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22 [Additional Counsel Listed on Last Page]

23 **SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

24 **COUNTY OF RIVERSIDE, WESTERN DISTRICT**

25 Oscar Melendres Sandoval and Mathew
Wholf, on behalf of themselves and all others
similarly situated, and Rabbi David Lazar and
Reverend Jane Quandt, individually,

26 Plaintiffs,

27 vs.

28 Riverside County, Riverside County Sheriff's
Office, Sheriff Chad Bianco, and Riverside
County Superior Court,

Defendants.

Case No.

**DECLARATION OF JENNIFER COPP IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' APPLICATION
FOR AN ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE FOR
PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

1 **I. Background**

2 1. My name is Jennifer Copp. I have been asked to review empirical studies and provide my
3 expert opinion on the link between secured money bail and pretrial detention, the
4 consequences of pretrial detention, and the effectiveness of secured money bail relative to
5 other non-financial mechanisms of release based upon my knowledge, skill, experience,
6 training, and education in the field of criminal justice and my review of the empirical
7 literature.

8 2. I am being compensated at a rate of \$250 per hour for my preparation of this declaration.

9 3. I earned a master's degree in Sociology in 2012 and a Ph.D. in Sociology with a major in
10 Criminology and minors in quantitative methods and demography in 2014 from Bowling
11 Green State University. I also hold a master's degree from the Universidad de Cadiz (Spain)
12 and a BA from the Ohio State University.

13 4. I am a tenured Associate Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Florida State
14 University, a position I have held since 2020. I was an Assistant Professor of Criminology and
15 Criminal Justice at Florida State University from 2015-2020. In 2023, the Journal of Criminal
16 Justice Education ranked FSU's criminology faculty research and scholarly influence as the
17 highest in the nation, and FSU's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice is a top ten
18 program according to US News and World Reports.

19 5. Since 2017, I have also served as the Director of Florida State University's Jail Research and
20 Policy Institute.

21 6. My research to date largely falls into two key conceptual areas: 1) exploring local criminal-
22 justice practices and their consequences for individuals, system actors, and the community
23 and 2) identifying the role of social influence processes in the development and patterning of
24 problem behaviors.

25 7. I recently co-edited the Handbook on Pretrial Justice (Routledge, 2022) with Drs. Christine
26 Scott-Hayward and Stephen Demuth.

27 8. My recent research focused on local correctional systems has received the support of federal
28 (e.g., National Institute of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance) and local agencies (e.g., Palm
29 Beach County Criminal Justice Commission, Walton County Sheriff's Office), in addition to
30 private foundations (e.g., John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Pew Charitable
31 Trusts).

32 9. This research has included multiple studies on jails and pretrial detention, for example, in
33 which I have evaluated pretrial policies and practices and explored aspects of pretrial
34 decision-making (e.g., Copp, Casey, Blomberg, & Pesta, 2022; Casey, Copp, & Demuth,
35 2024; Ransom, Arnio, & Copp, in press). In addition to contributing to our understanding of
36 pretrial processes and outcomes, my work has shed light on the need for research that
37 considers how communities contend with reform strategies (Copp et al., 2022; Copp & Casey,
38 2024).

1 2021) and emphasized the challenges to criminal justice reform—both in the pretrial context
2 and the broader criminal justice system (Blomberg, Copp, & Turanovic, 2024).

3

4 10. These works and other research, talks, and professional activities can be found on my
5 curriculum vitae, which I have attached as Exhibit A.

6 **II. Materials Reviewed and Methodology**

7

8 11. I have attached as Exhibit B a list of materials that I reviewed in preparing this declaration.
9 The studies I reviewed primarily evaluate the effectiveness of different mechanisms of pretrial
10 release and the consequences of pretrial detention for individuals and the community.

11

12 12. The materials listed in Exhibit B were compiled from a comprehensive review of the
13 literature. After identifying relevant reports and articles, I assessed these for reliability and
14 accuracy based on my professional knowledge, prior training, and familiarity with the relied
15 upon statistical methods that the authors employed. My assessment considers the statistical
16 modeling approach, study design, covariates and potential sources of confounding, and the
17 statistical significance of the authors' findings.¹

18

19 13. Based on my assessment of the literature and my own training and research background, I
20 have formed a series of opinions about the effectiveness of different mechanisms of pretrial
21 release and detention and the consequences of pretrial release versus detention. I may offer
22 new or different opinions, and my opinions are subject to change, should new research lead to
23 a different set of conclusions; however, my opinions are based on the most robust and reliable
24 empirical findings in the current literature.

25 **III. Summary of Opinions**

26

27 14. I was asked to prepare opinions on the following six questions. I summarize my answers
28 below and then elaborate on each in turn.

18

19 i. Question 1: Does the use of secured money bail, as opposed to unsecured or non-
20 monetary conditions of release, result in increased pretrial detention by causing
21 fewer defendants to be released pretrial and/or by delaying when defendants are

22 1 Covariates are variables that are related to the outcome of a study and/or the variable of interest
23 (i.e., the variable we think might cause or influence the outcome). Researchers include covariates in their
24 analyses to account for potential differences between groups and to improve the accuracy of their results.
25 Common examples of covariates include age, gender, race/ethnicity, and education. Confounders are a
26 special class of covariates that are related to both the outcome and the variable of interest. For example,
27 a positive relationship exists between ice cream sales (the variable of interest) and sunburns (the
outcome): as ice cream sales go up, more people get a sunburn. Intuitively, we know that ice cream sales
do not *cause* sunburns, so the observation that increases in ice cream sales correspond to increases in
sunburns must be due to a third variable, or confounder. In this example, the weather is a confounder
because warmer temperatures lead to increases in both ice cream sales and sunburns. Failure to account
for confounders may lead to biased estimates and potentially erroneous conclusions.

1 released pretrial?

2 Opinion 1: As compared to unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of
3 release, the use of secured money bail increases defendants' odds of pretrial
4 detention due to individuals' inability to pay.² In fact, pretrial detention primarily
results from individuals' inability to pay.

5 ii. Question 2: Does pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours
6 negatively affect detained individuals' criminal case outcomes?

7 Opinion 2: Pretrial detention for periods of more than 24 hours has severe
8 negative effects on defendants' case outcomes, making them more likely to plead
9 guilty, be convicted, and be sentenced to a period of incarceration. Furthermore,
10 individuals who experience pretrial detention receive sentences that are, on
11 average, longer than their similarly situated peers (i.e., people who are similar in
12 all measurable respects, but did not experience pretrial detention). These effects
13 are not limited to long periods of detention, as scholarship has documented
14 worse case outcomes among individuals who spend more than a day (24 hours)
15 in custody.

16 iii. Question 3: Does pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours have
17 other adverse effects on detained individuals and the community?

18 Opinion 3: Yes. Pretrial detention actually *increases* defendants' likelihood of
19 future crime. This happens because pretrial detention destabilizes detained
20 individuals' lives in a variety of ways, including by decreasing employment and
21 increasing housing instability. These destabilizing effects also harm the
22 community.

23 iv. Question 4: Does pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours have
24 an adverse effect on the likelihood that a person will remain law-abiding or make
25 their court appearances while on pretrial release?

26 Opinion 4: Pretrial detention (followed by release) heightens the risk that
27 defendants will engage in new criminal activity during the pretrial period and
28 either decreases or has no effect on defendants' appearance in court. These
findings result from the destabilizing effects of pretrial detention, as even short
stays in jail (24 hours) can disrupt employment, housing, and caregiving
responsibilities, among other things.

25 ² With secured money bail, the defendant pays money up-front to secure their release from
26 custody. Unsecured money bail, in contrast does not require a payment to obtain release from custody.
27 Instead, the defendant promises to pay a certain amount of money if they fail to appear in court and is
thus only required to pay if they miss a scheduled court appearance.

v. Question 5: Is secured money bail more effective than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release at assuring appearance in court?

Opinion 5: No. The empirical evidence demonstrates that secured money bail has no positive effect on appearance rates. Furthermore, in contrast to secured money bail, other cost-effective alternatives (e.g., court date reminders) have been shown to increase appearance rates.

vi. Question 6: Is secured money bail more effective than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release at assuring public safety and law-abiding behavior?

Opinion 6: No. Findings from several high-quality empirical investigations demonstrate that secured money bail provides no greater incentive to remain law-abiding than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release.

IV. Opinions

Opinion 1: The use of secured money bail increases pretrial detention.

15. The use of secured money bail relative to unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release (e.g., personal recognizance³) results in increased pretrial detention by decreasing defendants' likelihood of pretrial release and delaying when defendants are released pretrial. This is because many people cannot pay for their release at all, and because others spend varying lengths of time in custody as they try to come up with the money to secure their release. I base my conclusion on the following:
16. More than seventy years ago, Foote (1954) observed that secured bond amounts and pretrial release are inversely related, such that the likelihood of pretrial release declines as bond amounts increase. Across numerous subsequent investigations, researchers have come to the same general set of conclusions, including that secured money bail, relative to unsecured or non-monetary conditions of release, corresponds to higher rates of pretrial detention and longer average pretrial detention lengths. These conclusions are reached in quantitative and qualitative research studies (e.g., Kimbrell, 2019; Wooldredge et al., 2015), as well as policy evaluations (e.g., Heaton, 2022). The connection between secured bail amounts and pretrial detention makes clear that the unaffordability of secured bail is what is driving the link between secured money bail and detention. Based on data from felony defendants in state courts in the 75 largest counties in the U.S., Cohen and Reaves (2007) found that 5 in 6 defendants detained until case disposition had a bail set with financial conditions required for

³ Like unsecured money bail, *personal recognizance* release similarly reflects a defendant's promise to appear in court, however, there is no monetary condition attached to the bond. In other words, when a defendant is released on a personal recognizance bond, they neither must pay money upfront to secure their release nor because of a missed hearing.

1 release that were not met and, moreover, that defendants' probability of pretrial release
2 declined as bail amounts increased.

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- 17. Jones (2013) found that relative to secured money bail, unsecured bail increased both the likelihood and pace of pretrial release. Drawing on administrative data from 10 Colorado counties, Jones compared jail bed use across individuals who were assessed unsecured and secured bail. Defendants were less likely to be released if they had to pay some monetary amount to the court or a bail bondsman prior to release. This study also found that unsecured bail permitted quicker releases from jail, since many of those released on secured money bail spend some time in custody while they come up with the money to secure their release.
- 18. In a subsequent Colorado-based study, Brooker et al. (2014) found similar results. The authors leveraged the random assignment of judges in a single Colorado county (Jefferson County) to compare defendants across judges who more frequently imposed unsecured or secured bail, and they found that a substantially smaller share of defendants assessed secured money bail were released at some point during their cases (61%) relative to those assessed unsecured money bail (94%). The authors also found that it took defendants significantly longer to post secured bail, resulting in delayed pretrial release.
- 19. In short, defendants' inability to pay secured money bail results in a greater likelihood and length of pretrial detention. Because secured money bail has the effect of delaying defendants' release from custody, its usage results in increased incarceration, which translates to higher costs for taxpayers.

Opinion 2: Pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours negatively affects detained individuals' criminal case outcomes.

20. Pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours has severe negative consequences for the criminal case outcomes of individuals who are detained pretrial, including an increased likelihood of conviction (primarily via guilty pleas), an increased likelihood of being sentenced to a period of incarceration, and increased average sentence length. I base my conclusion on the following:

21. A burgeoning body of research demonstrates the deleterious case outcomes that stem from pretrial detention, including numerous studies that leverage rigorous causal inference methods. For example, several studies published over the last decade have used the random nature of when crimes are committed or the random assignment of cases to judges to draw causal conclusions about the effects of pretrial detention on a range of case outcomes (e.g., Dobbie et al., 2018; Gupta et al., 2016; Heaton et al., 2017; Koppel et al., 2024; Leslie & Pope, 2017; Stevenson, 2018). This approach, known as instrumental variable (IV) analysis, provides a basis for estimating causal relationships where controlled experiments (i.e., experiments in which researchers randomly assign individuals to different conditions, such as pretrial detention or pretrial release) are not feasible. Here, for example, it would be unethical for researchers to randomly assign individuals to pretrial incarceration or pretrial freedom for the sake of an experiment.

1 22. In the criminal justice context, IV approaches have been an effective way of studying the
2 effects of pretrial incarceration on a range of outcomes. In these investigations, researchers
3 aim to determine what would have happened to individuals who experienced incarceration
4 had they not been incarcerated. We refer to this unobserved outcome as the “counterfactual”
5 outcome. Simple comparisons between individuals who were and were not incarcerated do not
6 sufficiently capture this counterfactual because these groups often differ in fundamental ways,
7 including the severity of their charge and the extent of their criminal histories, among other
8 considerations. The IV approach is a useful tool in this scenario because it helps researchers
9 identify a factor (the “instrumental variable”) that influences incarceration but has no effect on
10 the outcome of interest (e.g., future failure to appear at a court date, conviction and jail
11 sentence, or future arrests on new charges). This enables estimation of the causal effect of
12 pretrial incarceration on the outcome of interest without the researchers themselves randomly
13 assigning individuals to pretrial incarceration or pretrial release. I discuss a handful of recent
14 publications that leverage this rigorous causal estimation strategy below.
15

16 23. One recent example of the IV approach is Koppel et al. (2024), which drew on data from
17 82,000 unique defendants arraigned on felony and misdemeanor charges in New York City to
18 explore the effects of pretrial detention on guilty pleas, convictions, and carceral sentences. In
19 this study, cases were assigned (by court administrators in the course of their routine work) to
20 different arraignment judges with varying propensities to detain people pretrial. That is, if two
21 people with the same relevant characteristics appeared before two different judges, Judge A
22 would be demonstrably and consistently more likely to issue an order resulting in pretrial
23 detention than Judge B, even though the characteristics of the two defendants were identical.
24 This difference in the judges’ propensity to detain defendants is the instrumental variable in
25 the study. The random assignment of individuals to Judge A or Judge B ensures that the
26 characteristics of defendants (e.g., individual background, current case, and criminal history)
27 in the group appearing before Judge A and the group appearing before Judge B are
28 statistically equivalent, and that the only difference between the groups is that members of the
29 Judge B group are more likely be released pretrial due to Judge B setting affordable secured
30 money bail and/or less frequently remanding defendants into custody.⁴ Given that the Judge A
31 group and the Judge B group are statistically indistinguishable except for their likelihood of
32 pretrial release, this approach is able to produce causal estimates of the effect of pretrial
33 detention. In this example from New York City, the authors compared individuals who
34 experienced *any period* of pretrial detention beyond arraignment to those who were released
35 at arraignment (which is held within 24 hours of arrest in New York) and found that pretrial
36 detention increases the likelihood of guilty pleas, convictions, and carceral sentences by 23,
37 25, and 35 percentage points, respectively (Koppel et al., 2024). These findings underscore

4 Researchers confirm that judge assignment is random by, for example, cross checking the instrumental variable (e.g., judges’ propensity to detain in Koppel et al. (2024)) against relevant covariates (e.g., defendant demographic and criminal history characteristics) to confirm that the instrumental variable is not significantly correlated with any of these other variables (see e.g., Leslie & Pope, 2017). If there is no significant correlation between the judge assignment and these other variables, the researchers can proceed with confidence that the differences in the outcomes they want to study— guilty pleas, convictions, and carceral sentences—are caused by the presence or lack of pretrial detention rather than another variable.

1 that negative case outcomes are not exclusive to people who experience long periods of
2 pretrial detention, but rather are incurred by people who experience even short stays in jail.

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24. Heaton et al. (2017) also relied on IV analysis to examine the effect of pretrial detention using a large sample of misdemeanor cases in Harris County, TX. In this example, the authors leveraged the random variation in defendants' ability to post secured money bail based on the timing of their arrest. More specifically, although the average case characteristics were similar across days of the week, defendants with bail hearings on Tuesdays were less likely to make bail than those with Thursday hearings. How can this be so? For those with Thursday bail hearings, it is likely easier to have someone post their bail over the weekend than it would be for those with Tuesday hearings to have someone appear midweek given typical school and work schedules. This natural variation allowed the researchers to use the day of the week on which the bail hearing was held as the instrumental variable that was related to the likelihood of pretrial detention. Accordingly, because they empirically confirmed that individuals with bail hearings on Tuesdays and Thursdays are similar except for their likelihood of pretrial detention, any differences between these groups in subsequent outcomes can be attributed to detention. Using this framework, the authors found that detained defendants were 25% more likely than comparable released defendants to plead guilty. Detained defendants were also 43% more likely to be sentenced to jail and received sentences that were twice as long than otherwise comparable defendants who were released.⁵
25. Gupta et al. (2016), Stevenson (2018), and Dobbie et al. (2018) also examined the effects of pretrial detention using IV approaches, and their findings were similar. Gupta et al. (2016) drew on data from criminal cases in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and found that imposing secured money bail increases defendants' likelihood of conviction by 12%. Stevenson (2018) also found a link between pretrial detention and the likelihood of conviction and determined that the increased likelihood of conviction was driven by the increase in guilty pleas observed among defendants who otherwise would have been acquitted or had their charges dropped had they been released (see also Dobbie et al., 2018).
26. This latter finding—that the deleterious case outcomes observed among those who experience pretrial detention stem from guilty pleas—is a common thread across much of the pretrial literature. For example, following the *In re Humphrey* decision in California, a group of researchers explored whether requiring courts to set bail according to defendants' ability to pay affected pretrial release and case outcomes (Lacoe et al., 2024). They found that under this new policy, the rate of pretrial detention decreased by 11%. Furthermore, defendants released pretrial were less likely to be convicted post-Humphrey—primarily because they were less likely to accept guilty pleas. These findings demonstrate that when courts are required to set bail at affordable levels, more people are released pretrial. That fewer people accept guilty pleas under these conditions is consistent with the notion that pretrial detainees may feel pressured to accept less favorable plea deals to secure release.

⁵ In the Heaton et al. (2017) investigation, which focused on misdemeanor cases, jail sentences averaged 17 days overall, and 25 and 7 days for detained and released defendants, respectively.

1 27. In light of the commonly observed link between pretrial detention and plea negotiation,
2 scholars have focused considerable attention on the reasons that defendants may take early
3 pleas. Chief among these is defendants' desire to go home (see e.g., Natapoff, 2018). Pretrial
4 detainees are subjected to poor conditions within jails, disruptions to work and family life, and
5 uncertainty about the length of detention, among other considerations (James & Glaze, 2006;
6 Kellough & Wortley, 2002; Rabinowitz, 2010; Smith, 2022). In addition, detained individuals
7 may experience prosecutorial pressures to accept pleas, as the deals themselves are often time-
8 limited (e.g., exploding offers).

9 28. Recognizing the disadvantaged bargaining position of pretrial detainees, some scholars have
10 argued that pretrial detention "constitutes a form of structural coercion as prosecutors can use
11 pretrial detention decisions that they advocated for at the bail hearing to secure a guilty plea
12 later on in the court process" (Petersen, 2020; p. 1019). Researchers demonstrating that
13 prosecutors are less likely to withdraw the charges of pretrial detainees than the charges of
14 people released pretrial further supports the conclusion that prosecutors leverage defendants'
15 detention status to encourage pleas (Kellough & Wortley, 2002). In an attempt to empirically
16 explore whether pretrial detention speeds up the pace of guilty pleas, Petersen (2020) drew on
17 data from felony defendants in 65 large urban counties from across the U.S. He found that
18 pretrial detainees plead guilty nearly three times faster than similarly situated released
19 defendants, suggesting that quick plea deals are a typical approach to obtain release for those
20 who are simply too poor to pay secured money bail.

21 29. As shown by these studies, the empirical literature clearly demonstrates that pretrial detention
22 results in worse case outcomes for the detainees. This work, which includes research on the
23 effects of pretrial detention on defendants' case outcomes, includes a number of rigorous, high
24 quality, causal analyses that have produced an unequivocal set of findings. Individuals who
25 experience pretrial detention are more likely to be convicted and to be sentenced to a period of
26 incarceration. They receive sentences that are, on average, longer than those of their peers.
27 These deleterious outcomes are largely attributable to guilty pleas, as people detained pretrial
28 are more likely to accept pleas, and to do so more quickly. Importantly, the worse case
outcomes observed among pretrial detainees are not exclusive to those experiencing long
periods of detention, as these downstream effects have been linked to any period of pretrial
detention.

20 Opinion 3: Pretrial detention for time periods of more than 24 hours has additional adverse effects on
21 detained individuals and the community.

22 30. Pretrial detention for more than 24 hours increases defendants' likelihood of committing
23 future crimes, thus diminishing public safety, limits individuals' labor market access and
24 increases their financial instability, places financial and emotional burdens on members of
25 their social networks, and reduces the financial well-being of their communities. I base my
26 conclusion on the following:

27 Pretrial detention is criminogenic.

28 31. Pretrial detention actually *increases* the likelihood of future criminal justice involvement. In
the preceding section, I discuss a number of high-quality studies that demonstrate the harms of

1 pretrial detention for defendants' case outcomes, and in the sections to follow I describe
2 adverse effects across economic and social domains. Despite these well-documented collateral
3 consequences, pretrial detention is often justified on the basis of its role in enhancing public
4 safety. Yet the scientific literature increasingly contradicts this justification, as a growing
number of studies have found that pretrial detention heightens individuals' probability of
committing new crimes.

5 32. Many of the empirically rigorous studies reviewed above document the criminogenic, or
6 crime inducing, effects of pretrial detention (Dobbie et al., 2018; Gupta et al., 2016; Heaton et
7 al., 2017; Leslie & Pope, 2017). In one such example, Heaton and colleagues (2017) examine
8 hundreds of thousands of misdemeanor cases in analyses that control for a wide range of
potentially confounding factors and find that pretrial detention increases the likelihood of any
future felony and misdemeanor charges by 32.2% and 9.7%, respectively, within eighteen
months of the initial bail hearing.

9 33. To help contextualize the implications of these findings, these authors used their estimated
10 effects of detention at 18 months post-hearing to calculate the number of new misdemeanor
11 and felony charges that can be anticipated by either detaining or releasing a representative
12 group of individuals facing misdemeanor charges. If released, this group would go on to
13 accumulate 2,800 new misdemeanor charges and 1,300 new felony charges in the first 18
months. If detained, they would accumulate 3,400 new misdemeanors and 1,700 new felonies
over the same period. In other words, the decision to detain (versus release) this group would
14 result in an additional 600 misdemeanors and an additional 400 felonies.

15 34. Similarly, drawing on nearly one million misdemeanor and felony arraignments in New York
16 City, Leslie & Pope (2017) find that pretrial detention increases the chances of being
17 rearrested within 2 years by 8 percentage points for the felony subsample and 12 percentage
18 points for the misdemeanor subsample. These findings demonstrate that although pretrial
19 detention may reduce defendants' likelihood of rearrest in the short term through
incapacitation, these short-run incapacitation effects are offset by the criminogenic effect of
20 pretrial detention on defendants' likelihood of rearrest following case disposition (Heaton et
21 al., 2017; Leslie & Pope, 2017). Put more simply, these findings demonstrate that, over the
22 long run, pretrial detention is criminogenic and therefore can undermine public safety.

23 *Pretrial detention negatively impacts individuals' economic well-being.*

24 35. The criminogenic effects of pretrial detention may seem counterintuitive, but they are
25 understandable when considered alongside the myriad ways in which pretrial detention
26 destabilizes individuals following their release. Quantitative and qualitative studies have
27 documented the labor market consequences of pretrial detention, including employment
disruption and difficulty accessing the formal labor market. For example, in the Dobbie et al.
(2018) article described above—which is a strong example of rigorous causal research on the
28 effects of pretrial detention—the authors also linked administrative court data to
administrative tax data from the IRS to examine the effects of pretrial detention on foregone
earnings and receipt of social benefits. They found that pretrial detention decreases
employment in the formal labor market and the receipt of employment- and tax-related

1 government benefits. Specifically, individuals who experience pretrial detention are nearly 10
2 percentage points less likely to be employed in the formal labor market, and are significantly
3 less likely to receive the earned income tax credit (EITC), than similarly situated released
4 defendants. They also receive significantly smaller unemployment insurance (UI) and EITC
5 amounts. Taken together, these estimates suggest that individuals who experience as few as
6 three days in pretrial detention lose an average of \$29,000 in income over a lifetime
7 (including earnings, UI income, and EITC income), with almost \$19,000 of that lost income
8 due to reduced earnings (Dobbie & Yang, 2021).

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36. After establishing that pretrial detention diminishes individuals' economic well-being, Dobbie and colleagues (2018) were interested in understanding *why* (i.e., the processes or pathways through which pretrial detention worsens labor market outcomes). They found that pretrial detention worsens defendants' employment outcomes—which, in turn, limits their eligibility for employment-related benefits—by increasing their likelihood of having a criminal conviction. In other words, when people cannot afford to pay the secured money bail set in their case, they often end up accepting plea deals to facilitate their release. This decision, however, can have long-term effects on their economic stability. Criminological literature clearly establishes that the stigma of a criminal conviction limits labor market access, including through field experiments documenting that even minor felony records diminish employer callbacks (e.g., Pager, 2003; Agan & Starr, 2017).

37. In other words, pretrial detainees fare worse in the labor market than their similarly situated peers who avoid detention because pretrial detainees are more likely to end up with a criminal conviction on their records, and a criminal record makes a person less attractive to employers for multiple reasons. These reasons include employers' view that people with criminal records are untrustworthy, legal restrictions and costs associated with hiring workers with a prior conviction, and social stigma (Dobbie & Yang, 2021).

38. In addition to the long-term employment consequences described above, a handful of studies have considered detention-related employment disruptions. For example, Smith (2022) explores other potential mechanisms via which pretrial detention may diminish individuals' employment prospects. Drawing on a series of semi-structured interviews, she finds that pretrial detention causes people to miss work, which increases their likelihood of job loss. In her sample, roughly one-in-five individuals reported having lost a job due to detention. And these detention-related job losses were common among individuals detained for even a few days. For example, among those with strong work histories, nearly half (46%) of those detained 4-7 days reported losing their jobs due to missed work. She also finds that vehicle loss is a common consequence of pretrial detention. More than one-in-ten study participants lost a vehicle over the course of their detention, and among those detained for more than a week, this figure was nearly one in three (29%). Most detention-related vehicle losses occurred after arrests precipitated by traffic stops or parking disputes when police officers authorized the vehicles to be towed and impounded. Although seldom considered in research on the employment consequences of pretrial detention, Smith's (2022) study indicates that material losses may be a further cause of the economic toll of pretrial detention; she found that people who experience detention-related job losses and vehicle seizures are less stably

1 employed three years later than their counterparts who experience neither of these detention-
2 related losses.

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39. A recent study using survey data from a sample of individuals arrested and prosecuted in New York City similarly considered links between pretrial detention and employment outcomes (Bergin et al., 2022). Comparing those who were and were not detained following their first court appearance, the authors found that pretrial detainees were 74% more likely to become unemployed since their arrest.

Pretrial detention negatively impacts detained individuals' families and communities.

40. Bergin et al. (2022) also considered the links between pretrial detention and a range of non-employment-related outcomes and found that pretrial detention is associated with loss of government benefits, housing instability, and a diminished capacity for individuals to care for their children.

41. Although Bergin and colleagues (2022) focused on the effects of pretrial detention on individuals, the economic and relational strains identified likely reverberate through families. These “unintended consequences” are consistent with a large volume of research on the effects of parental incarceration on child well-being, which has identified significant detriments across behavioral, educational, and health domains (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Geller et al., 2009; Haskins, 2014; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Turney, 2014; Wildeman et al., 2018). In addition to documenting the myriad ways in which children of incarcerated parents fare worse than their similarly situated peers, research on parental incarceration has demonstrated *how* parental incarceration diminishes child well-being, including through children’s experiences of emotional distress due to separation, the family’s exposure to economic and relational strain, and the stigma associated with criminal justice involvement (Foster & Hagan, 2015; Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2017; Turney, 2014). While much of this work has explored the consequences of either jail or prison incarceration, work focused squarely on the family members of people with frequent, low-level criminal justice involvement provides a stark reminder that the destabilizing effects of pretrial detention are often intensely experienced by family members (Comfort, 2016). Drawing on ethnographic data from case studies, Comfort (2016) finds that even short periods of jail incarceration can impose significant financial and emotional strains on families, particularly as they attempt to help their loved ones to stabilize upon release from jail.

42. Researchers focused explicitly on pretrial detention have similarly attempted to capture some of the spillover effects on detainees’ families and communities. Dobbie and Yang (2021) compared county-level pretrial detention rates with measures of intergenerational mobility (i.e., the extent to which a child’s social and economic opportunities depend on the socioeconomic status of their parents). The authors found that counties with high levels of pretrial detention exhibited lower levels of intergenerational mobility, demonstrating that the deleterious effects of pretrial detention may reach the next generation.

43. How could parents’ exposure to pretrial detention constrain their children’s life chances? To investigate this question, Dobbie and Yang (2021) compared county-level changes in poverty and employment to county-level pretrial detention rates, controlling for a range of county-

1 level factors. They found that increases in pretrial detention rates are associated with increases
2 in poverty rates and decreases in employment rates. The associations between pretrial
3 detention and these aggregate indicators of economic well-being were strongest among Black
4 communities, suggesting that pretrial detention takes a disparate economic toll on Black
communities.

5

6 44. Although the above conclusions are not based on causal evidence, they are in line with recent
7 research relying on research tools that are designed to test for causation, such as Kim and Koh
8 (2022). In that study, the authors examined the effect of the 2017 New Jersey bail reform on
9 the local labor market and found that the reforms—which led to increases in pretrial release
10 due to the state's reduced reliance on secured money bail—increased the probability of
11 employment among working age individuals. These effects were more pronounced among
12 Black individuals as compared to their white counterparts, a finding that is consistent with a
13 growing body of research on pretrial detention and inequality (see e.g., Menefee, 2018).

14

15 45. In sum, the scholarly literature indicates that pretrial detention adversely affects individuals,
16 their immediate social networks, and their broader communities by exacerbating crime;
17 heightening the risk of job loss and eroding individuals' future employment prospects;
18 reducing individuals' access to government assistance, including employment-related
19 benefits; contributing to housing instability and declines in child well-being; and causing
20 spillover effects that weaken the economic well-being of families and their broader
21 communities.

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23 Opinion 4: Pretrial detention for more than 24 hours does not make it any more likely that a person will
24 appear in court and increases the likelihood that a person will engage in new criminal activity while on
25 pretrial release.

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27 46. In my prior opinion, I review the literature indicating that pretrial detention is criminogenic in
28 general. Now I am going to answer a different question, which is whether pretrial detention
incentivizes law-abiding behavior and court appearance during the specific period when the
case is pending. This is an important question because standard justifications for pretrial
detention include: 1) ensuring that defendants appear in court by mitigating their risk of flight
and 2) protecting the community from further criminal activity by incapacitating individuals
determined to pose a risk to public safety. Many of the analyses discussed below compare
released individuals who experienced some period of detention to those who did not. This is
relevant because although some defendants remain in custody for the duration of their cases,
many who experience some period of pretrial detention are released prior to disposition—
often because they eventually obtain the money required to secure their release.

47. Pretrial detention for more than 24 hours increases the likelihood that a person will engage in
new criminal activity while on pretrial release, while pretrial detention for more than 24 hours
does not make it any more likely that a person will appear in court, and could make it less so.
I base these conclusions on the empirical literature below:

48. Multiple studies have revealed adverse effects on pretrial failure to appear and new criminal
activity after as little as a day (e.g., DeMichele et al., 2024; Lowenkamp et al., 2013;
Holsinger et al., 2023; Silver et al., 2024). For example, Lowenkamp and colleagues (2013)

1 draw on administrative data from jail bookings in Kentucky to examine the relationship
2 between individuals' time spent in pretrial detention and their pretrial outcomes (i.e., court
3 appearance, arrest on new charges). In statistical analyses that control for a range of potential
4 confounds, the authors find that those detained for 2-3 days were more likely to be arrested for
5 new criminal activity than those detained for only one day. They identify a similar pattern in
6 analyses focused on failure to appear; that is, being detained for 2-3 days instead of 1 day
7 heightened the risk of nonappearance.

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49. The notion that pretrial detention may adversely affect individuals' likelihood of rearrest or court appearance is at first perhaps somewhat counterintuitive. However, researchers and legal professionals have provided an intuitive explanation for why pretrial detainees often exhibit worse pretrial outcomes than similarly situated individuals who avoid pretrial detention altogether. They contend that pretrial detention worsens defendants' community stability—consistent with much of the research reviewed in the preceding sections. More specifically, pretrial detention results in lost wages and unemployment, housing instability, and other strains on defendants' families and broader support systems. Accordingly, the disruption caused by pretrial detention places many individuals at higher risk of failing to appear in court and being rearrested.

50. In line with the Lowenkamp et al. (2013) findings reviewed above, more recent research has similarly demonstrated that pretrial detention is not an effective means of improving defendants' pretrial outcomes. Holsinger and colleagues (2023) consider whether pretrial detention reduces failures to appear and rearrests using detailed data on the length of pretrial detention. Based on analyses of nearly 1.5 million Kentucky cases spanning over a decade, these authors find that pretrial detention for more than 23 hours increases the likelihood of a new arrest during the pretrial period, controlling for relevant charge and demographic characteristics. They find no consistent link, however, between pretrial detention and failure to appear. These findings indicate that incarcerating people during the pretrial period does not improve individuals' likelihood of either showing up in court or avoiding further contact with law enforcement. Instead, increases in pretrial detention length actually increase defendants' likelihood of being rearrested. The study by Holsinger and colleagues (2023) is particularly compelling given that the findings were based on analyses of statewide case-level data over a period of more than a decade.

51. Other recent research has identified similar patterns using a range of rigorous empirical approaches. In particular, Silver and colleagues (2024) drew on data from three U.S. counties to explore the link between pretrial detention and rearrest. These authors found that individuals detained for more than one calendar day exhibit a higher likelihood of new criminal activity as compared to those detained for a day or less. Relatedly, DeMichele and colleagues (2024) analyzed data from three jail systems in two states and found that spending at least one week in pretrial detention increased defendants' odds of failure to appear and rearrest by roughly 50%.

52. Taken together, the findings of multiple empirical studies, including several recent publications utilizing large samples and rigorous methodological approaches, demonstrate that pretrial detention increases the likelihood that a person will be arrested for a new crime during

1 the pretrial period. Furthermore, the literature reveals that relative to release, pretrial detention
2 either heightens the risk of nonappearance or has no effect in either direction.

3 Opinion 5: Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of
4 release at promoting appearance in court.

5 53. In the U.S., secured money bail is routinely used to incentivize a defendant's return to court.
6 The rationale underlying the assessment of bail is that having people put money on the line is
7 a particularly effective means of promoting appearance in court. Yet this belief conflicts with
8 the growing scientific evidence: the empirical literature shows that secured money bail is no
9 more effective than unsecured bail or other non-financial conditions of release at ensuring
10 court appearance. I base my conclusion on the following:

11 *Scientific evidence consistently shows that secured money bail either increases failure to appear rates*
12 *or has no impact on appearance rates.*

13 54. Several studies and recent policy evaluations provide strong evidence that secured money bail
14 is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release at promoting
15 appearance in court (e.g. Brooker et al., 2014; Griffin et al., 2024; Jones, 2013; Ouss &
16 Stevenson, 2023). The Brooker et al. (2014) study described in Opinion 1, in which the
17 authors exploited the random assignment of judges to cases to compare the court appearance
18 rates of defendants across judge groups (i.e., those who more frequently imposed unsecured or
19 secured bail) found no difference in the court appearance rates of defendants who were subject
20 to unsecured or secured money bail. Jones (2013) similarly considered the efficacy of secured
21 versus unsecured bail using data from defendants across 10 Colorado counties. Similar to the
22 Brooker et al. study, Jones found no difference in defendants' likelihood of court appearance
23 between those released on unsecured versus secured bail, and this was true across defendants'
24 risk levels as determined by a risk assessment tool. These findings demonstrate that whether
25 defendants are characterized as high-, medium-, or low-risk, secured money bail is no more
26 effective at ensuring court appearance than unsecured bail. More recently, Barno and
27 colleagues (2020) evaluated a supervised release program in Orange County, California and
28 found that defendants released on pretrial supervision were less likely to fail to appear than
similarly situated defendants released on money bail.

29 55. Recent policy evaluations have shed additional light on the efficacy of secured versus
30 unsecured bail or non-financial forms of release. For example, Ouss and Stevenson (2023)
31 relied on rigorous causal estimation strategies to examine pretrial outcomes before and after
32 the implementation of a no-cash-bail policy by Philadelphia's District Attorney (DA), in
33 which the Philadelphia DA's office stopped seeking monetary bail for a broad range of
34 misdemeanor and non-violent felony charges. The policy change increased the share of
35 defendants released without monetary conditions by 8 percentage points yet had no effect on
36 defendants' likelihood of appearing in court.

37 56. Similarly, Griffin and colleagues (2024) recently published a report documenting their
38 preliminary findings from a statewide evaluation of the criminal justice reforms enacted in
39 Illinois under the Pretrial Fairness Act (PFA), which eliminated the use of cash bail in all
40 criminal cases and prohibited pretrial detention altogether for most defendants, among other

1 changes. Based on analyses from 22 Illinois counties pre- and post-PFA, the authors found
2 sizeable changes in detention and release rates, such that the percent of defendants detained at
3 their initial court hearing decreased from 51% to 9%, and the percent detained for more than
4 three days after their initial court hearing decreased from 33% to 9%. Furthermore, after the
5 elimination of money bail in Illinois, overall FTA warrant rates slightly decreased. They note
6 that these findings are preliminary, and that they intend to do additional work to explore
7 different approaches to measuring nonappearance across different measurement periods,
among other considerations. Still, their analyses provide early evidence that the elimination of
money bail in Illinois has not upended court proceedings, as defendants are still
overwhelmingly attending their scheduled hearings even without the purported financial
incentive provided by posting money.

8 57. Indeed, the findings outlined above based on research from Philadelphia challenge the notion
9 that secured money bail incentivizes court appearance (Ouss & Stevenson, 2023). And this
10 makes sense given what we know about the money bail system, including that the money put
11 on the line almost never comes back to the defendant, regardless of whether they show up to
12 court. Defendants pay non-refundable premiums to the commercial bail industry under the
13 assumption that the bondsman will either ensure the defendant's appearance in court or pay
14 the full amount. Yet bail companies are seldom required to pay the forfeited bail (Page &
15 Scott-Hayward, 2022; Sawyer, 2022). Bail companies' low risk of having to pay the forfeited
16 bail frees them to spend fewer resources on actively monitoring clients or attempting to
recover additional funds from clients following a forfeiture, and to instead focus on securing
new clients and generating those easier profits (Page & Scott-Hayward, 2022). And in some
places, even if the defendant posts their bond in cash, the balance of their cash bond deposit is
used by the court to cover any fines, fees, or court costs outstanding on any cases linked to the
defendant (Griffin et al., 2023). In short, secured money bail is intended to serve as security
for court attendance, yet by failing to refund defendants' posted bail, the system is largely
eliminating any financial incentive to show up.

17 58. Additionally, as noted above, the use of secured money bail increases pretrial detention, and
18 some studies have found that being detained pretrial increases defendants' likelihood of
19 failing to appear in court (DeMichele et al., 2024; Lowenkamp et al., 2013).

20 *The evidence shows that other methods, such as court date reminder systems, are more effective at
improving appearance rates than secured money bail by addressing the reasons why most
21 defendants and others miss court appearances.*

22 59. In contrast, other interventions—such as court date reminder systems—have been proven to
23 significantly improve court appearance rates. These interventions respond to evidence
24 demonstrating that the overwhelming majority of failures to appear are unwilful and can be
attributed to forgetfulness and other logistical considerations (i.e., transportation, childcare)
(Gouldin, 2018). For example, in a recent randomized controlled trial focused on the
25 effectiveness of court date reminders, Ferri (2020) found that court date reminders reduced the
failure to appear rate by 37%. These findings are consistent with those of recent field studies
26 in which interventions, including a redesigned summons and text reminders, reduced failures
27 to appear by 13% and 21%, respectively (Fishbane et al., 2020). The literature demonstrates

1 that court date reminders and other simple nudges represent highly cost-effective strategies to
2 improve appearance rates and are more responsive to the reasons why most defendants miss
3 court appearances in the first place.

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60. Although current policy debates about how to best address failure to appear in court focus exclusively on defendants, research demonstrates that there are a range of other participants in the process who may similarly be required to appear (e.g., police, alleged victims, witnesses, lawyers) and yet fail to do so. Relying on 10 years of data from Philadelphia, Graef and colleagues (2024) find that it is not defendants, but rather other parties, who most frequently fail to appear. In more than half of cases (53%), an essential witness (i.e., police, alleged victims, or other witnesses) or private attorney failed to appear, whereas defendants failed to appear in fewer than 1 in 5 cases (19%). In fact, on a per-hearing level, these authors find that police officers fail to appear on subpoenas almost twice as often as defendants. The systemic nature of failures to appear and further reinforces the potential utility of solutions, such as court date reminders, that address the underlying causes of both defendant and non-defendant nonappearance (e.g., poor communication and other logistical considerations). They suggest that the predominant approach, in which courts bail or detain defendants with the goal of assuring their appearance at future hearings, is “asymmetrical,” as it incurs a disproportionate penalty on defendant nonappearance relative to other individuals who are likewise required to appear and fail to do so.

61. Ultimately, what we know about how the money bail system works in practice directly conflicts with its basic premise; that is, that the risk of forfeiting their posted bond incentivizes defendants to return to court. We know this because 1) defendants are rarely refunded their money, regardless of appearance, and 2) many instances of nonappearance are not willful. Accordingly, if people risk forfeiting their posted bond whether they appear or not, or if weighing the possibility of forfeiting their posted bond does not factor into their decision to appear in the first place, then the logic underlying the money bail system simply fails. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that defendants already appear at higher rates than other parties who are required to appear (on whom there are no bail conditions), and other existing cost-effective alternatives (e.g., court date reminders) have proven to be effective at increasing appearance rates.

62. In sum, the extant research demonstrates that secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions at promoting appearance in court. That is, relative to unsecured bail or nonmonetary conditions of release, secured money bail either increases defendants' likelihood of failing to appear or has no effect at all. In contrast, simple court date notification systems and other changes to improve the delivery of important court information to defendants have proven highly effective at promoting court appearance. Notably, these strategies are less costly to defendants than secured money bail and confer significant cost savings to jurisdictions compared to detention.

25 Opinion 6: Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions at
assuring public safety and law-abiding behavior.

1 63. Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of
2 release at assuring public safety and law-abiding behavior. I base my conclusion on the
3 following:

4 64. Money bail is often justified on the basis that it provides arrestees incentive to remain law
5 abiding. Yet in California, state law prohibits the forfeiture of money bail for new criminal
6 activity (Cal. Penal Code § 1305). It thus defies logic that secured money bail could
7 incentivize people to remain crime-free when there is no risk of losing money for being
8 arrested on a new charge while released on secured money bail. Still, given the emphasis on
9 public safety in bail statutes in California and across the U.S., an important question is
10 whether secured money bail is effective at promoting public safety. Below, I look to
11 voluminous research from across the country to address this question.

12 65. As noted, the use of secured money bail increases pretrial detention, and being detained
13 pretrial significantly increases the likelihood of being charged with a future crime. Several of
14 the studies reviewed above identify a link between pretrial detention and future crime (see
15 e.g., Dobbie et al., 2018; Heaton et al., 2017). Secured money bail is the primary driver of
16 pretrial detention, because most pretrial detainees remain in custody due to an inability to
17 come up with the funds required to secure their release (Cohen & Reaves, 2007).

18 66. Scholars have also sought to test empirically whether secured money bail causes recidivism.
19 In Gupta and colleagues' (2016) study described above, the authors found that the assignment
20 of secured money bail leads to a 6-9% yearly increase in the probability of being charged with
21 a future crime among criminal defendants in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. They conclude that
22 this could be due to the experience of pretrial detention, the financial burden imposed by
23 money bail, or the impacts of postconviction incarceration that stem from pretrial detainees'
24 increased likelihood of conviction and harsher sentences.

25 67. A growing number of studies have examined the outcomes of defendants released on secured
26 money bail to defendants released on unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release.
27 These studies demonstrate that releasing defendants on secured money bail provides no
28 greater benefit to public safety than releasing them on unsecured bail or non-monetary
alternatives. Jones (2013) stratified defendants based on their level of pretrial risk, as
determined by the Colorado Pretrial Assessment Tool, and found no difference in the rate of
receiving a new charge between released individuals with unsecured and secured bail.
Similarly, Brooker et al. (2014) found no difference in the rates of new arrests/filings between
two judge groups based on their propensity to assign unsecured versus secured bail. More
recently, evaluations of bail reform policies have provided additional evidence that secured
money bail provides no greater incentive to refrain from crime than other non-monetary
conditions of release. For example, Ouss and Stevenson's (2023) policy evaluation, described
above, found no impact of Philadelphia's No-Cash-Bail policy on the likelihood of receiving a
new charge. Notably, the Philadelphia reform did not affect the percentage of arrestees who
are detained, which enabled the researchers to determine that *release* on secured money bail
does not lead to more crime or negatively impact public safety.

1 68. A third set of studies have examined the separate question whether increases in the number of
2 people released pretrial following the implementation of no-cash-bail policies has affected
3 public safety. Stated differently, while cash bail increases pretrial detention, does limiting
4 cash bail and releasing more people result in more crime?⁶ Findings from Los Angeles show
5 that the answer is no: implementation of various changes to bail policy in LA County did not
6 fuel an increase in crime despite more people being released. These changes—which included
7 the implementation of an emergency bail schedule (releasing far more people without bail
8 during the pandemic than had been released beforehand), its retraction (reinstating secured
9 money bail), and the shift to Pre-Arraignment Release Protocols (PARPs) that once again
10 eliminated pre-arralment money bail for people arrested for many offenses—increased the
11 number of people released from jail pretrial but had largely no effects on total crime reports or
12 arrests (Sloan et al., 2024).

13 69. A recent report from the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) similarly found that the
14 implementation of emergency bail schedules dramatically restricting the use of secured money
15 bail (and hence increasing pretrial release) near the outset of the pandemic in March and April
16 2020 had no average effect on rearrests within 30 days over the first year of implementation
17 (Premkumar et al., 2024). Furthermore, these authors found that the revocation of emergency
18 bail orders likewise had no effect on rearrests, undercutting the notion that the imposition of
19 secured money bail for offenses that had previously been “zero bail” lowered the rate of
20 rearrests. The authors also found no evidence of an increase in rearrests for violent felonies
21 specifically, following release on a zero-bail offense.⁷

22 70. Studies that examine the likelihood of rearrest over a longer time period than the 2024 PPIC
23 study can also take into account the decreases in rearrests over a longer timeframe than
24 releasing people causes. This longer-term research has demonstrated that while pretrial
25 detention may decrease some offending in the short term due to defendants’ incapacitation,
26 any short-term reduction is offset once the criminogenic effects of pretrial detention over a
27 longer period are considered (Dobbie et al., 2018; Leslie & Pope, 2017). For example, Harris

18 6 This question is distinct from that addressed in studies such as Ouss and Stevenson (2023),
19 Jones, (2013), and Brooker (2014), all of which *examined among people released pretrial* whether
20 requiring secured money bail benefitted public safety. This set of studies is instead focused on the
21 differences in public safety outcomes between people being released pretrial and people being detained
22 pretrial. The setting of unaffordable secured money bail is the mechanism by which people are detained
23 pretrial. But ultimately the question is not about the efficacy of secured *money bail* relative to release on
24 nonmonetary conditions. Rather, it is simply about the effect on public safety of pretrial detention versus
25 pretrial release.

26 7 The PPIC report found a temporary increase in rearrests in the first few months following the
27 implementation of the pandemic-related Emergency Bail Schedule, but these increases were not sustained
28 over the long term despite enduring reductions to pretrial populations. More narrowly, the authors found
29 a statistically significant increase in felony rearrests following the implementation of zero bail, but there
30 was no corresponding decrease in felony rearrests once money bail was reinstated, undermining any
31 claim of a causal relationship between the imposition of money bail and felony rearrests in particular. As
32 the authors explain, changes in rearrest rates in the early months of the emergency bail schedules were
33 likely related to the social upheaval of the pandemic itself.

1 County, Texas implemented bail reforms that significantly increased the pretrial release rate.
2 These changes reduced conviction rates and sentencing severity without increasing future
3 contact with the criminal justice system (i.e., new case filings) within 1 year (Heaton, 2022).
4 Extending the follow-up to 3 years, this study found that the reform reduced future criminal
justice system contact (i.e., a 6% decline in new cases over 3 years), consistent with the
finding that pretrial detention is criminogenic.

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71. On the whole, existing research indicates that efforts to reduce pretrial populations, including by reducing jurisdictions' reliance on secured money bail, do not hinder public safety. Indeed, these findings have held across locations throughout the U.S. that have restricted their use of money bail via a broad range of mechanisms. Although most research has focused on evaluating specific bail policies in individual cities or states, a recent study conducted by the Brennan Center for Justice relied on data from dozens of jurisdictions to test the causal effect of bail reform on crime trends (Craigie & Grawert, 2024). Drawing on monthly crime data from 2015 through 2021 in 33 cities, including those that did and did not adopt bail reform, the authors found no relationship between bail reform and crime rates.

72. In sum, any notion that secured money bail serves as an incentive for people to remain crime free in California is illogical based on the observation that California law eliminates any risk of them losing that money due to rearrest while released on secured bail. The empirical findings are consistent with this observation. Evidence from several high-quality empirical investigations demonstrates that to the extent that money bail is intended to incentivize law abiding behavior, it appears to provide no greater incentive than unsecured bail or non-monetary alternatives. Also, the most recent studies demonstrate that reductions in levels of pretrial detention do not lead to increases in future crime. To the contrary, recent evidence shows that reforms aimed at increasing pretrial release may actually reduce future criminal justice contact.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing is true and correct.

May 24, 2025



Jennifer Copp

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EXHIBIT A

Exhibit A: Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

2012-2014 Ph.D., Sociology
Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH
Areas of Concentration: Criminology, Demography, and Quantitative Methods

2010-2012 M.A., Sociology
Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH

2008-2009 M.A., Gender Studies
The University of Cadiz, Cadiz, Spain

2004-2007 B.A., International Relations and Spanish
The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

2020-present Associate Professor, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
*Promotion to Professor effective August 2025

2017-present Director, Jail Policy and Research Institute, Florida State University

2015-2020 Assistant Professor, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University

2014-2015 NIJ Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, Bowling Green State University

2013-2014 Data Manager, Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS), Bowling Green State University

2010-2013 Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Sociology, Bowling Green State University

RESEARCH INTERESTS

pretrial justice; social influences on crime (and other problem behaviors); intimate partner violence; adolescence and young adulthood; quantitative and qualitative methods

PUBLICATIONS

Books

2021 Scott-Hayward, Christine, **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Stephen Demuth (eds.). *Handbook of Corrections and Sentencing: Pretrial Justice*. New York: Routledge.

Refereed Articles

In Press

Ranson, Andrew, Ashley Arnio, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Jurisdictional Context and the (Over)use of Pretrial Detention. *Social Science Research*.

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2024 Dismuke, Raven C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Jennifer M. Brown. "An Examination of Racial and Ethnic Variation in the Effect of Prison Visitation on Recidivism." *Crime & Delinquency*, 70(3), 728-755.

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2023 Mumford, Elizabeth A., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Kai MacLean. "Childhood Adversity, Emotional Well-Being, Loneliness and Optimism: A National Study." *Adversity & Resilience Science*, 4, 137-149.

2023 Mumford, Elizabeth A., Wei Wei Liu, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Bruce Taylor, Kai MacLean, & Peggy C. Giordano. "Relationship Dynamics and Abusive Interactions in a National Sample of Youth and Young Adults." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38(3-4), 3139-3164

2022 Blomberg, Thomas G., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & John Thrasher. “Translational Criminology, Politics, & Promising Practices.” *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 47, 1099-1115.

2022 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, William Casey, Thomas G. Blomberg, & George Pesta. “Pretrial Risk Assessment Instruments (PRAIs) in Practice: The Role of Judicial Discretion in Pretrial Reform.” *Criminology & Public Policy*, 21(2), 329-358.

2021 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Elizabeth A. Mumford, & Bruce G. Taylor. “Online Sexual Harassment and Cyberbullying in a Nationally Representative Sample of Teens: Prevalence, Predictors, and Consequences.” *Journal of Adolescence*, 93, 202-211.

2021 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Elizabeth I. Johnson, Anneliese C. Bolland, & John Bolland. “Household Member Arrest and Adolescent Externalizing Behaviors: The Roles of Family and Peer Climates.” *Children and Youth Services Review*, 129, 1-10.

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2021 Casey, William, **Jennifer E. Copp**, & William D. Bales. “Releases from a Local Jail: The Impact of Visitation on Recidivism.” *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 32(4), 427-441.

2021 Aizpurua, Eva, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Jorge J. Ricarte, and David Vazquez. “Controlling Behaviors and Intimate Partner Violence among Women in Spain: An Examination of Individual, Partner, and Relationship Risk Factors for Severe Physical and Psychological Abuse.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(1-2), 231-254.

2020 Johnson, Elizabeth, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Anneliese Bolland, & John Bolland. “Substance Use Profiles among Urban Adolescents: The Role of Family-Based Adversities.” *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 29, 2104-2106.

2020 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, & Wendy D. Manning. “Desistance from Crime during the Transition to Adulthood: The Influence of Parents, Peers, and Shifts in Identity.” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 57(3), 294-332.

2020 Soller, Brian, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Dana L. Haynie, & Alena Kuhlemeier. “Adolescent Dating Violence Victimization and Relationship Dissolution.” *Youth & Society*, 52(2), 187-208.

2020 Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. “When Worlds Collide: Linking Involvement with Friends and Intimate Partner

Violence in Young Adulthood.” *Social Forces*, 98(3), 1196-1222.

2020 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Bruce G. Taylor, & Elizabeth A. Mumford. “Financial Behaviors, Couple-Level Conflict, and Adolescent Relationship Abuse: Longitudinal Results from a Nationally Representative Sample.” *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 30(S1), 255-269.

2020 Meldrum, Ryan, Brae Campion Young, Sadhika Soor, Carter Hay, **Jennifer Copp**, Madison Trace, Joanne P. Smith-Darden, & Poco D. Kernsmith. “Are Adverse Experiences Associated with Deficits in Self-Control? A Test among Two Independent Samples of Youth.” *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 47(2), 166-186.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. “Neighborhood Norms, Disadvantage, and Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration.” *Sociological Forum*, 34(3), 594-615.

2019 Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. “Linking Parental Incarceration and Family Dynamics Associated with Intergenerational Transmission: A Life Course Perspective.” *Criminology*, 57(3), 395-423.

2019 Giordano, Peggy C., & **Jennifer E. Copp**. “Girls’ and Women’s Violence: The Question of General versus Uniquely Gendered Causes.” *Annual Review of Criminology*, 2, 167-189.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, & Wendy D. Manning. “The development of attitudes toward intimate partner violence: An examination of key correlates among a sample of young adults.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(7), 1357-1387.

2018 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. “Parental Incarceration and Child Well-being: Conceptual and Practical Concerns Regarding the Use of Propensity Scores.” *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 4(1), 1-12.

2018 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, and William D. Bales. “Jails and Local Justice System Reform: An Overview and Recommendations.” *The Future of Children*, 28(1), 103-124.

2017 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. “Living with Parents and Emerging Adults’ Depressive Symptoms.” *Journal of Family Issues*, 38(16), 2254-2276.

*Featured in the New York Times (“Late to Launch: The Post-Collegiate Struggle”) and the Dayton Daily News (“Hard to Launch”)

2017 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. “Gender Mistrust and Intimate Partner Violence during Adolescence and Young Adulthood.” *Journal of Family Issues*, 38(14), 2047-2079.

2016 Longmore, Monica A., Wendy D. Manning, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and Peggy C. Giordano. "A Prospective Study of Adolescents' Sexual Partnerships on Emerging Adults' Relationship Satisfaction and Intimate Partner Aggression." *Emerging Adulthood*, 4(6), 403-416.

2016 Woodard, Tracey, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Maternal Incarceration and Children's Delinquent Involvement: The Role of Sibling Relationships." *Children and Youth Services Review*, 70, 340-348.

2016 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. "Dating Violence and Physical Health: A Longitudinal Lens on the Significance of Relationship Dynamics and Antisocial Lifestyle Characteristics." *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 26(4), 251-262.

2016 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Elizabeth A. Mumford, and Bruce G. Taylor. "Money Lending Practices and Adolescent Dating Relationship Abuse: Results from a National Sample." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45(9), 1902-1916.

2016 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. "Couple-Level Economic/Career Concerns and Intimate Partner Violence in Young Adulthood." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78:744-758.

2016 Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. "Anger, Control, and Intimate Partner Violence in Young Adulthood: A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective." *Journal of Family Violence*, 31(1):1-13.

2015 Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. "Contested Domains, Verbal 'Amplifiers,' and Intimate Partner Violence in Young Adulthood." *Social Forces*, 94(2):923-951.

2015 **Copp, Jennifer**, Danielle Kuhl, Peggy Giordano, Wendy Manning, and Monica Longmore. "Intimate Partner Violence in Neighborhood Context: The Roles of Structural Disadvantage, Subjective Disorder, and Emotional Distress." *Social Science Research*, 53, 59-72.

2015 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. "Stay/Leave Decision-Making in Non-Violent and Violent Dating Relationships." *Violence and Victims*, 30(4):581-599.

2015 Giordano, Peggy C., and **Jennifer E. Copp**. "'Packages' of Risk: Implications for Determining the Effect of Maternal Incarceration on Child Wellbeing." *Criminology and Public Policy*, 14(1): 157-168.

2014 Longmore, Monica A., Wendy D. Manning, Peggy C. Giordano, and **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Intimate Partner Victimization, Poor Relationship Quality, and Depressive Symptoms during Young Adulthood." *Social Science Research*, 48:77-89.

Book Chapters, Law Review Articles, and Other Publications

2022 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. "Family- and School-Based Sources of Resilience among Children of Incarcerated Parents." In N. Rodriguez and J. Krysik (Eds.), *Children of Incarcerated Parents: From Understanding to Impact*. Springer.

2022 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. "A Life Course Perspective on Parental Incarceration and Other Family-Based Sources of Risk and Resilience." In J. Glick, V. King, and S. M. McHale (Eds.), *Parent-Child Separation: Causes, Consequences, and Pathways to Resilience*. Springer.

2021 Scott-Hayward, C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Stephen Demuth. "Introduction." In C. Scott-Hayward, J. Copp, and S. Demuth (Eds.), *Handbook of Corrections and Sentencing: Pretrial Justice*. New York: Routledge.

2021 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, and William Casey. "Pretrial Risk Assessment Instruments in the United States: Past, Present, and Future." In C. Scott-Hayward, J. Copp, and S. Demuth (Eds.), *Handbook of Corrections and Sentencing: Pretrial Justice*. New York: Routledge.

2020 **Copp, Jennifer E.** "The Impact of Incarceration on the Risk of Violent Recidivism." *Marquette Law Review*, 103(3):775-791.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, and Jessica N. Walzak. "Parent-Child Relationships, VI. Young Adulthood." In James J. Ponzetti, Maureen Blankemeyer, Sean M. Horan, Heidi Lyons, and Ayo Shigeto (Eds.), *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Families, Marriages, and Intimate Relationships* (pp. 631-634).

2018 Giordano, Peggy C., and **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Cognitions and Crime: Matza's Ideas in Classic and Contemporary Context." In Thomas G. Blomberg, Francis T. Cullen, Christoffer Carlsson, and Cheryl Lero Jonson (eds.), *Delinquency and Drift Revisited: The Criminology of David Matza and Beyond—Advances in Criminological Theory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

2014 Manning, Wendy D., Monica A. Longmore, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and Peggy C. Giordano. "The Complexities of Adolescent Sexual and Relationship Biographies: Fluidity, Meaning(s), and Implications for Well-Being." In E.S. Lefkowitz & S.A. Vasilenko (Eds.), *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development: Positive and Negative Outcomes of Sexual Behaviors*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

2013 Payne, Krista K. and **Copp, Jennifer E.** *Young Adults in the Parental Home and the Great Recession*. (FP-13-07). National Center for Family and Marriage Research. Retrieved from http://ncfmr.bgsu.edu/pdf/family_profiles/file126564.pdf.

Research Reports

2025 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Abigail Galvan. *Evaluating the Efficacy of the Palm Beach County Court Reminder Notification System*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal

Justice Commission.

2024 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, William M. Casey, and Thomas G. Blomberg. *Evaluating the Efficacy of Pretrial Changes Intended to Reduce the Jail Population: The Palm Beach County Public Defender Initiative*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2023 Giordano, Peggy C., Monica A. Longmore, Wendy D. Manning, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. *Mechanisms Underlying Desistance from Crime: Individual and Social Pathways*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

2023 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Thomas G. Blomberg. *Evaluating the Efficacy of Pretrial Changes Intended to Reduce the Jail Population: Pretrial Services' Supervision Unit*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2023 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Thomas G. Blomberg, Jacob Judd, and Nia La Tosa. *Pretrial Release Practices in Palm Beach County, FL: An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Existing Pretrial Release Mechanisms at Promoting Court Appearance and Public Safety*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2022 **Copp, Jennifer E.**. *An Evaluation of the Miami-Dade County Corrections and Rehabilitation Department's Project Second Chance for Incarcerated Parents with Minor Children*. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

2021 Mumford, Elizabeth A., Bruce G. Taylor, Weiwei Lui, Jennifer Copp, & Peggy Giordano. *Longitudinal Follow-Up in the National Survey of Teen Relationships and Intimate Violence (STRiV)*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice.

2021 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Jennifer M. Brown, & Thomas G. Blomberg. *Pretrial Detention, Public Safety, and Court Efficiency: Examining the Implementation and Impact of Administrative Order No.: 12.510-04/2020.9 on Felony Bond, Pretrial Release, Court Appearance, and New Criminal Activity*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2021 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, and William Casey. *An Evaluation of the FSU Young Parents Project: Assessing the Impact of Program Participation on Recidivism*. Tallahassee, FL: FSU Center for Prevention and Early Intervention Policy.

2020 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Thomas G. Blomberg, William Casey, and George Pesta. *Pretrial Risk Assessment in Palm Beach County, Florida: A Follow-Up to Recent Validation Efforts*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2020 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Thomas G. Blomberg, William Casey, and George Pesta. *Re-Validation of the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument-Revised in Palm Beach County, Florida: A Brief Report*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Thomas G. Blomberg, William Casey, and George Pesta. *Validation of the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument – Revised in Palm Beach County Florida*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice

Commission.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Julie Brancale, George Pesta, and Samantha Brown. *Pretrial Risk Assessment Tools*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Brown, Samantha, Julie Brancale, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and George Pesta. *The Effectiveness of Measures to Improve Victim Safety during the Pretrial Period*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Brown, Samantha, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Julie Brancale, and George Pesta. *Jail Reentry*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Brancale, Julie, Samantha Brown, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and George Pesta. *Alternatives to Arrest*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Brancale, Julie, Samantha Brown, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and George Pesta. *No-Jail and Low-Jail Options for Sentenced Populations*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Julie Brancale, George Pesta, Samantha Brown. *Harms Associated with Jail*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Brancale, Julie, **Jennifer E. Copp**, George Pesta, and Samantha Brown. *The Impact of Pretrial Interventions on Pretrial Failure*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, George Pesta, Julie Brancale, and Samantha Brown. *The Impact of Money Bail on Pretrial Failure*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts.

2019 Ranson, J.W. Andrew, **Jennifer E. Copp**, William Casey, Thomas G. Blomberg, and George B. Pesta. *Pretrial Decision-Making in Palm Beach County: An Examination of Racial and Ethnic Bias*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.

2019 **Copp, Jennifer E.** *Assessment of the FDC's Pilot Program for the Spectrum Risk Assessment*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Corrections.

2018 Hay, Carter, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Brian Stults, Brae Young, and Tiffaney Tomlinson. *Predicting Reoffending: Improving the Validity of Risk Assessment in the Florida Juvenile Justice System*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Juvenile Justice.

2018 Ranson, J.W. Andrew, William D. Bales, Thomas G. Blomberg, William Casey, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and George B. Pesta. *Evidence-Based Policy Planning for the Leon County Detention Center: Population Trends and Forecasts*. Tallahassee, FL: Leon County Sheriff's Office.

2015 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, and Wendi L. Johnson. *Patterns, Precursors, and Consequences of Teen Dating Violence: Analyzing Gendered and Generic Pathways*. National Institute of Justice Report NCJ249002. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. (<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/249002.pdf>)

GRANT SUPPORT

2025-2029 “Persistence and Desistance across Generations: A Longitudinal Investigation.” Role: Co-Investigator. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (\$971,369).

2024-2025 “Evaluating the Efficacy of Supportive Pretrial Release Strategies.” Role: Principal Investigator. Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (\$50,000), MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge.

2024-2025 “Court Date Reminders and Court Appearance in Palm Beach County, Florida.” Role: Principal Investigator. Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (\$50,000), MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge.

2024-2027 “Smart Reentry: Expanding Collaborative Efforts in the Community for More Successful Reentry.” Role: Principal Investigator of subcontract to Florida State University (\$80,000). Bureau of Justice Assistance (\$491,576).

2024-2027 “A Mixed-Method Examination of the Effectiveness of Money Bail and other Pretrial Release Options.” Role: Principal Investigator. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (\$560,195).

2023-2026 “Assessment of the Federal Bureau of Prisons’ (BOP) Restrictive Housing Practices.” Role: Co-Investigator. National Institute of Justice/Bureau of Prisons (\$7,800,000 total, \$871,020 to FSU).

2022-2024 “First Appearance Frequent Utilizer Pilot Project.” Role: Principal Investigator. Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (\$242,629), MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge.

2022 “Evaluation of Money Bond Practices in Palm Beach County, Florida.” Role: Principal Investigator. Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (\$67,250), MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge.

2021-2024 “Advising and Evaluation of the Walton County Jail and Reentry Program.” Role: Co-Principal Investigator. Walton County Sheriff’s Office (\$386,816).

2021 “Pretrial Detention, Public Safety, and Court Efficiency: Exploring the Consequences of Measures Enacted to Reduce the Spread of COVID-19 in Palm Beach County Jails.” Role: Co-Principal Investigator. Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (\$30,000), MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge.

2020 “FSU Young Parents Project: A Program Evaluation.” Role: Principal Investigator. FSU Center for Prevention and Early Intervention Policy (\$17,751).

2020 “Predicting Reoffending and Informing Treatment for Florida Residential Youth.” Role: Co-Investigator. Florida Department of Juvenile Justice (\$53,781).

2020-2022 “Mechanisms Underlying Desistance from Crime: Individual and Social Pathways.” Role: Co-Investigator. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (\$797,079).

2019-2022 “Miami-Dade County Corrections and Rehabilitation Department Project Second Chance for Incarcerated Parents with Minor Children.” Role: Principal Investigator of subcontract to Florida State University (\$112,455). Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (\$689,315).

2019 “Review of the State of Jail Research in America.” Role: Principal Investigator. Pew Charitable Trusts (\$55,998).

2018 “Assessment of the FDC’s Pilot Program for the Spectrum Risk Assessment.” Role: Principal Investigator. Florida Department of Corrections (\$15,000).

2018-2020 “A Validation of the Palm Beach County Jail Risk Assessment Instrument for the Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.” Role: Co-Investigator of subcontract to Florida State University (\$205,878). Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission, funded by MacArthur Foundation Safety and Justice Challenge Grant (\$2,424,400).

2018-2020 “Relationship Dynamics in the National Survey of Teen Relationships and Intimate Violence.” Role: Co-Investigator. U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (\$998,574).

2017-2018 “Improving the Validity of Risk Assessment in the Florida Juvenile Justice System.” Role: Co-Investigator. Florida Department of Juvenile Justice (\$207,817).

2016-2017 “The Effects of Parental Incarceration on Child Well-Being: Identifying Sources of Variability.” Role: Principal Investigator. Florida State University’s Council on Research and Creativity, Planning Grant (\$13,000).

2016 “Parental Incarceration and Child Well-Being: An Examination of Mediating Mechanisms and Conditional Effects.” Role: Principal Investigator. Florida State University’s Council on Research and Creativity, First Year Assistant Professor Program (\$20,000).

2014-2015 National Institute of Justice (NIJ) – Longitudinal Data on Teen Dating Violence: Postdoctoral Fellowship (\$199,139). Bowling Green State University, Department of Sociology (Faculty Sponsor: Peggy C. Giordano).

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Copp, Jennifer E. “Pretrial Release and Detention.” Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission. Palm Beach County, FL, May 2025.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Evaluating the Efficacy of Pretrial Changes Intended to Reduce the Jail Population: The Palm Beach County Public Defender Initiative.” Palm Beach County

Criminal Justice Commission. Palm Beach County, FL, February 2024.

Copp, Jennifer E. “The Efficacy of Pretrial Changes Intended to Reduce the Jail Population through Pretrial Services’ Supervision Unit.” Palm Beach County Board of County Commissioners. Palm Beach County, FL, December 2023.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Evaluating the Efficacy of Pretrial Chances Intended to Reduce the Jail Population.” Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission. Palm Beach County, FL, September 2023.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Bail Reform.” Tallahassee Women’s Lawyer Association. Tallahassee, FL, June 2022.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Addressing Crime in the Big Bend through Education, Job Training, and Community Support.” Goodwill Industries – Big Bend, Annual Meeting. Tallahassee, FL, May 2022.

Copp, Jennifer E. “The State of the Science on Bond: Reviewing Recent Evidence from Palm Beach County and other U.S. Jurisdictions.” Palm Beach Public Defender’s Office. Palm Beach, FL, January 2022.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Pretrial Detention, Public Safety, and Court Efficiency: Examining the Implementation and Impact of Administrative Order No.: 12.510-04/2020.9 on Felony Bond, Pretrial Release, Court Appearance, and New Criminal Activity.” Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission. Palm Beach, FL, December 2021.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Reimagining Pretrial.” Visions Of Justice 2021. Delaware Center for Justice. Wilmington, DE, October 2021.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Qualitative Research Methods.” Graduate Student Workshop Series, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University. Tallahassee, FL, February 2021.

Copp, Jennifer E. “A Life Course Perspective on Parental Incarceration and Other Family-Based Sources of Risk and Resilience.” 28th Annual National Symposium on Family Issues. The Pennsylvania State University, October 2020.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Validation Study of the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument – Revised in Palm Beach County, Florida.” Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission. Palm Beach, FL, December 2019.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Research on Jails and Jail Alternatives.” Michigan Joint Task Force on Jail and Pretrial Incarceration. Traverse City, MI, August 2019.

Copp, Jennifer E. “The Impact of Incarceration on the Risk of Violent Recidivism.” Marquette University Law School Conference, Responding to the Threat of Violent Recidivism: Alternatives to Long-Term Incapacitation. Milwaukee, WI, June 2019.

Copp, Jennifer E. “Longitudinal Data Analysis: An Introduction to Causal Analyses and Individual Growth Modeling.” Graduate Student Workshop Series, College of Criminology and

Criminal Justice, Florida State University. Tallahassee, FL, February 2017.

Copp, Jennifer E., William D. Bales. "Jails." Authors' conference for *The Future of Children*, The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and The Brookings Institution, Princeton University. Princeton, NJ, March 2017.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. "The Influence of Gender Mistrust on Trajectories of Intimate Partner Violence." Center for Family and Demographic Research (CFDR) Speaker Series, Bowling Green State University. Bowling Green, OH, January 2015.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Copp, Jennifer E. 2024. "The Efficacy of Pretrial Risk Assessment Instruments: Exploring Questions of Predictive Validity." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Casey, William M., & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2024. "Assessing the Use and Impact of a Bail Schedule in Florida." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Galvan, Abigail, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2024. "Evaluating the Efficacy of a Support-Based Model of Pretrial Supervision." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Cochenour, Trey, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2024. "Pretrial Supervision Changes Intended to Increase Pretrial Release: Exploring the Effects on Pretrial Release and Compliance." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy Giordano, Wendy Manning, & Monica Longmore. 2023. "A Life Course Perspective on Criminal Continuity and Change: Exploring the Roles of Structural and Family of Origin Factors." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, PA.

Giordano, Peggy, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy Manning, & Monica Longmore. 2023. "Relationship Dynamics and Desistance from Crime." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, PA.

Siennick, Sonja, Jacob Judd, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2023. "Family-Related Adversity and Recidivism among Residentially Committed Youth." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, PA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy Giordano, Wendy Manning, & Monica Longmore. 2022. "Desistance from Crime: A Social Learning Approach to Unpacking the Good Marriage Effect." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Judd, Jacob, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2022. “The Effect of Misdemeanor Pretrial Detention on Speed of Guilty Pleas.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Rich, Jessica, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2022. “Diminishing Health and No Help: Exploring the Relationship between Health-Related Services and Recidivism. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Copp, Jennifer E., & Stephen Demuth. 2021. “The Efficacy of Money Bail.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

William Casey, **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Stephen Demuth. 2021. “Disparities in the Pretrial Process: Race, Ethnicity, and Citizenship.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Copp, Jennifer E., Thomas Blomberg, Julie Brancale, Erin Castro, & Marin Wenger. 2021. “Evaluating a Comprehensive Jail and Reentry Program: A Partnership with the Walton County Sheriff’s Office.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Criminal Justice Association, Daytona Beach, FL.

Johnson, Elizabeth, Julie Poehlmann-Tynan, J. Mark Eddy, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2020. “Risk and Resilience in Contexts of Accumulated Adversity: Adolescents with Incarcerated Parents.” Panel discussion at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego, CA. Cancelled due to COVID-19.

Copp, Jennifer, Kristina Henson, William Casey, Damir Kukce, George Pesta, & Thomas Blomberg. 2019. “Implementing and Evaluating Pretrial Reform.” Paper presented at the 75th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Taylor, Bruce, Elizabeth Mumford, Weiwei Liu, Peggy Giordano, & **Jennifer Copp**. 2019. “Findings from the National Survey of Teen Relationships and Intimate Violence (STRiV3).” Paper presented at the 75th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Hay, Carter, Brian Stults, **Jennifer Copp**, Brae Campion Young, & Tiffaney Tomlinson. 2019. “The Implications of Race for Assessing Risk and Predicting Reoffending.” Paper presented at the 75th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Copp, Jennifer E., William M. Casey, J.W. Andrew Ranson, & Thomas G. Blomberg. 2019. “Validation and Impact Assessment of the Virginia Pretrial Assessment Instrument-Revised (VPRAI-R) in Palm Beach County, Florida. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Criminal Justice Association, Nashville, TN.

Hay, Carter, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Brian Stults, Brae Campion Young, & Tiffaney Tomlinson. 2018. “Improving Risk to Reoffend Predictions in Florida Juvenile Justice.” Paper presented at the 74th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Copp, Jennifer E., William D. Bales, Thomas G. Blomberg, & George Pesta. 2018. “Pretrial Release Decision in a Local Jail: Examining the Role of Race/Ethnicity and

Socioeconomic Status.” Paper presented at the 74th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Ranson, J.W. Andrew, Ashley Arnio, **Jennifer E. Copp**, & William D. Bales. 2018. “An Examination of the Use of Pretrial Detention across U.S. Counties.” Paper presented at the 74th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Bales, William D., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Thomas G. Blomberg. 2018. “Recidivism among Inmates Released from a Local Jail.” Paper presented at the 74th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Casey, William, William D. Bales, Jennifer E. Copp, & Thomas G. Blomberg. 2018. “Releases from a Local Jail: The Impact of Visitation on Recidivism. Paper presented at the 74th meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Copp, Jennifer E. 2018. “Parental Incarceration and other Adverse Childhood Experiences: A Latent Class Approach to Understanding the Consequences of ACEs for Adolescent and Young Adult Well-Being.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Denver, CO.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. 2018. “Linking Parental Incarceration and Family Processes Associated with Intergenerational Transmission: A Life Course Perspective on Social Learning.” Paper presented at the 1st National Children of Incarcerated Parents Conference, Phoenix, AZ.

Copp, Jennifer E., and Jillian J. Turanovic. 2017. “Disentangling Parental Incarceration Effects: Assessing Changes in Well-Being across the Transition to Adulthood.” Paper presented at the 73rd meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, PA.

David Vazquez, Eva Aizpurua, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and Jorge J. Ricarte. 2017. “Perceptions of Violence Against Women (VAW): Assessing Individual and Country-Level Correlates.” Paper presented at the American Association for Public Opinion Research, New Orleans, LA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, & Wendy D. Manning. 2016. “The Neighborhood Normative Climate and Intimate Partner Violence during Young Adulthood.” Paper presented at the 72nd meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, LA.

Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Monica A. Longmore, & Wendy D. Manning. 2016. “Differential Effects of Maternal and Paternal Incarceration on Child Wellbeing? A Gendered, Life Course Lens on Long-Term Impact. Paper presented at the 72nd meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, LA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Eva Aizpurua, Jorge J. Ricarte, and David Vazquez. 2016. “Controlling Behaviours and Intimate Partner Violence among Spanish Women.” Paper presented at the 16th annual conference of the European Society of Criminology, September,

Muenster, Germany.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. 2016. “Parental Incarceration and Child Well-Being: A Methodological and Theoretical Critique of Propensity Score Analysis.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, Seattle, WA.

Aizpurua, Eva, David Vazquez, Jorge J. Ricarte, and **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2016. “Estrategias de Control y Violencia de Genero en las Relaciones de Pareja.” Paper presented at the XI Congreso Espanol de Criminologia, June, Barcelona, Spain.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, Wendy D. Manning. 2016. “Relationship Quality, Churning, and Intimate Partner Violence among Teens.” Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, March, Baltimore, MD.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. 2015. “A Life Course Perspective on the Influence of Parental Incarceration on Child Well-Being: Unpacking Lifestyle, Parenting, and Incarceration Effects.” Paper presented at the 71st annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, Washington DC.

Giordano, Peggy C., and **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2015. “Will: Cognition and the Decision to Offend.” Paper to be presented at the 71st annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, Washington DC.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. 2015. “Neighborhood Norms, Disadvantage, and Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration Across Adolescence and Young Adulthood.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, May, San Diego, CA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendi L. Johnson, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. 2015. “Complicating the IPV-Health Link: The Role of Relationship Context.” Paper presented at the National Conference on Health and Domestic Violence, March, Washington, DC.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. 2014. “Adolescents’ Gender Mistrust and Timing of First IPV Experience.” Paper presented at the 70th annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, San Francisco, CA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. 2014. “IPV in Young Adulthood: The Role of Life Course Stressors and Health Concerns.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, San Francisco, CA.

Manning, Wendy D., Monica A. Longmore, Peggy C. Giordano, and **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2014. “Adolescents’ Sexual Relationships and Young Adults’ Well-Being.” Paper presented at annual meeting of the Population Association of America, April, Boston, MA.

Monica A. Longmore, Peggy C. Giordano, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and Wendy D. Manning. 2014. “Sexual Coercion, Sexual Manipulation, and Condom Coercion among Young Adults in Intimate Relationships.” Paper presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence Biennial Meeting, March, Austin, TX.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. 2013. “Measurement of Teen Dating Violence: Variation in Assessment based on Multiple Indicators.” Paper presented at the 69th annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology meeting, November, Atlanta, GA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Danielle Kuhl, Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. 2013. “Neighborhood Disadvantage, Strain, and Intimate Partner Violence: Linking Structural Context to Emotional Response.” Paper presented at the 69th annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, Atlanta, GA.

Copp, Jennifer E., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and Monica A. Longmore. 2013. “Living with Parents and Well-Being in Emerging Adulthood.” Paper presented at the 6th Conference on Emerging Adulthood, October, Chicago, IL.

Longmore, Monica A., Peggy C. Giordano, Wendy D. Manning, and **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2013. “Intimate Partner Violence and Young Adults’ Well-Being: The Influence of Relational Quality.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, New York, NY.

Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, Monica A. Longmore, and Julia Mack. 2012. “Delinquency Involvement Across the Period from Adolescence to Young Adulthood: The Complex Role of Friends and Romantic Partners.” Paper presented at the 68th annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, Chicago, IL.

Copp, Jennifer E. 2012. “Stay/Leave Decision-Making in Violent and Non-Violent Dating Relationships.” Paper presented at the 68th annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, November, Chicago, IL.

Copp, Jennifer E. 2011. “Stay/Leave Decision-Making in Violent Dating Relationships.” Paper presented at the 5th Annual OSU/BGSU Graduate Student Conference, October, Columbus, OH.

ACTIVITIES AND SERVICE

Professional Service

2023	Sub-Area Chair, American Society of Criminology Program Committee
2023	Member, ASC Division of Corrections and Sentencing, Awards Committee
2019-present	Advisory Committee Member, Florida Statistical Analysis Center, Florida Department of Law Enforcement

2018-present	Research Advisory Council Member, Pretrial Justice Institute
2016-2019	Scientific Review Panel, Violence against Women, National Institute of Justice and Office of Violence against Women
2018	Committee Member, Outstanding Scholarly Contribution Award of the ASA Section on Children and Youth
2015-present	Research Affiliate, Center for Family and Demographic Research, Department of Sociology, BGSU

Proposal Reviews:

National Institute of Justice
Bureau of Justice Assistance

External Promotion and Tenure Reviews:

George Mason
Mississippi State University

Manuscript reviewer for: *American Sociological Review*, *Crime & Delinquency*, *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *Criminology*, *Demography*, *Emerging Adulthood*, *Journal of Adolescence*, *Journal of Family Issues*, *Journal of Family Violence*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *Psychology of Violence*, *Social Forces*, *Social Problems*, *Social Science Research*, *Sociological Spectrum*, *Violence & Victims*, *Violence Against Women*, and *Youth & Society*, among others.

University Service

2023-present	ASPIRE Steering Committee (Team Lead), Development of FSU Strategic Research Plan, Florida State University
2023-present	Methods Committee (Chair), Graduate Comprehensive Examinations, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2023-present	Faculty Recruitment Committee, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2022-present	Curriculum Review Committee (Chair), College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2021-present	Graduate Policy Committee, Florida State University
2020-present	Tenure and Promotion Committee, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2019-present	Council of Associate Deans for Research, Florida State University

2021-2022	Methods Committee (Chair), Graduate Comprehensive Examinations, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2019-present	Faculty Senate Library Committee, Florida State University
2019-2021	Faculty Recruitment Committee, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2019-2021	Methods Committee, Graduate Comprehensive Examinations, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2016-2021	Administrative Advisory Committee, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2016-2020	Scholarship Committee, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2016-2019	Methods Committee (alternate), College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University

AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2017	Distinguished Dissertation Award, Bowling Green State University
2014-2015	Postdoctoral Fellow, National Institute of Justice
2014	Outstanding Research Assistant, Bowling Green State University

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Graduate Courses

CCJ 6920	<i>Collateral Consequences of Incarceration</i> College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
CCJ 6920	<i>Criminal Justice Contact and Family Life</i> College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University

Undergraduate Courses

CCJ 3010	<i>Corrections</i> College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
CCJ 4497	<i>Criminal Justice Policy</i> College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
CCJ 4663	<i>Women, Crime, and Justice</i> College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
SOC 2020	<i>Social Problems</i> Department of Sociology, Bowling Green State University

STUDENT ADVISING

Doctoral Students

William Casey, Doctoral Dissertation Chair, Florida State University
Julie Brancale, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Florida State University
Carmen Maria Leon Marquez, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha
Julie Kuper, Doctoral Dissertation Committee Co-Chair, Florida State University
Lauren Herod, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Florida State University, Social Work
Meagan Robbins, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Texas State University, Criminal Justice
Matthew Vanden Bosch, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Florida State University
Luke Novak, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, University of Colorado – Boulder, Sociology

Master's Students

Alexis Singer, Master's Area Paper Committee, Florida State University
William Casey, Master's Area Paper Committee, Florida State University
Jessica Walzak, Master's Area Paper Committee, Florida State University
Julie Kuper, Master's Area Paper Committee, Florida State University,
Sarah Green, Master's Area Paper Committee, Department of Modern Languages, Florida State University
Emmanuel Manhiri, Master's Special Project Committee, Department of Human Development and Family Sciences, Florida State University
Melissa Callea, Master's Area Paper Chair, MPA/Criminology, Florida State University
Daniela Laurel, Master's Area Paper Chair, Florida State University

Supervised Teaching

Alexis Singer
Alyssa Talaugon
Nia La Tosa

Undergraduate Honors Students

Caroline Mooney, Honors Thesis Chair, Florida State University
Destiny Carbelllo, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University
Ellis Rainey, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University
Alanna Densmore, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University

Directed Individual Study and Comprehensive Exam Preparation (Graduate)

Tracey Woodard (DIS)
William Casey (comp prep, DIS)
Vivian Hughes (comp prep)
Kalle Pray (comp prep, DIS)
Raven (Stewart) Dismuke (DIS)
Jessica Walzak (DIS)
Matthew Vanden Bosch (DIS)
Jacob Judd (DIS)
Emily Hargrove (comp prep)

Directed Individual Studies (Undergraduate)

Stephanie Prinsloo
Benjamin Weinrich
Taisel Fortun
Caroline Mooney
Kristy Batista
Rachel White
Laura Arrieta
Eleana Cummings

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Research

Preparing, Archiving, and Accessing NIJ Data at NACJD, August 2013
Introduction to Propensity Score Analysis by Matthew VanEseltine (BGSU), June 2013
ICPSR Qualitative Research Methods by Paul Mihas (UNC Chapel Hill), August 2016
Causal Inference Pitfalls in Criminology and How to Avoid Them by Sarah Tahamont (ASC Annual Meeting Workshop), November 2021
Causal Inference by Peter Hull (Arnold Ventures), November 2024

Teaching

Teaching workshop with Melinda Messineo (Ball State University), March 2014
Graduate seminar on teaching sociology with Laura Sanchez, Fall 2011

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association
 Sections: Crime, Law, and Deviance, Children and Youth, Aging and the Life Course
American Society of Criminology
 Sections: Division of Corrections and Sentencing
Population Association of America

EXHIBIT B

Exhibit B: Materials Reviewed

Aaron, L., & Dallaire, D. H. (2010). Parental incarceration and multiple risk experiences: Effects on family dynamics and children's delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 39(12), 1471–1484. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9458-0>

Agan, A. Y., & Starr, S. B. (2017). The effect of criminal records on access to employment. *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings*, 107(5), 560–564. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.p20171003>

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Anderson, C. N., Cochran, J. C., & Montes, A. N. (2021). The pains of pretrial detention: Theory and research on the oft-overlooked experiences of pretrial jail stays. In C. Scott-Hayward, J. Copp, & S. Demuth (Eds.), *Handbook on pretrial justice* (pp. 13–36). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003149842-2>

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Arditti, J. A. (2018). Parental incarceration and family inequality in the United States. In R. Condry & P. Scharff Smith (Eds.), *Prisons, punishment, and the family: Towards a new sociology of punishment?* (pp. 39–57). Oxford University Press.

Arnold, D., Dobbie, W., & Yang, C. S. (2018). Racial bias in bail decisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 133(4), 1885–1932. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjy012>

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Barno, M., Martínez, D. N., & Williams, K. R. (2020). Exploring alternatives to cash bail: An evaluation of Orange County's Pretrial Assessment and Release Supervision (PARS) program. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45, 363–378. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-019-09506-3>

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Borys, B., & Wells, A. (2025). *The effects of risk-based pre-arraignment release in Los Angeles County: Evidence from the first year of operation of the Pre-Arraignment Release Protocol*. Superior Court of California, County of Los Angeles.

Brooker, C. M. B., Jones, M. R., & Schnacke, T. R. (2014). *The Jefferson County Bail Project: Impact study found better cost effectiveness for unsecured recognizance bonds over cash and surety bonds*. Pretrial Justice Institute.

Campbell, C. M., Labrecque, R. M., Weinerman, M., & Sanchagrin, K. (2020). Gauging detention dosage: Assessing the impact of pretrial detention on sentencing outcomes using propensity score modeling. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 70, 101719. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2020.101719>

Casey, W. M., Copp, J. E., & Demuth, S. (2024). Disparities in the pretrial process: Race, ethnicity, and citizenship. *Justice Quarterly*, 41(2), 268–290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2023.2209151>

Chevrier, C. (2021). Why individuals who are held pretrial have worse case outcomes: How our reliance on cash bail degrades our criminal legal system. In In C. Scott-Hayward, J. Copp, & S. Demuth (Eds.), *Handbook on pretrial justice* (pp. 67–87). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003149842-5>

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Comfort, M. (2016). “A twenty-hour-a-day job”: The impact of frequent low-level criminal justice involvement on family life. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 665(1), 63–79. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716215625038>

Copp, J. E., & Bales, W. D. (2018). Jails and local justice system reform: Overview and recommendations. *The Future of Children*, 28(1), 103–124. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26641549>

Craigie, T.-A., & Grawert, A. (2024). *Bail reform and public safety: Evidence from 33 cities*. Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law. <https://www.brennancenter.org>

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Dobbie, W., Goldin, J., & Yang, C. S. (2018). The effects of pretrial detention on conviction, future crime, and employment: Evidence from randomly assigned judges. *American Economic Review*, 108(2), 201–240. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20161503>

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Graef, L., Mayson, S. G., Ouss, A., & Stevenson, M. T. (2024). Systemic failure to appear in court. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 172(1), 1–121.

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Leslie, E., & Pope, N. G. (2017). The unintended impact of pretrial detention on case outcomes: Evidence from New York City arraignments. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 60(3), 529–557. <https://doi.org/10.1086/695285>

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McDonough, A., Enamorado, T., & Mendelberg, T. (2022). Jailed while presumed innocent: The demobilizing effects of pretrial incarceration. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(3), 1777–1790. <https://doi.org/10.1086/719006>

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Monaghan, J., van Holm, E. J., & Surprenant, C. W. (2022). Get jailed, jump bail? The impacts of cash bail on failure to appear and re-arrest in Orleans Parish. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 47, 56–74. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09591-9>

Muentner, L., Holder, N., Burnson, C., Runion, H., Weymouth, L., & Poehlmann-Tynan, J. (2019). Jailed parents and their young children: Residential instability, homelessness, and behavior problems. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28, 370–386. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1265-3>

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