RESOURCE GUIDE: REFORMING THE ASSESSMENT AND ENFORCEMENT OF FINES AND FEES
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Overview ......................................................................................................................... 2
- 1. Backgrounders ........................................................................................................... 4
- 2. Case Studies ............................................................................................................... 7
- 3. Issue Studies .............................................................................................................. 11
- 4. Reform Guidance ...................................................................................................... 13
- 5. Reform Tools ............................................................................................................ 14

U.S. Department of Justice Disclaimer. This project was supported by Contract No GS-23F-9755H awarded by the Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice to Booz Allen Hamilton, and its partners: the Institute for Intergovernmental Research and CNA. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.
OVERVIEW

Justice system reform has captured the attention of the American public. While the discussion generally has focused on sentencing policies, police accountability, and reentry, recent efforts by state court judges, court administrators, and advocates have brought attention to a less-examined but equally significant issue: the harmful effects of assessing and enforcing fines and fees in an arbitrary or discriminatory manner. Most of these fines and fees are imposed for minor matters such as traffic infractions or municipal code violations, and many are imposed by the over 6,500 municipal or local courts in the United States.

Justice systems – traditionally funded primarily from a jurisdiction’s general tax revenues – have come to rely increasingly on funds generated from the collection of fines and fees, or “legal financial obligations” (LFOs). In some places, justice systems have been transformed into revenue centers that pay for even a jurisdiction’s non-justice-related government operations. The U.S. Department of Justice addressed an example in a report of its investigation into the practices of the Ferguson, Missouri police department and municipal courts. Ferguson is not unique; similar problems exist throughout the country.

The effect of LFOs on individuals, their families, and our communities can be devastating. In isolation, an individual fine or fee may appear insignificant, but for many people, paying a fine that, together with associated fees and assessments, can easily exceed several hundred dollars can be challenging. And the obligations can easily and rapidly add up. For example, a person ticketed for a municipal violation who cannot afford to pay the original fine can be charged late payment fees and compounding interest and be subjected to further consequences such as wage garnishment or driver’s license revocation. The accumulation of obligations can result in hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars of debt. Moreover, some local and state courts across the United States also employ LFO collection practices that are not only unwise and harmful, but also unconstitutional. In certain jurisdictions, courts have routinely incarcerated individuals for nonpayment of fines they simply cannot afford, even though the Constitution prohibits it. Because of these practices, even individuals charged with non-criminal minor violations can suffer significant and prolonged harm if they have limited financial means.

For an individual charged with a criminal offense, the assortment of fees assessed by the justice system can be especially daunting. These include costs associated with pretrial detention, the assignment of a public defender, general court administration, and electronic monitoring, to name a few. For those convicted of a crime, the debt accrued by the assessments of LFOs can be a substantial barrier to successful reentry back into their communities following the completion of their sentence. These harms are most frequently felt by the most vulnerable members of our communities – not just those who are justice-involved, but their families and children, too – as they become trapped in cycles of poverty that can be nearly impossible to escape.

Last year, the Justice Department took a significant step to call attention to and help resolve these issues. On December 2, 2015, the Department convened a working session called, “Poverty and the Justice System: The Effect and Fairness of Fees and Fines.” On December 3, the White House sponsored a companion event – “A Cycle of Incarceration: Prison, Debt, and Bail Practices” – to bring public attention to the connection between poverty and the criminal justice system and to highlight state reform efforts. These convenings brought together judges, court administrators, academics, prosecutors, legislators, advocates, and other justice system actors and national experts to examine the practice of assessing and enforcing LFOs, the effects on individuals and communities, and examples of how jurisdictions are addressing these issues. Participants shared many promising reforms, including the following:

- The Ohio Supreme Court’s bench card instructing judges on constitutional and state law requirements and alternatives to jail for those unable to pay LFOs;
- Georgia’s statute implementing certain reforms to the use of private probation in the state;
- A Washington scholar’s in-depth study of the state’s statutory framework for fines and fees and counties’ practices;
- Vermont’s prosecutor-led driver’s license restoration day, providing individuals with suspended licenses due to failure to pay traffic fines an opportunity to satisfy delinquent debts by paying $25 for each ticket;
Colorado’s law requiring that, before incarcerating someone for willful nonpayment, judges must make a finding on the record that payment would pose no undue hardship to the individual or his or her family and that the person made no good faith effort to pay; and

Michigan’s Ability to Pay Workgroup, which produced a report including legal guidance, tools, and best practices to assist judges and court staff with determining an obligor’s ability to pay, establishing payment plans, providing payment alternatives, enforcing court-ordered financial obligations, and identifying uncollectible debts.

The participants of the working sessions suggested many other crucial reforms – transparency and accountability of courts’ collection and disbursement of fines and fees; guidance on relevant constitutional law; development of model statutes and rules for the assessment and enforcement of fines and fees; research on impacts of promising practices; best practice standards for indigency determinations; case studies of successful alternatives; and improved data collection, coordination, and technology, to name a few. While much remains to be done, the examples listed above are worthy of examination. As one working session participant observed, “Nothing less than the public’s faith and confidence in the justice system depends on” our collective efforts to make the assessment and enforcement of LFOs more fair, equitable, and just.

To build on the December working sessions, the Department’s Office of Justice Programs (OJP) Diagnostic Center is providing this guide, which identifies resources and related publications to address issues related to fines, fees and other financial obligations. The resources identified by the Diagnostic Center are intended to be a starting point for executive-level decision makers to explore how science and data can be used to inform policy decisions and support the creation of strategies at the state, local and tribal levels.

The resources included in this Guide are organized into four key areas: 1) Backgrounders 2) Case Studies, 3) Issue Studies, 4) Reform Guidance and 5) Reform Tools. Table 1 below defines each of the categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BACKGROUNDERS</strong></td>
<td>High level publications that provide broad insight into the nature and effects of an issue or range of issues, often including high level policy or reform recommendations. These documents provide valuable information to a wide audience, including policy makers, law enforcement, pretrial agencies, courts and probation and parole agencies.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CASE STUDIES</strong></td>
<td>Studies that provide a comprehensive look at the dynamics of challenges and reform efforts undergone by local and state governments with regard to fines, fees and/or bail. These documents provide the most value to policy makers, pretrial agencies and courts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISSUE STUDIES</strong></td>
<td>Primarily academic studies that examine a particular issue in depth and often apply quantitative social science methods to test a hypothesis. These documents generally provide the most value to policy makers and courts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REFORM GUIDANCE</strong></td>
<td>These documents provide guidance in the change process or method for developing new policies/procedures.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>REFORM TOOLS</strong></td>
<td>These documents present example tools used in previous reform efforts. These documents generally provide the most value to policy makers, pretrial agencies and courts.</td>
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1. BACKGROUNDERS

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<tr>
<td><strong>1. A CYCLE OF INCARCERATION: PRISON, DEBT, AND BAIL PRACTICES: EDITED</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Source:</strong> The White House</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Year:</strong> 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>This video covers the morning session of the December 3, 2015 White House convening, including opening remarks from the White House Senior Advisor Valerie Jarrett and Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch, and a panel discussion of fines, fees and debt, moderated by Emily Bazelon, and featuring Cynthia Jones, Michael B. Jordan, and David Simon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **2. A CYCLE OF INCARCERATION: PRISON, DEBT, AND BAIL PRACTICES: FULL DAY** |
| **Source:** The White House |
| **Year:** 2015 |
| This video covers the full day of the December 3, 2015 White House convening on prison, debt and bail practices. |

| **3. ATTORNEY GENERAL LORRETTA E. LYNCH DELIVERS REMARKS AT WHITE HOUSE CONVENING ON INCARCERATION AND POVERTY, WASHINGTON, DC., UNITED STATES, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2015** |
| **Source:** The Department of Justice |
| **Year:** 2015 |
| Attorney General Lynch engages in a high level discussion of the issues of fines and fees, poverty, and justice; some of the Department of Justice efforts to address these issues; and a call to reorient the conceptualization of justice away from a commodity that can be quantified and towards an inherent right. |

| **4. BAIL FAIL: WHY THE U.S. SHOULD END THE PRACTICE OF USING MONEY FOR BAIL** |
| **Source:** Justice Policy Institute |
| **Year:** 2012 |
| This report addresses trends in bail use, effects of bail on the judicial process and communities and effective alternatives to bail. |

| **5. CHANGING PRIORITIES: STATE CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORMS AND INVESTMENTS IN EDUCATION** |
| **Source:** Center on Budget and Policy Priorities |
| **Authors:** Michael Mitchell and Michael Leachman |
| **Year:** 2014 |
| This report examines high incarceration rates and state prisons, related fiscal and policy issues, and state funding for education, and provides recommendations for policy reform to shift funding from incarceration to education. |

| **6. CHARGING THE POOR: CRIMINAL JUSTICE DEBT & MODERN-DAY DEBTORS’ PRISONS** |
| **Source:** Maryland Law Review (forthcoming) |
| **Author:** Neil L. Sobol |
| **Year:** 2015 |
| This document compares the modern conditions and practices of criminal justice debt collection and enforcement to debtors’ prisons and provides a framework for reducing incarceration of the indigent. |
## Backgrounders

### 7. COURTS ARE NOT REVENUE CENTERS
Source: Conference of State Court Administrators  
Authors: Carl Reynolds and Jeff Hall  
Year: 2012  
This publication outlines relevant case law for filing fees and criminal court costs, provides principles to guide the development of revenue vehicles in the court system, and makes recommendations for reforming state revenue structures.

### 8. CRIMINAL JUSTICE DEBT: A BARRIER TO REENTRY
Source: Brennan Center for Justice  
Authors: Alicia Bannon, Mitali Nagrecha and Rebekah Diller  
Year: 2010  
This report describes the growth and causes of criminal justice debt, its effects on incarceration, reentry, and the roles of courts and correctional agencies, and policy recommendations for addressing the costs of criminal justice debt.

### 9. EVIDENCE-BASED PRETRIAL RELEASE
Source: Conference of State Court Administrators  
Author: Arthur W. Pepin  
Year: 2013  
This policy paper provides an overview of the pretrial release system and advocates for the adoption of evidence-based risk assessment in setting pretrial release conditions.

### 10. FUNDAMENTALS OF BAIL: A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR PRETRIAL PRACTITIONERS AND A FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICAN PRETRIAL REFORM
Source: National Institute of Corrections  
Author: Timothy R. Schnacke  
Year: 2014  
This document provides a comprehensive and in-depth overview of the status of bail and pretrial justice in the United States, including the history, legal foundations and principles and standards for bail and pretrial justice. It also presents a case for the necessity of pretrial justice reform, and lays out guidelines for reform of the pretrial justice system.

### 11. MONEY AS A CRIMINAL JUSTICE STAKEHOLDER: THE JUDGE’S DECISION TO RELEASE OR DETAIN A DEFENDANT PRETRIAL
Source: National Institute of Corrections  
Author: Timothy R. Schnacke  
Year: 2014  
This report provides information on the history of law and pretrial decision making, describes the current state of pretrial decision making, and suggests approaches to improve judicial pretrial decision making.
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Backgrounders</strong></th>
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Source: The Pretrial Justice Institute and The Bureau for Justice Assistance  
Year: 2011  
This report covers the proceedings of the National Symposium on Pretrial Justice, presenting the perspectives of speakers and panels at the Symposium on issues including bail reform since 1964, the current status of pretrial justice, evidence-based reform, and local level successes. |
| **13. On Cash and Conviction: Monetary Sanctions as Misguided Policy**  
Source: Criminology & Public Policy  
Author: Katherine Beckett and Alexes Harris  
Year: 2011  
This essay summarizes research on fines and fees in the United States criminal justice system and compares them to day fines used in Europe. It contends that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages in the U.S. system. |
| **14. Penalizing Poverty: Making Criminal Defendants Pay for their Court-Appointed Counsel Through Recoupment and Contribution**  
Author: Helen A. Anderson  
Year: 2008  
In this document, the author discusses the disadvantages of recoupment, the process of requiring defendants to repay the cost of their court appointed attorney, and argues that the practice should end. |
| **15. Profiting from Probation: America’s ‘Offender Funded’ Probation Industry**  
Source: Human Rights Watch  
Author: Chris Albin-Lackey  
Year: 2014  
This report discusses hardships faced by probationers in “offender funded” probation programs, where companies collect fees from probationers to fund the probation services the companies provide, and makes a case for greater transparency and oversight by the government. |
| **16. Reducing Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Jails: Recommendations for Local Practice**  
Source: Brennan Center for Justice  
Authors: Jessica Eaglin and Danyelle Solomon  
Year: 2015  
This report looks at the composition of the jail population at factors that contribute to incarceration, including pretrial detention and criminal justice debt, among others. It also suggests a number of approaches to decrease incarceration and racial disparities. |
| **17. Report from the President’s Council of Economic Advisors on Fees, Fines, and Bail**  
Source: The President’s Council of Economic Advisors  
Year: 2015  
This report describes how fines, fees, and bail in the criminal justice system disproportionately impact the poor, leading to concerns about fairness in the criminal justice system. |
18. **Sentenced to a Life of Criminal Debt: A Barrier to Reentry and Climbing out of Poverty**  
Source: Clearinghouse Review Journal of Poverty Law and Policy  
Author: Rebecca Vallas and Roopal Patel  
Year: 2012  
This document discusses the motivations behind fines and fees, their disadvantages, and highlights several efforts underway to improve upon the system at the state level as models of reform.

19. **The Debt Penalty – Exposing the Financial Barriers to Offender Reintegration**  
Source: John Jay College of Criminal Justice  
Author: Douglas N. Evans  
Year: 2014  
This report examines the causes and effects of criminal debt, in particular how fines and fees often fail to raise revenues for legal systems while negatively affecting the reentry process for formerly incarcerated individuals, and suggests approaches to improve on the application and collection of fees.

20. **The Pretrial Detention ‘Crisis’: The Causes and the Cure**  
Source: Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law  
Author: Douglas J. Klein  
Year: 1997  
This document assesses the shortcomings of bail, pretrial services, and pretrial detention practices, and discusses a set of solutions to address these shortcomings.

21. **The Risk Assessment Era: An Overdue Debate, Guest Editor’s Observations**  
Source: Federal Sentencing Reporter  
Author: Sonja B. Starr  
Year: 2015  
This brief essay makes a case for the institution of a standardized risk assessment to assist judges in making pretrial release, bail, and detention decisions.

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**CASE STUDIES**

1. **A ‘New Norm’ for Pretrial Justice in the Commonwealth of Virginia: Pretrial Risk-Based Decision Making**  
Source: Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services  
Author: Kenneth Rose  
Year: 2013  
This document presents information about The Commonwealth of Virginia’s implementation of the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument and some of the institutional barriers to its successful employment. It also makes recommendations for the improvement of pretrial justice and effective use of the Instrument.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study</th>
<th>Source/Authors</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. A DECADE OF BAIL RESEARCH IN NEW YORK CITY</strong></td>
<td>New York City Criminal Justice Agency, Inc.</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>This report summarizes the findings of a decade-long research project studying bail policy and practices in New York City. It tracks changes to the bail system, analyzes strengths and weaknesses of pretrial justice policy and its implementation, and makes recommendations for further reform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. ALTERNATIVES TO PRETRIAL DETENTION: SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF IOWA</strong></td>
<td>Luminosity, Inc.</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>This report outlines the Southern District of Iowa’s strategies to reduce pretrial detention rates while assuring court appearance and community safety and contains a third-party assessment of the effectiveness of the District’s strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. BALTIMORE BEHIND BARS: HOW TO REDUCE THE JAIL POPULATION, SAVE MONEY AND IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY</strong></td>
<td>Justice Policy Institute</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>This report provides an in-depth look at the functioning of the Baltimore pretrial, court, and prison system and provides recommendations for reducing jail populations, including reforming pretrial and bail practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. COURT DEBT AND RELATED INCARCERATION IN RHODE ISLAND FROM 2005 THROUGH 2007</strong></td>
<td>Rhode Island Family Life Center</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>This report describes factors relevant to court debt in Rhode Island, which has relatively high levels of detention due to court debt, and analyzes the relationship between court debt, pretrial detention, and overall incarceration rates in Rhode Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. DAY FINES IN AMERICAN COURTS: THE STATEN ISLAND AND MILWAUKEE EXPERIMENTS</strong></td>
<td>National Institute of Justice</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>This report examines the experimental implementation of day fines in Staten Island and Milwaukee to assess the usefulness of day fines, finding that they have the potential to increase collection rates and reduce costs associated with uncollected fines.</td>
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## CASE STUDIES

### 7. INMATE FEES AS A SOURCE OF REVENUE: REVIEW OF CHALLENGES

**Source:** Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security  
**Year:** 2011

This report examines the state of fees imposed in inmates, their impact on inmates and the community, and the possibility of imposing additional fees, finding that existing fees already impose a burden and create challenges for reentry and recommending against the imposition of additional fees.

### 8. INVESTIGATION OF THE FERGUSON POLICE DEPARTMENT

**Source:** Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division  
**Year:** 2015

This report provides a broad discussion of the issues brought to light during the investigation of the Ferguson Police Department, including an analysis of the imposition of fines and fees in the municipal courts.

### 9. MARYLAND’S PAROLE SUPERVISION FEE: A BARRIER TO REENTRY

**Source:** Brennan Center for Justice  
**Author:** Rebekah Diller, Judith Greene and Michelle Jacobs  
**Year:** 2009

This report describes the Maryland parole supervision fee’s impact on parolees and their reentry prospects, characterizing the fee as counterproductive and providing recommendations to improve its implementation.

### 10. NEW YORK’S CREDIT CARD BAIL EXPERIMENT

**Source:** The New York City Criminal Justice Agency  
**Project Director:** Mary T. Phillips  
**Year:** 2014

This report analyzes the results of New York City’s experimental program to accept bail by credit card, finding that defendants who were offered the option to pay bail by credit card were released at higher rates and spent less time in pretrial detention.

### 11. TAMING THE SPECIAL ASSESSMENT BEAST

**Source:** Court Manager  
**Author:** Nial Raaen  
**Year:** 2007

This article describes the reform of the Michigan judicial branch’s fee assessment process, which simplified the funding system by collecting fees into and allocating from a single justice system fund.

### 12. REDUCING FAILURE TO APPEAR IN NEBRASKA: A FIELD STUDY

**Source:** University of Nebraska  
**Authors:** Mitchel N. Herian and Brian H. Bornstein  
**Year:** 2010

This article documents an experiment in which researchers sent defendants post cards reminding them of their court hearing, and found that the post cards were effective, and that message content influenced their effectiveness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE STUDIES</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>13. REPORT TO THE JOINT INTERIM COMMITTEE ON STATE JUSTICE SYSTEM REVENUES: STATE OF OREGON</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: National Center for State Courts</td>
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<td>Year: 2010</td>
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<td>This report compares the funding structure for the Oregon court system to several other U.S. states.</td>
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<td><strong>14. THE ASSESSMENT AND CONSEQUENCES OF LEGAL FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS IN WASHINGTON STATE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: Washington State Minority and Justice Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Authors: Katherine A. Beckett, Alexes M. Harris and Heather Evans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year: 2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>This report analyzes the assessment and consequences of fines, fees, and restitution orders in Washington State, examining their impact on convicts and the reentry process, as well as whether their effects are consistent with legislative intent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15. THE HIDDEN COSTS OF FLORIDA'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE FEES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: Brennan Center for Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author: Rebekah Diller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year: 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This report examines the application of fines and fees in Florida, with particular attention to the challenges that court debt poses to the indigent and in the process of reentry, and the extent to which fees are cost effective.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>16. THE OUTSKIRTS OF HOPE: HOW OHIO'S DEBTORS' PRISONS ARE RUINING LIVES AND COSTING COMMUNITIES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year: 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This report provides an overview of the disadvantages of the system of court fines and fees in Ohio, and detailed cases of individual experiences with court fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17. THE PRETRIAL RELEASE PROJECT: A STUDY OF MARYLAND'S PRETRIAL RELEASE AND BAIL SYSTEM.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source: The Abell Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year: 2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>This report assesses the system of pretrial release in Maryland through a comparison of Baltimore with other districts in Maryland, and makes recommendations for improvement of the pretrial release system.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>18. THE STATEN ISLAND DAY-FINE PROJECT</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: National Institute of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Authors: Laura A. Winterfield and Sally T. Hillsman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year: 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>This brief provides an overview and analysis of the experimental implementation of day fines in Staten Island in order to assess the feasibility of implementing day fines in the United States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. **Why Crime Doesn’t Pay: Examining Felony Collections**  
*Source: Institute for Court Management*  
*Author: Don K. Murphy*  
*Year: 2015*  
This report investigates the challenges in collecting fines and fees in felony cases state wide in Florida and in the local courts of Volusia County and provides a number of recommendations for improving collections rates.

3. **ISSUE STUDIES**

1. **Who Pays? The True Cost of Incarceration on Families**  
*Source: Ella Baker Center, Forward Together, Research Action Design*  
*Authors: Saneta deVuono-Powell, Chris Schweidler, Alicia Walters and Azadeh Zohrabi*  
*Year: 2015*  
This report examines the mental, physical and financial costs of mass incarceration in the United States.

2. **Do Attorneys Really Matter? The Empirical and Legal Case for the Right of Counsel at Bail**  
*Source: Cardozo Law Review*  
*Authors: Douglas L. Colbert, Ray Paternoster and Shawn Bushway*  
*Year: 2002*  
This article provides a legal case and evidence from a study of bail hearings in order to demonstrate the importance of the presence of a legal advocate for the defense at bail hearings.

3. **Drawing Blood from Stones: Legal Debt and Social Inequality in the Contemporary United States**  
*Source: American Journal of Sociology*  
*Authors: Alexes Harris, Heather Evans, and Katherine Beckett*  
*Year: 2010*  
This study analyzes national and state level court data to assess the social and legal consequences of monetary sanctions.

4. **Give us Free: Addressing Racial Disparities in Bail Determinations**  
*Source: Legislative and Public Policy*  
*Author: Cynthia E. Jones*  
*Year: 2013*  
This article provides an overview of studies on racial bias in bail, examples of state efforts at pretrial racial justice reform, and recommendations for pretrial justice reform.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue Studies</th>
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</table>
| **5. Investigating the Impact of Pretrial Detention on Sentencing Outcomes**  
Source: Laura and John Arnold Foundation  
Authors: Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Marie VanNostrand and Alexander Holsinger  
Year: 2013  
This report investigates the connection between pretrial detention and prison sentencing, finding a correlation between pretrial detention and both increased sentencing to prison and longer length of sentence. |
Authors: Shawn D. Bushaway and Jonah B. Gelbach  
Year: 2010  
This study investigates discrimination in bail setting, finding that black defendants are assigned higher bail levels than white defendants. |
| **7. The Criminal and Labor Market Impacts of Incarceration**  
Author: Michael Mueller-Smith  
Year: 2014  
This report analyzes data from a county in Texas to investigate the social and economic impacts of incarceration on the incarcerated individual after reentry, and incarceration’s effect on recidivism. |
| **8. The Labor Market Consequences of Incarceration**  
Source: Princeton University  
Authors: Bruce Western, Jeffrey R. Kling and David F. Weiman  
Year: 2001  
This article discusses the possible mechanisms that link incarceration to impacts on employment and earnings, and the difficulty in establishing causal inference. |
| **9. The Mark of a Criminal Record**  
Source: The American Journal of Sociology  
Author: Devah Pager  
Year: 2003  
This article analyzes the data from a study designed to test the effects of a criminal record on subsequent employment opportunities for black and white job seekers. |
| **10. The Price of Jails: Measuring the Taxpayer Cost of Local Incarceration**  
Source: Vera Institute of Justice  
Authors: Christian Henrichson, Joshua Rinaldi and Ruth Delaney  
Year: 2015  
This report investigates the cost of local jails by calculating jail-related costs borne by other parts of government and that are therefore not on reflected in jail budgets. |
### ISSUE STUDIES

11. **Unsecured Bonds: The as Effective and Most Efficient Pretrial Release Option**

Source: Pretrial Justice Institute
Author: Michael R. Jones
Year: 2013

This study analyzes the effects of secured and unsecured bonds on public safety, court appearance and jail bed use, finding that unsecured bonds are generally as effective as secured bonds and result in reduced pretrial detention.

### 4. REFORM GUIDANCE

#### REFORM GUIDES

1. **Alternatives to Custodial Supervision: The Day Fine**

Source: National Institute of Justice
Author: Edwin W. Zedlewski
Year: 2010

This discussion paper introduces day fines, explains different day fine systems, outlines efforts to implement them in the United States, and describes the advantages and disadvantages of day fines.

2. **Implementing the Recommendations of the National Symposium on Pretrial Justice: The 2013 Progress Report**

Source: Bureau of Justice Assistance
Year: 2014

This document lists the recommendations by the National Symposium on Pretrial Justice to advance reform of pretrial justice systems, organized by actors including stakeholder groups, legislators, the philanthropic community and academia, and describes progress in implementing these recommendations.

3. **Repaying Debts**

Source: Bureau of Justice Assistance
Authors: Rachel L. McLean and Michael D. Thompson
Year: 2007

This document provides policymakers with advice on how to “increase accountability among people who commit crimes, improve rates of child support collection and victim restitution, and make people’s transition from prisons and jails to the community safe and successful.”

4. **State of the Science of Pretrial Risk Assessment**

Source: Pretrial Justice Institute
Author: Cynthia A. Mamalian
Year: 2011

This report provides an overview of pretrial risk assessments and explores important issues and challenges in developing and implementing a pretrial risk assessment.
5. REFORM GUIDES

5. CRIMINAL JUSTICE DEBT: A TOOLKIT FOR ACTION
Source: Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law
Author: Roopal Patel and Meghna Philip
Year: 2012
This toolkit provides guidance for reforming criminal justice debt collection policies.

6. CRIMINAL JUSTICE DEBT: ACTION KIT FOR WEB
Source: Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law
Author: Roopal Patel and Meghna Philip
Year: 2012
This document offers materials for successfully implementing debt reform.

5. REFORM TOOLS

REFORM TOOLS

1. ABILITY TO PAY WORKGROUP: TOOLS AND GUIDANCE FOR DETERMINING AND ADDRESSING AN OBLIGOR’S ABILITY TO PAY
Source: Michigan Supreme Court, State Court Administrative Office
Year: 2015
This report provides tools, best practices, and guidance to assist judges and court staff with determining an obligor's ability to pay and establishing payment plans, providing payment alternatives, enforcing court-ordered financial obligations, and identifying uncollectible debts.

2. COLLECTION OF FINES AND COURT COSTS IN ADULT TRIAL COURTS
Source: Supreme Court of Ohio, Office of Judicial Services
Year: 2015
This bench card is provided to judges in Ohio as a resource for quick reference to reinforce judicial understanding and implementation of alternative methods of fines and cost collection.

3. GEORGIA PUBLIC DEFENDER COUNCIL WEBSITE
Source: Georgia Public Defender Council
This website provides links to various documents related to Georgia’s procedures for determining defendant indigence, including the Procedure for Verification of Indigence, Guidelines and Procedure for Indigency Verification Systems and Application to Continue to Retain Funds and the Guidelines for Determining Qualification of Applicants, among others.
## REFORM TOOLS

### 4. Missouri Municipal Courts: Best Practice Recommendations

**Source:** National Center for State Courts  
**Project Director:** Gordon M. Griller  
**Year:** 2015  
This document identifies a list of best practices in operating and managing limited jurisdiction courts and describes approaches for implementing those practices in Missouri.

### 5. Pretrial Risk Assessment in Virginia

**Source:** Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services  
**Year:** 2009  
This report presents the revised and validated Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument and detailed information on the validation process.

### 6. Press Release: More than 20 cities and states adopt risk assessment tool to help judges decide which defendants to detain prior to trial.

**Source:** Laura and John Arnold Foundation  
**Year:** 2015  
This press release announces the rollout of a pretrial risk assessment tool developed by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, called the Public Safety Assessment, and provides links to additional information and contact information for interested entities.

### 7. Smart Pretrial Demonstration Initiative Website

**Source:** Pretrial Justice Institute  
**Year:** 2014  
This website provides information on sites undergoing pretrial justice reform as part of the Pretrial Justice Institute’s Smart Pretrial.