Tip of the Iceberg: How Much Criminal Justice Debt Does the U.S. Really Have?

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Table of Contents

I. Introduction and Executive Summary ........................................................................... 2
II. Key Findings ........................................................................................................... 5
III. Recommendations ................................................................................................. 9
IV. Additional Details on States’ Court Debt ............................................................... 11
V. Bibliography ........................................................................................................... 22
VI. Appendix A-K: Source Materials .......................................................................... 23

About The Fines and Fees Justice Center

The Fines and Fees Justice Center (FFJC) is a national advocacy organization working to create a justice system that treats individuals fairly, ensures public safety and community prosperity, and is funded equitably. FFJC works collaboratively with affected communities and justice system stakeholders to eliminate fees in the justice system, ensure fines are equitably imposed, and end abusive collection practices.

Contact Us

Visit ffjc.us to learn more about fines and fees practices and reform efforts around the nation. Follow @FinesandFeesJC on Twitter to get the latest updates on local, state and national reforms. For media inquiries or to reproduce any part of this publication, please contact Jag Davies at jdavies@ffjc.us.
Introduction and Executive Summary

Over the past two decades, advocates, researchers, government agencies and the media have drawn increasing attention to the dangerous effects of fines and fees, particularly on communities of color and low-income people. While those moving through the criminal justice system often experience fines and fees as a single, ongoing burden, there are key distinctions between how each of these revenue sources are assessed and imposed.

Fines are monetary sanctions imposed for violating the law. Fees (also known as costs, assessments and surcharges) are additional charges imposed to fund the criminal legal system and other government services. Fines and some fees are imposed by courts when a person is convicted of a criminal or traffic offense or a municipal code violation. Typically, these fines and fees are owed to the court. Fees are also often imposed by local governments or their agencies both before and after a person is convicted. For example, probation fees may be imposed by a local probation department either before trial or after a conviction. These fees are typically owed to either a city or county government.

Considerable research has uncovered the financial burden and unintended consequences wreaked on the people charged with paying fines and fees. Yet there has been little, if any, investigation into how much debt is outstanding or delinquent nationwide. One of the few studies to address the issue found that none of the eight jurisdictions studied had a central repository where information on the total amount of fines and fees owed could be found.1

Understanding the full scope of our nation’s criminal justice debt problem is vital to the task of creating an equitable justice system. Without this information, we cannot accurately evaluate the true impact of fines and fees as a source of government revenue or, more importantly, as a financial burden on those who owe court debt. The absence of data also results in the absence of accountability for policymakers and justice system stakeholders who support and enact harmful fines and fees policies.

This report addresses fines and fees imposed at conviction in felony, misdemeanor, traffic and municipal ordinance violation cases. We refer to these fines and fees as “court debt” because it is debt imposed by the court and typically collected by courts or private collection agencies working on a court’s behalf.

This court debt is just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to monetary sanctions in the criminal justice system. Depending on the jurisdiction, the fines and fees imposed at conviction can be just a fraction of the total amount of unpaid fines and fees owed by people who are or were involved in the criminal legal system. California, a state which maintains relatively robust data on fines and fees, serves an example — outstanding debt owed to California from the fines and fees imposed at conviction is equal to roughly $10 billion; roughly $16 billion is owed to the state’s counties for one or more of the 23 administrative fees that

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Counties are authorized by state law to impose; and approximately $360 million was owed to counties in juvenile fees.\(^2\)

We chose to focus our investigation on court debt because courts keep a record of every case, and those records should specify the amount of fines and fees imposed at conviction. We assumed that courts routinely aggregated that data, allowing them to determine the amount of fines and fees assessed. We also assumed that courts would track how much of those fines and fees were actually collected.

In an effort to obtain this critical information, the Fines and Fees Justice Center contacted judicial offices and government agencies in all 50 states and the District of Columbia that might have data related to outstanding court debt. In a few states, the information related to the data request was already publicly available, but for most of the jurisdictions, a formal request was submitted.

Uncollectible debt places an extreme financial burden on those who cannot afford to pay it. Considering the weight of this burden alongside the resources that courts, justice system stakeholders, and other government actors expend to collect these debts — you would expect states to be closely monitoring how much they are owed in fines and fees.

**But for half the country, that is not the case. What this means is that the full extent of our nation’s problem with court debt is shockingly untraceable and unknown.**

And it’s not just the numbers that matter. If states do not have the means (technological or otherwise) to determine how much money they are owed, there is a strong possibility that reliable data about who holds that debt may also be out of reach. Without this vital information, stakeholders cannot appropriately weigh other socio-economic factors (apart from poverty) that may correlate with an inability to settle one’s court debt. How can we intelligently assess policy solutions when we can’t obtain a complete view of the problem?

Uncovering these details would enable communities, reform advocates, judicial staff, and lawmakers to better understand the challenges shared by people who are unable to pay fines and fees. A number of reports already suggest that Black and Brown people suffer higher incidences of driver’s license suspensions and prolonged criminal justice system involvement because of court debt.\(^3\) Data tracking and transparency is a necessary prerequisite to improve court fines and fees policies and transform the current system into one that equitably imposes and enforces fines without overly burdening certain groups.

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\(^2\) California no longer imposes fines and fees in its juvenile justice system, and in legislation passed in 2020, it forgave all outstanding juvenile debt. In legislation also passed in 2020, California also ended the discretion previously granted to counties to impose 23 administrative fees and forgave any debt that was owed. See A.B. 1869, 2019-2020 Reg. Sess., ch. 92, 2020 Cal. Stat.

\(^3\) “In For a Penny: The Rise of America’s New Debtors’ Prisons,” American Civil Liberties Union, published October 2010, [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/InForAPenny_web.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/InForAPenny_web.pdf)

Knowing how much court debt exists will also allow us to accurately assess whether government resources are being wasted trying to collect debt that people will never be able to pay. According to a report published by the Brennan Center for Justice, it costs New Mexico’s largest county, Bernalillo, at least $1.17 to collect every dollar of revenue it raises from fines and fees. The report also found that some Texas and New Mexico counties spend 121 times what the IRS spends to collect taxes on fines and fees collection efforts. These are valuable funds that could be invested in our communities.

This investigation presents the findings of the data requests submitted to each U.S. state and the District of Columbia. We requested the total amount of fines and fees currently owed in felony, misdemeanor, traffic and municipal code violation cases.

Based on the information that was received, we can document that at least $27.6 billion of fines and fees is owed across the nation. This figure grossly understates the amount of court debt that people living in the U.S. cannot afford to pay because only 25 states provided data, and the information that many provided was incomplete. Information concerning the debt totals for the remaining 25 states and the District of Columbia could not be provided or was not available.

### Which States are Tracking Court Debt?

![Map of the U.S. showing states with complete, partial, or no data on court debt tracking.](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/2019_10_Fees%26Fines_Final5.pdf)

Key Findings

The research conducted for this report uncovered the following key findings:

The national court debt total is at least $27.6 billion.

Twenty-five states and the District of Columbia did not provide court debt totals for various reasons: 10 states stated that they did not track the information, 10 states and D.C. claimed that they did not possess the technological capacity or bandwidth to gather the information, four states denied the data request for various reasons, one state suggested the data was available but could not be easily compiled, and one inquiry was inconclusive.

Only 14 states provided the total amount of court debt owed to them for the four case types requested. An additional 11 states provided partial information.

A majority of U.S. states lack oversight of their local courts, and these municipal courts exercise autonomous power, causing collection procedures and record keeping to vary across the jurisdiction.

From the data provided, Washington had the highest per capita debt ($426) followed by Virginia ($363), California ($347), Oregon ($344) and Iowa ($312).\(^5\)

The debt balance that states report may not reflect the total amount that is owed because some states do not account for money that the court does not expect to collect. For example, New Hampshire's debt total does not reflect its full accounts receivable balance because the state does not carry an allowance for debt that is deemed uncollectible.

The astonishing lack of data on outstanding court debt strongly suggests that state and local governments do not have a basic understanding of how the fines and fees imposed by their courts are affecting people in their state — or the state's bottom line.

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\(^5\) Average per capita debt totals were calculated by using the population information provided by the U.S. Census Bureau website. The number of adults in each state was calculated by multiplying the percentage of people in the state over age of 18 by the total population. The court debt total given for each state was divided by this sum to determine the amount of money each adult would owe to settle the state’s court debt.
## State Court Debt by Type, Totals and Timeline

The following chart details the type of debts, totals, and timeline of the data received for states categorized as “received complete data”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>FELONIES</th>
<th>MISDEMEANORS</th>
<th>TRAFFIC</th>
<th>MUNICIPAL VIOLATIONS</th>
<th>YEARS COVERED</th>
<th>TOTAL DEBT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2001 - 2019</td>
<td>$10.6 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2017 and prior</td>
<td>$79.5 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2013 - 2018</td>
<td>$1.85 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>FY 1998 - June 2019</td>
<td>$757.3 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2014 - 2019</td>
<td>$60.1 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2016 - 2018</td>
<td>$17.2 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2014 - 2019</td>
<td>$2.3 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1998 - 2019</td>
<td>$2.4 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2000 - 2014</td>
<td>$2.5 Bill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### State Court Debt by Type, Totals and Timeline

The following chart details the type of debts, totals, and timeline of the data received for states categorized as “received partial data”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>FELONIES</th>
<th>MISDEMEANORS</th>
<th>TRAFFIC</th>
<th>MUNICIPAL VIOLATIONS</th>
<th>YEARS COVERED</th>
<th>TOTAL DEBT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>Late 1980’s - October 2020*</td>
<td>$903.4 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Current as of May 2019*</td>
<td>$146.5 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Current as of January 2019*</td>
<td>$161.2 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td>2017 - 2018</td>
<td>$107.2 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2015 - 2018</td>
<td>$32.1 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>Current as of January 2019*</td>
<td>$91.4 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td>2005 - 2017</td>
<td>$379.6 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td>2015 - 2017</td>
<td>$1.3 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York (NYC ONLY)</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td>2016 - 2018</td>
<td>$53.9 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1990 - June 2018*</td>
<td>$28.8 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan. 2012 - Sep. 2020</td>
<td>$693.5 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>Current as of February 2019*</td>
<td>$1.1 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>Current as of May 2019*</td>
<td>$2.9 Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-2014 - 2018</td>
<td>$89.7 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
<td>Current as of May 2019</td>
<td>$112.1 Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>Current as of June 2018*</td>
<td>$50.1 Mill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Please refer to this state’s description in Section IV: Additional Details on States’ Court Debt
State Court Debt Per Capita

- Alabama: $236
- Alaska: $264
- Arkansas: $69
- California: $336
- Colorado: $24
- Delaware: $104
- Florida: $109
- Hawaii: $29
- Iowa: $312
- Kentucky: $26
- Minnesota: $14
- Missouri: $79
- New Hampshire: $41
- New York (NYC only): $8
- North Dakota: $49
- Oklahoma: $231
- Oregon: $344
- Pennsylvania: $288
- Rhode Island: $105
- South Dakota: $26
- Texas: $111
- Utah: $55
- Vermont: $98
- Virginia: $363
- Washington: $426

Average per capita debt: $148
Average per capita debt of states that provided complete data (9 states): $204
Average per capita debt of states that provided partial data (16 states): $77

States that did not submit data are not shown.
Recommendations

The total amount of fines and fees imposed, assessed, collected, and outstanding should be reported by a statewide agency in every state and the District of Columbia on an annual basis. The data should include debt owed to local/municipal courts, state courts, and county and city governments. This information should be made publicly available. Court debt data should also include information about the people who owe fines and fees, including eligibility for a public defender or public benefits, as well as the charges for which the debt was imposed. Statewide data should also show how much debt is owed in each county and the number of people who owe debt in each county. Reliable and current data is necessary to develop informed and effective public policy, and it is a vital tool to accurately judge the efficacy of a particular program and existing practices.

Fines and fees should be deemed uncollectible 3 years after they are imposed, and both public and private collections should cease. Attempting to collect this debt after 3 years is a waste of government resources and continues to harm low-income communities and communities of color.

The number and amount of fines must be reduced. The tens of billions of dollars of outstanding debt demonstrate the staggering burden fines and fees place on low-income communities and communities of color. People cannot afford to pay the amounts imposed, and extracting this money from our most vulnerable communities has devastating consequences.

State and local governments should legalize conduct that does not demonstrably harm public health and safety.

Judges must be given discretion to waive or reduce fines. Each state should establish an ability-to-pay assessment based upon the Fines and Fees Justice Center's Guidance.

All court fees, surcharges and costs should be eliminated. The justice system is supposed to serve everyone and should be paid for fairly and equitably by everyone.
We can document that at least $27.6 billion of fines and fees is owed across the nation.

The rest is unknown.
Additional Details on States’ Court Debt

Every U.S. state and the District of Columbia provided a response to the request for data representing statewide court debt totals for felony, misdemeanor, traffic and municipal code violation cases. Fourteen states provided data for all of the categories queried, 11 states provided information for only some of the case types requested, and data for 25 states and D.C. were not provided at all. If a state responded that data might be available at the local level from county, district, circuit or municipal courts in the state, FFJC did not attempt to gather the data from local jurisdictions. The burden was more than we could bear. Texas and New York, for example, each have over one thousand municipal courts.

Each state-specific description below details all or some of the following information, based upon availability: the state’s total or partial outstanding fines and fees balance, the types of fines and fees included in the reported figure, and the amount each person living in the state would have to pay to settle the debt.

**ALABAMA:**
**RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA**

The Administrative Office of the Courts determined that the total amount of unpaid fines and fees for felony, misdemeanor, traffic and municipal violation cases was $903,415,877 as of October 27, 2020. This figure covers a total of 76 courts for which the Office tracks information and accounts for the collection fees assessed by the Clerks and District Attorney. The per capita debt is $236. The exact time frame covered by the data is unknown, but the accounting system used to track this information has been in use since the late 1980s in most Alabama counties and since the early 1990s in the remaining jurisdictions.

**ALASKA:**
**RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA**

The outstanding debt owed to the state of Alaska for criminal cases amounted to $146.5 million, about $264 per adult in Alaska, as of May 29, 2019. This figure represents the following categories of costs that were referred to the Shared Services of Alaska Collections Program within the Division of Administration: fine, reinstated fine, correctional facility surcharge, re-imposed correctional facility surcharge, cost of incarceration, forfeited bond, forfeited bond restitution, police training surcharge, public defender fee, and public defender fee in appeals cases. FFJC could not confirm if this amount reflects debts owed for traffic and municipal code violation cases. This total does not account for debts transferred to other political subdivisions or collection efforts done on behalf of the state of Alaska. (See Appendix A)

**ARIZONA:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In a January 19, 2019 email, a representative of the Arizona Supreme Court determined that the requested
data is not maintained at the state level but may be maintained by the county, justice and city courts. Arizona has 15 county courts, at least 67 justice of the peace courts, and numerous city courts.

**ARKANSAS:**  
**RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA**

Based upon the information provided by the Office of Research and Justice Statistics in a January 29, 2019 memo, the debt owed to 23 of the courts of general jurisdiction was $65,527,248 and the amount of criminal fines and fees owed to 28 of the courts of limited jurisdiction was $95,749,706. FFJC was not able to confirm if debt from municipal code violation cases was accounted for in those totals. There are 75 courts of general jurisdiction and 74 courts of limited jurisdiction in Arkansas. Each adult living in Arkansas would owe about $69 to settle this debt amount. However, these figures are not representative of the debt owed to courts that do not use the Contexte Case Management System, specifically courts of limited jurisdiction where fines and fees are likely to be imposed, and courts that do not use the accounting function of the case management program. The exact time frame of cases covered by this debt total is unknown, but it does represent the unpaid balances in the Case Management System on January 28, 2019. (See Appendix B)

**CALIFORNIA:**  
**RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA**

The Report to the Legislature on Statewide Collection of Delinquent Court-ordered Debt: FY 17-18 published by the Judicial Council of California in December 2018 cited $10.3 billion as the amount of court fines and fees owed to the state. However, $166.3 million was discharged by collections programs. The financial responsibility of each adult living in California amounts to $336. The FY 18-19 report published in December 2019 set the total amount of delinquent court debt at $10.6 billion and determined that collections programs discharged $452.5 million of uncollectible debt. Each of California’s 30.6 million adult residents would have to pay $346 to settle this debt. The source of this data stated that the reported debt total is representative of accumulated debt since 2000-2001.

**COLORADO:**  
**RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA**

The Colorado Judicial Branch queried their systems for the requested data on April 1 and 2, 2019 and determined that the state’s outstanding court debt total was $107,295,898. This figure only represents felony, misdemeanor, traffic and infraction cases sentenced at the county and district levels in 2017 and 2018. Court debt related to municipal violations is not accounted for in the figure. The given amount averages to about $24 for each adult residing in Colorado.

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6 The passage of AB 1869 eliminated 23 criminal court fees effective July 1, 2021 and forgives corresponding debt. Berkeley Law’s Policy Advocacy Clinic estimates that Californians will be relieved of $16 billion of outstanding debt caused by these fees. According to a representative of the Judicial Council of California, their office expects changes in uncollectible debt amounts to be reflected in 2021-22 collections reports.
CONNECTICUT:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

As of February 2019, the state’s Judicial Branch could only report the amount of money that has been paid in cases, but not what is owed or outstanding in a meaningful or accurate way. Inspecting individual paper files is the only way that information could be determined.

DELWARE:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

The Administrative Office of the Courts relayed on April 2, 2019 that the total amount of fines and fees owed to the Delaware Judiciary for criminal cases is $79.5 million, dating back to when tracking this information began. The exact start date of data collection, however, was not specified. This averages out to approximately $104 per adult Delaware resident.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

A letter dated March 6, 2019 from the D.C. Superior Court stated that the Criminal and Strategic Management Divisions and Executive Office could not approve the data request. The response detailed that the data D.C. Courts collect on fines and fees resides in numerous different systems and producing the aggregate data would require extensive personnel resources that were not currently available (See Appendix C). According to an October 2020 Washington Post article, D.C. is owed more than $373 million in parking and traffic fines due to violations committed by Maryland and Virginia drivers alone. This information was provided by D.C.’s Department of Motor Vehicles.7

FLORIDA:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

Starting in 2013, annual Assessments and Collections Reports were made publicly available by Florida’s Office of State Court Administrators. The amount of outstanding debt deemed collectible subtracted from the amount that was actually collected from the 2013 through 2018 fiscal years is approximately $1.86 billion.8 This figure includes fines, fees, service charges, and other costs imposed in felony, criminal traffic misdemeanors, non-criminal infractions, and ordinance violation cases. Each adult Floridian would owe about $109 to settle this debt.

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8 Total collectible amount refers to the sum that was actually assessed minus credits for community service, time served, reduced, suspended, and waived as authorized by statute or by Administrative or local order.
GEORGIA:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

During a June 2019 call, a representative of the Administrative Office of the Courts relayed that the requested data is not available and Georgia has multiple levels of trial courts which are operated by the state’s 159 counties (without state funding).

HAWAII:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

On July 1, 2019, the Hawaii State Judiciary provided data representing outstanding debt related to administrative review, traffic crime, traffic infractions, and traffic parking cases adjudicated and/or closed between 2015 and 2018. The debt total for those cases is $32 million, averaging to about $29 for each adult resident of Hawaii.

IDAHO:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In an email dated March 13, 2019, a representative of Idaho’s Administrative Office of the Courts stated that there is no existing report that includes the requested information and the request for data is denied because they did not have the resources to compile this data at the time the request was reviewed.

ILLINOIS:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

During phone calls on February 11, 2019 with representatives of the State Administrative Office of the Courts and the Court Services Division, it was determined that neither office possesses the data nor is statewide fines and fees data collected or tracked by any office.

INDIANA:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

A letter dated February 11, 2019 stated that the Indiana Office of Court Services denied the data request pursuant to Administrative Rule 9(F) because it “fail[ed] to demonstrate that its fulfillment would be an appropriate use of public resources...” (See Appendix D)

IOWA:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

The Gazette reported in a February 2018 article that at the end of fiscal year 2017, court debt related

9 DUI cases involving administrative review/Administrative Driver’s License Revocation Office (ADLRO) cases make up the administrative review category.
to criminal and traffic cases totaled $524.4 million and 168.7 million, respectively. Each Iowa resident over the age of 18 would be responsible for $301.24 of the overall court debt. Iowa’s FY 2019 Court Debt Collection Report states that the total outstanding court debt balance was $796.8 million: criminal debt was calculated at $567.7 million and traffic debt was $189.6 million, raising the per capita debt to approximately $312. According to personnel in the Fiscal Division of the Iowa Legislature, the 2019 report mentioned above covers a 20-year range of data so the information represents accumulated debt since 1999). *(See Appendix E)*

**KANSAS:**

*Did not receive data*

In an email dated February 11, 2019, a representative of the Office of Judicial Information relayed that information related to outstanding fines and fees would only be known by each of Kansas’ 105 district courts and 390 municipal courts. There is no statewide database that holds this information. The Office also stated that software used by the district courts does not allow for reporting of fines and fees debt “without a lot of reprogramming”. Only some of the 390 municipal courts in Kansas electronically track this information and the system is not consistent for all of the courts.

**KENTUCKY:**

*Received partial data*

The Kentucky Administrative Office of the Courts determined that the statewide court debt total was $91,498,594 as of January 31, 2019. The exact date range of cases covered by this figure could not be determined, but the Accounts Receivable system used to track outstanding balances was implemented in the first county in the state on July 2, 2012. Therefore, court debt that accumulated prior to the first implementation date may not be captured by the debt total cited above. This balance includes seven different fines, 27 different fees, and debt owed to funds, county attorneys, police departments, detention centers, Sheriff’s departments, and other imposed costs. Each of Kentucky’s adult residents would owe $26 to settle this debt.

**LOUISIANA:**

*Did not receive data*

In an email dated March 12, 2019, a representative of the Louisiana Legislative Auditor stated that the amount of fines and fees owed to Louisiana is not known, a centralized location for this information was not identified, and Louisiana state law does not require judicial districts to track the amount of court costs and fines assessed in their districts. The message further detailed that none of the courts, districts, nor municipalities could tell the state’s Legislative Auditor how much they were owed in court fines and fees, and some Louisiana courts do not have electronic databases capable of tracking this information.

MAINE:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In a May 2, 2019 email, a representative of the Maine Administrative Office of the Courts relayed that reliable data could not be provided.

MARYLAND:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

An August 22, 2019 email from a representative of Maryland’s Central Collection Unit stated that their office could not provide data concerning criminal court debt and they were unable to locate any other personnel who could provide the requested information.

MASSACHUSETTS:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In an April 10, 2019 email, a representative of the Executive Office of the Trial Court stated that they would not fulfill the data request based upon the compiled data rule which limits the production of information to non-profit organizations. The Court Administrator relayed that the rule establishes “boundaries on the demand for internal court resources to support the work of external institutions”.

MICHIGAN:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In an email dated November 20, 2019, a representative of the Michigan Supreme Court stated that the quality of the financial data in their judicial data warehouse is not sufficient to generate a response to the request.

MINNESOTA:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

The Minnesota Judicial Branch stated that as of March 1, 2019, the collectible balance for misdemeanor, petty misdemeanor (including traffic), gross misdemeanor, felony, and municipal code violation cases up to five years old was $60,117,000. Each of the state’s adults would owe about $14 to settle this debt.

MISSISSIPPI:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In a February 2019 email, a representative of Mississippi’s Administrative Office of Courts stated that their office does not track delinquent fines and fees, and the only way to possibly get that information would be to contact the individual courts. In a July 2019 email, a representative of the Department of Finance and Administration stated that they are not aware of a central repository that would be in possession of the requested data.
MISSOURI: RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Missouri Judicial Report Supplement: Fiscal Year 2017 includes ‘Accounts Receivables Tables’ that cite how much money is outstanding for criminal, traffic, some ordinance violation, and other case types disposed of from July 1, 2005 to June 30, 2017. The total amount of debt for the case types identified in the request was $375,649,784. This amounts to about $79 for each adult resident in Missouri.

MONTANA: DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

Representatives of the Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court and the Court Services Division relayed via phone on February 4, 2019 that the requested data is not tracked at the state level, but by each of the state’s 56 district courts.

NEBRASKA: DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

A representative of the State Court Administrator’s Office relayed via phone on February 8, 2019 that the court system does not track the requested information, and the database used by the courts at the time of the request did not allow this information to be compiled.

NEVADA: DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

During a call on February 11, 2019, a representative of the Administrative Office of the Courts stated that only some courts participate in a program that gathers and reports information concerning outstanding court debt to the Attorney General’s office. Nevada’s AOC recommended requesting the information from each of the 76 courts across the state. In an email response from the Attorney General’s Office, they stated that they did not have the data that was requested.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

On April 10, 2019, the New Hampshire Judicial Branch responded to the request with a statewide debt figure of $449,314.51, averaging out to about $.41 for each adult resident of New Hampshire. However, this amount is not representative of New Hampshire’s full accounts receivable balance as it does not account for “doubtful accounts.” This figure was calculated by averaging the total amount of money that was collected in July and August (the two months following the June 30th fiscal year end) in the three previous fiscal years. The source stated “To provide our estimate of $449,314.51 for FY18, we reviewed actual collections from 7/1/15-8/31/15, 7/1/16-8/31/16, and 7/1/17-8/31/17. We average those numbers to come up with our estimated accounts receivable collections for 7/1/18-8/31/18.” This method suggests that the figure New Hampshire reports in their Comprehensive Financial Annual Report drastically underestimates the amount
of money that is actually owed to the state.

**NEW JERSEY:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In a letter dated July 26, 2019, the Clerk of Superior Court denied the request for data pursuant to Rule 1:38 of the New Jersey Rules of Court which governs public access to court and administrative records. *(See Appendix F)*

**NEW MEXICO:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In two letters dated February 18 and 22, 2019, the New Mexico Administrative Office of the Courts responded stating that the inquiry could not be fulfilled because no public records concerning delinquent fines and fees existed at the time of the request, and the Administrative Office of the Courts did not have the capability to compile delinquent fines and fees data. *(See Appendix G and H)*

**NEW YORK:**
**RECEIVED DATA ONLY COVERING NEW YORK CITY**

The Office of Court Administration produced data concerning how much money was imposed and collected between 2016 and 2018 for criminal, supreme, and summon cases across the five boroughs as of April 2019. The total delinquent amount was $53.9 million. This figure averages out to about $8 owed by each of New York City’s adult residents. Most traffic cases were not counted in the figure above, which, if included, would most likely multiply the debt total reported above.

**NORTH CAROLINA:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In a June 4, 2019 email, a representative of the North Carolina Administrative Office of the Courts relayed that the financial management systems were not designed to track outstanding debts.

**NORTH DAKOTA:**
**RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA**

A document available through the North Dakota Courts website cites $28,810,329 as the amount of criminal justice debt owed to the state as of June 30, 2019. Based on this figure, the per capita debt is about $49. A representative of the Finance Department clarified during a November 2020 phone call that this figure accounts for debt owed for criminal and traffic cases. It was not clear if this figure includes debt related to municipal code violation cases. This debt total includes unpaid fines and fees as of June 30, 2020 and according to a representative of the North Dakota Court, this debt figure accounts for unpaid fines and fees dating as far back as about 1990.
OHIO:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

In an email dated February 26, 2019, a representative of the Office of Public Information stated that courts throughout the state are not required to report data related to outstanding, past due, or delinquent fines and fees so this information is not available from a centralized, statewide source.

OKLAHOMA:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Administrative Office of the Courts was unable to provide the court debt information that was requested and stated that it does not have the resources to create a report detailing the total amount of court debt that the state holds. Oklahoma Policy Institute’s program Open Justice Oklahoma reported to FFJC that they determined the total amount of outstanding debt for felony and misdemeanor cases between January 1, 2012 and September 30, 2020 to be $693,500,658. According to this figure, the per capita debt is $231. Based on the trend from 2012 to 2020, Open Justice Oklahoma estimated the total outstanding balance for felony and misdemeanor cases from 2000-2020 to be over $1.38 billion.

OREGON:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Office of the State Court Administrator reported that the total outstanding balance as of February 2019 was $1,142,234,070, resulting in an approximate per capita balance of $344 per adult. The exact number of years represented by this debt total is unknown but this source stated that traffic debt has a statute of limitations of 20 years and misdemeanor and felony cases have a statute of limitations of 50 years.

PENNSYLVANIA:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Administrative Office of Pennsylvania Courts found that the outstanding balance for fines and fees related to criminal, traffic, non-traffic, and Philadelphia Municipal Court summary cases amounted to $2,926,004,966 as of May 2019. That debt figure averages to about $288 per adult in Pennsylvania. Since a date range was not used when processing this data request, the source of this information could not specify the time frame of cases or adjudication covered by this debt figure.

RHODE ISLAND:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Rhode Island Supreme Court reported $89,723,705 as its accounts receivable balance for cases adjudicated by their superior, district, and traffic courts, making the per capita debt total $105. This debt total covers the period spanning from when they started tracking this data prior to 2014 up to 2018. This data is current as of June 2018. The debt from unpaid fines and fees related to municipal violations are not represented by this figure.
SOUTH CAROLINA:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

The request for information was processed on March 13, 2019, and the South Carolina Judicial Branch denied the data request. The response stated that fulfilling this request would interfere with normal judicial operations since this information was not already being tracked, and the calculations that could be made would be partial and misleading. (See Appendix I)

SOUTH DAKOTA:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

The South Dakota Unified Judicial System reported that between FY 2016 and 2018, the total amount of uncollected court fines and fees was $17,208,379, averaging to about $26 per adult resident.

TENNESSEE:
DID NOT RECEIVE DATA

During a phone call and via email on May 1, 2019, a representative of the Administrative Office of the Courts stated that there is no computer system that holds this data because Tennessee does not have a unified court system. There are 95 counties in the state and each of the corresponding county court clerks would have to be contacted to compile this data.

TEXAS:
RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA

The Texas Office of Court Administration reported $2,365,647,216 in uncollected fines and fees related to criminal, traffic, and municipal cases between FY 2014 and 2019. Each of Texas’ adult residents would owe $111 based on that figure.

UTAH:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Office of State Debt Collection determined that the outstanding balance for fines and fees related to criminal case matters was $122,193,354 as of May 2019. Each adult living in Utah would owe about $55 to cover this balance. According to the State of Utah, Division of Finance, the report of unpaid balances that was provided for this report did not account for the time in which accounts were placed into collections. Therefore, the exact time frame of cases or adjudication represented by this debt total is unknown.

VERMONT:
RECEIVED PARTIAL DATA

The Court Administrator’s Office determined that $50,137,453 as the state’s court debt total as of June 2018. This figure represents debt owed for 18 different fines, five different fees, and a number of other
imposed costs. Each adult resident of Vermont would owe about $98. (See Appendix J)

**VIRGINIA:**
**RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA**

The Supreme Court of Virginia reported that their accounts receivable total for circuit and general district courts was $2,412,682,845 as of December 31, 2018 for active accounts, and March 24, 2019 for inactive accounts. Each adult living in Virginia would have to pay about $363 to settle this debt.

**WASHINGTON:**
**RECEIVED COMPLETE DATA**

According to an analysis of data compiled by the Washington State Administrative Office of the Court, the state’s court debt total for cases adjudicated in the municipal, district, and superior courts is $2.5 billion. Each of Washington’s adult residents would owe $426 to pay off this balance.

**WEST VIRGINIA:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In an email dated May 28, 2019, a representative of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia stated that data related to the request is not kept at the statewide level. Circuit court clerks are mandated to collect and manage court fines, fees, and costs, but they do not report this information to the Supreme Court. This information is held by each of the 55 County clerks.

**WISCONSIN:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

During a phone call on June 4, 2019, a representative of Wisconsin’s Office of Court Operations relayed the requested information is held by the state’s 72 clerks of court.

**WYOMING:**
**DID NOT RECEIVE DATA**

In a letter dated March 11, 2019, a representative of the Wyoming State Court Administrator stated that their office lacked the resources in funding, staff, and programming to create a report outside of those already available on their website, none of which fulfilled the data request. (See Appendix L)
Bibliography


### APPENDIX A: CHART RECEIVED FROM SHARED SERVICES OF ALASKA COLLECTIONS PROGRAM

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To: Briana Hammons  
From: AOC Office of Research and Justice Statistics  
Re: Data request  
Date: January 29, 2019

Original request: I am looking to collect an estimate of how much Arkansas state is owed for delinquent fines and fees for criminal justice matters.

Methodology: For those courts that use the accounting functionality in the statewide case management system, we calculated the total balance indicated.

Results:
- The total balance indicated on cases is $65,527,248 for courts of general jurisdiction and $95,749,706 for courts of limited jurisdiction.

Limitations and notes:
- Not all courts use the Contexte case management system, particularly the courts of limited jurisdiction where fines and fees are most likely to occur (see source of data below).
- Not all courts that use the Contexte case management system use the accounting function that allows us to pull information on the balance owed.
- Information was available for 23 courts of general jurisdiction and 28 courts of limited jurisdiction.

Source of Data:
Most reports generated by the Office of Research and Justice Statistics at the Arkansas Administrative Office of the Courts come from data entered into the Contexte Case Management System. In most counties in Arkansas, circuit court data are entered into Contexte by elected circuit clerks and their staff members based upon cover and disposition sheets submitted by attorneys and self-represented litigants. In some counties, these forms are submitted to the AOC monthly, and so data can be delayed. Some district courts also use the Contexte system, while others report only summary data. For a list of courts using Contexte, see https://caseinfo.arcourts.gov. To see implementation dates for courts using Contexte, see https://caseinfo.arcourts.gov/docs/helppublic.htm.
APPENDIX C:

DC Superior Court
Data Request Response

SUBJECT: Response to Data Request
TO: Brianna Hammons
DATE: March 6, 2019

Dear Ms. Hammons,

Your request for DC Court data has been reviewed by the Criminal and Strategic Management Divisions, and the Executive Office. Unfortunately, at this time we are unable to approve your request for data related to outstanding fees and fines.

While data on fees and fines are collected by DC Courts, the data reside in several different systems. While the current systems allow DC Courts to track the requested information on a person level, linking the information in these systems to produce the aggregate data you have requested would require extensive personnel resources that we do not currently have available. With the implementation of new data systems in the near future we anticipate being able to readily provide this type of aggregate information.

Please feel free to contact me directly if you have any further questions. I can be reached at sandra.embler@dcsc.gov or 202-879-2841.

Sincerely,
Sandra Embler, PhD
Senior Research Associate
DC Courts

Digitally signed by Sandra Embler
Date: 2019.03.06
12:59:42 -05'00'
APPENDIX D:

Ms. Briana Hammons
Fines and Fees Justice Center
181 West Broadway
New York, NY 10013

Re: Request for Compiled Information

Dear Ms. Hammons

Your Request for Release of Compiled Information Containing Information Not Excluded from Public Access filed January 24, 2019 seeking case record data of monies owed in misdemeanor, felony, traffic citations and municipal code violations for the period 2014 - 2018 has been denied by the Executive Director of the Indiana Office of Court Services (IOCS) under Administrative Rule 9(F). The request fails to demonstrate that its fulfillment would be an appropriate use of public resources, provide a substantial benefit or serve a need of the Indiana Judicial System or another agency of government as opposed to a private interest.

Yours truly,

Richard T. Payne
Staff Attorney, Legal Support Division
Office of Court Services
Indiana Office of Judicial Administration

JUSTIN P. FORKNER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Indiana Office of Court Services | 317.232.2542 | 317.232.1313
FY 2019 COURT DEBT COLLECTION REPORT

Court Debt Report. As required by Iowa Code section 602.8107, the Judicial Branch has filed a report on the FY 2019 collections of outstanding court debt. For more information regarding the history and structure of the court debt collection system, see Issue Review: Court Debt Collection.

FY 2019 Outstanding Court Debt. At the end of FY 2019, the outstanding court debt owed to the State totaled $796.8 million. Criminal debt and traffic debt comprise a large portion of the total outstanding debt at $567.7 million (71.0%) and $189.6 million (24.0%), respectively. Debt that is up to 1 year old accounts for $88.5 million (11.0%) of the total, and debt 10 years or older accounts for $304.0 million (38.0%). No debt was written off as uncollectable. Chart 1 shows the June 30, 2019, court debt owed to the State by category, as reported by the Judicial Branch.

Chart 1

Private Collector. Linebarger, Goggan, Blair, and Sampson, L.L.P. (Linebarger), is the designated private collector for the State. Linebarger began collecting for the State on December 1, 2010. The contract is currently continued on a month-to-month basis. In FY 2019, Linebarger collected $10.0 million, an increase of approximately $800,000 from FY 2018. Chart 2 shows the annual amount collected by Linebarger since it began collecting in FY 2012.¹

¹ In FY 2016, Linebarger started receiving the debt at the time of delinquency, instead of one year later. The newer debt contributed to the large increase in collections by Linebarger in FY 2016.
Re: Request for Information on Fines and Fees

This letter is in response to your July 17, 2019 correspondence requesting information on fines and fees. Specifically, you are requesting “data that reflects how much money is owed to New Jersey courts for fines and fees, excluding restitution, associated with felony, misdemeanor, traffic, and municipal code violation cases.”

Pursuant to Rule 1:38 et seq. of the New Jersey Rules of Court governs public access to court records and administrative records. As such, your July 17, 2019 correspondence is being treated as a request made pursuant to Rule 1:38.

Pursuant to Rule 1:38-13, court records and administrative records are available only in the form in which they are maintained or indexed by the Judiciary. Requests by private individuals or entities for programming, searching, or compilation of records in a form other than as used for the Judiciary’s purposes will not be granted. Thus, your request for this information is denied.

Pursuant to Rule 1:38-10(b), denials of public access requests may be appealed to the Acting Administrative Director of the Courts, Hon. Glenn A. Grant, P.O. Box 037, Trenton, NJ 08625-0037. Please note that your appeal must be submitted within thirty (30) calendar days of your receipt of this letter. The appeal should include a copy of your original record request, a copy of this letter and a detailed statement of reasons why you believe that the denial is inappropriate.

Sincerely,

Michelle M. Smith, Esq.
Clerk of the Superior Court
APPENDIX G:

Administrative Office of the Courts

February 18, 2019

Via email:  bhammons@finesandfeesjusticecenter.org
Briana Hammons
Fines and Fees Justice Center
185 Broadway
New York, New York 10013


Dear Ms. Hammons:

The Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) received your request on February 13, 2019 under the Inspection of Public Records Act for data on the money that is currently owed for criminal justice fines and fees associated with misdemeanor, felony, traffic and municipal cases.

It is the policy of the AOC to be fully responsive to requests for public records available under the Inspection of Public Records Act, NMSA 1978, § 14-2-1 et seq. (“IPRA”). We have searched our files and made inquiries within the AOC and have determined that no public records exist that are responsive to your request concerning data on fines and fees owed in state court cases. The provisions of IPRA do not require a governmental body to create documents, lists, spreadsheets, statistics or other reports in order to respond to a records request. See NMSA 1978, § 14-2-8(B) (Nothing in the Inspection of Public Records Act shall be construed to require a public body to create a public record.)

However, if you would like to request an existing public court record, the Court would be pleased to respond to that request consistent with IPRA. For more Court case information, please feel free to visit the Judiciary’s web-based case management website at https://caselookup.nmcourts.gov/caselookup/.

Sincerely,

Ana Rosa Padilla
Paralegal
Administrative Office of the Courts
237 Don Gaspar, Room 25
Santa Fe, NM 87501
505-827-4811
APPENDIX H:

Administrative Office of the Courts

February 22, 2019

Via email: bhammons@finesandfeesjusticecenter.org
Briana Hammons
Fines and Fees Justice Center
185 Broadway
New York, New York 10013


Dear Ms. Hammons:

Thank you for your follow-up correspondence of February 19, 2019 regarding data on the money that is currently owed for criminal justice fines and fees associated with misdemeanor, felony, traffic and municipal cases. You inquired whether there was an “office within the New Mexico AOC or judiciary overall dedicated to research, data, or statistics that you could refer me or my request to.”

The Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) has no office dedicated to performing research for parties outside of New Mexico Judiciary. Additionally, the AOC and the Judiciary maintain no comprehensive financial database that includes all the fines and fees covered by your request. New Mexico’s 81 municipal courts, for instance, are administered by their respective local governments – not AOC and the state Judiciary. The AOC does not have the capability to compile the data on “owed” fines and fees that you requested. We have only limited staff and resources and are unable to undertake a customized research project that would be required to compile the requested data.

Thank you for your understanding in this matter. We now consider this request closed.

Sincerely,

Ana Rosa Padilla
Paralegal
Administrative Office of the Courts
237 Don Gaspar, Room 25
Santa Fe, NM 87501
505-827-4811
APPENDIX I:

REQUEST FOR BULK DISTRIBUTION OF AND COMPILED INFORMATION FROM JUDICIAL RECORDS
RULE 610, SCACR

ACTION ON REQUEST

TO BE COMPLETED BY SOUTH CAROLINA COURT ADMINISTRATION

Request Received by South Carolina Court Administration on: 2/28/2019

Request is: ☐ Approved ☐ Partially Approved ☒ Denied

Denial Reason:

☐ The requestor may obtain the information using the search functions available to the public on websites maintained by the South Carolina Judicial Department or any court of this state.

☒ Fulfilling the request will interfere with normal Judicial Branch operations as the requested figure is not tracked and it would be difficult, time consuming, and expensive to determine.

☐ The requested information contains confidential data or financial information that may not be provided.

☒ Only a partial figure could be determined and would be misleading.

If Approved or Partially Approved, the requested information will be provided within ten (10) business days after payment is received, unless otherwise stated.

Request Processed on: 3/13/2019
Request Processed by: Elizabeth Wellman
Title: Staff Attorney
### Vermont Judiciary Accounts Receivables
### FY 18

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<td>State/Local Fines</td>
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<td>Restitutions</td>
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### Vermont Judiciary Accounts Receivables
### FY 18

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<th>Acct</th>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>50,208,283.24</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
March 11, 2019

Briana Hammons
Research and Campaign Associate
Fines and Fees Justice Center
EMAIL: bhammons@finesandfeesjusticecenter.org

Dear Ms. Hammons:

Thank you for your request for data regarding how much money is currently delinquent/past due/owed to Wyoming courts for fines and fees, not including restitution, for misdemeanor, felony, traffic citation, and municipal code violation cases. Although the Court is not subject to the Wyoming Public Records Act, and Rule 11 of the Rules Governing Access to Court Records does not require the creation of non-standard data elements, the Court fully appreciates the utility of reliable and accurate data for research. To assist you and others interested in data collected in court proceedings, the Wyoming Judicial Branch’s website includes our standard reports and statistic. For district courts, the URL is: www.courts.state.wy.us/district-courts/district-court-reports-and-statistics/. For circuit courts (limited jurisdiction), the URL is: www.courts.state.wy.us/circuit-courts/circuit-court-reports-and-statistics/. We do not maintain reports for municipal courts. Unfortunately, at this time, limited funding, staff and lack of uniformity in current data precludes the Court from providing any additional reports outside of the information found on our website.

Best Regards,

Lily Sharpe
State Court Administrator