Declaration of Jill S. Levenson, PhD

Prepared on behalf of Plaintiffs in *Does v. Miami-Dade County* (14-23933-cv-Huck)

I, Jill Levenson, Ph.D, declare as follows:

I am a professor of Social Work at Barry University, School of Social Work, located in Miami Shores, Florida. I earned my Doctorate degree in Social Welfare in 2003 from Florida International University in Miami, Florida. I earned a Master's Degree in Social Work in 1987 at the University of Maryland, School of Social Work, Baltimore, Maryland. In 1985, I earned my Bachelor of Arts Degree in Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania. I am an author or co-author of over one hundred articles, publications, and presentations in registrant management, recidivism, treatment, and policies. In addition to my academic work, I maintain a clinical practice as a licensed clinical social worker in Broward County specializing in evaluation and treatment of individuals convicted of sex offenses. I have worked with over 1,000 such individuals since 1992.

In the previous four years, I testified as an expert witness at trial or by deposition in four cases: *Ryals v. City of Englewood*, No 12-cv-02178 (D. Colo); *Freitas v. Kilmartin*, No. 1:15-cv-00450 (D. R.I.); *Does v. Snyder*, No. 12-11194 (E.D. Mich.); *Does v. Swearingen*, No. 4:16-CV-501 (N.D. Fl.). My curriculum vitae, including a list of my published work, is attached to this affidavit as Exhibit A. I will receive $250/hour for my work on and testimony in this case, plus travel expenses.

I. Research on the Effectiveness of Residence Restrictions in Preventing Recidivism

Registration for felony offenders convicted of sexual crimes in Florida triggers geographical requirements related to housing. Residence restriction laws (RR) prohibit those who have committed qualifying sexual offenses—individuals who typically must also register

with state and local officials (registrants)—from living near places where children are likely to be found. In 2007, Florida passed a state law prohibiting registrants from residing within 1,000 feet of schools, parks, daycares, playgrounds, and other places where children congregate. This law supplemented, and extended beyond the criminal sentence, an already existing special condition of probation for individuals convicted of sexual offenses, passed in 1995, requiring the same housing restrictions. Additionally, since 2005, Florida municipalities have passed over 150 different ordinances regulating where registrants can live in cities, towns, and counties. Miami-Dade County currently has one county-wide ordinance prohibiting registrants with minor victims from living within 2,500 feet of schools.

Residence restrictions are based on the assumption that by requiring registrants with minor victims to live far from places where children congregate, repeat sex crimes can be prevented. However, RR provisions apply to all sex offenses involving a minor, without an assessment of risk to evaluate the degree to which an offender poses a danger to children. More importantly, current research finds *no support* for the hypothesis that registrants who live closer to child-oriented settings are more likely to reoffend. In fact, the overwhelming consensus of the research concludes that residence is *not* a significant contributing factor to reoffending behavior. There is no established empirical link between RR laws and reduced sexual recidivism. These findings are consistent in multiple states and in both urban and rural areas.

a. In July 2015, the U.S. Department of Justice SMART Office (*Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehending, Registering, and Tracking*: the federal agency tasked with implementation of sex offender management across states, territories, and tribes) released a report summarizing the research on the effectiveness of management systems for individuals convicted of sexual offenses (Lobanov-

Rostovsky, 2015). The conclusions regarding residence restrictions were unequivocal: "(T)he evidence is fairly clear that residence restrictions are not effective," the report cautioned on page 4. "In fact, research suggests that residence restrictions may actually increase offender risk by undermining offender stability and the ability of the offender to obtain housing, work, and family support. There is nothing to suggest this policy should be used at this time."

b. A recent federally funded (National Institute of Justice) study of paroled registrants in Missouri and Michigan (Huebner et al., 2014; Rydberg, Grommon, Huebner, & Bynum, 2014) examined the effects and implications of RR laws and reported important and noteworthy findings. First, the authors were unable to calculate whether RR laws reduced *sexual* reoffending because the rates of recidivism were so low that it was not possible to detect statistically significant results. *General* re-arrest rates went up in Michigan and down in Missouri after the passage of the law, leading the authors to "cast doubt on the potential usefulness" (p. 139) of RR laws to impact patterns of reoffending (Huebner et al., 2014). Second, when comparing the number of residential moves during the parole period, registrants released after implementation of RR laws had *significantly more* address changes than those released prior to the policy. Moreover, those released to a non-residential setting (motel, shelter, or transitional housing service) had much *higher* degrees of mobility than those with homes. The authors cautioned that transience undermines both successful offender re-entry and management of the registrants by parole and law enforcement agents (Rydberg et al., 2014).

c. Two studies in Florida concur that RR laws do not prevent reoffending, and that residential proximity is not a factor increasing risk for recidivism. Zandbergen, Levenson and Hart (2010) compared the residential proximity of sexual recidivists and non-recidivists relative to schools and daycares in Florida. Those who lived within 2,500 feet of schools or daycare centers did not reoffend more frequently than those who lived farther away. There was no significant correlation between sexual recidivism and the number of feet the offender lived from a school. The two groups were matched on relevant risk factors (prior arrests, age, marital status, predator status). The authors of the study concluded that proximity to schools or daycares was not a significant predictor of recidivism (Zandbergen, et al. 2010). Researchers also investigated the longitudinal effects of a 2,500 foot residence restriction ordinance in Jacksonville, Florida, and found no reduction in sex crime arrest rates or sex offense recidivism over time after implementation of the law (Nobles, Levenson, & Youstin, 2012).

d. In 2014, Dr. Kelly Socia, a prominent sex crimes researcher, consolidated the results of six studies examining the effects of RR laws in New York State, finding that "[n]o study has found that residence restrictions resulted (or would result) in a significant decrease in child victims of sex crimes" (Socia, 2014b).

e. The Iowa Department of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Planning studied the effect of Iowa's 2,000 foot law that went into effect in August of 2005 and concluded that Iowa's residence law "does not seem to have led to fewer charges or convictions, indicating that there probably have not been fewer child victims" (p. 10) (Blood, Watson, & Stageberg, 2008).

f. In Minnesota, a close analysis of 224 repeat sex offenses led the authors to conclude that residential restriction laws *would not have prevented even one re-offense*. Initial contact with victims was usually established more than one mile from the offender's home, and predatory assaults that occurred within a mile of the offender's residence typically involved adult victims (Duwe, Donnay, & Tewksbury, 2008). These individuals do not abuse children because they live near schools or parks; rather, they create opportunities for sexual molestation by cultivating relationships of trust and authority with children and their families. It is social proximity, not residential proximity to schools, that raises the risk for predatory behavior by persons who meet DSM-5 criteria for Pedophilic Disorder (Duwe, Donnay, & Tewksbury, 2008).

g. Researchers in Colorado also concluded, after mapping the addresses of sex offenders, schools, and daycare centers, that recidivists were randomly scattered throughout the geographical area and did not live closer to schools or daycares (Colorado Department of Public Safety, 2004).

h. The California Sex Offender Management board declared in 2011 that there is "no evidence to conclude that residence restrictions are effective in reducing sexual reoffending or making communities safer" (p. 11).

i. Three New Jersey studies have found that only a very small minority of registrants make contact with young victims in the types of locations identified in RR laws, such as schools, parks, churches, and bus stops (Colombino, Mercado, & Jeglic, 2010; Colombino, Mercado, Levenson, & Jeglic, 2011; Mogavero & Kennedy, 2015). Residing within a restricted buffer zone does not contribute to victim selection, and the reputed offense patterns that RR laws ostensibly seek to address by restricting

access to certain venues apply in only 1-4% of cases (Colombino et al., 2011; Mogavero & Kennedy, 2015).

j. Over a decade ago, a group of prosecutors and victim advocates publicly warned against implementing residential restrictions, admonishing that these laws would accelerate the growing problem of homelessness and compromise the efficiency of tracking and supervision by law enforcement agents (Iowa County Attorneys Association, 2006; NAESV, 2006).

Thus, RR laws ignore empirical realities and misdirect prevention efforts. Sex offenses against children are almost always perpetrated *not* by strangers lurking in schoolyards but by offenders who are well known to their victims, such as parents, caretakers, relatives, acquaintances, teachers, coaches, babysitters, or friends of the family. Though the goal of these restrictions is to decrease opportunities for offenders to target children, children are most likely to be molested by a trusted person who is well-acquainted with them and their families (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000; Colombino et al., 2011). However, registrants pose different degrees of risk, and only a small group is at risk for repeat sex offenses. For this small proportion of those who are at risk of repeat sex offenses, individualized case management plans targeting individual risk factors are more effective than blanket restrictions.

II. Residence Restrictions Diminish Housing Availability, Increase Transience and Homelessness, and Undermine Offender Management and Successful Reintegration

Residential restrictions create profound barriers to offender re-entry and contradict many decades of criminological research identifying factors that contribute to successful reintegration: social support, housing and lifestyle stability, and employment, all of which lead to "stakes in conformity." As buffer zones increase in distance, so do transience, homelessness, and reduced

employment opportunities for offenders (Levenson, 2008). Housing restriction laws preclude registrants from returning to their homes (sometimes homes that they own), and deny registrants the opportunity to live with family members who can support them in their recovery and reintegration (Levenson, 2008; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Levenson & Hern, 2007; Mercado, Alvarez, & Levenson, 2008). A growing body of evidence illustrates how residential restrictions profoundly diminish housing options.

k. In Orange County, Florida, the locations of over 137,000 residential parcels were analyzed and 95% were found to be located within 1,000 feet of schools, parks, daycares, or school bus stops (Zandbergen & Hart, 2006). A buffer zone of 2,500 feet resulted in exclusion of more than 99% of residential parcels and eliminated all but 37 properties in the entire county (Zandbergen & Hart, 2006).

l. In Miami, nearly one million residential parcels were studied and found that only about 4% of residential units were compliant with overlapping state laws and local ordinances, and only 1% showed a monthly rental cost of $1,250 or less (Zandbergen & Hart, 2009). As discussed below in Paragraph n, despite the county's revision of the ordinance and repeal of city ordinances after this study was completed, homeless/transient registrant rates in Miami-Dade County have continued to rise since 2011.

m. This depletion of housing availability leads to transience, especially in metropolitan areas like Miami-Dade County where the combination of population density, extensive buffer zones, and high rental prices creates a "perfect storm" for homelessness and displacement (Levenson, Ackerman, Socia, & Harris, 2015, p. 20; Socia, Levenson, Ackerman, & Harris, 2015). Affordable housing is especially

impacted, since less affluent areas tend to be more densely populated and therefore more homes are in closer proximity to places frequented by children, such as schools.

n. In South Florida, homeless registrants remain a significant and growing problem. On August 3, 2017, according to the public datafile provided by FDLE, 6% of registrants across the entire state were without a permanent residence and considered "transient," compared to 26% in Miami-Dade County. This 26% homeless rate in Miami-Dade represents a significant three-fold increase since 2011, when 8.9% of the county's registrants were listed as transient. Broward and Miami-Dade together have 45% of the state's homeless registrants, although these two counties are home to 10.5% of the total number of Florida registrants.

o. There are several causes of this increase in homelessness. The small number of compliant dwellings is compounded by the accumulation of people who don't have "grandfather clause" protections. In other words, when RR laws first went into effect, some individuals who were living in their homes prior to the passage of the ordinances were allowed to stay there. Now, newly released prisoners or those sentenced to probation are forced to move from their stable homes, with very few compliant and affordable dwellings available to move to. Many registrants have family members or friends with whom they could reside, and some even have homes that they themselves own or lease, but the RR laws prevent these living arrangements.

p. Some proponents of these restrictions have argued that poverty, unemployment, criminal background, and reluctant landlords are the cause of homelessness among registrants, not RR laws. It is true that such factors do contribute to limitations in housing options. However, these factors have always existed for registrants. *There is*

no doubt that the data clearly show that: (1) the number of compliant affordable dwellings outside of buffer zones is miniscule; (2) many registrants would have a place to live if not for the RR laws; and (3) the number of registrants who are transient and homeless has increased significantly and substantially over the past 10 years since local ordinances went into effect.

q. In Florida, transient registrants are more likely to fail to properly register, and to abscond from registration, than those with permanent homes (Levenson et al., 2015). Transience undermines the very purpose of registration, which is to allow law enforcement agents and probation officers to easily track, monitor, and supervise registrants.

r. Residential restrictions create profound barriers to offender reintegration (Levenson, 2008; Levenson, Ackerman, Socia, & Harris, 2013). Affordable housing is less available, and registrants may be forced to live farther away from employment, public transportation, social services, and mental health treatment. Young adults are especially impacted by these laws when they are unable to live with family but have challenges living independently due to insufficient funds and/or developmental immaturity (Levenson, 2008; Levenson & Hern, 2007). RR laws also impact innocent family members of registrants, creating family disruptions and financial crises when they are forced to live in two separate dwellings. Children of registrants are separated from meaningful parental participation when they are unable to live together as a result of RR laws (Levenson & Tewksbury, 2009).

s. These laws also create unintended consequences for communities, most notably the problem of registrants clustering in the few locations where compliant housing is

available (Socia, 2013). Clustering is defined as a disproportional number of registrants in a small geographical area. Registrants tend to cluster in impoverished neighborhoods with lower degrees of social control and higher levels of social disorganization. (Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006; Socia, 2014a; Socia & Stamatel, 2012; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008). Offenders are often forced to live in high-crime and impoverished areas, which contain criminogenic factors such as exposure to violence and illicit drug use. These factors greatly undermine risk-management and treatment.

t. In California, the number of homeless registrants rose dramatically and quickly after the 2006 passage of "Jessica's Law," a 2,000 foot statewide restriction zone. In 2011, the California Sex Offender Management Board (SOMB) reported that "almost one-third of sex offenders on parole are homeless due to Jessica's Law" (p. 4). The buffer zone rendered large territories non-compliant throughout the state and a 100% increase in the number of "transient" offenders was noted after 2007. California's law was overturned in 2016, after the SOMB raised concerns that these conditions obstructed offenders' prospects for employment, stability, and support systems, and interfered with parole agents' efforts to effectively supervise registrants (California Sex Offender Management Board, 2008, 2011).

u. Contrary to the goal of preventing abuse, housing instability is consistently and strongly correlated with increased criminal recidivism, parole failure, and absconding. When offenders reside with supportive family or peers, they are less apt to recidivate, because they have living conditions and incentives conducive to law-abiding behavior. On the other hand, offenders who move frequently are more likely to

engage in future crimes, especially property and substance-abuse-related crimes, so situational contexts and circumstances can impact registrants' likelihood of re-offending (Steiner, Makarios, & Travis, 2015). In a sample of over 6,000 criminal offenders in Georgia, each time a parolee relocated, the risk of being re-arrested increased by 25%, and the odds of recidivism doubled by moving three times while on parole (Meredith, Speir, & Johnson, 2007). Residential instability was determined to be the most robust predictor of absconding in a study of over 4,000 parolees in California (Williams, McShane, & Dolny, 2000). In a national sample of probationers (n = 2,030), those who moved multiple times during their period of supervision were almost twice as likely as stable probationers to have a disciplinary hearing (Schulenberg, 2007). In a New Zealand study, unstable housing was the aspect of reintegration most strongly linked with sexual recidivism (Willis & Grace, 2008). A subsequent study confirmed that housing instability, unemployment, and a lack of social support predicted recidivism in a sample of 141 sex offenders from New Zealand (Willis & Grace, 2009).

v. Policies controlling where registrants live, rather than where they go and what they do, ignore empirical realities about residential proximity as a risk factor for victimization, and misdirect efforts to prevent child sex abuse (Colombino, et al., 2011). Ironically, in Miami-Dade County, a covered individual may be prohibited from *living near* a school, but he could easily drive or walk to a place where children congregate if motivated to do so. RR laws are not logical, as they regulate only where registrants sleep at night and do nothing to prevent access to child oriented sites during daytime hours. (FATSA, 2015).

w. Alternatives such as child safety zones, which prohibit registrants from inappropriate loitering in places where children tend to be present, are better suited to achieve the objective of reducing covered individuals' access to children without compromising their housing needs (Colombino et al., 2011; FATSA, 2015). Such a law already exists in Miami-Dade as part of the Lauren Book Child Safety Ordinance (Section 21-285. Loitering or prowling in child safety zone; penalties).

x. RR laws, as currently implemented, create many public safety problems, and there is no evidence to suggest that they improve public safety. That is because the laws are based on a false premise. Registrants do not abuse children because they live near schools. Rather, they cultivate opportunities for sexual molestation by grooming children and their families, and they use their positions of trust, familiarity, or authority to do so.

III. What does work to address recidivism among this population?

It is important to understand recidivism data and risk assessment strategies. RR laws are often based on the premise that most sex offenders reoffend. Research has repeatedly determined, however, that sex offense recidivism rates are lower than generally assumed, averaging between 5% and 15% across studies (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Hanson, Harris, Helmus, & Thornton, 2014; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Helmus, Hanson, Thornton, Babchishin, & Harris, 2012). We now have over 25 years of longitudinal outcome data informing our understanding of risk and recidivism among this population.

y. In Florida, two longitudinal studies evaluated sex offense recidivism. The first, a 20-year analysis of Florida arrest data provided by FDLE, found that the average yearly

repeat arrest rate for sex crimes was 6.5%, which was consistently and significantly lower than rates for other crimes: 8.3% for non-sex assaults, 15.1% for robbery, 29.8% for drug offenses, and 11.6% for DUI. Furthermore, the study concluded that sex crime repeat arrests in Florida did not show a decline attributable to management policies implemented since 1997 (Levenson & Zgoba, 2015). The other Florida study, funded by the National Institutes of Justice, found Florida sex offense recidivism rates to be 5% over five years and 13.7% over 10 years (Zgoba et al., 2015). The majority (over 85%) of individuals convicted of sex offenses do not go on to be re-arrested for new sexual crimes.

z. These Florida trends hold true across dozens of other recidivism studies in North America over three decades. It is often argued that low recidivism rates obscure the high number of sex crimes that go undetected, and of course it is true that many sex crimes are not reported. It is well established, however, that it is a small group of serial predators and pedophilic offenders with a high volume of victims that creates the impression that all those convicted of sex offenses are prolific recidivists. In reality, the broad range of behaviors that now qualify someone for registration status exists across a spectrum of risk for recidivism, and the vast majority of convicted sex criminals are not arrested for repeat sex offenses over time (A. J. R. Harris & Hanson, 2004; Helmus et al., 2012). There is no dispute that a small subgroup of offenders at high risk to reoffend may present a threat to public safety, but in general, registrants are a heterogeneous group and not all pose equal risk.

aa. Importantly, new longitudinal research has found that sex offense recidivism risk declines significantly over the years that an individual remains in the community sex

offense–free. Thus, the longer a registrant lives in the community without a new arrest, the more his risk declines for future subsequent offenses. Low risk individuals commit new sex crimes at rates *below* those of general criminal offenders; in other words, criminals with no sex crime history are re-arrested for a subsequent sexual offense *more often* than a low-risk individual who was previously convicted of a sex offense. Among all sex offenders, the risk of reoffending decreases with each year spent offense-free in the community. After 15 years offense-free, even above-average-risk offenders have the same sexual recidivism rates as non-sex convicted felons (Hanson, Harris, Letourneau, Helmus, & Thornton, 2017; Kahn, Ambroziak, Hanson, & Thornton, 2017). These data provide important and current information on which to base policy changes.

bb. There is no question that some individuals are dangerous or violent and pose a threat to public safety. But there are strategies better equipped than residence restrictions to identify these high-risk offenders and target relevant risk management strategies accordingly so that resources can be efficiently distributed (Tabachnick & Klein, 2011). There are valid and reliable measures to distinguish between low and high-risk offenders. The most well-researched and commonly utilized risk assessment instrument is the Static-99R. No risk assessment instrument can predict the specific future behavior of an individual. Risk assessment instruments, however, reliably screen offenders into relative risk categories (low / moderate / high) by comparing their constellation of risk factors to offenders with the same score who were followed in longitudinal research. The average Static-99R score in Florida is 2, representing "average risk." This score translates to sexual recidivism rates that, after 10 years, are

comparable to those of non-sex offenders (Hanson et al., 2017). Although official recidivism rates may underestimate true reoffense rates, Harris and Hanson (2004) concluded: "Most sexual offenders do not re-offend sexually over time … this finding is contrary to some strongly held beliefs. … very strong contradictory evidence is necessary to substantially change these recidivism estimates" (p. 17).

cc. Residence restrictions are unnecessary considering that most of those impacted (especially those who are on or have been on probation) have received an individualized risk assessment, treatment from a qualified provider, and mandatory court-ordered terms of supervision. All registrants, while on probation, receive long-term counseling which is intended to reduce the risk of reoffending. In Florida, treatment programs approved by DOC provide comprehensive, long-term group and individual therapy addressing criminogenic risk factors, offense patterns, distorted thinking, relapse prevention, self-regulation, victim impact, communication skills, and life-management strategies. In the course of counseling, registrants are assessed for their risk to reoffend with the Static-99R, in order to estimate whether they belong to a low, moderate, or high risk group.

dd. Treatment providers are licensed by F.S. chapters 490 (Psychologists) or 491 (clinical social workers, mental health counselors, or marriage and family therapists) and must meet education and experience criteria to be approved by DOC as a "qualified sex offender treatment provider." Qualified providers have at least 2,000 hours of clinical experience assessing and treating people convicted of sex crimes, 60 hours of post-degree education in topic areas related to sexual deviance and aggression, and they

must receive 20 hours of continuing education credits in these topic areas during each license renewal period.

ee. While on probation, registrants are subject to special conditions of probation which include curfews, restrictions on contact with children, treatment mandates, yearly polygraph exams, and random searches of homes and computers by probation officers. These monitoring and management strategies are designed to prevent recidivism by detecting high-risk behavior before it escalates to offending.

ff. Florida's civil commitment law exists to identify those at highest risk. When a person convicted of a sex crime is due to be released from a Florida prison, a risk assessment is conducted and those at high risk for reoffending are then evaluated by two psychologists. If they have a high risk for recidivism and a mental disorder predisposing them to sexual violence, they can be confined indefinitely for secure treatment. In other words, in Florida the highest risk registrants are not released into the community, but held for civil commitment.

IV. Conclusions

Residence restrictions do not advance public safety goals. There is no evidence that they prevent sexual recidivism, protect children, or increase community safety. The U.S. Department of Justice explicitly recommended against implementation of RR laws. There is substantial evidence that RR laws diminish housing availability, increase transience and homelessness, and raise the risk for absconding from registration. As a result, law enforcement officers' ability to track, monitor, and supervise these individuals is compromised, undermining the very purpose of registries. County resources could be more effectively spent on interventions that have been

shown to reduce recidivism, as well as victim services, child protection programs, and prevention initiatives for at-risk youth and their families.

Most registrants fall into a lower risk category for reoffending. Most have engaged in specialized relapse prevention treatment programs while on probation. All registrants are monitored closely, and probationers have extensive special conditions, including polygraph exams.

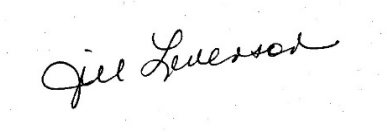
By contrast, residence restrictions do not regulate where registrants go during the day, or where they hang out, or who they come in contact with, but simply where they sleep at night. The loitering/prowling section of the Ordinance sufficiently addresses this issue. Offenders could spend all day in a residence that is not compliant to live in, and at 10 o'clock at night are forced into homelessness or marginal living arrangements, where they are exposed to criminogenic factors such as violence and illicit drug use, as well as health-hazardous conditions with no sanitation, running water, or shelter from the elements. Yet between the curfew hours of 10pm-6am, children are in their own homes under the supervision of their caretakers. They are more likely to be abused by someone they know than by a registrant.

Residence restrictions contradict all that is known about the factors that promote successful re-entry for criminal offenders: they need to have a stable lifestyle with steady housing, positive and pro-social support networks, and employment that facilitates self-sufficiency and self-efficacy. Such conditions lead to what is known in the criminology field as "stakes in conformity." In other words, the more people have to lose, the more they will value and engage in law-abiding behavior so as not to risk what is important to them. When people have less to lose, they are more likely to commit crimes. Residence restrictions have a demonstrated effect of displacing registrants from safe and stable homes and separating them

from supportive family. By limiting access to housing, residence restrictions significantly reduce covered individuals' stakes in conformity. They undermine lifestyle stability, supportive networks, and employment opportunities. This chain of effects raises these individuals' risks of recidivism for non-sexual offenses and, on balance, makes the public less safe.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. I understand that a false statement in this declaration will subject me to penalties for perjury.

Date: November 9, 2017



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Jill Levenson, Ph.D, LCSW

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