that covers both the inputs and the outputs, providing specific targets for programs aimed at improving the wellbeing of inmates and truly achieving cost effectiveness. With a limited 15-year contract term, these criteria will be used in the rebidding process where the public and private sectors can both compete to earn the renewed contract, ultimately achieving improved outcomes and reduced costs.

ANALYSIS

The holistic rubric includes specific inputs such as price, security, and health standards and outputs including literacy levels and recidivism. These contracts should provide goals and better living condition standards. All contracts should be limited to a 15-year term, at the end of which both other private prison corporations and public sector institutions can bid on the renewed contract. Competition between firms and the public sector will reduce the sizeable profit margins that are currently extracted through contracts and encourage innovation and cross-fertilization of methods and ideas among public and private prisons. This model has been proven successful in both the UK and Australia.⁸ In addition, due to more competitive pricing, this system will significantly reduce the marginal return for lobbying undertaken by the private prison corporations. The policy would affect the nearly 7,000 inmates that are incarcerated in private Arizona prisons and those that are at risk of becoming imprisoned.⁹ Between 1979 and 2009, the number of felony adult offenders increased almost 12-fold, and as of June 2010, 14 percent of these inmates were housed in private prison.¹⁰ Private prisons have higher rates of inmate violence and substance

TALKING POINTS

- Private prisons in Arizona are making millions in profit while conditions are substandard.
 - Private prison corporations are lobbying for more punitive policy to increase profit, as well as for the construction of new prisons.
 - Minimal oversight results in prison escapes and drug use.
 - Arizona public prisons have been proven to be more cost-effective than uncompetitive private ones.
-

abuse issues than many publicly run facilities, and also face a higher degree of major incidences such as escapes.¹¹

Next Steps

The initial steps to the implementation of this policy would be the drafting of a new set of metrics by which to judge private prisons. This rubric would be passed to the legislature and codified along with a provision allowing for contract renewals to be subject to rebidding. Contract renewals should be subject to the new contracting procedure and any new private prisons should meet the rigorous standards for both inputs and outcomes. As competition between private firms increases, occupancy quotas should be phased out to ensure that the Arizona taxpayers reap the cost-saving benefits promised by privatization.

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Equal Internet Access for Equal Opportunity

Matthew Lazo and Moustafa Elshaabiny, City College of New York

In order to help address the educational, health, and economic disparities faced by residents of the Bronx and Brooklyn as well as other low-income New York City residents, Internet services should be provided within the Section 8 units codes followed by the New York City Housing Authority.

Low-income New York tenants, especially in the Bronx and Brooklyn, suffer from a lack of Internet access. Such lack of access hinders economic, educational, health, and community opportunities. In addition, the lower average wages of the Bronx and Brooklyn's residents¹ compared to those of Manhattan and Queens are correlated with lack of Internet access.

As a result, low-income residents find it difficult to access job opportunities, informational resources, and vital social communications online. They rely on public services such as libraries.² Internet services provided by libraries are limited by timed sessions, and the volume of computer use desired by many residents in the same plight creates long waits.

The New York City government currently supports its low and mid-income residents through the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA). NYCHA provides housing assistance through programs such as Section 8 Leased Housing. Section 8 units are privately owned, with rental rates set at no more than 30 percent of the tenants' monthly income.³ The federal Department of Housing and Urban Development distributes funds to local public housing agencies to administer vouchers to Section 8 residents.⁴

KEY FACTS

- 37 percent of Bronx residents and 24 percent of Brooklyn residents do not have access to the Internet.¹¹
- 36 percent of the respondents who did not have Internet access blamed cost related factors such as high monthly bills and activation fees.¹⁰
- Low-income residents rely on limited public services for job searches and educational resources.²

New York City has taken measures to address this disparity of Internet access. Programs such as the Broadband Technology Opportunities Program and Digital Vans provide computer use to NYCHA residents for job searching and resume development.⁵ However, these public services are also limited by timed sessions or temporary services, which makes it difficult to search for jobs or contact friends and families. From 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. on weekdays, Digital Vans provide computer labs to allow NYCHA residents to work on their resumes or search for jobs online; however, the Digital Vans change locations every day, and NYCHA residents must therefore wait for certain dates to use these vans. The Broadband Technology Opportunities Program is also of limited availability. In fact, the last program listed on NYCHA website was from October 2013 to December 2013.

ANALYSIS

The Internet is known to provide job opportunities, communication access, and educational resources: McKinsey & Company reports that Internet access creates jobs.⁶ Facebook and Deloitte have also released a study documenting social benefits of providing Internet. These benefits include, among others, better healthcare knowledge and access, learning resources, and the sense of inclusion within communities.⁷

According to Figure 1, the Bronx and Brooklyn have the most Section 8 units under lease in all the boroughs.⁸ Section 8 landlords are only required to adopt Housing Quality Standards (HQS), which do not include Internet access or any other telecommunication amenities.⁹ Requiring Section 8 landlords to provide Internet services to tenants will be an effective starting point to address this disparity of access.

Landlord provision of Internet for Section 8 residents will reduce the cost of technological access. Although some might still need to buy hardware (computers, laptops, or other mobile devices), the extra burden of monthly payments and activation fees will be removed. The 2010 Federal Communication Commission report indicated that these service

TALKING POINTS

- Providing Internet access to low-income residents will create more jobs opportunities.
- The mandate to provide access within NYCHA Section 8 housing will be an effective start to combating the Internet access disparity in New York City.
- The policy can be replicated in other cities in an effort to promote greater access to resources promoting healthcare, education, and social connection.

costs are the main reasons why residents do not have Internet services. Removing these costs will help low-income residents.

Next Steps

Internet services should be mandated within Section 8 units' HQS adopted by the NYCHA. Furthermore, it should be required of landlords so that it does not increase the tenants' costs. Within the first three months of implementation, the NYCHA should collaborate with the New York City Department of Information Technology to determine the appropriate bandwidth requirement. Primary stakeholders, including Section 8 landlords and NYC government, should be informed of the economic development opportunities gained by providing such services. It should be made clear to Section 8 landlords that increased job opportunities can provide higher and more stable incomes for tenants. Since Section 8 rent is set based on income, landlords benefit from tenants' improved financial position. In order to pressure the NYC government to adopt such measures, Section 8 tenants should mobilize via grassroots campaign. They should inform their local council member of the benefits of increased Internet access to low-income New York residents whose access has been limited up to now.

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Integration of Child Refugees: International Academy Models in D.C. Public Schools

Shiyu Liang, Georgetown University

With the influx of unaccompanied minors from Central America into the U.S., D.C. Public Schools (DCPS) should widely integrate international academy models to help young refugees transition with better language support and cultural immersion.

Since 2011, there has been an ever-growing number of unaccompanied minor refugees from Central America entering the U.S. According to the U.S. Customs and Border Protection, the number of unaccompanied minors apprehended at the border soared from 4,059 in 2011 to more than 68,000 in 2014.^{1,2} Though a program that promises to grant refugee status to minors from Central America was implemented in December, social welfare provisions and refugee integration efforts have yet to be improved.³ Currently, the School Impact program under the Office of Refugee Resettlement serves a subsidiary function by providing funding to relevant initiatives.⁴ As more minors will obtain refugee status under a recent White House program, D.C. public schools should actively institute substantive policies to serve the educational needs of these children.

An international academy is a school system integrated within public schools that provides strong additional

KEY FACTS

- Of the 37,000 children who have crossed the border since January 2014, 7.56 percent of them have ended up in the D.C. area, a disproportionately large number for the region's size.¹²
 - INPS has established 17 schools for immigrant children over 30 years. In 2011, students in INPS schools in New York had the lowest dropout rate (9 percent) compared to ELL students in New York City (20 percent) and in the state of New York (21 percent).¹³
 - From June 1, 2010 to June 30, 2011, INPS spent \$610,967 on new school development, 25.3 percent of its annual expenses. In comparison, model dissemination cost (\$508,064) was 21.5 percent and professional training (\$592,006) 24.5 percent.¹⁴
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language, academic, and development support for English language learners (ELL).⁵ Based on the expertise of the non-profit organization Internationals Network of Public Schools (INPS), Cardozo Education Campus in Columbia Heights launched its new international academy this year.⁶ The impetus was the big shift in demographics – 90 more non-English speaking immigrant students in the 2013-2014 school year.⁷ DCPS should expand Cardozo’s integrative model into other D.C. public schools.⁸

ANALYSIS

Cardozo’s international academy has now 165 ninth and tenth graders, over 90 percent of who are native Spanish speakers.⁴ Unlike a traditional language immersion program, the international academy format allows ELL students to work in their native languages in small settings, so that students are no longer self-conscious of their limited English ability and are more willing to collaborate and get involved.⁹ Moreover, integrating international academies into public high schools allows for cultural immersion through interactions with native-speaking students and various after-school programs. In future years, the academy will also help students find internships and make their college or career plans.⁷

The combined model is also more cost-efficient compared to establishing separate international schools, as teaching staff can be shared and resource use maximized. Manhattan International High School, an independent school for ELL students, for example, spent a total of \$16,832 on each student in the 2011-12 academic year.¹⁰ In comparison, Cardozo Education Campus has projected to spend

TALKING POINTS

- With the surge of refugee children arrivals, there is urgent need to provide stronger educational and social integration support for them.
- The combined academy models are not only more effective than traditional ELL programs but are also more cost-efficient than founding separate international schools.
- Cardozo’s pilot program has seen positive feedback from students and teachers.
- Investment in language support and cultural integration through education can have a long-term positive impact on the lives of the immigrant children as well as D.C. public schools’ overall performance.

\$12,831 per student in fiscal year 2014.¹¹

Finally, DCPS can seize this opportunity to accomplish its commitment to “better schools for all children” in the D.C. community.⁹ The program could successfully increase graduation rates: with language support, ELL students are less likely to drop out.

Next Steps

The project should be proposed in annual DCPS public budget hearings, where principals, parents, NGOs, and community leaders can further determine the program’s scope and funding needs. To apply professional pedagogic knowledge, DCPS should work closely with INPS to monitor the performance results. Admission of students should not be limited to D.C., but should also include adjacent areas that have taken in refugees who would be better served in this program, if need be. Collaborating with the Office of Refugee Resettlement, which runs under the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, can also generate monetary and data support.

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Labor Unchained: Voluntary Labor Rights and Equitable Wages for Incarcerated Americans

Alexius Marcano, Emory University

The American prison system exploits the autonomy of inmates by forcing them to perform captive labor at inadequate rates. Prison labor should instead be voluntary, allowing inmates to choose to work at sufficient wages.

Involuntary servitude has unfortunately been a mainstay of American society since our founding. While the Thirteenth Amendment banned chattel slavery, it did not end the practice of slavery for inmates, as it reads, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States.”¹

To fill the cheap labor vacuum left by abolition, the prison population expanded due to punitive black codes, and penal servitude was used for duties previously performed by slaves. Penal servitude and the convict-lease system were the precursors to our contemporary prison labor system. To this day, inmates are forced to pick crops and manufacture goods for wages as low as \$0.23 per hour federally and for no wages at all in some states.²

The formal creation of the modern prison labor system began with a federal statute in 1930 allowing inmates to work.³ In 1934, Executive Order 6917 created Federal Prison Industries, Inc., which

KEY FACTS

- The Crime Control Act of 1990 requires all physically able inmates in federal penitentiaries to work, which is reflected in 99,339 out of 117,949 federal inmates who were given labor assignments in 2003.⁸
- Refusal to work can carry severe consequences, with punishments including loss of credit for reduced sentences, fewer privileges, and even solitary confinement.⁹
- Well-implemented work in prisons provides valuable vocational training, which reduces recidivism for participating inmates by 43 percent and increases post-release employment by 13 percent.¹⁰

sells goods produced in prisons to federal government agencies.⁴

Creating a voluntary prison labor system would end the practice of involuntary servitude within prisons. Georgia's high incarceration rate and \$0 per hour prison labor wage make it an ideal site for a pilot program that could be expanded nationwide. Wages would be calculated for labor to meet demand and allow prisoners to choose to work for the wage offered. Inmate choice would settle wages at an equilibrium with smaller deductions, incentivizing more inmates to work and vice-versa, thus making the prison labor market efficient. This would balance equitable compensation for inmate work and the governmental demand to offset incarceration costs.

ANALYSIS

Voluntary prison labor is a direct solution to a problem with deep historical roots, as it would apply free market principles behind bars. As seen in the voluntary prison labor economic model presented, inmate wages would settle at the rate that enough prisoners would be willing to work for. An agency or firm contracting with the prison would thus have the economic pressure to provide enough wages to incentivize a sufficient number of inmates to meet the labor demanded. Prison revenues generated from the contracted work would continue to benefit existing government purposes such as offsetting incarceration costs and victim restitution.

There is no need to force inmates to work if they are justly compensated. Providing fair pay would help break the poverty trap that incarceration often worsens by providing inmates with the savings and training needed for successful release.⁵

TALKING POINTS

- Prisoners do not need coercive penalties to work, provided that wages are equitable enough to incentivize participation.
 - Inmate work can be a productive use of prison time if it helps instill the ethics of fair pay for hard work.
 - Providing income for an inmate's savings account provides a stronger safety net upon release and can help support any dependents outside.
 - The United States needs to take a definitive stance on whether the use of unfree, forced labor in any form should continue to be tolerated.
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Next Steps

The Georgia legislature should amend current prison statutes to end mandatory work details and eliminate the \$0 per hour maximum wage cap.⁶ The issue should then be brought before other state legislatures to amend their laws and statutes governing inmate labor, allowing inmates to opt-in to work without incurring punitive repercussions for non-participation. After the success of these programs is evaluated, there should be a congressional hearing in the House or Senate Judiciary Committee about involuntary prison labor to consider the issue and increase knowledge of the widespread exploitation of involuntary prison labor. Federal policymakers should then amend Title XXIX §2905 of the Crime Control Act of 1990 to make inmate labor voluntary.⁷ They should also eliminate the \$1.15 per hour federal maximum wage cap, which underprices inmate work.²

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Illegal Guns in Chicago: Holding Firearm Buyers and Sellers Accountable

Michael Miller, Northwestern University

Chicago's poorest neighborhoods suffer from disproportionate violence caused by illegal guns flowing into the city. The state of Illinois, while working with other states in the region, must begin licensing and monitoring gun stores to prevent gun trafficking.

The gun violence epidemic takes an especially hard toll in all urban areas where social problems from poverty to mass incarceration spur crime, but Chicago faces a tide of gun violence unseen even in other large cities. Chicago had a gun homicide rate of 13.39 per 100,000 in 2011, compared with a rate of 5.93 in Los Angeles and 3.84 in New York City.¹ Such a high rate stems from the sheer presence of illegal guns in the city, as “Chicago recovers seven times as many crime guns per capita as New York City and double the number per capita of Los Angeles.”² All these illegal guns are not solely Chicago’s problem, as the majority of crime guns recovered in the city were actually first purchased outside of Illinois.³ For the guns that did originate locally, however, just four gun stores (three in Illinois and one in Indiana) accounted for 20 percent of all crime guns recovered by police from 2009-2013.⁴ Oftentimes these stores sell guns to “straw purchasers,” who are legal gun buyers obtaining guns for criminals or traffickers.⁵

In order to hold the specific stores that

KEY FACTS

- More than 25 percent of guns recovered at Chicago crime scenes from 2008 to 2012 were bought in Cook County just outside the city limits, with one store (Chuck’s Gun Shop) accounting for more than 1,300 guns on its own.¹¹
- States with weaker gun laws provide 60 percent of guns recovered at Chicago crime scenes, with Indiana alone supplying almost 20 percent.¹²
- Unlike states such as California and New York, Illinois currently does not license and regulate gun dealers operating within the state.¹³

supply crime guns accountable, Illinois must enact a state licensing and review framework for gun shops with specific emphasis on known key sources of guns. Recommended measures include stronger employee background checks, better employee training for detecting potential straw purchasers, and video cameras to record the point of sale.⁶ Illinois must also work closely with neighboring states to track guns trafficked across their borders.

ANALYSIS

The specific stores that supply the most guns to Chicago are well-known, so state-level regulations focusing on these stores will have a large impact on the flow of illegal guns. In New York City, similar policies to those proposed here were implemented in 2006, and guns supplied by the top sources of crime guns in the city subsequently dropped by 85 percent.⁷ Furthermore, new regulations must be enforced by state inspection due to the strained capacities of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives, which is only permitted to conduct one inspection per year and often only inspects a store once every few years.⁸ In states that do regularly inspect gun stores, fewer guns sold in-state end up in the hands of criminals than in states without such inspections.⁹ Considering the Chicago Police Department spends 44 percent of its overtime payments sending officers to high-crime areas, this policy will lower the crime-fighting costs of an overburdened police force.¹⁰

TALKING POINTS

- Illegal guns tear apart Chicago communities through violence. Other social problems become even worse when illegal guns are pervasive in these communities.
- Decisive action against known sources of illegal guns is the most immediate way to stop the flow of these guns. Without prioritizing source inspection, any system to curb illegal guns will be incomplete.
- Guns don't respect political boundaries. Chicago's gun regulations don't work when laws elsewhere are ineffective.

Next Steps

State and regional level responses to combat gun trafficking will be most feasible in the current political climate. The Illinois legislators whose districts suffer the most from gun violence must lead the effort to draft legislation modeled on this policy and build a coalition supporting this effort. Such leadership is necessary to overcome reluctance from other lawmakers to support gun regulations.

For adequate enforcement mechanisms, lawmakers should be sure to allow law enforcement the ability to inspect stores when necessary with an ample budget to do so. Finally, after Illinois has an established gun accountability system, the state must join forces with its neighbors to create a regional tracing center for gun flows across state lines.

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Baltimore's LGBTQ Homeless¹ Youth: Housing Guaranteed

Maxen Jack-Monroe, Goucher College

There is a need for emergency shelters to guarantee housing – at least 10 beds at each major shelter – specifically for LGBTQ homeless and housing insecure youth in Baltimore.

Approximately 40 percent of homeless youth between the ages of 12 and 24, nationwide identify as LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning).² Due to discrimination against sexual orientation and trans* identities, many LGBTQ youth are at high risk of being rejected from homeless shelters, or forced to dress in clothes and placed into housing not in line with their gender identity, or experiencing harassment, violence, and sexual assault.³ Many shelters say they do not have the funding to improve services for LGBTQ youth.⁴ In Baltimore, MD, there are no shelters or set amount of beds designated specifically for LGBTQ teens and young adults.

There needs to be a guarantee for safe and equitable housing for LGBTQ youth in Baltimore. A set amount of the city's Continuum of Care (CoC) funds should be designated to set aside 10 beds at each state-funded shelter in the city. Furthermore, each shelter must have high-quality, low-cost continuing competence training for staff in order to address needs that pertain to LGBTQ homeless and unstably housed youth.⁵

KEY FACTS

- At least 3000 people experience homelessness on any given night in Baltimore.⁸
- Nationwide, about half of all LGBTQ youth are rejected from their family, and of these, about 26 percent reported parents or guardians who "told them to leave home after learning of their sexual orientation or gender identity."⁹
- Only about 10 percent of LGBTQ youth in the U.S. have received sexual education, which leads to heightened risk of transmitting STIs and HIV/AIDS.¹⁰

ANALYSIS

In 2013 and 2014, the Washington D.C. City Council passed the LGBTQ Homeless Youth Reform Amendment Act. This bill states that 10 beds in each of the District's emergency shelters must be set aside for LGBTQ youth. If the D.C. city government complies with this policy, safety and comfort will be guaranteed each night for a high percentage of this population. In addition, the Wanda Alston House, founded in 2008, is the only example of transitional housing in D.C. that exclusively houses LGBTQ homeless youth.⁶

What makes safe and equitable housing such an immediate need is the high rates of discrimination, sexual assault, and violence in homeless shelters that lead many LGBTQ youth to avoid shelters as much as possible. It is common for members of this population to sleep at friends' houses, or even participate in survival sex, with the possibility of spending the night at a client's home.⁷ Safe and equitable housing can only be accomplished through staff monitoring client behavior, and intervening as necessary. A disproportionate number of homeless and unstably housed youth are LGBTQ, and 10 beds per shelter should be a sufficient starting point.

TALKING POINTS

- There is no housing designated for LGBTQ youth in the city of Baltimore.
 - LGBTQ homeless youth are often victims of hate crimes, both in the street and in shelters.
 - As a disproportionate number of homeless youth are LGBTQ-identified, funding should be directed towards guaranteeing housing for this population.
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Next Steps

In order for this policy to be effective, it must start small, through raising public awareness of the issue. From there, members of a coalition dedicated to LGBTQ homeless justice will lobby the Baltimore city government for funding and support. As members of different agencies throughout the city work together and work with LGBTQ youth, it will be easier to determine who is in greatest need of safe, equitable housing. This will prevent the chance of heterosexual, cisgender youth taking LGBTQ-designated beds.

ENDNOTES

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Dignity at the Fringes: Municipal Certification of Immigrant-Driven Informal Services

Andre Mozeak, The City College of New York

New York City's government has the ability to incorporate a right of public solicitation by informal providers of otherwise lawful services into its human rights code, and to dignify these service providers through certification programs.

Working immigrants and their allies rejoiced last November as New York City officials decided not to adopt high-cost regulations for the more than 80 costumed performers who work for tips in Times Square.¹ Street performers, day laborers, and street vendors represent some of the many informal industries that exist on the fringes of American society. The majority of the people providing these otherwise benign services are poor Latino immigrants. Oftentimes they are also undocumented, and public solicitation allows their skills to be put to use without scrutiny on their citizenship status. Municipal “anti-solicitation” laws treat these employment alternatives as nuisance crimes rather than expressions of institutional failure in the United States.

Although there have been regulatory conflicts with migrant-driven informal industries for many years, civil rights advocates trace contemporary legislative trends to a 2006 attempt by officials in California to pass a bill that would have severely punished individuals for hiring day laborers.² Since then, service providers and advocates have repeatedly taken lawmakers to court to protect their First Amendment right to express their economic need. Street vendors have been

KEY FACTS

- Advocacy and civil liberties groups have taken on over 30 court cases across the nation challenging municipal anti-solicitation laws and similar bills since 1990.
 - Costumed performers in Times Square and Hollywood earn less than \$100 on average for an eight-hour workday. They often spend between \$250 and \$400 on their costumes.
 - Three-quarters of day laborers nationwide are reported to be undocumented migrants.
-

able to secure their right to sell artistic work in NYC,³ but other informal service providers (ISPs) still face derision. Constant attacks on their liberties and the marginalization of their skills have helped foster a cultural dialogue that shames these entrepreneurs for trying to make an honest living.

ANALYSIS

Municipalities have, time and again, proven unable to justify reactionary anti-solicitation measures. It is difficult to prove that this set of informal activities meaningfully affects negative externalities,⁴ as evidence of damage to public welfare, public safety, and private economic interests is scant. Moreover, anti-solicitation laws and their kin can be viewed as setting up a system of de facto discrimination⁵ against Latino immigrants.⁶ The policy problem here is as much a result of our nation's unbalanced wage and labor standards as it is a side effect of its broken immigration system.⁷

The NYC Commission on Human Rights (NYCCHR) holds enforcement capacity of the city's human rights laws.⁸ With the amendment of individuals' right to publicly seek profit from lawful services, the commission would be able to serve as an executive check on the power of the legislature in criminalizing this narrow group of people. The city already provides millions of dollars in funding to workforce training programs (almost \$7,000,000 for the Consortium for Worker Education's programs in Fiscal Year 2015)⁹ under which ISPs could develop skills, contribute field data to the city for analysis, and gain job-appropriate certification.

Establishing a nationally scalable municipal certification system based on knowledge acquired on the job would help to repair the dignity of these workers. Pulling these services away from the

TALKING POINTS

- Anti-solicitation laws provide a means for municipalities to take the place of federal agencies in enforcing restrictions on the liberties of immigrants, especially in suburban and rural areas.¹¹
- Solicitation-based service providers draw tourists through performance, improve housing stock, and become local consumers.¹²
- NLPS was awarded \$613,131 through the Project Prevent Grant to improve school climate, which can be used to implement these policies.¹³

fringes of the law would also significantly curb the exploitation and harassment¹⁰ of undocumented workers. The city would enjoy improved data on labor and ground-level conditions, safer public spaces, and an opportunity to hedge the detriments of clandestine economic activity.

Next Steps

A coalition of policymakers, advocates, legal consultants, and stakeholders will be established to build government support for a proposed amendment to the city's human rights law. NYCCHR's Community Relations Bureau will draft a feasibility study to assess the costs and scope of a certification initiative. The Community Relations Bureau and Department of Consumer Affairs will also devise a public information program, which will launch alongside the pilot initiative.

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The Need to Release and Integrate Elderly Prisoners into Society

Julia Saltzman, Cornell University

Since the elderly are the fastest-growing segment of the already cumbersome prison population, we should release older prisoners who do not threaten public safety and create programs to re-introduce them to society.

Due to tough-on-crime policies and longer sentences, our country's prison population has risen dramatically, and more inmates are staying in prisons into their old age. Nationwide, there are 246,600 elderly prisoners including 8,392 in New York.¹ This number will increase as prisoners serving long sentences age. The imprisonment of the elderly raises ethical, medical, and budgetary concerns. The elderly have the lowest recidivism rate and are unlikely to threaten public safety. Many suffer from serious medical conditions and imprisonment accelerates the aging process, as medical care is poor and prisons are not built to accommodate the elderly.² Additionally, the cost of imprisoning an individual skyrockets with age. The American Civil Liberties Union reports that the annual cost to imprison an average prisoner is \$34,135 but doubles to \$68,270 for those older than 50.³ Reintegration into society is challenging for any prisoner, but the elderly face additional risks including "greater risks of homelessness, low employment, increased anxiety, fragmented community and family ties, chronic medical conditions, and increased mortality rates."⁴ Many of these inmates have been imprisoned for so long that they no longer have support systems and they return to a world they know nothing about.

KEY FACTS

- The elderly are the fastest-growing segment of the prison population: from 1995 to 2010 the entire prison population increased by 42 percent and the elderly inmate population increased by 282 percent.¹⁰
- By 2030, one-third of all inmates will be elderly.¹¹
- Recidivism drops dramatically with age, so as released prisoners get older, they are less likely to commit crimes.¹²
- A state could save \$1 million per year by releasing 14 elderly inmates.¹³

A two-pronged approach must be taken to release⁵ elderly prisoners who do not pose a threat to public safety and to help integrate these prisoners into society. The first is to initiate a review process for offenders who are over 50 and have served over 10 years. The second part will create a program in New York to replicate Colorado's Long Term Offender Program that will help prisoners adjust to life outside of prison. Although Colorado's program is temporarily suspended, it has helped selected elderly inmates learn how to succeed by offering classes during imprisonment and providing mentorship and support after their release.⁶

ANALYSIS

It is imperative that both policies are implemented together. Reviewing inmates will examine their personal growth and prison record, determine if the inmate wishes to be released, and assess whether the inmate fully understands the consequences of his or her crime. This process will ensure that those who deserve to be released are released, and that unfit candidates who may pose a future burden to the incarceration system are not. Returning to society is especially difficult for elderly inmates. Some elderly ex-prisoners have difficulty obtaining identification and navigating changed public transportation.⁷ Colorado's Long Term Offender Program addressed this issue by focusing on peer support and restorative justice.⁸ While still in prison, participants learned about possible situations that arise upon release, including finding housing and employment, and setting up a bank account. They are then released to a halfway house and supported by counselors and meetings with their peers.⁸ Of the 32 participants, all have been able to find employment and housing.⁹

TALKING POINTS

- Elderly inmates are simultaneously the most expensive to incarcerate and the least dangerous to society.¹³
 - Releasing elderly inmates carries higher risks to the prisoner than releasing the average inmate, including increased risk of homelessness and high rates of physical and mental health problems.¹⁴
 - New York should develop a program that will release elderly prisoners and prepare them to function in society.
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Next Steps

As New York initiated the tough-on-crime era with the Rockefeller Drug Laws in 1973, it can now start a new era of prison reform. Stakeholders such as ex-inmates, correctional employees, and geriatric care experts should unite and share with policy-makers why current policies fall short. They will encourage policy-makers to initiate programs in New York prisons that will include a mechanism to review inmates who are over 50 years old and have served over 10 years, as well as a parole program that focuses on education, conversation, and peer mentorship to help integrate elderly prisoners into society.

ENDNOTES

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