



50 State Survey: Probation & Parole Fees

A State-by-State Look at the Scope of Probation and Parole Fees and the Consequences for Failure-to-Pay

BY: FINES AND FEES JUSTICE CENTER REFORM ALLIANCE PUBLISHED: MAY 2022

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Probation Supervision Fees	5
Probation Programming Fees	6
Failing to Pay Probation Fees	6
Parole Supervision Fees	7
Parole Programming Fees	9
Failing to Pay Parole Fees	9
Probation and Parole Fees Appendices	10
Endnotes	33

About Us

The <u>Fines and Fees Justice Center</u> (FFJC) is catalyzing a movement to eliminate the fines and fees that distort justice. Our goal is to create a justice system that treats individuals fairly, ensures public safety and community prosperity, and is funded equitably. We work together with affected communities and justice system stakeholders to eliminate fees in the justice system, ensure that fines are equitably imposed and enforced, and end abusive collection practices. Visit ffjc.us and follow <u>@FinesandFeesJC</u> on Twitter to get the latest updates on local, state and national fines and fees reforms.

<u>The Reform Alliance</u> is committed to transforming probation and parole throughout the United States by changing laws, systems, and culture. The organization is working to replace America's criminal justice system with a restorative approach that is fair, accountable, and invested in rehabilitation. Our goal is for people to reenter society with dignity, create meaningful pathways to work, and equip them with the tools to succeed, all while making families and communities safer and stronger.

Contact

If you have any questions on any information within this report or for any media inquiries, please contact Jag Davies at jdavies@ffjc.us.

Introduction

At any given time, millions of adults—approximately 1 in every 75 people—are under probation or parole supervision in the United States. In most states, people on probation or parole are required to pay supervision fees that can range from hundreds to thousands of dollars. In addition, if a person is required as a condition of their supervision to participate in a program, like mental health counseling or electronic monitoring, or is subject to regular drug or alcohol testing, they may pay additional fees. These fees are in addition to other fines and fees that may have been imposed when the person is convicted, which are unrelated to supervision or its conditions.

What is the difference between probation and parole?

As we use them in this report, **probation** is a sentence of supervision that a court imposes when incarceration is not the appropriate result of a conviction.² **Parole**, on the other hand, is when an incarcerated person is released from prison and placed on a term of supervision prior to the end of a sentence.

Most people on probation are required to follow strict requirements that can include things like mandatory and regular check-ins with their probation officer, electronic monitoring, drug and alcohol testing and treatment, counseling, self-improvement classes, submitting to random searches, curfews or home confinement, and payment of court costs. Failure to follow any of these conditions can lead to further punishment, including longer terms of probation or even incarceration. The number of conditions varies but can be twenty or more in some jurisdictions.³ The conditions of parole are often similar to those found in probation.

The amount of time a person spends under supervision affects how much they will owe. Many states charge supervision fees by the month and many of the programs required as part of supervision include repeated charges for recurring sessions or obligations. Given that the average length of probation supervision in the U.S. is just under 2 years,⁴ charges can escalate quickly. Moreover, failure to pay these charges on time, can lead to late fees, interest payments, and the extension of time on supervision.⁵

As far back as 1990, the U.S. Department of Justice's National Institute for Justice issued a report acknowledging that fees assessed against people on probation and parole were largely intended to raise revenue.⁶ Both probation and parole are ostensibly mechanisms aimed at protecting public safety. Like other public safety measures—such as fire, police, and emergency medical assistance—it is a government function that succeeds only when it is equitably funded.

When states and localities instead impose these costs directly on the people in the system, it creates a regressive tax on those least likely to be able to pay.

Nationwide, two of every three people on probation make less than \$20,000 per year, with nearly 40% of those making less than \$10,000 annually. Studies show that millions of dollars in fines and fees go uncollected around the country, making them poor bases

for court budgeting, and that the cost of collections can outpaces the revenue it might generate.8

Moreover, given the documented racial disparities in the criminal legal system, these costs also disproportionately affect people of color and disproportionately draw financial resources out of communities of color. Black adults are about 3.5 times as likely as white adults to be supervised on probation or parole, and although Black people make up approximately 13 percent of the U.S. adult population, they account for 30 percent of those on probation or parole. Description

While the fees assessed to people on probation and parole likely total in the hundreds of millions of dollars each year, exact fee assessments can be difficult to determine, given the patchwork of potential fees across states and from county to county within states¹¹—a problem exacerbated by poor data keeping in far too many jurisdictions. As this survey details, in most states, those under supervision must pay a fee—either a flat sum or a monthly charge—for being under the supervision of a probation or parole officer. Additionally, in nearly every state, those on probation or parole must pay the costs of programming, classes, or "services" that are conditions of their release or sentence.¹²

While the United States Constitution prohibits incarcerating people who are unable to pay fines and fees imposed as part of the criminal case, ¹³ payment of supervision and programming fees, in practice, is frequently a condition of probation and parole, and failing to pay may be grounds for revocation proceedings and a host of potential sanctions, including extension of time under supervision or incarceration. These additional sanctions are not tied to improving public safety; they are simply punishments aimed at coercing payment, often from people who simply lack the means to pay. As the Federal Reserve pointed out, in 2020, "[n]early 3 in 10 adults were either unable to pay their monthly bills or were one modest financial setback away from failing to pay monthly bills in full" and that this challenge disproportionately affects Black and Hispanic/Latinx adults.¹⁴

Studies show that imposing criminal fees is correlated with higher recidivism rates and declines in overall public safety. If public safety and ensuring the success of those under supervision as they reenter their communities are goals of probation and parole, passing the costs of supervision and programming on to individual supervisees is counterproductive.

States should prohibit charging probation and parole supervision fees and should prohibit the imposition of fees or costs related to programming or services that are conditions of probation or parole.

The imposition of fees related to probation and parole are contrary to the interests of justice. These fees, and the sanctions which may result from failing to pay them, set people up for failure. Public safety is harmed when our neighbors are saddled with debt in order to fund a court system that serves us all. It's particularly egregious to inflict this debt burden on those who are least able to pay and in a system which is rife with racial disparities. True fairness, justice, and public safety will be better served when states eliminate all fees related to probation and parole.

Reform Highlight: Ramsey County, Minnesota Eliminates Probation Fees

"In the end we realized that the revenue we expected from fees in our budget was unrealistic because people couldn't pay the fees."

In 2020, Ramsey County, Minnesota eliminated all probation fees. According to Jan Scott, Assistant Deputy Director for Adult Services for Ramsey County Community Corrections, the move has unquestionably helped both to the department and the people they supervise.

First, the original fees "undermined the success of people on probation and placed additional economic hardship on our clients." Second, the fees distorted the Department's budget. "In the end we realized that the revenue we expected from fees in our budget was unrealistic because people couldn't pay the fees." Now, the Department has a budget it can rely on.

Finally, eliminating the fees made a big impact on people's lives. "We didn't know what to expect when we got rid of the fees, but we were overwhelmed by the number of calls we received from people thanking us."

For more on criminal justice fees in general and efforts to eliminate the burdens they impose, please see <u>FFJC's Fee Elimination Guidance</u>.

Probation Supervision Fees:

Most states charge those on supervision a fee for simply being supervised. Although probation is a sentencing alternative to incarceration, violations of the conditions of probation—including the payment of fees—may result in severe sanctions including probation extension and even incarceration.

47 states have laws allowing for probation supervision fees.

- 38 states charge a monthly supervision fee¹⁶
 These fees range from a low of \$10 per month¹⁷ to a high of over \$208 per month.¹⁸ Five of these states are authorized to add, in addition to monthly fees, a one-time "enrollment," "processing," or "intake fee," which can range from \$25 \$600 in additional costs, depending on the state and the offense.¹⁹
- 7 states charge a single flat fee.
 Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Kansas, Iowa, Virginia, and Wyoming charge single, flat fees for probation supervision without additional monthly charges, though this may be payable in installments. These flat fees can run from \$60 to \$300.²⁰
- 2 states allow local jurisdictions to determine the amounts and payment schedules.²¹ Minnesota and South Dakota, while having statutes that authorize the imposition and collection of supervision fees, allow local jurisdictions to determine the amounts and payment schedules. Therefore, costs and the length of financial obligations could vary depending on the location within the state.

Only 3 states do not authorize probation supervision fees.

- Alaska's laws are silent on the issue of probation related fees.
 In practice, it appears supervision fees are not charged.²²
- California and Oregon passed laws removing supervision fees.
 California and Oregon enacted legislation in 2020 that amended their respective codes to eliminate language that had previously permitted charging fees related to probation supervision.

Important note: None of these three states have language expressly prohibiting probation supervision fees. Instead, they are silent on the issue or have removed statutory language that had previously authorized the fees. In order to prevent local jurisdictions from creating their own authority to impose such fees, states that wish to truly eliminate fees for probation supervision should not only remove authorizing language from their statutes but should expressly prohibit the practice.

Probation Programming Fees

Every sentence of probation carries with it conditions that the person must follow, often including participating in court-ordered programming, classes, or other interventions. In many states, the costs of these court-imposed programs are passed directly to those under supervision.²³

Fees for drug testing and treatment,²⁴ for counseling or mental health treatment,²⁵ for taking classes or participating in programs,²⁶ for participating in community service,²⁷ and for being on electronic monitoring²⁸ are common. When the intervention is recurring—such as for classes or drug testing—people may be charged on a per session basis. Where it is ongoing—such as with electronic monitoring—the fees may be imposed on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis.

Many states also impose fees unrelated to any programming or conditions of probation in an individual's case. These universally imposed fees are often mandated contributions to particular court or prosecutorial funds, such as to general victims' funds²⁹ or a crime prevention fund.³⁰

Whether or not authorized explicitly by state statutes, these fees for specific conditions are being imposed in every state.³¹ These fees are often hard to identify and quantify as they may come from a variety of sources. While some may be assessed directly by courts or probation agencies, some programs may charge participants directly and terminate a person's participation in the program if fees go unpaid. Termination from a probation-ordered program for any reason may be grounds for probation extension or revocation, which could lead to incarceration.

Failing to Pay Probation Fees

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that no one may be imprisoned for failure to pay court-imposed costs, unless the court finds that the failure to pay was "willful" or, in other words, unless the court determines the person has the capacity to pay and simply refuses to do so.³² Despite this, the statutes in most states allow for sanctions against people on probation who fail to pay court-imposed costs.

- 32 states allow for probation revocation and/or extension if fees are not paid.33
- 8 states <u>do not</u> allow probation revocation and/or extensions if these fees are unpaid.³⁴
- 6 states have statutes that are unclear whether these fees are formal conditions of probation that would justify revocation and/or extension if not paid. However, it may be possible to interpret the statutes broadly enough to contemplate revocation or extension of supervision, even if not explicitly.³⁵
- 4 states have statutes authorizing non-criminal responses to unpaid probation fees and are silent on revocation.³⁶

Mary's Story — Tulsa, Oklahoma ³⁷

"I feel robbed. I'm really against the wall. It messes with my mental situation. There are times it can make me feel depressed."

Mary was forced to go on Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) after a disability left her unable to work. SSDI became her only source of income, totaling just under \$800 per month. After pleading "no contest" to a minor misdemeanor offense, Mary was placed on probation. Everyone agreed she didn't deserve to be in jail.

After paying her monthly rent, utilities, food and basic necessities costs, Mary is left with around \$20 a week in her pocket. Yet her probation terms require her to pay a \$40 fee each month to the local District Attorney's office to cover the costs of her probation supervision. The process of paying for her probation fee also comes with additional costs. Paying the fee in person means also paying extra for parking at the DA's office. And if she pays over the phone or electronically, she must pay an additional processing fee. On a limited income like Mary's, these extras add up.

Mary spends much of her time worrying that the next emergency or unexpected expense will throw her life into unrecoverable turmoil, "it's a real mental strain. But what else is there to do? My hands are tied." Unfortunately, Mary's situation is not the worst example of how supervision fees impact people's lives, nor is her experience rare. Research has shown that people on probation often must choose between paying their fees and eating, getting medical care, or paying rent and utilities.³⁸

Parole Supervision Fees

If the state releases someone on parole, that person will have to comply with conditions and community supervision, similar to probation. Because it is a subset of a prison sentence, however, the ways in which parole is administered and the process for revoking parole can differ significantly from probation.

Parole, as we use it here, is a discretionary release system in which a parole board or some other agency holds an administrative hearing for eligible people to decide whether they should be released from prison prior to the end of their sentence and placed on some form of supervision while in the community. At least 16 states have moved away from discretionary parole in favor of so-called "truth in sentencing" laws, which either require nearly all of a person's term of incarceration be served before they are released or have transitioned away from discretionary parole to some other "conditional release program" that revolves around strictly defined release criteria. In each of these states, however, those sentenced to prison terms prior to these statutory changes are still eligible for discretionary parole.³⁹

37 states have statutes or rules expressly authorizing fees for parole supervision.

These statutes sometimes set the fee directly and sometimes direct the parole agency to do so. Twenty-five of these statutes have been enacted since 1990,⁴⁰ as states have shifted away from general tax sources that fund public safety in favor of directly imposed court costs.

- 33 states⁴¹ impose monthly fees, which range from a low of \$10⁴² to a high of over \$208.⁴³
- 4 state statutes set a one-time flat fee ranging from \$50 \$475.⁴⁴
- 1 state, Florida,⁴⁵ allows for parole⁴⁶ supervision costs as a general principle but provides little statutory guidance on how those costs are to be set.

2 states allow supervision fees on those placed on a heightened form of parole supervision, but not for general parole supervision.

These states—**Delaware**⁴⁷ and **Wyoming**⁴⁸—do not specify an amount of this enhanced supervision fee, but only that the fees are to go to the cost of the elevated supervision program.

10 states do not have statutes or rules expressly authorizing fees for parole supervision.

Two states—**California** and **Oregon**⁴⁹—recently passed legislative changes have removed prior statutory language authorizing such fees but did not explicitly prohibit them. Five other states—**Alaska**, **Connecticut**, **Georgia**, **Hawaii**, **Illinois**, **Indiana**, and **Maine**—have state codes that are also silent on parole supervision fees.⁵⁰

Only **New Jersey** expressly provides that parole supervision shall be paid by the state.⁵¹

Parole Programming Fees

Like those on probation, those on parole are released from their term of incarceration under an agreement to abide by a series of conditions. And like with probation, these parole conditions regularly come with individual financial obligations attached in many states. Failure to pay these financial obligations could be a violation of parole in many states and cause the person to be sent back to prison. It is of note that even if a state does not authorize conditions-related fees to people on probation, it may still do so against those on parole.⁵²

The scope of conditions that come with a price tag for those on parole are similar to those found in probation. These include fees for drug testing and treatment,⁵³ counseling,⁵⁴ participating in community service,⁵⁵ taking classes or participating in programs,⁵⁶ residing in a halfway house,⁵⁷ and for being on electronic monitoring.⁵⁸ Researchers have found that most state parole agencies impose the same set of standard conditions on each person, regardless of the offense for which the person was incarcerated.⁵⁹

In some states, those on parole may also be subject to other administrative fees unrelated to programming or supervision, such as payment to victims' funds⁶⁰ or to fund appointed counsel programs.⁶¹

Failing to Pay Parole Fees

As outlined previously, the U.S. Constitution prohibits incarcerating people for not being able to pay fees.⁶² Despite this, unpaid fees are one reason those on parole may be returned to prison or face other sanctions.

- 30 states allow for parole revocation if fees are not paid.⁶³
- 9 states do not allow parole revocation if these fees are unpaid.⁶⁴
- 7 states have statutes that are unclear whether these fees are formal conditions of parole that would justify revocation if not paid. However, it may be possible to interpret the statutes broadly enough to contemplate revocation of supervision, even if not explicitly.⁶⁵
- 4 states have statutes that only authorize non-criminal responses to unpaid parole fees and are silent on revocation.⁶⁶

While the Constitution requires hearings on whether to revoke parole, these hearings need not be conducted by the court.⁶⁷ Additionally, at least 16 states' parole authorities will not allow parole to end if the person has outstanding fees still pending.⁶⁸

Probation and Parole Fees Appendices

The imposition of probation and parole fees is pervasive across the country, though the details vary from state to state and sometimes among counties within a state. In order to provide a state-by-state view of the scope, the charts in Appendices A and B outline the statutory and regulatory provisions granting a court or an agency authority to impose these fees. Where possible, supplemental information on how these provisions operate in practice obtained from interviews with probation and parole staff in some states, is included.

Given the breadth and complexity of statutes, rules, regulations, guidance, court orders, case law, and other sources of authority, this is not intended to be an exhaustive collection of all possible fees related to probation or parole. There may be local rules or laws affecting fees that were simply beyond the scope of this analysis. The fees referred to in this chart are of supervision costs or the costs of particular programming that have been identified. Fees related to restitution, law enforcement, prosecution and investigation, defense counsel, incarceration, or other fees not associated with terms of probation or parole are beyond the scope of this chart.

Appendix C outlines how failure to pay fees associated with supervision or programming can affect a person's probation or parole. Based on statutes alone, we have categorized the authorized potential consequences individuals may face for failure to pay these fees.

The information contained within these appendices is for educational purposes only and should never be taken as legal advice.

Appendix A - Probation Fees

All information included in the chart below is current as of December 2021.

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Alabama	Intensive supervision: \$40/month or an amount not to exceed 25% of gross monthly income Ala. Code § 15-22-2; Ala. Code § 15-22-56	None identified in statute.
Alaska	No. of the second of the second of	None identified in statute.
Alaska	None identified in statute.	An agency supervisor reported that electronic monitoring fees may be charged while on probation.
Arizona	Mandatory monthly fee of not less than \$65, subject to ability to pay Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-901	Electronic monitoring for some offenses Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-902(G)
Arkansas	Monthly supervision fee of \$35 - \$50 Ark. Code Ann. § 16-93-104.	A public service work supervisory fee as set by local courts Ark. Code Ann. § 5-4-322
	None authorized in statute.	Domestic violence conviction programing and/or counseling fees Cal. Pen. § 1203.097(a)(5)(E).
California	(AB 1869, signed into law in 2020, removed previous authority to charge probation fees.)	"Batterer's Program" fees a sliding scale not to exceed \$250. Cal. Pen. § 1203.097(c)
Colorado	\$50 per month for the length of ordered probation Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 18-1.3-204	None identified in statute.
	A one time supervision fee of \$200	Electronic monitoring services not to exceed \$6 per day Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-30
Connecticut	Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. 53a-29(c)	Costs indidental to residence in community center or halfway house. Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-30

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Delaware	Flat fee of \$200 for each period of probation. Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 6504	Monthly payments for house arrest program Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 4332
Florida	The "court-ordered amount, but not to exceed the actual per diem cost of the supervision." Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09 Misdemeanor probation: not less than \$40 per month. Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09	For felonies: a "\$2-per-month surcharge to the department" Electronic monitoring "at a rate that may not exceed the full cost of the monitoring service in addition to the cost of supervision as directed by the sentencing court." Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09
Georgia	Monthly probation fee of \$23, plus a one-time fee of \$50 if convicted of any felony Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34	\$25 fee for DUI or possession of marijuana convictions Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34 Day reporting center fee not to exceed \$10 per day Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34
Hawaii	One-time \$150 for supervision more than 1 year; \$75 for one year or less Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 706-648	None identified in statute.
Idaho	Not more than \$75 per month to cover costs "including tests to determine drug and alcohol use, books and written materials to support rehabilitation efforts, and monitoring of physical location through the use of technology." Idaho Code Ann. § 20-225	" other costs and fees, including but not limited to electronic monitoring fees and other fees." Idaho Code Ann. § 31-3201D
Illinois	\$50 monthly 730 III. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/5-6-3.1	Reasonable fees for mandatory drug or alcohol testing and all costs for electronic monitoring 730 III. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/5-6-3.1
Indiana	For felonies, a \$25-\$100 one-time fee plus a \$15-\$30 monthly supervision fee. For misdemeanors, not more than \$50 as a one-time fee plus a \$10-\$20 monthly supervision fee. Ind. Code Ann. § 35-38-2-1	Costs of lab tests or series; an alcohol abuse deterrent fee and a medical fee set by the court; and administrative fee of \$100 for felonies and \$50 for misdemeanors separate and apart from supervision fees Ind. Code Ann. § 35-38-2-1

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Iowa	An enrollment fee of \$300 lowa Code Ann. § 905.14	Fees for drug and sobriety monitoring program lowa Code Ann. § 901D.6
Kansas	Misdemeanor correctional supervision fee: \$60 Felony supervision fee: \$120 Kan. Stat. Ann. § 21-6607	Costs of drug abuse assessment and treatment programming Kan. Stat. Ann. 75-52,144 House arrest program costs, which may include electronic monitoring and remote blood alcohol monitoring Kan. Stat. Ann. 21-6609
Kentucky	Felony supervision: not less than \$10/month while on active supervision but not more than \$2,500/year; Misdemeanor supervision: not less than \$10/month while on active supervision but not more than \$500/year Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315 Supervision of city or county adult misdemeanor probation/work release program shall be not less than \$100 nor more than \$500 per year. Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315	Drug and alcohol testing and analysis Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 533.030 Reasonable fee for monitoring device in the supervision and equipment usage Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.470
Louisiana	Monthly fee of not less than \$60 and not more than \$110, as well as an additional \$11 per month LA C.Cr.P. Art. 895.1 Additional one-time probation and parole processing fee of \$65 La. Stat. Ann. § 15:574.4.5 Unsupervised probation: monthly fee of not more than \$1 LA C.Cr.P. Art. 895.1	Drug testing and analysis; blood an saliva testing (for those convicted of sex offenses); psychological evaluations; all costs for the counseling or therapy; adult education or reading programming; and sex offender treatment fees LA C.Cr.P. Art. 895
Maine	A supervision fee of between \$10 and \$50 per month M.R.S 17-A § 1807 For administrative release, discretionary monthly administrative supervision fee not to exceed \$50 M.R.S. 17-A § 1854	Electornic monitoring fees and substance testing fees M.R.S. 17-A § 1807

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Maryland	Monthly fee of \$50 Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226	Court-ordered drug or alcohol abuse testing Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; MD Code, Correct'l Serv., § 7-702 Drinking Driver Monitor Program: \$75 monthly Md. Code Ann., Corr. Servs. § 6-115
Massachusetts	Monthly probation supervision fee of \$60, not including the first 6 months Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 276, § 87A Administrative supervised probation: \$45 per month, not including the first 6 months Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 276, § 87A	"probationers' victim services surcharge": \$5 per month Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 276, § 87A Certain drug and alcohol testing, assessments, and treatment fees Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 90 § 24D
Michigan	\$30 per month, not to exceed more than 60 months for supervision without electronic monitoring; \$60 per month, if including electronic monitoring Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 771.3c	No additional fees identified in statute.
Minnesota	DOC is authorized to set and enforce supervision fees. Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 A one-time supervision fee per case file of \$300 for each felony; \$200 for each gross misdemeanor, and \$100 for each misdemeanor. https://bit.ly/37ah0QY	Other court-ordered services Minn. Stat. Ann. § 244.18 Sex offender treatment program fees Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272
Mississippi	\$55.00 per month, not to exceed 10 years Miss. Code. Ann. § 47-7-49	In-patient drug or mental health treatment "shall not be at public expense," if it is in a private facility. Miss. Code Ann. § 47-7-47 \$10 for any postitive drug test Miss. Code Ann. § 47-5-605 Agency personnel report electronic monitoring costs are also charged in some cases.

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Missouri	Up to \$60 a month Mo. Ann. Stat. § 217.690 For misdemeanors: not less than \$30 or more than \$50 per month to the private entity providing supervision services, as set by the court. Mo. Ann. Stat. § 559.604	Drug education, treatment, and rehabilitation programs Mo. Ann. Stat. § 217.785 Electronic monitoring in adult abuse cases Mo. Ann. Stat. § 455.095
Montana	\$120 - \$360 a year, prorated at no less than \$10 a month Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031 Those on probation for misdemeanor domestic assault or violating a protective order must pay all probation supervision costs. Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1005	GPS monitoring: not more than \$4,000 a year Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1010; Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031 Drug and alchohol sobriety program fees Mont. Code Ann. § 44-4-1205
Nebraska	One-time administrative enrollment fee: \$30. Monthly probation programming fee: \$25 Montly intensive supervised probation fee: \$35 Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 29-2262.06	Fees for drug or alcohol tests, psychological evaluations, assessment screens, and rehabilitative services Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 29-2262
Nevada	Up to \$30 monthly Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 213.1076	"The court may order the person to participate in a program of probation secured by a surety bond" and "the court shall set the surety bond in an amount which, in the judgment of the court, will reasonably ensure the participation of the person in the program of probation." Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 176A.300 Surety bonds for probation shall cover the cost of a wide range of possible programming including drug and alcohol testing, mental health counseling, family counseling, educational courses, and the fees of the surety. Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 176A.310 Community service fee: "a reasonable sum of money to pay for the cost of policies of insurance against liability for personal injury and damage to property or for industrial insurance". Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 213.1076176.087

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
New Hampshire	Not less than \$40 per month, unless waived, and may be any greater amount as established by the court or board. N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13	The court may assess fees for parole services. For fees other than supevision fees, a collection service charges of 10% of the funds collected may be imposed. N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13
New Jersey	Monthly fee up to \$25 N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:45-1	Fees for any drug treatment program N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:35-14
New Mexico	The actual costs of probation service not exceeding \$1,800 annually to be paid in monthly installments of not less than \$25 and not more than one \$150 N.M. Stat. Ann. § 31-20-6 Misdemeanor county probation: \$15 - \$50 per month N. M. Stat. Ann. § 31-20-5.1	\$10 - \$100, to be paid in monthly installments at least \$5, to a local crime stopper program, a local domestic violence prevention or treatment program, or a local drug abuse resistance education program N.M. Stat. Ann. § 31-20-6
New York	Every county and the city of New York, may requiring local supervision and administrative fees of \$30 per month N.Y. Exec. Law § 257-c (McKinney)	None indicated in statute. However, a 2019 report by the New York State Comptroller explains, "While some [court-ordered probation] programs may be covered by Medicaid or private insurance, defendants are responsible for any out- of-pocket costs." https://on.nyc.gov/370sZ6k
North Carolina	\$40 per month N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1343	Fees and costs related to continuous alcohol monitoring are to be paid directly to the monitoring provider. N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1343.3 House arrest with electronic monitoring: \$90, plus a daily fee in an amount that reflects the actual cost of providing the electronic monitoring N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1343
North Dakota	Not less than \$55 per month N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 12.1-32-07	Community service fee: \$25 N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 29-26-22

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Ohio	Up to \$50 monthly Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2951.021	Community service fees to cover the costs of participation and liability insurance Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2951.02 Drug testing fees Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2951.05
Oklahoma	\$40.00 per month Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 22, § 991d	None indicated in statute.
Oregon	No probation supervision fees are authorized. (OR LEGIS 653 (2021), 2021 Oregon Laws Ch. 653 (S.B. 620), signed into law in 2021, removed previous authority to charge probation fees.) Probation officers are not permitted to collect any fees to offest the cost of supervision. Or. Stat. Ann. § 137.630	None indicated in statute.
Pennsylvania	At least \$25 monthly 37 Pa. Code § 68.2 & § 68.22; 18 Pa. Stat. Ann. § 11.1102	None indicated in statute, however some local court rules impose fees for substance abuse testing, assessment, and treatment; electronic monitoring; and any other theraputic programming. See, e.g., Pa R Washington Cty RCRP Rule L-711
Rhode Island	The DOC is authorized to impose a supervision fee in an amount that will substantially defray the cost of the community supervision program. 13 R.I. Gen. Laws Ann. § 13-8-32 The DOC has set supervision fees of \$20 per month and the fees are collected by a private company. https://bit.ly/3JEhQ5w	DOC charges an Electronic Monitoring fee of \$6 per day, which is collected through a private company. Fees may also be charged for any counseling or treatment ordered as part of supervision. https://bit.ly/3LXacEO
South Carolina	\$20 - \$100 per month. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80 Intensive supervision may be \$10 - \$30 each week for the duration of intensive supervision in lieu of the regular supervision fee. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80	Electronic monitoring fees authorized. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-85 Polygraphs fees authorized. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-87 Administrative monitoring: up to \$10 a month. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-100

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
South Dakota	The sentencing judge may assess costs as a condition of probation. S.D. Codified Laws § 23A-27-12.1	Court-ordered chemical dependency treatment are reimbursable to the county. S.D. Codified Laws §23A-27-18.3 Individuals are to pay associated costs and expenses for the "24/7 sobriety program, including: • Twice-a-day testing up to \$3 for each test S.D. Codified Laws§ 1-11-26 • Urinalysis testing up to \$10 for each test, plus full costs of tests if further analysis is needed S.D. Codified Laws § 1-11-27 • Drug patch fee up to \$50 for each drug patch S.D. Codified Laws § 1-11-28 • Electronic alcohol monitoring device or the use of a mobile breath alcohol testing up to \$10 per day with an installation fee and deactivation fee of not more than \$50 each S.D. Codified Laws § 1-11-29 • Cost of ignition interlock device installation and operation paid directly to the authorized vendor plus an enrollment fee of up to \$50 and monitoring fees up to \$20 at intervals to be set by the attorney general S.D. Codified Laws § 1-11-30
Tennessee	Probation supervised by DOC: \$15 per month Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201 In misdemeanors: between \$10 and \$45 per month Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-35-303	Electronic monitoring: \$30 per month not to exceed 10% of thier net income Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201 GPS monitoring for certain sexual offenses: cost as assessed by vendor, plus reasonable collections costs Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-39-302 & § 40-39-303 Counseling or treatment fees Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-35-303. Evaluations, treatment, and behavior management fees Tenn. Code Ann. § 39-13-705 Alcohol and drug assessment or treatment fees Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-35-303

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
Texas	\$25 - \$60 per month Tex. Code Crim. Proc. Ann. art 42A.652	Drug or alcohol rehabilitation fees Tex. Code Crim. Proc. Ann. art. 42A.402 Sex offender treatment, specialized supervision, or rehabilitation fees Tex. Code Crim. Proc. Ann. art.42A.452
Utah	\$30 per month Utah Code Ann. § 64-13-21	Home confinement electronic monitoring fees Utah Code Ann. § 77-18-107 Unless specifically authorized by statute, a defendant shall not be required to pay court costs in a criminal case as part of a sentence or probation. Utah Code Ann. § 77-18-116 (note: at least one supervision office reported that courts sometime order conditions that come with other additional costs.)
Vermont	\$30 per month Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 102	Residential treatment center programming fees as appropriate Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 254
Virginia	The state authorized to see fees for participating in local community-based probation services and supervision. Va. Code Ann. § 9.1-182 CCJB standards set a max flat "supervision and intervention" fee of \$150 for first 6 months, and \$25 if over 6 months; may be paid in installments. https://bit.ly/3jB9zVp	Local alcohol safety action program education and intervention not to exceed \$300 Va. Code Ann. § 19.2-299.2
Washington	Misdemeanor or gross misdemeanor: up to \$100 per month Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.95.214 For DOC supervision: \$400 - \$600 on each judgment and sentence imposed Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.780 DOC regs set the intake fee at \$475 per judgement: https://bit.ly/3EbtFPw	Fees for special programming under DOC supervision including electronic monitoring, day reporting, and telephone reporting Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.704 For locally supervised probation, electronic monitoring fees and fees for interlocal drug fund are authorized. Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.95.210

State	Probation Supervision Fees	Probation Programming Fees
West Virginia	Up to \$20 per month W. Va. Code Ann. § 62-12-9	Community corrections programming: up to \$35 per month plus a one- time \$10 fee. W. Va. Code Ann. § 62-11C-4 Home incarceration fee: \$2.50 per day W. Va. Code Ann. § 62-11C-4(c)
Wisonsin	DOC is authorized to set a "reasonable fee" for supervision. Wis. Stat. Ann. § 304.074 DOC regs allow for \$20, \$40,or \$60 per month, depending on the gross income of the person and their spouse. https://bit.ly/37hPhxF	Electronic monitoring fees. Wis. Stat. Ann. § 301.135 Contracted vendor may charge individuals directly for diagnostic services, evaluation, treatment, counseling, referral and information, day care, inpatient hospitalization, transportation, recreation, special education, vocational training, work adjustment, sheltered employment, special living arrangements and legal and protective services. Wis. Stat. Ann. §301.08(b)(1)&(3)
Wyoming	Intensive supervision fees are authorized. Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-1102	Substance abuse assessment fees Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-1302 24/7 Sobriety Program fees to be collected by the county sheriff. Wyo. Stat. Ann. §§ seq. 7-13-1704 to 7-13-1708. (For example, the Teton County Sheriff's department's 24/7 Sobriety program charges \$30 as an enrollment fee plus \$2 for each breathalyzer and \$10 for each drug test. https://bit.ly/3uCSu3C)

Appendix B — Parole Fees

At least 16 states have moved away from discretionary parole in favor of so-called "truth in sentencing" laws, which either require nearly all of a person's term of incarceration be served before they are released or have transitioned away from discretionary parole to some other "conditional release program" that revolves around strictly defined release criteria. Where possible, we have included parole fees for those states. In others, we have listed fees related to post-incarceration release, which may still exists in the form of supervised or conditional release. All information included in the chart below is current as of December 2021.

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Alabama	Intensive supervision: \$40/month or an amount not to exceed 25% of gross monthly income Ala. Code § 15-22-2; Ala. Code § 15-22-56	None identified in statute.
Alaska	None identified in statute.	Electronic Monitoring Alaska Stat. Ann. § 33.16.150(g) Substance use program Alaska Stat. Ann. § 33.16.150(h)
Arizona	"monthly supervision fee of not less than sixty-five dollars" Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 31-411(E)	Drug treatment Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 31-411.01(B)(1)
Arkansas	Monthly supervision fee of \$35 - \$50 Ark. Code Ann. § 16-93-104.	None identified in statute.
California	None authroized in statute. (AB 1869, signed into law in 2020, removed previous authority to charge parole fees.)	Mandatory electronic monitoring fee for sex offenses Cal. Pen. § 3000.07
Colorado	"reasonable" costs of supervision Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17-2-201. In practice, there is a standard parole fee of \$10/month. https://bit.ly/3xnTZVh	Fees for random chemical tests, drug or alcohol program, community correctional nonresidential program, mental health program, or other fee-based or non-fee-based treatment program approved by the parole board Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17-2-201

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Connecticut	None identified in statute.	Costs incidental to residence in community center or halfway house Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 54-125 & 54-125a Cost of confirmatory drug analysis when challenging positive drug test results Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann.§ 54-125f
Delaware	None identified in statute.	Monthly payments for house arrest program Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 4347
Florida	The "court-ordered amount, but not to exceed the actual per diem cost of the supervision." Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09 Each individual Circuit appears to set it's own rules e.g., the 9th Circuit imposes \$20/month if none was set by individual judges: https://bit.ly/3vn7Mca	For felonies: a "\$2-per-month surcharge to the department." Electronic monitoring "at a rate that may not exceed the full cost of the monitoring service in addition to the cost of supervision as directed by the sentencing court." Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09
Georgia	None identified in statute.	A "reasonable fee" to providers of ordered treatment or services Ga. Code Ann. § 42-9-21
Hawaii	None identified in statute.	Reasonable fees, not less than the actual and administrative costs, to cover: (1) Any drug test; and (2) Any assessment of the person Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 353G-10
ldaho	Not more than \$75 per month to cover costs "including tests to determine drug and alcohol use, books and written materials to support rehabilitation efforts, and monitoring of physical location through the use of technology." Idaho Code Ann. § 20-225	Drug and alcohol tests shall be paid for by the person on parole. Idaho Code Ann. § 19-2608 Agency personnel report that those convicted of sex offenses may be required to pay for all required treatments and yearly polygraph testing, which may range from \$250-275.
Illinois	None identified in statute.	None identified in statute.

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Indiana	None identified in statute.	Fee for laboratory chemical tests Ind. Code Ann. § 11-13-3-4 Fees for participation in a treatment or other program required as a condition of parole. Ind. Code Ann. § 11-13-3-4
Iowa	An enrollment fee of \$300 lowa Code Ann. § 905.14	None identified in statute.
Kansas	A supervision service fee not to exceed \$30.00 per month Kan. Admin. Reg. §44-5-115	Fees for transportation expenses for interstate warrant return for violation of condition of probation, parole, conditional release or post-release supervision Kan. Stat. Ann. § 22-3717 \$100 administrative fee (for defense counsel) Kan. Stat. Ann. § 22-3717 Cost of electronic monitoring. Kan. Stat. Ann. § 22-3717
Kentucky	Felony supervision: not less than \$10/month while on active supervision but not more than \$2,500/year Misdemeanor supervision: not less than \$10/month while on active supervision but not more than \$500/year Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315	Reasonable fee for monitoring device in the supervision and equipment usage Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.470
Louisiana	Montly supervision fee not to exceed \$63 La. Stat. Ann. §15:574.4.2 Additional one-time probation and parole processing fee of \$65 La. Stat. Ann. § 15:574.4.5	Drug testing and screening; certain psychological counseling; GED or other educational programming; and pre-release STD testing La. Stat. Ann. §15:574.4.2
Maine	None identified in statute. None identified in statute.	
Maryland	Monthly fee of \$50 Md. Code Ann. , Correct'l Serv., § 7-702	Court-ordered drug or alcohol abuse testing. Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; MD Code, Correct'l Serv., § 7-702 Drinking Driver Monitor Program: \$75 monthly. Md. Code Ann., Correct'l Serv.§ 6-115

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Massachusetts	A supervision and rehabilitation fee is authorized. Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. 127 § 133D The state's Parole Division sets a monthly "supervision and victim services surcharge" of \$80. https://bit.ly/3JCAwCD	GPS monitors for those on parole for life or for a sex offense Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. 127 § 133D 1/2
Michigan	\$30 per month, not to exceed more than 60 months for supervision without electronic monitoring; \$60 per month, if including electronic monitoring Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 791.236a	No additional fees identified in statute.
Minnesota	DOC is authorized to set and enforce supervision fees. Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 A one-time supervision fee per case file of \$300 for each felony; \$200 for each gross misdemanor, and \$100 for each misdemeanor. https://bit.ly/3E8VGas	Other court-ordered services Minn. Stat. Ann. § 244.18 Sex offender treatment program fees Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272
Mississippi	\$55.00 per month, not to exceed 10 years Miss. Code. Ann. § 47-7-49	\$10 for any positive drug test Miss. Code Ann. § 47-5-605 Agency personnel report electronic monitoring costs are also charged in some cases.
Missouri	Up to \$60 a month Mo. Ann. Stat. §217.690	A reasonable fee for post-conviction drug education, treatment and rehabilitation programs may be assessed Mo. Ann. Stat. § 217.785
Montana	\$120 - \$360 a year, prorated at no less than \$10 a month Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031	GPS monitoring: not more than \$4,000 a year Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1010; Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031
Nebraska	\$25 monthly Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 83-1,107.01	No additional parole fees identified in statute.
Nevada	Up to \$30 monthly Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 213.1076	Electronic monitoring fee in certain sex offenses Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 213.1076

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
New Hampshire	Not less than \$40 per month, unless waived, and may be any greater amount as established by the court or board N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13	The court may assess fees for parole services. For fees other than supevision fees, a collection service charge of 10% of the funds collected may be imposed. N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13
New Jersey	The state is required to pay for the parole system. N.J. Stat. Ann. § 30:4-121	None indicated in statute.
New Mexico	The actual costs of parole services not exceeding \$1,800 annually to be paid in monthly installments of not less than \$25 and not more than one \$150 N.M. Stat. Ann. § 31-21-10	None indicated in statute.
New York	\$35 monthly N.Y. Corr. § 201	None indicated in statute.
North Carolina	\$40 per month N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1374	\$250 to participate in the community service provided by the program staff N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 143B-708 Cost of any required proof that person is alcohol free N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1374(b)(8a) & (d).
North Dakota	Statute gives the Parole Board authority to set all conditions of parole. N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 12-59-07 One standard condition of parole includes an agreement that the person "shall pay a \$45 monthly supervision fee which is due on the first of every month." https://bit.ly/3E8ZB74	Actual cost of electronic monitoring, plus an administration fee up to \$5 per day N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 12-67-03
Ohio	The department is authorized to assess supervision fees. Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 5120.56(D)(5) Regulations set the supervision fee at \$20 per month. Ohio A.D.C. 5120:1-1-02	Costs of random drug testing Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2967.131

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Oklahoma	\$40.00 per month Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 22, § 991d	None indicated in statute.
Oregon	No parole supervision are fees authorized. (OR LEGIS 653 (2021), 2021 Oregon Laws Ch. 653 (S.B. 620) removed previous authority to charge parole fees.)	None indicated in statute.
Pennsylvania	At least \$25 monthly 37 Pa. Code § 68.2; 18 Pa. Stat. Ann. § 11.1102 Authors found fees as high as \$30 per month being imposed.	Fees for drug and alcohol testing, assessment, and treatment 18 Pa. Stat. Ann. § 3815
Rhode Island	The DOC is authorized to impose a supervision fee in an amount that will substantially defray the cost of the community supervision program. 13 R.I. Gen. Laws Ann. § 13-8-32 The DOC has seet supervision fees of \$20 per month and the fees are collected by a private company. https://bit.ly/3LZTwg3	DOC charges an Electronic Monitoring fee of \$6 per day, which is collected through a private company. Fees may also be charged for any counseling or treatment ordered as part of supervision. https://bit.ly/3jCaRzy
South Carolina	\$20 - \$100 per month S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80 Intensive supervision may be \$10 - \$30 each week for the duration of intensive supervision in lieu of the regular supervision fee. S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80	Electronic monitoring fees authorized S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-85 Polygraphs fees authorized S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-87 Administrative monitoring: up to \$10 a month S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-100
South Dakota	The DOC may establish supervision fee rates. S.D. Codified Laws § 24-15-11.3 Regular supervision: \$20 per month. Intensive supervision: \$25 per month. https://bit.ly/3rqrGS9	24/7 sobriety program fee of up to \$3 per day S.D. Codified Laws § 1-11-32

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Tennessee	\$15 per month Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201	Electronic monitoring: \$30.00 per month, not to exceed 10% of the person's net income Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201 Criminal injuries compensation fund: \$30.00 for each month while under supervision, not to exceed 10% of the offender's net income Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201 GPS monitoring: reasonable collections costs set by and paid directly to the vendor Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-39-302 & § 40-39-303
Texas	Monthly parole supervision fee of \$10 and an administrative fee of \$8 Tex. Gov't Code Ann. § 508.182	Monthly fee for certain sex offenses: \$5 Tex. Gov't Code Ann. §508.189
Utah	\$30 per month Utah Code Ann. § 64-13-21	Unless specifically authorized by statute, a defendant shall not be required to pay court costs in a criminal case as part of a sentence or probation. Utah Code Ann. § 77-18-116 (Note: at least one supervision office reported that courts sometime order conditions that come with other additional costs.)
Vermont	\$30 per month Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 102	Outpatient counseling and treatment fees Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 403 Residential treatment center programming fees, as appropriate Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 502b
Virginia	\$50 fee as a condition of parole Va. Code Ann. § 53.1-150	Substance abuse treatment fees based upon an ability to pay Va. Code Ann. § 53.1-150.1

State	Parole Supervision Fees	Parole Programming Fees
Washington	Supervision fee assessment and intake authorized from \$400 - \$600 on each judgment and sentence imposed. Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.704; Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 72.04A.120; Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.780 DOC regs set the intake fee at \$475 per judgement: https://bit.ly/3KBgRUW	Fees for special programming including electronic monitoring, day reporting, and telephone reporting Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.704
West Virginia	Up to \$40 per month W. Va. Code Ann. § 62-12-17	None indicated in statute.
Wisconsin	DOC is authorized to set a "reasonable fee" for supervision. Wis. Stat. Ann. § 304.074 DOC regs allow for \$20, \$40,or \$60 per month, depending on the gross income of the person and their spouse. https://bit.ly/3rpQZ6P	Electronic monitoring fees Wis. Stat. Ann. § 301.135 Contracted vendor may charge individuals directly for diagnostic services, evaluation, treatment, counseling, referral and information, day care, inpatient hospitalization, transportation, recreation, special education, vocational training, work adjustment, sheltered employment, special living arrangements and legal and protective services. Wis. Stat. Ann. §301.08(b)(1)&(3).
Wyoming	Intensive parole superivsion fees may be required. Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-421	Fees for evaluations, treatment, services, programs or assistance the person receives Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-421 Intensive supervision program fees for electronic monitoring, regimented daily schedules or itineraries, house arrest, telephone contact, drug testing, curfew checks or other supervision methods which facilitate contact with supervisory personnel; community service work, family, educational or vocational counseling, cognitive-behavioral programming to address criminal thinking, and treatment for substance abuse, mental health treatment to be paid by participants Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-1102

Appendix C — Consequences for Failure to Pay Probation or Parole Fees

All information included in the chart below is current as of March 2022.

Consequences for Failure to Pay Probation or Parole Fees	Status Label Defined
Revocation Possible	Statutes explicitly make payment of these fees a condition of the supervision or explicitly state that failure to pay the fee could be ground for such sanction under some circumstances.
Revocation Not Possible	Statutes either prohibit revocation and/or extension of supervision for failure to pay these fees or prohibits such sanctions if failure to pay is the sole violation.
Unclear	While every state has statutes allowing for probation or parole revocation for failing to adhere to certain conditions of release, fees are not explicitly listed as conditions of probation or parole. However, it is possible that some may find the statutes broad enough to allow for revocation or extension of supervision, even if not explicitly.
Non-criminal responses	Statutes define a non-criminal sanction for failing to pay supervision-related fees, which typically include some level of civil enforcement, and are silent on whether unpaid fees are grounds for revocation.

State	Failure to Pay PROBATION FEES	Failure to Pay PAROLE FEES
Alabama	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Alaska	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Arizona	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Arkansas	Unclear	Revocation Possible
California	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Colorado	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Connecticut	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Delaware	Revocation Possible	Unclear
Florida	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Georgia	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Hawaii	Revocation Possible	Unclear
Idaho	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Illinois	Revocation Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Indiana	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Iowa	Unclear	Unclear
Kansas	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Kentucky	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible

State	Failure to Pay PROBATION FEES	Failure to Pay PAROLE FEES
Louisiana	Revocation Not Possible	Non-criminal responses
Maine	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Maryland	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Massachusetts	Non-criminal responses	Revocation Possible
Michigan	Revocation Possible	Non-criminal responses
Minnesota	Non-criminal responses	Non-criminal responses
Mississippi	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Missouri	Non-criminal responses	Unclear
Montana	Unclear	Unclear
Nebraska	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Nevada	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Possible
New Hampshire	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
New Jersey	Revocation Possible	Revocation Not Possible
New Mexico	Unclear	Revocation Possible
New York	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
North Carolina	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
North Dakota	Non-criminal responses	Unclear

State	Failure to Pay PROBATION FEES	Failure to Pay PAROLE FEES
Ohio	Revocation Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Oklahoma	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Oregon	Revocation Not Possible	Revocation Not Possible
Pennsylvania	Unclear	Unclear
Rhode Island	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
South Carolina	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
South Dakota	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Tennessee	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Texas	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Utah	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Vermont	Unclear	Revocation Possible
Virginia	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Washington	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
West Virginia	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible
Wisconsin	Non-criminal responses	Non-criminal responses
Wyoming	Revocation Possible	Revocation Possible

Endnotes

¹ At the end of 2019, 4,357,700 people were on probation or parole in the United States. *Probation and Parole in the United States*, *2019*, Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, published July 2021: https://bjs.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh236/files/media/document/ppus19.pdf. The estimated population of the United States was 328,239,523 at the end of 2019. U.S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219.

² Although probation departments in many jurisdictions also supervise pretrial release conditions for those who have a pending case, probation is a sentence of supervision after conviction. Fees are often imposed as part of pretrial supervision, but those fees are beyond the scope of this document.

³ Ronald Corbett. "The Burdens of Leniency: The Changing Face of Probation" 99 U. Minn. L. Rev. 1697, 1709 (2015) (noting that in a sample of state probation contracts, the author found a low of seven conditions and a high of twenty-four, with an average in the mid-teens.)

⁴ The Pew Charitable Trusts, *States Can Shorten Probation and Protect Public Safety*, p 1., December 2020 and updated April 2021. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2020/12/states-can-shorten-probation-and-protect-public-safety, (noting that average lengths of probation vary greatly by state, ranging from a low of 9 months in Kansas to a high of nearly 5 years in Hawaii.)

⁵ Id. at 18.(noting that in some states probation may even be extended beyond statutory maximums for the underlying offense).

⁶ Dale Parent, *Recovering Correctional Costs through Fees*, Nat'l Institute for Justice (1990) 1. 2021, https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1988?amount=85000000.

⁷ Mack Finkel, *New data: Low incomes – but high fees – for people on probation*, Prison Policy Initiative, 2019 at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2019/04/09/probation_income/

⁸ Michael Menendez, et. al., *The Steep Costs of Criminal Justice Fees and Fines*, The Brennan Center for Justice (2019) p. 5, https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2019-10_Fees%26Fines_Final5.pdf; Stephanie Campos-Bui, et. al, *Making Families Pay: The Harmful*,

Unlawful, and Costly Practice of Charging Juvenile Administrative Fees in California (March 20, 2017). UC Berkeley Public Law Research Paper, pp 17-18, Available at: https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2937534.

⁹ See Ella Baker Ctr. for Human Rts. et al., Who Pays? The True Cost of Incarceration on Families, 13–14 (Sept. 2015), http://whopaysreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Who-Pays-

FINAL.pdf (outlining how families of poor offenders often take out loans and make risky financial choices in order to help loved ones pay court-related debt); Council of Econ. Advisors, Fines, Fees, and Bail:

Payments in the Criminal Justice System that Disprepartionately Impact the Poor 1 (Dec. 2015)

Payments in the Criminal Justice System that Disproportionately Impact the Poor, 1 (Dec. 2015), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/page/files/1215_cea_fine_fee_bail_issue

_brief.pdf (finding that costs place "large burdens on poor offenders who are unable to pay criminal justice debts."); Alexes Harris et al., *Drawing Blood from Stones: Legal Debt and Social Inequality in the Contemporary United States*, 115 Am. J. of Socio. 1753, 1770–71 (2010) ("Millions of mainly poor people living in the United States have been assessed monetary sanctions by the courts.").:

¹⁰ Jake Horowitz & Connie Utada. *Community Supervision Marked by Racial and Gender Disparities*, Pew Charitable Trusts (2018) available at: https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/articles/2018/12/06/community-supervision-marked-by-racial-and-gender-disparities (noting that federal statistics on rates of supervision for Hispanics was complicated by lack of reporting on ethnicity by

many states).

¹¹ See, e,g, Fiona Doherty, Obey All Laws and Be Good: Probation and the Meaning of Recidivism, 104 Geo. L.J. 291, 314 (2016).

¹² Sharon Brett, Neda Khoshkhoo, and Mitali Nagrecha, *Paying on Probation: How Financial Sanctions Intersect with Probation to Target, Trap, and Punish People Who Cannot Pay*, Harvard Law School Criminal Justice Policy Program (2020) 11-12 [hereafter, *Paying on Probation*].

¹³ Beard v. Georgia, 461 U.S. 660 (1983) (finding it unconstitutional to incarcerate a person for nonpayment unless the person has the means to pay and is simply unwilling to do so).

¹⁴ Federal Reserve Board, *Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2019* (May 2020) available at https://www.federalreserve.gov/publications/2020-economic-well-being-of-us-households-in-2019-dealing-with-unexpected-expenses.htm (noting that even pre-pandemic, 16% of adults could not meet monthly bills and another 12% would be unable to pay their current bills if faced with \$400 in unexpected expenses.)

¹⁵ Tyler Giles, *The (Non)Economics of Criminal Fines and Fees* (2021) available at https://sites.google.com/view/tylergiles/research?authuser=0, working paper (finding that a new fee of \$200 on all misdemeanor convictions in Milwaukee, WI increased the overall likelihood of re-offense within two years); Rebecca Goldstein, Michael W. Sances, & Hye Young You, "Exploitative Revenues, Law Enforcement, and the Quality of Government Services," *Urban Affairs Review*, 1-27,4-5 & 17. (finding that a

1% increase in the shares of fines and fees a police department gets is associated with a 6.1 percentage point drop in clearance rates for violent crimes.).

¹⁶ This includes Rhode Island, which does not explicitly authorize a probation supervision fee through statute, but which authorizes the Department of Corrections to impose "appropriate eligibility criteria and conditions" when a person is ordered to be on probation. According to the Department's Probation and Parole FAQ on its website, it imposes a monthly probation supervision fee of \$20. http://www.doc.ri.gov/community-corrections/probation-parole/faq.php)

¹⁷ Several states' statutes set a maximum monthly cost without setting a minimum, and thus could conceivably go below \$10 per month, but of those that set a minimum or gave ranges, \$10 was the lowest. See, e.g., Me. Rev. Stat. 17-A § 1807; Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031.

¹⁸ Kentucky authorizes monthly fees but caps the annual collection rate at \$2,500 in felony cases, which comes to a maximum charge of \$208.33 per month. Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315

¹⁹ These additional fees can range from \$25 – \$600, depending on the state and the charges. Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34(d)(1)&(2) (authorizing a one-time probation fee of \$25 for certain misdemeanors and \$50 for felonies, in addition to monthly supervision costs); Ind. Code Ann. § 35-38-2-1 (authorizing from \$25-\$100 as an additional flat fee for felonies and up to \$50 for misdemeanors); La. Stat. Ann. § 15:574.4.5 (authorizing a one-time flat fee of \$65 on top of monthly supervision charges); Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 29-2262.06 (authorizing a one-time fee of \$30 in addition to monthly supervision charges); Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.94A.780 (authorizing an additional flat fee up to \$600).

²⁰ Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. 53a-29(c) (imposing a one-time fee of \$200); Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 6504 (setting a fixed fee of \$200 per probation period); Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 706-648 (imposing a fee of \$75 on probation less than one year and \$150 on probation longer than one year); Iowa Code Ann. § 905.14 (imposing a probation enrollment fee of \$300); Kan. Stat. Ann. § 21-6607 (imposing a supervision fee of \$60 for misdemeanors and \$120 for felonies); Va. Code Ann. § 9.1-182(D) (requiring the Department of Criminal Justice Services to establish a statewide probation supervision fee, which the Department has set as a flat fee of \$150 for the first six months of probation, plus an additional flat fee \$25 if probation exceeds six months: https://bit.ly/3KW8HGq; Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 6-10-102 (setting an "automation fee" of \$40 on all cases that result in probation).

²¹ Minnesota's statutes allow local supervision agencies to determine a "reasonable" amount, Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 and § 244.18, but in practice, the Department of Corrections has set statewide guidelines for flat fees ranging from \$100-\$300 depending on the level of the offense, see Letter from Department to State Sen. Warren Limmer dated Jan. 16, 2018, https://bit.ly/3immM3R; South Dakota's statute places parameters on court regarding the assessment of costs but does not set any specific amounts. S.D. Codified Laws § 23A-27-12.1.

²² The Alaska Department of Corrections, Division of Pretrial, Probation, and Parole responded to an inquiry from the Fines and Fees Justice Center in November 2021 confirming no supervision fee was imposed but acknowledging that fees for electronic monitoring, if in place, may apply.

²³ Paying on Probation, supra note 12, 11-12.

²⁴ See, e.g., Idaho Code Ann. § 19-2608; 730 III. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/5-6-3.1; Ind. Code Ann. § 35-38-2-1; Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; and Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 29-2262.

²⁵ Tenn. Code Ann. 40-35-303(i)(2); Miss. Code Ann. § 47-7-47(4).

²⁶ See, e.g., Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34 (authorizing a \$10 per day fee for daily reporting centers); La. Code Crim. Proc. Ann. art. 895 (requiring those who test below a 6th grade reading level to take adult education reading classes as a condition of probation); S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-87 (authorizing charging fees for "maintenance polygraph" services).

²⁷ See, e.g., Ark. Code Ann. § 5-4-322; Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2951.02; N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 29-26-22.
 ²⁸ See, e.g., Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-902; Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-30; Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.470; N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1343; Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201

²⁹ See, e.g., Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 276, § 87A; Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-24-107

³⁰ See, e.g., N.M. Stat. Ann. § 31-20-6.

³¹ Paying on Probation, supra note 12, 11-12.

³² Bearden v. Georgia, 461 U.S. 660 (1983).

33 Ala. Code § 15-22-2; Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-915; CO ST § 16-11-206; Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 6504; Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09; Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-102 & Ga. Code Ann. § 42-8-34; Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 706-644 & Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 706-644; Idaho Code Ann. § 20-225; 730 III. Comp. Stat. Ann. 5/5-6-4; KS ST 22-3425 & KS ST 22-3716; Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. 533.050. & Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315; Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 771.3 & Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 791.225a; Miss Code Ann § 47-7-49; MO ST § 559.100; Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 29-2262.06; N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13; N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:45-3; N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1345; Ohio Rev Code Ann § 2951.021 (providing for possible revocation and civil remedies); Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 22, § 991b; RI ST § 12-19-8.1; S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80; S.D. Codified Laws § 23A-27-25.4; Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201 & Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-35-303; UT ST § 77-18-108 & § 64-13-21; Va. Code Ann. § 19.2-305 & Va. Code Ann. § 19.2-306; RCW 9.95.220; W. Va. Code Ann. § 62-12-10; WY ST § 7-13-305.

³⁴ Alaska, California, and Oregon do not charge probation supervision fees; Ind. Code Ann. § 35-38-2-3; La. Code Crim. Proc. Ann. art. 894.4; ME ST T. 17-A § 1807; Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. 176A.630; N.Y. Exec. Law § 257-c (McKinney).

³⁵ Arkansas, Iowa, Montana, New Mexico, and Vermont have statutes allowing for these fees, they are unclear whether failure to pay may constitute revocation. Also, see 37 Pa Code § 68.22 (which requires the agency responsible for supervision to inform those on probation about what failures could result in revocation but doesn't define them. FFJC is aware that some courts do revoke for nonpayment in practice). ³⁶ Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 276, § 87A (may require unpaid community service of not more than 4 hours per month of probation supervision if person is unable to pay); Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 & Minn. Stat. Ann. § 244.18 (may use any available civil means of debt collection); N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 12.1-32-07 (converting unpaid fees to a civil judgment); Wis. Stat. Ann.

§ 304.074 (payment may be enforced through civil action).

At the person's request, the authors are using a pseudonym to protect this individual's anonymity.
 Ebony Ruhland (2021) It's all about the money: an exploration of probation fees, Corrections, 6:1, 65-84,
 DOI: 10.1080/23774657.2018.1564635; K. Beckett & A. Harris, On cash and conviction: Monetary Sanctions as misguided policy. Criminology & Public Policy, 10(3), (2011) 505-507.
 See, Jorge Renaud, Grading the Parole Release Systems of All 50 States, National Prison Project, 2019

See, Jorge Renaud, Grading the Parole Release Systems of All 50 States, National Prison Project, 2019 (citing research by the Robina Institute for Criminal Law and Criminal Justice https://bit.ly/36uqTbj)
 Dale Parent, Recovering Correctional Costs Through Offender Fees, 59, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Nat'l Institute of Justice, 6 (1990) (finding only 15 states that statutorily authorized the imposition of parole supervision fees in 1990).

⁴¹ This includes North Dakota, which grants the parole authority the ability to release anyone it feels will conform to the conditions the agency may establish, though the statute is silent on costs. N.D. Cent. Code Ann. § 12-59-07. The Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation imposes a \$45 monthly supervision fee as one of its standard conditions of parole. See Alexis Lee Watts, et. al, *Profiles in Parole Release and Revocation: Examining the Legal Framework in the United States: North Dakota*, 6, Robina Institute of Criminal Law and Criminal Justice (2019).

⁴² See, e.g., Tex. Code Ann. § 508.182; Mont. Code Ann. § 46-23-1031. See also, Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17-2-201 (authorizing "reasonable" parole fees) and Letter from Juliann Jenson, Research Analyst, Colorado Legislative Council Staff, dated October 9, 2020 https://leg.colorado.gov/sites/default/files/r19-1293_fines_and_fees_in_the_criminal_justice_system_with_attachments.pdf (outlining a \$10 monthly payment for parole supervision, without citing a source).

⁴³ Kentucky authorizes monthly fees for parole just as it does for probation but caps the annual collection rate at \$2,500 in felony cases, which comes to a maximum charge of \$208.33 per month. Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315

⁴⁴ Minnesota's statutes allow local supervision agencies to determine a "reasonable" amount, Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 and Minn. Stat. Ann. § 244.18, but in practice, the Department of Corrections has set a statewide guidelines for flat fees ranging from \$100-\$300 depending on the level of the offense, see Letter from Department to State Sen. Warren Limmer supra note 21; lowa Code Ann. § 905.14 (setting an enrollment fee of \$300); Va. Code Ann. § 53.1-150 (setting a \$50 payment for those on parole); Washington Dept. of Correction Policy No. 200.380, sec. IV(B), sets a parole supervision intake assessment fee at \$475, https://doc.wa.gov/information/policies/showFile.aspx?name=200380

⁴⁵ Florida's statute provides that those placed on community-based supervision following a term of incarceration must "pay the department a total sum of money equal to the total month or portion of a month of supervision ... but not to exceed the actual per diem cost of the supervision." Fla. Stat. Ann. §984.09. In at least some jurisdictions within Florida, the court has set the parameters for supervision by the Department of Corrections Probation and Parole Services. For example, in Florida's Ninth District, an administrative order sets a default of \$20 per month when the judge does not set a different cost. Administrative Order 07-94-10, Circuit Court of the Ninth Judicial Circuit. It is unclear how circuits without such guidance determine parole or conditional release supervision cost and payment schedules.

⁴⁶ In Florida, parole was effectively eliminated with the institution of new sentencing guidelines, though many of those sentenced prior to 1983 may still be eligible for parole. Florida now also has "conditional release," which is mandatory post-prison supervision for inmates who are sentenced for certain offenses. Unlike parole, conditional release is not discretionary release. For more information, see the Florida Commission on Offender Review website: https://www.fcor.state.fl.us/postrelease.shtml.

⁴⁷ Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 4347 (providing that those on the "house arrest program" must pay a regular payment toward sustaining the program).
 ⁴⁸ Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-421 (providing that the costs or partial costs of intensive parole supervision shall be

⁴⁸ Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-421 (providing that the costs or partial costs of intensive parole supervision shall be charged to those in the program).

⁴⁹ CA Penal § 1203.1e, repealed by Stats.2020, c. 92 (A.B.1869), § 52, operative July 1, 2021; OR LEGIS 653 (2021), 2021 Oregon Laws Ch. 653 (S.B. 620)).

⁵⁰ FFJC made outreach to parole agencies in each of these states. Staff at the parole agencies in Alaska, Hawaii, and Indiana confirmed that no parole supervision fees were charged in practice. We did not receive responses from agencies in Connecticut and Georgia.

⁵¹ N.J. Stat. Ann. § 30:4-121.

⁵² See, e.g., Alaska Stat. Ann. § 33.16.150; Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 353G-10; Ga. Code Ann. § 42-9-21 Ind. Code Ann. § 11-13-3-4.

⁵³ See, e.g., Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 31-411; Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17-2-201; Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 353G-10.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 28, § 403.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 143B-708.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Ga. Code Ann. § 42-9-21; Ind. Code Ann. § 11-13-3-4; Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 7-13-421.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-30; N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Alaska Stat. Ann. § 33.16.150; Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-30; Kan. Stat. Ann. § 22-3717 ⁵⁹ Ebony L. Ruhland, et al., *The Continuing Leverage of Releasing Authorities: Findings from a National Survey*, Robina Institute of Criminal Law and Criminal Justice (2016). p. 36.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Kan. Stat. Ann. § 22-3717.

⁶² Bearden v. Georgia, 461 U.S. 660 (1983).

⁶³ Ala. Code § 15-22-2; Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 31-415; Ark. Code Ann. § 16-93-104; Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 17-2-103; Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 54-124a(j)(1)(i); Fla. Stat. Ann. § 948.09; Ga. Code Ann. § 42-9-44; Idaho Code Ann. § 20-225; Kan. Stat. Ann. 75-5217; Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 439.315 & §533.050; Md. Code Ann., Crim. Proc. § 6-226; Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 127, § 145; Miss. Code Ann § 47-7-49; Neb. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 83-1,107.01; Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 213.1076; N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 504-A:13; N.M. Stat. Ann. § 31-21-14 (New Mexico's Department of Corrections' website indicates it considers supervision fees a condition of parole, and thus covered by this statute); N.C. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 15A-1376; Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 22, § 991b & § 991d; R.I. ST § 13-8-18; S.C. Code Ann. § 24-21-80; S.D. ST § 24-15A-28; Tenn. Code Ann. § 40-28-201; Tex. Gov't Code Ann. § 508.182; Utah Code Ann. § 77-27-11 & § 64-13-21; Vt. Code Ann. 28 § 552; Va. Code Ann. § 53.1-165; Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 72.04A.120 & § 72.04A.090; W. Va. Code Ann § 62-12-19; Wyo. Code Ann. § 7-13-408.

⁶⁴ Alaska, Indiana, Ohio, and New York have statute explicitly stating that failure to pay parole fees cannot constitute a revocable act. (Alaska Stat. Ann. § 33.16.220; Ind. Code Ann. § 11-13-3-4; Ohio ADC 5120:1-1-02; N.Y. Exec. § 259-I (McKinney's)). California, Illinois, Maine, New Jersey, and Oregon do not have statutes authorizing parole fees.

⁶⁵ While Delaware and Hawaii do not charge parole supervision fees, the statutes are unclear whether failure to pay a required fee for a parole program may result in revocation. lowa's statutes are unclear as to whether parole fees are conditions of parole upon which revocation may be predicated. Mo. Code § 217.690 (parole board may "sanction supervisees" without defining what sanctions are possible); Montana statutes allow for parole supervision and programming fees but are unclear whether failure to pay may constitute a revocable violation); North Dakota's Department of Corrections is responsible for rules of payment with regard to parole, but it is unclear whether failure to pay a fee is grounds for revocation under the state's statutes); 37 Pa Code § 68.22 (requires the agency responsible for supervision to inform those on probation about what failures could result in revocation but doesn't define them).

⁶⁶ La. Stat. Ann. § 47:299.21 (past due payments may be drawn from state tax refunds); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 791.236a (unpaid parole fees shall be waived, where possible, and outstanding balance may be pursued through intercepting tax refunds); Minn. Stat. Ann. § 241.272 & Minn. Stat. Ann. § 244.18 (may use any available civil means of debt collection); Wis. Stat. Ann. § 304.074 (payment may be enforced through civil action).

⁶⁷ Morrissey v. Brewer, 408 U.S. 471 (1972).

⁶⁸ Ebony L. Ruhland, et al., *The Continuing Leverage of Releasing Authorities: Findings from a National Survey*, Robina Institute of Criminal Law and Criminal Justice (2016). p.38.