

STATE OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SUPREME COURT
APPEAL FROM THE COURT OF APPEALS

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,

Plaintiff-Appellee,

v.

Supreme Court No. 163073

Court of Appeals No. 351308

TRAVIS MICHAEL JOHNSON,

Defendant-Appellant,

**APPENDICES OF DETROIT JUSTICE CENTER, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES
UNION OF MICHIGAN, STREET DEMOCRACY, MICHIGAN STATE PLANNING
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INDEX OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

<i>Highway Robbery: How Metro Detroit Cops and Courts Steer Segregation and Drive Incarceration</i>	1
J. Chowning, E. Keith, & G. Leonard, March 2020	

APPENDIX B

<i>ACLU Challenges Debtors' Prisons Across Michigan</i>	66
ACLU, (Aug. 4, 2011)	

APPENDIX C

<i>SOCD, Three Years Later...</i>	71
Street Democracy (August 2018)	

APPENDIX D

<i>What if courts were designed to provide opportunity instead of punishment?</i>	74
<i>A report on the efficacy of functional sentences</i>	
Street Democracy (October 2018)	

APPENDIX E

<i>Court Costs Imposed and Collected 2016-2020</i>	81
State Court Administrative Office (January 2022)	

APPENDIX F

Fines and Costs Distribution Table	135
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APPENDIX G

<i>SOCD, 2020</i>	137
Street Democracy (2021)	

APPENDIX H

<i>Public Perception of Judicial Bias in Revenue Generation</i>	140
Street Democracy (2021)	

APPENDIX I

<i>Resolution 4, In Support of the Principles of the National Task Force on Fines, Fees, and Bail Practices</i>	155
Conference of Chief Justices and Conference of State Court Administrators (January 2018)	

APPENDIX J

<i>Resolution 107, Black Letter Recommendations</i>	157
American Bar Association (August 2004)	

APPENDIX A

*Highway Robbery: How Metro Detroit Cops and Courts
Steer Segregation and Drive Incarceration*

J. Chowning, E. Keith, & G. Leonard, March 2020



HIGHWAY ROBBERY

How Metro Detroit Cops & Courts
Steer Segregation and Drive Incarceration

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ABOUT THE DETROIT JUSTICE CENTER

The Detroit Justice Center (DJC) is a non-profit law firm working alongside communities to create economic opportunities, transform the justice system, and promote equitable and just cities.

March 2020

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HIGHWAY ROBBERY:

HOW METRO DETROIT COPS & COURTS STEER SEGREGATION AND DRIVE INCARCERATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	2
1. INTRODUCTION	4
2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: Why Detroiters Need To Drive	5
2(a). Insufficient public transit	6
2(b). Geography of opportunity	9
3. ROADBLOCKS: Barriers To Driving Legally	15
3(a). Barriers to learner’s permits	16
3(b). Cost of car insurance	17
3(c). Criminalization of driving while poor	18
4. GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT: How The Police Target Poor, Black Drivers	21
4(a). Wide police discretion to discriminate	21
4(b). Targeting the poor and racial bias	22
4(c). A confusing, inaccessible legal process, with no option for relief	24
5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: How The Government Profits Off Of Poor Drivers	25
5(a). Fines, fees, and costs	25
5(b). Bonds	30
5(c). The impound ransom	34
5(d). Clearance and license reinstatement fees	35
6. TICKET TO JAIL: How Courts Turn Minor Traffic Tickets Into A Cycle Of Arrests And Incarceration	36
6(a). Warrants	36
6(b). Contempt procedures	38
6(c). License suspensions	39
6(d). Jail time for traffic offenses and the legacy of “pay or stay” sentencing	40
7. SHIFTING GEARS: Recommendations For A Clear Road Ahead	44

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **DRIVING IS A NECESSITY FOR THE MAJORITY OF DETROITERS.** Regional public transit is woefully insufficient—so much so that only 7% of Detroiters take the bus daily or almost daily.¹ At the same time, Detroiters face some of the longest commutes in the country. Decades of housing discrimination have spread jobs and resources unequally across the metropolitan area, making it necessary for low-income and Black residents to travel long distances to predominantly white suburbs in order to get by. The effect is so strong that 70% of working Detroiters commute outside of the city for their job.² Given the lack of reliable transit options, many have no choice but to drive.
- **MICHIGAN HAS PUT UP VIRTUALLY INSURMOUNTABLE BARRIERS TO DRIVING LEGALLY FOR POOR PEOPLE.** Driver’s education costs around \$200-400 dollars.³ Car insurance is exorbitantly expensive: Detroit residents have annual premiums averaging \$5,414, the highest in the country.⁴ As a result, an estimated 60% of Detroit drivers are uninsured (compared to 13% nationally).⁵ Driving without car insurance is a misdemeanor in Michigan, and one for which a person can be sentenced to a year in jail.⁶ A number of additional state laws criminalize driving while poor in other ways, leaving low-income drivers vulnerable to being pulled over by the police every time they get behind the wheel.
- **AT THE SAME TIME, POLICE HAVE STRONG INCENTIVES AND WIDE DISCRETION TO TARGET POOR AND BLACK DRIVERS.** Because of how hard it is to drive legally while poor, police officers have a reason to pull over drivers they suspect are low-income. Racial profiling persists as well, particularly for Black Detroiters commuting through Detroit’s historically white suburbs. In Oakland County, for example, data shows that non-white people are arrested at disproportionately high rates in every single judicial district.⁷ Across Michigan, half of all criminal prosecutions are for minor traffic offenses, like driving with a suspended license or having expired plates.⁸
- **DISTRICT COURTS EXTRACT HUGE SUMS OF MONEY FROM POOR, BLACK DRIVERS TO FUND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.** After being ticketed by the police, drivers are ordered to pay high fines, fees, and costs to the district court, which can add up to hundreds of dollars for a single traffic ticket. Michigan law has created a system where district courts need to be self-funding—and even profit-generating—based on these monetary penalties, using residents who are often the poorest and most marginalized as their primary revenue stream. This creates a perverse incentive for judges, who are simultaneously tasked with determining a person’s guilt or innocence while also ensuring they find enough people guilty to pay for their court’s operations. There are a number of other ways the courts and the government extract wealth from low-income drivers, including monetary bonds, car impounding, and “clearance fees” required to restore a person’s license.

- **THIS SYSTEM PUSHES POOR DRIVERS INTO A NEVER-ENDING CYCLE OF JAIL AND COURT-INVOLVEMENT.** Using warrants and contempt procedures, Metro Detroit courts regularly jail people over non-criminal traffic tickets if they are too poor to pay what they owe. Nonpayment also triggers driver's license suspension, setting people up to be charged with a criminal misdemeanor the next time they're pulled over. The first time, driving with a suspended license can result in a jail sentence of up to 93 days; the second time, that increases to an entire year.⁹ After spending days, weeks, or months in jail, people are at risk of losing their job and any possible means of paying off their debt.
- **METRO DETROIT POLICE AND COURTS ARE ENGAGING IN WHAT AMOUNTS TO HIGHWAY ROBBERY OF MARGINALIZED DRIVERS.** Historically white suburbs fund their courts and city governments off of low-income and Black Detroiters commuting there for work, reinforcing decades-long patterns of segregation. Michigan jails are filled with people who made the mistake of driving while poor. This report calls attention to these problems and offers recommendations to chart a new future—a clear road ahead.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Stop criminalizing poor drivers:

- Eliminate misdemeanors that criminalize driving while poor.
- Expunge all existing misdemeanor convictions for traffic offenses.
- Repeal civil infractions that are unnecessary or that penalize driving while poor.

Stop profit-seeking traffic enforcement:

- For remaining civil infractions, offer deferred penalties and payment alternatives. Where fines are assessed, cap them and index them to people's economic situation.
- Eliminate fees and costs entirely, including late fees, reinstatement fees, and clearance fees.
- Create a simple, standardized state-wide system that allows people to demonstrate indigency and resolve traffic tickets without going to court.
- Eliminate all current outstanding traffic enforcement debt.

Stop the traffic enforcement-to-jail pipeline:

- Recall all open warrants for failure to appear or failure to pay, and stop issuing warrants in traffic cases.
- End license suspensions.

Make transit safe and accessible for everyone:

- Create an insurance program that guarantees low rates for indigent drivers.
- Create a compliance fund to assist indigent drivers with the costs of vehicle repairs.
- Require police to give out vouchers and information on the spot.
- Fix regional public transit.

1. INTRODUCTION

This scenario depicts the life circumstances of an actual Detroit Justice Center client before we helped navigate and resolve their traffic matters.

A siren sounds behind you, accompanied by the familiar flashing lights. You have been pulled over by the police. You roll down your window in the frigid winter cold as the officer approaches your vehicle. When he requests to view your license and registration, you respond with a panicked look. Your license was suspended a year prior when money was tight and you couldn't pay a traffic ticket. Since then, things have only seemed to spiral downhill. First, you were diagnosed with cervical cancer while pregnant with your third child and you have not been able to work while undergoing treatment. Then, this lack of income caused you to become homeless along with your two children. Now, without a valid driver's license, you are in desperate need of reliable public transit in order to get to your doctor's appointments. But in Metro Detroit, subjecting your toddlers to subzero temperatures while waiting for a bus that may never come could have life-threatening consequences. To make matters worse, the buses nearest your home on Detroit's Eastside don't even reach the suburban hospital on their route, requiring you to transfer four separate times. So, here you are, behind the wheel.

The officer notes that your license is suspended and thus he could arrest you for driving as this is a criminal offense. With your pregnancy and fragile condition, the idea of jail fills you with absolute dread. You begin to weep, explaining that you are a single parent and would have no one to watch your children while incarcerated, even for just a few hours. Seeing your youngest in the backseat, the officer agrees not to arrest you, but instead gives you two more tickets—one for a faulty headlight and one for driving while your license is suspended. The latter is a misdemeanor traffic violation and requires you to appear in court. If you are convicted, it can never be expunged from your record and you will face fines, fees, costs, and possibly jail time.

When your summons comes in the mail, you skip your court date out of fear, knowing you cannot afford to pay anything. Your priority is finding housing before your due date, and most importantly, beating the cancer, as your medical bills continue to pile up. Your failure to appear results in a warrant for your arrest. The only way to clear it would be to walk in to court and pay a bond—yours is set at \$7,500 and you would be required to post at least 10%, money you don't have. Because you can't pass a background check with an open warrant, your hopes of picking up even a minor part time job are dashed. Still, with no other reliable way to get to your doctor and care for your children, you continue driving your vehicle. You are trapped in a vicious cycle, with the possibility of an arrest, more tickets, and more misdemeanors hanging over your head at all times.

Our hope for this report

For some people, receiving a speeding ticket or a ticket for a faulty taillight is a minor inconvenience or annoyance. For the speeding ticket, they'll just pay the balance. For the taillight, they'll just get it fixed, show proof at their local police precinct, and have the ticket dismissed. But what happens to those who can't just get it fixed? Those who can't pay the speeding ticket? For many low-income Metro Detroiters, this is an all-too-common reality: a single unaffordable ticket becomes an ever-growing web of unpayable fines, suspended licenses, warrants, and the constant threat of incarceration—a potentially life-altering ticket to jail.

As attorneys and advocates at the Detroit Justice Center, this problem is personal. In the nearly two years since we've opened our doors, we've represented indigent client after indigent client—mothers, fathers, young adults, seniors, formerly incarcerated individuals—people from all walks of life who are struggling to navigate these legal roadblocks, which they face solely due to their inability to pay.

We write this report because winning one case for one client is simply not enough. This system of modern-day segregation will continue to trap marginalized drivers in debt, fund suburban communities off of the region's poorest residents, and send people to jail for victimless traffic offenses. It is our hope that by examining the historical and legal context that created this vicious cycle, bringing light to experiences of people who have been directly impacted, and putting forward recommendations for change, we can empower our community members, lawmakers, and fellow advocates to construct a clear road ahead—a reality free from the detours and dead ends of driving while poor.

2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: Why Detroiters Need To Drive

True to its name, the Motor City still requires many residents to drive in order to get by. The historical influence of race and class tensions has had profound consequences for both public transit and the city-suburb divide in Metro Detroit. As a result, thousands of Detroiters need to commute to the suburbs in order to find work or access other resources, but they lack reliable public transit options to get there. Their license is their lifeline: their ticket to mobility and economic opportunity.

2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: WHY DETROITERS NEED TO DRIVE

2(A). INSUFFICIENT PUBLIC TRANSIT

“...The Motor City’s transit-starved condition is not simply the outcome of its automakers’ political influence, but an extreme example of how transportation systems in U.S. cities have been shaped by race and class divisions, divisions that transportation systems reinforce in turn.”¹⁰

—Joel Batterman, *Race, Class and Public Transit in the Motor City*

Metro Detroit lacks adequate and reliable public transit, making travel in the region difficult unless you can drive. Decades of political struggle between Detroit and the suburbs over regional public transit has resulted in a fragmented system with two different bus agencies: Detroit Department of Transportation (DDOT) operating inside the city and the Suburban Mobility Authority for Regional Transportation (SMART) operating mainly outside of it.

For nearly a century, efforts to establish rapid public transit in Metro Detroit have been blocked, in large part, due to fears of racial integration.¹¹ One particularly relevant example is the failure of the Southeast Michigan Transportation Authority (SEMTA), the precursor to SMART. SEMTA was established in 1967 to develop plans for a full regional transportation system.¹² SEMTA’s original proposal centered on a subway and rail line network that would connect Detroit to the suburbs.¹³ The federal government pledged hundreds of millions of dollars towards funding SEMTA’s project as long as Michigan could approve the plan and provide a share of the funding.¹⁴ But SEMTA’s plans were repeatedly thwarted by the suburbs, even as its proposals grew less and less ambitious over time.¹⁵ Suburban whites came out to SEMTA meetings in large numbers to protest the “undesirables, transit crime and low-income housing” that they feared would come to their neighborhoods with expanded public transit.¹⁶ At a time when Coleman Young, Detroit’s first Black mayor, was in charge, a mayor in the suburbs denounced the transit plan as an effort by Detroit politicians to “legally rape the voters of southeastern Michigan.”¹⁷ The *Oakland Press* published a racist cartoon depicting Coleman Young tying a white woman—representing Oakland County taxpayers—to the subway tracks.¹⁸

“Why should the people of Oakland County finance a subway that will merely serve as a ‘pipeline’ for the vile contents of Detroit to pour out from that ‘scum-hole’ of a city onto our county?”¹⁹

—Oakland County resident writing to the Oakland Press (1980)

The 1980 election of Ronald Reagan as President dealt the fatal blow to SEMTA’s regional rail transit plans as the federal government retracted its offer of funding.²⁰ SEMTA also failed at the more modest goal of consolidating the Detroit and suburban bus lines into a unified system, and for many of the same reasons: white suburban opposition, funding woes, and city-suburb power struggles.²¹ SEMTA officially died in 1989, and hopes of uniting suburban and city transit died along with it.²² SMART was created in its wake, excluding the City of Detroit.²³ Regional transit would be limited to two disjointed bus systems, a far cry from the original vision of a rapid subway/rail network. To make matters worse, the Michigan legislature gave suburban communities the ability to opt out of SMART bus service if they do not want to pay taxes for it.²⁴ Out of 127 communities in Metro Detroit, 51 have opted out of SMART.²⁵

In 2014, then-Oakland County Executive L. Brooks Patterson was interviewed by The New Yorker for a piece titled Drop Dead, Detroit!:

“Anytime I talk about Detroit, it will not be positive. Therefore, I’m called a Detroit basher. The truth hurts, you know? Tough shit. ... I made a prediction a long time ago, and it’s come to pass. I said ‘What we’re going to do is turn Detroit into an Indian reservation, where we herd all the Indians into the city, build a fence around it, and then throw in the blankets and corn.’”²⁶

The problems with Metro Detroit’s public transit continue today. Because bus routes have been determined by politics rather than commuter patterns,²⁷ they rarely provide a straightforward path to get residents where they need to go. More commonly, people must transfer several times between both DDOT and SMART and walk miles to fill gaps in the bus service before they reach their destination. For many others, the absurdly long commute times and walking distances make getting around via bus an impractical or impossible option. In Detroit, the average bus commute takes twice as long as the average commute by car (52 vs. 26 minutes respectively).²⁸ The QLine streetcar and the People Mover light rail offer no better solution for the majority of Detroiters—each covers only about three miles in Detroit’s Downtown and Midtown

2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: WHY DETROITERS NEED TO DRIVE

neighborhoods,²⁹ which are centers of gentrification in the city.³⁰ A committee member for M-1 Rail, the organization that runs the QLine streetcars, even admitted who the QLine was built for by stating that streetcars are ineffective for Detroiters but that “rich, white people don’t ride buses.”³¹

Furthermore, the buses that run along Metro Detroit’s limited routes are not dependable and can jeopardize a rider’s attendance record or employment status. Even as bus service has improved in recent years, DDOT reported in 2019 that 24% of its buses do not arrive on time.³² At this rate of tardiness, a Detroit worker who takes the bus to work or a Detroit student who takes it to school will be late more than once every week. Detroit public schools deem students truant after just ten unexcused absences;³³ many workers can be fired for showing up late even once.³⁴ SMART buses are similarly late, sometimes not showing up at all.³⁵ The problem is particularly challenging for Detroit’s senior residents, residents with disabilities, and residents with small children, as braving freezing temperatures with unpredictable bus schedules is unsafe.

As a result of all these problems, a mere 7% of Detroiters take the bus daily or almost daily.³⁶ Driving—with or without a valid license—is many residents’ only realistic transit option.

Case study: James Robertson, Detroit’s “Walking Man”³⁷

In 2015, the story of Detroit’s James Robertson made national news. Mr. Robertson, then 56, was dubbed the “walking man” because of his commute, which included taking the bus and 21 miles of walking round-trip every working day for the last decade. Even though he used public transit, he needed to walk such an astonishing distance because his factory job was in Rochester Hills, a city in Oakland County that opted out of paying the SMART transit millage and thus an area that did not receive bus service. Additionally, because he worked a 2:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. shift, he faced gaps in DDOT bus service late at night as he returned home to Detroit’s North End. He needed to leave at 8:00 a.m. each morning to ensure he got to work on time. Most nights he wouldn’t get home until 4:00 a.m., leaving him only two or three hours to sleep. On an hourly wage of \$10.55, Mr. Robertson couldn’t afford a car or car insurance. However, after his story went viral, a GoFundMe page was set up on his behalf. Donations poured in that ultimately raised more than \$350,000. A car dealership in Sterling Heights gifted him a Ford Taurus.

The above case study illustrates the unfortunate reality of transit in Metro Detroit. The public transit system is insufficient, and the happy ending of

Mr. Robertson’s story was that he could finally drive to work. Though Mr. Robertson’s commitment to his commute was admirable, many people are not physically able to walk 21 miles every day—the equivalent of walking from Detroit to Lansing every week.³⁸ In order to get where they need to go, driving is their only choice.

2(B). GEOGRAPHY OF OPPORTUNITY

In addition to poor public transit options, Detroiters face some of the longest commutes in the country.³⁹ Jobs and other resources are spread unequally across the metropolitan area, making it all the more necessary for low-income residents and people of color to travel far distances to get what they need. To understand the “geography of opportunity” of Metro Detroit—how resources are spatially distributed along racial, ethnic, and/or socioeconomic lines⁴⁰—requires an understanding of the history of housing discrimination and segregation in the region.

The practice of redlining emerged in the 1930s, in which the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) systematically and openly discriminated against non-whites in the process of securing home loans and mortgages.⁴¹ The HOLC’s “residential security maps” gave neighborhoods ratings to guide appraisals; these ratings were based largely on the racial demographics of the area and whether there was an “infiltration” of “undesirable” races.⁴² Almost every neighborhood with even a small Black population was given a D grade, the HOLC’s worst rating (and colored red, hence the term redlining).⁴³ These redlined neighborhoods suffered from a lack of investment and segregation deepened as whites fled to less “hazardous” and more economically prosperous areas.⁴⁴ The FHA used the maps to methodologically refuse to insure mortgages in Black neighborhoods, and to make it nearly impossible for Black families to move to areas that would provide better opportunities. Simultaneously, the agency was subsidizing new housing developments in other areas on the condition that they not allow Black residents, based on an official policy that “incompatible racial groups should not be permitted to live in the same communities” and a false belief that Black neighbors moving in would decrease property values (in fact, Black families were often willing to pay more, so property values rose).⁴⁵ In Detroit in 1940, the FHA even rejected a developer’s plans to build a whites-only community near a Black neighborhood until the developer built a six-foot tall concrete wall to separate the races.⁴⁶ Called the Birwood Wall, it runs perpendicular to Eight Mile and still stands today.⁴⁷

2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: WHY DETROITERS NEED TO DRIVE

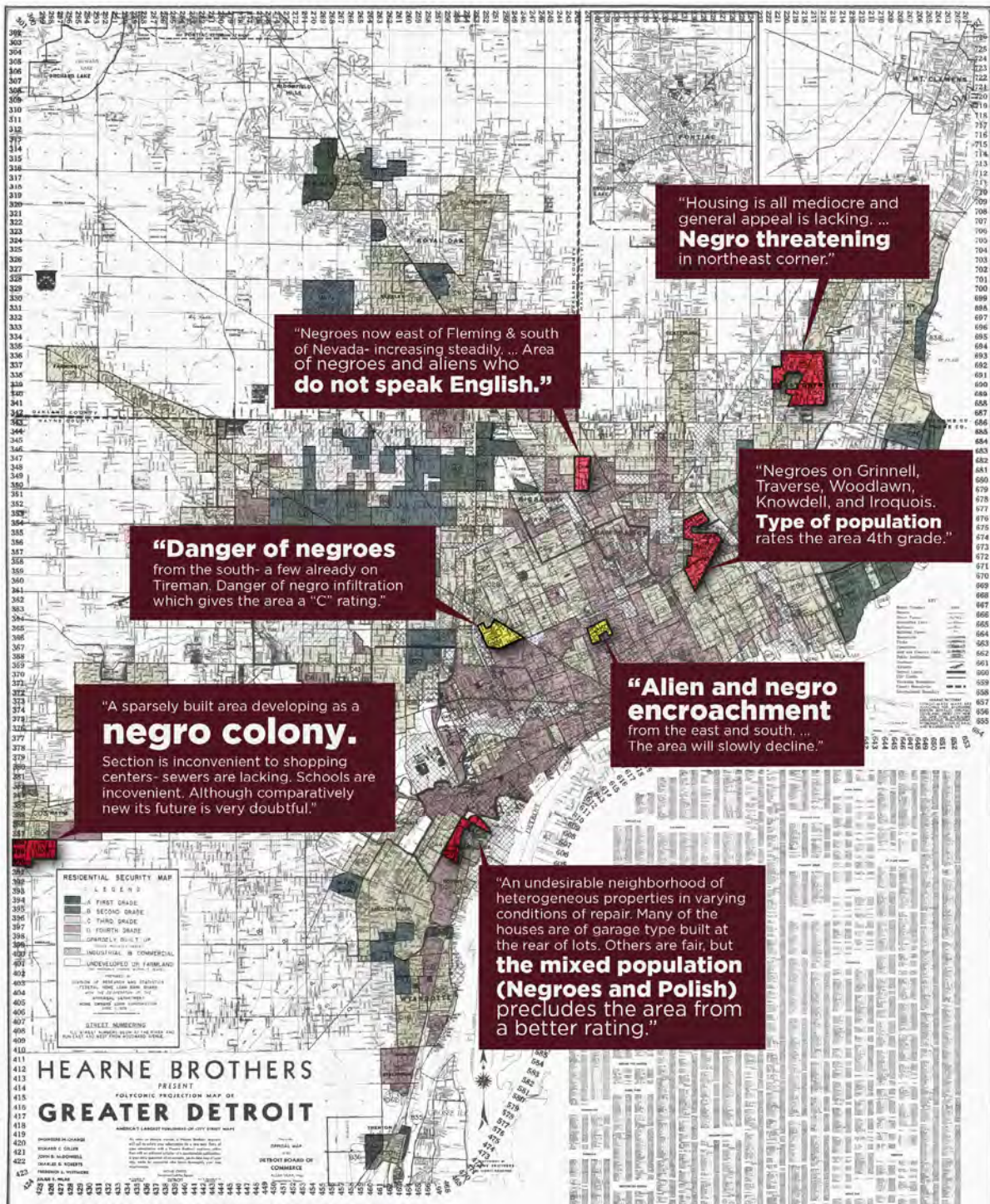
*Figure 1: The Birwood Wall (1941).*⁴⁸



*Figure 2: At the Sojourner Truth homes, a federal housing project in Detroit, white neighbors rioted in protest of Black tenants moving in and mounted this billboard across from the project (1942).*⁴⁹



Figure 3: The HOLC map for greater Detroit along with examples of neighborhood descriptions.⁵⁰



2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: WHY DETROITERS NEED TO DRIVE

Meanwhile, property owners and neighborhood associations were using racially restrictive covenants as another way to discriminate against Black Detroiters. Racial covenants, agreements written into deeds that prohibited certain races from owning or occupying the property, spread widely through Detroit starting in the 1920s until the late 1940s.⁵¹ At their peak, they applied to four out of every five Detroit properties outside of the inner city,⁵² severely limiting housing options for non-white families. It wasn't until 1947 that a case challenging Detroit's racial covenants made it all the way to the United States Supreme Court and these agreements were finally declared unconstitutional.⁵³

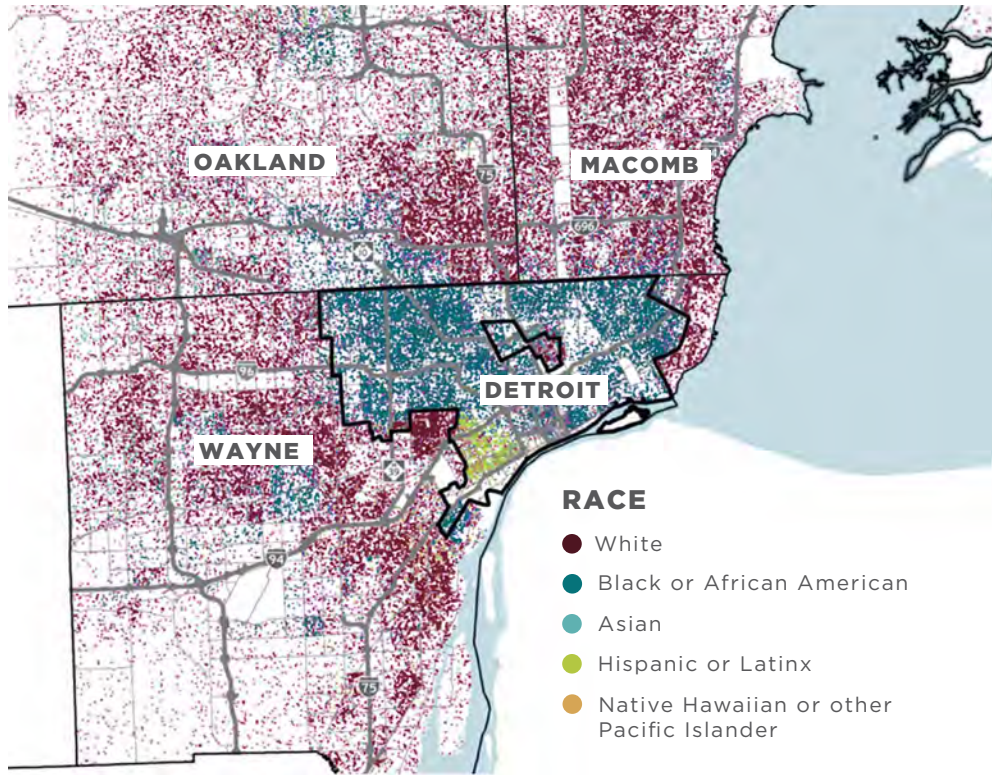
However, housing discrimination in Detroit was far from over. In 1951, only 1.15% of new homes built in the entire Metro Detroit area were available to Black people.⁵⁴ But when Black families tried to rent instead of buy, they faced discrimination from landlords who either barred Black tenants entirely or charged them significantly higher rent, exploiting their desperation in the struggle to find housing.⁵⁵ "White flight" to the suburbs started during deindustrialization near the end of World War II and accelerated after the 1967 Detroit Rebellion, caused by a decades-long build-up of tension due to systemic racism.⁵⁶ Within ten years, the racial demographics of Detroit flipped from mostly white to three-quarters Black.⁵⁷ Still, Black Detroiters struggled to obtain mortgages due to redlining and real estate agents continued to enforce boundaries between the predominantly white and predominantly Black neighborhoods.⁵⁸

These historical forces and others worked together to create today's Metro Detroit, which is, by some measures, the most racially segregated metropolitan area in the country.⁵⁹ The consequences are huge. The spatial separation is not solely racial—it also encompasses divides between socioeconomic classes, sites of historical investment or disinvestment, and areas of opportunity versus areas of systemic deprivation. As just one example, the poverty rate in Detroit (36.4%) is more than three times higher than the poverty rate in Macomb County (11.0%) and four times higher than in Oakland County (8.2%).⁶⁰

“To a great extent in postwar America, geography is destiny. Access to goods and resources—public services, education, and jobs—depends upon place of residence. In modern America, where you live determines to a great extent the quality of your schools, your roads, your access to employment, and how much you pay for these benefits in the form of taxes.”⁶¹

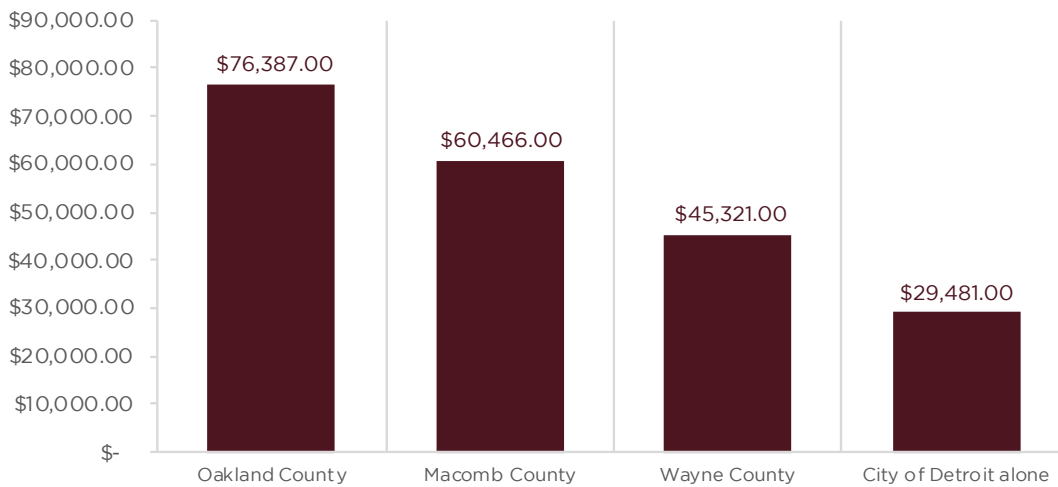
— Thomas Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*

Figure 4: The racial demographics of Detroit versus the suburbs.⁶²



Map and data reproduced from *Detroit Future City, 139 Square Miles* p. 22 (2017).

Figure 5: The median household income (2014-2018) in Oakland County, Macomb County, Wayne County, and the City of Detroit alone.⁶³



2. LICENSE AS A LIFELINE: WHY DETROITERS NEED TO DRIVE

As a result, for many low-income, predominantly Black Detroiters, access to resources and economic opportunities depends on their ability to travel long distances. All sorts of essential resources are spatialized throughout the area: for example, many city residents must travel miles, often outside of city limits, for a grocery store with affordable and healthy food. Compared to the City of Detroit, there are four times as many grocery stores per person in Wayne County overall, twice as many in Macomb County, and three times as many in Oakland County.⁶⁴ Detroit also has worse access to health care, including primary care providers, than the neighboring suburbs.⁶⁵ But the most significant reason Detroiters need to go to the suburbs is for work.

For decades, construction and manufacturing jobs have allowed for thousands of Detroiters to make a relatively fair living wage. But as these industries have declined, those jobs have become especially scarce in the City of Detroit compared to its suburbs;⁶⁶ for example, in 2017, the rate of construction employment in Metro Detroit was double the rate in Detroit alone.⁶⁷ In the City of Detroit, employment sectors that pay workers with less formal education fairly well are declining,⁶⁸ forcing workers seeking that fair pay to look to the suburbs. At the same time, even though Detroit has seen a moderate expansion of extremely low-wage jobs in sectors like retail, food, and accommodations,⁶⁹ there are still not enough of these jobs to meet demand, so many of Detroit's lowest-income residents must commute to the suburbs to find work as well.⁷⁰

Although some people point to Detroit's "renaissance" as a sign that the city's economic prospects are improving, these changes have been limited to the downtown region and have done little to impact conditions for the majority of Detroiters. In fact, since the "renaissance" is associated with an influx of young, white college graduates downtown, it is exacerbating the problem of spatialized and racialized inequity throughout the metropolitan region.⁷¹ Many of the higher-paying jobs in Detroit (including much of the new job growth in the downtown area) require higher levels of education, making them out of reach for the majority of Detroit residents who have not attended college.⁷² In the second quarter of 2019, 40% of the jobs posted in Detroit required a college degree or higher,⁷³ but only 13% of Detroiters over age 25 have that level of education.⁷⁴

Detroit's commuting patterns reflect this reality. 158,000 non-Detroiters commute into the City of Detroit for work, 59% of them for jobs that pay more than \$40,000 a year.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, 112,000 Detroit residents commute outside of the city for work, 36% for jobs that pay less than \$15,000 per year.⁷⁶ One out of every ten of these lowest-income workers have commutes of more than 50 miles.⁷⁷ Only 49,000 Detroiters both live and work in the city.⁷⁸ Put differently, 70% of working Detroit residents commute outside of the city for their job. Overall, Metro Detroit is the most decentralized metro area in the country for employment: more than 77% of the region's jobs are more than 10 miles outside of the city's central business district, according to a report from the Brookings Institution.⁷⁹

70%

of working Detroiters commute outside of the city for their job.

In summary, thousands of low-income, predominantly Black Detroiters face poor job prospects in the City of Detroit itself. To support themselves and their families, in the pursuit of economic opportunity, they must commute to the suburbs. They do not have a choice. And for those whose commutes would take hours of walking, waiting, or transferring on public transit, many do not have a choice but to drive. Unfortunately, these same people often face insurmountable barriers to driving legally.

3. ROADBLOCKS: Barriers To Driving Legally

Despite how essential it is for people in Metro Detroit to drive, the ability to drive legally is a privilege reserved for those who can afford it. For those living in poverty—like one in every three Detroit residents⁸⁰—the system is stacked against them from the start.

3. ROADBLOCKS: BARRIERS TO DRIVING LEGALLY

3(A). BARRIERS TO LEARNER'S PERMITS

Many people do not have and have never had a valid driver's license, beginning with the problems they face as teens when trying to get their learner's permits (in Michigan, these are officially called learner's licenses and intermediate licenses). Michigan requires that young people learning to drive enroll in an in-person driver's education program.⁸¹ Only a few public schools in the state offer this course for free; virtually everywhere else, they will charge students \$200-\$400 or more.⁸² Paying for these courses is not a viable option for many families already living below the poverty line, and in 2004, Michigan eliminated statewide public financial assistance for driver's education.⁸³

Moreover, getting a valid driver's license requires teens with a learner's permit to record 50 practice hours of driving with a licensed adult driver.⁸⁴ However, with the high cost of auto insurance and vehicle registration fees—see sections **3(B)** and **3(C)**—many teens grow up in homes without an insured, registered vehicle, if their homes have a vehicle at all. Likewise, their parents or guardians may have suspended driver's licenses due to their inability to pay fines and fees—section **5(A)**—or they may never have gotten valid licenses in the first place due to these same barriers.

With no access to driver's education, no legal driver to certify their practice hours, and no vehicle with which to legally practice, getting a driver's license can be a true challenge. Additionally, taking the actual road test (for some teens, more than once) can be costly as well. Thus, many teens learn to drive in unlicensed vehicles on their own, or they are taught by another unauthorized driver. They then go on to drive without ever having taken a road test—a reality so normalized that many don't initially know it is an actual criminal offense until they are pulled over. By the time these teens reach age 18 and are eligible to apply for their license without the requirements of costly driver's education and mandatory hours of instruction, they may already have unpaid tickets that have preemptively suspended their ability to apply. In fact, even if they *have* paid their tickets, if they have already received two moving violations—which can easily result from a single traffic stop—they are barred from eligibility for a valid driver's license for three years under Michigan law.⁸⁵

3(B). COST OF CAR INSURANCE

Perhaps the largest and most universal barrier to driving legally for low-income Detroiters is the high cost of car insurance. In 1973, Michigan switched to a no-fault auto insurance system, meaning a driver's auto insurance company is responsible for damages of an accident regardless of who was at fault.⁸⁶ The policy was intended to decrease the number of lawsuits filed in Michigan courts between drivers attempting to determine fault in a collision.⁸⁷ Yet while a number of other states also have no-fault auto insurance, Michigan was unique in mandating unlimited Personal Injury Protection (PIP) coverage—requiring insurance companies to be responsible for paying for *unlimited, lifetime* medical damages resulting from an accident.⁸⁸ At the same time, Michigan lacks regulations to outline medical fee schedules, so hospitals can charge car insurance companies significantly more than they would charge health insurance companies for the same treatment of a patient after a car accident.⁸⁹ Michigan car insurance companies also use factors that are unrelated to a person's driving record, such as their credit score and neighborhood of residence, to set different rates for different people.⁹⁰

As a result of these policies, the average cost per car accident claim in Michigan is more than \$75,000, the highest in the country and five times the size of the next-highest state.⁹¹ These costs are pushed onto the consumer. Michigan has the most expensive car insurance rates in the country, with an average annual premium of \$2,610—over \$200 per month.⁹² Detroit residents pay more than twice that amount (and four times the national average), with average annual premiums of \$5,414.⁹³ At this rate, half of all households in Detroit would need to spend one out of every five pre-tax dollars they make *or more* on car insurance in order to drive legally.⁹⁴ Low-income and Black drivers are impacted the most, as they are more likely to have damaged credit due to the history of discriminatory and predatory lending from banks.⁹⁵ Since car insurance companies set rates based on credit score, Michigan drivers with poor credit pay an average of \$4,500 more than those with exceptional credit, even if their driving record is flawless.⁹⁶ Nationally, an estimated 13% of drivers are uninsured.⁹⁷ In Michigan, the estimate is 20%.⁹⁸ In Detroit, it's 60%.⁹⁹

60%

of Detroit drivers are uninsured.

3. ROADBLOCKS: BARRIERS TO DRIVING LEGALLY

In the spring of 2019, Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer signed into law a plan to reform Michigan’s no-fault auto insurance by giving drivers the option to reduce their PIP coverage and putting limits on how much hospitals can charge car insurance companies relative to health insurance companies.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, it is improbable that these measures will be drastic enough to make car insurance affordable for Detroit’s low-income residents—especially because the legislation still permits car insurance companies to charge different rates for people living in different neighborhoods with little regulation.¹⁰¹ In order for the U.S. Treasury Department’s Federal Insurance Office to consider auto insurance to be affordable, premiums must not exceed 2% of the median household income of a given ZIP code; they currently represent 12-36% of income in virtually every Detroit neighborhood.¹⁰²

Driving without car insurance is a criminal misdemeanor in Michigan, and a misdemeanor for which a judge can sentence someone to an entire year in jail.¹⁰³ For the foreseeable future, a large swath of Detroiters will be priced out of car insurance and, as a result, any hope of driving legally in this state.

3(C). CRIMINALIZATION OF DRIVING WHILE POOR

In addition to the misdemeanor of driving without insurance, a number of other laws in Michigan make it a crime to drive while poor. An even larger number of laws establish traffic “civil infractions,” which, despite being non-criminal in nature, can result in many of the same consequences—including high fines/fees, license suspensions, and even jail time.

DEFINITIONS

Misdemeanor: *A minor offense that is criminal in nature; misdemeanor convictions can result in hefty fines, fees, costs, and/or jail sentences of up to one year. Traffic-related misdemeanors include things such as driving without a license or while your license is suspended, driving without insurance, and driving an unregistered vehicle. In Michigan, traffic misdemeanors are not expungeable,¹⁰⁴ meaning they will stay on a person’s criminal record forever. Because misdemeanors are handled in the criminal legal system, people charged with them will be found “guilty” or “not guilty.”*

Civil infraction: *A minor violation that is non-criminal. Because civil infractions are not criminal offenses, the punishment for them can only be a monetary fine. A person cannot be sentenced to jail for a civil infraction, but there are other ways people end up in jail due to civil infractions if they are unable to pay the money they owe.¹⁰⁵ Instead of being found guilty or not guilty, for a civil infraction a person is found “responsible” or “not responsible.” Traffic civil infractions include things such as speeding, failing to use a turn signal, or driving with a cracked windshield.*

As one example, there are a number of car maintenance requirements that create traps for individuals living in poverty.

Table 1: Civil infractions pertaining to vehicle equipment.

OFFENSE	STATUTE	ESTIMATED COST TO REPAIR	EXAMPLE FINE (36TH DISTRICT) ¹⁰⁶
Expired plate	MCL § 257.255(2)	\$120 ¹⁰⁷	\$145, \$185 after 14 days
Broken windshield	MCL § 257.709(c)	Up to \$300 ¹⁰⁸	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Broken headlight	MCL § 257.685(1)	\$50 for bulb replacement, up to \$700 for entire headlight assembly ¹⁰⁹	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Brakes that decelerate too slowly	MCL § 257.705(2)	Up to \$1,000 ¹¹⁰	\$200, \$240 after 14 days
Quiet or broken horn	MCL § 257.706(a)	\$100 ¹¹¹	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Damaged muffler or exhaust system; car causing “excessive” noise/fumes/smoke	MCL § 257.707(1); MCL § 257.707c(1); MCL § 257.707c(3); MCL § 257.707c(5)	\$160-\$240 ¹¹²	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Broken mirror	MCL § 257.708	\$290-\$420 ¹¹³	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Broken windshield wiper	MCL § 257.709(4)	\$230-\$310 ¹¹⁴	\$120, \$160 after 14 days
Defective bumper	MCL § 257.710(c)	\$890-\$1390 ¹¹⁵	\$120, \$160 after 14 days

Fixing a cracked windshield, a dented bumper, or a broken car mirror can cost a person hundreds of dollars. For some drivers, this is a minor inconvenience. If they can afford to make the repairs, they are often able to show proof to their local police precinct and have their ticket dismissed.¹¹⁶ For drivers living in poverty, though, a few hundred dollars can be the difference between paying rent, putting food on the table, and affording necessary medications or not. If they can’t afford to make the repairs or pay the ticket, not only are they set on the path towards long-term debt and driver’s license suspension that accompanies an unpaid ticket, but they can be pulled over by the police and ticketed for the same equipment violation again and again.

Yet while civil infraction tickets can have large consequences, a ticket is generally what drivers expect when they are pulled over. Many drivers would not expect that they could be charged with a crime for a minor traffic violation unrelated to unsafe driving, arrested on the spot, and sentenced to weeks or months in jail if convicted. A number of these crimes are based on laws that are particularly hard—or even impossible—for people to follow if they are living in poverty.

3. ROADBLOCKS: BARRIERS TO DRIVING LEGALLY

Table 2: Misdemeanors that criminalize driving while poor.

OFFENSE	STATUTE	PENALTY
Driving without auto insurance	MCL § 500.3102(2)	Up to 1 year in jail and/or a \$200-\$500 fine
Driving an unregistered vehicle	MCL § 257.215	Up to 90 days in jail and/or up to a \$100 fine ¹¹⁷
Driving without a license ¹¹⁸	MCL § 257.904a	Up to 90 days in jail and/or a \$50-\$100 fine for a first offense; after a prior conviction, 2-90 days in jail and/or a \$100 fine
Driving with a suspended, revoked, or denied license ¹¹⁹	MCL § 257.904(3)(a-b)	Up to 93 days in jail and/or up to a \$500 fine for a first violation; after a prior conviction, up to 1 year in jail and/or up to a \$1,000 fine

As outlined in the previous section **3(B)**, auto insurance in Detroit is objectively unaffordable (by federal government standards) to almost all residents, but driving without it is a misdemeanor. Similarly, the cost of vehicle registration can be prohibitive: approximately \$120 per year on average,¹²⁰ and Michigan penalizes drivers of used/older cars (which are often cheaper) by charging registration fees based on the vehicle's retail price at the time it was first sold.¹²¹ Anyone who cannot afford the payment loses their ability to drive legally. And as detailed in section **3(A)**, there are a host of systemic barriers to obtaining a license at all when you grow up in poverty, but driving without a license is a crime under Michigan law. Perhaps most importantly, if you *do* have a license, it can be suspended at any time if you can't afford to pay even a minor traffic ticket (see section **6(C)**).¹²² Then, because driving with a suspended license is criminalized as well, people are sent down a traffic ticket-to-incarceration pipeline: you can't pay one civil infraction ticket so your license is suspended, and the next time you're pulled over for any reason you can be found guilty of a misdemeanor and sentenced to jail.¹²³

Taken together, these barriers to driving legally leave low-income drivers vulnerable to being pulled into contact with law enforcement and the courts every time they get behind the wheel. Within this context, local police, suburban municipalities, and traffic courts in Michigan work together to extract huge sums of money from poor—especially poor and Black—drivers, both funding municipal courts off their backs and helping to maintain racial and economic segregation.

4. GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT: How The Police Target Poor, Black Drivers

“I get so nervous when I see police cars. I’m like, oh God. I instantly started praying. I look in my purse to see if I have sleeping meds with me, Benadryl or something. Because I’m not going to be awake through this process [of going to jail]. I’m sorry, I did drive, but I was only driving to, you know, try and get my kids to school or get to work. I don’t know. I don’t know. It’s just, it’s difficult and I don’t know how I will get [my license].”

— DJC client (February 2020)

City police in Michigan spend an enormous amount of their time and resources issuing traffic tickets, with approximately 1.38 million traffic citations processed in 2016 alone.¹²⁴ In many cities across Metro Detroit, including Allen Park, Hazel Park, Romulus, Taylor, Lincoln Park, Madison Heights, and Ferndale, the police issued between 50 and 75 traffic tickets per every 100 residents that year.¹²⁵ And in Metro Detroit, these tickets are disproportionately targeted against poor and Black drivers. This profiling is particularly pronounced in historically white suburbs, helping to maintain decades-old patterns of regional segregation.

Because the police have wide discretion to stop whomever they want with little to no oversight, and because the law establishes barriers to driving legally for low-income and predominantly Black Detroiters, police profiling based on race and class follows. And when these drivers are ticketed, they are often denied the opportunity to contest or handle their tickets through the appropriate legal channels, pushing them deep into a web of debt and criminal legal involvement.

4(A). WIDE POLICE DISCRETION TO DISCRIMINATE

The law gives the police the green light to target poor, Black drivers. The Supreme Court has ruled that it’s perfectly fine for police officers to use minor traffic violations as pretext for traffic stops in order to investigate completely baseless suspicions of other crimes.¹²⁶ This can be true even if the police end up being wrong about the facts that led to the traffic stop,¹²⁷ and even if the police end up being wrong about the law itself.¹²⁸ The Court has also made it nearly impossible to hold police departments accountable for bias or

4. GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT: HOW THE POLICE TARGET POOR, BLACK DRIVERS

discrimination by setting unreasonably high standards of proof¹²⁹ and gutting the ability of private citizens to sue police departments for discrimination based on the Civil Rights Act.¹³⁰ Taken together, these rulings essentially give officers a free pass to target drivers based on their race or socioeconomic status, so long as they do so under the guise of a minor traffic stop.

This is fairly easy for police officers, because state laws have created so many possible motor vehicle infractions that the police can find a reason to stop and ticket almost anyone they choose. Michigan drivers can be pulled over and cited for hanging an air freshener from their car's mirror.¹³¹ Alternatively, police officers can watch or follow drivers until they make the sort of minor violation that the average driver makes each day, such as driving through a yellow light,¹³² changing lanes without properly using a turn signal,¹³³ or making a rolling stop at a stop sign.¹³⁴

Two DJC clients who have been stopped for “impeding traffic” help illustrate how easy it is for the police to find a justification to pull over whomever they want. In one case, a client was stopped by the police for impeding traffic when he pulled to the side of the road to drop his son off at school. In another case, a client was pulled over for impeding traffic when he stopped suddenly in the street—to avoid hitting a pedestrian who had run out in front of his car.

If a police officer sees a driver they want to pull over but who isn't visibly breaking any traffic rules, they also have the power to run anyone's license plate and pull them over if they have outstanding warrants (including for unpaid traffic tickets; see section **6(A)**) or even if they do not have auto insurance registered on file with the Secretary of State.¹³⁵

4(B). TARGETING THE POOR AND RACIAL BIAS

The unfortunate reality is that at the same time as the police are given a free pass to discriminate against poor, Black drivers, the state is putting up virtually insurmountable barriers for them to drive legally (see section **3**). By criminalizing poverty, Michigan traffic laws give police a strong incentive to pull over drivers they believe are poor. At a community-led meeting in October 2019 to discuss residents' concerns with the traffic court system, one

participant described it as “the law of economic averages. If you look poor, if you’re Black, police assume they have a better chance of catching you with a suspended license or without insurance, so they pull you over.”

DJC’s clients know profiling when they experience it. They regularly describe being followed by the police when they leave Detroit for the white suburbs and getting pulled over for questionable reasons. In the suburbs, they notice police officers waiting near stop signs that are hidden by trees, and they watch the police exclusively pull over Black drivers who don’t see the stop. In Detroit itself, they report being targeted by the police for being young or poor. Sometimes, they report being stopped for alleged violations—like failing to signal or not wearing a seatbelt—that they did not commit. Other times, the officers don’t even give a reason; they just pull up behind cars and flash their lights. Videos from those officers’ dashboard and body cameras have confirmed what our clients say: that they are being pulled over without good cause. Their only visible transgressions were driving while young, driving while poor, and driving while Black.

While comprehensive data on race and traffic stops in Michigan is either not collected or not made public, the limited data that *is* available supports our clients’ impressions. Nationally, Black drivers are 20% more likely to get pulled over than white drivers.¹³⁶ Likewise, where data has been gathered in Michigan, there is evidence that Black drivers (and other drivers of color) are almost twice as likely to be stopped.¹³⁷ The available data also shows that drivers are treated differently by race after the traffic stop, with drivers of color more likely to be searched, ticketed, and arrested.¹³⁸ Data collected and analyzed by Michigan Liberation shows every single Oakland County district court arresting non-white individuals at a disproportionately high rate in 2017.¹³⁹ In Ferndale (D-43rd, Ferndale), 55% of people arrested were non-white compared to only 23% of the population.¹⁴⁰ In Royal Oak (D-44th), 37% of people arrested were non-white compared to only 8% of the population, meaning the proportion of non-white people arrested was 4.6 times higher than the proportion of non-white residents.¹⁴¹

In 2018, traffic offenses accounted for half of all criminal prosecutions in Michigan courts.¹⁴² Driving with a suspended license alone represents the third most common reason for admission into jail in the state.¹⁴³ And Black residents are disproportionately affected: 12% of all arrests of Black men and 15% of all arrests of Black women are for driving with a suspended license, compared to only 6% for both white men and women.¹⁴⁴

4. GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT: HOW THE POLICE TARGET POOR, BLACK DRIVERS

4(C). A CONFUSING, INACCESSIBLE LEGAL PROCESS, WITH NO OPTION FOR RELIEF

To make matters worse, when a Michigan driver receives a traffic ticket they cannot afford to pay, they have no clear avenue for addressing it. This lack of access to the courts is the last step in a system that starts with racially biased policing and laws that criminalize poverty and ends with poor drivers entangled in the court system—and often jail—for years.

DEFINITION

***Default judgment:** A default judgment is a court decision entered against someone because they did not pay or come to court for a civil infraction ticket. For civil infractions, people are either found “responsible” or “not responsible” (which are the civil infraction equivalents of being found “guilty” or “not guilty”); a default judgment means that the judge finds a person responsible by default and orders them to pay the entirety of what they have been assessed.*

The state puts the burden of challenging a civil infraction traffic ticket entirely on the driver: if a driver does not go to court and request a hearing within 14 days of receiving a ticket, the court enters a judgment of “responsible,” and orders them to pay a fine.¹⁴⁵ This default judgment is effectively final; once it is entered, a driver cannot claim they did not do the thing they were ticketed for, and cannot ask the court to change or modify the fine they have been ordered to pay, or ask that they be given time to pay before their license is suspended.¹⁴⁶ Once a default judgment is entered, if a person does not pay their ticket in full, their license is suspended.¹⁴⁷

More importantly, however, there is no process that allows poor drivers to raise the fact that they cannot afford to pay a ticket. Nowhere on a traffic ticket does it explain that drivers who cannot afford to pay a ticket are entitled to request a reduction in fines, a payment plan, or payment alternatives,¹⁴⁸ nor does it let drivers know that in order to do so they need to contest the ticket. Likewise, once a default judgment is entered and their license is going to be suspended, even if they try to communicate their inability to pay to the court, it is too late; the court will not allow them to request a hearing on their ability to pay. Often their only option is to wait until the court is already considering jailing them for failing to pay, and then ask the court for a payment alternative. Finally, even though people are entitled to ask for payment alternatives, most courts will not entertain such requests, as we will discuss in section **5(A)**.

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY:

How the Government Profits Off of Poor Drivers

Once the police have brought drivers—predominantly poor and Black—into the traffic court system, the government uses them as a significant source of revenue through legally questionable means. Through fines, fees, and costs, these drivers end up funding significant proportions of city budgets, court operations, and other public agencies.¹⁴⁹ Simultaneously, courts use monetary bonds to extract money from people in exchange for their release from jail—and automatically apply that money towards any unpaid traffic debt the person has. Lastly, even after drivers have resolved all of their tickets, including if all of their tickets are dismissed, they can't get their licenses restored until they pay “clearance fees” to the Secretary of State.

5(A). FINES, FEES, AND COSTS

By piling excessive fines, fees, and costs onto drivers, courts rake in millions of dollars a year to fund themselves and their city government.¹⁵⁰ The resulting tickets are expensive, and often far beyond what low-income drivers can afford. But as detailed in section 6, nonpayment is punished harshly with license suspensions, arrests, and even jail time.

DEFINITIONS

Fines: *A fine is the financial penalty that is assessed as punishment for a crime or civil infraction. Courts are encouraged to set their own fine schedules for civil infractions, while state law outlines the maximum fines for misdemeanors (which run up to \$1,000 for traffic offenses).*¹⁵¹

Fees & costs: *Fees and costs are any additional monetary charges that a person must pay for a crime or civil infraction that are not related to punishment. They are often designed to be a source of income for the state, county, city, or court. There is no clear distinction between a fee and a cost. However, as used in this report:*

- **A fee** is a monetary charge that a person must pay as an extra penalty on top of what they already owe. For example, if a person cannot afford to pay on time, they'll be charged a late fee; if the court issues a warrant, they'll be charged a warrant fee.
- **A cost** is a monetary charge that the court orders people to pay in order to cover the court's general operating expenses.¹⁵² Under Michigan law, courts are allowed to charge people for “any cost reasonably related to the actual costs incurred by the trial court without separately calculating those costs involved in the particular case,”¹⁵³ meaning the court doesn't need to provide evidence of how these costs were actually calculated.

Fines in Metro Detroit courts are high even before fees and costs are tacked on. Some examples are listed in section 3(C). While fines are intended to be punitive, they are a disproportionately large punishment for poor people because they do not consider a person's ability to pay. The addition of fees

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: HOW THE GOVERNMENT PROFITS OFF OF POOR DRIVERS

makes traffic tickets even more unaffordable for low-income drivers. As Table 3 shows, there are a large number of fees that courts impose on drivers, and many of them are not waivable (meaning the court must impose them no matter what, and may not forgive them, even if the person cannot afford to pay them). These fees add up quickly, especially when a person cannot afford to pay the ticket immediately. Their goal is to raise revenue for state and city projects.¹⁵⁴ Although they aren't intended to serve a punitive purpose and they have nothing to do with public safety, fees still financially punish all drivers and regressively penalize low-income people disproportionately.

Table 3: Fees that courts can charge drivers in Michigan.

NAME	AMOUNT	WAIVABLE	STATUTE
Late Fee	20%	Yes	MCL § 600.4803
Justice System Assessment Fee (for traffic civil infractions)	\$40	No	MCL § 257.907(13)
Warrant Fee	\$40	Yes	MCL § 600.2559(1)(n)
Crime Victim Rights Assessment (for misdemeanors, per case)	\$75	No	MCL § 780.905(1)(b)
"Minimum State Cost" Fee (for misdemeanors)	\$50	No	MCL § 600.8381(4); MCL § 769.1j(1)
Court Appointed Attorney Fee	-\$150	Yes	MCR 6.005(C); MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iv); MCL § 771.3(2)(c)
Costs to Compel Appearance Fee	\$50 per hearing, and additional \$50 per warrant	Yes	MCL § 257.729
Probation Fee	Up to ~\$300 ¹⁵⁵	Yes	MCL § 771.3(2)(c)
Driver License Clearance Fee (per charge)	\$45	No	MCL § 257.321a(5)(b); MCL § 257.321a(8)(b); MCL § 257.321a(9)(b)
Secretary of State License Reinstatement Fee	\$125	No	MCL § 257.320e

Courts charge drivers a number of smaller fees for civil infractions: a \$40 "Justice System Assessment,"¹⁵⁶ plus a 20% late fee,¹⁵⁷ plus a \$40 or \$50 warrant fee if the court issues an arrest warrant, and an additional \$40 to \$50 for scheduling a hearing on the unpaid judgment.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, for criminal traffic matters like driving with a suspended license, courts are required to charge people a minimum of \$170 in "mandatory state cost" fees, including a \$75 fee to support crime victims¹⁵⁹—which is especially ironic in most traffic cases, where there is no victim—a \$50 fee for the state's "Justice System Fund,"¹⁶⁰ a \$40 "minimum state cost,"¹⁶¹ and a \$45 reinstatement fee that must be paid to lift a license suspension.¹⁶² Courts are also allowed to charge indigent people for their court appointed attorney, a fee set by the attorney after the person has been found or plead guilty, usually \$150 per case.¹⁶³

A DJC client received a ticket for impeding traffic in January of 2016. The court imposed a \$125 fine for impeding traffic. When the client could not afford to pay immediately, the court added a \$40 minimum state cost, a \$15 "miscellaneous" court cost, a \$35 late fee, a \$45 reinstatement fee, and another 20% late fee of \$52. By April, only three months later, the cost of the ticket had more than doubled to \$312.

Finally, courts add on costs, using drivers to pay their employees' salaries and benefits, purchase goods and office supplies, and maintain and operate their facilities.¹⁶⁴ Costs are limited to \$100 for civil infraction cases,¹⁶⁵ but there is no limit on the costs that can be imposed for misdemeanor traffic offenses.¹⁶⁶ There is also no requirement that the courts provide explanations for how they calculated these charges.¹⁶⁷ Rather, courts are allowed to reverse engineer these costs to cover their budgets, calculating the costs imposed on people by dividing the cost of operating the court among the number of cases the court processes.¹⁶⁸ This means that courts can charge drivers hundreds of additional dollars for minor traffic tickets such as for driving with a suspended license solely to produce revenue.

Table 4: Costs imposed and collected by courts in Metro Detroit in 2018.¹⁶⁹

DISTRICT COURT JURISDICTION	DISTRICT COURT NUMBER	COSTS IMPOSED	COSTS COLLECTED
Allen Park and Melvindale	24	\$100,199.80	\$93,847.80
Birmingham, Bloomfield Hills, Sylvan Lake, Keego Harbor, Orchard Lake Village, and Townships of Bloomfield and West Bloomfield	48	\$237,235.91	\$232,253.42
Dearborn	19	\$597,269.00	\$435,870.98
Dearborn Heights	20	\$111,565.00	\$79,325.00
Detroit	36	\$1,379,953.00	\$1,093,117.00
Eastpointe	38	\$151,203.25	\$151,974.75
Ecorse, Lincoln Park, and River Rouge	25	\$250,443.00	\$241,525.00
Ferndale, Hazel Park, and Madison Heights	43	\$588,124.53	\$479,409.23
Inkster	22	\$125,027.44	\$108,913.91
Northville, Plymouth, and Townships of Northville, Plymouth, and Canton	35	\$996,288.08	\$849,212.96
Oakland County	52	\$2,417,753.12	\$2,403,988.80
Romulus, Belleville, and Townships of Sumpter, Van Buren, and Huron	34	\$859,127.57	\$823,227.94
Southfield, Lathrup Village, and Township of Southfield	46	\$293,874.88	\$272,056.75
St. Clair Shores	40	\$375,009.14	\$361,033.51
Taylor	23	\$175,365.43	\$140,373.78
Utica, Sterling Heights, and Townships of Shelby and Macomb	41A	\$626,245.04	\$644,182.34
Warren and Center Line	37	\$190,707.00	\$159,227.50

These figures represent only general, discretionary court operating expenses collected under MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii), not any of the other fines or fees collected by the court.

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: HOW THE GOVERNMENT PROFITS OFF OF POOR DRIVERS

Because Michigan law gives courts the power to fund themselves using these costs, judges face intense pressure to impose them. For many judges, the pressure comes from the city government. One judge from Southfield described how the city threatened to evict the district court from its courthouse because it hadn't generated more revenue, and threatened to eliminate court staff if judges could not collect enough money to pay for them.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, a judge in Ingham County recounted that the city referred to the district court as “the cash cow of our local government.”¹⁷¹

THE 35TH DISTRICT COURT IN PLYMOUTH sentences people convicted of driving with a suspended license to pay approximately \$850, almost \$500 of which is kept by the court. For not having a license on their person, drivers are charged \$550. When a DJC attorney asked the judge if he could waive fines and costs, which is allowed when a person is indigent,¹⁷² the Plymouth judge first said, off the record, that

“If we start waiving fines and costs, this court would financially implode.”

On the record, he simply insisted he did not have the authority to waive fines and costs.

THE 43RD DISTRICT COURT IN HAZEL PARK is another example of just how dependent cities can be on their district courts for money. In the 2019 fiscal year, Hazel Park's district court brought in a total revenue of \$3,268,846, despite having only \$1,308,846 in operating expenses. As a result, **the court netted a profit of nearly 2 million dollars.** If Hazel Park's court budget is considered as a part of the city's general fund budget, the court accounts for 20% of all revenue—one out of every five dollars made—but only 8% of all expenditures.¹⁷³

City budget reports also reflect the cities' demands of the courts to raise revenue. The City of Southfield's budget report for 2019-2020 noted that because “District Court revenue and expenses continue to decline with reduced caseload[s],” the court's revenue is “being propped up with increased fees” charged to individuals.¹⁷⁴ Likewise, in Eastpointe's 2015-2016 budget, the court reported working with the city prosecutors to charge people with civil infractions under local ordinances instead of state law so that the court could capture revenue that would otherwise go to the state.¹⁷⁵

In a 2018 brief to the Michigan Supreme Court, the Michigan District Judges Association (MDJA) declared that the law allowing courts to charge costs (MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii)) creates a conflict of interest by shifting the burden of court funding onto the courts themselves. As a result, the MDJA argued that the law violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and should be struck down as unconstitutional.

“...The court funding system created by the Legislature unconstitutionally shifts the funding burden on to the courts, and creates an inherent conflict of interest in the judges who have to simultaneously determine guilt or innocence, while forcing those same judges to fund their courts by assessing costs against defendants who have pled guilty or been found guilty of a criminal offense.¹⁷⁶...The constant pressure to balance the court’s budgets could have a subconscious impact on even the most righteous judge.”¹⁷⁷

— Michigan District Judges Association Amicus Brief (2018)

In many poorer jurisdictions, including cities like Lincoln Park, Eastpointe, Warren, and Allen Park, DJC attorneys regularly see judges impose \$400 in costs on offenses that carry only a \$100 fine. In Taylor, a full 18% of the city’s general fund revenue comes from money raised by their district court.¹⁷⁸ But wealthy cities lean heavily on their traffic courts as well. For example, in the 2018-2019 fiscal year, 15% of the general fund revenue for the City of Ferndale came from its municipal court.¹⁷⁹

Under state law and Michigan’s court rules, judges have the ability to waive many fines and fees—including those that fund the court—if a person cannot afford to pay.¹⁸⁰ However, likely because of the above incentives, judges take great pains to avoid doing so. First, it is almost unheard of for judges to ask about a person’s ability to pay if they don’t have an attorney, even at hearings specifically designed for this purpose (known as “show cause” hearings). Second, even when judges do inquire into a person’s ability to pay, they frequently opt to extend the payment deadline or enter people in payment plans rather than waiving the charges, even if the person is unemployed and has no foreseeable way to make payments. Furthermore, Michigan court collections guidelines instruct judges not to offer payment plans longer than 30 days for civil infractions.¹⁸¹ Third, when DJC attorneys ask judges to waive outstanding traffic debt, judges regularly claim that they do not have the authority to waive discretionary fines and fees, even when presented with the statutes that explicitly outline their ability to do so.

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: HOW THE GOVERNMENT PROFITS OFF OF POOR DRIVERS

These fees and costs can quickly become crushing debt. Mr. B., a DJC client whose license was suspended for an unpaid ticket after he lost his job in 2013, owed the City of Detroit \$3,600 solely in civil infraction traffic tickets when we met him in 2019. He also had 18 pending traffic misdemeanor cases—which, if he were convicted of or if he pleaded guilty to, could have cost him between \$300 and \$500 in fines and costs each, or an additional \$5,400 to \$9,000.

Even smaller fees and costs can become insurmountable barriers. Mr. S., another DJC client, pleaded guilty to a number of outstanding traffic matters from prison, and was thus eligible to have court fines and costs waived. However, he was still unable to get his license restored because of the mandatory state fees he faced. For each of the four misdemeanor tickets he had received he owed \$170, and for each of the two civil infractions he owed \$45. In total, he owed \$770 in mandatory state fees. Even after multiple briefs and hearings filed by DJC attorneys demonstrating that the client's total income was only \$300 a month and thus these fees were unpayable, the fees are mandatory under state law and so the district courts could do nothing to relieve this debt. This is a trap for Mr. S.—until he has a valid driver's license, he cannot find gainful employment that pays enough to resolve this debt, but until he resolves this debt, his license will remain suspended.

5(B). BONDS

In addition to imposing steep fines, fees, and costs, courts also take money from drivers by imposing bonds for traffic offenses.

DEFINITIONS

Bonds: *In criminal cases, a bond is a promise or contract that a person will return to court when they are required to and follow the court's orders in the meantime. Bonds are set by judges at specific court hearings (most often, "arraignments") and they allow for people to be released from jail before trial or other proceedings. Sometimes the court will release people on bond without requiring a monetary payment; other times, people will be required to pay some amount of money to the court in order to be released.¹⁸² Generally, the court is required to return most or all of this money to the person at the end of the case. However, the court keeps all of the money if the person misses a court date, or it can retain bond money to apply towards a person's fines/fees/costs if they owe the court.¹⁸³*

Interim bonds: *Michigan also has "interim bond," which can be set either a) when the court issues a warrant for someone's arrest,¹⁸⁴ or b) when the police arrest someone without a warrant but a magistrate¹⁸⁵ or a judge isn't available to arraign them.¹⁸⁶ In both cases, the bond is set before the person has any sort of court hearing. If people can afford to pay their interim bond, it allows them to be released from jail before their arraignment.¹⁸⁷ This differs from regular bond,*

which is typically set at the arraignment with the person present and allows for people who can pay to be released from jail before their trial or other later proceedings. Michigan law requires that courts first assume that drivers charged with traffic offenses can be released without requiring them to pay a monetary bond,¹⁸⁸ but if monetary bond is set, the amount is supposed to be “not oppressive,”¹⁸⁹ “considerate of the past criminal acts and conduct of the defendant,”¹⁹⁰ and “considerate of the financial ability of the accused.”¹⁹¹ Interim bonds are set based on the charge without giving any consideration to these factors.¹⁹²

Monetary bonds keep low-income people in jail solely because they are too poor to purchase their freedom. People can spend weeks in Michigan jails waiting for their court hearings because they cannot afford to pay their bond or their interim bond.¹⁹³ In Eastpointe, for example, DJC attorneys regularly encounter cases where the court has kept individuals in jail for three entire weeks before giving them a hearing to address their tickets. People spend this time in jail before they have been convicted of anything, and often for charges that do not result in a penalty of jail time after conviction.

The damage that jail time causes to individuals and families should not be understated. For people who work, being incarcerated for just 24 hours often means missing work without notice and consequently losing your job.¹⁹⁴ For single parents, incarceration may mean abruptly leaving your child without a caretaker—and 54% of people held in jail on monetary bonds are parents of minor children.¹⁹⁵ These are just a few examples of the disruption that suddenly being disappeared from your own life can cause. Moreover, people face threats to their own health and safety in jail, particularly in the first few days: a person is most likely to experience physical assault or sexual violence within their first three nights in jail, and suicides in jail are most common within the first week.¹⁹⁶

“Every person whose case is pending is legally innocent. ... In many cases, however, the court requires these people to pay large sums of money just to be free before trial, and those who cannot pay are jailed as if they had already been convicted. Incarceration has a profound impact on the person in jail, their family and friends, and their larger community. Even brief periods of incarceration can lead to the loss of jobs, housing, and custody of one’s children. In addition, pretrial incarceration affects legal outcomes by causing increased conviction rates and longer sentences. All of these negative consequences have a disproportionate impact on Black and Latinx people, who generally receive higher bonds, have less access to pretrial diversion programs, and are less likely to be able to post a monetary bond than white people.”¹⁹⁷

— The Coalition to End Money Bond (2018)

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: HOW THE GOVERNMENT PROFITS OFF OF POOR DRIVERS

In certain jurisdictions, monetary bonds also block low-income people from being able to access the courts. Once a person has a warrant, they can either wait to be arrested at their next police interaction or go to the court to request an arraignment and have the warrant dismissed (also known as “walking in” on the warrant; for more information on warrants, see section **6(A)**). Many courts have set aside weekly blocks of time solely to arraign people who walk in on warrants. However, a number of judges and court officials require individuals to pay an interim bond on their warrant before allowing them to be arraigned and have the warrant cleared. For example, until recently, DJC attorneys regularly witnessed court staff in Detroit’s 36th District Court announcing during walk-in times that if people did not bring \$100 with them to post bond, they should just go home.

In the last few months, many Detroit judges have become open to arraigning individuals on warrants without requiring bond at walk-in days. But other judges still require bond at walk-in, and the only way to get a court date without going at the designated walk-in time is to post a bond. At the time of this report’s publication, the 36th District Court website still states that people with warrants “*must post a bond, appear in court and request an appointment to see a judge*” (emphasis added).¹⁹⁸ The purpose of interim bond is to allow for people to be released from jail and ensure their appearance at arraignment,¹⁹⁹ but this practice has the reverse effect: it prevents low-income people from having an arraignment after they’ve already arrived for it.²⁰⁰ All courts can also require money bonds from someone who wants to contest a default judgment²⁰¹ or appeal the judge’s decision after a civil infraction hearing,²⁰² effectively barring low-income people from the ability to dispute a judgment against them.

“When I called Sterling Heights, [the clerk] told me, ‘If you come here, you must bring with you \$550.’ ... I don’t have that type of money laying around. And she’s like, ‘Yeah, usually in these cases you would be able to walk in and see a judge, but they are going to detain you if you are unable to post bond.’ And I’m like, ‘I’m not going, because who’s going to take care of my children if I go to jail?’ And so no.”

—DJC client (February 2020)

In addition to creating an income-based barrier to accessing the courts, monetary bonds can prevent people from paying off their tickets, even when they have the money to do so. Magistrates/judges can set bonds to be higher than the original amount a person owes the court in fines/fees/costs.²⁰³ As a

result, a person can arrive to court with enough money to resolve their tickets but instead be denied a hearing, or even in some cases put in jail, because their bond has been set at a higher amount they cannot afford.

A DJC client had a ticket in St. John for driving with a license that was suspended due to unpaid tickets. The maximum financial penalty for driving with a suspended license is \$500.²⁰⁴ However, when he arrived in court with the \$500, he and his attorney were informed that the bond had been set at \$1,500, and that he would need to give the court the entire amount. His attorney was able to argue successfully for the bond to be reduced to \$500, but if he hadn't had an attorney or if the judge had not agreed to reduce the bond, he could have been held in jail until his hearing—nine days later—unless he could manage to pay the full \$1,500, three times the amount he was eventually sentenced to pay.

At their core, monetary bonds are a significant form of wealth extraction. First, some monetary bonds are issued with built-in non-refundable fees, usually 10% of the amount posted.²⁰⁵ Second, any type of monetary bond is seized and kept by the court if a person misses a court date.²⁰⁶ There are a number of reasons outside of a person's control that can lead to them missing a court date, including the requirements of their job, the high costs of childcare, and insufficient public transit (which is especially a problem if the person has had their license suspended, their license plate revoked, and/or their car impounded). Research has shown that the vast majority of people who miss their court date are not trying to flee the court and evade justice; 94% appear in court within a year of their missed court date.²⁰⁷ Still, one failure to appear forces a person to forfeit any and all bond money they have scraped together in order to get out of jail.

Third and finally, Michigan courts have the power to seize a person's bond to apply towards their fines/fees/costs.²⁰⁸ Getting out of jail quickly is of the utmost importance for people with jobs or children. The threat of jail time coerces low-income people to pay bonds that will be taken for traffic tickets (which the court should have waived or reduced anyway on the basis of the person's inability to pay²⁰⁹). In this system, a person living in poverty can be arrested on a warrant for not paying their traffic tickets, and then be forced to choose between sitting in jail or paying bond money that they won't get back—money they needed for rent, food, water, or vital medications. This is not money they would have willingly sacrificed for traffic debt, but it's the price they are forced to pay to walk free.

5. HIGHWAY ROBBERY: HOW THE GOVERNMENT PROFITS OFF OF POOR DRIVERS

5(C). THE IMPOUND RANSOM

Another way cities and suburbs pull money out of poor drivers is through impounding or otherwise seizing their vehicle and then charging them money to get it back. For many people, this happens after a traffic stop when the police discover their license is suspended for unpaid tickets. If the police choose to arrest the driver then and there, they have the authority to seize the vehicle under the justification that it is safer to impound the vehicle than leave it parked on the street.²¹⁰ But just as often and especially in the suburbs, police will impound the car of a driver with a suspended license without arresting the person, on the pretext that they cannot legally drive away on a suspended license.

Police can also impound a vehicle they deem abandoned or damaged.²¹¹ Police often use this power to remove a car from the road after an accident. However, it can also be used to tow cars parked legally on residential streets or people's personal property that the police believe—correctly or incorrectly—to be abandoned.²¹²

One DJC client was pulled over in Warren for allegedly failing to signal while changing lanes while driving home from a job interview. She was with her sister, who owned the car. Both she and her sister had suspended licenses. The Warren police issued them both tickets—our client for driving with a suspended license; her sister for failing to register the car—but did not arrest them, and informed them that their car was going to be towed because neither of them could legally drive. The police did not give them the chance to contact a licensed driver before towing their car. The two women were left on the side of the road in February. With no money and their car gone, their only option was to walk through the cold and the snow all the way back to Detroit.

Another DJC client came out of his house one morning to find his car being towed from where it was parked on his block. The car was in his mother's name and she had recently passed away, and he had not yet had it transferred to his name or registered. When he approached the tow company to inform them that he was the owner, he was told that it did not matter: the city had determined that it was abandoned and the car was towed.

Once a city or suburb has a driver's car impounded for whatever reason, the person must pay to get it back, and the cost can be incredibly high. In Detroit, where the city government took over tow services in 2019, the cost is \$200 plus \$15 for every day the car is held.²¹³ This means that if a driver cannot afford to pay the minimum \$215 to get their car released immediately, the cost of impound increases for every day it takes them to get the money. Even worse, in the suburbs where cities use private tow companies²¹⁴ (often with minimal oversight),²¹⁵ the price to get a car back can easily exceed \$700. For many of our clients whose cars are impounded during a traffic stop, these costs are impossible to pay. More than one has told us their only option was to "just let the car go."

5(D). CLEARANCE AND LICENSE REINSTATEMENT FEES

Finally, after courts and municipalities have done their best to extract money from poor drivers, the Secretary of State gets in on the action. Anyone with a suspended license who wants to have it restored is required to pay additional "clearance fees" to the Secretary of State first: \$45 for every infraction or offense.²¹⁶ This is true even if the case that led to the license suspension was dismissed entirely.²¹⁷ For example, a person might have all their cases dismissed on the day of their trial because the police officer who issued the ticket does not show up to court. Yet despite the fact that the cases were dismissed, the person must still pay \$45 for each infraction or offense written on the ticket in order to be eligible to regain their license. After the driver clears all suspensions at each district court in which they have license suspensions, they can finally go to the Secretary of State to regain their license. However, at that time, they must pay an additional \$125 license reinstatement fee.²¹⁸

A DJC client was arrested and held in jail for seven days on a number of charges: driving with a suspended license, no insurance, and no registration. A DJC attorney was able to effectively argue that, rather than having to pay more fines and costs (which he could not afford because he was not working), he should be given credit for the time in jail he had already served. The judge agreed, and his cases were closed. Unfortunately, his license is still suspended as he still owes over \$900 in clearance fees to the Secretary of State.

6. TICKET TO JAIL: HOW COURTS TURN MINOR TRAFFIC TICKETS INTO A CYCLE OF ARRESTS AND INCARCERATION

Another DJC client was able to do community service instead of paying fines and costs—a sentence allowed by the court because he is homeless and unemployed. But even with his fines and costs waived by the court, in order to get his license reinstated, he still must pay the Secretary of State over \$1,100 in clearance fees, a sum he cannot afford.

6. TICKET TO JAIL:

How Courts Turn Minor Traffic Tickets into a Cycle of Arrests and Incarceration

After the police have targeted poor and Black drivers, and after the government has done its best to extract whatever money these drivers have, the traffic court pushes them deeper into the criminal legal system. Even people with only civil infraction tickets—people who have never been charged with any crime—can end up in jail if they are too poor to pay the entirety of what they owe. The court can issue warrants for their arrest so they'll be taken to jail at their next police interaction, or it can send them to jail for being in “contempt” of the court. Likewise, for those charged with traffic misdemeanors, the court can threaten them with jail if they don't pay extremely high fines, or simply impose incredibly harsh punishments—including months in jail—as their initial sentence.

Once drivers have entered the criminal legal system, they are trapped in a vicious cycle: they've been jailed because of their inability to pay, but the time in jail disrupts their efforts to find a steady job that would allow them to pay off their debt. In many cases, as this downward spiral continues, drivers will accumulate criminal records that will haunt them for the rest of their lives, all because they were too poor to pay.

6(A). WARRANTS

When a person receives a civil infraction traffic ticket, they have two options: admit responsibility (and pay the full fine), or deny responsibility and ask for an in-person hearing at the court.²¹⁹ Neither of these options are ideal for a

driver who can't afford to pay the ticket. While they can't admit responsibility and have the ticket cleared without paying, they also commonly lack the resources to request a hearing, navigate the legal system without an attorney, and find time in their schedules to spend a day in court. Many cannot afford to miss a day of work for a court hearing, nor can they afford the cost of childcare should they need it. They also fear that they'll be sent to jail if they arrive without the money. Their fears aren't unfounded: although jailing people for their inability to pay a fine is unconstitutional,²²⁰ the practice was widespread in Michigan until a few years ago,²²¹ and still persists in some Metro Detroit courts to this day.²²² When all of these factors are taken into account, the most practical option these drivers have is to ignore the ticket and avoid court. Tens of thousands of Michigan residents are cornered into making this decision each year.²²³ But once they've missed their deadline to pay and they haven't made contact with the court, the court finds them responsible for the ticket by default (see section **4(C)**).²²⁴ If they continue not to pay, the court can issue a warrant for their arrest.²²⁵

It's even easier for the court to issue warrants for drivers with a misdemeanor charge such as driving with a suspended license. If the police don't arrest the driver on the spot, they can let the driver return home with a citation ordering them to appear in court at a specific time and place.²²⁶ If the driver does not appear for this first hearing for any of the same reasons discussed above, the court can immediately issue a warrant for their arrest.²²⁷

Warrants for failing to appear in court are so frequently utilized by the courts and the police that they are now the number one reason for arrests in Michigan.²²⁸ Michigan arrested 29,295 people on this basis in 2018.²²⁹ And people who want to clear their warrants and return to life without the constant threat of incarceration are typically only given one option: pay their debts to the court in full. For the low-income drivers who find themselves in this situation due to inability to pay in the first place, that is not an option at all.

Warrants significantly disrupt a person's life. Warrants show up on background checks, which makes essential tasks like finding a job and renting an apartment extremely difficult. They also force people to fear law enforcement and exist outside of the law's protection because any police contact can and will lead to their immediate arrest. For example, one DJC client called the police to report that he was the victim of a physical assault, but when the police arrived, they arrested *him* because he had warrants related to traffic tickets. He was held in jail for a week until he was able to post bond.

6. TICKET TO JAIL: HOW COURTS TURN MINOR TRAFFIC TICKETS INTO A CYCLE OF ARRESTS AND INCARCERATION

Crucially, individuals with warrants have the risk of jail time hanging over their heads at all times. As mentioned in section **4(A)**, police officers can and do run the license plates of drivers who appear young, poor, and Black to search for warrants in order to find grounds to pull them over. These drivers are often arrested. If they can't afford to post the bond that has been set on the warrant—see section **5(B)** on bonds—they are held in jail until they can be brought in front of a judge. This can take days or even weeks. And as mentioned in section **5(B)**, spending even one day in jail can have severe consequences for a person's life.

One DJC client was stopped in Plymouth, arrested, and held in jail on outstanding warrants from Detroit and Flat Rock. He was arrested at 12:00 pm on a Thursday, but not brought in front of a judge in Plymouth until 1:00 pm the next day. He was then transferred to Flat Rock, where he was not released until 6:00 pm—and he would have been held until Monday if his bond had not been posted. Although he was able to contact his employer and inform them that he was not going to be able to come to work on Friday, he was fired nonetheless. He owed \$6 in Flat Rock.

6(B). CONTEMPT PROCEDURES

While warrants are used to put people in jail before their hearing with a judge, contempt procedures are a way for judges to send them to jail after their hearing—again, even if they still have not been charged with any crime.

DEFINITION

Contempt: According to past Michigan court cases, contempt has been defined as “a willful act, omission, or statement that tends to ... impede the functioning of a court.”²³⁰ In particular, courts will find people in contempt if they have willfully disobeyed one of the court's orders. The court has different options for how to sanction people who've been found to be in contempt depending on the circumstances of the case, ranging from fines to jail time.²³¹

Although the only penalties courts can impose for traffic civil infractions are fines, fees, and costs, civil contempt procedures allow judges to jail drivers anyway, by sending them to jail as punishment for not complying with the court's order to pay. Drivers are incarcerated until they pay or until they've spent one day in jail for each \$10 they owe the court.²³² On paper, this practice is only legal if the driver has the ability to pay but has intentionally decided not to, or if they haven't made a “good faith effort to obtain the funds required for

payment.”²³³ Jailing someone for nonpayment if they are genuinely unable to pay is a violation of Michigan court rules,²³⁴ state law,²³⁵ and the United States Constitution.²³⁶ Unfortunately, in practice, a number of Michigan judges fail to take appropriate measures to determine someone’s ability to pay,²³⁷ or outright assume that everyone could pay if they really wanted to. As a result, low-income drivers in Michigan regularly face the possibility of being sent to jail for being unable to pay tickets for noncriminal traffic violations.

Paradoxically, while courts use contempt procedures to try to collect money, the practice of jailing poor drivers for nonpayment ends up costing the government and, by extension, taxpayers. Keeping someone in jail is expensive: the average cost of keeping a person in jail is \$129 per day,²³⁸ despite the fact that Michigan deems one day in jail to be worth only \$10 of a driver’s debt.²³⁹

6(C). LICENSE SUSPENSIONS

Suspending a person’s license because of unpaid tickets makes it nearly inevitable that if and when they’re pulled over again, they’ll be charged with a criminal misdemeanor and entangled in the criminal legal system permanently. As detailed in section 2, driving is a necessity for many people, especially in Metro Detroit. The ability to drive is so important to their wellbeing that three in four Americans with a suspended license will continue to drive despite the risks.²⁴⁰ If stopped by the police in Michigan, they can be found guilty of driving with a suspended license, a non-expungeable misdemeanor.²⁴¹ The first time this happens, they can be sent to jail for 93 days and/or fined up to \$500; the second time, they can be sent to jail for an entire year and/or fined up to \$1,000.²⁴² Additionally, if they are convicted of any other traffic matter while their license is suspended, the court can order for the license plate to be removed from the car they were driving, making it illegal for anyone to drive the car (including family members who rely on it) for up to six months.²⁴³

License suspension is an illogical form of punishment that has nothing to do with unsafe driving. Contrary to common sense, while many people would consider driving while intoxicated to be the most unsafe driving practice, it is in fact the only offense for which individuals can receive a “restricted” license rather than having their license suspended completely. The restricted license permits these individuals to continue to drive to work, class, or other approved destinations.²⁴⁴ This option is denied to individuals whose licenses were suspended due to poverty.

6. TICKET TO JAIL: HOW COURTS TURN MINOR TRAFFIC TICKETS INTO A CYCLE OF ARRESTS AND INCARCERATION

Suspensions are particularly illogical in response to unpaid traffic tickets because they ruin people’s economic prospects and drive them deeper into poverty, making it even less likely that they will be able to pay their tickets in the future. The most comprehensive study on the effects of license suspensions was conducted by a task force for the State of New Jersey in 2007, where 42% of respondents lost their jobs after their license was suspended.²⁴⁵ About half of the people who lost their jobs could not find another, and 88% of those who *did* find a new job reported a decrease in income.²⁴⁶ All of these effects were disproportionately large for low-income drivers,²⁴⁷ in part because a valid driver’s license is a requirement for a significant number of low-paying job positions.²⁴⁸

Michigan is a national outlier in how harshly it handles driver’s license suspensions based on unpaid fines/fees/costs.²⁴⁹ It is one of just five states in the country with mandatory, indefinite license suspensions for both criminal justice and traffic debt without regard for ability to pay.²⁵⁰ In 2018 alone, Michigan issued 357,795 license suspensions for failure to appear and failure to pay court fines/fees/costs.²⁵¹

6(D). JAIL TIME FOR TRAFFIC OFFENSES AND THE LEGACY OF “PAY OR STAY” SENTENCING

Lastly, in some Metro Detroit courts, judges regularly sentence people to jail for traffic offenses. Sometimes, they do so in the form of “pay or stay” sentencing that discriminates against poor drivers; other times, judges simply impose indiscriminately harsh jail sentences.

When people face sentencing for misdemeanor traffic offenses like driving with a suspended license, judges can fine them hundreds of dollars, send them to jail for up to a year, or both (see section **3(C)**). For many years, judges used this authority to impose “pay or stay” sentences: judges could offer fines for those who could afford them and jail for those who couldn’t, though the U.S. Supreme Court has found such practices to be unconstitutional.²⁵²

“The recent case of *People of the City of Eastpointe v Ryan Edward Rockett* exemplifies the [38th] District Court’s sentencing practice. In that case, Mr. Rockett was found guilty of operating a vehicle without insurance and driving while his license was suspended. On January 30, 2015, Judge Gerds sentenced Mr. Rockett to pay fees and costs in the amount of \$1500 or, if he did not pay, serve 93 days in jail. Judge Gerds made no inquiry into Mr. Rockett’s financial ability to pay. At the sentencing hearing, Judge Gerds merely stated, ‘Hopefully you can pay that and be on your way.’ Mr. Rockett asked, ‘Is it pay or stay?’ and Judge Gerds confirmed, ‘Yes, sir.’ The register of actions for Mr. Rockett’s case confirms that Mr. Rockett’s sentence was ‘MONEY OR JAIL,’ and the judgments of sentence in Mr. Rockett’s case state that he was committed to jail with release authorized ‘upon payment of fine/costs.’ Because Mr. Rockett is indigent and could not afford to immediately pay \$1500, he was immediately sent to jail.” ²⁵³

— *Lawsuit filed by the ACLU of Michigan (2015)*

Following the ACLU’s litigation excerpted above, the Macomb County Circuit Court ordered Judge Gerds to halt the practice of explicit “pay or stay” sentencing in 2016,²⁵⁴ and the Michigan Supreme Court issued new court rules to attempt to prevent similar practices across the state.²⁵⁵ However, even though judges are not supposed to incarcerate people for nonpayment if those people are unable to pay²⁵⁶ or convert a sentence from a fine to jail time solely because the person cannot pay,²⁵⁷ judges still do. For example, in the 33rd District Court in Woodhaven, both Judge McNally and Judge Kersten have issued explicit pay or stay sentences, sentencing people to either pay between \$150 and \$300 or spend between 30 and 67 days in jail.²⁵⁸ Likewise, while Judge Gerds makes an effort to appear to avoid explicit pay or stay sentences, one DJC client reports that Judge Gerds told her at her arraignment that if she did not come back with \$1,100, he would send her to jail.

Although “pay or stay” has been limited since 2016, the threat still looms large in the minds of poor drivers. We frequently have to reassure clients who cannot afford to pay their fines that they cannot legally be sent to jail just because they cannot afford to pay, and if they are, there are strong grounds

6. TICKET TO JAIL: HOW COURTS TURN MINOR TRAFFIC TICKETS INTO A CYCLE OF ARRESTS AND INCARCERATION

to get their sentence reversed on appeal. Even in Detroit's traffic court, where few judges ever engaged in pay or stay practices, clients still express the same fear and we have even seen court-appointed attorneys warn clients that a judge may send them to jail if they do not promise to pay money they owe. Most troubling, however, is that the practice of pay or stay still persists in some courts, placing poor people (especially those without access to adequate representation) at risk of going to jail just for being poor.

In other courts, such as Judge Gerds' 38th District Court in Eastpointe, pay or stay gave way to extended jail sentences for traffic misdemeanors. In Judge Gerds' court, DJC attorneys have witnessed drivers being sentenced to 30, 45, and 60 days in jail for driving with a suspended license or not having their license with them when they were pulled over. Judge Gerds imposes these sentences with complete disregard for people's personal circumstances. For example, on August 12, 2019, Judge Gerds sent a disabled single father of two minor children to jail for almost two months for driving without a license, and refused to delay the sentence even a few days so the man could find someone to take care of his children.²⁵⁹ Perhaps most telling: after Judge Gerds' pay or stay practices were declared unconstitutional, Mr. Rockett, from the ACLU case challenging those practices, was sentenced to 93 days in jail regardless of his ability to pay.²⁶⁰

This is more than a set of discrete decisions for Judge Gerds—it is essentially a personal brand. We have heard the judge tell a person, “Didn't you know? This is what I do!” as they begged not to be sent to jail on a traffic matter.

A DJC client was brought before Judge Gerds in 2020. The client is destitute and faces significant barriers to employment; he does not have a high school degree, he only has informal work experience, and in 2014, he was shot five times and almost killed. When he went before Judge Gerds, he had recently completed a program for homeless individuals to do community service in Detroit to restore their license. Through this program, and with the help of DJC, he had addressed all of his other outstanding traffic matters. His license was still suspended only because he could not afford to pay over \$1,000 in clearance fees to the Secretary of State. Because of this, the Eastpointe city attorney offered him a plea bargain to reduce the charge from driving with a suspended license to the lesser offense of not having his driver's license with him in person. While the typical punishment for either charge in most other courts is just a fine, Judge Gerds sent him to jail for 30 days.

While this is not the norm, there are other judges that engage in similarly extreme punishment for traffic matters.

In the 33rd District Court in Woodhaven, a DJC client was placed on probation for nine months for driving with a suspended license, then sent to jail when he missed a probation appointment. He only missed the appointment because he had no way to get to Woodhaven from Detroit that day: his family couldn't drive him, his license was suspended, and public transit does not connect the two cities. He called to try and reschedule but was told he could not. When he tried to explain this to the judge, the judge said he "should have walked." Woodhaven is approximately a six hour walk from Detroit. The client was sent to jail for 12 days, and ordered to pay \$300 or spend an additional 67 days in jail.

In the 37th District Court, DJC represented a client regarding a 15-year-old ticket for driving with a suspended license, for which he had been sentenced to pay \$500. The maximum penalty for this offense is a \$500 fine and/or 93 days in jail; the client had just been released from serving 12 years in prison for an unrelated matter (during which time he was clearly unable to pay off this debt). Judge Chmura refused to dismiss the ticket despite its age, denied a request for a reduction in the amount owed, and rejected a request to grant credit for the time the client had already served in prison. Indeed, Judge Chmura declared that, but for the zealous advocacy of DJC legal counsel, he would have thrown this client in jail for failure to pay.

Also in the 37th District Court, a DJC attorney witnessed Judge Chmura sentence at least two indigent drivers to jail for traffic matters. In one incident, a man indicated he had driven without a license to pick his wife up from the hospital immediately after she gave birth because there was no other way for her to get a ride. Unmoved, the judge sentenced him to jail and told his wife, who was in the courtroom, that she needed to find another way home with her infant.

These practices are needlessly cruel and senseless; a person whose license is suspended because they cannot afford to pay a traffic ticket is not an unsafe driver, and they are made far less likely to be able to pay their tickets if sent to jail.

7. SHIFTING GEARS:

Recommendations for a Clear Road Ahead

All together, the police, the courts, and the state and local governments have created a system where one unpayable traffic ticket can change the course of a person's life. Courts can extract revenue out of people while trapping them in a never-ending cycle of debt and incarceration. The predominantly white suburbs can fund their municipalities by targeting Black drivers who pass through, with the added benefit of discouraging them from going back to those neighborhoods in the future. Our clients fully understand this dynamic, regularly describing the tension they feel between needing to go to the suburbs for work and knowing that they are a target for police and courts every time they cross Eight Mile. Whether by design or not, the traffic enforcement system is functioning as a tool of modern-day segregation, plundering poor communities of color. It is filling Michigan's jails with the state's poorest residents and filling government coffers with whatever money it can wring out of them. It is time for a change.

These recommendations are not exhaustive. There is much future work to be done to reshape the geography of opportunity, provide better job opportunities in the City of Detroit, end regional housing segregation, eliminate our reliance on the police and courts as mechanisms of public safety entirely, eradicate poverty, and more. But these recommendations represent a critical step towards building a new and just legal system.

STOP CRIMINALIZING POOR DRIVERS

- ***Eliminate misdemeanors that criminalize driving while poor.*** A range of misdemeanors make poor drivers constant targets for the police, vulnerable to being arrested, held on bond, sentenced to jail, and stamped with a non-expungeable criminal record every time they must get behind the wheel. All of these statutes, including license, insurance, and plate/registration misdemeanors, should be promptly repealed.²⁶¹ Until this repeal happens, municipalities should take the interim step of immediately ending the enforcement of these laws.
- ***Expunge all existing misdemeanor convictions for traffic offenses.*** To this day, Michigan nonsensically prohibits people from being able to expunge traffic offenses from their criminal record.²⁶² As Michigan repeals the laws that criminalize driving while poor, the state must also expunge the criminal records of the people who have been sentenced under these laws in the past.

- **Repeal civil infractions that are unnecessary or that penalize driving while poor.** Civil infractions are not harmless alternatives to misdemeanors; they still incentivize police profiling and can result in jail time for drivers who cannot afford to pay their tickets. Unnecessary civil infractions and those that penalize driving while poor should be repealed on both the state and local level. The state should set up a decriminalization commission to review Michigan’s municipal and traffic codes and identify other laws that are not absolutely necessary for public safety and can be repealed.²⁶³

STOP PROFIT-SEEKING TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT

- **For remaining civil infractions, offer deferred penalties and payment alternatives. Where fines are assessed, cap them and index them to people’s economic situation.** With deferred penalties, civil infraction tickets should be automatically dismissed if the driver is not found responsible for another infraction within the next six months. As a court rule, indigent drivers should always be given the option to resolve their tickets through payment alternatives (such as community service) if they choose. Fines should be capped state-wide to a maximum of no more than \$100, and the actual fines assessed by courts should be scaled to each person’s economic reality, including their actual income, expenses, and other financial obligations.²⁶⁴
- **Eliminate fees and costs entirely, including late fees, reinstatement fees, and clearance fees.** Court costs shift the tax burden onto people who can least afford to pay and create a perverse incentive for police and judges to ticket, convict, and sentence. Fees place an undue burden on poor drivers and they add up quickly, causing traffic debt to grow and grow—especially for drivers who cannot immediately pay their tickets. Reinstatement fees and clearance fees create immense barriers for poor people hoping to resolve their tickets and get their license back. All statutes and court rules permitting fees and costs to be assessed should be repealed,²⁶⁵ and no court, city, county or town should be allowed to raise any revenue through their courts or police.
- **Create a simple, standardized state-wide system that allows people to demonstrate indigency and resolve traffic tickets without going to court.** Requiring people to physically go to court in order to resolve their minor traffic tickets ignores the reality of poor people’s work schedules, parenting responsibilities, and reliable transit options. A new system for resolving tickets and determining indigency by phone or online would both improve people’s ability to comply *and* clear up court dockets and schedules, making things easier for all people involved.

7. SHIFTING GEARS: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A CLEAR ROAD AHEAD

- ***Eliminate all current outstanding traffic enforcement debt.*** This debt has been assessed by an unjust system. Until these recommendations have been implemented, all traffic enforcement debt is illegitimate and must be uniformly forgiven across the state of Michigan.

STOP THE TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT-TO-JAIL PIPELINE

- ***Recall all open warrants for failure to appear or failure to pay, and stop issuing warrants in traffic cases.*** Similarly to outstanding traffic enforcement debt, outstanding traffic enforcement warrants in Michigan have been issued by an unjust system. Michigan should initiate a mass warrant clearance campaign, directing or incentivizing all district courts to recall these warrants. State lawmakers and the Michigan Supreme Court should also pass laws and/or issue administrative guidelines to prevent local courts from issuing these warrants in the future. Many cities and states have moved in this direction already;²⁶⁶ Michigan should follow suit.
- ***End license suspensions.*** License suspensions are not an effective tool for collecting traffic fines. Suspending someone's license actually makes it less likely they will be able to earn money to pay off their debt because it will be harder for them to work. Because of this contradiction, at least one federal court has held license suspensions unconstitutional as having no rational basis in public policy.²⁶⁷ License suspension or revocation should never be allowed for failure to appear in court or failure to comply with a judgment, including failure to pay.²⁶⁸ Michigan's Secretary of State should immediately end license suspensions, courts should use their discretion to end the practice of reporting unpaid tickets and missed court dates to the Secretary of State,²⁶⁹ and state lawmakers should act swiftly to repeal license suspension laws—joining at least 14 other states that have already introduced such legislation for the 2020 legislative session.²⁷⁰

MAKE TRANSIT SAFE AND ACCESSIBLE FOR EVERYONE

- ***Create an insurance program that guarantees low rates for indigent drivers.*** The state should pass a law that requires insurance providers that sell insurance in Michigan to offer an affordable insurance option to low-income drivers. California already has such a law.²⁷¹ Unlike Michigan's recent insurance reform, which simply attempts to encourage a reduction in rates,²⁷² the California law guarantees affordable coverage for low-income drivers—with rates as low as \$247 per year for people making below 250% of the federal poverty guidelines.²⁷³ Michigan should adopt a similar program.

- **Create a compliance fund to assist indigent drivers with the costs of vehicle repairs.** Courts, cities, counties, or the state should operate an indigent drivers fund that provides small grants to drivers who receive tickets to make vehicle repairs in order to get their cars into compliance. The state could model such a reform on a similar program already being used in Minneapolis.²⁷⁴ The state should also provide free driver's education and offer fee waivers to cover the cost of registering a vehicle in order to remove other barriers to driving legally for people living in poverty.
- **Require police to give out vouchers and information on the spot.** Any time the police make a traffic stop, they should be required to provide drivers with a copy of an accurate and comprehensible handout detailing the driver's rights throughout the traffic enforcement process, what is required of them in order to resolve their ticket, how to proceed if they cannot afford to pay, and other essential information. If making a stop for equipment violations, police officers should be required to give out vouchers for vehicle repairs to low-income drivers.
- **Fix regional public transit.** Southeast Michigan invests a mere \$67 per capita in public transit each year, compared to \$242 in Pittsburgh, \$293 in Chicago, and \$409 in Seattle.²⁷⁵ Expanding and improving regional public transit should be a top funding priority, and the state legislature should not permit municipalities to opt out of transit service. Every person in Metro Detroit deserves the freedom and opportunity that robust public transit options provide.

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- 68 *Id.* at 17.
- 69 *Id.*
- 70 DETROIT FUTURE CITY, *supra* note 2.
- 71 HOLZER & RIVERA, *supra* note 66, at 7.
- 72 *Id.* at 23.
- 73 WORKFORCE INTELLIGENCE NETWORK FOR S.E. MICH., CITY OF DETROIT WIN LABOR MARKET REPORT, Q2 2019 3 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200227225620/https://winintelligence.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Detroit-LMR-Q2-2019-FINAL_OP-1.pdf.
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- 77 *Id.*
- 78 *Id.*
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ENDNOTES

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- 85 MCL § 257.303(1)(g).
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- 89 *Id.* at 4.
- 90 Bre'Anna Tinsley, *Here's Why Auto Insurance Companies Use Credit History to Set Rates*, WDET (Jun. 11, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200227230509/https://wdet.org/posts/2019/06/11/88286-heres-why-auto-insurance-companies-use-credit-history-to-set-rates/>.
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- 92 *Id.*
- 93 Malachi Barrett, *Michigan's high auto insurance rates are most expensive in America*, MLIVE.COM (May 2, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190606111823/https://www.mlive.com/public-interest/2019/04/michigans-high-auto-insurance-rates-are-most-expensive-in-america.html>. Note that this also makes Detroit the most expensive metropolitan area for car insurance in the United States. See Jim Gorzelany, *Where You'll Pay The Most And Least For Car Insurance*, FORBES (Feb. 18, 2019, 9:12 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190718162400/https://www.forbes.com/sites/jimgorzelany/2019/02/19/where-youll-pay-the-most-and-least-for-car-insurance/>.
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- 95 Sarah Ludwig, *Credit scores in America perpetuate racial injustice. Here's how*, GUARDIAN (Oct. 13, 2015, 10:14 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200119202202/https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/13/your-credit-score-is-racist-heres-why>.
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- 97 COONEY ET AL., *supra* note 4, at 3.
- 98 *Id.*
- 99 *Id.*
- 100 Gray, *supra* note 86.
- 101 Nancy Kaffer, *There's one big problem with Michigan's insurance reform*, DETROIT FREE PRESS (Jul. 19, 2019, 11:10 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20191221054844/https://www.freep.com/story/opinion/columnists/nancy-kaffer/2019/07/19/michigan-no-fault-auto-insurance-reform/1759554001/>.
- 102 COONEY ET AL., *supra* note 4, at 1-2.
- 103 And/or up to a \$500 fine. MCL § 500.3102(2).
- 104 MCL § 780.621(3)(d); MCL § 780.621a(b). Note that driving without insurance is a violation of the Michigan Insurance Code rather than the Michigan Vehicle Code, and thus it is not technically a traffic violation and may be expungeable from a person's criminal record. MCL § 500.3102(2).
- 105 These include spending time in jail after being arrested on a bench warrant if they default in the payment of their civil fines/costs, MCL § 257.908(1), and being committed to jail if the court finds them in civil contempt for nonpayment, MCL § 257.908(5).
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108 *What Is an Average Windshield Repair Quote?*, CARSDIRECT (Feb. 17, 2012), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190630005951/https://www.carsdirect.com/car-repair/windshield-repair-quote-average-prices-on-common-repairs>.

109 Tom Moor, *How Much Does It Cost to Replace Car Headlights?*, ANGIE'S LIST (Mar. 26, 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181214223434/https://www.angieslist.com/articles/how-much-does-it-cost-replace-car-headlights.htm>.

110 *Brake Pads Replacement Cost*, AUTO SERVICE COSTS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190824012630/https://autoservicecosts.com/brake-pad-replacement-cost/> (last visited Feb. 4, 2020).

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115 *Bumper Replacement Cost Guide*, AUTO SERVICE COSTS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200227232943/https://autoservicecosts.com/bumper-replacement-cost/> (last visited Feb. 27, 2020).

116 See, e.g., MCL § 257.907(9).

117 MCL § 257.901(1-2).

118 Specifically, any person who is unable to show that they have had a license that was valid within the prior 3 years. MCL § 257.904a.

119 Also includes a person who has never applied for a license. MCL § 257.904(1).

120 Ockerman, *supra* note 107.

121 Tom Herbon, *Michigan continues to overcharge drivers of older vehicles*, BRIDGE (Sept. 7, 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181209143137/https://www.bridgemi.com/guest-commentary/opinion-michigan-continues-overcharge-drivers-older-vehicles>.

122 If a default judgment is entered, which is the most common outcome when drivers do not know how or do not have the time/resources to contest a ticket they cannot afford. See section **4(C)**. MCL § 257.748.

123 License suspensions are discussed in more depth in section **6(C)**.

124 George Hunter, *Traffic fine decline saps local coffers in Michigan*, DETROIT NEWS (Feb. 15, 2018, 11:01 p.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181229232256/https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2018/02/15/michigan-traffic-tickets-decline/110472126/?from=new-cookie>.

125 *Id.*

126 *Whren v. United States*, 517 U.S. 806 (1996). It is perhaps relevant that the two motorists who were pulled over for the pretextual traffic stop in *Whren* were both Black, and the police officers who pulled them over claimed to have a “hunch” they might be drug criminals despite having no evidence. MICHELLE ALEXANDER, *THE NEW JIM CROW: MASS INCARCERATION IN THE AGE OF COLORBLINDNESS* 82 (2010).

127 *Brinegar v. United States*, 338 U.S. 160 (1949).

128 *Hein v. North Carolina*, 574 US 54 (2014).

129 The Court made it nearly impossible to hold police departments accountable for systematic wrongdoings like

ENDNOTES

discrimination, unless there is proof that the police always discriminate or were following direct orders to do so. *City of Los Angeles v. Lyons*, 461 U.S. 95 (1983).

130 *Alexander v. Sandoval*, 532 U.S. 275 (2001).

131 MCL § 257.709(1)(c) (“A person shall not operate a motor vehicle with any of the following: ... An object that obstructs the vision of the driver of the vehicle, except as authorized by law.”).

132 MCL § 257.612(1)(b).

133 *People v. Hrlic*, 744 N.W.2d 221 (Mich. Ct. App. 2008).

134 MCL § 257.649(8).

135 Tracy Samilton, *Court of Appeals says police had the right to stop vehicle because it was uninsured*, MICH. RADIO NPR (Oct. 25, 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181106220311/http://www.michiganradio.org/post/court-appeals-says-police-had-right-stop-vehicle-because-it-was-uninsured>; MCL § 764.1g (for reference concerning the input of arrest warrants into the law enforcement information network).

136 In one meta-study, researchers found that this difference in traffic stop rates for black and white drivers decreases after dark when the race of the motorist is more difficult to discern. Researchers believe this is evidence that the disparity is caused by bias and discrimination rather than other confounding factors. EMMA PIERSON ET AL., STANFORD COMPUTATIONAL POLICY LAB, A LARGE-SCALE ANALYSIS OF RACIAL DISPARITIES IN POLICE STOPS ACROSS THE UNITED STATES (2019), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200114194619/https://5harad.com/papers/100M-stops.pdf>.

137 Justin P. Hicks, *Black drivers twice as likely to be stopped by Grand Rapids police*, MLIVE (Jan. 19, 2019), https://web.archive.org/web/20190723171904/https://www.mlive.com/news/grand-rapids/2017/04/grand_rapids_police_present_re.html; *Racially Disproportionate Traffic Stops in Ferndale*, ACLU OF MICH., <https://web.archive.org/web/20191116013636/https://www.aclumich.org/en/cases/racially-disproportionate-traffic-stops-ferndale> (last visited Feb. 4, 2020).

138 Kaye Lafond, *Do data show improvement for Grand Rapids’ black motorists in 2017? It’s hard to say.*, Mich. Radio NPR (May 29, 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190617080452/https://www.michiganradio.org/post/do-data-show-improvement-grand-rapids-black-motorists-2017-its-hard-say>; *Findings*, STANFORD OPEN POLICING PROJECT, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200118071925/https://openpolicing.stanford.edu/findings/> (last visited Feb. 4, 2020).

139 MICHIGAN LIBERATION, *supra* note 7.

140 *Id.*

141 *Id.*

142 TASK FORCE REPORT, *supra* note 8.

143 *Id.*

144 PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS, *Michigan Joint Task Force on Jail and Pretrial Incarceration Meeting #3* (PowerPoint, Sept. 20, 2019), slide 41, *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20191015174003/https://courts.michigan.gov/News-Events/Documents/September%20Presentation%20Final_2019-9-19.pdf.

145 MCR 4.101(B); MCL § 257.321a(2).

146 See MCR 4.101. Unless they file a motion to set aside the default judgment, which requires that they post a monetary bond equal to the amount of the ticket—see section **5(B)**; MCR 4.101(D)(1)(e).

147 MCL § 257.321a(2).

148 MCL § 257.908(4).

149 See, e.g., *District Court Fee and Assessments Table: January 2019*, MICH. COURTS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191015182515/https://courts.michigan.gov/Administration/SCAO/Resources/Documents/other/dfee.pdf> (last visited Feb. 11, 2020).

150 See, e.g., BLOOMFIELD TOWNSHIP, BUDGET: FISCAL YEAR END MARCH 31, 2019 11, 44, 45 (2018), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228204153/https://www.bloomfieldtpw.org/Government/Annual-Reports/Accounting-Financial-Reports/Budgets/2018-19AdoptedBudget.aspx>; CITY OF FERNDALE, TRIENNIAL BUDGET ADOPTED: 2020-2022 GF-1, GF-2 (2019), *available at* <https://perma.cc/3A43-EMQ6>; CITY OF TAYLOR, PROPOSED BUDGET: FISCAL YEAR 2019/20 2-3 (2019), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/>

org/web/20200228204156/https://www.cityoftaylor.com/DocumentCenter/View/6475/Annual-Budget-White-Pages-19-20_Adopted-4-30-19; CITY OF LINCOLN PARK, FY 19/20 PROPOSED BUDGET A2-3, A11-12 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200228204201/https://cms6.revize.com/revize/lincolnparkmi/document_center/Finance/Budget%20Documents/FY%2019_20/FY%2019.20%20Proposed.pdf.

151 See, e.g., MCL § 257.904(3)(b).

152 MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii); MCL § 257.907(4).

153 MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii).

154 Fees are used to fund libraries, organizations, and public entities that provide services for crime victims, state and local police, the Secretary of State, and the state's "Court Equity Fund." *Distribution of Fines and Costs in District and Municipal Courts*, MICH. STATE COURT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE (Feb. 2013), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200227235213/https://courts.michigan.gov/Administration/SCAO/Resources/Documents/other/disttbl.pdf>; MICH. TRIAL COURT FUNDING COMMISSION, FINAL REPORT 14 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20191017182350/https://www.michigan.gov/documents/treasury/TCFC_Final_Report_9-6-2019_667167_7.pdf; Steve Zucker, *Where do the court fines go? From libraries to law enforcement, court fines and costs go many places*, PETOSKEY NEWS-REVIEW (Oct. 8, 2015), https://web.archive.org/web/20200227235508/https://www.petoskeynews.com/featured-pnr/where-do-the-court-fines-go/article_a51d23cd-f2a6-5a82-8d7a-9cabd6644b1b.html.

155 While probation is not common for traffic matters, DJC attorneys have seen some courts, including the 35th District Court and the 33rd District Court, impose up to \$300 in probation fees as part of traffic cases.

156 MCL § 257.907(13).

157 MCL § 600.4803.

158 See MCL § 257.321a.

159 See MCL § 780.905.

160 See MCL § 600.8381(4); *see also* MCL § 769.1j(1).

161 Or \$45 if a "serious" misdemeanor. See *Misdemeanor Case Processing Outline*, MICH. STATE COURT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200227235624/https://courts.michigan.gov/Administration/SCAO/Resources/Documents/other/MisdemeanorCaseProcessingOutline.pdf> (last visited Feb. 27, 2020).

162 See MCL § 257.321a.

163 See MCR 6.005(C); MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iv); MCL § 771.3(2)(c).

164 MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii)(A-C).

165 MCL § 257.907(4).

166 MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii).

167 MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii).

168 See *People v. Cameron*, 319 Mich. App. 215, 219 (2017).

169 MICH. STATE COURT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, COURTS COSTS IMPOSED AND COLLECTED 2018: MCL 769.1k (2019), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20191016041719/https://courts.michigan.gov/education/stats/reporting-materials/Documents/CCIC-Report.pdf>.

170 Amicus Brief by Mich. Dist. Judges Ass'n at 14-15, *People v. Cameron*, 929 N.W.2d 785 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20191016184215/https://courts.michigan.gov/Courts/MichiganSupremeCourt/Clerks/Documents/2018-2019/155849/155849_74_01_AC_MDJA_Brf.pdf.

171 Amicus Brief by Mich. Dist. Judges Ass'n at 15, *People v. Cameron*, 929 N.W.2d 785 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20191016184215/https://courts.michigan.gov/Courts/MichiganSupremeCourt/Clerks/Documents/2018-2019/155849/155849_74_01_AC_MDJA_Brf.pdf. See also *People v. Cameron*, 929 N.W.2d 785 (2019) (McCormick, C.J., concurring) ("My concerns about the constitutionality of MCL 769.1k(1)(b)(iii) are underscored by the troubling letters submitted by amicus curiae Michigan District Judges Association (MDJA). They describe the pressures they face as district judges to ensure their courts are well-funded. For example, one city threatened to evict a district court from its courthouse because it was unable to generate enough revenue. Another judge noted that the same city suggested that judges

ENDNOTES

eliminate personnel if they could not generate enough revenue to cover the operational costs. A third judge recounted that his local funding unit referred to the district court as “the cash cow of our local government.””).

172 MCR 6.245(E)(3).

173 CITY OF HAZEL PARK, BUDGET: FISCAL YEAR 2018-2019 1-15 (2019), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200227235832/http://www.hazelpark.org/2018-2019%20budget%20package.pdf>.

174 CITY OF SOUTHFIELD, MUNICIPAL BUDGET EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: JULY 1, 2019 - JUNE 30, 2020 4 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200227235927/https://www.cityofsouthfield.com/sites/default/files/2019-08/cosmunibudget_execsumm_1920.pdf.

175 Specifically, the court wanted the city prosecutor to charge people under local ordinances regulating pets (“No Dog License” and “Animal at Large”) so that the \$170 in mandatory fees that went to the state could be kept by the city. CITY OF EASTPOINTE, PROPOSED BUDGET: 2015/2016 64 (2015), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200228000056/http://cityofeastpointe.net/vertical/Sites/%7B7C4055DF-73E1-4D03-A393-4A1D90A24F1D%7D/uploads/Proposed_Budget_FY2015-16.pdf.

176 Amicus Brief by Mich. Dist. Judges Ass’n at 2, *People v. Cameron*, 929 N.W.2d 785 (2019), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20191016184215/https://courts.michigan.gov/Courts/MichiganSupremeCourt/Clerks/Documents/2018-2019/155849/155849_74_01_AC_MDJA_Brf.pdf.

177 *Id.* at 16.

178 The money the City of Taylor was able to keep for itself, excluding the money sent to the state, totaled \$7.9 million. CITY OF TAYLOR, PROPOSED BUDGET OVERVIEW FISCAL YEAR 2019-20 22 (2019), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228000237/http://www.cityoftaylor.com/DocumentCenter/View/6234/Budget-Detail-Overview---FY-2019-20>.

179 In Ferndale, this totaled \$3.5 million. CITY OF FERNDALE, *supra* note 150, at GF-1.

180 MCR 6.245(E)(3); MCL § 257.908(4).

181 MICH. STATE COURT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, TRIAL COURT COLLECTIONS STANDARDS & GUIDELINES 6 (2016), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20180414234215/https://courts.mi.gov/Administration/SCAO/Resources/Documents/standards/cl_stds.pdf.

182 In total, there are four types of bonds in Michigan. “Personal recognizance bonds” consist of a promise to return to court; they do not require defendants to pay any money. “Cash bonds” require defendants to pay the court a monetary sum (which can be referred to as the “bail” amount) before they can be released from jail. If the person appears in court as required, the money should be returned to them at the end of their case, although the court may keep a portion or all of the money to apply towards any fines/fees/costs the defendant owes the court. However, if the person misses a court date, all of the money is forfeited to the court. “Ten-percent bonds” require defendants to pay the court only 10% of their bail upfront in order to be released from jail. The court keeps a portion of this payment (10% of the deposit, or 1% of the full bail amount) as a fee. If the defendant misses a court date, the court requires that the defendant pay the remaining 90% of the original bail. “Surety bonds” allow for a third-party bondsman to post bond on the defendant’s behalf. The defendant must pay the bondsman up to 10% of the full bail amount for this service, and this payment is non-refundable no matter what happens in the person’s case. Note that “Bail” and “bond” are frequently used interchangeably in criminal cases. Technically, “bail” often describes the full monetary amount set by the court and “bond” describes the amount that must actually be paid, whether that be the whole bail amount or some percentage of it. *See Misdemeanor Matters*, MICH. COURTS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191015195140/https://courts.michigan.gov/Self-help/center/casetype/Pages/Misdemeanor.aspx> (last visited Feb. 4, 2010); MICH. JUDICIAL INSTITUTE, HANDBOOK OF LEGAL TERMS 9 (2015), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20180416093541/https://mjieducation.mi.gov/documents/resources-for-trial-court-staff/178-holt-rev-2015/file>; MCL § 750.167b(3).

183 MCL § 780.66(8); MCL § 780.67(7); MCL § 769.1j(4).

184 MCL § 780.582; MCR 3.606(C).

185 MICH. JUDICIAL INSTITUTE, *supra* note 182, at 37 (“Used generally, this title means a judge. In Michigan, a district court magistrate is a quasi-judicial official of the district court who has the power to set bail, to accept bond, to accept guilty pleas and to impose sentence for traffic and other related violations, and to conduct informal hearings on civil infractions.”).

186 MCL § 780.581(2); MCR 6.102(D).

187 MCL § 780.586.

188 MCL § 780.62.

- 189 MCL § 780.64(1)(b).
- 190 MCL § 780.64(1)(d).
- 191 MCL § 780.64(1)(e).
- 192 MCL § 780.581(2); MCL § 780.582.
- 193 See PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS, *supra* note 144, at 45 (Almost ninety percent of people who could afford to post bond spent only a week in jail, while nearly seventy-five percent of those who could not afford to post bond spent over a week in jail, with almost forty percent spending more than a month in jail).
- 194 See discussion *supra* note 34.
- 195 Wendy Sawyer, *How does unaffordable money bail affect families?*, PRISON POLICY INITIATIVE (Aug. 15, 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228001122/https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2018/08/15/pretrial/>.
- 196 See, e.g., *Why Bail?*, THE BAIL PROJECT, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191002213204/https://bailproject.org/why-bail/> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020); see also ALLEN J. BECK ET AL., USDOJ BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS, SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION IN PRISONS AND JAILS REPORTED BY INMATES, 2008-09 22-3 (2010), available at <https://perma.cc/D7GT-JYHB>; see also MARGARET E. NOONAN, USDOJ BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS, MORTALITY IN LOCAL JAILS AND STATE PRISONS, 2000-2010 - STATISTICAL TABLES 12 (2012), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228001436/https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/mljst.pdf>.
- 197 THE COALITION TO END MONEY BOND, MONITORING COOK COUNTY'S CENTRAL BOND COURT: A COMMUNITY COURTWATCHING INITIATIVE 6 (2018), available at https://web.archive.org/web/20200228001524/https://chicagobond.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/courtwatching-report_coalition-to-end-money-bond_final_2-25-18.pdf.
- 198 *FAQ: Traffic Violations*, 36TH DIST. CT., <https://web.archive.org/web/20200217194208/https://www.36thdistrictcourt.org/faq-and-self-help/traffic-violations> (last visited Feb. 23, 2020).
- 199 MCL § 780.586.
- 200 This practice is also publicly endorsed by the 44th District Court in Royal Oak. See *Court Case Look-Up*, 44TH DIST. CT., <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228001808/https://www.romi.gov/1126/Court-Case-Look-Up> (last visited Feb. 27, 2020) (“Persons in warrant status may ‘walk-in’ Mon - Fri 8:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. The warrant will be recalled and you will go to the courtroom to speak with the judge. You may be required to post a cash bond so you should come prepared.”).
- 201 MCR 4.101(D).
- 202 MCR 4.101(H)(1-2).
- 203 MCL § 780.585; MCL § 780.64(2-3).
- 204 MCL § 257.904(3).
- 205 Two types of bonds allow for these fees: ten-percent bonds (which are common in Metro Detroit) and surety bonds. See note 182. For both types of bonds, even if the defendant follows all of the court’s instructions and appears for every hearing, they are charged a non-refundable fee—ten-percent of the amount deposited with the court. MCR 6.106(I)(1); MCL § 750.167b(3). Note, however, that there is a conflict between statute and court rules as MCL § 780.66(6) requires that the full deposit for a ten-percent bond be returned if the defendant is not convicted.
- 206 MCL § 780.67(8). Additionally, for a ten-percent bond, the person becomes financially indebted to the court for the remaining 90% of the full bond amount. MCR 6.106(I)(2)(b). For a surety bond, if the court only required the bondsman to post a portion of the full bond amount, the person becomes financially indebted to the court for the remainder of the bond amount. MCL § 765.28(1).
- 207 Ethan Corey & Puck Lo, *The ‘Failure to Appear’ Fallacy*, APPEAL (Jan. 9, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200118072323/https://theappeal.org/the-failure-to-appear-fallacy/>.
- 208 MCL § 780.66(8); MCL § 780.67(7); MCL § 769.1j(4).
- 209 *People v. Jackson*, 483 Mich 271 (2009).
- 210 See, e.g., *People v. Krezen*, 427 Mich. 681 (1986). Some police departments, including Detroit, have a policy of allowing another licensed driver, or even the passenger if they have a valid license, to come retrieve the car before it is impounded. *Id.*; DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT, TOWING/IMPOUNDING PROCEDURES § 204.4-6 (2019), available at <https://web.archive.org/>

ENDNOTES

web/20200228002020/https://detroitmi.gov/sites/detroitmi.localhost/files/2019-04/Towing-Impound%20Procedures%20Directive%20204.4.pdf. Many police departments do not, and even those that do often do not wait for that driver to arrive, or do not offer arrested drivers any way to contact someone who could come. Yet even where this option is available to drivers, license suspensions are so common for poor and working class people in Metro Detroit that many drivers simply do not have people in their network with a valid license that can come retrieve their vehicle at a moment's notice.

211 MCL § 257.252a (allowing police to tow a vehicle they deem abandoned, including vehicles with expired registration and that are older than seven years parked on the street); MCL § 257.252d(1)(k) (giving police authority to tow vehicles involved in accidents if the vehicle can no longer be safely driven).

212 Kim Russell, *Detroit towing controversy: Number of issues going up across metro Detroit*, WXYZ (Feb. 21, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190726231358/https://www.wxyz.com/getting-around-metro-detroit/detroit-towing-controversy-number-of-issues-going-up-across-metro-detroit>.

213 Neighborhoods Staff, *The Detroit Police Department has a new towing system. Here's how it works.*, NEIGHBORHOODS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228002147/https://theneighborhoods.org/story/detroit-police-department-has-new-towing-system-heres-how-it-works> (last visited Feb. 27, 2020).

214 See, e.g., *Towed Vehicles*, CITY OF PLYMOUTH, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190425073348/http://www.ci.plymouth.mi.us/Index.aspx?NID=799> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020); *Property, Evidence & Impounded Vehicles*, CITY OF TAYLOR, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190719232855/http://www.cityoftaylor.com/784/Property-Evidence-Impounded-Vehicles> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020).

215 Sarah Sell, *Customers say West Michigan tow companies are adding excessive fees to bills*, WZZM (Feb. 22, 2016), <https://perma.cc/DU8E-UF3A>; Ryan Felton, *A Detroit Towing Company Allegedly Stole Dozens Of Cars In A Wildly Elaborate Scheme*, JALOPNIK (Sept. 21, 2017), <https://web.archive.org/web/20191108221005/https://jalopnik.com/a-detroit-towing-company-allegedly-stole-dozens-of-cars-1818638269>; *Everything you need to know about towing laws in Detroit and Michigan*, WXYZ (Feb. 21, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190221131040/https://www.wxyz.com/getting-around-metro-detroit/everything-you-need-to-know-about-towing-laws-in-detroit-and-michigan>.

216 MCL § 257.321a(5)(b); MCL § 257.321a(8)(b); MCL § 257.321a(9)(b). See *District Court Fee and Assessments Table: January 2019*, *supra* note 149, at 5.

217 Clearance fees cannot be automatically waived unless a person is affirmatively found not responsible. MCL § 257.321a(9)(b). Although the case was dismissed in this scenario, because the persons' innocence or guilt was never litigated, they still owe a clearance fee by default.

218 MCL § 257.320e.

219 MCL § 257.743(2)(a-c); *Traffic and Nontraffic Civil Infraction Matters*, MICH. COURTS, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191015195120/https://courts.michigan.gov/Self-help/center/casetype/Pages/Infraction.aspx> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020).

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

221 See, e.g., Sarah Alvarez, *Detroit court gets tough on traffic tickets. County taxpayers get stuck with tab*, BRIDGE (Jun. 8, 2017), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181209131534/https://www.bridgemi.com/detroit-journalism-cooperative/detroit-court-gets-tough-traffic-tickets-county-taxpayers-get-stuck>; David M. Reutter, *Michigan Court Forced to End "Pay or Stay" Policy*, PRISON LEGAL NEWS (Nov. 7, 2017), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228002701/https://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/2017/nov/7/michigan-court-forced-end-pay-or-stay-policy/>.

222 See, e.g., *Flat Rock v. Phillips*, 12-F-205961 (33rd District Court, Sept. 24, 2019); *Flatrock v. Tallent*, 19-F-228817, (33rd District Court, Sept. 24, 2019).

223 TASK FORCE REPORT, *supra* note 8, at 9.

224 MCL § 257.743(4).

225 MCL § 257.908(1) ("If a defendant defaults in the payment of a civil fine, costs, or both, or of any installment ... the court ... may require the defendant to show cause why the default should not be treated as in civil contempt and may issue a summons or order to show cause or a bench warrant of arrest for the defendant's appearance.").

226 MCL § 257.728(1).

227 MCR 6.615(B)(1)(b); MCL § 764.9e.

228 TASK FORCE REPORT, *supra* note 8, at 9.

- 229 PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS, *supra* note 144, at 19.
- 230 *In re Contempt of Robertson*, 209 Mich App 433, 436 (1995); *In re Contempt of Auto Club Ins Ass'n*, 243 Mich App 697, 708 (2000).
- 231 MCL § 257.908(3); MCL § 257.908(5); MCL § 600.1715.
- 232 MCL § 257.908(5).
- 233 MCL § 257.908(3).
- 234 MCR 6.425(E)(3).
- 235 MCL § 257.908(3).
- 236 *Bearden v. Georgia*, 461 U.S. 660 (1983).
- 237 As just one example, in 2019, a DJC client was arrested on a warrant for his failure to pay a fine for a traffic ticket. When a DJC attorney asked the judge to assess his ability to pay, the Lincoln Park judge simply said that if the client had paid 50 cents a day between when he received the fine and when he was arrested, he would have paid the fine off, and the judge decided that for that reason alone, the client had the ability to pay the fine. This not only failed to consider the clients work history or income at the time he was arrested as required by law,[#] it completely ignored the actual facts presented in his defense: specifically, that he had experienced extended periods of unemployment, homelessness, and jail since receiving the ticket, meaning that for much of that time, even 50 cents a day was substantially more than he could afford. *See also Alvarez, supra* note 221; Joseph Shapiro, *Supreme Court Ruling Not Enough To Prevent Debtors Prisons*, NPR (May 21, 2014), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228205452/https://text.npr.org/s.php?slid=313118629>.
- 238 Christian Henrichson et al., *The Price of Jails: Measuring the Taxpayer Cost of Local Incarceration*, VERA INSTITUTE, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191219004743/https://www.vera.org/publications/the-price-of-jails-measuring-the-taxpayer-cost-of-local-incarceration> (last visited Feb. 27, 2020).
- 239 MCL § 257.908(5).
- 240 Henry Grabar, *Too Broke to Drive*, SLATE (Sept. 27, 2017, 2:47 p.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190904130718/https://slate.com/business/2017/09/state-lawmakers-have-trapped-millions-of-americans-in-debt-by-taking-their-licenses.html>.
- 241 MCL § 257.904(3)(a-b); MCL § 780.621(3)(d); MCL § 780.621a(b).
- 242 MCL § 257.904(3)(a-b).
- 243 MCL § 257.904d(2).
- 244 MCL § 257.304(4).
- 245 MOTOR VEHICLES AFFORDABILITY AND FAIRNESS TASK FORCE, FINAL REPORT xii (2006), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200126070906/https://www.state.nj.us/mvc/pdf/about/AFTF_final_02.pdf.
- 246 *Id.*
- 247 *Id.*
- 248 Grabar, *Too Broke to Drive*, *supra* note 240.
- 249 Niraj Warikoo, *Michigan is 1 of 5 harshest states for driver's license suspensions over court fees, fines*, DETROIT FREE PRESS (Sept. 29, 2017, 6:15 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228003145/https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2017/09/29/michigan-drivers-license-suspensions-court-fees/704887001/>.
- 250 MARIO SALAS & ANGELA CIOLFI, LEGAL AID JUSTICE CENTER, DRIVE BY DOLLARS: A STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS OF DRIVER'S LICENSE SUSPENSION LAWS FOR FAILURE TO PAY COURT DEBT 9 (2017), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200213041905/https://www.justice4all.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Driven-by-Dollars.pdf>.
- 251 *Maps*, FREE TO DRIVE, <https://www.freetodrive.org/maps/#page-content> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020) (interactive map illustrating changing laws around driver's license suspensions for failure to pay tickets) [hereinafter FREE TO DRIVE].
- 252 *Bearden v. Georgia*, 461 U.S. 660 (1983).

ENDNOTES

- 253 *In re Donna Elaine Anderson*, No. 15-2380-AS (Cir. Ct. County of Macomb Mar. 8, 2016) Br. Supp. Compl. at 5, *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20190928031937/https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/aclu_of_michigan_brief_and_complaint_filed.pdf.
- 254 Daniel Bethencourt, *Court to judge: Stop jailing poor people over fees*, DETROIT FREE PRESS (Mar. 10, 2016, 5:36 p.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190903065721/https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/wayne/2016/03/09/eastpointe-judge-pay-or-stay-sentencing-carl-gerds/81551972/>.
- 255 MCR 6.425(E)(3); JULIA NORTON, MICH. SUPREME COURT, MEMORANDUM: ABILITY TO PAY COURT RULE AMENDMENTS (2016), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228205734/https://courts.michigan.gov/Administration/SCAO/OfficesPrograms/TCS/Documents/TCS%20Memoranda/TCS-2016-25.pdf>; MICHIGAN SUPREME COURT, ORDER: AMENDMENTS OF RULES 3.605, 3.606, 3.928, 3.944, 3.956, 6.001, 6.425, 6.445, 6.610, AND 6.922 OF THE MICHIGAN COURT RULES (2016), *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20200228003734/https://courts.michigan.gov/Courts/MichiganSupremeCourt/rules/court-rules-admin-matters/Court%20Rules/2015-12_2016-05-25_formatted%20order_various%20MCRs-ability%20to%20pay.pdf.
- 256 *Id.*
- 257 *Bearden v. Georgia*, 461 US 660 (1983).
- 258 *Flat Rock v. Phillips*, 12-F-205961 (33rd District Court, Sept. 24, 2019) (McNally issues pay or stay sentence); *Flatrock v. Tallent*, 19-F-228817, (33rd District Court, Sept. 24, 2019) (Kersten issues pay or stay sentence).
- 259 A DJC attorney witnessed this event while in court representing a different client.
- 260 *In re Donna Elaine Anderson*, No. 15-2380-AS (Cir. Ct. County of Macomb Mar. 8, 2016) Br. Supp. Compl. at 7, *available at* https://web.archive.org/web/20190928031937/https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/aclu_of_michigan_brief_and_complaint_filed.pdf.
- 261 *E.g.*, MCL § 257.904a, MCL § 257.904(3)(a-b), MCL § 500.3102(2), & MCL § 257.215.
- 262 MCL § 780.621(3)(d).
- 263 States, including Michigan, and the federal government have already created such commissions for other areas of the code with much success. A similar commission could be created to focus on traffic civil infractions and other low-level offenses. JAMES R. COPLAND & RAFAEL A. MANGUAL, *OVERCRIMINALIZING AMERICA: AN OVERVIEW AND MODEL LEGISLATION FOR THE STATES* 12 (2018), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228003830/https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/R-JC-0818.pdf> (“Some states have undertaken legislative efforts to clean up their statute books by repealing unnecessary, outmoded, and duplicative criminal offenses. In Kansas, for example, the state established an ‘Office of the Repealer’ in 2011. The primary aim of the office was to review the body of criminal law and continuously flag provisions ripe for repeal, which the legislature could then choose to act upon. In Michigan, Governor Rick Snyder signed, in 2015, a bill repealing a number of outmoded crimes—the legislature’s response to the governor’s call for such reforms earlier that year. While these efforts are laudable, they do not go far enough, considering the rate at which lawmakers are adding new criminal offenses to the books. One state studied by the Manhattan Institute, however, does offer a fine example of how to undertake a large- scale repeal effort. In 2014, Minnesota’s legislators repealed more than 1,175 crimes in what was dubbed the legislative ‘unsession.’ The unsession was the outgrowth of a push by Governor Mark Dayton to prune unnecessary and outmoded laws piling up on state books.”).
- 264 Fines that are scaled to income are not a novel idea; “day fines” of this sort have already been adopted in a number of European countries and piloted in multiple U.S. cities. USDOJ BUREAU OF JUSTICE ASSISTANCE, *HOW TO USE STRUCTURED FINES (DAY FINES) AS AN INTERMEDIATE SANCTION* 1 (1996), *available at* <https://web.archive.org/web/20180621074127/https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/156242.pdf> (“Structured fines, also called ‘day fines,’ constitute a type of monetary sanction that can be used to sentence convicted criminal offenders. Initially developed in Europe, structured fines are based on a simple concept: punishment by a fine should be proportionate to the seriousness of the offense and should have roughly similar impact (in terms of economic sting) on persons with differing financial resources who are convicted of the same offense. Structured fines are set through a two-step process that determines the severity of the punishment separately from assessment of a specific dollar amount. First, on the basis of a scale that ranks offenses according to their gravity, the number of structured fine units for the crime is determined. Second, the dollar amount of the fine is figured by multiplying the number of fine units by a portion of a defendant’s net daily income (hence the term ‘day fine’), adjusted to account for dependents and special circumstances.”).
- 265 *E.g.*, for fines, including but not limited to MCL § 600.4803, MCL § 257.907(13), MCL § 600.2559(1)(n), MCL § 780.905(1)(b), MCL § 600.8381(4), MCL § 769.1j(1), MCL § 257.321a(5)(b), MCL § 257.321a(8)(b), MCL § 257.321a(9)(b), MCR 6.005(C), MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iv), MCL § 771.3(2)(c), MCL § 257.320e, MCL § 257.729, & MCL § 771.3(2)(c); for costs, including but not limited to MCL § 769.1k(1)(b)(iii) & MCL § 257.907(4).
- 266 ALEXANDRA BASTIEN, POLICYLINK, *ENDING THE DEBT TRAP: STRATEGIES TO STOP THE ABUSE OF COURT-IMPOSED FINES AND FEES* 8-9

(2017), n. 62, 70-73. (“The reforms to the fines and fees practices introduced by the Supreme Court of Ohio in 2015 included guidance that prohibits judges from issuing warrants for unpaid fine and fees. The reforms protect Ohio residents from the risk of incarceration for unpaid debt, and saved court resources and staff time by reducing costs and jail populations Leon County, Florida, closed its collections court in 2010 and terminated approximately 8,000 outstanding arrest warrants for nonpayment. A lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) spurred Benton County, Washington, to make a series of changes in its handling of outstanding fines and fees. Starting in 2016, the county no longer issues warrants for individuals with unpaid court debt. Similar to Benton County, a settlement between Colorado Springs, Colorado, and the ACLU ensured that the city would no longer jail individuals for nonpayment of court debt, and that it would provide payment to people who had previously been jailed under the practice. In response to the protests that followed the police shooting of Michael Brown, the St. Louis Municipal Court canceled more than 200,000 warrants for outstanding debt.”)

267 Hixson v. Haslam, 329 F. Supp. 3d 475, 478 (collecting debt from an indigent debtor was not a rational basis for revoking a driver’s license), vacated as moot on other grounds sub nom. Thomas v. Lee, 776 F App’x 910, 911 (6th Cir. 2019) (mem.).

268 TASK FORCE REPORT, *supra* note 8, at 19.

269 As the failure to comply with a judgment or failure to appear requires an affirmative finding that a person received notice and chose not to appear in court, MCL § 257.321a(2), or has the ability to pay but has chosen not to do so, MCL § 257.908, courts could simply choose not to make this finding without proof that the person actually received notice (and not just that notice was sent), or without proof that the person had the ability to pay, including proof of that person’s income. This would allow courts to immediately stop abstracting (i.e., reporting to the Secretary of State) failures to appear, defaulted civil infractions, or any other unpaid traffic tickets.

270 Fines and Fees Justice Center (@FinesandFeesJC), TWITTER (Feb. 20, 2020, 11:21 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200220162316/https://twitter.com/FinesandFeesJC/status/1230527877550084097>. Moreover, six states have ended the practice entirely, with five more limiting its application. See Danielle Conley & Ariel Levinson-Waldman, *ACS Issue Brief: Discriminatory Driver’s License Suspension*, AMER. CONST. SOC. 3, 9-16 (March 2019), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20200126070914/https://www.acslaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/License-Suspension-Issue-Brief-Final.pdf>; FREE TO DRIVE, *supra* note 251; Cameron Thompson, *New Virginia law reinstates licenses to certain drivers: ‘Ending this policy is long overdue’*, WTVR (Jul. 3, 2019, 10:19 a.m.), <https://web.archive.org/web/20190729212656/https://wtvr.com/2019/07/03/dmv-license-reinstated/>; *Mississippi HB 1352: The Criminal Justice Reform Act [Ends driver’s license suspension for unpaid fines and fees, failure to appear]*, FINES & FEES JUSTICE CENTER (Mar. 28, 2019), <https://web.archive.org/web/20200228004122/https://finesandfeesjusticecenter.org/articles/mississippi-hb-1352-the-criminal-justice-reform-act-ends-drivers-license-suspension-for-unpaid-fines-and-fees-failure-to-appear/>.

271 *California’s Low Cost Auto Insurance Program*, CAL. DEPT. OF INS., <https://web.archive.org/web/20190830192735/https://www.insurance.ca.gov/01-consumers/105-type/95-guides/01-auto/lca/> (last visited Feb. 5, 2020).

272 Kaffer, *supra* note 101.

273 To do this, the law offers low-income drivers—defined as anyone in a household earning less than 250% of the federal poverty guidelines, Cal. Ins. Code § 11629.73—insurance at a monthly rate of between \$20 and \$90, depending on their age, driving history, and the county they live in. See CAL. DEPT. OF INS., REPORT TO THE LEGISLATURE & CONSUMER EDUCATION AND OUTREACH PLAN 10 (2019), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20190830215406/https://www.insurance.ca.gov/01-consumers/105-type/95-guides/01-auto/lca/upload/2019-CLCA-Legislative-Report-2.pdf>.

274 Christian Spencer, *Cops in Minneapolis Are Giving Out Vouchers For Vehicle Repairs Instead Of Tickets*, BLAVITY (Jan. 31, 2020, 4:20 p.m.), https://web.archive.org/web/20200228004423/https://blavity.com/cops-in-minneapolis-are-giving-out-vouchers-for-vehicle-repairs-instead-of-tickets?fbclid=IwAR0z.763jKXzX_C51j3eZzYL-GJe48B6sXILsa1vYNDedv9SNchQRCzde57Y&category1=politics.

275 Herberg, *supra* note 25.



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APPENDIX B

ACLU Challenges Debtors' Prisons Across Michigan
ACLU (August 4, 2011)

ACLU of
Michigan

[About](#)

[Issues](#)

[Our Work](#)

[News](#)

[Take Action](#)

[File a Complaint](#)

[Español](#)

ACLU CHALLENGES DEBTORS' PRISONS ACROSS MICHIGAN

AUGUST 4, 2011

The American Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU of Michigan said today that they are challenging “pay or stay” sentences imposed on five persons across the state who were illegally jailed for being too poor to pay court fines.

In each instance, the judge failed to hold a hearing that would prove the individual was too poor to pay, or give the defendant the option of a payment plan or community service.

“Long thought to be a relic of the 19th century, debtors’ prisons are still alive and well in Michigan,” said Kary Moss, the ACLU of Michigan’s executive director. “Jailing our clients because they are poor is not only unconstitutional, it’s unconscionable and a shameful waste of resources. Our justice system should be a place where freedom has no price and equality prevails regardless of a defendant’s economic status.”

Today's announcement is the result of a nearly two-year investigation into modern-day debtors' prisons in Michigan. Over the last two weeks, ACLU attorneys witnessed district and circuit court judges dole out "pay or stay" sentences in seven counties - Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, Montcalm, Muskegon, Kent and Ionia.

The ACLU's clients represent dozens of poor defendants who are being jailed at increasingly alarming rates for failing to pay legal debts they cannot afford.

The U.S. and Michigan constitutions forbid debtors' prisons and the jailing of individuals who cannot pay court fines and fees because they are poor.

"In the face of mounting budget deficits, states are aggressively targeting poor people, and minorities often bear the burden," said Elora Mukherjee, staff attorney with the ACLU's Racial Justice Program. "These modern-day debtors' prisons impose devastating human costs, waste taxpayer money and create a two-tiered justice system."

The ACLU is challenging the sentences of five individuals who were jailed for being too poor to pay fines, fees and costs related to criminal offenses. Although each defendant is willing to pay fees over time on a payment plan or perform community service, the judges never gave this option. As of today, two individuals have been released as a result of the ACLU's intervention.

- Kyle Dewitt, 19, was sentenced to three days in jail by Judge Raymond Voet of the 64A District Court in Ionia because he is unemployed and unable to pay \$215 in fees related to a ticket for catching a fish out of season. After ACLU intervention, Dewitt was released from Ionia County Jail on Wednesday pending a trial.

- Kristen Preston, 19, was sentenced to 30 days in jail by Judge Voet because she could not afford to pay a \$125 alcohol assessment fee stemming from a minor in possession (MIP) charge. On Wednesday, Preston was released after ACLU intervention. She awaits sentencing for the MIP charge.

- Dorian Bellinger, 22, was sentenced to 13 days in jail by Judge Robert Brzezinski of the 16th District Court in Livonia because he could not afford to pay \$425 in fines and costs related to a misdemeanor marijuana possession charge.

- Dontae Smith, 19, was sentenced to 41 days in jail by Judge Joseph Longo of the 43rd District Court in Ferndale because he could not afford to pay \$415 in connection to several driving offenses, including driving with a suspended license and impeding traffic.

- David Clark, 30, was sentenced to 90 days in jail by Judge Randy Kalmbach of the 27th District Court in

Wyandotte because he could not afford to pay \$1,250 in fees and costs related to charges for spanking his girlfriend's son on the buttock. Clark's girlfriend was charged with the same misdemeanor offense; however, her parents paid her costs, and she was therefore not jailed.

In 2010, Michigan was among the states featured in an ACLU report, "[In for a Penny: The Rise of America's New Debtors' Prisons](#)

(http://www.aclu.org/files/assets/InForAPenny_web.pdf).” The report detailed the way courts, in the face of budget cuts, target poor people who have already served their criminal sentences to pay fines or face jail time.

While many judges view the collection of legal debt as a critical revenue stream, there is no evidence such sentences increase revenue, as the costs of incarcerating indigent defendants for failing to pay generally exceed the amount owed.

APPENDIX C

Street Outreach Court Detroit-SOCD, Three Years Later...”
Street Democracy (August 2018)



STREET OUTREACH COURT DETROIT THREE YEARS LATER...

INTRODUCTION

In 2011, Street Democracy began an effort to establish a homeless court in Detroit. In 2012, Street Outreach Court Detroit ("SOCD") began offering homeless participants the opportunity to resolve open civil infractions and misdemeanors through their efforts to address the root causes of their homelessness.¹ SOCD, by accepting housing, job training, health, and other human services in lieu of payment, gives participants the tools they need to prevent a slide back into instability.

HOW SOCD WORKS

Step 1: After 30 days of effort by the participant, a case manager at a partner social service agency applies to SOCD.

Step 2: An admitted participant's eligible cases are moved to SOCD docket and warrants are recalled.

Step 3: At an informal conference, the case manager presents evidence of the participant's progress.

Step 4: At a formal hearing, proofs are put on the record, and relief is granted.

To measure the long-term efficacy of SOCD, we took a deep dive into the criminal justice outcomes of our graduates.² Here's what we found:

SOCD CHANGES LIVES, PERMANENTLY

The data shows that SOCD dramatically improves lives and has lasting benefits for the 243 graduates from 2012-2015.

Six months after graduation...

- 97% have stable housing
- 91% have stable income
- 100% have no new non-traffic misdemeanors or felonies

Three years after graduation...

- 94% have no new non-traffic misdemeanors or felonies
- 80% have no open traffic, non-traffic misdemeanor, or felony matters

GRADUATES SAVE SOCIETY NEARLY 1.5 MILLION DOLLARS

SOCD, by consolidating cases and breaking the criminalization of poverty cycle, saves society the direct and indirect costs of homelessness. Over the three years following graduation, SOCD results in:

- \$70,933 in judicial economy savings, ie. case consolidation and fewer new cases³
- \$1,450,836 in total operational savings to the systems that serve the homeless⁴

SOCD WORKS

We also wanted to compare the long-term criminal justice outcomes of graduates and non-graduating participants to control for our target population as well as selection bias.

SOCD participants graduate at higher rates than most other problem-solving courts.

Over 79% of SOCD participants complete their action plan and graduate from the program, a higher completion rate other problem-solving courts.⁵

SOCD offers legal relief that non-graduates cannot typically achieve on their own.

Without any special legal relief, only 23.4% of non-graduates are able to resolve their then-existing criminal justice histories.⁶

Non-graduates have nearly double the three-year recidivism rate as graduates do.

Three years after their hearing, SOCD graduates have a 5.8% recidivism rate based on non-traffic misdemeanors and felonies, while the non-graduate rate is nearly twice as high at 10.9%.

Graduates are more likely to be free of criminal justice entanglement than non-graduates.

Three years after their participation in SOCD, 80.2% of graduates are free of lingering involvement with the justice system, whereas only 35.9% of non-graduates are.

Graduates are more likely to address new matters, indicating trust in courts and stable incomes.

Participants acquire new, primarily traffic-related, matters at approximately equivalent rates, 41.6% and 40.6% for graduates and non-graduates, respectively. Graduates, however, successfully address those new matters 53.5% of the time while only 19.2% of non-graduates do.

Providing administrative relief is not as effective as SOCD in improving long-term outcomes.

Non-graduates who received administrative relief are twice as likely as graduates to have unaddressed matters after three years, 38.5% vs 19.8% respectively.⁷ Moreover, only 16.6% of non-graduates who received administrative relief were able to address new matters, compared to 19.2% of all non-graduates and 53.5% of SOCD graduates.

¹ Other SOCD Partners include: 36th District Court, Detroit Action Commonwealth, Wayne County Prosecutor's and Sheriff's Offices, City of Detroit Law and Municipal Parking Departments, Capuchin Soup Kitchen, St. Leo's Soup Kitchen, Neighborhood Legal Services, Southwest Economic Solutions, and Volunteers of America.

² Based on data collected from 243 SOCD graduates and 64 non-graduates from 2012 - 2015 and exit surveys of SOCD graduates from 2012-2014. The data regarding any civil infraction, traffic misdemeanor, non-traffic misdemeanor, or felony committed within the three year period following graduation or expected graduation was collected from 36th District Court's and 3rd Circuit Court's publicly-accessible systems. *This study was performed by Sophia Vagnone.*

³ Based on Michigan Problem-Solving Courts Performance and Outcomes 2013 (recidivism rates of specialty courts and traditional courts) Memorandum Dated November 6, 2014 (where it calculated the average administrative cost per criminal case to be \$508.48.) with graduate recidivism rate of 5.8% vs 10.9% for non-graduates (12.4 fewer persons who committed new offenses), and 1.5 offenses per person ($\$508.48 * 12.4 * 1.5 = \$9,153$). Regarding case consolidation, assuming 4 hearings per criminal for a per hearing cost of \$127.12 ($\$508.48/4$) and given average number of offenses (7) and likely payment plan status hearings, we estimate two less hearings per graduate to close their existing cases, ($\$127.12 * 2 * 243 = \$61,780$).

⁴ Based on 2009 study Where We Sleep: The Costs of Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles which followed 10,193 homeless individuals. The study found the cost to society of homeless persons was \$2,897 compared to \$605 per month for those in supportive or subsidized housing. To make this calculation, we conservatively assumed every SOCD received \$605 per month in housing or other assistance and used our housing and/or unable-to-resolve new offenses rate to estimate housing instability rates when survey data was not present. The calculation above represents the difference between these two figures, \$2,292, multiplied by the 94% of graduates (228) remaining stably housed for the first year, 87% for their second year post-graduation (211), and 80% for their third year (194), ($\$2,292 * 633 = \$1,450,836$).

⁵ According to the Michigan Problem-Solving Courts Performance and Outcomes 2017 report. Drug courts, mental health courts, and veterans courts have 62%, 52%, and 66% graduation rates, respectively.

⁶ Without completing SOCD, 42.2% of non-graduates addressed all prior offenses. 23.4% addressed all prior offenses on their own without any assistance. However, 18.8% did receive administrative relief from the court.

⁷ Administrative relief is the court's closure or dismissal of matters on its own prerogative for purposes of age, transfer to collections, or other administrative reasons.

APPENDIX D

What if courts were designed to provide opportunity instead of punishment? A report on the efficacy of functional sentences
Street Democracy (October 2018)

WHAT IF COURTS WERE DESIGNED TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY INSTEAD OF PUNISHMENT?

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A REPORT ON THE EFFICACY OF
FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES

**STREET
DEMOCRACY**

Functional sentences are the “alternative to criminalizing poverty.”

—Michael C.

WHAT IS FUNCTIONAL SENTENCING

Functional Sentencing works to advance justice by turning misdemeanor sentencing into an opportunity to help an individual permanently exit the criminal justice system. It works by replacing traditionally ordered fines and costs with targeted interventions—e.g. job training, medical services, or applying for government benefit programs—that address the root causes of an individual’s offense.

WHY WE DEVELOPED FUNCTIONAL SENTENCING

Street Democracy developed Functional Sentencing because standard sentencing—a model characterized by punitive fines, costs, and incarceration—does not work, particularly as it relates to the poor. Sentencing a poor person to a money fine does nothing to reform them or improve public safety. Rather, it serves only to exacerbate their poverty. For the poor, money fines are a lose-lose proposition as they typically impose harmful consequences associated with both noncompliance (e.g. warrants, drivers license suspensions, and late fees) or compliance (e.g. using their rent money to satisfy their court obligations). Simply put, the misdemeanor criminal justice system punishes the poor for being poor.

THE PILOT PROJECT

In June of 2017, we established a limited pilot in Hamtramck, Michigan’s 31st District Court to test the idea of Functional Sentencing. Hamtramck proved to be an ideal location to test this idea not only because of its high poverty rate, but also because we had a receptive partner in Judge Alexis Krot, who was willing to consider a functional approach to sentencing.

Prior to sentencing, we, as defense counsel, met with defendants to (i) determine eligibility; (ii) conduct a 5-minute needs assessment; and (iii) develop their functional sentencing recommendation. Those granted functional sentences were then scheduled for a status hearing to demonstrate their progress.

We surveyed our 128 clients (48 responses) three months after their last hearing and reviewed their case histories at 31st and 36th District Court. Here are our results:

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SENTENCING POOR PEOPLE TO MONEY FINES CAUSES HOMELESSNESS

Contrary to the opinion of some, most poor people want to comply with orders to pay money fines, but must borrow from their limited housing dollars to do so. Even when ordered to the absolute minimum fines and costs required by law, the poor are presented with the impossible “choice” between having a roof over their head or being right in the eyes of the law.

THOSE WHO EXPERIENCED HOUSING INSTABILITY AS A RESULT OF MONEY FINES

59%

STANDARD SENTENCES

33%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES
W/ FINES & COSTS OVER \$150

13%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES
W/ FINES & COSTS UNDER \$150

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*I fell behind on rent, food, and utilities.
[It was] like a domino effect.*

—Reginald J.

*These tickets put me behind on
everything.*

—C. S.

*Most people here live paycheck to
paycheck, and for them these sentences
have a huge impact.*

— Z. A.

*Its hard to pay a fine when you can't
find a job and whatever money you do
make has to go to living expenses first.*

—Desmond S.

*[The sentence was] a major setback, I
fell behind on rent and other bills*

—Wayne H.

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCING PROMOTES TRUST IN COURTS

The poor often avoid resolving legal matters not only because of a lack of resources, but also because of the reasonable fear that the criminal justice system will punish them for being too poor to pay. So prevalent was the practice of incarcerating the poor for nonpayment that in 2016 the Michigan Supreme Court adopted a court rule amendment prohibiting the practice. Threats of punishment do not improve collection or closure rates, but rather erode trust in the judiciary and impose collateral consequences on the government, the nonprofit sector, and society as a whole.

We found that when a court extends opportunity through a functional sentence, people gain trust in courts generally and are more willing to address their lingering legal matters elsewhere.

THOSE WHO ADDRESSED ALL MATTERS IN OTHER JURISDICTIONS

33%

STANDARD SENTENCES

57%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES

Hamtramck really pushed me to start dealing with my tickets.

—Deon J.

This was one of the few times I felt that the court not only treated me fairly, but actually cared about me.

—China M.

The judge was awesome, respectful, and honorable... I tell everyone I know about the program.

—Clarissa S.

Functional Sentencing alleviates the fears that families will be separated... when they come in contact with the criminal justice system.

—Michael C.

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FUNCTIONAL SENTENCING IMPROVES LIVES & REDUCES RECIDIVISM

Functional sentences were designed to provide people with access to information and resources that address the root causes of their offense or their inability to pay money fines.

Our findings are clear: functional sentences work as intended. When given the opportunity and resources to improve their lives, people do so. And because they do, they are in a better position to not reoffend.

THOSE WHO EXPERIENCED IMPROVED INCOMES

10%

STANDARD SENTENCES

57%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES

THOSE WHO ATTAINED THEIR DRIVERS LICENSE

22%

STANDARD SENTENCES

40%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES

THOSE WHO REOFFENDED

19%

STANDARD SENTENCES

9%

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCES

I would not have a job right now without Hamtramck.

—Deon J.

It worked out very well... [SNAP i.e. food stamps] has helped. I really needed it.

—W. Harris

I can now drive to college without having to look over my shoulder.

—China M.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This report would not have been possible without the commitment and contributions of all those who participated in the project, both our clients generally, and, particularly, Judge Krot, 31st District staff, and the city attorneys for their openness to the project.

ABOUT STREET DEMOCRACY

We are a small team of attorneys and legal researchers working at the intersection of poverty and the law to reform the policies and systems that create and perpetuate poverty. Our work currently focuses on reform of the criminal justice system and is perhaps best reflected in our efforts that led to the establishment of 36th District Court's specialty homeless court program, Street Outreach Court Detroit, where we currently serve as defense counsel.



STREETDEMOCRACY.ORG | 440 BURROUGHS #634, DETROIT, MI 48202 | T 313 355 4460 | E INFO@STREETDEMOCRACY.ORG

APPENDIX E

Court Costs Imposed and Collected 2016-2020
State Court Administrative Office (January 2022)

Court Costs Imposed and Collected
2016-2020
MCL 769.1k

State Court Administrative Office
January 10, 2022

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Year	Court Type	Cases in which Court Costs Were		Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
		Imposed			
2020	Circuit*	22,778	\$	12,803,452.46	\$ 6,861,945.06
	District	131,902	\$	22,127,423.19	\$ 20,715,449.44
	Family	193	\$	74,151.43	\$ 54,247.65
	Total*	154,873	\$	35,005,027.08	\$ 27,631,642.15
2019	Circuit*	30,254	\$	17,367,518.85	\$ 12,242,526.89
	District	198,930	\$	32,254,937.01	\$ 28,733,280.96
	Family	407	\$	245,601.28	\$ 77,201.52
	Total*	229,591	\$	49,868,057.14	\$ 41,053,009.37
2018	Circuit*	32,353	\$	18,552,868.08	\$ 7,432,169.74
	District	218,623	\$	36,485,859.46	\$ 31,779,764.74
	Family	2,795	\$	878,657.63	\$ 169,720.82
	Total*	253,771	\$	55,917,385.17	\$ 39,381,655.30
2017	Circuit*	33,050	\$	19,805,767.53	\$ 6,459,856.21
	District	235,339	\$	37,982,023.33	\$ 32,293,707.21
	Family	535	\$	109,686.82	\$ 59,508.58
	Total*	268,924	\$	57,897,477.68	\$ 38,813,072.00
2016	Circuit*	33,063	\$	17,416,240.13	\$ 5,153,495.59
	District	229,441	\$	36,815,556.29	\$ 31,810,722.41
	Family	238	\$	18,933.00	\$ 9,449.95
	Total*	262,742	\$	54,250,729.42	\$ 36,973,667.95

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Year	Region	Cases in which		Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
		Court Costs Were	Imposed		
2020	1*	36,712	\$	9,430,431.36	\$ 6,019,077.29
	2	19,587	\$	4,845,966.96	\$ 5,178,852.99
	3	28,069	\$	6,347,098.03	\$ 3,397,091.19
	4	12,771	\$	2,874,307.11	\$ 2,763,748.38
	5	31,569	\$	6,251,930.00	\$ 5,109,085.94
	6	26,165	\$	5,255,293.62	\$ 5,163,786.36
	Total*		154,873	\$	35,005,027.08
2019	1*	57,248	\$	12,321,540.39	\$ 7,753,963.24
	2	31,869	\$	8,015,499.49	\$ 6,644,269.97
	3	33,631	\$	7,500,061.16	\$ 9,224,268.43
	4	16,804	\$	3,978,307.05	\$ 3,512,833.05
	5	49,764	\$	9,765,708.96	\$ 6,831,383.32
	6	40,275	\$	8,286,940.09	\$ 7,086,291.36
	Total*		229,591	\$	49,868,057.14
2018	1*	63,485	\$	14,716,322.81	\$ 8,095,358.05
	2	35,059	\$	8,516,018.50	\$ 7,134,151.29
	3	34,454	\$	7,394,941.68	\$ 4,963,470.10
	4	16,953	\$	4,965,474.43	\$ 3,808,176.02
	5	57,389	\$	10,085,605.87	\$ 7,463,332.98
	6	46,431	\$	10,239,021.88	\$ 7,917,166.86
	Total*		253,771	\$	55,917,385.17
2017	1*	69,189	\$	14,088,320.11	\$ 6,964,319.20
	2	38,809	\$	9,351,141.89	\$ 7,488,759.23
	3	35,744	\$	7,836,126.24	\$ 5,350,499.22
	4	17,552	\$	5,310,216.40	\$ 3,697,161.89
	5	60,547	\$	10,745,577.49	\$ 7,577,822.12
	6	47,083	\$	10,566,095.55	\$ 7,734,510.34
	Total*		268,924	\$	57,897,477.68
2016	1*	64,706	\$	11,993,300.70	\$ 5,851,520.74
	2	40,850	\$	10,547,535.59	\$ 7,669,647.94
	3	27,269	\$	5,734,701.10	\$ 4,758,708.50
	4	20,785	\$	4,539,801.05	\$ 3,653,341.96
	5	60,433	\$	10,724,322.17	\$ 7,534,555.88
	6	48,699	\$	10,711,068.81	\$ 7,505,892.93
	Total*		262,742	\$	54,250,729.42

State Court Administrative Office (SCAO) Regional Map:

https://www.courts.michigan.gov/4a4d51/siteassets/images/maps-and-directions/ct_admin_regions_map2.pdf

*This document, dated January 10, 2022, includes updated figures for the 3rd Circuit Court of Wayne County for 2016 to 2019. The statewide aggregate totals, the circuit totals, and the Region 1 totals have also been corrected. Prior versions of this document are no longer accurate and should not be used.

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Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Circuit Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale	37	\$ 14,000.00	\$ 14,610.01
5	Circuit Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien	444	\$ 229,092.50	\$ 230,248.06
1	Circuit Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne	6,507	\$ 6,419,128.00	\$ 2,448,166.77
2	Circuit Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson	547	\$ 112,404.15	\$ 72,729.58
5	Circuit Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry	266	\$ 80,089.50	\$ 49,507.66
6	Circuit Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland	152	\$ 29,250.00	\$ 5,266.00
2	Circuit Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee	781	\$ 216,361.50	\$ 157,399.62
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia	245	\$ 85,765.00	\$ 84,873.38
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm	209	\$ 102,875.00	\$ 62,891.63
5	Circuit Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo	346	\$ 126,537.78	\$ 119,147.87
3	Circuit Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw	7	\$ 2,846.00	\$ 1,417.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger	15	\$ 5,100.00	\$ 4,049.97
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce	12	\$ 3,600.00	\$ 4,416.44
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac	47	\$ 22,026.00	\$ 16,937.79
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft	38	\$ 3,025.00	\$ 5,101.14
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga	8	\$ 4,968.00	\$ 3,114.17
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton	25	\$ 18,200.00	\$ 15,927.73
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw	4	\$ 2,540.00	\$ 5,175.06
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim	29	\$ 45,233.30	\$ 7,367.32
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse	277	\$ 64,309.50	\$ 53,247.96
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau	4	\$ 390.00	\$ 1,543.00
5	Circuit Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon	994	\$ 253,165.00	\$ 131,562.52
5	Circuit Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch	167	\$ 6,164.00	\$ 13,829.88
6	Circuit Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb	1,782	\$ 759,853.00	\$ 560,879.02
5	Circuit Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent	1,304	\$ 1,036,032.75	\$ 179,852.02
3	Circuit Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay	1	\$ 580.00	\$ 78.30
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie	45	\$ 26,400.00	\$ 18,775.35
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee	68	\$ 41,530.00	\$ 17,703.00
5	Circuit Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa	255	\$ 69,593.00	\$ 33,181.85
3	Circuit Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella	1	\$ 25.00	\$ 42,082.66
2	Circuit Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw	355	\$ 463,056.00	\$ 449,598.20
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona	251	\$ 30,800.00	\$ 28,329.19
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac	54	\$ 52,975.00	\$ 32,478.58
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco	107	\$ 98,912.00	\$ 81,110.70
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda	210	\$ 44,000.00	\$ 23,530.12

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Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac	287	\$ 24,888.69	\$ 22,462.58
4	Circuit Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette	140	\$ 13,302.00	\$ 16,730.16
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena	130	\$ 67,765.00	\$ 56,503.58
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency	30	\$ 19,291.36	\$ 18,522.57
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo	344	\$ 13,589.00	\$ 17,759.87
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana	80	\$ 8,658.50	\$ 8,769.15
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee	58	\$ 16,420.00	\$ 13,202.81
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford	28	\$ 7,600.00	\$ 28,877.61
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton	64	\$ 20,350.00	\$ 49,977.47
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot	35	\$ 10,200.00	\$ 9,384.85
2	Circuit Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham	316	\$ 207,477.00	\$ 148,702.32
6	Circuit Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair	603	\$ 187,891.00	\$ 90,763.38
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic	43	\$ 12,800.00	\$ 9,849.39
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon	8	\$ 2,400.00	\$ 2,466.44
4	Circuit Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix	57	\$ 15,350.00	\$ 17,722.93
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw	102	\$ 13,850.00	\$ 13,348.20
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon	139	\$ 14,360.00	\$ 15,538.52
2	Circuit Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee	144	\$ 127,592.50	\$ 98,967.47
5	Circuit Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren	8	\$ 4,900.00	\$ 24,628.03
5	Circuit Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun	186	\$ 79,665.00	\$ 85,175.88
2	Circuit Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe	293	\$ 71,270.10	\$ 59,759.58
2	Circuit Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee	138	\$ 60,935.52	\$ 57,441.47
6	Circuit Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer	172	\$ 86,300.00	\$ 33,878.06
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson	67	\$ 16,650.00	\$ 2,268.75
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron	52	\$ 36,135.00	\$ 15,421.85
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee	65	\$ 15,830.00	\$ 7,997.96
3	Circuit Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland	187	\$ 95,124.76	\$ 77,380.11
5	Circuit Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass	205	\$ 99,290.03	\$ 75,133.84
2	Circuit Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston	454	\$ 217,960.20	\$ 211,088.43
5	Circuit Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph	3	\$ 1,061.00	\$ 31,199.66
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford	71	\$ 23,075.00	\$ 1,176.00
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska	130	\$ 31,225.00	\$ 18,510.30
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego	195	\$ 23,382.14	\$ 12,967.72
4	Circuit Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta	85	\$ 12,750.00	\$ 7,401.08
5	Circuit Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan	693	\$ 176,632.68	\$ 126,773.43

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Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta	211	\$ 39,080.00	\$ 29,636.01
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola	89	\$ 12,660.00	\$ 7,750.94
4	Circuit Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa	188	\$ 52,875.00	\$ 33,651.17
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake	48	\$ 23,416.00	\$ 14,235.50
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason	79	\$ 13,000.00	\$ 19,712.16
3	Circuit Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron	16	\$ 1,600.00	\$ 57.00
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan	73	\$ 48,840.00	\$ 54,649.00
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle	12	\$ 7,775.00	\$ 8,467.00
3	Circuit Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola	257	\$ 49,650.00	\$ 25,583.00
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare	156	\$ 70,282.00	\$ 65,851.84
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin	95	\$ 36,396.00	\$ 40,628.49
2	Circuit Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton	245	\$ 120,380.00	\$ 86,050.95
4	Circuit Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet	103	\$ 20,700.00	\$ 11,791.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Erie	253	\$ 24,635.00	\$ 34,050.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Monroe	1,560	\$ 274,927.30	\$ 283,457.16
2	District Court	2	2A District Court - Lenawee	1,087	\$ 313,187.93	\$ 401,303.18
2	District Court	2	2B District Court - Hillsdale	540	\$ 54,081.18	\$ 54,687.15
5	District Court	3	3A District Court - Branch	581	\$ 111,758.11	\$ 123,433.57
5	District Court	3	3B District Court - St. Joseph	899	\$ 76,942.98	\$ 62,514.77
5	District Court	4	4th District Court - Cass	712	\$ 49,482.00	\$ 45,920.03
5	District Court	5	5th District Court - Berrien	1,995	\$ 522,137.87	\$ 474,464.54
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - Paw Paw	858	\$ 129,240.50	\$ 127,863.34
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - South Haven	728	\$ 79,977.37	\$ 88,745.06
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Crosstown	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Kalamazoo	1,563	\$ 143,327.96	\$ 148,409.04
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Portage	0	\$ -	\$ 6.00
5	District Court	10	10th District Court - Calhoun	1,475	\$ 162,506.23	\$ 209,728.37
2	District Court	12	12th District Court - Jackson	2,115	\$ 194,976.88	\$ 238,257.76
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ann Arbor	448	\$ 95,099.30	\$ 120,204.30
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Chelsea	314	\$ 79,931.00	\$ 70,687.00
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Saline	212	\$ 47,973.00	\$ 50,697.00
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ypsilanti	545	\$ 100,300.56	\$ 123,035.81
2	District Court	14	14B District Court - Ypsilanti	581	\$ 113,407.60	\$ 139,137.82
2	District Court	15	15th District Court - Ann Arbor	499	\$ 107,785.00	\$ 124,532.38
1	District Court	16	16th District Court - Livonia	1,376	\$ 227,195.00	\$ 242,409.47

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Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
1	District Court	17	17th District Court - Redford	966	\$ 85,433.00	\$ 114,223.97
1	District Court	18	18th District Court - Westland	2,278	\$ 286,876.73	\$ 297,027.51
1	District Court	19	19th District Court - Dearborn	3,500	\$ 218,953.50	\$ 273,078.37
1	District Court	20	20th District Court - Dearborn Heights	318	\$ 56,790.00	\$ 43,230.00
1	District Court	21	21st District Court - Garden City	715	\$ 37,936.00	\$ 43,002.00
1	District Court	22	22nd District Court - Inkster	275	\$ 25,913.00	\$ 32,988.52
1	District Court	23	23rd District Court - Taylor	1,165	\$ 92,307.60	\$ 94,248.73
1	District Court	24	24th District Court - Allen Park	896	\$ 11,590.66	\$ 108,748.50
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Ecorse	2	\$ 126.00	\$ 126.00
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Lincoln Park	859	\$ 124,308.00	\$ 147,621.07
1	District Court	27	27th District Court - Wyandotte	594	\$ 136,412.50	\$ 141,545.25
1	District Court	28	28th District Court - Southgate	516	\$ 37,267.00	\$ 41,985.00
1	District Court	29	29th District Court - Wayne	255	\$ 32,730.15	\$ 32,859.34
1	District Court	30	30th District Court - Highland Park	85	\$ 7,748.20	\$ 12,270.20
1	District Court	31	31st District Court - Hamtramck	117	\$ 22,760.70	\$ 17,826.70
1	District Court	32	32A District Court - Harper Woods	325	\$ 31,432.00	\$ 59,472.62
1	District Court	33	33rd District Court - Woodhaven	1,115	\$ 134,188.99	\$ 133,084.72
1	District Court	34	34th District Court - Romulus	1,317	\$ 281,853.33	\$ 393,666.56
1	District Court	35	35th District Court - Plymouth	2,257	\$ 531,227.50	\$ 632,657.53
1	District Court	36	36th District Court - Detroit	10,893	\$ 566,906.00	\$ 639,024.96
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Center Line	176	\$ 35,598.00	\$ 33,263.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Warren	823	\$ 144,040.51	\$ 114,771.67
6	District Court	38	38th District Court - Eastpointe	448	\$ 66,455.50	\$ 68,968.10
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Fraser	21	\$ 320.00	\$ 320.00
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Roseville	10	\$ 844.31	\$ 844.31
6	District Court	40	40th District Court - St. Clair Shores	1,953	\$ 209,809.76	\$ 243,952.21
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Shelby Township	955	\$ 221,777.01	\$ 236,612.32
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Sterling Heights	623	\$ 43,594.00	\$ 57,367.00
6	District Court	41	41B District Court - Clinton Township	1,199	\$ 324,345.83	\$ 336,429.08
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - New Baltimore	349	\$ 19,320.00	\$ 19,100.00
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - Romeo	264	\$ 67,141.00	\$ 57,216.00
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Ferndale	360	\$ 51,340.51	\$ 50,668.01
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Hazel Park	1,724	\$ 278,887.79	\$ 282,150.25
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Madison Heights	550	\$ 131,935.06	\$ 104,560.06
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Royal Oak	627	\$ 104,538.50	\$ 141,492.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	District Court	45	45th District Court - Oak Park	553	\$ 59,789.00	\$ 73,136.05
6	District Court	46	46th District Court - Southfield	1,258	\$ 152,744.64	\$ 177,720.19
6	District Court	47	47th District Court - Farmington Hills	951	\$ 140,375.45	\$ 178,271.51
6	District Court	48	48th District Court - Bloomfield Hills	966	\$ 141,961.00	\$ 148,362.83
6	District Court	50	50th District Court - Pontiac	1,119	\$ 77,981.50	\$ 50,924.90
6	District Court	51	51st District Court - Waterford	518	\$ 222,412.48	\$ 214,375.37
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Clarkston	1,059	\$ 189,799.93	\$ 203,257.74
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Novi	1,619	\$ 437,953.56	\$ 536,684.69
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Rochester Hills	1,821	\$ 514,661.78	\$ 538,989.74
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Troy	1,039	\$ 160,602.00	\$ 218,757.94
2	District Court	53	53rd District Court - Howell	1,170	\$ 465,821.00	\$ 564,403.47
2	District Court	54	54A District Court - Lansing	433	\$ 39,622.24	\$ 45,974.05
2	District Court	54	54B District Court - East Lansing	240	\$ 48,978.50	\$ 65,603.05
2	District Court	55	55th District Court - Ingham	647	\$ 102,874.13	\$ 142,321.02
2	District Court	56	56A District Court - Eaton	806	\$ 105,214.50	\$ 115,213.27
5	District Court	56	56B District Court - Barry	620	\$ 32,205.00	\$ 42,883.36
5	District Court	57	57th District Court - Allegan	1,996	\$ 375,866.13	\$ 384,587.94
5	District Court	58	58th District Court - Ottawa	3,865	\$ 615,270.00	\$ 467,658.00
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Grandville	162	\$ 27,295.00	\$ 17,131.50
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Walker	250	\$ 39,650.00	\$ 27,180.00
5	District Court	60	60th District Court - Muskegon	3,314	\$ 314,578.44	\$ 341,634.70
5	District Court	61	61st District Court - Grand Rapids	3,670	\$ 657,727.00	\$ 603,318.82
5	District Court	62	62A District Court - Wyoming	1,431	\$ 336,790.30	\$ 408,406.47
5	District Court	62	62B District Court - Kentwood	810	\$ 60,837.50	\$ 70,203.97
5	District Court	63	63rd District Court - Kent	1,751	\$ 328,012.20	\$ 364,215.76
3	District Court	64	64A District Court - Ionia	735	\$ 158,785.84	\$ 163,161.52
3	District Court	64	64B District Court - Montcalm	492	\$ 118,777.80	\$ 130,443.69
2	District Court	65	65A District Court - Clinton	976	\$ 420,495.04	\$ 448,313.64
2	District Court	65	65B District Court - Gratiot	706	\$ 275,557.00	\$ 287,804.35
2	District Court	66	66th District Court - Shiawassee	585	\$ 104,920.82	\$ 117,699.29
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Burton	166	\$ 10,755.00	\$ 16,608.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Central	1,004	\$ 73,417.75	\$ 120,726.19
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Davison	162	\$ 9,313.00	\$ 12,658.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Fenton	217	\$ 27,965.00	\$ 33,015.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flint	202	\$ 8,229.00	\$ 27,248.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flushing	116	\$ 17,365.00	\$ 24,430.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Grand Blanc	354	\$ 35,585.00	\$ 37,820.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Mt. Morris	68	\$ 5,465.00	\$ 11,953.00
3	District Court	70	70th District Court - Saginaw	11,605	\$ 3,139,875.06	\$ 336,102.25
3	District Court	71	71B District Court - Tuscola	413	\$ 44,525.00	\$ 66,981.18
6	District Court	71	71A District Court - Lapeer	717	\$ 127,650.00	\$ 134,452.01
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Marine City	462	\$ 79,743.00	\$ 81,497.00
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Port Huron	1,292	\$ 186,377.50	\$ 168,855.92
3	District Court	73	73A District Court - Sanilac	382	\$ 98,133.00	\$ 108,920.81
3	District Court	73	73B District Court - Huron	305	\$ 61,659.78	\$ 69,650.93
3	District Court	74	74th District Court - Bay	856	\$ 100,492.82	\$ 106,172.29
3	District Court	75	75th District Court - Midland	851	\$ 140,085.93	\$ 163,389.87
3	District Court	76	76th District Court - Isabella	665	\$ 102,233.51	\$ 140,676.10
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Mecosta	636	\$ 111,774.71	\$ 113,086.13
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Osceola	334	\$ 64,835.47	\$ 54,941.32
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Newaygo	1,301	\$ 205,499.00	\$ 196,949.05
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Oceana	332	\$ 64,056.84	\$ 70,906.00
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Lake	1,458	\$ 62,490.00	\$ 61,636.54
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Mason	183	\$ 22,007.25	\$ 24,616.39
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Clare	440	\$ 111,597.52	\$ 83,094.30
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Gladwin	526	\$ 137,540.60	\$ 101,969.78
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Alcona	213	\$ 43,883.00	\$ 38,567.50
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Arenac	352	\$ 106,728.00	\$ 90,524.07
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Iosco	534	\$ 173,872.09	\$ 173,970.96
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Oscoda	281	\$ 74,349.00	\$ 63,082.97
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Ogemaw	539	\$ 91,482.40	\$ 80,645.28
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Roscommon	471	\$ 100,634.96	\$ 109,120.04
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Missaukee	199	\$ 16,182.04	\$ 17,107.75
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Wexford	539	\$ 70,579.63	\$ 61,362.93
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Benzie	423	\$ 41,288.50	\$ 36,928.92
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Manistee	454	\$ 67,227.00	\$ 59,507.52
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Antrim	132	\$ 47,524.00	\$ 59,796.92
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Grand Traverse	763	\$ 310,266.00	\$ 341,065.01
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Leelanau	98	\$ 49,211.00	\$ 47,928.02
4	District Court	87	87A District Court - Otsego	599	\$ 93,731.00	\$ 86,763.01

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	District Court	87	87B District Court - Kalkaska	221	\$ 41,744.00	\$ 39,654.25
4	District Court	87	87C District Court - Crawford	423	\$ 55,677.65	\$ 45,576.04
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Alpena	369	\$ 68,144.56	\$ 79,702.20
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Montmorency	238	\$ 40,113.00	\$ 39,938.70
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Cheboygan	451	\$ 105,657.55	\$ 101,859.71
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Presque Isle	153	\$ 38,635.40	\$ 39,416.87
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Charlevoix	305	\$ 76,093.43	\$ 87,783.57
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Emmet	494	\$ 172,386.74	\$ 178,387.69
4	District Court	91	91st District Court - Chippewa	511	\$ 139,273.00	\$ 130,429.70
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Luce	121	\$ 15,714.03	\$ 16,525.53
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Mackinac	175	\$ 37,491.75	\$ 40,232.93
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Alger	184	\$ 51,627.00	\$ 52,569.00
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Schoolcraft	75	\$ 33,881.00	\$ 28,616.00
4	District Court	94	94th District Court - Delta	2,366	\$ 235,796.38	\$ 241,042.17
4	District Court	95	95A District Court - Menominee	315	\$ 69,449.00	\$ 63,539.00
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Dickinson	365	\$ 111,499.00	\$ 92,072.98
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Iron	146	\$ 25,195.00	\$ 17,258.00
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Ishpeming	3	\$ 915.00	\$ 1,090.00
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Marquette	657	\$ 161,604.89	\$ 211,811.29
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Baraga	160	\$ 39,431.71	\$ 36,120.05
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Houghton	305	\$ 94,001.00	\$ 91,818.69
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Keweenaw	34	\$ 8,670.00	\$ 7,565.00
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Bessemer	275	\$ 30,917.50	\$ 31,572.93
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Ontonagon	98	\$ 17,385.55	\$ 17,742.54
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Farms	93	\$ 21,188.00	\$ 30,332.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Shores	47	\$ 10,655.50	\$ 12,345.50
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe	53	\$ 8,160.00	\$ 9,925.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Park Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Park	60	\$ 14,044.00	\$ 8,877.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Woods Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Woods	128	\$ 7,300.00	\$ 8,334.00
2	Family Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale, Family Division	50	\$ 18,480.67	\$ 22,268.70
5	Family Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	Family Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Family Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 62.50
5	Family Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 25.00
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga, Family Division	1	\$ 186.00	\$ 236.00
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent, Family Division	18	\$ 26,102.17	\$ -
3	Family Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw, Family Division	40	\$ 7,825.00	\$ 7,295.33
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2020

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 125.00
6	Family Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 440.00
2	Family Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee, Family Division	19	\$ 1,991.59	\$ 1,331.59
6	Family Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson, Family Division	1	\$ 160.00	\$ 440.00
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee, Family Division	1	\$ 1,606.00	\$ 1,641.00
3	Family Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston, Family Division	63	\$ 17,800.00	\$ 20,282.53
5	Family Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 100.00
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

				2020		
Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Circuit Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale	50	\$ 18,480.67	\$ 22,268.70
5	Circuit Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien	666	\$ 352,482.08	\$ 261,000.31
1	Circuit Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne*	7,286	\$ 7,006,214.04	\$ 2,616,349.97
2	Circuit Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson	672	\$ 181,385.00	\$ 92,086.55
5	Circuit Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry	308	\$ 153,200.00	\$ 69,478.60
6	Circuit Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland	974	\$ 296,450.00	\$ 35,288.48
2	Circuit Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee	766	\$ 353,805.00	\$ 92,945.00
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia	313	\$ 107,840.00	\$ 81,920.83
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm	239	\$ 127,218.50	\$ 73,830.24
5	Circuit Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo	750	\$ 288,237.50	\$ 148,950.93
3	Circuit Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw	17	\$ 5,719.81	\$ 1,100.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger	21	\$ 6,950.00	\$ 4,642.04
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce	27	\$ 8,175.00	\$ 5,196.09
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac	41	\$ 15,375.00	\$ 11,830.90
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft	17	\$ 5,350.00	\$ 5,354.38
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga	5	\$ 2,860.00	\$ 4,500.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton	31	\$ 22,950.00	\$ 12,086.48
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw	1	\$ 136.00	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim	65	\$ 62,313.00	\$ 68,405.23
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse	331	\$ 90,401.57	\$ 83,993.22
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau	26	\$ 10,050.00	\$ 11,790.66
5	Circuit Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon	1,270	\$ 396,400.00	\$ 135,680.00
5	Circuit Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch	165	\$ 2,461.50	\$ 19,756.91
6	Circuit Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb	2,747	\$ 1,192,365.00	\$ 606,536.09
5	Circuit Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent	2,392	\$ 1,769,143.00	\$ 203,822.00
3	Circuit Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay	23	\$ 4,277.44	\$ 5,817.08
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie	43	\$ 18,570.00	\$ 11,304.50
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee	84	\$ 29,342.00	\$ 21,228.97
5	Circuit Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa	445	\$ 135,212.00	\$ 73,423.39
3	Circuit Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella	234	\$ 72,215.49	\$ 85,031.33
2	Circuit Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw	726	\$ 998,250.00	\$ 512,375.19
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona	46	\$ 45,050.00	\$ 25,664.93
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac	52	\$ 41,656.00	\$ 4,751,192.00
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco	141	\$ 145,191.00	\$ 81,876.12
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda	45	\$ 41,530.00	\$ 27,679.54

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2019

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac	107	\$ 32,100.00	\$ 25,549.51
4	Circuit Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette	209	\$ 21,738.00	\$ 13,810.00
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena	202	\$ 108,198.00	\$ 60,417.26
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency	48	\$ 20,374.15	\$ 21,371.52
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo	228	\$ 26,469.50	\$ 14,245.17
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana	116	\$ 11,780.50	\$ 9,628.62
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee	60	\$ 17,470.00	\$ 9,625.69
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford	115	\$ 32,700.00	\$ 24,911.03
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot	71	\$ 21,205.00	\$ 18,461.71
2	Circuit Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham	522	\$ 326,859.00	\$ 163,754.72
6	Circuit Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair	895	\$ 276,031.00	\$ 106,994.01
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic	49	\$ 14,350.00	\$ 11,851.52
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon	7	\$ 2,100.00	\$ 2,053.85
4	Circuit Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix	85	\$ 25,100.00	\$ 13,545.56
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw	123	\$ 18,229.00	\$ 15,061.57
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon	205	\$ 16,042.20	\$ 22,771.55
2	Circuit Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee	250	\$ 223,498.00	\$ 98,572.50
5	Circuit Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren	82	\$ 52,090.00	\$ 40,910.00
5	Circuit Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun	160	\$ 70,240.00	\$ 89,103.47
2	Circuit Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe	430	\$ 100,938.00	\$ 54,064.33
2	Circuit Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee	225	\$ 100,533.99	\$ 43,227.62
6	Circuit Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer	283	\$ 139,785.00	\$ 35,656.06
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson	93	\$ 22,500.00	\$ 5,898.00
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron	34	\$ 23,650.00	\$ 16,096.86
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee	43	\$ 10,600.00	\$ 5,475.00
3	Circuit Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland	232	\$ 114,009.70	\$ 113,241.68
5	Circuit Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass	250	\$ 123,239.00	\$ 68,442.52
2	Circuit Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston	753	\$ 361,625.78	\$ 247,742.59
5	Circuit Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph	45	\$ 23,177.50	\$ 48,294.63
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford	100	\$ 30,780.00	\$ 19,182.08
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska	138	\$ 35,660.00	\$ 16,801.27
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego	200	\$ 45,464.03	\$ 19,076.93
4	Circuit Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta	48	\$ 7,200.00	\$ 4,748.00
5	Circuit Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan	793	\$ 223,950.00	\$ 96,919.49

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta	235	\$ 40,425.00	\$ 35,151.64
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola	109	\$ 10,262.57	\$ 10,537.37
4	Circuit Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa	222	\$ 63,600.00	\$ 25,434.13
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake	9	\$ 4,700.00	\$ 3,420.50
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason	104	\$ 19,253.33	\$ 19,382.48
3	Circuit Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron	5	\$ 500.00	\$ 97.00
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan	132	\$ 82,649.00	\$ 48,563.03
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle	25	\$ 15,010.00	\$ 6,857.50
3	Circuit Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola	382	\$ 97,502.00	\$ 46,339.50
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare	210	\$ 94,461.00	\$ 74,729.91
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin	129	\$ 58,145.00	\$ 46,363.54
2	Circuit Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton	331	\$ 163,360.00	\$ 86,886.31
4	Circuit Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet	141	\$ 30,707.00	\$ 16,851.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Erie	697	\$ 68,735.00	\$ 79,600.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Monroe	2,075	\$ 368,257.14	\$ 422,025.81
2	District Court	2	2A District Court - Lenawee	1,330	\$ 411,305.73	\$ 468,910.51
2	District Court	2	2B District Court - Hillsdale	837	\$ 86,173.06	\$ 70,417.24
5	District Court	3	3A District Court - Branch	862	\$ 132,628.00	\$ 146,629.37
5	District Court	3	3B District Court - St. Joseph	1,128	\$ 84,067.18	\$ 83,277.28
5	District Court	4	4th District Court - Cass	1,045	\$ 65,578.44	\$ 58,861.25
5	District Court	5	5th District Court - Berrien	3,344	\$ 808,062.44	\$ 734,031.18
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - Paw Paw	1,180	\$ 171,050.00	\$ 160,487.58
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - South Haven	1,198	\$ 122,826.45	\$ 117,651.82
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Crosstown	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Kalamazoo	2,508	\$ 195,560.35	\$ 191,963.89
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Portage	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	10	10th District Court - Calhoun	3,148	\$ 277,923.17	\$ 314,725.29
2	District Court	12	12th District Court - Jackson	3,550	\$ 293,576.84	\$ 306,677.87
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ann Arbor	884	\$ 158,372.54	\$ 173,085.44
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Chelsea	504	\$ 117,487.00	\$ 122,222.50
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Saline	456	\$ 94,293.15	\$ 89,326.15
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ypsilanti	968	\$ 161,164.00	\$ 178,608.19
2	District Court	14	14B District Court - Ypsilanti	1,134	\$ 210,690.39	\$ 217,152.00
2	District Court	15	15th District Court - Ann Arbor	791	\$ 172,177.76	\$ 163,810.42
1	District Court	16	16th District Court - Livonia	2,634	\$ 440,766.79	\$ 412,038.39

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
1	District Court	17	17th District Court - Redford	1,537	\$ 145,523.54	\$ 130,873.55
1	District Court	18	18th District Court - Westland	2,453	\$ 337,924.24	\$ 368,439.92
1	District Court	19	19th District Court - Dearborn	4,840	\$ 432,638.00	\$ 400,671.94
1	District Court	20	20th District Court - Dearborn Heights	574	\$ 101,362.00	\$ 65,195.00
1	District Court	21	21st District Court - Garden City	853	\$ 49,706.00	\$ 48,957.00
1	District Court	22	22nd District Court - Inkster	681	\$ 88,825.80	\$ 92,855.04
1	District Court	23	23rd District Court - Taylor	1,626	\$ 152,722.00	\$ 138,828.01
1	District Court	24	24th District Court - Allen Park	891	\$ 113,179.50	\$ 111,765.16
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Ecorse	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Lincoln Park	1,156	\$ 191,334.63	\$ 184,206.99
1	District Court	27	27th District Court - Wyandotte	1,037	\$ 276,954.00	\$ 219,089.75
1	District Court	28	28th District Court - Southgate	848	\$ 56,080.00	\$ 61,866.00
1	District Court	29	29th District Court - Wayne	342	\$ 35,222.62	\$ 45,079.80
1	District Court	30	30th District Court - Highland Park	102	\$ 10,846.00	\$ 11,610.00
1	District Court	31	31st District Court - Hamtramck	175	\$ 24,983.00	\$ 21,319.00
1	District Court	32	32A District Court - Harper Woods	526	\$ 90,313.00	\$ 84,890.20
1	District Court	33	33rd District Court - Woodhaven	1,656	\$ 198,108.41	\$ 189,279.88
1	District Court	34	34th District Court - Romulus	2,420	\$ 738,745.62	\$ 753,737.28
1	District Court	35	35th District Court - Plymouth	3,490	\$ 827,204.50	\$ 792,711.31
1	District Court	36	36th District Court - Detroit	21,690	\$ 934,573.20	\$ 931,342.55
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Center Line	198	\$ 26,637.00	\$ 24,952.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Warren	1,387	\$ 165,973.00	\$ 138,108.03
6	District Court	38	38th District Court - Eastpointe	986	\$ 118,899.83	\$ 133,490.38
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Fraser	33	\$ 4,826.63	\$ 5,378.63
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Roseville	17	\$ 2,722.64	\$ 2,572.64
6	District Court	40	40th District Court - St. Clair Shores	2,489	\$ 301,494.78	\$ 299,453.32
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Shelby Township	1,452	\$ 397,802.00	\$ 411,679.14
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Sterling Heights	1,659	\$ 128,764.00	\$ 163,192.00
6	District Court	41	41B District Court - Clinton Township	1,996	\$ 489,119.77	\$ 478,652.53
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - New Baltimore	759	\$ 62,620.00	\$ 61,995.00
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - Romeo	326	\$ 92,177.00	\$ 85,343.00
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Ferndale	252	\$ 35,320.00	\$ 36,648.00
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Hazel Park	2,158	\$ 396,629.12	\$ 332,536.40
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Madison Heights	591	\$ 194,055.00	\$ 148,525.00
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Royal Oak	1,226	\$ 246,660.01	\$ 227,729.34

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	District Court	45	45th District Court - Oak Park	891	\$ 118,966.50	\$ 131,814.31
6	District Court	46	46th District Court - Southfield	2,081	\$ 256,608.83	\$ 265,310.65
6	District Court	47	47th District Court - Farmington Hills	1,645	\$ 227,222.91	\$ 226,250.72
6	District Court	48	48th District Court - Bloomfield Hills	1,504	\$ 223,651.02	\$ 231,927.58
6	District Court	50	50th District Court - Pontiac	1,653	\$ 106,898.84	\$ 92,307.02
6	District Court	51	51st District Court - Waterford	688	\$ 281,531.83	\$ 243,691.39
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Clarkston	1,455	\$ 274,509.00	\$ 276,859.42
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Novi	2,548	\$ 658,258.00	\$ 713,534.68
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Rochester Hills	2,719	\$ 801,849.58	\$ 777,272.05
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Troy	1,772	\$ 321,823.05	\$ 355,215.32
2	District Court	53	53rd District Court - Howell	1,849	\$ 775,693.93	\$ 695,311.08
2	District Court	54	54A District Court - Lansing	1,062	\$ 95,262.41	\$ 106,612.39
2	District Court	54	54B District Court - East Lansing	608	\$ 115,661.50	\$ 122,283.89
2	District Court	55	55th District Court - Ingham	741	\$ 138,335.00	\$ 164,390.49
2	District Court	56	56A District Court - Eaton	1,402	\$ 177,449.84	\$ 190,086.46
5	District Court	56	56B District Court - Barry	790	\$ 53,815.00	\$ 51,542.14
5	District Court	57	57th District Court - Allegan	2,897	\$ 542,164.65	\$ 521,300.79
5	District Court	58	58th District Court - Ottawa	4,624	\$ 742,373.00	\$ 597,672.00
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Grandville	270	\$ 46,610.00	\$ 30,214.04
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Walker	477	\$ 63,988.00	\$ 45,328.49
5	District Court	60	60th District Court - Muskegon	5,064	\$ 533,019.97	\$ 496,930.20
5	District Court	61	61st District Court - Grand Rapids	6,743	\$ 1,105,772.30	\$ 832,633.38
5	District Court	62	62A District Court - Wyoming	2,521	\$ 494,624.00	\$ 574,338.97
5	District Court	62	62B District Court - Kentwood	1,112	\$ 63,951.50	\$ 60,188.00
5	District Court	63	63rd District Court - Kent	3,488	\$ 599,079.93	\$ 557,050.05
3	District Court	64	64A District Court - Ionia	1,006	\$ 181,592.38	\$ 188,798.81
3	District Court	64	64B District Court - Montcalm	762	\$ 186,371.24	\$ 185,338.69
2	District Court	65	65A District Court - Clinton	1,724	\$ 695,234.37	\$ 644,349.25
2	District Court	65	65B District Court - Gratiot	1,033	\$ 414,623.73	\$ 379,223.73
2	District Court	66	66th District Court - Shiawassee	795	\$ 127,875.81	\$ 132,854.35
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Burton	210	\$ 17,178.00	\$ 16,060.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Central	2,486	\$ 226,786.00	\$ 225,891.08
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Davison	179	\$ 11,350.00	\$ 11,990.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Fenton	248	\$ 38,373.00	\$ 36,283.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flint	422	\$ 20,009.00	\$ 33,583.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flushing	188	\$ 30,259.00	\$ 29,624.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Grand Blanc	430	\$ 44,059.00	\$ 40,045.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Mt. Morris	115	\$ 9,490.00	\$ 17,085.00
3	District Court	70	70th District Court - Saginaw	12,927	\$ 3,088,022.81	\$ 587,493.52
6	District Court	71	71A District Court - Lapeer	1,035	\$ 169,893.25	\$ 175,990.25
3	District Court	71	71B District Court - Tuscola	755	\$ 101,311.50	\$ 108,278.37
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Marine City	564	\$ 91,018.00	\$ 92,532.00
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Port Huron	1,292	\$ 186,377.50	\$ 168,855.92
3	District Court	73	73A District Court - Sanilac	556	\$ 131,729.97	\$ 115,946.09
3	District Court	73	73B District Court - Huron	475	\$ 91,357.21	\$ 92,837.22
3	District Court	74	74th District Court - Bay	1,465	\$ 158,931.59	\$ 173,185.52
3	District Court	75	75th District Court - Midland	1,084	\$ 186,935.48	\$ 222,705.23
3	District Court	76	76th District Court - Isabella	1,082	\$ 237,192.24	\$ 281,316.52
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Mecosta	833	\$ 149,157.71	\$ 153,247.03
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Osceola	457	\$ 77,668.82	\$ 78,609.24
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Newaygo	1,522	\$ 255,730.05	\$ 256,462.00
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Oceana	511	\$ 82,225.00	\$ 98,838.84
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Lake	563	\$ 62,114.00	\$ 51,653.90
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Mason	242	\$ 26,142.50	\$ 23,607.96
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Clare	673	\$ 209,676.40	\$ 94,310.62
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Gladwin	923	\$ 255,773.04	\$ 152,790.59
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Alcona	164	\$ 37,075.00	\$ 42,338.61
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Arenac	464	\$ 113,080.00	\$ 103,405.00
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Iosco	713	\$ 233,877.48	\$ 191,489.22
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Oscoda	275	\$ 69,664.50	\$ 57,391.10
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Ogemaw	860	\$ 111,132.43	\$ 111,645.35
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Roscommon	589	\$ 110,691.67	\$ 112,523.45
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Missaukee	300	\$ 25,917.00	\$ 21,286.14
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Wexford	590	\$ 76,725.00	\$ 66,031.74
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Benzie	602	\$ 54,079.00	\$ 44,133.00
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Manistee	697	\$ 106,039.10	\$ 92,426.15
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Antrim	295	\$ 95,980.03	\$ 90,355.90
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Grand Traverse	1,253	\$ 533,635.99	\$ 457,036.21
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Leelanau	164	\$ 82,792.00	\$ 80,389.48
4	District Court	87	87A District Court - Otsego	719	\$ 118,029.92	\$ 111,289.79

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	District Court	87	87B District Court - Kalkaska	371	\$ 69,784.00	\$ 62,001.45
4	District Court	87	87C District Court - Crawford	444	\$ 60,328.34	\$ 58,834.02
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Alpena	538	\$ 124,220.00	\$ 112,599.93
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Montmorency	246	\$ 50,815.00	\$ 45,214.37
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Cheboygan	513	\$ 117,319.90	\$ 123,137.62
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Presque Isle	189	\$ 45,691.54	\$ 47,449.02
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Charlevoix	478	\$ 112,500.00	\$ 112,249.34
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Emmet	728	\$ 231,138.00	\$ 234,111.72
4	District Court	91	91st District Court - Chippewa	588	\$ 142,250.50	\$ 127,643.44
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Luce	121	\$ 14,315.63	\$ 17,268.63
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Mackinac	212	\$ 46,117.25	\$ 46,888.25
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Alger	218	\$ 57,609.00	\$ 51,734.50
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Schoolcraft	90	\$ 31,455.00	\$ 36,494.00
4	District Court	94	94th District Court - Delta	3,117	\$ 319,913.13	\$ 334,525.57
4	District Court	95	95A District Court - Menominee	447	\$ 75,565.00	\$ 79,081.50
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Dickinson	472	\$ 123,335.00	\$ 109,060.92
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Iron	173	\$ 28,361.00	\$ 21,085.00
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Ishpeming	11	\$ 5,202.82	\$ 2,355.00
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Marquette	1,029	\$ 236,733.43	\$ 281,228.38
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Baraga	208	\$ 57,692.50	\$ 48,474.50
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Houghton	300	\$ 102,454.68	\$ 106,280.52
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Keweenaw	18	\$ 5,631.00	\$ 7,070.00
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Bessemer	356	\$ 46,544.55	\$ 47,427.12
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Ontonagon	87	\$ 18,705.66	\$ 22,140.31
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Farms	114	\$ 24,230.00	\$ 29,683.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Shores	39	\$ 8,287.50	\$ 9,247.50
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe	58	\$ 14,825.00	\$ 15,100.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Park Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Park	43	\$ 10,932.00	\$ 9,657.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Woods Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Woods	177	\$ 10,039.00	\$ 9,169.00
2	Family Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale, Family Division	50	\$ 18,480.67	\$ 22,268.70
5	Family Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	Family Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2019

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Family Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 330.82
5	Family Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac, Family Division	3	\$ 75.00	\$ 50.00
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga, Family Division	2	\$ 75.00	\$ 25.00
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw, Family Division	4	\$ 83,859.43	\$ 1,090.00
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 87.45
5	Family Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent, Family Division	37	\$ 72,547.00	\$ 392.00
3	Family Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw, Family Division	95	\$ 25,825.00	\$ 13,729.31
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2019

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 166.00
6	Family Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 148.35
2	Family Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee, Family Division	60	\$ 3,600.00	\$ 1,991.00
6	Family Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson, Family Division	2	\$ 991.00	\$ 467.00
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee, Family Division	2	\$ 2,133.00	\$ -
3	Family Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston, Family Division	150	\$ 37,780.18	\$ 36,220.89
5	Family Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph, Family Division	2	\$ 235.00	\$ 235.00
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	2019		
				Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Circuit Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale	32	\$ 20,650.00	\$ 16,431.06
5	Circuit Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien	724	\$ 358,663.03	\$ 305,186.89
1	Circuit Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne*	8,099	\$ 8,032,275.45	\$ 2,352,083.72
2	Circuit Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson	693	\$ 202,599.00	\$ 31,289.97
5	Circuit Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry	225	\$ 65,123.00	\$ 58,594.20
6	Circuit Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland	2,495	\$ 1,043,505.00	\$ 89,884.59
2	Circuit Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee	831	\$ 206,260.00	\$ 100,795.00
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia	293	\$ 112,004.50	\$ 95,949.80
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm	234	\$ 119,300.00	\$ 74,206.54
5	Circuit Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo	676	\$ 279,042.93	\$ 167,633.66
3	Circuit Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw	24	\$ 8,950.00	\$ 2,705.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger	25	\$ 7,500.00	\$ 2,067.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce	37	\$ 10,950.00	\$ 5,561.97
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac	51	\$ 15,600.00	\$ 11,471.03
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft	22	\$ 3,300.00	\$ 4,487.15
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga	16	\$ 11,250.00	\$ 2,142.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton	24	\$ 17,900.00	\$ 8,234.04
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw	1	\$ 258.00	\$ 217.50
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim	40	\$ 114,079.12	\$ 32,233.00
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse	330	\$ 112,908.50	\$ 100,033.10
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau	19	\$ 1,360.00	\$ 2,494.07
5	Circuit Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon	1,242	\$ 387,981.18	\$ 118,420.46
5	Circuit Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch	144	\$ 33,208.50	\$ 21,973.11
6	Circuit Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb	3,080	\$ 1,454,156.00	\$ 758,887.76
5	Circuit Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent	7	\$ 2,219.00	\$ -
3	Circuit Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay	155	\$ 3,044.09	\$ 8,844.98
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie	61	\$ 14,910.35	\$ 7,118.00
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee	67	\$ 18,542.00	\$ 10,563.00
5	Circuit Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa	865	\$ 285,000.00	\$ 73,568.07
3	Circuit Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella	428	\$ 147,084.00	\$ 94,598.84
2	Circuit Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw	669	\$ 969,467.00	\$ 541,281.62
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona	41	\$ 38,952.00	\$ 34,059.59
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac	63	\$ 58,148.10	\$ 32,278.58
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco	106	\$ 112,200.00	\$ 65,626.90
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda	331	\$ 39,858.00	\$ 24,301.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac	143	\$ 36,841.04	\$ 28,570.36
4	Circuit Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette	224	\$ 28,265.50	\$ 17,186.50
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena	165	\$ 84,101.50	\$ 62,778.19
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency	49	\$ 24,267.62	\$ 12,991.60
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo	106	\$ 11,970.00	\$ 11,057.31
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana	148	\$ 17,560.00	\$ 13,467.66
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee	42	\$ 12,400.00	\$ 7,230.00
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford	214	\$ 710,729.40	\$ 177,006.67
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton	148	\$ 50,037.00	\$ 36,710.37
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot	47	\$ 14,400.00	\$ 11,696.59
2	Circuit Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham	618	\$ 388,935.00	\$ 166,151.92
6	Circuit Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair	807	\$ 249,234.00	\$ 112,532.48
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic	41	\$ 12,375.00	\$ 10,151.00
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon	11	\$ 3,300.00	\$ 3,614.75
4	Circuit Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix	73	\$ 22,522.90	\$ 15,058.09
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw	149	\$ 13,907.01	\$ 19,880.78
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon	228	\$ 9,691.12	\$ 17,253.00
2	Circuit Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee	189	\$ 173,549.00	\$ 91,139.83
5	Circuit Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren	222	\$ 112,108.25	\$ 57,906.35
5	Circuit Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun	305	\$ 57,250.00	\$ 82,033.42
2	Circuit Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe	340	\$ 76,176.40	\$ 49,633.83
2	Circuit Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee	204	\$ 89,885.00	\$ 41,493.35
6	Circuit Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer	329	\$ 158,543.50	\$ 37,978.49
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson	95	\$ 23,250.00	\$ 10,474.00
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron	32	\$ 24,844.00	\$ 15,265.00
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee	54	\$ 14,950.00	\$ 5,540.18
3	Circuit Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland	231	\$ 114,276.90	\$ 125,440.68
5	Circuit Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass	307	\$ 152,300.00	\$ 59,938.11
2	Circuit Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston	723	\$ 366,663.50	\$ 217,117.02
5	Circuit Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph	193	\$ 101,234.00	\$ 60,873.80
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford	121	\$ 33,677.00	\$ 22,546.69
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska	140	\$ 34,205.00	\$ 19,853.36
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego	210	\$ 50,113.72	\$ 18,920.33
4	Circuit Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta	40	\$ 6,000.00	\$ 4,711.76
5	Circuit Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan	647	\$ 168,659.47	\$ 77,724.35

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta	307	\$ 56,145.00	\$ 38,188.33
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola	149	\$ 14,247.00	\$ 11,368.87
4	Circuit Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa	558	\$ 100,513.35	\$ 7,756.67
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake	39	\$ 17,801.00	\$ 12,523.50
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason	79	\$ 14,764.50	\$ 24,812.57
3	Circuit Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan	121	\$ 68,400.00	\$ 42,577.41
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle	28	\$ 15,890.00	\$ 14,652.50
3	Circuit Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola	387	\$ 110,300.00	\$ 53,008.91
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare	248	\$ 111,453.65	\$ 90,492.41
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin	132	\$ 57,606.00	\$ 50,608.15
2	Circuit Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton	394	\$ 193,276.00	\$ 87,882.40
4	Circuit Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet	166	\$ 36,000.00	\$ 21,147.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Erie	796	\$ 78,975.00	\$ 89,055.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Monroe	2,508	\$ 464,880.30	\$ 452,153.18
2	District Court	2	2A District Court - Lenawee	1,630	\$ 518,203.37	\$ 566,323.84
2	District Court	2	2B District Court - Hillsdale	854	\$ 96,901.64	\$ 88,837.92
5	District Court	3	3A District Court - Branch	929	\$ 170,670.00	\$ 171,361.45
5	District Court	3	3B District Court - St. Joseph	1,441	\$ 105,649.94	\$ 106,241.69
5	District Court	4	4th District Court - Cass	989	\$ 63,530.00	\$ 65,860.08
5	District Court	5	5th District Court - Berrien	4,123	\$ 981,889.57	\$ 855,514.33
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - Paw Paw	1,362	\$ 192,741.50	\$ 144,846.61
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - South Haven	1,368	\$ 130,159.96	\$ 127,971.46
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Crosstown	1	\$ (50.00)	\$ 50.00
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Kalamazoo	3,370	\$ 255,519.05	\$ 218,017.86
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Portage	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	10	10th District Court - Calhoun	3,587	\$ 361,601.20	\$ 347,344.12
2	District Court	12	12th District Court - Jackson	3,785	\$ 334,147.68	\$ 343,895.66
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ann Arbor	1,084	\$ 202,827.00	\$ 194,277.67
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Chelsea	512	\$ 123,231.67	\$ 131,893.42
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Saline	347	\$ 79,168.00	\$ 71,553.06
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ypsilanti	1,083	\$ 184,272.50	\$ 194,408.81
2	District Court	14	14B District Court - Ypsilanti	1,309	\$ 295,727.23	\$ 267,476.61
2	District Court	15	15th District Court - Ann Arbor	911	\$ 193,301.61	\$ 192,101.46
1	District Court	16	16th District Court - Livonia	3,286	\$ 528,885.00	\$ 444,027.06

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
1	District Court	17	17th District Court - Redford	1,828	\$ 151,166.50	\$ 151,206.28
1	District Court	18	18th District Court - Westland	3,238	\$ 473,597.75	\$ 471,881.40
1	District Court	19	19th District Court - Dearborn	5,106	\$ 597,269.00	\$ 435,870.98
1	District Court	20	20th District Court - Dearborn Heights	668	\$ 111,565.00	\$ 79,325.00
1	District Court	21	21st District Court - Garden City	994	\$ 66,569.00	\$ 57,617.10
1	District Court	22	22nd District Court - Inkster	871	\$ 125,027.44	\$ 108,913.91
1	District Court	23	23rd District Court - Taylor	1,642	\$ 175,365.43	\$ 140,373.78
1	District Court	24	24th District Court - Allen Park	956	\$ 100,199.80	\$ 93,847.80
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Ecorse	5	\$ 485.00	\$ 1,075.00
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Lincoln Park	1,598	\$ 249,958.00	\$ 240,450.00
1	District Court	27	27th District Court - Wyandotte	1,165	\$ 273,830.00	\$ 234,517.50
1	District Court	28	28th District Court - Southgate	926	\$ 64,549.20	\$ 57,289.20
1	District Court	29	29th District Court - Wayne	487	\$ 65,556.00	\$ 61,502.26
1	District Court	30	30th District Court - Highland Park	164	\$ 14,659.20	\$ 13,366.70
1	District Court	31	31st District Court - Hamtramck	101	\$ 6,312.00	\$ 4,967.00
1	District Court	32	32A District Court - Harper Woods	526	\$ 140,579.50	\$ 79,315.55
1	District Court	33	33rd District Court - Woodhaven	2,121	\$ 224,383.00	\$ 215,100.00
1	District Court	34	34th District Court - Romulus	2,742	\$ 859,127.57	\$ 823,227.94
1	District Court	35	35th District Court - Plymouth	4,025	\$ 996,288.08	\$ 849,212.96
1	District Court	36	36th District Court - Detroit	22,339	\$ 1,379,953.00	\$ 1,093,117.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Center Line	261	\$ 27,125.00	\$ 22,770.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Warren	1,412	\$ 163,582.00	\$ 136,457.50
6	District Court	38	38th District Court - Eastpointe	1,196	\$ 151,203.25	\$ 151,974.75
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Fraser	73	\$ 4,053.00	\$ 3,993.00
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Roseville	15	\$ 3,525.40	\$ 3,625.40
6	District Court	40	40th District Court - St. Clair Shores	3,193	\$ 375,009.14	\$ 361,033.51
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Shelby Township	1,603	\$ 444,343.74	\$ 457,631.54
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Sterling Heights	1,804	\$ 181,901.30	\$ 186,550.80
6	District Court	41	41B District Court - Clinton Township	2,094	\$ 620,939.85	\$ 534,922.16
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - New Baltimore	605	\$ 39,296.00	\$ 39,196.00
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - Romeo	357	\$ 100,129.00	\$ 91,037.00
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Ferndale	362	\$ 65,751.53	\$ 59,141.53
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Hazel Park	1,706	\$ 320,453.00	\$ 271,232.70
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Madison Heights	644	\$ 201,920.00	\$ 149,035.00
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Berkley	19	\$ 1,455.00	\$ 1,100.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Royal Oak	1,475	\$ 276,185.00	\$ 259,737.67
6	District Court	45	45th District Court - Oak Park	1,285	\$ 193,934.50	\$ 171,144.50
6	District Court	46	46th District Court - Southfield	2,293	\$ 293,874.88	\$ 272,056.75
6	District Court	47	47th District Court - Farmington Hills	2,006	\$ 271,440.46	\$ 255,300.67
6	District Court	48	48th District Court - Bloomfield Hills	1,515	\$ 237,235.91	\$ 232,253.42
6	District Court	50	50th District Court - Pontiac	1,779	\$ 161,719.30	\$ 127,339.50
6	District Court	51	51st District Court - Waterford	722	\$ 291,343.00	\$ 244,684.34
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Clarkston	1,688	\$ 313,522.00	\$ 311,114.95
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Novi	3,018	\$ 736,210.62	\$ 773,991.30
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Rochester Hills	3,333	\$ 945,316.00	\$ 875,538.61
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Troy	2,081	\$ 422,704.50	\$ 443,343.94
2	District Court	53	53rd District Court - Howell	1,540	\$ 624,732.25	\$ 661,615.16
2	District Court	54	54A District Court - Lansing	1,578	\$ 166,826.80	\$ 156,589.64
2	District Court	54	54B District Court - East Lansing	757	\$ 134,457.50	\$ 136,140.60
2	District Court	55	55th District Court - Ingham	941	\$ 202,219.20	\$ 169,843.38
2	District Court	56	56A District Court - Eaton	1,908	\$ 248,337.92	\$ 243,833.08
5	District Court	56	56B District Court - Barry	740	\$ 54,375.01	\$ 53,035.01
5	District Court	57	57th District Court - Allegan	3,075	\$ 609,942.40	\$ 543,218.70
5	District Court	58	58th District Court - Ottawa	5,089	\$ 983,222.65	\$ 805,255.04
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Grandville	265	\$ 49,860.00	\$ 31,573.00
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Walker	577	\$ 80,148.00	\$ 49,244.50
5	District Court	60	60th District Court - Muskegon	5,111	\$ 544,074.88	\$ 476,463.13
5	District Court	61	61st District Court - Grand Rapids	9,122	\$ 1,383,350.00	\$ 942,386.00
5	District Court	62	62A District Court - Wyoming	3,308	\$ 662,468.25	\$ 667,825.64
5	District Court	62	62B District Court - Kentwood	1,288	\$ 72,216.00	\$ 68,415.30
5	District Court	63	63rd District Court - Kent	3,674	\$ 583,690.10	\$ 589,829.19
3	District Court	64	64A District Court - Ionia	1,246	\$ 204,181.89	\$ 245,010.26
3	District Court	64	64B District Court - Montcalm	1,137	\$ 258,679.30	\$ 248,232.46
2	District Court	65	65A District Court - Clinton	1,734	\$ 785,552.68	\$ 747,593.85
2	District Court	65	65B District Court - Gratiot	1,048	\$ 410,623.00	\$ 384,134.00
2	District Court	66	66th District Court - Shiawassee	892	\$ 128,788.20	\$ 149,503.19
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Burton	183	\$ 12,861.00	\$ 16,406.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Central	2,736	\$ 252,007.75	\$ 237,972.75
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Davison	168	\$ 12,245.00	\$ 13,775.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Fenton	169	\$ 23,829.00	\$ 27,384.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flint	422	\$ 10,945.18	\$ 34,052.18
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flushing	187	\$ 27,554.00	\$ 34,543.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Grand Blanc	494	\$ 49,854.00	\$ 54,012.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Mt. Morris	242	\$ 22,204.00	\$ 29,961.00
3	District Court	70	70th District Court - Saginaw	11,895	\$ 2,774,629.99	\$ 697,343.46
6	District Court	71	71A District Court - Lapeer	1,206	\$ 191,016.00	\$ 202,399.00
3	District Court	71	71B District Court - Tuscola	814	\$ 114,708.14	\$ 118,672.01
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Marine City	683	\$ 106,710.00	\$ 102,873.00
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Port Huron	1,292	\$ 191,684.00	\$ 176,405.00
3	District Court	73	73A District Court - Sanilac	752	\$ 165,691.75	\$ 137,662.59
3	District Court	73	73B District Court - Huron	579	\$ 117,058.86	\$ 118,154.06
3	District Court	74	74th District Court - Bay	1,804	\$ 201,374.45	\$ 204,912.16
3	District Court	75	75th District Court - Midland	1,683	\$ 291,400.00	\$ 268,706.00
3	District Court	76	76th District Court - Isabella	1,590	\$ 360,825.08	\$ 391,612.36
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Mecosta	1,009	\$ 170,708.43	\$ 177,890.10
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Osceola	431	\$ 86,743.35	\$ 84,987.97
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Newaygo	1,322	\$ 252,006.27	\$ 248,827.77
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Oceana	636	\$ 92,785.00	\$ 94,197.88
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Lake	260	\$ 19,576.00	\$ 15,802.75
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Mason	212	\$ 26,545.00	\$ 18,231.75
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Clare			
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Gladwin			
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Alcona	204	\$ 61,041.21	\$ 65,076.94
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Arenac	516	\$ 139,808.63	\$ 139,128.90
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Iosco	715	\$ 224,174.20	\$ 194,115.33
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Oscoda	275	\$ 75,587.93	\$ 76,018.32
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Ogemaw	1,083	\$ 152,527.72	\$ 155,477.19
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Roscommon	777	\$ 172,522.00	\$ 169,805.20
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Missaukee	196	\$ 15,903.31	\$ 15,397.31
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Wexford	691	\$ 82,388.34	\$ 68,823.58
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Benzie	448	\$ 23,104.00	\$ 24,584.75
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Manistee	914	\$ 149,391.40	\$ 121,773.63
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Antrim	313	\$ 93,387.00	\$ 93,380.12
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Grand Traverse	1,422	\$ 485,811.00	\$ 493,947.31
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Leelanau	225	\$ 115,958.00	\$ 104,531.00

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2018

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	District Court	87	87A District Court - Otsego	791	\$ 112,390.34	\$ 102,834.98
4	District Court	87	87B District Court - Kalkaska	433	\$ 96,477.00	\$ 88,978.80
4	District Court	87	87C District Court - Crawford	506	\$ 76,870.67	\$ 73,034.50
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Alpena	625	\$ 133,496.87	\$ 106,446.62
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Montmorency	224	\$ 45,131.00	\$ 41,245.93
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Cheboygan	638	\$ 153,476.24	\$ 166,316.39
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Presque Isle	185	\$ 51,606.00	\$ 50,381.30
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Charlevoix	579	\$ 121,964.00	\$ 119,088.00
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Emmet	899	\$ 274,292.66	\$ 267,599.17
4	District Court	91	91st District Court - Chippewa	591	\$ 141,309.00	\$ 125,424.68
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Luce	107	\$ 18,745.00	\$ 15,801.49
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Mackinac	233	\$ 49,676.51	\$ 57,639.75
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Alger	227	\$ 49,401.00	\$ 55,034.77
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Schoolcraft	117	\$ 44,368.00	\$ 48,615.00
4	District Court	94	94th District Court - Delta	917	\$ 217,182.03	\$ 216,176.59
4	District Court	95	95A District Court - Menominee	609	\$ 99,020.01	\$ 94,618.27
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Dickinson	606	\$ 171,759.00	\$ 136,652.56
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Iron	256	\$ 50,632.00	\$ 30,330.00
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Ishpeming	27	\$ 12,228.50	\$ 15,313.52
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Marquette	1,370	\$ 347,923.14	\$ 308,800.51
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Baraga	161	\$ 49,155.00	\$ 37,307.00
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Houghton	459	\$ 171,970.91	\$ 137,588.29
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Keweenaw	28	\$ 10,310.00	\$ 10,194.00
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Bessemer	423	\$ 48,028.00	\$ 43,355.50
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Ontonagon	120	\$ 22,565.60	\$ 23,737.52
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Farms	147	\$ 21,077.89	\$ 27,444.89
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Shores	120	\$ 21,313.50	\$ 22,348.52
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe	100	\$ 20,022.50	\$ 20,312.50
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Park Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Park	37	\$ 5,620.00	\$ 4,812.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Woods Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Woods	194	\$ 10,688.00	\$ 12,152.00
2	Family Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien, Family Division	1	\$ 50.00	\$ -
1	Family Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2018

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	Family Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm, Family Division	3	\$ 314.82	\$ 321.50
5	Family Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac, Family Division	1	\$ 25.00	\$ 3.00
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton, Family Division	24	\$ 854.69	\$ 958.50
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw, Family Division	1	\$ 258.00	\$ 217.50
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent, Family Division	2,409	\$ 797,558.00	\$ 114,560.00
3	Family Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw, Family Division	128	\$ 30,327.12	\$ 16,935.75
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2018

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 30.00
6	Family Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee, Family Division	1	\$ 825.00	\$ 765.00
5	Family Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren, Family Division	3	\$ 150.00	\$ 50.00
5	Family Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 267.45
2	Family Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe, Family Division	72	\$ 2,868.00	\$ 2,720.00
2	Family Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee, Family Division	11	\$ 667.35	\$ 200.00
6	Family Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston, Family Division	141	\$ 44,759.65	\$ 32,542.12
5	Family Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 150.00
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	2018	
					Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Family Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
2	Family Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
4	Family Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2017

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Circuit Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale	34	\$ 18,370.50	\$ 18,810.31
5	Circuit Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien	804	\$ 497,078.75	\$ 323,412.01
1	Circuit Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne*	8,125	\$ 7,913,923.56	\$ 1,875,598.35
2	Circuit Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson	659	\$ 244,501.00	\$ 46,621.79
5	Circuit Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry	206	\$ 69,015.00	\$ 61,484.24
6	Circuit Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland	2,718	\$ 1,163,400.00	\$ 94,172.61
2	Circuit Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee	1,078	\$ 297,983.00	\$ 115,312.00
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia	349	\$ 132,525.00	\$ 75,848.84
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm	240	\$ 116,866.00	\$ 72,672.37
5	Circuit Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo	632	\$ 282,110.00	\$ 44,119.68
3	Circuit Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw	44	\$ 16,621.00	\$ 5,335.35
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger	44	\$ 13,400.00	\$ 3,000.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce	20	\$ 6,000.00	\$ 6,301.25
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac	79	\$ 25,814.00	\$ 19,742.52
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft	35	\$ 511,660.00	\$ 8,232.02
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga	19	\$ 3,500.00	\$ 2,101.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton	34	\$ 23,800.00	\$ 9,343.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw	1	\$ 898.00	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim	25	\$ 13,650.00	\$ 33,810.64
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse	336	\$ 100,891.77	\$ 100,992.21
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau	10	\$ 10,600.00	\$ 14,235.45
5	Circuit Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon	1,039	\$ 383,897.01	\$ 108,139.32
5	Circuit Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch	135	\$ 22,285.00	\$ 22,918.17
6	Circuit Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb	3,178	\$ 1,596,001.00	\$ 701,993.15
5	Circuit Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent	2,405	\$ 982,702.00	\$ 111,972.00
3	Circuit Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay	34	\$ 9,861.54	\$ 12,082.60
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie	45	\$ 13,780.00	\$ 9,712.89
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee	77	\$ 23,836.50	\$ 11,957.41
5	Circuit Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa	355	\$ 113,015.00	\$ 68,155.70
3	Circuit Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella	448	\$ 150,440.99	\$ 87,690.79
2	Circuit Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw	705	\$ 1,030,843.00	\$ 570,908.40
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona	65	\$ 69,800.00	\$ 20,936.98
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac	62	\$ 58,442.00	\$ 29,253.71
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco	122	\$ 127,419.00	\$ 58,679.29
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda	61	\$ 52,476.00	\$ 26,904.82

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2017

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac	95	\$ 28,350.00	\$ 2,111.19
4	Circuit Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette	143	\$ 28,910.00	\$ 4,072.00
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena	187	\$ 97,033.65	\$ 55,628.50
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency	39	\$ 18,725.00	\$ 12,627.81
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo	114	\$ 15,337.50	\$ 16,118.80
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana	55	\$ 7,950.00	\$ 8,808.02
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee	36	\$ 10,800.00	\$ 5,838.50
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford	194	\$ 479,905.23	\$ 2,722.54
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton	118	\$ 33,560.00	\$ 3,455.80
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot	70	\$ 21,200.00	\$ 18,594.97
2	Circuit Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham	517	\$ 342,160.00	\$ 174,870.73
6	Circuit Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair	873	\$ 273,713.00	\$ 95,545.76
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic	39	\$ 11,700.00	\$ 10,753.00
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon	14	\$ 4,200.00	\$ 3,572.50
4	Circuit Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix	71	\$ 21,300.00	\$ 15,217.57
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw	140	\$ 25,530.08	\$ 18,017.23
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon	148	\$ 16,985.00	\$ 16,156.95
2	Circuit Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee	171	\$ 151,779.00	\$ 21,363.67
5	Circuit Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren	127	\$ 84,660.00	\$ 62,024.37
5	Circuit Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun	60	\$ 11,800.00	\$ 93,845.25
2	Circuit Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe	364	\$ 59,411.30	\$ 44,968.82
2	Circuit Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee	179	\$ 72,644.00	\$ 23,340.33
6	Circuit Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer	255	\$ 125,350.00	\$ 37,694.38
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson	69	\$ 16,750.00	\$ 7,356.00
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron	23	\$ 15,050.00	\$ 12,507.00
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee	43	\$ 9,842.00	\$ 6,092.22
3	Circuit Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland	237	\$ 109,158.00	\$ 121,691.00
5	Circuit Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass	237	\$ 117,750.00	\$ 44,371.84
2	Circuit Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston	776	\$ 405,590.00	\$ 180,379.89
5	Circuit Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph	205	\$ 105,903.96	\$ 52,049.82
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford	117	\$ 35,351.50	\$ 20,794.71
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska	152	\$ 36,348.00	\$ 17,551.00
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego	153	\$ 37,123.75	\$ 10,021.31
4	Circuit Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta	62	\$ 9,300.00	\$ 4,582.00
5	Circuit Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan	564	\$ 142,893.00	\$ 79,227.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2017

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta	345	\$ 57,183.23	\$ 45,541.87
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola	115	\$ 14,905.00	\$ 7,118.48
4	Circuit Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa	198	\$ 59,164.00	\$ 20,423.09
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake	39	\$ 17,850.00	\$ 10,942.00
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason	96	\$ 18,350.00	\$ 22,803.73
3	Circuit Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron	1	\$ 250.00	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan	119	\$ 64,220.00	\$ 39,614.68
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle	20	\$ 16,313.71	\$ 8,045.00
3	Circuit Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola	353	\$ 94,150.00	\$ 43,966.63
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare	224	\$ 103,850.00	\$ 34,631.69
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin	152	\$ 71,050.00	\$ 36,701.69
2	Circuit Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton	354	\$ 174,010.00	\$ 96,896.00
4	Circuit Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet	164	\$ 33,001.00	\$ 16,748.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Erie	1,064	\$ 105,837.00	\$ 114,817.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Monroe	2,436	\$ 451,751.39	\$ 440,192.52
2	District Court	2	2A District Court - Lenawee	1,757	\$ 590,185.97	\$ 615,962.13
2	District Court	2	2B District Court - Hillsdale	859	\$ 106,222.08	\$ 97,722.11
5	District Court	3	3A District Court - Branch	1,216	\$ 232,746.00	\$ 200,292.69
5	District Court	3	3B District Court - St. Joseph	1,398	\$ 108,377.64	\$ 105,985.28
5	District Court	4	4th District Court - Cass	1,004	\$ 78,279.00	\$ 75,021.14
5	District Court	5	5th District Court - Berrien	4,458	\$ 1,065,289.73	\$ 925,546.84
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - Paw Paw	1,339	\$ 145,746.21	\$ 115,216.64
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - South Haven	1,270	\$ 124,582.05	\$ 129,318.24
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Crosstown	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Kalamazoo	3,840	\$ 273,995.31	\$ 236,835.68
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Portage	5	\$ 875.00	\$ 1,049.00
5	District Court	10	10th District Court - Calhoun	3,527	\$ 372,129.50	\$ 349,001.51
2	District Court	12	12th District Court - Jackson	4,131	\$ 371,094.65	\$ 348,176.85
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ann Arbor	1,119	\$ 211,083.24	\$ 172,253.13
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Chelsea	540	\$ 129,115.00	\$ 126,929.12
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Saline	292	\$ 61,840.00	\$ 65,758.00
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ypsilanti	1,140	\$ 201,294.00	\$ 193,187.25
2	District Court	14	14B District Court - Ypsilanti	1,433	\$ 303,251.66	\$ 254,323.84
2	District Court	15	15th District Court - Ann Arbor	1,351	\$ 290,267.50	\$ 291,767.79
1	District Court	16	16th District Court - Livonia	2,559	\$ 413,706.24	\$ 350,251.58

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2017

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
1	District Court	17	17th District Court - Redford	1,989	\$ 180,389.50	\$ 148,795.70
1	District Court	18	18th District Court - Westland	3,966	\$ 546,594.22	\$ 466,193.12
1	District Court	19	19th District Court - Dearborn	4,873	\$ 560,336.00	\$ 389,883.22
1	District Court	20	20th District Court - Dearborn Heights	629	\$ 108,673.00	\$ 72,488.00
1	District Court	21	21st District Court - Garden City	848	\$ 54,105.00	\$ 51,897.50
1	District Court	22	22nd District Court - Inkster	624	\$ 97,014.88	\$ 49,987.25
1	District Court	23	23rd District Court - Taylor	1,613	\$ 130,937.50	\$ 104,186.69
1	District Court	24	24th District Court - Allen Park	1,038	\$ 103,539.00	\$ 109,391.00
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Ecorse	1	\$ 225.00	\$ 25.00
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Lincoln Park	3,724	\$ 372,515.00	\$ 287,467.00
1	District Court	27	27th District Court - Wyandotte	1,130	\$ 257,189.00	\$ 218,172.00
1	District Court	29	29th District Court - Wayne	433	\$ 61,190.00	\$ 46,494.00
1	District Court	30	30th District Court - Highland Park	149	\$ 10,929.00	\$ 14,000.00
1	District Court	31	31st District Court - Hamtramck	120	\$ 7,183.00	\$ 4,935.00
1	District Court	32	32A District Court - Harper Woods	567	\$ 73,558.00	\$ 49,000.60
1	District Court	33	33rd District Court - Woodhaven	2,196	\$ 223,811.00	\$ 189,211.75
1	District Court	34	34th District Court - Romulus	3,023	\$ 928,155.62	\$ 852,284.94
1	District Court	35	35th District Court - Plymouth	4,117	\$ 783,229.00	\$ 680,176.59
1	District Court	36	36th District Court - Detroit	26,466	\$ 1,111,478.59	\$ 880,788.33
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Center Line	154	\$ 22,480.00	\$ 18,605.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Warren	1,612	\$ 184,071.25	\$ 154,653.25
6	District Court	38	38th District Court - Eastpointe	1,150	\$ 147,021.50	\$ 149,794.95
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Fraser	94	\$ 2,116.40	\$ 1,371.40
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Roseville	23	\$ 2,328.59	\$ 3,950.59
6	District Court	40	40th District Court - St. Clair Shores	3,450	\$ 378,117.33	\$ 338,247.63
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Shelby Township	1,782	\$ 474,988.73	\$ 500,552.85
6	District Court	41	41B District Court - Clinton Township	2,292	\$ 577,084.54	\$ 517,182.96
6	District Court	41	42nd District Court - Romeo	366	\$ 93,500.00	\$ 87,255.50
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - New Baltimore	726	\$ 48,262.06	\$ 47,487.06
6	District Court	42	43rd District Court - Hazel Park	1,584	\$ 284,607.20	\$ 263,939.70
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Ferndale	365	\$ 54,946.75	\$ 47,347.75
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Madison Heights	613	\$ 209,665.00	\$ 159,245.00
6	District Court	43	44th District Court - Royal Oak	1,526	\$ 273,509.00	\$ 251,123.67
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Berkley	23	\$ 711.00	\$ 3,660.00
6	District Court	45	45th District Court - Oak Park	1,334	\$ 146,694.00	\$ 120,689.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2017

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	District Court	46	46th District Court - Southfield	2,472	\$ 283,189.91	\$ 296,887.19
6	District Court	47	47th District Court - Farmington Hills	2,082	\$ 285,725.80	\$ 244,198.32
6	District Court	48	48th District Court - Bloomfield Hills	1,474	\$ 226,565.44	\$ 221,149.55
6	District Court	50	50th District Court - Pontiac	2,024	\$ 209,167.99	\$ 147,397.41
6	District Court	51	51st District Court - Waterford	713	\$ 321,183.00	\$ 228,679.75
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Clarkston	1,726	\$ 318,884.16	\$ 308,948.38
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Novi	3,102	\$ 844,075.53	\$ 812,532.02
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Rochester Hills	3,551	\$ 992,779.86	\$ 878,708.86
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Troy	2,220	\$ 512,554.00	\$ 514,675.81
2	District Court	53	53rd District Court - Howell	2,106	\$ 827,132.58	\$ 829,256.28
2	District Court	54	54A District Court - Lansing	1,710	\$ 205,721.00	\$ 167,554.13
2	District Court	54	54B District Court - East Lansing	1,037	\$ 175,717.78	\$ 183,781.92
2	District Court	55	55th District Court - Ingham	1,214	\$ 242,426.00	\$ 178,070.62
2	District Court	56	56A District Court - Eaton	1,975	\$ 326,983.15	\$ 269,931.24
5	District Court	56	56B District Court - Barry	695	\$ 54,505.00	\$ 54,184.00
5	District Court	57	57th District Court - Allegan	3,467	\$ 711,327.85	\$ 590,349.43
5	District Court	58	58th District Court - Ottawa	6,166	\$ 1,345,785.00	\$ 873,011.00
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Grandville	328	\$ 58,285.00	\$ 35,232.98
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Walker	594	\$ 82,120.00	\$ 57,767.25
5	District Court	60	60th District Court - Muskegon	4,848	\$ 504,444.02	\$ 429,736.40
5	District Court	61	61st District Court - Grand Rapids	10,294	\$ 1,301,089.00	\$ 908,316.35
5	District Court	62	62A District Court - Wyoming	3,494	\$ 692,870.54	\$ 665,933.04
5	District Court	62	62B District Court - Kentwood	1,608	\$ 74,028.00	\$ 69,814.00
5	District Court	63	63rd District Court - Kent	4,210	\$ 678,891.10	\$ 683,341.25
3	District Court	64	64A District Court - Ionia	1,361	\$ 282,236.81	\$ 257,311.63
3	District Court	64	64B District Court - Montcalm	1,065	\$ 261,747.40	\$ 229,921.15
2	District Court	65	65A District Court - Clinton	1,722	\$ 749,271.44	\$ 711,236.38
2	District Court	65	65B District Court - Gratiot	1,267	\$ 485,302.65	\$ 430,873.55
2	District Court	66	66th District Court - Shiawassee	1,058	\$ 153,277.00	\$ 166,558.50
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Burton	197	\$ 12,964.00	\$ 20,614.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Central	2,820	\$ 251,391.00	\$ 228,051.25
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Davison	185	\$ 15,414.00	\$ 16,471.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Fenton	188	\$ 28,760.00	\$ 25,645.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flint	643	\$ 14,322.00	\$ 58,189.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flushing	280	\$ 42,922.00	\$ 44,015.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2017

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Grand Blanc	521	\$ 45,694.00	\$ 48,149.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Mt. Morris	244	\$ 21,714.00	\$ 16,904.00
3	District Court	70	70th District Court - Saginaw	10,685	\$ 2,381,831.00	\$ 802,040.00
6	District Court	71	71A District Court - Lapeer	1,318	\$ 199,344.00	\$ 197,008.00
3	District Court	71	71B District Court - Tuscola	942	\$ 119,751.50	\$ 121,465.93
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Marine City	709	\$ 97,947.00	\$ 103,743.00
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Port Huron	1,574	\$ 216,111.51	\$ 186,069.84
3	District Court	73	73A District Court - Sanilac	868	\$ 163,315.30	\$ 121,640.82
3	District Court	73	73B District Court - Huron	606	\$ 117,221.00	\$ 118,085.95
3	District Court	74	74th District Court - Bay	1,866	\$ 187,696.41	\$ 170,201.93
3	District Court	75	75th District Court - Midland	1,411	\$ 273,041.04	\$ 268,126.98
3	District Court	76	76th District Court - Isabella	2,242	\$ 533,747.15	\$ 520,881.99
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Mecosta	1,124	\$ 194,151.33	\$ 192,773.86
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Osceola	497	\$ 90,672.77	\$ 86,631.33
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Newaygo	1,389	\$ 256,925.80	\$ 251,658.31
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Oceana	698	\$ 99,545.00	\$ 84,827.40
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Lake	243	\$ 10,946.00	\$ 9,977.00
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Mason	281	\$ 43,115.00	\$ 24,850.50
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Clare	882	\$ 218,530.10	\$ 176,914.75
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Gladwin	1,092	\$ 176,498.84	\$ 163,922.01
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Alcona	272	\$ 86,227.15	\$ 67,101.20
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Arenac	472	\$ 119,577.40	\$ 131,339.75
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Iosco	743	\$ 238,704.86	\$ 201,168.00
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Oscoda	342	\$ 108,727.80	\$ 100,408.75
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Ogemaw	930	\$ 181,532.78	\$ 163,631.31
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Roscommon	819	\$ 176,330.42	\$ 157,365.17
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Missaukee	278	\$ 19,355.32	\$ 17,878.71
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Wexford	694	\$ 98,799.18	\$ 84,270.63
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Benzie	387	\$ 26,651.00	\$ 23,864.75
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Manistee	863	\$ 133,685.54	\$ 108,514.42
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Antrim	386	\$ 136,633.00	\$ 111,789.95
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Grand Traverse	1,612	\$ 563,336.50	\$ 529,711.32
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Leelanau	295	\$ 130,143.00	\$ 113,349.82
4	District Court	87	87A District Court - Otsego	843	\$ 94,284.26	\$ 93,032.38
4	District Court	87	87B District Court - Kalkaska	562	\$ 111,637.20	\$ 89,244.70

2/2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2017

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	District Court	87	87C District Court - Crawford	661	\$ 96,330.67	\$ 90,515.50
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Alpena	629	\$ 131,243.30	\$ 92,004.66
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Montmorency	308	\$ 59,896.40	\$ 52,331.20
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Cheboygan	729	\$ 176,069.19	\$ 172,024.22
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Presque Isle	174	\$ 47,852.21	\$ 41,202.02
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Charlevoix	586	\$ 119,731.51	\$ 118,346.85
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Emmet	849	\$ 246,053.52	\$ 241,348.38
4	District Court	91	91st District Court - Chippewa	600	\$ 131,506.00	\$ 109,995.64
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Luce	103	\$ 16,430.50	\$ 15,642.00
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Mackinac	340	\$ 83,013.25	\$ 85,759.00
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Alger	217	\$ 54,062.92	\$ 52,703.65
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Schoolcraft	133	\$ 40,176.86	\$ 34,474.75
4	District Court	94	94th District Court - Delta	879	\$ 207,765.35	\$ 213,720.88
4	District Court	95	95A District Court - Menominee	619	\$ 95,194.06	\$ 99,003.30
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Dickinson	606	\$ 201,634.00	\$ 166,359.50
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Iron	236	\$ 46,721.00	\$ 27,960.46
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Ishpeming	136	\$ 5,971.46	\$ 47,961.21
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Marquette	1,239	\$ 352,423.98	\$ 271,501.91
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Baraga	177	\$ 46,740.13	\$ 38,996.59
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Houghton	471	\$ 171,311.00	\$ 126,370.46
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Keweenaw	30	\$ 13,657.00	\$ 12,239.00
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Bessemer	507	\$ 56,365.50	\$ 42,512.39
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Ontonagon	187	\$ 36,926.52	\$ 30,662.62
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Farms	325	\$ 56,587.00	\$ 45,794.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Shores	208	\$ 35,235.50	\$ 36,073.58
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe	152	\$ 30,597.00	\$ 22,282.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Park Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Park	42	\$ 9,547.00	\$ 7,788.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Woods Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Woods	272	\$ 17,671.50	\$ 11,154.00
2	Family Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	Family Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2017

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm, Family Division	3	\$ 750.00	\$ 190.00
5	Family Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac, Family Division	2	\$ 50.00	\$ 182.00
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton, Family Division	1	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent, Family Division	15	\$ 26,701.82	\$ -
3	Family Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw, Family Division	131	\$ 18,330.00	\$ 11,307.00
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac, Family Division			
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

2017

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham, Family Division	2	\$ 1,050.00	\$ 1,594.50
6	Family Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic, Family Division	17	\$ 3,650.00	\$ 1,696.00
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee, Family Division	1	\$ 1,159.00	\$ -
5	Family Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe, Family Division	189	\$ 9,640.00	\$ 7,171.88
2	Family Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee, Family Division	14	\$ 700.00	\$ 150.00
6	Family Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ 444.67
3	Family Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston, Family Division	158	\$ 47,256.00	\$ 36,622.53
5	Family Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph, Family Division	2	\$ 400.00	\$ 150.00
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	2017	
					Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
2	Family Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -
4	Family Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet, Family Division	0 \$	-	\$ -

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	Circuit Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale	44	\$ 23,196.00	\$ 21,384.74
5	Circuit Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien	840	\$ 594,460.24	\$ 301,162.49
1	Circuit Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne*	8,020	\$ 5,907,856.34	\$ 851,891.06
2	Circuit Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson	734	\$ 221,137.16	\$ 54,421.15
5	Circuit Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry	204	\$ 74,425.00	\$ 50,254.80
6	Circuit Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland	2,766	\$ 1,163,993.00	\$ 85,079.01
2	Circuit Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee	1,206	\$ 468,275.23	\$ 96,381.16
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia	148	\$ 80,300.00	\$ 57,356.25
3	Circuit Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm	216	\$ 83,700.00	\$ 66,230.54
5	Circuit Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo	677	\$ 334,525.05	\$ 109,150.87
3	Circuit Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw	43	\$ 20,900.00	\$ 5,484.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger	40	\$ 11,750.00	\$ 1,892.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce	30	\$ 9,000.00	\$ 3,412.45
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac	96	\$ 28,850.00	\$ 8,750.00
4	Circuit Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft	23	\$ 8,100.00	\$ 300.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga	6	\$ 4,200.00	\$ 2,534.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton	22	\$ 15,400.00	\$ 4,069.00
4	Circuit Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim	79	\$ 26,125.00	\$ 33,126.93
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse	335	\$ 106,251.50	\$ 102,087.21
4	Circuit Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau	33	\$ 11,800.00	\$ 11,442.54
5	Circuit Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon	861	\$ 308,804.70	\$ 79,294.92
5	Circuit Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch	141	\$ 39,220.23	\$ 22,706.66
6	Circuit Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb	2,961	\$ 1,432,517.00	\$ 631,527.79
5	Circuit Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent	2,796	\$ 1,118,400.00	\$ 145,537.11
3	Circuit Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay	26	\$ 5,966.26	\$ 12,329.88
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie	32	\$ 9,395.00	\$ 3,626.00
3	Circuit Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee	53	\$ 20,502.00	\$ 8,905.00
5	Circuit Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa	227	\$ 77,826.84	\$ 61,684.01
3	Circuit Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella	413	\$ 118,090.00	\$ 55,391.90
2	Circuit Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw	852	\$ 1,297,220.00	\$ 585,037.26
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona	58	\$ 60,130.00	\$ 16,886.46
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac	63	\$ 56,181.00	\$ 25,407.50
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco	155	\$ 170,000.00	\$ 39,123.12

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Circuit Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda	52	\$ 44,838.00	\$ 2,432.75
3	Circuit Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac	91	\$ 27,200.00	\$ 19,876.93
4	Circuit Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette	144	\$ 28,000.00	\$ 7,976.50
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena	160	\$ 93,707.50	\$ 49,598.14
4	Circuit Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency	37	\$ 14,672.00	\$ 7,065.00
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo	194	\$ 21,267.50	\$ 15,638.88
3	Circuit Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana	130	\$ 15,124.50	\$ 8,453.91
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee	35	\$ 9,290.00	\$ 6,581.50
4	Circuit Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford	103	\$ 30,600.00	\$ 27,951.56
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton	94	\$ 22,500.00	\$ 15,343.50
2	Circuit Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot	78	\$ 23,857.00	\$ 23,380.20
2	Circuit Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham	661	\$ 438,728.00	\$ 110,859.55
6	Circuit Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair	713	\$ 223,344.00	\$ 70,011.40
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic	61	\$ 17,250.00	\$ 6,589.68
4	Circuit Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon	16	\$ 4,500.00	\$ 2,709.92
4	Circuit Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix	79	\$ 17,364.00	\$ 6,632.00
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw	135	\$ 18,881.59	\$ 12,707.99
3	Circuit Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon	147	\$ 15,025.00	\$ 11,952.21
2	Circuit Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee	212	\$ 192,334.70	\$ 117,379.14
5	Circuit Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren	187	\$ 123,635.00	\$ 81,633.51
5	Circuit Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun	207	\$ 71,454.00	\$ 65,687.23
2	Circuit Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe	415	\$ 104,136.00	\$ 45,657.48
2	Circuit Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee	133	\$ 76,629.00	\$ 22,444.67
6	Circuit Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer	309	\$ 154,500.00	\$ 35,761.25
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson	31	\$ 7,750.00	\$ 563.50
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron	45	\$ 26,910.00	\$ 14,663.83
4	Circuit Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee	61	\$ 14,300.00	\$ 4,408.50
3	Circuit Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland	275	\$ 147,490.00	\$ 153,424.00
5	Circuit Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass	224	\$ 110,100.00	\$ 51,342.19
2	Circuit Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston	788	\$ 412,278.50	\$ 167,169.84
5	Circuit Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph	197	\$ 102,908.00	\$ 30,385.36
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford	140	\$ 40,625.40	\$ 19,140.57
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska	191	\$ 42,880.00	\$ 5,653.95
4	Circuit Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego	96	\$ 28,937.75	\$ 5,003.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Circuit Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta	58	\$ 8,700.00	\$ 5,349.00
5	Circuit Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan	477	\$ 121,363.00	\$ 30,041.54
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta	336	\$ 57,355.50	\$ 34,729.47
3	Circuit Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola	107	\$ 13,685.00	\$ 7,183.82
4	Circuit Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa	185	\$ 55,500.00	\$ 6,803.50
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake	56	\$ 26,509.36	\$ 12,710.36
3	Circuit Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason	90	\$ 17,700.00	\$ 22,388.96
3	Circuit Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan	71	\$ 42,020.00	\$ 15,981.00
4	Circuit Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle	15	\$ 11,948.00	\$ 4,514.00
3	Circuit Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola	236	\$ 104,050.00	\$ 48,590.86
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare	140	\$ 67,815.40	\$ 40,594.46
3	Circuit Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin	113	\$ 53,350.00	\$ 39,580.01
2	Circuit Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton	343	\$ 170,058.88	\$ 86,364.16
4	Circuit Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet	195	\$ 34,670.00	\$ 18,717.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Erie	976	\$ 97,335.00	\$ 105,330.00
2	District Court	1	1st District Court - Monroe	2,447	\$ 474,689.96	\$ 415,511.49
2	District Court	2	2A District Court - Lenawee	1,771	\$ 737,543.76	\$ 648,622.13
2	District Court	2	2B District Court - Hillsdale	921	\$ 110,497.32	\$ 98,711.67
5	District Court	3	3A District Court - Branch	1,164	\$ 195,495.95	\$ 171,705.92
5	District Court	3	3B District Court - St. Joseph	1,774	\$ 148,480.67	\$ 130,961.67
5	District Court	4	4th District Court - Cass	1,041	\$ 82,540.00	\$ 77,763.00
5	District Court	5	5th District Court - Berrien	4,828	\$ 1,190,878.52	\$ 1,013,693.64
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - Paw Paw	1,575	\$ 139,176.00	\$ 118,974.90
5	District Court	7	7th District Court - South Haven	1,519	\$ 159,542.00	\$ 165,040.31
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Crosstown	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Kalamazoo	4,407	\$ 282,010.94	\$ 249,966.36
5	District Court	8	8th District Court - Portage	7	\$ 575.00	\$ 325.00
5	District Court	10	10th District Court - Calhoun	3,331	\$ 495,448.00	\$ 292,394.00
2	District Court	12	12th District Court - Jackson	4,463	\$ 451,785.02	\$ 377,703.19
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ann Arbor	1,029	\$ 223,134.84	\$ 192,870.24
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Chelsea	570	\$ 128,840.00	\$ 139,794.83
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Saline	313	\$ 71,908.00	\$ 66,053.00
2	District Court	14	14A District Court - Ypsilanti	1,155	\$ 228,758.00	\$ 239,202.34

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	14	14B District Court - Ypsilanti	1,369	\$ 322,374.89	\$ 230,529.17
2	District Court	15	15th District Court - Ann Arbor	1,419	\$ 318,589.00	\$ 295,575.13
1	District Court	16	16th District Court - Livonia	2,874	\$ 405,559.19	\$ 367,663.52
1	District Court	17	17th District Court - Redford	2,049	\$ 207,062.50	\$ 158,756.88
1	District Court	18	18th District Court - Westland	3,474	\$ 489,409.05	\$ 426,409.99
1	District Court	19	19th District Court - Dearborn	3,730	\$ 392,250.00	\$ 290,174.30
1	District Court	20	20th District Court - Dearborn Heights	617	\$ 110,985.00	\$ 72,005.00
1	District Court	21	21st District Court - Garden City	851	\$ 57,694.00	\$ 46,759.00
1	District Court	22	22nd District Court - Inkster	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	District Court	23	23rd District Court - Taylor	1,835	\$ 114,993.47	\$ 96,890.28
1	District Court	24	24th District Court - Allen Park	1,266	\$ 116,449.00	\$ 100,203.50
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Ecorse	2	\$ 450.00	\$ 165.00
1	District Court	25	25th District Court - Lincoln Park	2,161	\$ 409,131.85	\$ 288,685.38
1	District Court	27	27th District Court - Wyandotte	1,150	\$ 271,217.00	\$ 182,536.00
1	District Court	28	28th District Court - Southgate	950	\$ 69,899.50	\$ 53,214.50
1	District Court	29	29th District Court - Wayne	392	\$ 57,180.00	\$ 45,802.00
1	District Court	30	30th District Court - Highland Park	679	\$ 134,101.50	\$ 103,995.50
1	District Court	31	31st District Court - Hamtramck	87	\$ 3,659.00	\$ 3,764.00
1	District Court	32	32A District Court - Harper Woods	770	\$ 66,002.60	\$ 56,021.60
1	District Court	33	33rd District Court - Woodhaven	2,171	\$ 220,339.00	\$ 192,719.46
1	District Court	34	34th District Court - Romulus	3,172	\$ 1,010,539.40	\$ 891,532.11
1	District Court	35	35th District Court - Plymouth	3,805	\$ 732,910.80	\$ 626,111.69
1	District Court	36	36th District Court - Detroit	23,797	\$ 1,059,612.00	\$ 877,931.58
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Center Line	149	\$ 23,640.00	\$ 16,108.00
6	District Court	37	37th District Court - Warren	1,615	\$ 196,865.00	\$ 140,236.00
6	District Court	38	38th District Court - Eastpointe	1,377	\$ 188,480.00	\$ 166,436.70
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Fraser	91	\$ 2,741.00	\$ 1,539.00
6	District Court	39	39th District Court - Roseville	63	\$ 10,305.27	\$ 8,563.27
6	District Court	40	40th District Court - St. Clair Shores	2,910	\$ 334,777.00	\$ 292,019.09
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Shelby Township	1,811	\$ 497,385.00	\$ 487,572.73
6	District Court	41	41A District Court - Sterling Heights	2,310	\$ 261,092.00	\$ 235,881.00
6	District Court	41	41B District Court - Clinton Township	1,848	\$ 606,400.65	\$ 421,559.44
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - New Baltimore	604	\$ 49,481.00	\$ 48,776.00
6	District Court	42	42nd District Court - Romeo	391	\$ 91,022.00	\$ 86,108.00

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Ferndale	248	\$ 35,470.76	\$ 28,909.76
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Hazel Park	1,494	\$ 256,294.75	\$ 226,908.00
6	District Court	43	43rd District Court - Madison Heights	826	\$ 270,497.00	\$ 212,552.00
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Berkley	47	\$ 5,005.00	\$ 9,668.00
6	District Court	44	44th District Court - Royal Oak	2,134	\$ 370,815.24	\$ 291,210.73
6	District Court	45	45th District Court - Oak Park	1,303	\$ 154,899.92	\$ 144,374.92
6	District Court	46	46th District Court - Southfield	2,865	\$ 362,776.50	\$ 348,058.02
6	District Court	47	47th District Court - Farmington Hills	1,903	\$ 265,163.00	\$ 233,528.97
6	District Court	48	48th District Court - Bloomfield Hills	1,565	\$ 233,269.52	\$ 225,471.01
6	District Court	50	50th District Court - Pontiac	1,907	\$ 144,356.00	\$ 109,481.00
6	District Court	51	51st District Court - Waterford	329	\$ 176,954.00	\$ 67,939.10
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Clarkston	1,932	\$ 336,878.10	\$ 329,583.70
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Novi	2,940	\$ 845,968.50	\$ 787,871.49
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Rochester Hills	3,309	\$ 910,520.50	\$ 760,375.51
6	District Court	52	52nd District Court - Troy	2,361	\$ 570,879.00	\$ 508,920.76
2	District Court	53	53rd District Court - Howell	2,271	\$ 917,860.86	\$ 859,152.26
2	District Court	54	54A District Court - Lansing	1,764	\$ 212,002.65	\$ 176,581.49
2	District Court	54	54B District Court - East Lansing	1,332	\$ 221,431.90	\$ 198,373.04
2	District Court	55	55th District Court - Ingham	1,454	\$ 246,922.50	\$ 159,087.48
2	District Court	56	56A District Court - Eaton	2,200	\$ 341,923.68	\$ 278,377.45
5	District Court	56	56B District Court - Barry	697	\$ 51,520.00	\$ 45,035.00
5	District Court	57	57th District Court - Allegan	3,422	\$ 689,686.25	\$ 574,741.38
5	District Court	58	58th District Court - Ottawa	5,791	\$ 1,076,853.00	\$ 840,764.00
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Grandville	314	\$ 50,250.00	\$ 33,139.42
5	District Court	59	59th District Court - Walker	573	\$ 81,130.00	\$ 56,055.50
5	District Court	60	60th District Court - Muskegon	4,861	\$ 450,234.55	\$ 416,281.21
5	District Court	61	61st District Court - Grand Rapids	8,094	\$ 918,147.09	\$ 831,609.82
5	District Court	62	62A District Court - Wyoming	3,454	\$ 737,319.26	\$ 663,858.81
5	District Court	62	62B District Court - Kentwood	2,017	\$ 122,833.05	\$ 110,864.75
5	District Court	63	63rd District Court - Kent	4,520	\$ 773,679.83	\$ 712,500.50
3	District Court	64	64A District Court - Ionia	1,410	\$ 297,523.26	\$ 260,915.40
3	District Court	64	64B District Court - Montcalm	1,023	\$ 226,277.00	\$ 219,109.27
2	District Court	65	65A District Court - Clinton	1,796	\$ 773,266.99	\$ 693,827.57
2	District Court	65	65B District Court - Gratiot	1,232	\$ 478,422.31	\$ 430,780.76

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
2	District Court	66	66th District Court - Shiawassee	1,162	\$ 198,915.00	\$ 208,948.52
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Burton	355	\$ 29,154.00	\$ 31,591.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Central	2,852	\$ 288,886.00	\$ 218,864.75
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Davison	207	\$ 15,905.00	\$ 16,223.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Fenton	177	\$ 28,379.00	\$ 27,664.10
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flint	772	\$ 53,387.44	\$ 94,346.44
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Flushing	348	\$ 50,741.00	\$ 54,297.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Grand Blanc	626	\$ 50,845.00	\$ 45,580.00
2	District Court	67	67th District Court - Mt. Morris	117	\$ 9,232.00	\$ 11,991.00
3	District Court	70	70th District Court - Saginaw	830	\$ 196,995.00	\$ 172,057.88
6	District Court	71	71A District Court - Lapeer	1,305	\$ 215,363.03	\$ 199,429.84
3	District Court	71	71B District Court - Tuscola	1,086	\$ 128,144.50	\$ 122,378.87
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Marine City	637	\$ 99,979.00	\$ 101,123.45
6	District Court	72	72nd District Court - Port Huron	1,676	\$ 219,436.07	\$ 193,307.99
3	District Court	73	73A District Court - Sanilac	854	\$ 160,922.80	\$ 131,324.42
3	District Court	73	73B District Court - Huron	710	\$ 140,833.00	\$ 128,131.20
3	District Court	74	74th District Court - Bay	1,838	\$ 213,461.38	\$ 215,158.97
3	District Court	75	75th District Court - Midland	1,599	\$ 359,773.54	\$ 327,625.98
3	District Court	76	76th District Court - Isabella	2,620	\$ 564,900.13	\$ 545,759.77
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Mecosta	1,034	\$ 157,682.01	\$ 163,014.40
3	District Court	77	77th District Court - Osceola	484	\$ 95,067.90	\$ 74,560.70
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Newaygo	1,349	\$ 250,654.60	\$ 233,422.10
3	District Court	78	78th District Court - Oceana	555	\$ 84,215.00	\$ 62,565.00
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Lake	243	\$ 11,012.00	\$ 10,721.50
3	District Court	79	79th District Court - Mason	914	\$ 55,979.00	\$ 42,813.00
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Clare	756	\$ 214,361.45	\$ 168,597.94
3	District Court	80	80th District Court - Gladwin	709	\$ 167,766.81	\$ 151,316.26
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Alcona	271	\$ 89,732.75	\$ 76,445.00
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Arenac	571	\$ 179,220.00	\$ 164,782.63
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Iosco	838	\$ 257,928.74	\$ 228,251.42
3	District Court	81	81st District Court - Oscoda	278	\$ 77,838.00	\$ 67,858.05
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Ogemaw	1,429	\$ 187,685.50	\$ 175,570.26
3	District Court	82	82nd District Court - Roscommon	1,067	\$ 184,069.12	\$ 167,777.38
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Missaukee	294	\$ 24,403.00	\$ 21,726.61

2/2022 6:31:45 PM

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	District Court	84	84th District Court - Wexford	790	\$ 92,233.18	\$ 77,386.92
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Benzie	372	\$ 27,049.00	\$ 22,671.00
3	District Court	85	85th District Court - Manistee	1,099	\$ 148,177.50	\$ 104,370.26
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Antrim	372	\$ 115,895.00	\$ 110,739.77
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Grand Traverse	1,726	\$ 601,824.00	\$ 508,534.73
4	District Court	86	86th District Court - Leelanau	288	\$ 126,986.00	\$ 103,779.98
4	District Court	87	87A District Court - Otsego	1,062	\$ 127,896.30	\$ 120,552.76
4	District Court	87	87B District Court - Kalkaska	593	\$ 133,422.00	\$ 111,610.65
4	District Court	87	87C District Court - Crawford	702	\$ 110,310.67	\$ 92,075.50
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Alpena	619	\$ 122,407.99	\$ 68,100.42
4	District Court	88	88th District Court - Montmorency	242	\$ 45,480.00	\$ 32,942.34
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Cheboygan	737	\$ 182,605.12	\$ 167,086.21
4	District Court	89	89th District Court - Presque Isle	176	\$ 46,282.00	\$ 41,269.12
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Charlevoix	697	\$ 141,654.00	\$ 127,022.46
4	District Court	90	90th District Court - Emmet	974	\$ 285,785.95	\$ 257,474.70
4	District Court	91	91st District Court - Chippewa	794	\$ 121,957.00	\$ 99,677.74
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Luce	73	\$ 11,026.05	\$ 10,677.00
4	District Court	92	92nd District Court - Mackinac	359	\$ 79,573.95	\$ 81,178.05
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Alger	214	\$ 54,299.00	\$ 46,063.50
4	District Court	93	93rd District Court - Schoolcraft	112	\$ 39,022.25	\$ 37,469.86
4	District Court	94	94th District Court - Delta	3,332	\$ 350,432.76	\$ 370,790.74
4	District Court	95	95A District Court - Menominee	678	\$ 105,586.00	\$ 102,310.00
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Dickinson	556	\$ 173,975.00	\$ 145,953.50
4	District Court	95	95b District Court - Iron	283	\$ 48,818.40	\$ 35,436.40
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Ishpeming	408	\$ 86,781.56	\$ 86,028.78
4	District Court	96	96th District Court - Marquette	973	\$ 255,766.16	\$ 183,423.11
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Baraga	184	\$ 58,055.00	\$ 40,284.77
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Houghton	412	\$ 136,183.06	\$ 103,102.34
4	District Court	97	97th District Court - Keweenaw	36	\$ 10,700.00	\$ 7,740.00
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Bessemer	522	\$ 63,844.50	\$ 49,089.11
4	District Court	98	98th District Court - Ontonagon	171	\$ 34,390.00	\$ 29,589.28
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Farms	395	\$ 81,845.50	\$ 60,302.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Farms Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Shores	174	\$ 41,139.50	\$ 33,140.89
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe	132	\$ 15,685.00	\$ 14,057.00

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Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

2016

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Park Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Park	46	\$ 10,670.00	\$ 6,228.00
1	District Court	99	Grosse Pte. Woods Municipal Court - Grosse Pointe Woods	107	\$ 6,659.50	\$ 4,560.50
2	Family Court	1	1st Circuit Court - Hillsdale, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	2	2nd Circuit Court - Berrien, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
1	Family Court	3	3rd Circuit Court - Wayne, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	4	4th Circuit Court - Jackson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	5	5th Circuit Court - Barry, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	6	6th Circuit Court - Oakland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	7	7th Circuit Court - Genesee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Ionia, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	8	8th Circuit Court - Montcalm, Family Division	1	\$ 500.00	\$ 25.00
5	Family Court	9	9th Circuit Court - Kalamazoo, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	10	10th Circuit Court - Saginaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Alger, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Luce, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Mackinac, Family Division	17	\$ 441.00	\$ 491.00
4	Family Court	11	11th Circuit Court - Schoolcraft, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Baraga, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Houghton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	12	12th Circuit Court - Keweenaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Antrim, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Grand Traverse, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	13	13th Circuit Court - Leelanau, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	14	14th Circuit Court - Muskegon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	15	15th Circuit Court - Branch, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	16	16th Circuit Court - Macomb, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	17	17th Circuit Court - Kent, Family Division	6	\$ 1,400.00	\$ -
3	Family Court	18	18th Circuit Court - Bay, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Benzie, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	19	19th Circuit Court - Manistee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	20	20th Circuit Court - Ottawa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	21	21st Circuit Court - Isabella, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	22	22nd Circuit Court - Washtenaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Alcona, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

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2016

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Arenac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Iosco, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	23	23rd Circuit Court - Oscoda, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	24	24th Circuit Court - Sanilac, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	25	25th Circuit Court - Marquette, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Alpena, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	26	26th Circuit Court - Montmorency, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Newaygo, Family Division	20	\$ 1,475.00	\$ 479.58
3	Family Court	27	27th Circuit Court - Oceana, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Missaukee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	28	28th Circuit Court - Wexford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Clinton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	29	29th Circuit Court - Gratiot, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	30	30th Circuit Court - Ingham, Family Division	6	\$ 3,050.00	\$ 500.00
6	Family Court	31	31st Circuit Court - St. Clair, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Gogebic, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	32	32nd Circuit Court - Ontonagon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	33	33rd Circuit Court - Charlevoix, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Ogemaw, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	34	34th Circuit Court - Roscommon, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	35	35th Circuit Court - Shiawassee, Family Division	2	\$ 1,810.00	\$ 521.00
5	Family Court	36	36th Circuit Court - Van Buren, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	37	37th Circuit Court - Calhoun, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	38	38th Circuit Court - Monroe, Family Division	184	\$ 9,594.00	\$ 7,215.04
2	Family Court	39	39th Circuit Court - Lenawee, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
6	Family Court	40	40th Circuit Court - Lapeer, Family Division			
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Dickinson, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Iron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	41	41st Circuit Court - Menominee, Family Division	1	\$ 588.00	\$ 143.33
3	Family Court	42	42nd Circuit Court - Midland, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	43	43rd Circuit Court - Cass, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	44	44th Circuit Court - Livingston, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	45	45th Circuit Court - St. Joseph, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Crawford, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

Court Costs Imposed and Collected Per MCL 769.1k

				2016		
Region	Court Type	Court Number (for sorting)	Court	Cases in which Court Costs Were Imposed	Costs Imposed	Costs Collected
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Kalkaska, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	46	46th Circuit Court - Otsego, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	47	47th Circuit Court - Delta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
5	Family Court	48	48th Circuit Court - Allegan, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Mecosta, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	49	49th Circuit Court - Osceola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	50	50th Circuit Court - Chippewa, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Lake, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	51	51st Circuit Court - Mason, Family Division			
3	Family Court	52	52nd Circuit Court - Huron, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Cheboygan, Family Division	1	\$ 75.00	\$ 75.00
4	Family Court	53	53rd Circuit Court - Presque Isle, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	54	54th Circuit Court - Tuscola, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Clare, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
3	Family Court	55	55th Circuit Court - Gladwin, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
2	Family Court	56	56th Circuit Court - Eaton, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -
4	Family Court	57	57th Circuit Court - Emmet, Family Division	0	\$ -	\$ -

APPENDIX F

Fines and Costs Distribution Table

Distribution of Fines and Costs in District and Municipal Courts

Violation Type		Fine ¹	Cost ²
Statute	District Court: All Violations regardless of vehicle type	County Treasurer → Libraries	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → Court Funding Unit
	Municipal Court: Commercial Vehicle, MCSA, serious safety defect	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → Political Subdivision in Which Violation Occurred	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → Court Funding Unit
	Municipal Court: All other violations regardless of vehicle type	County Treasurer → Libraries	County Treasurer → Court Funding Unit
Ordinance	District and Municipal Court: Non-Commercial Vehicle	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → 1/3 Political Sub. Whose Ordinance was Violated 2/3 Court Funding Unit	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → 1/3 Political Sub. 2/3 Court Funding Unit
			Cost to Compel Appearance ³ → 100% Governmental Unit Incurring the Cost
	District and Municipal Court: Commercial Vehicle ³	County Treasurer → 30% Libraries 70% Political Sub. in Which Citation was Issued ⁴	Treasurer of Court Funding Unit → 1/3 Political Sub. 2/3 Court Funding Unit
			Cost to Compel Appearance ³ → 100% Governmental Unit Incurring the Cost

Revised 02/13

¹See Michigan Constitution of 1963, Article 8, Section 9. Also, MCL 600.8379, 600.8831, 257.909(1).

²See MCL 600.8379, 257.907, 600.8727(3), 600.8827(3). In District Courts the minimum state cost is distributed to the state pursuant to MCL 600.8381.

³See MCL 257.729.

⁴Applicable to all civil infraction violations written to commercial motor vehicles and commercial vehicles for offenses corresponding to Chapter 479 of the Motor Carrier Act (MCA) [MCL 479.1, et. seq.], the Motor Carrier Safety Act¹ (MCSA) [MCL 480.11, et. seq.], and chapters VI and VIII of the Michigan Vehicle Code, (MVC) [MCL 257.601-750, and 257.901-923], including corresponding sections of the MVC adopted by reference. See also MCL 600.8379(e), 257.909(1).

APPENDIX G

Street Outreach Court Detroit- SOCD, 2020
Street Democracy (2021)



street outreach court detroit

2020

In 2011, Street Democracy, with its organizing partner Detroit Action, began organizing to establish a homeless court in Detroit. A year later, a coalition of human services providers, the 36th District Court, the City of Detroit, and the Wayne County Prosecutor came together to form Street Outreach Court Detroit ("SOCD"). SOCD offers people experiencing housing instability the opportunity to handle their open civil infractions and misdemeanors by getting the services they need to get back on their feet, like housing counseling, job training, and health treatment. By addressing the non-legal issues that led to their homelessness and criminal justice entanglement, SOCD gives participants the tools—and the legal relief—they need to prevent a slide back into homelessness.

Current Community Partners

Capuchin Soup Kitchen, Neighborhood Legal Services, SHAR, Southwest Economic Solutions, St. Leo's Soup Kitchen, Southwest Economic Solutions, Volunteers of America Michigan

How SOCD Works *see SOCD's formation and process documents*

- Step 1:** Participants meet with partnering service nonprofits ("Provider") to create an individualized Action Plan to address their homelessness. After 30 days of progress, the Provider may refer Participants to SOCD.
- Step 2:** If admitted, Participants moved onto the SOCD docket. and any warrants are recalled. Participants continue working their Action Plan.
- Step 3:** Participants who demonstrate at least 90 days of sustained effort on their Action Plans are scheduled for a Hearing at Capuchin Soup Kitchen where the Judge will close or dismiss all eligible cases, waiving most fines.

SOCD Over the Years

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2018	2019	2020
Graduates	17	34	71	120	118	158	96
Cases Closed	114 [2, 14] mean=7	343 [1, 34] mean=10	870 [1, 50] mean=12	1057 [1, 59] mean=9	1034 [3, 55] mean=9	2064 [4, 68] mean=13	1043 [1, 42] mean=11

Profile of Graduates

Our 2020 graduates resemble Detroit's homeless population generally, though slightly elevated in risk categories than prior years: 100% were minorities; 42% were female; 35% had a disability; 39% were experiencing homelessness with a spouse or child; and 18% had not completed high school. The top four causes of homeless were: loss of income (35%); tax foreclosure (16%); substance abuse (15%); and loss of health (14%).

Action Plans

Each provider creates with our graduates an action plan. Below is a summary of action plans in 2020 by category.

Housing: solidify current housing situation (46%); apply for housing subsidy (42%)

Income: employment services (18%); disability (18%); job training (14%); college (14%); GED (10%)

Health: medicaid (17%); substance abuse (13%); physical health treatment (13%); mental health treatment (10%)

Resources: food assistance (38%); identity documents (14%); email account (9%); voter registration (9%)

Legal: child support (17%); debt issues (16%)

Service: n/a, as most nonprofits were not accepting volunteers due to pandemic

Impact on Society

For each year a person remains stably housed, society conservatively saves \$5,971 in costs borne by the systems that address or are adversely affected by homelessness. Based on that estimate and our prior year graduates' ability to maintain housing, SOCD estimates that the **2020 cohort's successful navigation out of homelessness will save society over \$1.7 million in reduced emergency shelter, health care, and criminal justice costs over the next 3 years.**

Year in Review

We are proud of our results. Despite the pandemic closing the courts twice and providers limiting their services, SOCD was still able to help 96 people transition out of homelessness, moving our total to 614 for the program. In addition to those constraints, SOCD had three judicial transitions in the calendar year. SOCD's transition to a virtual process, although not without some difficulties, was relatively smooth and can largely be credited as the reason why we were able to maintain our numbers. Further, we completed a template Action Plan, that can be used to increase the number of providers we will be able to onboard next year. The streamlined process adopted due to pandemic and the Action Plan will set us up to meet our goal set in 2019 of 200 graduates per year.

We were continue our technical assistance programming. Flint, using SOCD's MOU and application as its template, opened their homeless court program in October. We also offered guidance to Oklahoma City on pandemic-related procedural changes and to Marquette, MI on initial steps to starting a homeless court in their community.

Goals for Next Year

Referrals from providers remains the current rate limiting step to achieving full capacity in SOCD. Our plan for the coming year is to continue our focus on strengthening our connection with existing providers and reach out to potential providers to expand our intake network, an activity limited by the pandemic in 2020. We hope that the network's growth will lead to SOCD approaching 17-20 graduates per month by year's end.

APPENDIX H

Public Perception of Judicial Bias in Revenue Generation
Street Democracy (2021)

original research

Public Perception of Judicial Bias Towards Revenue Generation in Courts¹ *draft - 2021-03-24*

Background

Our homeless clients face fines, fees, and costs that create barriers to housing, employment, and overall stability. Years of courts denying their motions for alternative sentences or ordering pay-or-stay sentencing has created amongst them the impression that courts are bias towards revenue generation. This research asks, *What is the general public's perception of the impartiality of the judiciary with respect to its revenue generating function?* Our hypothesis at the onset was that the general public shared in this view, that courts are biased toward collect funds via convictions.

Methodology

We took a representative convenience sample of 10 district courts in the Metro Detroit area. We then tabulated publicly available Google reviews, tracking categories like review text, star rating, date, number of likes, and scored written reviews for their negativity and relationship to revenue generation. *more information on our methodology & data is attached below.*

Results

Of 687 reviews tabulated, 541 (78%) were negative and 403 (59%) included a negative written comment. 92% of all likes awarded went to one-star reviews, and a third, 33.3%, of all likes awarded went to negative reviews about money. In Test 1, we calculated the percentage of reviews that were negative and included a written comment about money. In Test 2, we weighted reviews with their number of likes and recalculated.

% of written reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation



Conclusion

These results provide initial support for our hypothesis. Concerns about judicial bias and revenue generation appeared in every district court's reviews, rising to occupy as much as 69% of a court's written feedback.

Future Research/Policy Considerations

Further multi-platform research is necessary to assess the extent of this public concern. Our analysis here is not comparative.

¹ This research the concerns of local funding of courts and statutes similar to MCL 769.1(k)(b)(iii), with allows courts to impose court costs and fees upon criminal defendants. Data collection and analysis by Paul Sindberg (University of Pennsylvania School of Law, JD candidate '23) and under supervision of Jayesh Patel. Data available upon request.

“ No due process in court and will extort money any way they can.

“ It's all about making money. They cheat the state by giving a ticket that will go to local instead of state. It's all about the mighty dollers.

“ My tickets came to \$126, but after adding all the "lawyer fees" "state and city fees" and such, my total was at \$430! If you pay the actual fines of the tickets, you are still held as liable for these miscellaneous fees, and you get charged more money if you do not. In a city where many of the citizens are trying to stay afloat, I feel it is shameful the way they are robbing us blind!

“ They have a really bad system they're all they want is money they want you to plead to a different charge with no points just to get more money out of you cuz they think people don't know their rights.

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Center Line/Warren – 37th District Courts

initial review

Total reviews: **62**

1-star reviews: **46, 74%**

Written reviews: **43**

Negative written reviews: **31, 72%**

keyword scoring

Rude (**11**); Pay (**8**, appearing in 12% of reviews); Money (**8**); Ticket (**7**)

select reviews

"Circus that's full of clowns. Money hungry. Rude."

A year ago

"No such thing as being innocent even when you're innocent. It's all about taking your money away at this place. Boo"

3 years ago

"I parked in Amtrack handicapped space parking lot my wife are over 65 and handicapped saved for vacation for 8 days on train just to have a ticket for having my wheels about a half foot on cross lines not interfering with anyone!! I will not do any business in Dearborn or my family !! Shame on you officer for taking my extra pension !! You'll get old one day !!!!!!! 80.00 because it's not payed in three days I was gone 9 days !!!!!"

A year ago

"When i asked for a break on a ticket i received and the judge or magistrate (not sure because i could only hear the cop ask him) laughed and laughed and said what she doesn't have 60 to pay? I thought how unprofessional and cruel to laugh at someone during these had times he doesn't know if my job was affected my covid and this last 60\$ was going towards food. He just laughs smh more professional"

A month ago

"Saw the judge, who told me that I had to pay fees. I asked for time to pay the fees, as I was laid off from work. The judge asked how much time I needed. I requested 30 days. He ordered it to be paid in 21, or I could spend 10 days in jail. Nevermind the laid off part, or the bills I already have, the fact that I had just spent an astronomical amount of money, two weeks before, to rectify my situation, or that I literally said that I couldn't pay it before 30 days. It's all about the money. Nobody cares what situation you'll be left in, once they collect their funds."

2 years ago

key findings

10

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

23%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

280

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

83

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

30%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Dearborn – 19th District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **62**
1-star reviews: **46, 74%**

Written reviews: **43**
Negative written reviews: **34, 79%**

keyword scoring

Ticket (**19**, most frequent); Pay (**13**, second-most-frequent); Paid (**7**)

select reviews

"This City is disgusting to those of color."

6 months ago

"It's all about making money. They cheat the state by giving a ticket that will go to local instead of state. It's all about the mighty dollars."

9 months ago

"You call it a fine I call it theft of our childrens food and clothes. I will stand against injustice, and wrong doing."

A year ago

"I parked in Amtrack handicapped space parking lot my wife are over 65 and handicapped saved for vacation for 8 days on train just to have a ticket for having my wheels about a half foot on cross lines not interfering with anyone!! I will not do any business in Dearborn or my family !! Shame on you officer for taking my extra pension !! You'll get old one day !!!!!!! 80.00 because it's not payed in three days I was gone 9 days !!!!"

A year ago

"Got pulled over once and it cost me 1500. Move out of Michigan and do yourself a favor ."

2 years ago

"Profiling"

4 years ago

"Nothing they manipulate you into giving up a bunch of money"

5 years ago

key findings

16

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

37%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

248

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

103

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

42%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Detroit – 36th District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **341**

1-star reviews: **268, 78%**

Written reviews: **254**

Negative written reviews: **221, 87%**

keyword scoring

Ticket (**74**, fourth-most frequent); Worst (**35**); Pay (**32**); Rude (**18**); Money (**13**)

select reviews

"They care not about whats fair, the truth or your time. They just want to take the money you do or dont have. And they wonder why the good people want to leave Detroit. Smh."

9 years ago

"REVENUE CREATORS!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"

4 years ago

"When you get your turn, you are charged way more than the fines of your tickets. My tickets came to \$126, but after adding all the "lawyer fees" "state and city fees" and such, my total was at \$430! If you pay the actual fines of the tickets, you are still held as liable for these miscellaneous fees, and you get charged more money if you do not. In a city where many of the citizens are trying to stay afloat, I feel it is shameful the way they are robbing us blind!"

6 years ago

"Their system is set up for failure!! They're designed to ruin you and take all of your money, yet the city is broke ha ha ha!! What a comedic system."

5 years ago

"#MoneyHungryWorld we live in.... the law is not on my side, but you steady taking taxes and I see no improvement in the roads...or our neighborhoods for that matter,so where's the money going....????"

3 years ago

"Poor business practice, and customer service. I guess their "interest" is strictly monetary. Only in Detroit!"

A year ago

You will never speak to anyone here. It's impossible to get a hearing date for the shady tickets these cops write. I think this is some sort of undercover operations. Write fraudulent tickets and don't let anyone get a hearing date so you can try to bully them into paying it or put a warrant out for them.

4 months ago

key findings

46

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

18%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

1318

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

312

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

24%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Eastpointe – 38th District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **38**

1-star reviews: **29, 76%**

Written reviews: **23**

Negative written reviews: **19, 83%**

keyword scoring

Rude (**7**, second-most frequent, appearing in 27% of reviews)

select reviews

"It's court. They're apart of the system. They get you in and out if you owe money. You'll be there all day if you have to see a magistrate or judge."

2 years ago

"The Eastpointe courts are racist and the judge is the most rudest person I've ever met to be person of the judicial system. They have a really bad system they're all they want is money they want you to plead to a different charge with no points just to get more money out of you cuz they think people don't know their rights. The judge constantly talks over you and believe that all his officers are always right when that's not the case the officer can be lying but he always charge you guilty before proven you innocent just to make you pay. Eastpointe need more judges and I think Eternal Fair should look into their actions of the way they handle things."

2 years ago

"Terrible, unprofessional, rude, and ignorant.... Involved in an accident(not me but someone on my insurance) the person went to jail, when he gets out of jail, he got back his registration and a temporary license and that's it. Now their saying he didn't have insurance and trying to make him pay \$511 even though we have proof he had insurance at the time of accident. He was in the hospital for his first court date, now the judge is accusing him of getting fake insurance and wouldn't even look at the paperwork he had to show the judge!!"

2 years ago

"The absolute worst judges Carl gerds and Karen haydette. If you are poor they will put you in jail, if you are a minority they will put you in jail. Karen looks like a witch and Carl is a thug that has been investigated by the ACLU numerous times. And the court staff treat people like they are beneath them."

4 years ago

key findings

4

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

17%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

132

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

19

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

14%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Ferndale – 43rd District Court

initial review

Total reviews: 7

1-star reviews: 6, 86%

Written reviews: 6

Negative written reviews: 5, 83%

keyword scoring

N.B. The dataset was too limited to provide meaningful keyword scoring

select reviews

"Court officers kicked out and assaulted a man for paying his ticket in rolled pennies. That's against federal law not to accept US legal tender. The surveillance footage clearly shows the man leaving yet the court officers choke the man out and cause him to defecate himself. Then the officers had the gall to arrest and charge him for asaulting a police officer. There's no justice in USA anymore."

3 years ago

"If you have to go before the Magistrate because of a MINOR traffic offense, dont bother. they dont distribute fairly. I personally feel that they are corrupt. they just want your money. save yourself the time and just pay what you owe."

A year ago

key findings

3

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

50%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

19

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

10

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

53%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Hazel Park – 43rd District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **33**

1-star reviews: **26, 79%**

Written reviews: **26**

Negative written reviews: **22, 85%**

keyword scoring

Ticket (**23**, most-frequent, comprising 5% of all words used); Pay (**13**); Rude (**7**); Money (**5**); Paid (**4**)

select reviews

"All they want is money"

A year ago

"Would give zero stars if I could!! This court is a total racket and an abomination of the American judicial system. Parking tickets are issued by a contracted company, not even real officers. The "magistrate" that handled my informal hearing talked to me like a child. There is only one helpful employee in this entire court. The "court rules" are set up to make the appeal process as difficult as possible to pressure you into just paying your ticket. I guess they can get away with it when everyone in Ferndale just pays their ticket and doesn't ask any questions. This court is a perfect example of what a joke our judicial system has become."

A year ago

"Staff is unorganized. And don't even bother writing to the magistrate/clerk or going to court to fight a ticket, all they want is your money. They work hard to get cops to slap you with a ticket. Somehow they're not criminals for it either."

3 years ago

"Not sure how they function here. With all the money they receive from fines you would expect them to hire a more professional judge."

A year ago

key findings

14

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

42%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

94

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

65

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

69%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Highland Park – 30th District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **21**

1-star reviews: **15, 71%**

Written reviews: **15**

Negative written reviews: **10, 67%**

keyword scoring

Pay (**3**, appearing in 15% of reviews)

select reviews

"Home of where highland park police rapes your pockets for the smallest offense"

3 years ago

"Waste of tax payers money!"

8 months ago

"I paid them off and they didn't give me a clearance for everything then they don't answer the phone, and due to covid they not allowing people in the building but not returning calls. They should just be SHUT DOWN. They serve no purpose"

7 months ago

"Hands down the worst run place I have ever had to deal with. Fire everybody who works here or who is in charge. Time after time I've tried to get them to clear a suspension that was wrongly given to me after paying parking tickets in the allowed time."

A year ago

key findings

5

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

33%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

52

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

19

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

37%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Livonia – 16th District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **51**

1-star reviews: **40, 78%**

Written reviews: **32**

Negative written reviews: **26, 81%**

keyword scoring

Ticket (**13**, third-most-frequent, appearing in 16% of reviews)

select reviews

"Ought to give them a no star review. No due process in court and will extort money any way they can."

3 years ago

"Paid a ticket, then received a suspended license notice months later. The ticket was paid in full, I contacted the court to enquire about the error and they never responded. So Im stuck paying extra fees now. The ticket received was for failing to stop at a traffic device or something like that, when there was no "device" around. I grew up in Livonia, its terrible now."

2 years ago

"Money scheme."

3 years ago

"Went to pay a ticket today. I'm a pharmacy student at wayne state and a manager at target. A law abiding citizen with great respect for law enforcement as I have several police officers in my family. however my experience with the Livonia police has not been good. I don't like using the race card but its obvious that racial profiling is a part of the Livonia police training. I've been stopped for very minor things after being followed like a freshener on the mirror. Was made to remove my shoes when paying a ticket only to notice others around me did not have to do the same. To protect and serve is a serious commitment. Racial and age profiling is wrong and leads to lawsuits and community upset which will eventually be exposed on a national level and I'd hate for my community to be viewed in such a negative light bc of the ignorance of a small few."

2 years ago

"I walked in there and it looked like slave plantation. That's says it all"

2 years ago

key findings

5

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

16%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

232

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

44

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

19%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

public perception of judicial bias towards revenue generation in courts

Rochester Hills – 52/3rd District Court

initial review

Total reviews: **68**
1-star reviews: **50, 73%**

Written reviews: **44**
Negative reviews: **35, 80%**

keyword scoring

Pay (9, appearing in 12% of all reviews); Money (9); Rude (8); Corruption (5)

select reviews

"This place is a joke, they don't care about anything but making money even during a national pandemic and Recession."

6 months ago

"Definition of Corruption!!!!"

8 months ago

""They just want every dollar they can get."

A year ago

"the worst court in Michigan they are racist ,dont care just want money!!! try not get tickets or anything to visit this court you will be sorry you did from judges to probation they all should be investigated"

A year ago

"They dont care if you have bills to pay all they want is your money most corrupt court I've ever seen. They need to do some type of investigation"

A year ago

"This courtroom is the definition of corruption. I wouldn't recommend even going to the bathroom of this place without a lawyer."

A year ago

"They should change the name on the building to Oakland county sheriff's court. No longer the people court. The corruption in this place runs deep so expect to pay \$\$."

A year ago

"They don't care if your kids need to eat these thieves just want your money! When will the American people put a stop to this nonsense? Your vote counts."

A year ago

key findings

18

written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

41%

of all written reviews were negative & regarding revenue generation

490

total value of written reviews weighted with interactions (likes)

263

weighted value of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

54%

weighted percentage of reviews that were negative & regarding revenue generation

Methodology & Summary of Data

Data Collection and Tabulation

After identifying a representative convenience sample of 10 district courts, public Google review pages were accessed beginning on March 13, 2021 and all available reviews were tabulated according to the following sample rubric:

User	Rating	Text	Date	Likes	Is the comment substantively about money?	Court
Sample Sampleson	2	Lorem ipsum dolor	A year ago	17	No	Ferndale
Sampletina IV	1	Lorem ipsum dolor	8 months ago	0	Yes	Hazel Park

To assess whether a comment was substantively about money, we looked for trigger words like "money," "pay," "debt," "extort," "corrupt," "fine," "fee," and "greed." If a comment included a substantive mention of a financial concern, it was marked as a "yes" even if other concerns were identified as well. If a comment, however, only mentioned that a person interacted with the court system because they were paying a ticket, for instance, which gave rise to another concern, it was marked as a "no" because such a comment would not express a substantive financial concern. Similarly, if a concern was with the logistics of submitting payment to the court, it was marked as a "no" because the concern was logistical, not financial.

As an example, the below comment was considered *not* substantively about money:

"I've called 6 times & can't get through. I literally just want to pay a ticket. Can't get through to setup a court date. Waited 1 hour & hung up - do Call Back but nobodies calls back."

2 years ago

The below comment was considered substantively about money:

"You call it a fine I call It theft of our childrens food and clothes. I will stand against injustice, and wrong doing."

A year ago

This table indicates which court review pages were accessed and their associated hyperlinks.

Court	Review Page Hyperlink
Center Line	https://www.google.com/search?q=center+line+district+court+michigan&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&oq=center+line+district+cour&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i59j46i13i175i199j0i22i30l2.3470j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#
Warren	https://www.google.com/search?q=warren+district+court+michigan&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&sxsrf=ALeKk03kbhW3xoA6Yd4CKEiSD54ouxVmdg%3A1616564707348&ei=49FaYNjQFIWptAa87IDYBA&oq=warrn+district+court&gs_lcp=Cgnd3Mtd2l6EAEYADIHCCMQsAlQJzIKCC4QxwEQrweQDTIKCC4QxwEQrweQDTIECAAQDTIECAAQDTIKCC4QxwEQrweQDTIGCAAQDRaEMgYIABANEb4yBggAEA0QHjoGCAAQBxAEUKyuAVjTtgFghclBaAFwAngAgAGQAYgB-gaSAQMxLjaYAQCgAQGqAQdnd3Mtd2l6wAEB&sclient=gws-wiz#
Dearborn	https://www.google.com/search?q=dearborn%20district%20court%20michigan&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&oq=dearborn+district+court+michigan&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i60l2.9506j0j9&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8&tbs=lf:1,lf_ui:2&tbn=lc&sxsrf=ALeKk02y1S9k2E0okn5WrxwZleVFQ8OQw:1616564518923&rflq=1&num=10&rdimm=7133867690411980458&lqi=CiBkZWZlYm9ybiBkaXN0cmVudCBjb3VydCBtaWNoaWdhbkizzK_I5YCAgAhaTwoXZGlzdHJpY3QgY291cnQgbWljaGlnYW4qBAgDEAGSAQ9jaXR5X2NvdXJ0aG91c2WqARYQASoSlg5kaXN0cmVudCBjb3VydCgA&ved=2ahUKFwjNk6CPnMjvAhWbG80KHwk2D0kQvS4wAHoECAUQOw&rlst=#

Detroit	https://www.google.com/search?q=detroit%20district%20court%20michigan&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&oq=detroit+district+court+mighicanig&aqs=chrome..69i57j35i39j046i175i199j046j69i61j69i60.3021j09&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8&tbs=lf:1,lf_ui:2&tbn=icl&sxsrf=ALeKk03ptlksOBU8NRhzzo2Hhoss47GhVA:1616564573369&rflfq=1&num=10&rdimm=1586512478336644250&lqi=Ch9kZXRYb2l0IGRpc3RyaWN0IGNvdXJ0IG1pY2hpZ2FuSJPgpcrlglCACFPoChdkaXN0cmJldCBjb3VydCBtaWN0aWdhbABEAiQOAxgAGAEYAhgDIh9kZXRYb2l0IGRpc3RyaWN0IGNvdXJ0IG1pY2hpZ2FuSgQIAxABkgEKY291cnRob3VzZaoBFhABKliDmRpc3RyaWN0IGNvdXJ0KAA&ved=2ahUKEwjXppupnMjvAhXTbc0KHa-kDKgQvS4wAAnoECDEQOw&rlst=f#
Eastpointe	https://www.google.com/search?q=eastpointe+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&tbn=icl&sxsrf=ALeKk02jk6nFZZsixRHJmRzaTh4dCTRFcw%3A1616564581365&ei=ZdFaYM_cFcyutQbXq4ClBw&oq=eastpointe+district+court&gs_l=psy-ab.3..35i39k1j0i22i30k1l4.40959.43342.0.43392.25.14.0.0.0.0.246.1731.0j8j2.10.0....0...1c.1.64.psy-ab..15.10.1726...0j0i273k1j0i433i131k1j0i67k1j0i263i20k1j0i433k1.0.5pWcA1Zz5QU#
Ferndale	https://www.google.com/search?q=ferndale+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&oq=&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#
Hazel Park	https://www.google.com/search?q=hazel+park+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&sxsrf=ALeKk02iozQtM7dVkfSeuojGHayLNjruhA%3A1616564644336&ei=pNFaYKaKFMMy4tAbt06jYBw&oq=hazel+park+district+court&gs_lcp=Cgdnd3Mtd2l6EAMyBAgjECcyAggAMgYIABAHEB4yAggAMgQIABAeMgQIABAeMgYIABAIEB4yBggAEAgQHIDFSFj_TWCNT2gAcAJ4AIAIBwQGIACQKkgEEMC4xMZgBAKABAaoBB2d3cy13aXrAAQE&scient=gws-wiz&ved=0ahUKEwim7lbnMjvAhVMHM0KHe0pCnsQ4dUDCA0&uact=5#
Highland Park	https://www.google.com/search?q=highland+park+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&sxsrf=ALeKk01qrq4Y0TB-jH_r-QpeQ0CQnW_Aiw%3A1616564655865&ei=r9FaYKcWNJbRtAbNzJO4Bg&oq=highland+park+district+court&gs_lcp=Cgdnd3Mtd2l6EAMyBAgjECcyAggAMgYIABAWEB46BwgjELADECC6BwgAELADEEM6BwgAEEcQsAM6CgguEMcBEK8BEEM6BAguEEM6BAgAEEM6DgguELEDEIMBEMcBEKMCOgUIABCRAjoHCC4QsQM0QzoHCAAQyQM0QzoLCC4QxwEQrE6CwguEMcBEK8BEJECOGclLhCHAhAUOgslLhCxAXDHARCvAToLCC4QsQM0QgwE6DQguElcCEMCEK8BEBO6BQguELEDQgllLjoFCAAQyQM6BwgAElcCEBQ6BwgjELACECC6BAgAEAO6CAGAEAgQDRaEogglIRAWEB0QHICjjAFYoK0BYNquAWgGcAJ4AYAB9wKIAbolkgEIMS4zMi4wLjGYAQCgAQGqAQdn3Mtd2l6yAEKwAEB&scient=gws-wiz&ved=0ahUKEwjgqcbQnMjvAhWWKM0KHU3mBGcQ4dUDCA0&uact=5#
Livonia	https://www.google.com/search?q=livonia+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&sxsrf=ALeKk03PfAIRpdfTz_K2ZpPgWCo0HO23pg%3A1616564680384&ei=yNFaYl3tFpm2tAa574bABA&oq=livonia+district+court&gs_lcp=Cgdnd3Mtd2l6EAMyBAgjECcyBAgjECcyBggAEAcQHjIECAAQHjIGCAAQCBaEAgYIABAIEB5Qk01Y01VgVdoAXAcAAcABiAGJCZIBAzAuOZgBAKABAaoBB2d3cy13aXrAAQE&scient=gws-wiz&ved=0ahUKEwiN8Z7cnMjvAhUZG80KHbm3AUgQ4dUDCA0&uact=5#
Rochester Hills	https://www.google.com/search?q=rochester+hills+district+court&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS820US820&sxsrf=ALeKk00dqLks7xyPvKHePfsLDXVsShw1Q%3A1616564692804&ei=1NFaYOjCMMb0tAaP_bzYCg&oq=rochester+hills+district+court&gs_lcp=Cgdnd3Mtd2l6EAMyBAgjECcyBggAEAUQHjoECCEQCjoFCAAQzQl6BwgjELACECC6CAGAEAOQBRAeOggIABAIEA0QHjoLCAAQCBxAFEb5Q00hYxGJgjWRoBnAcEAGAAaMCiAGcF5lBBjAuMTkuMpgBAKABAaoBB2d3cy13aXrAAQE&scient=gws-wiz&ved=0ahUKEwjo_JTinMjvAhVGOs0KHY8-D6sQ4dUDCA0&uact=5#

Calculations

Test One

First, we created court-specific datasets and generated the percentage of reviewers who had awarded each starred rating. Then, we calculated the proportion of reviews that were negative, considering only 1- and 2-star reviews to be negative.

	Eastpointe	Livonia	Rochester Hills	Warren	Center Line	Highland Park	Detroit	Dearborn	Ferndale	Hazel Park	Overall
1	76	78	73	73	46	71	78	74	86	79	76
2	0	0	6	6	0	0	3	0	0	3	3
3	3	2	3	3	18	0	3	5	0	0	3
4	5	2	0	0	9	10	4	0	0	3	3
5	16	18	18	18	27	19	12	21	14	15	15

The third step for each court was to calculate the following information for use in Test 1:

Court	Rochester Hills	Highland Park	Center Line	Warren	Dearborn	Hazel Park	Eastpointe	Detroit	Livonia	Ferndale	Overall
Total Reviews (TR)	68	21	11	55	62	33	38	341	51	7	687
Total Written Reviews (W)	44	15	4	36	43	26	23	254	32	6	483
Total Written Negative Reviews (WN)	35	10	2	29	34	22	19	221	26	5	403
Total Written Negative Reviews about Money (WNM)	20	5	1	9	16	13	4	46	5	3	121

With this information, we ran the following simple calculations for each court as itemized above and overall:

Percent of *written* reviews that are negative reviews about money = WNM/W

Percent of *all* reviews that are negative reviews about money = WNM/TR

Test Two

To calculate weighted review percentages that incorporated "likes" as an indicator of public opinion, we first summed the total number of likes awarded across all reviews and courts. We then calculated the breakdown of like distribution by star rating category. Then, we took both the act of posting a review itself and the act of liking a review to be two affirmative interactions with a written review's statement, or "votes." We tabulated the number of likes that WNM and non-WNM posts received. Then, we calculated the total number of "votes" that either category received.

Rating	Total Likes	Percentage
1	2201	92.36%
2	42	1.76%
3	56	2.35%
4	15	0.63%
5	69	2.90%
Total	2383	100%

This revealed the following information:

- 33.3% of likes across all courts went to WNM posts.
- 29.8% of "votes" across all courts corresponded with WNM posts.
- 31.9% of "votes" for reviews with written comments across all courts corresponded with WNM posts.
- WNM posts averaged approximately 6.61 likes-per-post.
- Non-WNM posts averaged approximately 4.39 likes-per-post.

Keyword Scoring

To examine the extent that keywords were used in reviews, we created text documents containing all of the text of tabulated reviews as written, organized by court. We then used a keyword counting program to identify frequently-repeated words and phrases, excluding commonly used words like articles, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions (e.g. "the," "a," "and," "I," "to," "you," etc.). When a word appeared frequently, we then determined the number of discrete reviews in which that word appeared. The keywords identified above are those that were used at a notable frequency and had some relevance to this research project, intended to add a qualitative perspective.

APPENDIX I

Resolution 4, *In Support of the Principles of the
National Task Force on Fines, Fees, and Bail
Practices*

Conference of Chief Justices and Conference of State
Court Administrators (January 2018)

**CONFERENCE OF CHIEF JUSTICES
CONFERENCE OF STATE COURT ADMINISTRATORS**

Resolution 4

In Support of the Principles of the National Task Force on Fines, Fees, and Bail Practices

WHEREAS, for more than fifty years the Conference of Chief Justices (CCJ) and the Conference of State Court Administrators (COSCA) have worked to promote effective judicial governance and accountability; and

WHEREAS, as a separate branch of government, the judiciary has the duty to protect citizens' constitutional rights, to provide procedural due process, and to preserve the rule of law; and

WHEREAS, important questions have arisen over the last several years concerning the imposition and enforcement of legal financial obligations and the management of the pretrial release of criminal defendants; and

WHEREAS, in 2016, CCJ and COSCA established the National Task Force on Fines, Fees, and Bail Practices (National Task Force) to develop recommendations and tools to promote the fair and efficient enforcement of the law; to ensure no person is denied access to the justice system based on lack of economic resources; and to develop policies relating to legal financial obligations that promote access, fairness, and transparency; and

WHEREAS, the National Task Force developed a set of Principles on Fines, Fees, and Bail Practices to guide judicial officers, attorneys, and court staff;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators endorse the Principles on Fines, Fees, and Bail Practices developed by the National Task Force; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators encourage inclusion of the Principles on Fines, Fees and Bail Practices into training for court staff and education for all judicial officers who are authorized by law to make decisions regarding pretrial release, levy fines, assess fees, and order imprisonment for traffic-related offenses, misdemeanors or infractions.

APPENDIX J

Resolution 107, *Black Letter Recommendations*
American Bar Association (August 2004)

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
August 9-10, 2004

RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association urges states and territories to support quality and accessible justice by adopting judicial branch budget procedures that will ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of their courts under all economic conditions.

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association adopts the black-letter recommendations of the ABA Commission on State Court Funding, dated August 2004.

Black Letter Recommendations of the ABA Commission on State Court Funding

August 2004

- A. The American Bar Association urges states and territories¹ to adopt judicial budgeting procedures that ensure efficient and effective use of public funds and enable the courts to fulfill their constitutionally prescribed role. To that end the judicial budget should be governed by the following principles:
- 1) There should be a predictable general funding stream that is not tied to fee generation;
 - 2) There should be direct submission of the judicial branch budget to the funding authority; and
 - 3) There should be a reasonable degree of flexibility to expend funds across line items and fiscal years to encourage efficiency in the administration of justice.
- B. The American Bar Association urges courts to demonstrate their fiscal responsibility by providing clear and detailed documentation for budget requests, and by establishing measures by which their expenditure of public funds can be evaluated. Such documentation should include:
- 1) Those costs beyond the control of the courts, but which must be incurred as a result of increased caseloads, new laws, unfunded mandates, and the effects of federal and state funding to other entities; and,
 - 2) The public benefits expected from new programs and services for which funding is requested.
- C. The American Bar Association encourages courts to engage in regular communication with the other branches of government, as well as with the bar, the business and civic communities, and the public concerning the administration of justice and its costs.
- D. The American Bar Association encourages courts to establish broad-based advisory bodies comprised of laypersons, lawyers and representatives of all branches of government to help courts secure the funding necessary for the delivery of judicial services.

¹ All references to States and Territories are meant to include the local courts of the District of Columbia.

Report

Background

With the support and encouragement of ABA President Dennis W. Archer, the Judicial Division and Standing Committee on Judicial Independence formed the Commission on State Court Funding in September 2003. The Commission was formed to make specific recommendations to ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding for state courts under all economic conditions. The report and recommendations of the ABA Commission on the 21st Century Judiciary² discussed challenges in funding state court systems and served as a further impetus for the Commission on State Court Funding. The Commission on State Court Funding gathered information on court funding issues from the three branches of government, a wide range of experts and other sources.

Seventeen different ABA entities and affiliated organizations named representatives to the Commission on State Court Funding, reflecting the widespread concern over court funding throughout the Association and the profession. The entities represented on the Commission are: Section of Business Law, Coalition for Justice, Commission on Domestic Violence, Conference of Chief Justices, Section of Family Law, General Practice, Solo and Small Firm Section, Government and Public Sector Lawyers Division, Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, Judicial Division, Standing Committee on Judicial Independence, Standing Committee on the Delivery of Legal Services, Section of Litigation, Senior Lawyers Division, Section of State and Local Government Law, Steering Committee on Unmet Legal Needs of Children, Tort Trial and Insurance Practice Section, and Young Lawyers Division. In addition, six outside organizations and bar associations provided liaisons to the Commission: Committee for Economic Development, League of Women Voters of the U.S., National Association of Counties, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Governors Association, and State Bar of California.

The Commission on State Court Funding recognizes that states face difficult choices not only regarding expenditures on programs but also with regard to sources of revenue. However, consistent with its commitment to defend liberty and pursue justice, the American Bar Association has long been concerned with assuring that state courts are funded at a level that will enable them to fulfill their central constitutional role. In 1991 the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association approved a resolution, which read in part, “the American Bar Association recognizes that the highest priority of the bar and bench must be to promote improvements in the American system of justice by ensuring balanced and adequate funding for, and timely access to, the entire justice system.” Subsequently, the ABA Special Committee on Funding the Justice System published the findings of several surveys of funding in the states. These included “Funding the Justice System – A Call to Action” (1992), “Saving Our System: A National Overview of the Crisis in America’s System of Justice” (1993), “Striving for Solutions: An Overview of Crisis Points in America’s System of Justice” (1995) and “Agenda for Justice – ABA Perspectives on Criminal and Civil Justice Issues” (1996), all of which concluded that there would be long-term funding problems. Although it may be confusing to some, it is important to note that the “justice system” includes entities other than the “judicial system.” The justice system includes such additional entities as law enforcement, prosecutors, corrections and

² JUSTICE IN JEOPARDY: REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE 21ST CENTURY JUDICIARY, American Bar Association, at 82-86 (2003).

others. In total, the funding of the justice system accounts for a significantly larger share of state and local government budgets, with corrections largely a state obligation and law enforcement funded locally. The portion of the justice system budget that is attributable to the judicial system is relatively small.

While these efforts addressed the needs of the entire justice system, recent attention has been focused specifically on the funding of the courts. The American Bar Association joined with the National Center for State Courts and the National Conference of State Legislatures to co-sponsor the 1995 “National Interbranch Conference on Funding the Courts.” In 1998, the ABA published “Funding the Justice System: How are the Courts Funded?” that was among the Coalition for Justice’s “Roadmaps,” a ‘How-to’ series to help the community, the bench and the bar implement positive change in the justice system. In addition, the Judicial Division and Standing Committee on Judicial Independence have created an online toolkit on state court funding that includes data on current funding levels in all fifty states, model op-ed pieces and talking points for those promoting adequate court resources, and a collection of links to more information on state-specific problems and issues.³ Most recently, the ABA Commission on the 21st Century Judiciary reaffirmed the importance of adequate, stable court funding to the independence of the judiciary.⁴

The American Bar Association has not been alone in expressing its concern over the condition of state court funding. Both the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators have similarly explored this area of concern and made a series of recommendations that will be described below. They are continuing their work in this area and have provided information and assistance to the Commission on State Court Funding.⁵ These concerns are well founded, as the boom years of the late 1990’s were followed by an economic downturn that severely affected government revenues, and therefore the funds available to all branches of government. According to the National Governors Association, states faced their worst budget crisis since World War II. That assessment was confirmed by the National Conference of State Legislatures, which reported that FY2003 revenues failed to meet projections in 37 states, resulting in a three-year cumulative budget gap of \$200 billion.⁶ Unlike the federal government, which can borrow to pay for current expenditures, 49 of the 50 states are required to balance their budgets. With a reluctance to raise taxes, states have focused their efforts on decreased spending and the courts have not been spared.

Although the courts account for only a very small proportion of state budgets (in only two states do they account for more than 3% of the budget, and in three-fifths of the states less than 2% of the budget), they have faced dramatic cutbacks and have been forced to compete for scarce resources.⁷ Courts have little control over their workload. Courts have little control over the

³ See www.abanet.org/jd/court_funding/home.html.

⁴ American Bar Association, *supra* note 2, at 83-84.

⁵ Dan Hall, Vice-President, National Center for State Courts appeared before the Commission on February 7, 2004 and presented resolutions on state court funding adopted by the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators.

⁶ *State Budget & Tax Actions 2003*, National Conference of State Legislatures, available at <http://www.ncsl.org/programs/fiscal/presbta03.htm>.

⁷ *State Budget Appropriations to the Judicial Branch*, ABA Justice Center (2003) available at http://www.abanet.org/jd/court_funding/resources.html.

demand for their services. Court budgets are dominated by fixed costs. For these reasons, the results of budget cuts have been dramatic. The following are only some examples. In Oklahoma, court employees' pay was cut; Colorado instituted a hiring freeze and mandatory three-day unpaid furlough; Virginia Beach, Virginia stopped prosecuting 2200 domestic violence cases and Oregon drastically reduced funds for indigent defense and suspended appointed counsel for some offenses.⁸ California courts "furloughed workers, cut service counter hours and closed courthouses;" and Oregon Chief Justice Wallace P. Carson Jr. "ordered every courthouse in the state to close on Fridays from March through June and decreed that courts suspend the processing of small claims cases and nonperson misdemeanors... Alabama's austerity program included a temporary suspension of jury trials, a hiring freeze and layoffs."⁹ Massachusetts courts stopped conducting civil trials in twenty-five courtrooms.¹⁰

A survey by the Conference of State Court Administrators to its members confirmed reductions in similar areas across the board. In addition to the impact on court staff, training and technology have been similarly affected.¹¹ A follow-up survey in June of 2002 reported that 62% of the states imposed hiring freezes or delays in hiring for FY2003. A majority of states also cut purchases (60%), enhancement of electronic communications (57%) and out of state travel for training programs (69%). Particularly troubling, 43% of the jurisdictions reported the imposition of new court fees.¹²

Increasing or adding new court fees to raise revenues is particularly problematic because of its implications for access to the courts. Funding the courts through user fees is not consistent with the recommendations of this Commission. While in most cases it is the legislature that determines fees and directs revenues, some courts have been compelled to impose additional charges. For example, in FY2003, after years of budget cuts, and a determination that the Judicial Branch could not perform its constitutional and statutory duties, the Kansas Supreme Court authorized an emergency surcharge of \$5 for most cases.¹³ The Kansas Attorney General issued an opinion that "[t]he Kansas Supreme Court has inherent authority to take action necessary to ensure that it is adequately funded to carry out its judicial functions. As long as the Court has made the necessary findings of urgency and necessity, its order ... is a proper exercise of this inherent power."¹⁴ With recognition of a continuation of a significant shortfall in judicial branch funding and with the urging of many legislators, the Kansas Supreme Court extended the FY2003 Emergency Surcharge to FY2004.¹⁵ The effort by Harris County, Texas to impose a \$15 surcharge (family protection fee) upon divorces and annulments faced the possibility of it conflicting with the open courts provision of the Texas Constitution.¹⁶ In another effort to raise

⁸ David L. Hudson, Jr., *Cutting Costs...and Courts*, ABA JOURNAL, April 2003.

⁹ Lisa Stansky, *The Big Squeeze*, THE NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, May 23, 2003.

¹⁰ Michele Kurtz, *25 State Courtrooms Dropping Civil Trials*, BOSTON GLOBE (Online version), May 2, 2002.

¹¹ *Survey of the Budgetary Status of Courts*, National Center for State Courts, November 2001.

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *The Budget Situation in State Justice Systems*, National Center for State Courts, August 27, 2003.

¹⁴ See <http://www.kscourts.org/ksag/opinions/2002/2002-017>.

¹⁵ See <http://www.kscourts.org/31402.htm>.

¹⁶ This surcharge is also distinguished by the fact that the revenues were to be distributed to selected nonprofit agencies. Matt Schwartz, *Divorce court fee on hold*, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, January 12, 2004.

revenue to offset a budget shortfall, Minnesota substantially increased fees on civil filings, although in this case the state legislature was directly involved.¹⁷

It was in this context of depressed state revenues and dramatic cuts in court services that ABA President Dennis W. Archer charged the Commission on State Court Funding to further examine current realities and develop specific recommendations to help secure adequate funding for the courts. Although the recent economic downturn affirmed the urgency of this enterprise, the Commission began its work with the recognition that economic cycles will continue to occur and that its effort should be directed to providing recommendations that will ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of the courts. Additionally, the Commission committed itself to making recommendations that would be applicable to all states despite significant diversity in the items that are included in judicial branch budgets and the variability in the sources of funding.

Importance of Adequate Funding for the Courts

The American constitutional system provides for a separation of powers among three distinct branches of government and delineates a balance of power among them. Among the inherent tensions built into our government is the judicial branch's dependence upon the legislature (and in some cases the executive) for the funds to operate. Under the weight of a budget crisis, courts are particularly vulnerable, even though it is clear that any judicial branch savings will not contribute significantly to solving a fiscal crisis. Still, at these times the executive and legislative branches may come to view the courts as just another government agency competing for scarce resources. Such an approach can threaten the ability of the judicial branch to fulfill its constitutional role to sustain the rule of law that is the bedrock of our democracy.

Through the federal and state constitutions, the people have limited governmental authority and guaranteed their rights. It is to the courts that we turn to ensure that conflicts are resolved peacefully and according to the rule of law, that rights are protected, and that government actors operate according to the limits of the law. The predictability provided by the impartial application of law sustains our social and economic relationships. It is the decisional independence of judges to make their determinations according to the law without interference from other government actors or even the majority will of the moment, and the institutional independence of the courts to operate without undue influence of the other branches of government that enable the courts to perform their constitutionally prescribed role. The Commission on the 21st Century Judiciary expressed concerns that without sufficient funding, the institutional independence of the courts and the judiciary's capacity "to preserve itself as a separate and co-equal branch of state government" would be threatened. The Commission on State Court Funding believes that constitutional imperatives must not be subject to the financial exigencies of the moment.¹⁸

The rule of law, timely resolution of conflicts, and access to justice are in jeopardy when courts cannot fulfill their constitutional role due to insufficient funds. In addition to maintaining access and timely results, the realities of a changing world mean that to achieve these ends new funding may be required in some instances. For example, the growing need for funds to provide court interpreters for our increasingly multi-lingual society, and legal representation to meet the

¹⁷ Robert W. Tobin, *Learning from Recession Experience*, National Center for State Courts, at 4 (2003).

¹⁸ *Supra* note 2, at 82.

broadened definition of the constitutionally mandated right to counsel must be met. It is important when funders evaluate the need for such resources (and others delineated in the judicial branch budget), that they consider the impact of their actions on constitutional imperatives.

The Commission on State Court Funding makes the following specific recommendations to ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of the courts under all economic circumstances:

- A. The American Bar Association urges states and territories to adopt judicial budgeting procedures that ensure efficient and effective use of public funds and enable the courts to fulfill their constitutionally prescribed role. To that end the judicial budget should be governed by the following principles:**
- 1) There should be a predictable general funding stream that is not tied to fee generation;**
 - 2) There should be direct submission of the judicial branch budget to the funding authority; and**
 - 3) There should be a reasonable degree of flexibility to expend funds across line items and fiscal years to encourage efficiency in the administration of justice.**

Courts in the states may be funded from state, county and municipal governments, depending on the state. While appellate courts traditionally have been state funded, trial courts usually have been funded locally. Over the years, however, there has been a trend toward state funding for the trial courts as well; the American Bar Association called for state financing of trial courts in its 1974 Standards of Judicial Administration. In most states, trial courts are currently funded from a combination of state and local sources, with judicial salaries largely funded at the state level.

As part of the court unification movement, reformers pushed for state funding as a way to equalize justice within the states and to improve efficiency by simplifying and centralizing budgeting. State funding was also seen as a way to relieve local pressure to raise funds and thereby avoid the appearance of improper influence on judicial decisions. Opponents argued that a decrease in local control would result in a decline in responsiveness and would stifle innovation. However, towards the end of the twentieth century local jurisdictions were themselves increasingly supportive of state funding as costs increased and local revenues came under pressure. The actual effects of state level funding appear to be limited, with the arguments of neither the proponents nor opponents having been fully realized. Overall funding does not appear to increase with state funding, though the flexibility to move funds across jurisdictions has improved. It is likely that funding for the courts in most states will remain a shared responsibility between state and local governments. Thus, the recommendations of the Commission on State Court Funding to improve court budgeting are designed to be applicable to funding from all levels of government.

At the time of the National Interbranch Conference on Funding the State Courts, the state government covered 90 – 100% of trial court expenses in nine states. In the remaining states, the role of state funding of trial courts increases with the level of the court (with general jurisdiction courts most likely to be funded), or expense item (with judicial salaries and automation as

examples of items most likely to be state funded).¹⁹ The expense least likely to be state funded is facilities, the costs of which are often shared with other state and local agencies. The trend toward state funding of courts continues, as currently about three-fifths of court systems are primarily funded by the state, with additional states moving in that direction.²⁰ One of the benefits of full state funding is that it limits the number of governmental entities to which courts must turn for their resources. Nevertheless, states still differ considerably as to how much of the judicial branch expenditures are included in state, county and local budgets and which items are funded as part of a judicial or executive branch budget. For example, indigent defense may be the responsibility of the judicial or executive branch or a combination of both, and it may be the responsibility of the state or the county government.²¹

As a branch of government, the judiciary might expect significant control over its own budget. Here too there is considerable variability among the states (and counties and localities) as to the degree to which line item specificity is required and the extent to which the courts' budget is subject to the control of the executive as well as the legislature. In eighteen states, governors can amend the judicial branch budget request, and with few exceptions, this is done routinely. In only fourteen states is the judicial appropriations bill filed as a separate bill. Budgetary independence ranges from pro forma acceptance of the court budget to domination by the other branches. The degree of restriction also varies, with some court budgets prepared by the executive branch with detailed line items and strict limits on transferability of funds among such items. Thus in some states it is not just the total dollars for which courts depend on the other branches. In other states the courts have considerable control and flexibility. In West Virginia, the judicial branch budget is "certified to the governor by the auditor," for inclusion in the governor's state budget, and the legislature is explicitly prohibited from decreasing any item relating to the judiciary."²² In Utah, the judicial branch budget has only four line items: operations, leases and contracts, juries/witnesses/interpreters, and the guardian ad litem office, with the operations item constituting the bulk of the budget. Within this major line item there is a great deal of flexibility to use funds as needs change during the course of the fiscal year. In addition, for the last ten years, the Utah legislature has allowed the judiciary (and some other parts of state government) to rollover unused funds from one fiscal year to the next. Apparently this is not a legal requirement, but the legislature has granted the courts this flexibility to encourage efficiency in expenditures.²³ At the opposite end of the continuum is Massachusetts, whose judiciary must submit a budget with more than 175 line items.²⁴

¹⁹ FUNDING THE STATE COURTS: ISSUES AND APPROACHES: FINAL REPORT ON THE NATIONAL INTERBRANCH CONFERENCE ON FUNDING THE STATE COURTS, National Center for State Courts, at 39 (1996).

²⁰ Tobin, *supra* note 17, at 2.

²¹ Declining revenues can put severe strains on the availability of funds for indigent defense. In Mississippi, where the cost has been borne by the counties, Quitman, County has filed a lawsuit against the state to force it to assume the costs. Jimmie E. Gates, *Report: Public Defenders Needed*, THE CLARION-LEDGER, January 20, 2004.

²² West Virginia Constitution, Article VI, Section 51, Subsection B- Budget Bills, (3) & (5).

²³ Conversation with Myron K. March, Deputy Court Administrator, Utah Administrative Office of Courts, April 15, 2004.

²⁴ Charles D. Chieppo and James Stergios, *On Courts, Legislature is Out of Order*, BOSTON HERALD, March 25, 2002. It should be noted that in contrast to the judiciary, the executive branch departments in Massachusetts each submit a single line-item budget.

Direct submission of the court budget to the legislative authority, whether state or local, is beneficial on two separate counts. First, if the judicial branch is to operate independently of the executive, as it is required to do, then having its budget subject to the executive's review and alteration restricts its ability to fulfill its independent role. Further, and most practically at an operational level, it is the judiciary that better understands the demands of its operations and therefore the need for funds for particular budget items.

Flexibility across line items increases the availability of resources without new money. This is because assigning resources permanently to units or programs creates inflexibility and greater inefficiencies in their use; *funds budgeted become funds obligated*. The ongoing relocation of resources, even if only at the margins, improves the opportunity for more efficient and higher priority use of such resources.²⁵

It is also beneficial to the users of the courts for the judicial branch to have some flexibility in the expenditure of funds over the course of the fiscal year. This is particularly necessary for open-ended items for which expenditures cannot be predetermined because they are dependent upon factors beyond the control of the judiciary. Examples that directly affect the public include the cost of interpreters and jury fees.²⁶ These and other similar open-ended costs can be estimated in advance, but not determined. Flexibility across line items provides a continuing incentive throughout the fiscal year to seek efficiencies and expend funds where there is the greatest need. Micromanagement of court budgets is particularly burdensome and unwise during fiscal crises.

The same is true for blanket prohibitions on the rollover of funds from one fiscal year to the next. In addition to contributing to longer range planning, a rollover provision provides an incentive for courts to operate efficiently and expend funds conservatively. Without the ability to restrict its caseload, and its requirement to be accessible to the public, these self-management capacities can help the courts to fulfill their constitutional mandate and better serve the public. In considering the appropriate judicial response to the state fiscal crisis, the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators have endorsed direct submission of the judicial budget to the legislative body, and limited line item restrictions as mechanisms to "minimize the impact of a state's fiscal crisis on the judiciary."²⁷

As mentioned, the Commission on State Court Funding is well aware of the variability in budgeting procedures across states and local jurisdictions, but believes that increasing the capacity and responsibility of the judicial branch for its own budgeting with flexibility sufficient to enable it to meet its constitutional mandate to provide impartial and accessible justice will

²⁵ Robert W. Tobin, *FUNDING THE STATE COURTS: ISSUES AND APPROACHES: FINAL REPORT ON THE NATIONAL INTERBRANCH CONFERENCE ON FUNDING THE STATE COURTS – SERVING THE PEOPLE TOGETHER*, National Center for State Courts, at 65 (1996).

²⁶ For example, for FY2003-2004 the North Carolina courts were provided \$233,000 to pay interpreters in the certified budget. The actual amount paid to interpreters in FY2003-2004 was \$1.5 million, with lapsed salary (generated by vacant judicial positions) the only source for fulfilling this financial obligation. In FY 2004-2005 interpreter expenses are continuing to increase with the same \$233,000 appropriation in the certified biannual budget. *Proposals for Judicial Branch Items in Governor's Budget*, Administrative Office of the North Carolina Courts, 2004.

²⁷ Conference of State Court Administrators, Resolution I, #4, *State Judicial Branch Budgets in Times of Fiscal Crisis*, (2003).

benefit the people in all jurisdictions. The Commission hopes individual states and local jurisdictions will devise budgeting procedures appropriate to their localities that are consistent with its recommendations. In making these recommendations, the Commission is fully cognizant of the designated role of the legislature in funding government and the need for the courts to be accountable for their expenditures. There are, however, more effective and direct means than executive alteration and restrictive line itemization of court budgets that provide an appropriate level of public accountability without threatening the ability of courts to fulfill their constitutional mandate. The next recommendation of the Commission addresses this issue.

B. The American Bar Association urges courts to demonstrate their fiscal responsibility by providing clear and detailed documentation for budget requests, and by establishing measures by which their expenditure of public funds can be evaluated. Such documentation should include:

- 1) Those costs beyond the control of the courts, but which must be incurred as a result of increased caseloads, new laws, unfunded mandates, and the effects of federal and state funding to other entities; and,
- 2) The public benefits expected from new programs and services for which funding is requested.

The checks and balances built into our constitutional framework make conflicts between the branches of government inevitable. The budget process, with its division of responsibility, is particularly ripe for interbranch tension. Nor are courts immune to the pressure on all public institutions to be accountable for the expenditure of public funds. Courts are understandably protective of their independence, but they also have a responsibility to demonstrate that they are operating in the best interests of the public. Although courts account for only a small percentage of state and local budgets,²⁸ the typical trial court costs several million dollars annually and large urban trial courts can have operating budgets of \$100 million.²⁹ With this level of spending it should not be surprising that the other branches of government expect the judiciary to be accountable for its expenditures, as does the public. In the Commission's view, it is very important for the judiciary to be in vigilant in its efforts to meet this expectation. Such fiscal accountability enhances its relationship with the other branches of government and the public at large.

The Commission recommends that courts adopt fiscal accountability measures and tie their budget requests to those measures. Recent research supports such an approach. In response to an inquiry about the best strategies for courts to adopt in the appropriations process, officials from all three branches of government point to "supporting documentation" as the most effective approach and recognize it as consistent with appropriate efforts by the judiciary to remain "above politics."³⁰ Sound fiscal management is not just for the budget process but is required in the daily operations of the courts to demonstrate that allocations are cost-effective.

²⁸ *State Budget Appropriations to the Judicial Branch*, *supra* note 7.

²⁹ John Hudzik, *Acquiring and Managing Court Budgets*, in *THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE*, American Bar Association Judicial Division, at 131 (Seventh Edition, 2001).

³⁰ James W. Douglas and Roger E. Hartley, *State Court Strategies and Politics during the Appropriations Process*, 21 *PUBLIC BUDGETING & FINANCE* 35 (2001).

Courts can also be more effective in their requests for additional funds. It is important that such requests are tied to clearly defined objectives and that in any given year such requests are limited to the highest priority projects. In addition, courts can support their requests by demonstrating that they have been fiscally responsible in the management of funds that have been allocated to them. As part of the budget request, courts need to communicate to legislatures how they expect proposals to improve service to litigants, law enforcement, jurors and witnesses. It should be made clear that the beneficiaries of an effective judicial branch are not just those appearing in court and that promoting confidence in government generally is an important goal.

Programs that require additional expenditures must be explained in light of the social benefits and long term savings they provide. It is appropriate for the judiciary to document benefits and savings along with costs. In recent years courts have also taken on a host of new services, either voluntarily or by legislative mandate. These include alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, pro se options, alternatives to incarceration, and social service delivery and treatment programs. It is particularly in family and juvenile courts that the post-adjudication role of the courts has been increasing rapidly into social service areas. Problem-solving courts have emerged to focus on social ills such as domestic violence, drugs, and mental health.³¹ All of these have been developed to provide justice in a changing society. In addition, specialized courts have been developed to meet the demands of business and commercial interests to ensure economic stability in the community. While most of these new services entail additional costs, it should be noted that such increased expenditures might also result in broader savings for the state budget as a whole. Pro se capacities provide greater access to justice and decreased legal costs, alternative dispute resolution programs save court time and often prevent more serious conflicts from arising. In addition, two studies by the California Judicial Council concluded that specialized drug courts have saved millions of dollars for the state by reducing incarceration and recidivism.³² Indeed, in 2003 the National Conference of State Legislatures ranked reduction of corrections costs by treatment and rehabilitation to be one of its top ten legislative issues.³³

In documenting its expenditures, the judiciary should also make clear the extent to which it does not control its own obligations, and that its budget must bear the costs of those obligations. It has often been noted that courts cannot limit their own workload, being constitutionally required to accept cases brought to them. The Conference of State Court Administrators asserts that the courts serve as “society’s emergency room.”³⁴ But those cases are themselves influenced by a number of diverse sources. Of course, court budgets are also affected by variations in the amount of criminal behavior and the number of lawsuits, both of which are affected by general economic conditions and a host of social variables. In addition, however, there are specific decisions made by other branches of state and federal governments that directly affect the work of the courts and their resultant funding needs.

³¹ Pamela M. Casey and David B. Rottman, *PROBLEM-SOLVING COURTS: MODELS AND TRENDS*, National Center for State Courts, 2003.

³² Conference of State Court Administrators, *supra* note 27, at 16, citing *The Statewide Cost Evaluation of California’s Adult Drug Courts*, The Northwest Pacific Consortium and California Administrative Office of the Courts. Investments in technology require capital expenditures, but can have substantial cost savings over time. For example, in 2003 Iowa implemented an online service to pay speeding tickets and other traffic and misdemeanor fines. Its cost savings will come in the form of clerk time and enhanced revenues in an increased payment of fines.

³³ *Id.*, at 18.

³⁴ *Id.*, at 16.

As the legislature defines more behaviors as criminal and creates new causes of action, more cases are brought to court. And the standards for criminal or civil liability may change. For example, as legislatures decrease the alcohol level that qualifies as “driving under the influence,” cases of drunk driving are likely to increase. There are also unfunded mandates such as turning child support enforcement over to the courts. In addition, as federal dollars flow to the states to increase the number of police, and in some cases prosecutors, in the ever-popular omnibus crime bills, courts are the recipients of increased cases with no match in funding. Appellate courts also impose burdens on trial courts, such as requiring interpreters for increasing numbers of immigrants, or lawyers for indigent defendants even if a suspended sentence is imposed and imprisonment is a remote possibility, as recently determined by the United States Supreme Court.³⁵ In accounting for its budget request, some judicial expenditures can be tied to legislative action and unfunded mandates.

The Conference of State Court Administrators acknowledges that when there are insufficient resources court leaders have an obligation to the public and the rest of state government to think creatively and make hard choices, whether it be closing underutilized courthouses, eliminating inefficient or outdated programs, or introducing cost saving measures such as audio or video recording of court proceedings.³⁶

Thus, reduced funding may also provide an opportunity to implement needed change and achieve reforms that might otherwise be difficult to implement. The bar may be more receptive to increasing their pro bono activities and automated management systems may be more readily introduced. Similarly, alternative dispute resolution may become more acceptable as delays and backlogs increase. Some court jurisdictions are the result of historical realities that no longer apply,³⁷ and there may be fiscal benefits to redrawing jurisdictional lines.

Fiscal pressures may facilitate movement to automated case management systems and should be used as an opportunity to review the court’s governance structure from a fiscal perspective. There may even be the prospect of achieving greater flexibility in the budget process. In his State of the Judiciary address, Iowa Chief Justice Lavorato expressed his appreciation to lawmakers for allowing clerks to supervise more than one office with a savings of \$450,000.³⁸

As part of the trend to provide greater accountability, courts have been developing measures to evaluate their performance. As one judge has stated, “my belief is that the rhetoric that the judiciary has used in the past to gain support for our budgets has pretty much run its course. In general it is my belief that public agencies that are (and are perceived to be) well run will be

³⁵ Alabama v. Shelton, 535 U.S. 654 (2002).

³⁶ Conference of State Court Administrators, *supra* note 27, at 13.

³⁷ It no longer seems necessary, for example, to determine the size of a judicial jurisdiction on the basis of distances achievable on horseback. Judicial districts are typically county based and “the principal criteria/guideline used originally to define the size of a county was based on how far a horse and carriage could travel in one day. This interval was supposed to be roughly the distance from the county seat to the farthest part of the county.” See www.mitre.org/tech/cyber/sectors/docs/GOV_SPECIFIC_COUNTY1.html.

³⁸ Iowa Chief Justice Louis A. Lavorato, State of the Judiciary Address, January 14, 2004, available at <http://www.judicial.state.ia.us/>.

funded in tough economic times.”³⁹ Budgeting processes and fiscal responsibility are important parts of that equation, but ultimately there is more to fulfilling the role of courts in society.

In 1997 after an eight year project, the National Center for State Courts published “Trial Court Performance Standards (TCPS),” which identified five areas by which to evaluate courts: access to justice; expedition and timeliness; equality, fairness, and integrity; independence and accountability; and public trust and confidence. Although those basic categories remain credible, the twenty-two standards and multiple measures for each standard were notable more for their complexity than their practicality. More recently the Conference of Chief Justices and the Conference of State Court Administrators have been developing a shorter list of what they describe as “core performance measures” with specific measurements for each. Similarly, the Hennepin County, Minnesota courts have developed performance standards, constructed instruments (including victim and defendant surveys), and identified items in the court database to measure their operations. Interestingly, in addition to assembling performance measures related to the customers of the court, the processing of cases, and human resources, Hennepin County has identified the fourth important measure area as financial. In addition to proposing a number of questions that need to be answered to evaluate their own financial performance, they have specified the information that will be used to provide answers. Of note is the question that asks whether the executive committee of judges and administrators are actually using the measurement data in making decisions about the operation of the courts. In other words they are seeking to hold themselves accountable.⁴⁰

C. The American Bar Association encourages courts to engage in regular communication with the other branches of government, as well as with the bar, the business and civic communities, and the public concerning the administration of justice and its costs.

In the course of the budgeting process it is important for the judiciary to communicate with both the executive and legislative branches at the state and local levels. However, such communication should be built upon regular interaction throughout the year. In light of the potentially adversarial nature of the budgetary process, it is essential that it be built on a positive relationship between the courts and the other branches of government. Both formal and informal mechanisms are appropriate and effective. For example, many chief justices present a State of the Judiciary address to the legislature and executive to communicate directly with the other branches about the work of the court and recent developments in its operations. In addition, informal, interpersonal communication is also particularly valuable. A number of states, including California, Nebraska and Wisconsin, have instituted “ride-along” programs that provide for legislators to spend a designated period of time (perhaps a half or whole day) on the bench with judges in their legislative districts. In 2002 and 2003, the Oregon courts held open house events for legislators to enable them to see some of the court programs in actual operation.⁴¹ For instance, after a recent budgetary crisis, New Hampshire Supreme Court Justices and state legislative leaders began to meet regularly to improve the working relationship

³⁹ Chief Judge Kevin Burke, 4th Judicial District Court, Hennepin County, Minnesota, e-mail correspondence, March 23, 2004.

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ Presiding Judge Dale R. Koch, Multnomah County (Oregon) Courts, e-mail message December 31, 2003.

between the two branches. Legislative leaders and court officials report that these informal meetings have achieved the desired result and will continue. Whatever the chosen mechanism, the goal is to ensure continuing communication among the three branches of government.

Improved communication between the courts and the bar is also essential. With limitations on direct political activity by judges, the bar can be an important advocate for the courts. Annual or more frequent reports to the bar and appointment of members of the bar to court committees help nurture the natural relationship between the bench and the bar. The exchange of information resulting from this relationship has led to direct assistance from the bar to the courts. For example, in 2001, the Massachusetts courts received \$40 million less than had been requested and were told to expect more cuts the next year. Threats to the budget became so dire that the Massachusetts Bar Association organized a “Court Funding Lobby Day” at the legislature to protect funding for interpreters, court reporters and guardians ad litem. The Iowa State Bar Association has actively endorsed full funding of the judicial branch, issuing a detailed position paper with supporting documentation.⁴²

To be more effective, the courts must build a constituency, and to that end should develop programs and means to ensure on-going communications with the public, including the business and civic communities. At the National Interbranch Conference on Funding the State Courts, there was frequent reference to the weak, unclear and sometimes negative image of the judiciary in the public mind. A number of legislators observed that the failure of courts to build public support weakened the budgetary position of the courts.⁴³

Since then courts have become significantly more proactive in reaching out to the public. For example, a number of state supreme courts have held oral arguments around their states, sometimes at local schools. The Minnesota Supreme Court recently held court at St. Paul Harding High School, the “19th time that the high court has traveled to sit in session at a school since 1995 when it decided to ‘put a face on justice.’ ”⁴⁴ In addition to the lawyers’ arguments, the judges spoke with students at lunch and in classrooms. Many judges speak to business and civic groups and courts often use appointments to court committees to engage business and civic leaders and benefit from their expertise.⁴⁵

The key to building a constituency for the courts is on-going communication. This effort may be time-consuming and beyond what many perceive as the traditional work of the judiciary. Yet, the effort is important if the courts are to build the support that is necessary to effectively fulfill their constitutional role in our system of government.

D. The American Bar Association encourages courts to establish broad-based advisory bodies comprised of laypersons, lawyers and representatives of all branches of

⁴² “Judicial Branch Budget,” *available at* www.iowabar.org/legislation.nsf.

⁴³ Tobin, *supra* note 25, at 81.

⁴⁴ Marquez Estrada, *Minnesota High Court Holds Court in High School*, STAR TRIBUNE, April 7, 2004.

⁴⁵ For a summary of the wide variety of programs that have been implemented, see JUDICIAL OUTREACH ON A SHOESTRING, American Bar Association Judicial Division, 1999. Information on continuing efforts at judicial outreach can be found at www.abanet.org/jd/judgesnetwork.html.

government to help courts secure the funding necessary for the delivery of judicial services.

Much energy has been devoted in recent years to developing more robust constituencies, especially among non-lawyer members of the public, to support the needs of the courts and bolster public trust and confidence in the judicial system. One means of developing such constituencies is through the formation of broad-based advisory bodies comprised of laypersons, lawyers, and representatives of all three branches of government. Such advisory bodies can be formed at both the state and local levels and can help court systems adapt to evolving needs, plan for the future, and secure adequate funding.

At the state level, the Washington State Board for Judicial Administration created the Court Funding Task Force in 2003 to develop a broad-based approach to funding the courts and to informing the public about the importance of adequate resources for the courts.⁴⁶ At the local level, many jurisdictions have experimented with commissions or other entities that review the needs of the courts and advocate for local needs. In Montgomery County, Maryland, for example, a volunteer Commission on Juvenile Justice serves as an advisor to the County Council and County Executive. Working with juvenile judges of the Circuit Court, the Maryland Commission has documented high vacancy rates in juvenile probation officer positions and requested increased funding from the state to allow the juvenile justice system to manage its caseloads effectively.⁴⁷

Conclusion

While the ABA Commission on State Court Funding was appointed in response to the burdens state courts have experienced during a fiscal crisis, it has made recommendations to ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding for state courts under all economic conditions. Although states vary considerably in the structure and operation of their courts, the recommendations of the Commission are adaptable to all jurisdictions irrespective of the source of their funding or the specific items that are contained within the court budget. The responsibility for guaranteeing that the courts have sufficient funds to perform their role in our constitutional system of government resides with the courts and the other branches of government. Working together they can produce the budget flexibility necessary to meet evolving needs and the financial documentation to ensure fiscal accountability. Thus, they can meet their joint obligation to enable the judicial branch to fulfill its constitutional role to sustain the rule of law that is the bedrock of our democracy.

Respectfully submitted,

Richard N. Bien
Chair, Judicial Division

D. Dudley Oldham
Chair, Standing Committee on Judicial Independence

August 2004

⁴⁶ For information on the work of the task force see “Justice in Jeopardy: inadequate funding of the trial courts,” Bar News, Washington State Bar Association, January 2004, and the Task Force website at www.courts.wa.gov/programs_orgs/pos_bja/?fa=pos_bja.funding.

⁴⁷ See Montgomery County Code, Section 12-36 for statutory basis for the Commission on Juvenile Justice.

General Information Form

Submitting Entities: Judicial Division
 Standing Committee on Judicial Independence

Submitted By: Richard N. Bien, Chair, Judicial Division
 D. Dudley Oldham, Chair, Standing Committee on Judicial
 Independence

1. Summary of Recommendation

The American Bar Association urges states and territories to support quality and accessible justice by adopting judicial branch budget procedures that will ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of their courts under all economic conditions.

2. Approval by Submitting Entity

The Judicial Division Council voted by e-mail to approve the report and recommendation on May 5, 2004; the Standing Committee on Judicial Independence voted by e-mail to approve the report and recommendation on May 4, 2004.

3. Has this or a similar recommendation been submitted to the House or Board previously?

No.

4. What existing Association policies are relevant to this recommendation and how would they be affected by its adoption?

The ABA House of Delegates adopted policies regarding adequate funding of the broader justice system, as opposed to the narrower category of state court systems, in August 1991 and August 1992. In addition, the House of Delegates adopted the report and recommendation of the ABA Commission on the 21st Century Judiciary in August 2003, which called for further study and recommendations to ensure adequate resources for state court systems. This recommendation is intended to augment and expand upon those existing policies by providing more specific guidance to states and territories regarding procedures and approaches to ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of court systems under all economic conditions.

5. What urgency exists which requires action at this meeting of the House?

A majority of states and territories are experiencing or have recently experienced their worst fiscal crises since World War II. In many jurisdictions, dramatic reductions in court budgets have resulted in court closures, layoffs, delays in case processing, and other restrictions on public

access to the courts. These recommendations are needed at this time to enable states and territories to adopt procedures and approaches that will ensure adequate, stable, long-term funding of their courts.

6. Status of Legislation. (If applicable.)

While the processes for determining judicial branch budget allocations differ from state to state, all state legislatures, and in many cases state executive branches, consider budget requests for the courts on an annual or biennial basis.

7. Cost to the Association. (Both direct and indirect costs.)

There are no costs to the Association.

8. Disclosure of Interest. (If applicable.)

N/A

9. Referrals.

The report and recommendations will be circulated to all ABA sections, divisions, forums, committees and commissions; the Conference of Chief Justices; and State, Local and Territorial Bar Associations.

10. Contact Person. (Prior to the meeting.)

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11. Contact Person. (Who will present the report to the House.)

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