

EXHIBIT A

6. My recent research focused on local correctional systems has received the support of federal (e.g., National Institute of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance) and local agencies (e.g., Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission, Walton County Sheriff's Office), in addition to private foundations (e.g., John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts).
7. This research has included multiple studies on jails and pretrial detention, for example, in which I have evaluated pretrial policies and practices and explored aspects of pretrial decision-making (e.g., Copp, 2025; Copp, Casey, Blomberg, & Pesta, 2022; Casey, Copp, & Demuth, 2024; Ransom, Arnio, & Copp, in press). In addition to contributing to our understanding of pretrial processes and outcomes, my work has shed light on the need for research that considers how communities contend with reform strategies (Copp et al., 2022; Copp & Casey, 2021) and emphasized the challenges to criminal justice reform—both in the pretrial context and the broader criminal justice system (Blomberg, Copp, & Turanovic, 2024).
8. These works and other research, talks, and professional activities can be found on my curriculum vitae, which I have attached as Exhibit A. The CV includes references to all of my publications from the past 10 years.
9. I have been asked to review empirical studies and provide my expert opinion on the link between secured money bail and pretrial detention, the consequences of pretrial detention, and the effectiveness of secured money bail relative to other non-financial mechanisms of release based upon my knowledge, skill, experience, training, and education in the field of criminal justice and my review of the empirical literature.
10. I am being compensated at a rate of \$250 per hour for my work on behalf of the Plaintiffs in this case as well as reimbursement for any out-of-pocket expenses, reasonably and necessarily incurred in connection with the performance of my responsibilities on behalf of Plaintiffs.
11. In the past 4 years, I have testified as an expert at a deposition in *Sandoval v. Riverside County*, Case No. CVRI25202556 (Cal. Sup. Ct. 2025).

II. Materials Reviewed and Methodology

11. I have attached as Exhibit B a list of materials that I reviewed in preparing this declaration. The studies I reviewed primarily evaluate the effectiveness of different mechanisms of pretrial release and the consequences of pretrial detention for individuals and the community.
12. The materials listed in Exhibit B were compiled from a comprehensive review of the literature. After identifying relevant reports and articles, I assessed these for reliability and accuracy based on my professional knowledge, prior training, and familiarity with the statistical methods the authors employed. My assessment considers the statistical

modeling approach, study design, covariates and potential sources of confounding, and the statistical significance of the authors' findings.¹

13. In addition to Exhibit B, I reviewed the following materials, as provided by Plaintiffs' counsel.
 - a. Reports 1-9 of the Court Appointed Monitor
 - b. Summary Expert Report of Dr. Stephen Demuth (Document 690-4)
 - c. Transcript of Oral and Videotaped Deposition of Dr. Stephen Demuth (February 28, 2017).
14. Based on my assessment of the literature and my own training and research background, I have formed a series of opinions about the effectiveness of different mechanisms of pretrial release and detention and the consequences of pretrial release versus detention. I may offer new or different opinions, and my opinions are subject to change, should new research lead to a different set of conclusions; however, my opinions are based on the most robust and reliable empirical findings in the current literature.
15. My analysis is ongoing, as new research is frequently being published on these important issues.

III. Summary of Opinions

16. I was asked to prepare opinions on the following seven questions. I summarize my answers below and then elaborate on each in turn.
 - i. Question 1: Does the use of secured money bail, as opposed to unsecured or non-monetary conditions of release, result in increased pretrial detention?

Opinion 1: As compared to unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release, the use of secured money bail increases defendants'

¹ Covariates are variables that are related to the outcome of a study and/or the variable of interest (i.e., the variable we think might cause or influence the outcome). Researchers include covariates in their analyses to account for potential differences between groups and to improve the accuracy of their results. Common examples of covariates include age, gender, race/ethnicity, and education. Confounders are a special class of covariates that are related to both the outcome and the variable of interest. For example, 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.

odds of pretrial detention due to individuals' inability to pay.² In fact, pretrial detention primarily results from individuals' inability to pay.

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

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

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

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

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

Opinion 4: Pretrial detention (followed by release) heightens the risk that defendants will engage in new criminal activity during the pretrial period and 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.

- v. Question 5: 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 5: No. Findings from several high-quality empirical investigations demonstrate that secured money bail provides no greater

² With secured money bail, the defendant pays money up-front to secure their release from custody. Unsecured money bail, in contrast does not require a payment to obtain release from custody. 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.

incentive to remain law-abiding than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release.

- vi. Question 6: Is secured money bail more effective than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release at assuring appearance in court?

Opinion 6: 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.

- vii. Question 7: What factors/events may contribute to a higher rate of bond forfeitures and revocations for personal bonds/general order bonds compared to secured money bail?

Opinion 7: Higher bond forfeiture or revocation rates may reflect differences in judicial discretionary decision-making or group composition by bond type. Additionally, because defendants released on personal/general order bonds may be more economically disadvantaged than those able to secure money bail, they may be more vulnerable to the logistical and practical barriers to court appearance.

IV. Opinions

1. The use of secured money bail, as opposed to unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release, results in increased pretrial detention.

17. 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:
18. 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.
19. 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

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 in the event of a missed court appearance.

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., Copp 2025; 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 release that were not met and, moreover, that defendants' probability of pretrial release declined as bail amounts increased.

20. This is consistent with the findings of other contemporary studies, which have determined that higher bail amounts significantly increase the likelihood and length of pretrial detention (Martinez et al., 2020; Mora et al., 2025). Jones (2013) found that relative to secured money bail, unsecured bail increased both the likelihood and pace of pretrial release in analyses controlling for defendants' degree of pretrial risk. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. The results and summary conclusions described above are consistent with the patterns revealed in Harris County, TX following the implementation of the preliminary injunction, Local Rule 9, and the Consent Decree. The modification of the misdemeanor bail system to require that a majority of defendants receive unsecured bail led to a drastic corresponding reduction in the use of secured bonds, which increased the share of defendants released pretrial and drove down time spent in pretrial detention (Garrett et al., 2026; Heaton, 2022).
24. More specifically, the sharp reduction in the use of secured bonds, from 86% in 2015 to 20% in 2019, corresponded to an 11-percentage point reduction in the share of misdemeanor defendants who were detained for three days or more across the same period (Garrett et al., 2026).

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

25. Pretrial detention for more than 24 hours has severe negative consequences for those individuals' criminal case outcomes, including an increased likelihood of conviction (primarily via guilty pleas), increased likelihood of being sentenced to a period of incarceration, and increased average sentence length. I base my conclusion on the following:
26. A burgeoning body of research demonstrates the deleterious case outcomes that stem from pretrial detention, including numerous studies that leverage rigorous causal inference methods.
27. 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.
28. In the criminal justice context, IV approaches are an effective way of studying the effects of pretrial incarceration on a range of outcomes. In these investigations, researchers aim to determine what would have happened to individuals who experienced incarceration had they not been incarcerated. We refer to this unobserved outcome as the "counterfactual" outcome. Simple comparisons between individuals who were and were not incarcerated do not sufficiently capture this counterfactual because these groups often differ in fundamental ways, including the severity of their charge and the extent of their criminal histories, among other considerations. The IV approach is a useful tool in this scenario because it helps researchers identify a factor (the "instrumental variable") that influences incarceration but has no effect on the outcome of interest (e.g., future failure to appear at a court date, conviction and jail sentence, or future arrests on new charges). This enables estimation of the causal effect of pretrial incarceration on the outcome of interest without the researchers themselves randomly assigning individuals to pretrial incarceration or pretrial release. I discuss a handful of publications that leverage this rigorous causal estimation strategy below.
29. One example of the IV approach is Heaton et al. (2017), which examined 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 were similar except for their likelihood of pretrial detention, any differences between these groups in subsequent outcomes can be attributed to detention.⁴ 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 as otherwise comparable defendants who were released.⁵

30. In another recent IV example, Koppel et al. (2024) drew on data from 82,000 unique defendants arraigned on felony and misdemeanor charges in New York City to explore the effects of pretrial detention on guilty pleas, convictions, and carceral sentences. In this study, cases were assigned (by court administrators in the course of their routine work) to different arraignment judges with varying propensities to detain people pretrial. That is, if two people with the same relevant characteristics appeared before two different judges, Judge A would be demonstrably and consistently more likely to issue an order resulting in pretrial detention than Judge B, even though the characteristics of the two defendants were identical. This difference in the judges' propensity to detain defendants was the instrumental variable employed in the study. The random assignment of individuals to Judge A or Judge B ensured that the characteristics of defendants (e.g., individual background, current case, and criminal history) in the group appearing before Judge A and the group appearing before Judge B were statistically equivalent, and that the only difference between the groups was that members of the Judge B group were more likely be released pretrial due to Judge B setting affordable secured money bail and/or less frequently remanding defendants into custody. Given that the Judge A group and the Judge B group were statistically indistinguishable except for their likelihood of pretrial release, this approach was able to produce causal estimates of the effect of pretrial detention.

⁴ Researchers confirm that judge assignment is random by, for example, cross checking the instrumental variable (e.g., case timing in Heaton et al. (2017)) 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 day of the bail hearing 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.

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.

31. In this example from New York City, the authors compared individuals who experienced *any period* of pretrial detention beyond arraignment to those who were released at arraignment (which is held within 24 hours of arrest in New York) and found that pretrial detention increases the likelihood of guilty pleas, convictions, and carceral sentences by 23, 25, and 35 percentage points, respectively (Koppel et al., 2024). These findings underscore that negative case outcomes are not exclusive to people who experience long periods of pretrial detention, but rather are incurred by people who experience even short stays in jail.
32. 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%.
33. 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).
34. 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 or otherwise cease fighting their case in order to secure release.
35. In light of the commonly observed link between pretrial detention and plea negotiation, scholars have focused considerable attention on the reasons that defendants may take early pleas. Chief among these is defendants' desire to go home (see e.g., Natapoff, 2018). Pretrial detainees are subjected to poor conditions within jails, disruptions to work and family life, and uncertainty about the length of detention, among other considerations (James & Glaze, 2006; Kellough & Wortley, 2002; Rabinowitz, 2010; Smith, 2022).
36. In addition, detained individuals may experience prosecutorial pressures to accept pleas, as the deals themselves are often time-limited (e.g., exploding offers) (Petersen, 2020).

37. Recent research also demonstrates how pretrial detention may compound the “trial penalty,” such that pretrial detainees convicted via jury trial are significantly more likely to be sentenced to prison, and to receive longer prison terms, than those detained pretrial who plead guilty or those who avoid pretrial detention entirely (and are later convicted either via plea or trial) (St. Louis et al., 2025).
38. Recognizing the disadvantaged bargaining position of pretrial detainees, some scholars have argued that pretrial detention “constitutes a form of structural coercion as prosecutors can use pretrial detention decisions that they advocated for at the bail hearing to secure a guilty plea later on in the court process” (Petersen, 2020; p. 1019).
39. Researchers find that prosecutors are less likely to dismiss the charges of pretrial detainees than the charges of people released pretrial, further supporting the conclusion that prosecutors leverage defendants’ detention status to encourage pleas (Kellough & Wortley, 2002).
40. In an attempt to empirically explore whether pretrial detention speeds up the pace of guilty pleas, Petersen (2020) drew on data from felony defendants in 65 large urban counties from across the U.S. He found that pretrial detainees plead guilty nearly three times faster than similarly situated released defendants, suggesting that quick plea deals are a typical approach to obtain release for those who are simply too poor to pay secured money bail.
41. As shown by these studies, the empirical literature clearly demonstrates that pretrial detention results in worse case outcomes for detainees (see St. Louis, 2024 for a review). This work, which includes research on the effects of pretrial detention on defendants’ case outcomes, includes a number of rigorous, high quality, causal analyses that have produced an unequivocal set of findings. Individuals who experience pretrial detention are more likely to be convicted and to be sentenced to a period of incarceration. They receive sentences that are, on average, longer than those of their peers. These deleterious outcomes are largely attributable to guilty pleas, as people detained pretrial 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 periods of pretrial detention as short as 24 hours.
42. Drawing together the research findings discussed here, as well as in my opinion in response to question 1, we are able to draw the following conclusions about how the use of secured money bail connects to defendants’ detention and case outcomes. Because money bail hinges defendants’ release on their ability to pay, its use deprives those who cannot afford it of their pretrial liberty. Being in jail presents many challenges to pretrial defendants. They are exposed to harsh conditions, separated from loved ones, excluded from important obligations, including to work and families, and constrained in their ability to communicate with defense counsel and otherwise participate in their case. Confronted with these (and other) challenges, many pretrial detainees choose to take early pleas, which increases their likelihood of conviction and related sanctions, including among defendants whose cases would have been dismissed

had they been released. It follows that reductions in the reliance on money bail would not only reduce pretrial populations in the jail, but would also result in fewer guilty pleas, fewer convictions, and fewer sentences to incarceration.

43. This pattern is indeed what has been observed in Harris County, TX following the preliminary injunction and consent decree. As discussed above, the reforms have expanded pretrial liberty, which, in turn, has led to fewer defendants pleading guilty, more cases being dismissed, and reductions in the share of defendants being sentenced to either jail or probation. Whereas 60% of misdemeanor cases resulted in a conviction in 2015, that share fell to 27% in 2019. Since then, the conviction rate has continued to decline, stabilizing at 21% since 2022. Because the reforms led to fewer cases resulting in a conviction, these changes also reflect increases in the share of misdemeanor cases that were dismissed, from 31% in 2015 to 67% in 2019, and reductions of 31 and 3 percentage points in the rates of misdemeanor arrestees sentenced to jail and probation, respectively (Garrett et al., 2026).

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

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

Pretrial detention is criminogenic.

45. Pretrial detention 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 pretrial detention for defendants' case outcomes, and in the sections to follow I describe adverse effects across economic and social domains. Despite these well-documented collateral consequences, pretrial detention is often justified on the basis of its role in enhancing public 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.
46. Many of the empirically rigorous studies reviewed above document the criminogenic, or crime-inducing, effects of pretrial detention (Dobbie et al., 2018; Gupta et al., 2016; Heaton et al., 2017; Leslie & Pope, 2017). In one such example, Heaton and colleagues (2017), relying on data from Harris County, examine 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.
47. To help contextualize the implications of these findings, these authors used their estimated effects of detention at 18 months post-hearing to calculate the number of new

misdemeanor and felony charges that can be anticipated by either detaining or releasing a representative group of 10,000 individuals facing misdemeanor charges. If released, this group would go on to 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 result in an additional 600 misdemeanors and an additional 400 felonies.

48. Similarly, drawing on nearly one million misdemeanor and felony arraignments in New York City, Leslie & Pope (2017) find that pretrial detention increases the chances of being rearrested within 2 years by 8 percentage points for the felony subsample and 12 percentage points for the misdemeanor subsample. These findings demonstrate that although pretrial 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 pretrial detention on defendants' likelihood of rearrest following case disposition (Heaton et al., 2017; Leslie & Pope, 2017). Put more simply, these findings demonstrate that, over the long run, pretrial detention is criminogenic and therefore undermines public safety.
49. In light of this evidence, it stands to reason that increases in pretrial liberty may lead to reductions in crime over the longer run, a pattern that has indeed been documented in Harris County, TX, in the wake of the preliminary injunction and consent decree. Looking at 55,792 cases filed in 2017, Heaton (2022) found no difference in 1-year recidivism between cases filed before and after the injunction. And looking out three years, he documented a modest, albeit significant, *decrease* in overall crime following the liberty gains that resulted from the reforms. These findings are consistent with the findings documented by the federal court monitor, which found a 5% decrease in new charges within three years, controlling for case and defendant characteristics (Garrett et al., 2026).

Pretrial detention negatively impacts individuals' economic well-being.

50. The criminogenic effects of pretrial detention may seem counterintuitive, but they are understandable when considered alongside the myriad ways in which pretrial detention destabilizes individuals following their release.
51. Quantitative and qualitative studies have 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 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 government benefits. Specifically, individuals who experience pretrial detention are nearly 10 percentage points less likely to be employed in the formal labor market and are significantly less likely to receive the earned income tax credit (EITC), than similarly situated released

defendants. Taken together, these estimates suggest that individuals who experience as few as three days in pretrial detention lose an average of \$29,000 in income over a lifetime, with almost \$19,000 of that lost income due to reduced earnings (Dobbie & Yang, 2021).

52. 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 misdemeanor or minor felony records diminish employer callbacks (e.g., Leasure, 2019; Pager, 2003; Agan & Starr, 2017).
53. 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).
54. 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.
55. 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 employed

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

56. 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 in the days or weeks following their arrest.

Pretrial detention negatively impacts detained individuals' families and communities.

57. 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.
58. 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).
59. 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; Pochlmann-Tynan et al., 2017; Turney, 2014).
60. 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.
61. 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.

62. 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-level factors. They found that increases in pretrial detention rates are associated with increases in poverty rates and decreases in employment rates. The associations between pretrial detention and these aggregate indicators of economic well-being were strongest among Black individuals, suggesting that pretrial detention takes a disparate economic toll on Black communities.
63. Although the above conclusions are not based on causal evidence, they are in line with recent research relying on research tools that are designed to test for causation, such as Kim and Koh's (2022) recent study examining the effect of the 2017 New Jersey bail reform on the local labor market. The authors found that the reforms—which led to increases in pretrial release due to the state's reduced reliance on secured money bail—increased the probability of employment among working age individuals. These effects were more pronounced among Black individuals as compared to their white counterparts, a finding that is consistent with a growing body of research on pretrial detention and inequality (see e.g., Menefee, 2018).
64. In sum, the scholarly literature indicates that pretrial detention adversely affects individuals, their immediate social networks, and their broader communities by exacerbating crime; heightening the risk of job loss and eroding individuals' future employment prospects; reducing individuals' access to government assistance, including employment-related benefits; contributing to housing instability and declines in child well-being; and causing spillover effects that weaken the economic well-being of families and their broader communities.
65. As highlighted above, research focused on Harris County, TX has demonstrated that reducing the county's reliance on pretrial detention has actually increased public safety by reducing individuals' future contact with the criminal justice system (Heaton, 2022).
66. Reflecting on the evidence, there are a number of broader implications that can be drawn from the literature about how the reforms have likely affected the lives of defendants and their families in Harris County. Because the changes have expanded defendants' access to pretrial liberty, and thus reduced their exposure to detention and detention-related pleas, we can anticipate that misdemeanor arrests in Harris County are less destabilizing in the post-injunction and Consent Decree context, and that they confer fewer downstream consequences. For example, we would expect that, following the preliminary injunction and Consent Decree, people arrested in Harris County are less likely to experience disruptions to employment and housing, and experience better long-term employment prospects. These shifts increase household wages and help maintain individuals' access to important sources of financial support, including employment and tax-related benefits. By keeping people's homes, jobs, and families intact in the short-term, the broader community also benefits in the form of lower

crime, reduced unemployment, and improved family social and economic well-being. Indeed, these conclusions are broadly consistent with the pattern of findings revealed by a recent cost study completed by the federal court monitor in Harris County, which documented cost reductions that both eased defendants' financial burden and reduced overall misdemeanor system costs. Importantly, these cost savings were achieved while expanding defendants' due process rights and maintaining public safety (Garrett et al., 2026).

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

67. In my opinion in response to question 3 above, I reviewed the literature indicating that pretrial detention is criminogenic in 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.
68. Pretrial detention for more than 24 hours increases the likelihood that a person will engage in new criminal activity while on pretrial release and 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:
69. Multiple studies have considered the effects of pretrial detention after as little as one day (e.g., DeMichele et al., 2024; Lowenkamp et al., 2013; Holsinger et al., 2023; Silver et al., 2024).
70. For example, Lowenkamp and colleagues (2013) drew on administrative data from jail bookings in Kentucky to examine the relationship between individuals' time spent in pretrial detention and their pretrial outcomes (i.e., court appearance, arrest on new charges). In statistical analyses that controlled for a range of potential confounding variables, the authors found that those detained for 2-3 days were more likely to be arrested for new criminal activity than those detained for only one day. They identified a similar pattern in analyses focused on nonappearance; that is, being detained for 2-3 days instead of 1 day heightened the risk of nonappearance.
71. The notion that pretrial detention may adversely affect individuals' likelihood of rearrest or court appearance during the pretrial period is at first perhaps somewhat

counterintuitive. However, researchers and legal professionals have provided a plausible 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.

72. 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) considered 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 found that pretrial detention for more than 23 hours increased the likelihood of a new arrest during the pretrial period, controlling for relevant charge and demographic characteristics. They found no consistent link between pretrial detention and nonappearance.
73. 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.
74. 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 exhibited a higher likelihood of new criminal activity as compared to those detained for a day or less.
75. 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 nonappearance and rearrest by roughly 50%.
76. 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 the pretrial period. Furthermore, the literature reveals that relative to release, pretrial detention either heightens the risk of nonappearance or has no effect in either direction.
77. Because the reforms in Harris County increased the share of misdemeanor defendants who are promptly released without a hearing and thus decreased the share who spend a day or more in detention, we would expect rates of pretrial noncompliance (i.e., new

criminal activity, failure nonappearance) to have either decreased or remained the same following the reforms.

78. Consistent with expectations, the rate of new case filings within 365 days has remained stable across the period examined by the federal court monitor. The rate of bond failures, however, increased following the preliminary injunction (Garrett et al., 2026). At first glance, this pattern of bond failures appears to contradict the evidence reviewed above. It warrants additional scrutiny to understand why it does not.
79. First, it is crucial to understand that a “bond failure” does not have a 1:1 correspondence with willful failure to appear. The federal court monitor in Harris County provided one-year “bond failure” rates based on indicators of “bond forfeiture” and “bond revocation” in the court data. Bond forfeitures are typically entered after a person misses a court appearance, whether willfully or not. But a forfeiture is not always entered after a missed appearance, and they are routinely entered even when court was missed unintentionally. Bond revocations can be entered after a missed court appearance or another bond violation. Thus, “bond failures” conflate willful failure to appear, unintentional nonappearance, and other bond violations (such as failing a drug test or missing a check-in with pretrial services), and ultimately reflect discretionary judicial decisions.
80. In light of the above, it is not possible to conclude that the increase in bond failures reflects anything inconsistent with the rigorous, peer-reviewed studies described in this report.
81. Second, simple comparisons of bond failure rates *among those who were released* before and after reform risk attributing a rise in bond failure to the *reforms* rather than to the characteristics of the much larger group of people released after the reform. The populations whose bond failure rates are assessed before and after reforms are dramatically different. Prior to the reforms in Harris County, a large share of misdemeanor defendants remained in jail on unaffordable secured bonds. In the post-reform period, however, secured bonds were largely replaced with personal bonds and GOBs, which resulted in expanded liberty—particularly of those defendants who could not afford to pay the cost of secured money bail. In order to understand whether the increase in bond failures observed following the preliminary injunction and Rule 9 are attributable to the reforms, and not underlying differences between the groups released on bond, additional analyses that sufficiently adjust for potential confounders are needed.
82. Finally, because the reforms increased the share of defendants released pending the resolution of their case and thus alleviated the pressure to plea among those defendants who would have otherwise remained in custody on unaffordable secured money bail, cases remained open longer. The increased time to disposition meant that defendants were required to attend additional hearings, which increased their opportunities to miss court. Rule changes and disruptions caused by Hurricane Harvey and the COVID-19 pandemic further contributed to missed appearances. Yet despite increases in the amount of time it took for cases to reach final dispositions, rule changes that stirred

confusion, and major exogenous events that both disrupted normal court operations and made it more difficult for defendants to attend required hearings, the most recent data reported by the federal court monitor suggests that the share of cases resolved within 1 year (81%) is approaching pre-reform levels (91%).

83. Taken together with the evidence reported above reflecting a consistent pattern of 1-year re-arrest rates across the pre- and post-reform periods, these findings indicate that people are not willfully skipping court to evade justice. Looking forward, more explicit tracking and analysis of defendant nonappearance and failure to appear, as required by the Consent Decree, will permit more nuanced and accurate reporting of the extent of true flight from prosecution in the Harris County context.

5. Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured money bail or non-monetary conditions of release at assuring public safety and law-abiding behavior.

84. Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release at assuring public safety and law-abiding behavior. I base my conclusion on the following:
85. Money bail is often justified on the basis that it provides arrestees incentive to remain law abiding. Yet in Texas, state law prohibits the forfeiture of money bail for new criminal activity (Tex. Ann. Code Cri. P. 22.01). It thus defies logic that secured money bail could incentivize people to remain crime-free when there is no risk of losing money for being arrested on a new charge while released on secured money bail. Still, given the emphasis on public safety in bail statutes in Texas and across the U.S., an important question is whether secured money bail is effective at promoting public safety. Below, I look to voluminous research from across the country to address this question.
86. As previously noted, the use of secured money bail increases pretrial detention, and being detained pretrial significantly increases the likelihood of being charged with a future crime. Several of the studies reviewed above identify a link between pretrial detention and future crime (see e.g., Dobbie et al., 2018; Heaton et al., 2017). Secured money bail is the primary driver of pretrial detention, because most pretrial detainees remain in custody due to an inability to come up with the funds required to secure their release (Cohen & Reaves, 2007).
87. Scholars have also sought to test empirically whether secured money bail causes recidivism. In Gupta and colleagues' (2016) study described above, the authors found that the assignment of secured money bail leads to a 6-9% yearly increase in the probability of being charged with a future crime among criminal defendants in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. They conclude that this could be due to the experience of pretrial detention, the financial burden imposed by money bail, or the impacts of postconviction incarceration that stem from pretrial detainees' increased likelihood of conviction and harsher sentences.

88. A growing number of studies have examined the outcomes of defendants released on secured money bail as compared with defendants released on unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release. These studies demonstrate that releasing defendants on secured money bail provides no greater benefit to public safety than releasing them on unsecured bail or non-monetary alternatives.
89. 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.
90. 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.
91. 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.
92. A third set of studies have examined the separate question of whether increases in the number of people released pretrial following the implementation of no-cash-bail policies has affected public safety. Stated differently, while cash bail increases pretrial detention, does limiting cash bail and releasing more people result in more crime?⁶ Findings from Harris County show that the answer is no: the implementation of various changes aimed at reducing courts' reliance on money bail have not corresponded to increases in crime, despite more people being released (e.g., Garrett et al., 2026; Heaton, 2022).
93. The misdemeanor reforms in Harris County, for example, led to significant increases in pretrial release and reductions in pretrial detention lengths. These changes were accomplished by largely replacing secured bonds with a system that prioritized prompt, unsecured release for most misdemeanor defendants and individualized bail hearings for certain carveout categories. Importantly, these pretrial liberty gains have not corresponded to increases in crime; in fact, the rates of repeat arrest, including for

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

felonies, have remained stable across the pre- and post-reform periods (Garrett et al., 2026). Because the consent decree and Local Rule 9 liberalized pretrial release by ending the use of cash bail for most misdemeanor defendants and relying, instead, on unsecured bonds, these findings provide further evidence that unsecured bonds are not less effective than secured bonds at promoting public safety.

94. Studies that examine the likelihood of rearrest over a longer period have explicitly explored the effect of releasing more people on longer-term declines in rearrests. This research has demonstrated that although pretrial detention may reduce the probability of rearrests while cases are being adjudicated (and defendants are incapacitated), this short-term reduction is offset by an increase in post-disposition recidivism (Dobbie et al., 2018; Leslie & Pope, 2017).
95. For example, the changes due to the injunction and consent decree in Harris County significantly increased the pretrial release rate. These changes reduced conviction rates and sentencing severity without increasing future contact with the criminal justice system (i.e., new case filings) within 1 year (Heaton, 2022). 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.
96. 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.
97. In sum, any notion that secured money bail serves as an incentive for people to remain crime free in Texas is illogical based on the observation that Texas 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 investigations reveals that to the extent 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—including evaluations of the reforms in Harris County (Heaton, 2022)—shows that reforms aimed at increasing pretrial release may actually reduce future criminal justice contact.

6. Secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release at promoting appearance in court.

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

Scientific evidence consistently shows that secured money bail either increases nonappearance rates or has no impact on appearance rates.

99. Several studies and recent policy evaluations provide strong evidence that secured money bail is no more effective than unsecured bail or non-monetary conditions of release at promoting appearance in court (e.g. Brooker et al., 2014; Griffin et al., 2024; Jones, 2013; Ouss & Stevenson, 2023).
100. The Brooker et al. (2014) study described in Opinion 1, in which the authors exploited the random assignment of judges to cases to compare the court appearance rates of defendants across judge groups (i.e., those who more frequently imposed unsecured or secured bail) found no difference in the court appearance rates of defendants who were subject to unsecured or secured money bail.
101. Jones (2013) similarly considered the efficacy of secured versus unsecured bail using data from defendants across 10 Colorado counties. Similar to the Brooker et al. study, Jones found no difference in defendants' likelihood of court appearance between those released on unsecured versus secured bail, and this was true across defendants' risk levels as determined by a risk assessment tool. These findings demonstrate that whether defendants are characterized as high-, medium-, or low-risk, secured money bail is no more effective at ensuring court appearance than unsecured bail.
102. More recently, Barno and colleagues (2020) evaluated a supervised release program in Orange County, California and found that defendants released on pretrial supervision were less likely to fail to appear than similarly situated defendants released on money bail.
103. Relatedly, in a study focused on identifying risk factors for court nonappearance across four Arizona counties, Spohn (2023) found that defendants' release type (secured money bail, pretrial supervision, personal recognizance) was unrelated to their odds of failure to appear.
104. Recent policy evaluations have shed additional light on the efficacy of secured versus unsecured bail or non-financial forms of release. For example, Ouss and Stevenson (2023) relied on rigorous causal estimation strategies to examine pretrial outcomes before and after the implementation of a no-cash-bail policy by Philadelphia's District Attorney (DA), in which the Philadelphia DA's office stopped seeking monetary bail

for a broad range of misdemeanor and non-violent felony charges. The policy change increased the share of defendants released without monetary conditions by 8 percentage points yet had no effect on defendants' likelihood of appearing in court.

105. Similarly, Griffin and colleagues (2024) recently published a report documenting their preliminary findings from a statewide evaluation of the criminal justice reforms enacted in Illinois under the Pretrial Fairness Act (PFA), which eliminated the use of cash bail in all criminal cases and prohibited pretrial detention altogether for most defendants, among other changes. Based on analyses from 22 Illinois counties pre- and post-PFA, the authors found sizeable changes in detention and release rates, such that the percent of defendants detained at their initial court hearing decreased from 51% to 9%, and the percent detained for more than three days after their initial court hearing decreased from 33% to 9%. Furthermore, after the elimination of money bail in Illinois, overall FTA warrant rates slightly decreased. They note that these findings are preliminary, and that they intend to do additional work to explore 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.
106. Indeed, the findings outlined above challenge the notion that secured money bail incentivizes court appearance. And this makes sense given what we know about the money bail system, including that the money put on the line almost never comes back to the defendant, regardless of whether they show up to court. Defendants pay non-refundable premiums to the commercial bail industry under the assumption that the bondsman will either ensure the defendant's appearance in court or pay the full amount. Yet bail companies are seldom required to pay the forfeited bail (Page & Scott-Hayward, 2022; Sawyer, 2022). Bail companies' low risk of having to pay the forfeited 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).
107. 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).
108. In short, secured money bail is intended to serve as security for court attendance, yet by failing to refund defendants' posted bail, the system largely eliminates any conceivable financial incentive to show up.
109. Additionally, as noted above, the use of secured money bail increases pretrial detention, and some studies have found that being detained pretrial increases defendants' likelihood of failing to appear in court (DeMichele et al., 2024; Lowenkamp et al., 2013).

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 defendants and others miss court appearances.

110. In contrast, other interventions—such as court date reminder systems—have been proven to significantly improve court appearance rates. These interventions respond to evidence demonstrating that the overwhelming majority of failures to appear are not willful and can be attributed to practical considerations (i.e., transportation, childcare) or forgetfulness (Gouldin, 2018).
111. For example, in a recent randomized controlled trial focused on the effectiveness of court date reminders, Ferri (2020) found that court date reminders reduced the nonappearance rate by 37%.
112. These findings are consistent with those of recent field studies in which interventions, including a redesigned summons and text reminders, reduced nonappearances by 13% and 21%, respectively (Fishbane et al., 2020).
113. The literature demonstrates that court date reminders and other simple nudges represent highly cost-effective strategies to improve appearance rates and are more responsive to the reasons why most defendants miss court appearances in the first place.
114. Although current policy debates about how best to 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.
115. The systemic nature of failures to appear 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 require cash bail of defendants or detain them 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.
116. Ultimately, the findings from numerous, rigorous empirical studies contradict the assumptions underlying the use of cash bail. Research shows that defendants are rarely refunded their money, regardless of appearance, and that many instances of nonappearance are not willful. These findings undercut any notion that the risk of forfeiting a bond could incentivize defendants to appear in court. Defendants typically

lose the money they post whether they appear or not, and the research showing nonappearance is typically not willful suggests that the possibility of forfeiture does not factor into defendants' decision to appear in the first place. The purported 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.

117. 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 nonappearance 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.
118. In line with the evidence reviewed above, court date reminders have proven to be a cost-effective and efficacious approach to increasing court appearance in Harris County, TX. Following the consent decree, Harris County implemented a court date reminder system to help reduce missed appearances. The program began fully operational enrollment in 2024 (see Garrett et al., 2024, p. 57-59). According to recent data, court date reminders were associated with a 52% reduction in defendants' odds of missing their scheduled arraignments in Harris County (Garrett et al., 2025).
119. Furthermore, individuals released on unsecured GOBs or personal bonds benefited most, with reminders reducing their odds of missing arraignment by an additional 25% beyond the general effect of notification enrollment (Garrett et al., 2025, p. 62). This enhanced effect for individuals released on unsecured GOBs or personal bonds reflects their value in providing additional support to this particular subpopulation to promote their return to court.

7. Certain factors/events may contribute to a higher rate of bond forfeitures and revocations for personal bonds/general order bonds compared to secured money bail.

120. Bond forfeitures and revocations are discretionary decisions and magisterial/judicial decision-making practices can vary significantly across courts, including in ways that may differ according to defendants' bond types and other characteristics of defendants and their cases. Additionally, many of the reasons for defendant nonappearance—a primary cause of revocations—are intrinsically tied to defendants' socioeconomic status (e.g., transportation, work conflicts, phone issues, childcare). To the extent that defendants released on personal bonds/general order bonds are less affluent than their counterparts released on secured money bonds, we may expect them to have their bonds forfeited or revoked at higher rates. I base my conclusions on the following:

121. Many studies of pretrial failure rely on administrative data from the courts, and in many jurisdictions, the courts do not reliably track defendant appearance. Accordingly, researchers often rely on bench warrants as a proxy for nonappearance (e.g., Gupta et al., 2016). However, whether a bench warrant is issued when a defendant fails to appear is left to the judge's discretion. There is no empirical evidence to explain why some defendants receive a bench warrant and others do not, though evidence shows that the practice of issuing bench warrants varies considerably across the courts—including in Harris County, TX (McAuliffe et al., 2022).
122. This suggests that bench warrants as proxies for nonappearance lack precision and may also reflect the idiosyncratic nature of bench warrant issuance. Accordingly, it is important that courts reliably track defendant nonappearance so that jurisdictions may develop a more informed understanding of who is *actually* missing court as opposed to whose bonds are being forfeited.
123. Although definitions and corresponding metrics for failures to appear and nonappearance were included in the consent decree, the variables required to explicitly track this information do not appear to be reflected in the most recent report issued by the federal court monitor (Garrett et al., 2026).
124. Research on court appearance has shown that most defendants attend their scheduled court hearings (e.g., Gouldin, 2018; Graef et al., 2024; Holsinger et al., 2023).
125. Moreover, this work has helped to establish that when defendants do fail to appear, the causes are overwhelmingly indicative of unwillful nonappearance, and not flight (Gouldin, 2018). Although the courts have typically been fairly rigid about defendants appearing in court, including by frequently issuing bench warrants or imposing fines when they fail to do so, the current wave of bail reforms efforts and recent COVID-19 pandemic have taught us that certain accommodations or alternative approaches may help address the problem of pretrial failure to appear. Below I discuss recent research on the causes of nonappearance, in addition to the types of pretrial interventions designed to address nonappearance risk.
126. As noted above, research on the causes of failure to appear has demonstrated that secured money bail does not incentivize defendants' appearance, contrary to the logic of the money bail system. This makes sense when we consider that *intentional* reasons for missing court (i.e., absconding) are far less common than *unintentional* reasons. Unintentional reasons frequently cited include forgetting the court date or lacking sufficient information about the hearing date or location (Hickman et al., 2025).
127. Defendants also face practical constraints that present challenges to their appearance in court, including difficulty taking time off work, finding transportation, and dependent care (Hickman et al., 2025; McAuliffe et al., 2022). These impediments do not appear to be unique to defendants, as other individuals who are required to appear also fail to do so—sometimes at higher rates (Graef et al., 2024). Notably, the logistical and practical reasons for defendants' failure to appear are often complex, reflecting the co-

occurring nature of nonappearance risk factors (McGlynn et al., 2025), and their disproportionate impact on defendants experiencing poverty (McAuliffe et al., 2022).

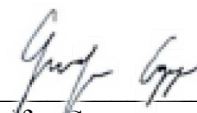
128. Because failure to appear is seldom intentional, it would stand to reason that approaches that “incentivize” court appearance will provide little benefit. Instead, interventions that help address defendants’ reasons for missing court, including by providing important information about court hearings and reminders for upcoming court dates, in addition to more targeted supports for defendants facing additional challenges, are much more likely to bolster appearance rates. Both types of interventions have been adopted in Harris County and, moreover, preliminary evidence supports their efficacy.
129. As discussed in my opinion in response to question 6, a recent evaluation of the court date reminder system in Harris County, TX, demonstrated that court date reminders significantly reduced defendants’ odds of nonappearance at arraignment (Garrett et al., 2025). Moreover, defendants released on unsecured bonds benefitted most from the reminders, as these individuals otherwise lacked a structured support system to facilitate important court-related information.
130. A separate initiative, the Community Assistance Referral Program (CARP), provided more targeted supports to GOB releasees, including referrals to community services and programs, to improve their court attendance. This program similarly reduced defendants’ odds of missing arraignment (by 31%) (Garrett et al., 2025). Although these supports are directly in line with the best available research on the causes of nonappearance, and initial evaluation findings support these Harris County efforts, the evaluations also provide evidence of their limited scope, including lower odds of engagement among those defendant groups who stand to benefit most from these interventions. It is thus reasonable to anticipate even greater reductions in nonappearance in the future as a result of these interventions as their scope is expanded, particularly in ways that ensure greater inclusion of those in greatest need.
131. Looking at the data from Harris County, there is some evidence of variability in bond failures by bond type, such that defendants released on personal bonds and GOBs exhibit higher rates of bond failure than their counterparts released on cash/surety bonds. Some potential explanations for these differences were presented in my opinion in response to question 4.
132. The research above can help shed additional light on the causes of this variability, and ways that the county may help mitigate key barriers to attending court. Because the consent decree has helped to reduce wealth-based detention in Harris County, and thus alleviate the gap in pretrial liberty between those who can and cannot afford to pay the secured money bail set in their case, it is reasonable to expect that defendants released on personal bonds and GOBs are relatively more disadvantaged than those released on secured money bond. Therefore, they may face greater challenges in navigating the various barriers to court appearance, including logistical (e.g., keeping track of hearing dates) and more practical (e.g., finding transportation) considerations. In response, strengthening existing court appearance supports, including the court date reminder

system and CARP, are likely to go a long way in helping people get to court. Importantly, these types of supportive models are much more in line with existing empirical evidence than other responses that emphasize more restrictive release conditions (e.g., secured money bail, pretrial supervision), which either have no effect or reduce defendants' odds of court appearance.

133. My analysis is ongoing and will continue to be supplemented.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my ability.

Executed on August 10, 2026,



Dr. Jennifer Copp

EXHIBIT A

JENNIFER E. COPP

College of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Florida State University
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Tallahassee, FL 32306
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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

2025-present Professor, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University

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

2020-2025 Associate Professor, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 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

- Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Megan Swinehart, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. "The Wider Network of Social Relationships and Desistance from Crime." *Criminology*.
- Vanden Bosch, Matthew, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Material Hardship and Youth Development: A Longitudinal Lens on the Pathways Linking Early Unmet Needs to Adolescent Delinquency and Arrest." *Justice Quarterly*.
- Ranson, Andrew, Ashley Arnio, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. "Jurisdictional Context and the (Over)use of Pretrial Detention." *Social Science Research*.
- Casey, William, Sonja Siennick, & Jennifer E. Copp. "Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and the Family Environment: Examining the Association Between ACEs and Different Types of Juvenile Recidivism." *Crime & Delinquency*.
- 2025 **Copp, Jennifer E.** "Cash Bail and Pretrial Compliance: Evidence from a COVID-19 Era Policy Shock." *Criminology & Public Policy*, 24(4), 601-622.
- 2025 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, Elizabeth A. Mumford, & Bruce G. Taylor. "Parenting and Young Adult Crime: The Enduring Effects of Parental Attitudes and Behaviors." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 62(4), 567-596.
- 2025 **Copp, Jennifer E.**, & Elizabeth I. Johnson. "A Life Course Perspective on Parental Incarceration and other Forms of Childhood Adversity." *Children and Youth Services Review*, 168, 1-12.
- 2024 Casey, William, **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Steven Demuth. "Disparities in the Pretrial Process: Race, Ethnicity, and Citizenship." *Justice Quarterly*, 41(2), 268-290.
- 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.
- 2024 Blomberg, Thomas G., **Jennifer E. Copp**, & Jillian J. Turanovic. (Equal authorship). "Challenges and Prospects for Evidence-Informed Policy in Criminology." *Annual Review of Criminology*, 7, 143-162.

- 2024 Giordano, Peggy C., **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. "The Experience of Social Distancing during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Qualitative Lens on Variability in Compliance." *Sociological Spectrum*, 44(1), 38-59.
- 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.
- 2021 Vazquez, David, Eva Aizpurua, **Jennifer E. Copp**, and Jorge J. Ricarte. "Perceptions of Violence against Women in Europe: Assessing Individual and Country-Level Factors." *European Journal of Criminology*, 18(4) 566-584.
- 2021 Giordano, Peggy, **Jennifer E. Copp**, Wendy D. Manning, & Monica A. Longmore. "Relationship Dynamics Associated with Dating Violence Among Adolescents and Young Adults: A Feminist Post-Structural Analysis." *Feminist Criminology*, 16(3), 320-336.
- 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 Galvan, Abigail, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. *Evaluating the Effectiveness of the "Next Steps" Pilot Program: An Addendum Recidivism Report and Final Recommendations*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.
- 2025 **Copp, Jennifer E.** *Examining the Efficacy of the Public Defender's Program: A Preliminary Interim Report*. Palm Beach, FL: Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission.
- 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.** “HB 1627: Pretrial Release and Detention, The First Year of Changes to Florida’s Pretrial System.” 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., Peggy Giordano, Wendy Manning, & Monica Longmore. 2025. “A Life Course Perspective on the Mistreatment of Older Adults. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

Galvan, Abigail, & **Jennifer E. Copp.** 2025. “Evaluating the Efficacy of the Palm Beach County’s Court Reminder Notification System.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

Casey, William, & **Jennifer E. Copp.** 2025. “Cash Bail and Communities.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

Huaman, Emma, Keller Sheppard, & **Jennifer E. Copp.** 2025. “Expanding the Pretrial Service Continuum: An Evaluation of Juvenile Pretrial Supervised Release’s Impact

on Youth Outcomes. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

McCormick, Brooke, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2025. "Health Services and Jail Mortality." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

Diaz Mize, Maria, & **Jennifer E. Copp**. 2025. "The Use of Monetary Sanctions in a Municipal Court in Florida." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.

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 Kukec, 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

2025-present	Member, ASC Policy Committee
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
University of Cincinnati
University at Albany – SUNY
Temple 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

2023-2024	ASPIRE Steering Committee (Team Lead), Development of FSU Strategic Research Plan, Florida State University
2025-present	Theory Committee, Comprehensive Examinations, College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
2023-2025	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
2021-2025	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>

CCJ 4663 College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
Women, Crime, and Justice
 College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Florida State University
 SOC 2020 *Social Problems*
 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 Michael Novack, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, University of Colorado Boulder, Sociology
 Alyssa Talaugon, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Florida State University
 Szilvia Biro, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Florida State University

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
 MyKaela McDaniel, Master's Area Paper Chair, Florida State University

Supervised Teaching

Alexis Singer
 Alyssa Talaugon
 Nia La Tosa
 Maria Diaz Mize
 Trey Cochenour

Undergraduate Honors Students

Caroline Mooney, Honors Thesis Chair, Florida State University
 Destiny Carbello, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University
 Ellis Rainey, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University
 Alanna Densmore, Honors Thesis Committee, Florida State University
 Phoenix Ricketts, Honors Thesis Chair, 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
Khalia Hasboun
Phoenix Ricketts

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

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>

Albright, A. (2022). No money bail, no problems? Trade-offs in a pretrial automatic release program. *Unpublished manuscript*. Harvard University. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4155913> (if available)

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>

Angrist, J. D. (2006). Instrumental variables methods in experimental criminological research: What, why and how. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 2(1), 23–44. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-005-5126-x>

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>

Austin, J., & Naro-Ware, W. (2020). *Why bail reform is safe and effective: The case of Cook County*. The JFA Institute.

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>

Bergin, T., Ropac, R., Randolph, I., & Joseph, H. (2022). The initial collateral consequences of pretrial detention: Employment, residential stability, and family relationships. *SSRN Working Paper*. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4216882>

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. (2022). *Economic well-being of U.S. households in 2021*. <https://www.federalreserve.gov/publications/files/2021-report-economic-well-being-us-households-202205.pdf>

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 C. Scott-Hayward, J. Copp, & S. Demuth (Eds.), *Handbook on pretrial justice* (pp. 67–87). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003149842-5>

Clipper, S. J., Morris, R. G., & Russell-Kaplan, A. (2017). The link between bond forfeiture and pretrial release mechanism: The case of Dallas County, Texas. *PLOS ONE*, 12(8), e0182772. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0182772>

Cohen, T. H., & Reaves, B. A. (2007). *Pretrial release of felony defendants in state courts* (NCJ 214994). U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/prfdsc.pdf>

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. (2025). Cash bail and pretrial compliance: Evidence from a court-imposed policy shock. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 24(4), 601-622.

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>

- DeMichele, M., Silver, I. A., & Labrecque, R. M. (2024). Locked up and awaiting trial: Testing the criminogenic and punitive effects of spending a week or more in pretrial detention. *Criminology & Public Policy*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12685>
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- Didwania, S. H. (2020). The immediate consequences of federal pretrial detention. *American Law and Economics Review*, 22(1), 24–74. <https://doi.org/10.1093/aler/ahz012>
- Digard, L., & Swavola, E. (2019). *Justice denied: The harmful and lasting effects of pretrial detention*. Vera Institute of Justice. <https://www.vera.org>
- Dobbie, W., & Yang, C. S. (2021). The economic costs of pretrial detention. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2021(Spring), 251–291. <https://doi.org/10.1353/eca.2021.0005>
- 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>
- Ferri, R. (2020). The benefits of live court date reminder phone calls during pretrial case processing. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 18, 149–169. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-020-09423-0>
- Illinois Supreme Court Pretrial Practices Implementation Task Force. (2022). *Elimination of cash bail in Illinois: Financial impact analysis* (Revised ed.). Civic Federation. <https://www.civicfed.org>
- Fishbane, A., Ouss, A., & Shah, A. K. (2020). Behavioral nudges reduce failure to appear for court. *Science*, 370(6517), eabb6591. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abb6591>
- Foote, C. (1954). Compelling appearance in court: Administration of bail in Philadelphia. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 102(8), 1031–1079.
- Foster, H., & Hagan, J. (2015). Punishment regimes and the multilevel effects of parental incarceration: Intergenerational, intersectional, and interinstitutional models of social inequality and systemic exclusion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41, 135–158. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112437>
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