

Expansion of Civil Citation Programs Statewide Would Save Taxpayers Tens of Millions of Dollars and Improve Public Safety

Executive Summary

In these tough fiscal times, states and communities across the country are examining their criminal and juvenile justice systems and enacting evidence-based reforms that have been shown to enhance public safety and ensure offender accountability at a lower cost than more traditional strategies. Many of these reforms are focused on improving outcomes of the individuals who interact with the system – injecting appropriate, research-proven methods that shift the focus from solely retribution to “correction” when public safety will actually improve and cost-savings will be realized. These outcome-focused reforms are especially important when considering the juvenile justice system, not only because these are “children,” but also because they are at risk of becoming more dangerous and costly adult offenders. One such reform is the use of Civil Citations, which is an alternative to more-traditional juvenile justice models and has emerged as a successful diversion program in many Florida communities.

Civil Citations are a form of pre-arrest diversion for juvenile misdemeanants that ensure appropriate community resources are leveraged to help participating juveniles get ‘back on the right track.’ Reliance on non-incarceration intervention is both more effective and cost-efficient than traditionally invasive methods, such as lengths of stay in residential facilities. Some Civil Citation programs report that 99 percent of juvenile participants successfully complete the program. Another notable benefit of the process, once rigorous assessment and certain consequences are met through successful completion of the program, is the opportunity for a juvenile to exit the incident without a criminal record. To be clear, these juvenile offenders must meet all community and criminal justice expectations before exiting the program.

While many communities have a Civil Citation program in place for qualified juveniles – there are approximately 40 different programs throughout the state – a significant number of communities in Florida do not have a program serving the community. **Implementing Civil Citation programs in communities throughout the state would:**

- **Generate cost-savings between \$44 million and \$139 million annually for Florida taxpayers;**

- **Reduce the number of youth in the juvenile justice system by 40 percent – equivalent of 30,153 youths between the ages of 8 to 17;**
- **Improve outcomes for youth offenders by reducing recidivism and long-lasting criminal records for nonviolent misdemeanors; and,**
- **Redirect valuable resources from adjudicating non-violent misdemeanors to more vital and pressing public safety concerns.**

Introduction

Getting smart on crime requires the efficient and effective use of limited resources in prevention, diversion, and intervention programs, especially when it comes to juveniles. It specifically requires balancing the allocation of resources between minor and major crimes, a point exemplified by the fact that *Florida is on track to spend \$70 million to incarcerate children for misdemeanors and probation violations in FY2010-11.*¹

In communities around the state the Civil Citation process has emerged as a proven cost-effective alternative to existing practices under the current arrest model.

Background

The Civil Citation process was statutorily established by the Florida Legislature “for the purpose of providing an efficient and innovative alternative to custody by the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) of children who commit non-serious delinquent acts and to ensure swift and appropriate consequences.”² Typically, the issuance of a Civil Citation is not available to those who have previously been directly involved with the juvenile justice system.

Civil Citation programs, offered locally in certain communities around the state, require juveniles who have committed a minor delinquent act to complete community service hours and participate in intervention programs (as appropriately assessed) as an alternative to being

Civil Citation programs are an alternative to traditional juvenile corrections methods. **They hold the offender accountable through rigorous, certain consequences while providing services targeting the root causes of the delinquent behavior,** including case management, substance abuse treatment, mental health counseling, urinalysis monitoring, and family counseling.

Civil Citation programs have already saved the state more than \$50 million in the past five years.

¹ Florida TaxWatch and Southern Poverty Law Center, “Fiscal Responsibility: The Key to a Safer, Smarter, and Stronger Juvenile Justice System,” December 2010; available at www.floridataxwatch.org/resources/pdf/12222010FiscalResponsibility.pdf.

² Florida Statutes, Section 985.12 (2010).

processed into the juvenile justice system, which includes the creation of a (juvenile) criminal arrest record.

An example of a functioning Civil Citation program is the Leon County Civil Citation Program, which “offers early intervention, counseling, education, and other appropriate community resources to divert appropriate juvenile misdemeanor offenders from the juvenile justice system. The Civil Citation Program works with other Community Partners in the effort to reduce juvenile crime, and to provide services for at-risk youth,” according to DISC Village, Inc., a non-profit community-based agency that administers the Leon County Civil Citation Program.³

Civil Citation programs leverage existing community resources to reduce recidivism at a lower cost than traditional juvenile justice sanctions

The issuance of a Civil Citation requires the offending juvenile misdemeanant to complete a certain number of hours of community service and/or participation in appropriate intervention services, including family counseling, urinalysis monitoring, and substance abuse and mental health treatment services. Through these activities, the juvenile offender is also required to assume responsibilities for his or her mistakes through remuneration of damages (when appropriate) and expression of regret to victims by writing essays or letters of apology. Overall, the program is far from being a free ride.

Upon receiving a Civil Citation, a preliminary assessment is made and the juvenile is referred to one of the following programs: care, diagnostic, and evaluation services; substance abuse treatment services; mental health services; retardation services; a diversionary, arbitration, or mediation program; community service work; or other programs or treatment services voluntarily accepted by the juvenile and the juvenile’s parents/legal guardian.⁴

The sanctions stemming from a Civil Citation are swift and certain and the program generally must be completed very quickly after issuance of a citation. For example, in Hillsborough, the juvenile must fully and successfully “complete the program within 21 days after signing the citation.”⁵

Civil Citation programs often use existing community resources. By leveraging existing community services, instead of relying on services specifically provided through the juvenile

³ DISC Village, Inc., “Leon County Civil Citation Program Brochure,” available at www.discvillage.com/brochures/Civil%20Citation%20brochure.pdf.

⁴ Florida Statutes, Section 985.145(5) (2010).

⁵ Civil Citation of Hillsborough County, “About Civil Citations Webpage,” www.cchillsborough.org/about.html, accessed April 15, 2011.

justice system, Civil Citation programs also free up resources in the public safety system for reallocation to other vital uses.

Overall, implementing Civil Citation programs statewide would benefit each community in Florida: Youth would receive a swift and certain punishment appropriate to their misconduct and tailored to produce positive behavior changes; police officers would be spared the time required by a juvenile arrest and transfer to specialized juvenile booking facilities and therefore would be able to spend more time patrolling the community; and taxpayers would not be burdened with the high cost of traditional methods of handling nonviolent juvenile offenders for non-serious misdemeanors.

Civil Citation programs currently operating in Florida – An effective and cost efficient option, but a disjointed and sporadically available system

The Civil Citation process is implemented at the local level in coordination with local criminal justice officials, including the chief judge of the circuit, state attorney, public defender, and the head of each local law enforcement agency.

All regions of the state have civil citation programs, but not all counties. At least nine of the programs are funded by the DJJ, and the rest are subsidized locally. The list of the state funded Civil Citation programs is provided in the table below.

Program Name	County(s)	Number of Youths Served in 2008-09
Project Turnaround	Alachua	125
Work in Lieu of Arrest (WILA)	Marion	323
Civil Citation Program	Indian River, Martin, Okeechobee, St. Lucie	125
Civil Citation/ Equal Justice Initiative	Lee, Collier, Charlotte	299
Civil Citation – Big Impact	Escambia	118
Civil Citation Program	Duval	185
Civil Citation - Equal Justice Grant	Leon	49
Civil Citation - Equal Justice Grant	Hillsborough	528
Civil Citation - Equal Justice Grant	Miami-Dade	2,415

Source: Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Disproportionate Minority Contact (DMC) Programs Final Report, July 2009, 21st Century Research and Evaluations, Inc.

There are currently about 40 civil citation programs across Florida, although the number constantly fluctuates as programs are implemented or closed due to the expiration of grant funding or budget shortfalls. For example, the Bethel Community Citation Program in Pinellas County served several hundred juveniles from 2002-2005 with a low recidivism rate of 5 percent. But when the initial grant money expired, there was no local funding available and the

program was closed, which shifted the cost of adjudicating youthful offenders back to DJJ and put the financial burden entirely on the taxpayer once again.⁶

There is no central clearinghouse overseeing all Civil Citation programs statewide, which makes an exact count of all existing programs difficult. Many rural communities have small scale programs that are administered on an informal basis and thus lack a well-defined structure.

Eligibility for Civil Citation Programs

Generally, juveniles who have no prior arrests or sanctions are eligible to receive a Civil Citation if they have committed certain non-serious misdemeanors or violated a county/municipal ordinance; however, the eligibility requirements (both regarding the offender and the offense) for receiving a Civil Citation vary by county.

For instance in Miami-Dade County the program is open to “all children ages 8-17 who have committed a minor misdemeanor offense;”⁷ while in Lee County, the requirement reads “all juveniles between the ages of 8-17 who do not have a previous arrest record for more than one misdemeanor or any felony crime is [sic] eligible for the Civil Citation Program;”⁸ and Hillsborough County’s school-based Civil Citation program is limited to nine eligible offenses committed at school.⁹

Among the Civil Citation programs around the state, eligibility varies significantly by community, thus there is inconsistent application of sanctions for youth who commit non-serious misdemeanors across the state depending largely on where the individual lives.

Furthermore, the current system lacks uniformity even within the local Civil Citation process. In most communities with an existing Civil Citation program, it is at the sole discretion of law enforcement officers to issue Civil Citations or make arrests, so the determining factor as to whether a juvenile offender receives a Civil Citation or is arrested may be only the officer that intervenes in the delinquent behavior. In a few counties, including Miami-Dade – which is the

⁶ Myles, James. Executive Director, Bethel Community Foundation. Interview with Florida TaxWatch staff, March 4, 2011

⁷ Miami-Dade County Juvenile Services Department, “Civil Citation Initiative [Brochure],” undated; available at www.miamidade.gov/jsd/library/CivilCitationBrochure.pdf.

⁸ Lee County Sheriff’s Office, “Civil Citation Program [Brochure],” undated; available at www.swfljac.org/CivilCitationBrochure.pdf.

⁹ The nine eligible offenses are: theft (under \$300); criminal mischief (under \$1,000); trespassing; simple assault/battery; violation of city/county ordinances; disorderly conduct; disruption of a school event; affray (generally defined as two or more people fighting); and simple possession of alcohol (student not intoxicated). Source: Hillsborough County Juvenile Justice Task Force, “Presentation: Proposed Civil Citation Initiative Expansion – Juvenile Citation Work Group,” January 2011; available at www.hillsboroughcounty.org/juvenilejusticetaskforce/resources/publications/ccPreso012811.pdf. See also, “Civil Citation of Hillsborough County, Cost Savings Analysis,” Dewey & Associates Inc., July 2009.

largest program in the state in terms of population, the number of policing entities participating in the program, and Civil Citations issued – the program is offered to every juvenile who is eligible, thus making the benefits of Civil Citation more equitable than in programs relying on the discretion of the intervening officer.

The inconsistency of eligibility also means that there is significant opportunity for expanding the use of Civil Citations, even in communities where a program currently exists. For these reasons and others, it would be in the state’s best interest to require each community provide a Civil Citation program under a uniform framework. A more uniform treatment would allow Florida taxpayers throughout the state to benefit from the cost savings and increased public safety.

Estimated Cost Savings of Civil Citation Programs

Civil Citation is a highly beneficial diversion program that cost-effectively improves public safety by keeping youths out of the juvenile justice system if they do not pose a real threat to the public. Cost-savings are generated by the reduction of costs associated with processing misdemeanants committed and allowing the reallocation of limited resources focused on nonviolent, minor crimes to more serious, violent crimes.

Based on data from two major Civil Citation programs in Leon County and Miami-Dade County analyzed by the Associated Industries of Florida Foundation, a **statewide implementation of Civil Citation program could reduce the number of youths referred for delinquency by 40 percent**¹⁰ – equivalent to 30,153 juveniles not referred to DJJ statewide (according to the recent DJJ data available).¹¹ Estimates of the savings for each avoided DJJ referral (though the issuance of a Civil Citation in lieu of an arrest) range from \$1,467¹² to \$4,614.¹³ Based on these cost-savings estimates and the estimated reduction in DJJ referrals through implementation of Civil Citation processes statewide, **the annual cost-savings generated by implementing statewide Civil Citation programs is estimated to range from \$44 million to \$139 million.**¹⁴

Even the lower end of the above scenarios shows significant tax dollars saved while intervening appropriately with low risk offenders and improving public safety.

¹⁰ “Getting Smart on Juvenile Crime in Florida: Taking It to the Next Level,” Associated Industries of Florida Foundation, November 2010.

¹¹ According to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice “2009-10 Comprehensive Accountability Report,” 75,382 youth were referred to DJJ in FY2009-10. These 75,382 youth offenders accounted for the entire 121,689 delinquency referrals to DJJ in FY 2009-10, of which only 35,823 (29.4% of total referrals) were “delinquency referrals where a felony was the most serious offense.” *Ibid* page 4.

¹² “Civil Citation of Hillsborough County, Cost Savings Analysis,” Dewey & Associates Inc., July 2009.

¹³ AIF Foundation, “Getting Smart on Juvenile Crime in Florida: Taking It to The Next Level – Reducing Juvenile Arrests by 40%,” November 2010.

¹⁴ Low range: \$1,467 x 30,153 = 44,234,451; high range: \$4,614 x 30,153 = 139,125,942.

Benefits of Civil Citation Programs

For many youths entering into the criminal justice system, the consequences of a single lapse in judgment can haunt them for a lifetime. After the initial arrest, the offender's information is submitted to DJJ and the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) and, subsequently, to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Throughout life, countless applications – whether it be for higher education, housing, or employment – will require background checks. A criminal record can easily prevent a misdemeanant from being admitted to a university or receiving a job offer. A juvenile conviction can even eliminate the possibility of a career in law enforcement or the U.S. Armed Forces. These records often cannot be expunged until the offender is 24 years old – leaving a significant gap in potential productivity and, in turn, possible public safety. Since a Civil Citation is not treated as a referral to DJJ, juveniles who receive Civil Citations and successfully complete the program do not have a criminal record, and, therefore, do not suffer the long-term consequences.

A prime advantage of Civil Citation over other diversion programs is that it provides a second chance for the juvenile who committed a misdemeanor by allowing them to avoid *any* arrest record for the particular incident; however, it is important to mention that the current implementation fails to protect the Civil Citation referral record, even if the juvenile successfully completes the program. This occurs because criminal history records in Florida are considered to be public record and must be disclosed unless they have been sealed, expunged, exempted, or made confidential.¹⁵ Juvenile criminal history information, including felony and misdemeanor criminal history – which have been compiled and maintained by the FDLE since 1996 – is also considered a public record.¹⁶

In addition to the significant cost-savings generated by utilizing Civil Citations, there are other important benefits, including:

- Swift consequences for the juvenile offender: there are requirements for community services and restorative justice to occur within two months of the offense compared with the juvenile justice process, which can take up to a year or longer;¹⁷

¹⁵ Juvenile delinquency criminal history records maintained by the FDLE are expunged automatically when the juvenile turns 24 or 26 years of age as long as the juvenile is not arrested as an adult or adjudicated as an adult for a forcible felony.

¹⁶ *Florida Statutes*, Section 943.053(3)(a) (2010). However, there is an ongoing lawsuit, filed by the Public Defender's Office in Miami-Dade County, challenging the FDLE's position based on the general confidentiality provisions for juvenile records, codified in *Florida Statutes*, Section 985.04 (1) (2010).

¹⁷ According to the authorizing statute, *Florida Statute*, Section 985.12 (2010), no more than 50 hours of community service may be assigned to a youth offender, who must do at least five hours a week if applicable. Thus, the service cannot be drawn out further than ten weeks.

- Reduces recidivism: In some communities recidivism is as low as 3 percent, which reduces the number of future crime victims and overall criminality in the community;¹⁸
- Ensures swift, appropriate consequences for the defendant’s actions, saving the victim from the ordeal of court proceedings;
- Law enforcement officers spend more time in the community and less time transporting juvenile offenders to booking and attending court hearings for non-serious misdemeanor offenses;
- Creates more manageable caseloads for juvenile probation officers so they are better able to identify at-risk youth;
- Creates less-crowded dockets for prosecutors and public defenders, so they have more time to prepare for more serious cases, which may increase the chances of better outcomes.

The many benefits of Civil Citation programs, whether fiscal or societal, are far too significant not to warrant serious consideration for its expansion statewide in Florida.

Success Stories in Florida Civil Citation

Miami-Dade County

Introduced in 2007, the Miami-Dade County Civil Citation program was designed to lower referrals to the juvenile justice system for minor offenses; improve family functioning; decrease juvenile delinquency; and create opportunities for pro-social activities without imposing a juvenile record on youthful offenders ages 8 to 17. Since commencing its operation in April 2007, more than 8,000 Civil Citation referrals have been made as of June 2010 and recent figures show a recidivism rate of 3 percent.¹⁹ **The program has been successful at improving public safety and producing cost-savings for the county - estimated at \$5,000 per child - by avoiding arrests.**²⁰

Florida does not need to reinvent the wheel. There are several Civil Citations programs around the state with success rates as high as 99 percent.

Three main factors contribute to cost savings:

- Intake and screening process time reduced by more than 60 percent;
- Paperwork significantly reduced, resulting in savings of time and money; and,

¹⁸ Miami-Dade County Government Website: Civil Citation; www.miamidade.gov/jsd/civil_citation.asp, accessed April 15, 2011.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ “Getting Smart on Juvenile Crime in Florida: Taking It to the Next Level,” Associated Industries of Florida Foundation, November 2010.

- Court fees are eliminated because no court appearance required.

Rather than arresting the offender at the initial point of contact with law enforcement, the officer in Miami-Dade is able to issue a Civil Citation, which typically calls for the imposition of up to 50 hours of community service, and may include family counseling, substance abuse treatment, urinalysis monitoring, and mental health services. Further benefits of this new model for youthful offenders include:

- Strengthening the family unit;
- Reducing referrals to the juvenile justice system for minor crimes;
- Creating outlets for pro-social activities; and,
- Allowing offenders to maintain a “clean” criminal record.

While the program formally began in 2007, its roots go back to the mid-1990s when Wansley Walters served as Director of the Juvenile Services Department. Walters, who now serves as the Secretary of the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, pioneered the use of diversionary programs in lieu of putting juvenile offenders through the judicial process unnecessarily. Miami-Dade is now a nationally recognized demonstration project for diverting juvenile offenders pre-arrest so that they do not hold an arrest record, while still delivering appropriate consequences and services to these low-risk offenders.

Currently, the Civil Citation program is operated by the Miami-Dade County Juvenile Services Department with prominent community partners including the Office of the State Attorney, Public Defender’s Office, and Local Youth Shelters. Furthermore, all 37 local arresting agencies in Miami-Dade County have formally agreed to participate in this initiative.

Leon County

In 1996, the Leon County Civil Citation Program was implemented by DISC Village, Inc. – a non-profit community-based intervention, treatment, and prevention agency – to work with several community partners to reduce juvenile crime and provide services for at-risk youth. Under this program, the law enforcement officer is able to issue civil citations on scene. This gives the juvenile offender seven calendar days from the issuance of the Citation to contact the program office to schedule an appointment for the initial assessment, for which a parent or legal guardian must accompany the youth. The issuing officer will then designate the number of community service hours to be completed and any additional sanctions and, upon successful

completion of the program, the juvenile's record will be closed out of the Juvenile Justice Information System.²¹

Lee County

In January 2007, the Civil Citation program began in this southwest Florida community as a voluntary program to give juveniles between the ages of 8 to 17 the opportunity to avoid an arrest record through options such as community service. The program was initially funded through a state grant that ended after 2010. Fortunately, the program was able to continue with local funding and was able to expand beyond its original parameters.

Since its inception, the program has served more than 300 juveniles with a success rate of 99%, a successful outcome defined as a juvenile who has fully completed all requirements of the diversion.²²

Hillsborough County

The Hillsborough County Civil Citation program is a school-based program, meaning that Civil Citations are only available to qualifying juveniles stopped for eligible offenses at school. Prior to 2006, Hillsborough County had the largest number of school-related juvenile referrals of any county in Florida – more than 4,500 between 2004 and 2006.²³ Two-thirds of these referrals were considered non-serious delinquent acts and not a threat to school safety.²⁴ During this time, school referrals to the juvenile justice system in Hillsborough County have dropped 30 percent compared to the statewide average of only 10 percent.²⁵

Since the inception of the Civil Citation program in Hillsborough County, there have been 1,329 Civil Citations issued with a 94 percent rate of successful completion of the program by the juvenile. Significant savings have been realized through a reduction in time and money spent on the intake and screening process as well as the elimination of court fees as a court appearance is not required. According to Dewey & Associates, the **estimated cost savings**

²¹ DISC Village, Inc., "Leon County Civil Citation Program Brochure," available at www.discvillage.com/brochures/Civil%20Citation%20brochure.pdf.

²² Lee County Sheriff's Office, "Civil Citation Program [Brochure]," undated; available at www.swfljac.org/CivilCitationBrochure.pdf.

²³ Hillsborough County Juvenile Justice Task Force, "Presentation: Proposed Civil Citation Initiative Expansion – Juvenile Citation Work Group," January 2011; available at www.hillsboroughcounty.org/juvenilejusticetaskforce/resources/publications/ccPreso012811.pdf. See also, "Civil Citation of Hillsborough County, Cost Savings Analysis," Dewey & Associates Inc., July 2009.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "Civil Citation of Hillsborough County, Cost Savings Analysis," Dewey & Associates Inc., July 2009.

generated by expanding this Civil Citation program from school-based to countywide in 2011 would be \$2,640,600.²⁶

Brevard County

A pilot Civil Citation program was started in the city of Titusville (Brevard County) in October 2009 through a grant from the Eckerd Family Foundation and administered by Crosswinds Youth Services. While the details of the program are preliminary, the outcomes appear generally positive based on the most recent progress report.²⁷ Of largest note is the positive feedback from law enforcement involved in the pilot. According to the progress report, a meeting with law enforcement about the pilot program revealed that officers felt that “having the ability to use Civil Citation in lieu of arrest was a welcome tool to effectively address non-serious offenders.”²⁸

Recommendations and Conclusion

Given the estimated annual savings of \$44 to \$139 million and a proven track record, Florida should work to implement Civil Citation programs throughout the state. The model for this program should be based on cost-effective, research-proven Civil Citation programs and should assist first-time, non-violent offenders with rehabilitation. Statewide implementation of programs in Florida should also incorporate substance abuse counseling, mental health treatment, urinalysis monitoring, and family counseling, as needed.

In lieu of residential facility stays, eligible juvenile offenders should be assessed with community service hours and required to report to a monitor within 7 days of when the citation was issued. However, failure to complete assigned tasks under this program should result in the removal of the offender, who would then be subject to traditional forms of punishment under the DJJ.

Diverting nonviolent, misdemeanor juveniles from the traditional juvenile justice system also generates long-term benefits in the form of increased economic productivity and employment. Juveniles who successfully participate in Civil Citation programs have a better chance of becoming and remaining contributing members of society rather than degenerating and becoming more significant, long-term burdens on state taxpayers.

Redirection of low-risk juveniles into programs such as Civil Citation produces better outcomes than incarceration at much lower cost — saving the state more than \$50 million in the past five

²⁶ Information from Dewey & Associates, direct electronic communication to Florida TaxWatch staff from Dewey Caruthers, April 14, 2011, based on 1,800 citations issued.

²⁷ Crosswinds Youth Services, “Civil Citation of Brevard County Progress Report,” January 5, 2011.

²⁸ *Ibid.* page 1

years.²⁹ Currently, Florida spends \$240 million annually to operate juvenile justice residential facilities that do not necessarily make Florida safer because stays in residential facilities may make low-risk children more likely to re-offend. Statistics show that juveniles who serve a term in a residential facility are more likely to return to the corrections system, either as a child or as an adult.³⁰ While juvenile residential care facilities serve a key function in the Florida Corrections system for those minors who are deemed a threat to society, they have historically been seen as a breeding ground for criminal misconduct for youth and eventually adult criminal behavior. By nipping non-serious misbehavior in the bud through Civil Citations for qualifying juvenile offenders, Florida can save a significant amount of taxpayer dollars now and in the future.

Consideration of these significant and long-lasting fiscal and societal benefits should weigh in the discussion of expanding Civil Citation programs statewide in Florida. Legislatively creating a framework for implementing Civil Citation processes in all communities throughout the state will bring further cost-savings and other benefits to taxpayers by giving nonviolent juvenile misdemeanants a rigorously earned, accountable, and community monitored second chance while improving outcomes, making our communities safer, and saving significant taxpayer dollars for many years to come.

²⁹ Florida TaxWatch and Southern Poverty Law Center, "Fiscal Responsibility: The Key to a Safer, Smarter, and Stronger Juvenile Justice System," December 2010; available at www.floridataxwatch.org/resources/pdf/12222010FiscalResponsibility.pdf.

³⁰ A 2008 study conducted by DJJ estimates that 75 percent of youth placed in residential care will commit another crime within five years of release, landing them back into the correctional system. The same study estimates the youth sent to prevention services recidivate at a rate of less than one out of every five (19 percent).

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