

Your Privacy vs. My Safety

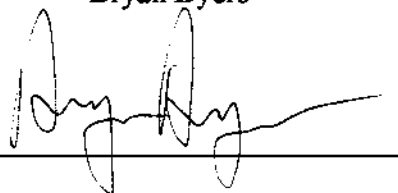
An Honors Thesis (HONRS 499)

by

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bryan Byers', is written over a solid horizontal line. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

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Abstract

Affirmative community notification is the concept of notifying community members when a convicted sex offender moves into the neighborhood. The crucial aspects of affirmative community notification center around weighing a citizen's right to know who lives in their community, against a released offender's right to privacy. This thesis explores different state and legislative approaches to affirmative notification, implications of those laws, and how the critics weigh in on the issues. It also explores specifically how Indiana is addressing community notification and its move toward affirmative notification.

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Your Privacy vs. My Safety

Affirmative community notification of sex offenders is the act of an agency, usually local law enforcement, disclosing to a community when a sex offender is released and moves into that community. Affirmative community notification is about having an informed community, not about stopping all sex crimes. This is not a new phenomenon. The first community notification law was enacted in Washington State in 1990 after Earl Shriner, a recently released sex offender, orally and anally raped a seven-year-old boy, and then cut off the boy's penis. Shriner had a long history of assaults on minors and also a long criminal history, which included kidnapping and involvement in a murder (Steinbock & Brooks 4) (Berliner 294). Some states followed Washington's lead and enacted community notification laws of their own.

Community notification laws somewhat fell out of the public's view until June 29, 1994 when Megan Kanka was sexually assaulted and killed in New Jersey. Megan was just seven-years-old when her attacker, Jesse Temmendequas, lured her into his home under the guise of letting her play with his puppy. Temmendequas lived across the street from the Kanka's, who had no idea that Temmendequas has two previous convictions of sex crimes against minors. Temmendequas, who was just released from New Jersey's prison/treatment center for compulsive, repetitive sex offenders, also lived with two other sexual offenders that he met in the program. New Jersey enacted a series of laws called "Megan's Laws," which included community notification, just four months later. (Steinbock & Brooks 3-4) (Brooks 56).

Nationally, the Federal Bureau of Investigation created a National Sex Offender Registry under the Crimes against Children Unit. The United States Government enacted the Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexual Violent Offender Registration Program in 1994, which gave states a financial incentive for establishing registration programs for convicted sex offenders. Following Megan Kanka's death, national Megan's Laws were enacted in 1996. These laws gave states broad discretion to "determine to whom notification should be made about offenders, under what circumstances, and about which offenders." (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1-2).

Children are taught that their neighbors are trustworthy people. They are taught that neighbors are not people to be frightened of, but instead, people to borrow something from or go to in case of emergency. These are just some reasons why people should know exactly whom they are living next to. People have the right to know that a convicted child molester lives next door so they are able to warn their children not to go near that neighbor or definitely not in that neighbor's house alone. New Jersey enacted their community notification under the impression that if the Kanka's had known that a convicted sex offender lived across the street, then Megan's death may not have occurred. The legislature also weighed privacy and rights and according to Professor Bonnie Steinbock, the "...rights to be safe from violent sexual assaults certainly outweigh the rights of sexual predators not to be stigmatized (Steinbock & Brooks 4). It will never be known if Megan still would have fallen to the same fate, but did Megan's parents have the right to know that a convicted sex offender lived across the street?

Legislation

Under Megan's Law, and later the Jacob Wetterling Act, all fifty states and the District of Columbia must require sex offender to register with the state's sex offenders registry and also provide community notification (sexcriminals.com 1) (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2). Registry does not seem to pose much controversy, but community notification has become a heated argument in almost every state. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2001 there were a reported 386,000 convicted sex offenders that were registered in forty-nine states and the District of Columbia (Adams 1). This is a large increase from years past, but it is not only due to an increase in sex offenders. It is also due to more states implementing registries and better registry programs. (For more information on the number of offenders registered in the United States, please see Appendix Table 3.) Community notification is also on the rise throughout different states. To fulfill the community notification statute under Megan's Law, many states are using public web sites. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 1998 only six states had web sites, but that number climbed to fifteen by 1999. By February of 2001, only seven states reported to the Bureau of Justice Statistics that there were no plans of developing a sex offender web site (Adams 1). (For more information on websites, please see Appendix Table 1.)

It has come to many states attention that having a web site for sex offenders is not enough. Many people do not have access to the Internet, or it is too hard to find any useful information on the web sites. Twenty-four states are implementing the controversial statute of affirmative community notification (Adams 8-13). This is where local law enforcement will distribute information to a community in which a released sex

offender is planning to reside. There are different types of affirmative notification. The first type is from local law enforcement. Local law enforcement knows when a sexual offender moves into their community and has the ability to disseminate this information. If it is in the state's statutes, law enforcement can disseminate information to schools, day care centers, and other community organizations. Of the twenty-four states with affirmative notification, five states can only disseminate information to these places. All of the other states can notify not only these places, but also the citizens in the community in which the offender lives. Usually, fliers and/or a town meeting notify an entire neighborhood. Louisiana is the only state that differs from any other state in their affirmative notification procedures. In Louisiana, an offender must personally notify his neighbors and local businesses of his offense, name, and address (Adams 8-13) (Zevitz & Farkas 1). (For more information on state policies regarding sex offender registries, please see Appendix Table 2.)

The second type of notification is when a citizen requests information from a government agency, usually local law enforcement. In forty-five states and the District of Columbia, sex offender information is public record. Some states have restrictions on who can find out some information, such as an address or place of employment. These states usually require that a citizen live within a certain distance of the offender or show a need to know the information (Adams 8-13) (Zevitz & Farkas 1).

Twenty-two states are going beyond notifying community members of sexual offenders and collecting an offender's DNA. These states have passed legislation to make it possible for sexual offenders' DNA to be collected and maintained as part of registration. Collection of DNA can make it possible to more easily identify an offender

who has committed multiple crimes or commits another offense after release from a correctional facility. In addition, in the future states could share this DNA information to make it easier to find sex offenders who have crossed state lines. Collecting DNA is a fairly new phase in the fight against sex offenses. Less than half of the states have implemented collection of DNA, but it is almost a certainty that more states will follow suit. (For more information on DNA collection, please see Appendix Table 2.)

Issues and Implications

There are many different issues at play with community notification. First and foremost is privacy. Whose privacy is valued more? Should one person's privacy be valued more than another's? The right to privacy is not specifically guaranteed in the constitution, but the United States Supreme Court has found an inherent right to privacy in the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment (Kabat 337). While dealing with community notification laws, the New Jersey Supreme Court found that "community notification results in a significant loss of privacy [for an offender]," but that "sex offenders' privacy rights are outweighed by societal rights" (Brooks 11). These same sentiments are found in all forty-nine other states and the District of Columbia, where the common goal of community notification, whether affirmative or not, is "to prevent sexual victimization by notifying potential victims that a convicted sex offender lives nearby" (Zevitz & Farkas 1).

The United States Supreme Court has dealt with this issue directly in *Katz v. United States* 389 U.S. 347 (1967). In the opinion in this case Justice Harlan described a two-fold requirement to determine if a person has the right to privacy. It is a balancing

test between an individual and society. "...there is a twofold requirement, first that a person have exhibited an actual expectation of privacy and, second, that the expectation be one that society is prepared to recognize as 'reasonable'" (Kabat 338). Sex offenders were in no way a part of *Katz v. United States*, but the same principle still applies. Privacy has never been a constitutional right and it can easily be taken away. The Supreme Court of the United States has never extended a blanket right to privacy to criminal offenders either (Kabat 338). Just as the right to vote or buy a firearm can be taken away, so can the assumed right to privacy. Criminal offenders' rights are restricted by many different statutes and court cases, one being *Whalen v. Roe* 429 U.S. 589 (1977). In this case the states were given the right to experiment when treating social problems (Kabat 338). This seems to cover community notification statutes as they deal with societal problems.

Another issue with community notification is which offenders will be subject to notification. Different states deal with this in a number of ways, but the one that seems to be the most used is the three-tier system. Of the twenty-four states that use affirmative community notification, fourteen reported using the three-tier system to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Adams 8-13). This system breaks offenders up into three different groups and assigns a risk level. Tier level one is classified as low risk offenders. Only law enforcement and victims are notified of this offender's release. Offenders in this category are under strict supervision of probation or parole, are receiving therapy, employed or employable, and are drug and alcohol free. These offenders pose the least threat of reoffending (Steinbock & Brooks 7, 13).

The second level is classified as moderate risk offenders. For these offenders, schools, day care centers, and other community organizations are notified as well as before mentioned groups. These offenders have failed to comply with supervision, have a lack of employment, evidence of abuse of drugs or alcohol, denial of offense committed, no display of remorse for offense, and a history of loitering near children, stalking, or threat-making. These offenders are seen as somewhat likely to reoffend if they are not properly integrated into the community (Steinbock & Brooks 3, 13).

The third tier is composed of high-risk offenders, or those offenders which law enforcement thinks are most likely to reoffend. When these offenders are released the entire community where the offender will be living is notified as well as community organizations mentioned above. These offenders show repetitive and compulsive behavior, have a preference for minor children, a failure to respond to treatment or refusal of treatment, deny the crime and/or show no remorse, have committed a violent act against a minor, used a weapon, fail to comply with supervision, and have a history of recent threats. All of these characteristics make law enforcement think that the offender will likely reoffend and the community should know that this person is in their neighborhood. In some states an offender can petition his or her tier level before they are released from prison in hopes of negating affirmative notification (Steinbock & Brooks 3, 13).

Community notification has implications for everyone that is involved in its process. Many people only look at offenders or potential victims, but law enforcement and other agencies are also affected. Community notification affects law enforcement because it requires much more work when many police forces are already running at

maxed-out levels. This requires police officials to either demand more work for already overworked officers or hire more officers on an already strained budget. This is also the same situation for parole and probation departments. Parole and probation departments are already stretched thin and do not have much money in their budget. Their caseloads are high and it is hard to give a certain percentage of offenders more time than others. Parole and probation officers must help an offender find housing and employment, which is even a greater task if the community already knows that this offender is a sex offender.

Community notification affects the community because it can bring with it mixed emotions. Notification can be a very useful tool if it is used to educate. Some people might be glad they have the information because they will use it to their advantage and keep their children away from the offender's house. Many people see notification as bringing unneeded harm and worry to neighbors. Some people also think that with notification there will be a rise in vigilantism.

Affirmative notification also affects that offender. An offender already has complications finding housing and employment, but it can be much harder if a community is unaccepting. Released offenders must worry about harassment from neighbors and the stress it causes their families when the whole community is notified of their bad acts (Zevitz & Farkas 4).

Critics

There are many critics of affirmative notification for sex offenders, as to be expected with any controversial issue. There are a few main arguments from the critics. The major argument from the critics is privacy intrusion. This argument has already been

discussed above. Author Lucy Berliner recognized that people could feel more protected, but does not understand why sexual offenders are treated differently than other offenders. She states, "After all, would it not be useful to know that a burglar or drug dealer is living next door?" (Berliner 294). Another argument is that affirmative notification laws violate ex post facto laws and the Eighth Amendment against cruel and unusual punishment. These critics argue that an offender is being punished twice which violates double jeopardy and that these offenders, if being released, have already paid their debt to society for the offense and should not be further punished. Both of these arguments work only if the statute of affirmative notification is deemed criminal and thus a punitive statute and not a regulatory statute (Brooks 60). As early as 1995, New Jersey and the federal government both agreed that there was a two-part test that could be administered to distinguish between a punitive and regulatory statute. There are two questions that need to be asked of any statute. First, did the legislature intend punishment? If the answer is yes then the statute is punitive and thus punishable under criminal law. If the answer is no then the second question needs to be asked. Is the statute rationally related to a legitimate legislative goal that is not excessive? In the case of New Jersey's affirmative notification, and thus other statutes that are like it, it was seen that affirmative notification was not excessive and is related to a legislative goal (Steinbock & Brooks 13) (Brooks 60).

In 1996, shortly after national community notification law had taken effect, there were several articles written about the subject in the *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Although these articles are a little older, the same arguments, or at least the crux of the arguments, are still used today. Author Robert Prentky saw three major problems with

community notification. First, the “presumptive purpose [is] protection.” He states that there is nothing to keep the offender from going into another neighborhood and finding a victim (Prentky 295). Mr. Prentky is absolutely correct in his assessment. Any offender can go into another area and find a victim. A Washington study of recidivism showed that most offenders offend again in their own neighborhoods (Lieb 298). Law enforcement is doing the best they can with the resources that they have. Community notification is a tool to let immediate neighbors know who is living next to them. It is impossible to think that an offender will not be able to find another victim, even with community notification.

His second argument is that there is a possibility to reoffend because of pressure from the community (Prentky 296). Mr. Prentky has little basis for his assumption. It is a guess that he is apparently willing to make based on the assumption that offenders will reoffend because of ridicule from neighbors. Recidivism rates for sex offenders are very high, which is why the crime is treated so differently from other crimes. Before and after community notification, recidivism rates are incredibly high. Who is to say that the offender would not have reoffended without ridicule from the community? Community notification is about having an informed community, not about stopping all sex crimes, which would be an impossible task.

Mr. Prentky’s final argument is that with the knowledge of a sexual offender living nearby, citizens are more likely to take matters into their own hands and retaliate against the released offender (Prentky 296). This kind of vigilantism does happen, but there are stiff criminal punishments for this act. The law does not look at these vigilante acts any differently than any other crimes.

These are not the only arguments that critics use, although the issue of not being able to know who will reoffend and who will not comes up quite often. Also, it is a common criticism that offenders can go into non-notified areas and offend there (Brooks 11). These are not good reasons against community notification statutes, but issues that lawmakers and law enforcement need to think about so they can better make and enforce community notification legislation.

The final argument that is made by many critics is that notification statutes apply to a very small percentage of offenders. This is also the truth. Most child molests happen within the family structure, and these offenders are not eligible for community notification when they are released. Community notification statutes apply to stranger crimes, which although make up a small percentage of sexually based crimes, they still pose a threat (Brooks 11). Community notification statutes cannot help everyone who has been victimized, but they can help people be more informed and thus less likely to be victimized.

Indiana

In 2003, Carl Brizzi was sworn in as the newly elected Prosecutor of Marion County, Indiana. In his campaign he promised to toughen Zachary's Law, which is exactly like Megan's Law. In his campaign address to the citizens of Marion County, known as the Brizzi Brief, he addresses this issue. He states, "I believe our community has the right to know if a convicted child molester moves in next door. We teach our children that our neighbors are our allies, and people they can turn to in times of trouble. However, if the neighbor is a pedophile, the message is different. I believe an informed

community is a safe community. I want to increase the scope of Zachary's Law to require law enforcement to notify the community when a released sex offender moves into the neighborhood. Under the current law, when a convicted child molester is released from prison, he has to register on the Internet. Currently, the Internet database is very difficult to use and does not provide for affirmative community notification." Mr. Brizzi also stated that he, "...will send a clear message that children are off limits" (Brizzi 17).

These are strong statements from the Marion County Prosecutor, who is responsible for the largest jurisdiction in Indiana. Currently, Mr. Brizzi is working on a proposal to send to the legislature to pass affirmative community notification legislation. This is something of which other state representatives should take notice. Under Mr. Brizzi, deputy prosecutors prosecute child molesters everyday. Currently, the Marion County Jail is so overcrowded that everyday prisoners are released so the city will not be fined any more than it already has. This is not a problem that is confined to Marion County or even Indiana. People are released every day from prison and jail, whether it is because of overcrowding, an end of a sentence, or because of parole. Convicted sex offenders are moving into neighborhoods without anyone knowing. Roxanne Lieb stated it best in her article, "Community Notification Laws: A Step Toward More Effective Solutions," when she said, "The solution of the past, releasing sex offenders quietly and hoping for the best, has been tried, with imperfect and sometimes terrible consequences" (Lieb 300).

Conclusion

Affirmative community notification has many issues and implications. It is not a perfect solution, but it is the only affirmative step against violent sexual acts that has been offered. State legislatures must take all of the issues and implications and decide if affirmative community notification does more damage than good. I contend that affirmative notification does more good than damage. First, an offender was not thinking of their family when they committed the deviate sexual act, so they should not be able to bring their families' feelings into the mix. Second, neighbors should have the right to know if a convicted sex offender lives near them if the police or parole board deems he or she has a high risk of reoffending. Although sex offenders can easily find their next victim even with community notification, their immediate neighbors deserve to know that their children are probably not safe around that house. Also, every state has a statute that warns citizens of using the knowledge gained from a registry or notification flier against the offender. There are stiff criminal punishments for harassing or causing harm to an offender after the community has been notified of his or her presence. Every state has this disclaimer attached to their registry and all are worded almost the same. On New York's sex offender registry web site it states, "Anyone who uses this information to injure, harass, or commit a criminal act against any person may be subject to criminal prosecution" (New York State Division of Criminal Justice).

No system is perfect and no one actually expects one to be. Sexual offenders have been released quietly for years and the recidivism rate has not decreased. States are allowed to experiment with social statutes according to the United States Supreme Court. Affirmative community notification is another way states and legislatures hope to cut

down on the numbers of people being victimized by sexual offenders every year. Collection of DNA is another way some states are trying to crack down on sexually based crimes. Although there is not enough data to see if this system cuts down the recidivism rate, it seems logical that it would. Collecting DNA will help in more cases than only sexually based crimes. It could also help in any other crime where an offender leaves their DNA. Keeping previous offender's DNA on file in the state would help law enforcement clear more crimes that are committed by serial offenders. Ms. Berliner made a good point when she stated that people would also want to know if a burglar or drug dealer were living next door, but sexually based crimes are on a completely different level than other crimes. Sexually based crimes have a high recidivism rate, which is one reason the crime is treated differently. Everyone has the right to feel safe in his or her own home and own neighborhood. People should be allowed to know who is living next to them and if they have a criminal past that involves sexually deviant conduct. The entire issue of affirmative community notification seems to boil down to one theme. Whose rights are more applicable? Do criminals have a complete right to privacy or do law-abiding citizens have a right to know who is living around them?

Appendix tables:

1. State web sites
2. Affirmative notification summary and DNA collection
3. Number of offenders in state registries

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Appendix Table 1. State Web sites

STATE	WEB SITE
Alabama	www.gsiweb.net/index.html
Alaska	www.dps.state.ak.us/nsorcr/asp
Arizona	www.azsexoffender.com
Arkansas	www.acic.org/registration
California	none
Colorado	http://sor.state.co.us
Connecticut	www.state.ct.us/dps/SEX_Offender_Registry.htm
Delaware	www.state.de.us/dsp/sexoff/index.htm
District of Columbia	http://mpdc.dc.gov/serv/sor/sor.shtm
Florida	www.fdle.state.fl.us
Georgia	www.ganet.org/gbi/disclaim/html
Hawaii	www.ehawaii.gov.org/HI_SOR
Idaho	www.isp.state.id.us
Illinois	http://samnet.isp.state.il.us/ispso2/sex_offender/index.asp
Indiana	www.state.in.us/serv/cji_sor
Iowa	www.iowasexoffenders.com
Kansas	www.ink.org/public/kbi/kbiregoffpage.htm
Kentucky	http://kpsor.state.ky.us
Louisiana	www.lasocpr.lsp.org/socpr
Maine	none
Maryland	www.dpscs.state.md.us
Massachusetts	www.state.ma.us/sorb
Michigan	www.mipsor.state.mi.us
Minnesota	www.dps.state.mn.us/bca
Mississippi	www.sor.mdps.state.ms.us
Missouri	none
Montana	www.svor.doj.state.mt.us
Nebraska	www.nsp.state.ne.us/sor/index.cfm
Nevada	none
New Hampshire	http://oit.nh.gov/nsor
New Jersey	www.njsp.org/info/reg_sexoffend.html
New Mexico	www.nmsexoffender.dps.state.nm.us
New York	www.criminaljustice.state.ny.us
North Carolina	http://sbi.jus.state.nc.us/sor
North Dakota	www.ndsexoffender.com
Ohio	none
Oklahoma	website pending
Oregon	website pending
Pennsylvania	www.psp2.state.pa.us/svp/pa_map.htm
Rhode Island	website pending
South Carolina	www.sled.state.sc.us
South Dakota	none
Tennessee	www.ticic.state.tn.us/SEX_ofndr/search_short.asp
Texas	http://records.txdps.state.tx.us
Utah	www.udc.state.ut.us
Vermont	www.dps.state.vt.us/cjs/s_registry.htm
Virginia	www.vsp.state.va.us
Washington	none
West Virginia	www.wvstatepolice.com
Wisconsin	http://widocoffenders.org
Wyoming	http://attorneygeneral.state.wy.us/dci

Appendix Table 2. Affirmative Notification Summary and DNA Collection

STATE	AFFIRMATIVE NOTIFICATION	DNA
Alabama	yes- fliers distributed	yes
Alaska	no	no
Arizona	no	yes
Arkansas	yes- schools & community organizations only	no- Legislation pending
California	no	yes
Colorado	no	yes- not collected for SOR
Connecticut	no	yes
Delaware	yes- 3 tier system	no
District of Columbia	no	no
Florida	yes- fliers distributed	yes
Georgia	no	yes
Hawaii	no	no
Idaho	no	yes- separate law from registry
Illinois	yes- local law enforcement discretion	yes
Indiana	no	no
Iowa	yes- 3 tier system	no
Kansas	no	yes
Kentucky	no	yes
Louisiana	yes- offender gives notice in person	no
Maine	yes- schools & community organizations only	yes
Maryland	yes- schools & community organizations only	no
Massachusetts	yes- 3 tier system	yes- not collected for SOR
Michigan	no	no
Minnesota	yes- 3 tier system	yes
Mississippi	no	yes
Missouri	yes- schools & community organizations only	no
Montana	yes- 3 tier system	yes
Nebraska	yes- 3 tier system	yes
Nevada	yes- 3 tier system	yes
New Hampshire	yes- community organizations only	no
New Jersey	yes- 3 tier system	yes
New Mexico	no	no
New York	yes- 3 tier system	no
North Carolina	no	yes- not collected for SOR
North Dakota	no	yes
Ohio	yes- local law enforcement discretion	yes
Oklahoma	no	yes
Oregon	yes- local law enforcement discretion	yes
Pennsylvania	yes- fliers distributed	no
Rhode Island	yes- 3 tier system	yes
South Carolina	no	yes
South Dakota	no	no
Tennessee	no	yes- not collected for SOR
Texas	no	yes
Utah	no	no
Vermont	no	no
Virginia	no	no
Washington	yes- 3 tier system	no
West Virginia	no	yes
Wisconsin	no	yes
Wyoming	yes- 3 tier system	yes

Appendix table 3. Number of Offenders in State Sex Offender Registries, 1998-2001

State	1998	2001	Percent Change
Alabama	440	3,338	659%
Alaska*	3,535	4,107	16
Arizona	9,200	11,500	25
Arkansas	958	2,935	206
California*	78,000	88,853	14
Colorado	4,326	8,804	104
Connecticut	n/a	2,030	n/a
Delaware	800	1,688	111
District of Columbia	50	303	506
Florida	9,000	20,000	122
Georgia	1,200	4,564	280
Hawaii	1,000	1,500	50
Idaho	1,710	1,778	4
Illinois*	14,300	16,551	16
Indiana	9,500	11,656	23
Iowa	2,240	3,921	75
Kansas	1,200	1,794	50
Kentucky	800	2,000	150
Louisiana	3,455	5,708	65
Maine	275	473	72
Maryland	400	1,400	250
Massachusetts**	7,004	n/a	n/a
Michigan	19,000	26,850	41
Minnesota	7,300	10,610	45
Mississippi	1,063	1,512	42
Missouri	2,800	7,500	168
Montana***	1,739	2,088	20
Nebraska	640	1,120	75
Nevada	1,500	2,519	68
New Hampshire	1,500	2,168	45
New Jersey	5,151	7,495	46
New Mexico	450	1,171	160
New York	7,200	11,575	61
North Carolina	2,200	5,922	169
North Dakota	683	766	12
Ohio	1,294	5,423	319
Oklahoma	2,303	4,020	75
Oregon	7,400	9,410	27
Pennsylvania	2,400	4,533	89
Rhode Island	273	1,424	422
South Carolina	2,500	4,924	97
South Dakota	800	1,182	48
Tennessee	2,800	4,561	63
Texas	18,000	29,494	64
Utah	4,733	5,192	10
Vermont	877	1,509	72
Virginia	6,615	9,306	41
Washington	1,400	15,304	993
West Virginia	600	950	58
Wisconsin	10,000	11,999	20
Wyoming	552	682	24
Total	263,166	386,112	

*Number includes more than just registered offenders

**The 2001 count is not included due to a superior court injunction against the Sex Offender Registry Board.

***Also includes offenders who must register for certain violent offenses.