CLOSE THE WORKHOUSE
A PLAN & A VISION
"Prisons do not disappear social problems, they disappear human beings. Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages."

Angela Davis
We could close the workhouse today.

The Workhouse is one of two jails in St. Louis, infamous for its inhumane conditions, inadequate healthcare, and deaths over the years. 99% of the people jailed at the Workhouse—most of whom are poor and Black—are legally innocent and simply remain there because they cannot afford the unconstitutional cash bond set by the court. Despite decades of complaints, years of litigation about the conditions and racial disparities, the City of St. Louis continues to spend over $16 million every year to keep the Workhouse open.

There is no reason the Workhouse remains open, especially considering the significant decrease in numbers of people incarcerated at this time. In only two years since the Campaign to Close the Workhouse launched and we presented our plan to close the Workhouse, we have organized political pressure from communities to political and institutional leaders to make the jail closure possible. There are now hundreds fewer people in jail, from nearly 1,250 in 2018 to 870 in January 2020. Of those that remain incarcerated, hundreds do not need to be detained. Most are unconstitutionally caged because of an unjust money bail system, that cages people who cannot afford to pay for their freedom. Other people in the Workhouse, including those charged only with federal crimes, remain incarcerated in St. Louis as the City attempts to profit from their incarceration.

If St. Louis closed the Workhouse today and transferred every person in St. Louis's custody to the City's other jail, there would still be over 200 free beds in the jail.

The Close the Workhouse campaign takes violence and community harm seriously and knows we cannot be free and safe without addressing these issues. We also know that the City's arrest-and-incarcerate approach has not made us safer, while ruining lives and entire communities. We envision a new approach to public safety that seeks accountability as opposed to punishment, addresses systemic oppression as a root cause of violence, and invests in building trusting relationships with community-based infrastructure to avoid harm in the future.

We can build a safe and thriving City, but only if we invest in all our residents and neighborhoods. Then, a just future for St. Louis will be possible.
The Close the Workhouse campaign firmly believes no person should be held in a cage, and that incarceration does not promote public safety. This is especially true when 99% of people in St. Louis custody are awaiting trial. Even if jailing people will continue, the numbers of people in St. Louis custody does not require two jails. The St. Louis jail population has decreased every year.

There are two jails in St. Louis: the Workhouse and the City Justice Center (CJC). CJC can hold 860 people. Based on Jan. 1, 2020 numbers, St. Louis could close the Workhouse today, and everyone in state custody could easily be held at CJC—with 219 beds to spare.

Continuing to keep the Workhouse open is a waste of St. Louis’s limited resources, particularly considering the city pays $16 million every year to operate it.

St. Louis’s unnecessary decision to hold federal detainees is one of the primary reasons there are currently more people in jail than CJC can hold. On Jan. 1, 2020, St. Louis held 229 federal detainees, 25% of its total jail population.

Even with federal detainees, the Workhouse could close if the City jailed 10 fewer people. This reduction could happen if the City stopped jailing people pretrial through unconstitutional cash bail.

**Ask your Alder:** If there are 219 free beds in CJC based on local and state custody numbers, how do you justify spending $16 million a year to keep the Workhouse open?

City employees currently working in the same inhumane conditions at the Workhouse would not have to lose their jobs if the jail shuts down. According to the City’s own website, there are over 700 City job openings including airport jobs and other criminal legal system work. The Workhouse operational budget could be shifted to retrain its current employees.

**Ask your Alder:** Are there other open positions in the City where workers could be transferred? Can some of the resources from closing the jail be used to provide job training to Workhouse employees?

This campaign disputes the idea that any jail’s conditions can be humane when caging people is an inhumane act in itself. However, even by jails’ standards, multiple groups, including the ACLU and federal courts, have documented how the Workhouse has stood out time and again as an inhumane facility—despite decades of attempted reforms.

Individuals incarcerated at the Workhouse endure extreme temperatures, inadequate sanitation, vermin infestations, and violence. In the last 5 years, there have been 7 documented deaths. Medical, mental health, and addiction “services” that should be provided in the community—not in a jail cell—are inadequate or unavailable.

These conditions violate the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

**Ask your Alder:** The public safety budget expands every year to "pay for improvements" at the Workhouse. Should the City continue to spend money on this facility? Could that money be better used in other ways that address the underlying issues of violence in our community?

*’During my time in the Workhouse there was mold in the showers. The food was unbearable. There were roaches and rats. The staff were very unprofessional.’*

*’The Workhouse is a place unfit for any human being. The mold, the rats, the recycled air. You can't even go outside and get fresh air.’*

- Words from people incarcerated at the Workhouse
99% of people incarcerated at the Workhouse are waiting for their trial—for an average of 250 days, before any court has found them guilty of a crime.

It is essential we recognize the humanity of those detained at the Workhouse. The women and men and people whose gender is not accurately documented. The young and old. The mostly Black men who make up the vast majority of those detained there. 82% of the people in jail in St. Louis are Black men, even though only 48% of St. Louis is Black. 132 people in jail (20%) are either under 21 or over 60.

The Workhouse impacts communities in St. Louis in vastly different ways. The maps illustrate how people incarcerated at the Workhouse overwhelmingly come from the poorest and most racialized zip codes of the City and County. These communities also have the lowest life expectancy.

Ask your Alder: Why are 87% of people in the Workhouse Black when the City is only 49% Black? Most of the people are held because they are racially profiled, over-policed, and cannot afford bail, and they are often from some of the most impoverished neighborhoods in the City. Why doesn't the City spend money to address poverty and the inequality its produces instead of spending money to hold poor people and Black people in this city?

Over 25% of people jailed in St. Louis are held for the federal government (229 in Jan. 2020). These individuals are incarcerated in St. Louis jails only on federal charges – and the City does not need to jail them. If they must be in a jail, then people on federal charges could be held anywhere in the area. St. Louis chooses to profit from the incarceration of federal detainees, by charging the federal government $90/day per person. However, it spends $16 million a year to maintain a jail that is now open only to incarcerate federal detainees. Jailing federal detainees costs St. Louis more than double what it makes.

Ask your Alder: Federal detainees held at the Workhouse create the "overflow" at CJC that some officials are using to justify keeping the Workhouse open. Why does the City choose to hold these detainees? Wouldn't the City save more money by getting rid of the Workhouse than by keeping it open for the federal detainees?
WE COULD CLOSE THE WORKHOUSE TODAY!

The number of people jailed at the Workhouse is steadily decreasing as a result of community organizing, political pressure, community and Bail Project bailouts, and prosecutorial reforms. Based on current practices and trends, we could close the Workhouse today.

Public safety in St. Louis demands a new approach. It requires us to re-envision how we use our public resources so that we address the root causes of violence in our communities, instead of continuing to pour money into unnecessary and violent carceral institutions.

We can and must act differently.

This section presents the campaign’s plan to re-envision a new reality for St. Louis.

A NEW REALITY FOR ST. LOUIS WILL LOOK LIKE

Ending the criminalization cycle.
St. Louis could interrupt the cycle of poverty by de-criminalizing drug addictions, property damage, and poverty-based crimes, and instead address the root causes behind these issues.

Budgets that reflect our values.
Budgets are value statements. $16 million to operate an unnecessary jail does not reflect our values. Instead we could invite people from across the City to discuss how they want that money spent. Participatory budgeting makes this possible.

Equitable development and opportunity.
Promote equitable development with an emphasis on affordable housing and good jobs.

Decarceration is the trend in St. Louis.
The jailed population in City and state custody has decreased steadily in the last 12 months. There were decreases of 6% (Dec. to Feb. 2019), 3% (Feb. to May 2019), 11.6% (May to Aug. 2019), and 8.8% (Aug. to Nov. 2019).

NOTE: Currently, over 25% of people jailed in St. Louis at the beginning of 2020 were federal detainees who could be incarcerated elsewhere, along with the rest of people in local and state custody who are unconstitutionally held pretrial.
Jails operate according to "classification" policies and rules, dictating which people may be held together. Although St. Louis is compensated to hold federal detainees, it ultimately loses money by doing so. St. Louis charges the government $90 a day to hold federal detainees, and is projected to earn $51 million in 2020 for holding federal detainees. The Workhouse could be closed were it not for the 229 federal detainees, so St. Louis unnecessarily spends $16 million to keep the Workhouse open. This means the City actually loses $11 million a year on this federal contract. The math just doesn't add up.

The City could choose to end its contract with the federal government and no longer incarcerate individuals for the federal government.

St. Louis does not need to incarcerate people for the federal government, yet it spends millions a year to do just that.

St. Louis incarcerates hundreds of people for the federal government (229 in Jan. 2020). This number has increased significantly during the past two years.

Although St. Louis is compensated to hold federal detainees, it ultimately loses money by doing so. St. Louis charges the government $90 a day to hold federal detainees, and is projected to earn $51 million in 2020 for holding federal detainees. The Workhouse could be closed were it not for the 229 federal detainees, so St. Louis unnecessarily spends $16 million to keep the Workhouse open. This means the City actually loses $11 million a year on this federal contract. The math just doesn't add up.

The City could choose to end its contract with the federal government and no longer incarcerate individuals for the federal government.

Even with fewer prisoners in St. Louis, top officials don't want to close the workhouse

Krewson said the Workhouse, which has a capacity of 1,138 inmates, had 343 on Wednesday. She said the downtown jail, which opened in 2002, had a capacity of 980 and had 703 prisoners on Wednesday.

Because of those policies, Krewson said, only 719 spots in the downtown jail are available for the general jail population. She said 623 or those were filled.

"They don't have to be in our jail," [Public Defender] Fox said. Source: St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Jails operate according to "classification" policies and rules, dictating which people may be held together. The Director of Public Safety is using these rules as an excuse to justify the Workhouse—despite the fact that St. Louis would have 219 free beds without federal detainees, which would assure that people could be held according to the classification policies.

Under St. Louis Policy 3.6.1, people must be separated based on sex, civil or criminal process, and custody levels. The City aims to jail people in single-occupancy cells if they are on suicide or detox watch, have disabilities or illnesses, or are juveniles.

Jails also must operate with extra bed space in the case of "emergencies." However, with 219 free beds at CJC if the Workhouse were closed, the jail would operate with over 20% extra bed space, effectively meeting this requirement.

Why can't the City incarcerate people according to policy with so much free bed space to organize around?

This Campaign also believes that many “vulnerable” people the City classifies in administrative segregation should not be in its jails. This is especially true of those with mental illness, on suicide watch, and suffering from medical issues.
WE COULD CLOSE THE WORKHOUSE TODAY BY

#2: PROTECTING THE PRESUMPTION OF
INNOCENCE & CHANGING PRETRIAL PRACTICES

PRETRIAL DETENTION SHOULD BE THE
EXCEPTION, NOT THE NORM

But in St. Louis, the opposite is true. 99% of those incarcerated at the Workhouse are held without having been convicted of a crime. The law requires us to presume a person’s innocence until they are found guilty, but hundreds sit in our jails waiting for their day in court.

Although judges have the authority to release people on a promise to return to court (‘personal recognizance’) and the law demands that this be the default, in St. Louis this happens in only 21% of cases. By comparison, courts in Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington D.C. grant release 40%, 60%, and 85% of the time, respectively. That’s not all; our pretrial detention system is discriminatory: Black people are 3 times more likely to be jailed pretrial.

There are many issues with pretrial incarceration.

- First, it is often unconstitutional. People continue to be incarcerated because they cannot afford to pay unaffordable cash bail.

  **Bail hearings are cursory.** Where a decision on someone’s freedom happens in just a few minutes. Poor people lose their liberty because of their poverty. When someone finally gets a hearing to challenge excessive bail, they may be released, suggesting that they never should have been detained in the first place.

- Pretrial incarceration creates long-term harm. Whether it is a day or months in jail, pretrial incarceration can lead to homelessness, unemployment, separation from children, immigration consequences, and even death.

  The City documented that people incarcerated pretrial on a felony charge spent an average of 225 days in 2017 and 177 days in 2018 in jail pretrial.

- Pretrial incarceration also affects outcomes at trial and sentencing. People who are held on bail are more likely to plead guilty and more likely to get a jail sentence.

Our court system will not fail if people are released without monetary conditions. The nonprofit, The Bail Project, provides free bail assistance and community-based support. Over 2,300 people have been supported and have returned to court for over 90% of their court dates, even as they do not stand to lose any money by failing to appear. This is evidence that investment in court date reminders, transportation, and community-based supports are a viable alternative to cash bail.

St. Louis’ Circuit Attorney should consent to release without monetary or other punitive conditions when there is no evidence that the accused person is a threat to the public or presents a risk of fleeing the City.

State court judges must assure that bail hearings meet basic due process standards, and must release people when the state can’t meet its burden to prove that they are a risk to the public.
Private companies like EMASS are profiting off of communities’ criminalization. The use of privatized pretrial supervision and the expansion of privately-run surveillance as a form of punishment puts incredible financial burdens on already marginalized communities.

For example, private pretrial supervision can cost someone anywhere from $30 to $300 a month, plus start up fees of $50 to $250. Private surveillance, even for municipal violations, can cost even more.

When someone cannot afford the fees, private companies will threaten to re-incarcerate the individual. Courts will enforce this by issuing arrest warrants, leading to someone’s re-incarceration.

Companies have an economic incentive to keep people criminalized and in the most restrictive conditions for the longest period of time.

Pretrial services should be community-based and support people being released to their communities while using needs assessments to address obstacles.

Pretrial services should help to overcome barriers people face in returning to court by providing court date reminders, childcare, transportation, emergency housing, and free legal representation.

Pretrial services should address the root causes of criminal legal involvement, including homelessness, unemployment, and a lack of access to mental-health and addiction care.

Pretrial services should support alternatives to incarceration and prosecution, including pre-charge diversion programs and restorative justice practices.

Pretrial supervision should not look like a new jail.

Pretrial supervision should not be privatized.

THE COSTS OF PRIVATIZED SUPERVISION & OTHER PRIVATIZED "ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION”.

Private companies like EMASS are profiting off of communities’ criminalization. The use of privatized pretrial supervision and the expansion of privately-run surveillance as a form of punishment puts incredible financial burdens on already marginalized communities.

Although we support release pretrial, we do not support the development of electronic surveillance, nor do we categorize this type of surveillance and restriction on people’s freedoms as a true alternative to incarceration. These onerous conditions are placed on an individual before they have even been found guilty by a court and often expand the numbers of people under state control.

These programs impose incredible restrictions on people’s freedoms—including house arrest. The costs of the program are also almost always borne by the accused person and have resulted in the re-incarceration of individuals when they cannot afford the fees.

Digital predictive risk assessment tools are increasingly being used to decide who should be set free pretrial. We do not support using these tools because they rely on racially-skewed data, perpetuating a harmful cycle of over-incarcerating the poor and communities of color. Instead of risk assessments, pretrial services should integrate assessments to understand people’s needs.
Violence, and sometimes the fearmongering about it from public officials and journalists, drives the conversation about public safety in St. Louis. Addressing harm and combating narratives of fear are central to the campaign to permanently close the Workhouse.

The Close the Workhouse campaign takes violence and community harm seriously and knows we cannot be free and safe without addressing these issues. We also know that community harm doubly impacts neighborhoods in North City as residents there are over-represented in the Workhouse and as survivors of harm. We envision an approach that treats acts of violence as part of a system of oppression rather than an individual’s bad act.

Solutions to community harm seek accountability as opposed to punishment through incarceration, address systemic oppression as a root cause of violence, and invest in building trust with community-based infrastructure to avoid harm in the future.

The Workhouse fails this vision in many ways.

The Workhouse does not make us safer.

The Workhouse does not offer accountability or support for survivors by separating punishment from accountability and lacking healing practices.

The Workhouse does not address the root causes of systemic oppression that drives violence: poverty, addiction, homelessness, and a lack of mental-healthcare.

Instead of pouring more money into the Workhouse, our vision of public safety builds on the strength of communities that have long devised their own solutions to community harm. These efforts support survivors, focusing on addressing their immediate needs and offering accountability for the harms they have suffered.

This is our vision to end violence and community harm.
ST. LOUIS SHOULD COMMIT TO BROADER DECRIMINALIZATION APPROACHES

The City of St. Louis over-incarcerates and over-criminalizes its population. This drives more people into the consequences of the criminal legal system, but it does nothing to address the factors that lead to criminal charges in the first place.

From a Nov. 2019 snapshot of new cases in St. Louis:
- 13% are drug-only charges
- 12% are property-damage-only charges
- 16% are resisting-arrest-only charges
- 6.3% are misdemeanor-only charges

These prosecutorial priorities criminalize and lead to the incarceration of people who are likely not even a threat to public safety. Instead, resources should be shifted to initiatives that address the root causes that lead to contact with the criminal legal system.

Decriminalization should be paired with the Circuit Attorney’s deprioritization of these charges and expanded use of pre-charge and pretrial diversion to avoid the consequences of a criminal record.

ST. LOUIS SHOULD COMMIT TO SOCIAL SUPPORTS OUTSIDE OF THE CRIMINAL LEGAL SYSTEM

City records illustrate that hundreds of incarcerated people are “treated” for mental illness while in St. Louis jail custody, as illustrated in the graph below. Many suffer from extreme mental health issues and are on suicide watch. For many, “treatment” means solitary confinement, which serves only to worsen mental health conditions.

A jail is not the place for mental health treatment. Jails are completely inadequate to address chronic medical and addiction issues. Treatment services should be provided publicly, affordably, and outside of the criminal legal system.

ST. LOUIS SHOULD INVEST IN INITIATIVES THAT ADDRESS ROOT CAUSES

Local budgets illustrate a city’s priorities. St. Louis City should reinvest the $290 million funding for the arrest-and-incarcerate model into a public safety approach that promotes community-based safety mechanisms over incarceration and policing. Let’s invite residents to discuss how they want public safety money spent. Participatory budgeting makes this just redistribution of resources possible.
THE CLOSE THE WORKHOUSE & RE-ENVISIONED PUBLIC SAFETY

TIMELINE

February 2020
Public Hearing at City Hall on the Close the Workhouse ordinance

March 2020
Resolution vote to Close the Workhouse

April-June 2020
Reallocation of budget to defund the Workhouse and reallocate funding to re-envisioned & non-carceral public safety programming

July-Dec. 2020
Train & transfer workers currently employed at the Workhouse to other city jobs

2021
Sale of the Workhouse & reinvestment of proceeds in community-based public safety programs.

The Close the Workhouse Resolution
A resolution to close the Workhouse, sever the contract to incarcerate federal detainees, defund the pretrial detention center, and re-allocate funding to other public safety initiatives.

City Jobs for Workhouse Workers
The City of St. Louis has around 700 vacant municipal jobs, including more than 20% of jobs at the airport. Workers currently employed at the Workhouse could be offered training to transfer to alternative City employment.

Participatory Budgeting
Participatory budgeting is a democratic process where community members decide how to spend part or all of a public budget. It gives people real power over real money. Over 3000 cities now use participatory budgeting to decide city, state, county and school board budgets.

Through this process, residents can decide both how to use public money, and the process on how to propose projects and vote on the budget.
A NEW VISION FOR THE WORKHOUSE MONEY

**CURRENT CITY BUDGET**

Note: A participatory, community-led approach is key to a new vision for public money.

**AFFORDABLE HOUSING** (S2-3 M.)

This can look like:
- Full-time public homeless shelters instead of private shelters and increased City funding for the unhoused (e.g. the per person cost in San Francisco is $35,000/yr. for care in a homeless shelter, $12,900/yr. for supportive housing).
- Expand the Affordable Housing Trust Fund, a fund that promotes the preservation & production of affordable, accessible housing (e.g. Kansas Housing Fund of $15 million/yr.).

**COMMUNITY PUBLIC SPACES** (S1-2 M.)

This can look like:
- The development of free and accessible community spaces in currently under-served areas—including community centers and gardens, parks and public restrooms.
- E.g., a public urban park with programming for youth and adults ($200,000/yr.).

**COMMUNITY SAFETY & HARM FREE ZONES** (S2.5-3.5 M.)

This can look like:
- The creation of community-based Harm Free Zones (see Critical Resistance in Oakland) through the building of community and accountability, with a commitment to intervene to stop harm.
- Through the courts, creation of pre-arrest diversion projects (e.g. L.E.A.D. in Seattle, which divert people to service providers instead of being arrested and charged with a crime at $23 million/yr.).

**COMMUNITY BASED MENTAL & ADDICTION HEALTHCARE** (S2-3 M.)

This can look like:
- Community-based support for people with mental illness and addiction outside of the criminal legal system.

**VICTIMS’ SERVICES** (S2.5-3.5 M.)

This can look like:
- Connecting victims to supportive services to address domestic violence protection & emergency shelters, trauma services, and medical care—outside of court.
- Supporting alternative accountability mechanisms, such as Common Justice in the Bronx ($36 million/yr.).

**PRETRIAL SERVICES** (S2-3 M.)

This can look like:
- Community-based pretrial support to address barriers to attending court, including bus passes, text message reminders, childcare, and social workers.
- Needs assessments should also be conducted upon release, and individuals should immediately be connected to community-based and free services.

**ECONOMIC & EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES** (S2-3 M.)

This can look like:
- City-funded job training programs, especially for youth, residents of neighborhoods with high rates of poverty, and people with criminal records or who are incarcerated (like From Prison to Prosperity a job training program for people in St. Louis custody).
- City-funded retraining programs and support to transfer workers currently employed at the Workhouse to alternate city employment.
This campaign’s recommendations are based on a mix of policy and data-driven research as well as the real experiences of our members who are directly impacted by the brutality of systems of criminalization. We call for a re-envisioned public safety strategy not based on jailing our community members, but instead on addressing the past harms of the Workhouse and future harms of unaddressed violence. Although we may go further than many of our partners, many demands are reflected by institutional partners including the Ferguson Commission and the Health Equity Works, the collaborative behind the "For the Sake of All" and "Dismantling the Divides" reports.

If St. Louis implemented these recommendations, the Workhouse would be closed.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM PARTNERS

FROM THE FERGUSON COMMISSION & HEALTH EQUITY WORKS

DECRIMINALIZATION & COURT REFORM

Eliminate jail for minor offenses, establish alternative sentencing options, treat nonviolent offenses as civil violations, collect municipal court debts like civil debts, create community justice centers, inform accused persons of their right to counsel, promote constitutional rights, end financial conflicts of interest in municipal and county courts.

YOUTH AT THE CENTER

Develop structures and systems that do less holding back, and more building up, including establishing school-based health centers, reforming school discipline policies, ending hunger for children and families, and supporting early childhood education.

OPPORTUNITY TO THRIVE

Expand Medicaid, raise the minimum wage, end predatory lending, build healthy, affordable housing, educate around financial empowerment, and develop state supported public transit.

PRIORITIES IN "FOR THE SAKE OF ALL":

1. Invest in quality early childhood development for all children.
2. Create economic opportunity for low & moderate income families.
3. Invest in coordinated school health programs for all students.
4. Invest in mental health.
5. Invest in quality neighborhoods for all.

Stories from those impacted by the Workhouse: people incarcerated there, their family members, and those who have lost loved ones to this inhumane system.

“My child’s father was in the Workhouse for close to 4 months. He has diabetes and has been struggling to get the care he needs. When I visited him, his face was swollen and his eyes were bloodshot red. It was clear that he was suffering.”

Family Member, Individual released Nov. 2019

“Because my bail was so high and my family couldn’t post it I missed my son’s graduation and lost my job. Because I lost my job, I lost my benefits. Now I have to start all over and it’s been so hard for us.”

In Jail at the Workhouse, Released Nov. 2018

“Being in the Workhouse for those two months was a nightmare. I was scared for my life and everything that I was losing.”

In Jail at the Workhouse, Released May 2018

“I was in The Workhouse for 9 months and it felt like a dog kennel. If I had $16 million, I would invest it in my communities. There are people starving, people living with no electricity, struggling with mental illness. What we need is hospitals, and things that would help us solve the reason why people do crime.”

In Jail at the Workhouse, Released in Nov. 2019

Thank you & Acknowledgements

This report reflects the leadership and experience of individuals inside and outside of the Workhouse who have been impacted by the systems we seek to change.

The Close the Workhouse Campaign is led by three core partners: Action St. Louis, ArchCity Defenders, and The Bail Project, with critical support from the Advancement Project’s National Office. The report’s design, research, and drafting was led by Sima Atri.

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ABOUT CLOSE THE WORKHOUSE

Visit closetheworkhouse.org
For sources, more information, and the Close the Workhouse Report 1.0, released September 2018.

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A Campaign of Action St. Louis, ArchCity Defenders, and The Bail Project.