



# Youth Prison Reform in the COVID Era

## Lessons Learned from Three States

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The COVID-19 health crisis, which reached the United States in early 2020, has significantly impacted youth legal system agencies' policies and practices worldwide. In the pandemic's third year, new variants of the virus continue to threaten health and safety, and agencies continue to grapple with how best to support young people and their families. Even before the pandemic, incarceration posed significant risks to young people's physical and mental health, particularly among youth of color, who are disproportionately impacted by the criminal legal system. During the pandemic, some youth legal system agencies increased their use of traumatizing practices like solitary confinement and at times ended all in-person visitation with caregivers and siblings, demonstrating the need for agencies to double down on efforts to end youth incarceration and instead invest in community-based strategies that support youth long term. This brief is designed to help inform those efforts by highlighting how three states—Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey—have reduced youth incarceration over the past two years. Each state has taken a unique approach to changing policy and practice championed by a wide range of stakeholders, including governors, legislators, and judicial and corrections agency leaders, and each case study in this brief shows a different path to lasting reform. Taken together, the examples provide several options for reducing youth incarceration and investing in more effective strategies to prevent harm and support youth accountability and needs.

Given the increased risk of disease spread for people in detention and prison, when the pandemic reached the United States, most state and local youth legal system agencies quickly moved to reduce the number of youth detained in and committed to state and local facilities.<sup>1</sup> Data on this reduction are limited, but early reports documented a 24 percent decline in the youth detention population in the first seven months of the pandemic and a 24 percent decline in youth commitments in the first year (Youth First 2021).<sup>2</sup> Yet, data also suggested that youth incarceration began to increase in many jurisdictions in 2021, and the sustainability of progress remains unclear.<sup>3</sup> Though data on young people committed to state prisons have not been tracked in a consistent or timely manner, the Annie E. Casey Foundation's survey results on youth detention show a "tale of two cities": by the end of 2021, about half of reporting jurisdictions were maintaining smaller detention populations, while half had seen significant increases during that year; populations in many jurisdictions had even surpassed levels documented at the beginning of the pandemic.<sup>4</sup> The results also showed increasing racial and ethnic disparities in detention: Black and Brown young people were more likely to be incarcerated and remain in detention longer than their white counterparts, and that gap was widening.

To explore these trends, Youth First funded the Urban Institute to identify states that had significantly reduced youth incarceration during the pandemic (box 1), investigate the strategies they used, and share lessons they learned with the broader field. In the rest of this brief, we describe trends in youth incarceration in Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey and discuss reforms they made to reduce their youth prison populations. To address the lack of data on committed young people, we focus primarily on young people incarcerated in postadjudication placements.

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## BOX 1

### Methodology

We selected potential sites based on youth incarceration population reductions documented in Youth First's 2021 report *States at a Crossroads: Youth Incarceration Down during Pandemic* and our research team's knowledge of changes to policy and practice that states made after the onset of COVID-19. We then selected six states for deeper analysis which included a review of publicly available information on youth incarceration trends and documentation of policy or practice changes made to reduce incarceration during the pandemic and/or to support young people released back to their communities. To supplement that documentation, the team identified three states that had taken active measures to reduce the number of young people held in youth prisons and conducted semistructured interviews with one to three stakeholders for each site. We interviewed at least one representative of a youth justice advocacy organization or legal practitioner in each state. Findings not attributed to a specific source are from our stakeholder interviews. It is important to note that this is exploratory, descriptive research that does not test or prove causality between policy or practice changes and outcomes. In addition, the team conducted only a small number of interviews for each site and was not able to interview young people and families directly impacted by the legal system, which is a gap in the findings presented below.

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# Maryland: Reducing the Incarcerated Youth Population by Judicial Order

By the spring of 2020, Maryland had engaged in youth justice reform for more than a decade, which positioned it well to accelerate system improvements after the pandemic began.<sup>5</sup> Changes advanced by the Maryland Office of the Public Defender, the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, and the Court of Appeals of Maryland were instrumental in reducing youth incarceration during the pandemic. In April 2020, the Office of the Public Defender submitted an application to the Court of Appeals to release young people incarcerated on less serious misdemeanor offenses and at elevated health risk in which public defenders Paul DeWolfe, Deborah St. Jean, and Jennifer Egan wrote that “it is unconscionable to continue to confine young people who pose little to no risk to the public in dangerous carceral and other settings during this pandemic.”<sup>6</sup> Following this application, the chief judge of the Court of Appeals issued an administrative order on April 13, 2020, that, as one interviewee stated, “changed the game.”<sup>7</sup> The order directed courts throughout the state to limit the use of incarceration, consider the health risks of incarceration to young people during the pandemic in detention and placement decisions, identify young people who could be safely sent home, and review orders for young people in placement every 14 days. According to one interviewee, this approach fundamentally shifted how youth legal services were administered and led to broader culture change in the system, which now more regularly considers young people’s well-being in placement decisions and defaults to keeping them in their communities when possible.

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*“It is unconscionable to continue to confine young people who pose little to no risk to the public in dangerous carceral and other settings during this pandemic.”*

*—Maryland public defenders Paul DeWolfe, Deborah St. Jean, and Jennifer Egan*

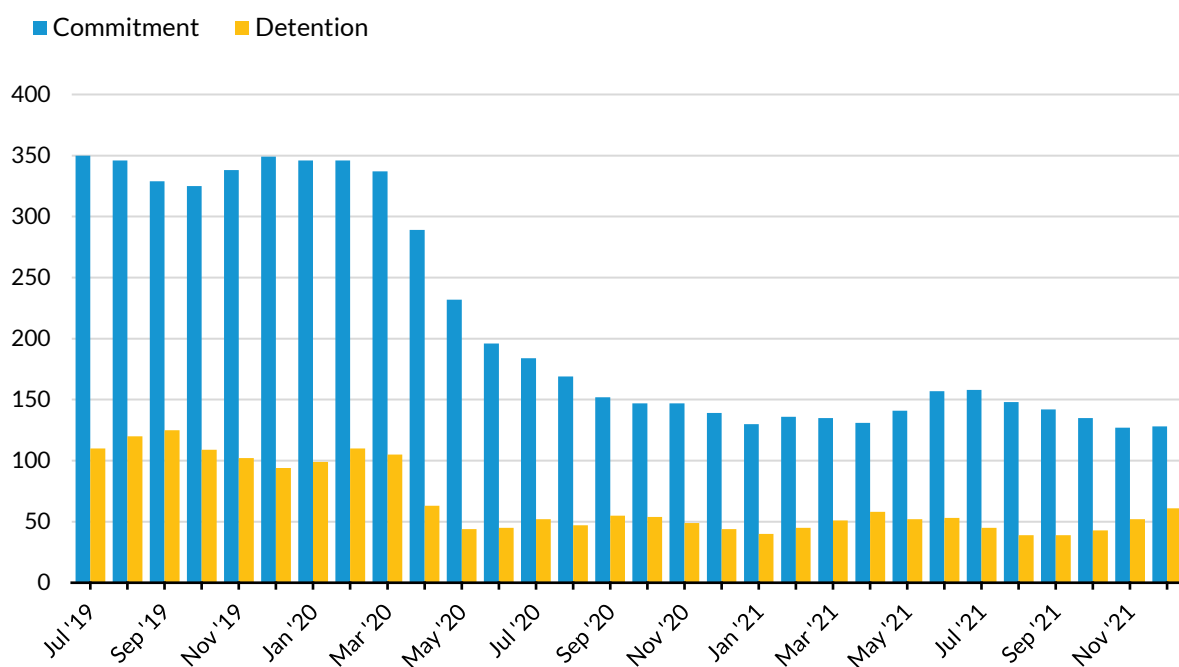
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The Department of Juvenile Services implemented important changes that reduced incarceration, including frequent reviews of each case, expanded diversion efforts, and increased virtual connectivity options. For example, whereas the agency had historically only conducted supervision activities in person on a strict schedule, the pandemic pushed probation officers to engage with young people remotely via phone and videoconferencing. This helped mitigate structural barriers of poverty, such as a lack of reliable transportation, that make it difficult for young people to meet the requirements of their supervision. The agency also gave young people phones and/or tablets and provided hot spot internet access for some young people who needed it so they could engage virtually. These changes enabled probation officers to meet young people where they were and made it easier for young people to comply with supervision requirements. The improved access to technology also impacted programming, and some evidence-based counseling options, including Multisystemic Therapy and Functional Family

Therapy, were offered virtually in Baltimore City for the first time. Probation violations in Maryland dropped after the Department of Juvenile Services embraced technology and expanded diversion efforts, which helped further reduce incarceration. Between fiscal years 2020 and 2021, the proportion of cases entering the system on technical violations of probation declined by 22 percent.<sup>8</sup> One interviewee went so far as to assert that “the number one reason Maryland decarcerated was because kids and their workers started talking on the phone.”

A significant drop in incarcerated young people followed these policy and practice changes. Between February and December 2020, the number of incarcerated young people in Maryland (detained and committed) dropped 60 percent (figure 1). The state then maintained reductions, with some fluctuations, through the end of 2021. Following several years of policy development work, the state legislature also passed comprehensive youth justice reform in March 2022, codifying recommendations of the state’s Juvenile Justice Reform Council. Beginning in 2019, the legislatively created council studied the legal system in Maryland and recommended a set of policy and practice changes to improve public safety and outcomes for system-involved young people.

**FIGURE 1**  
**Incarcerated Young People in Maryland**



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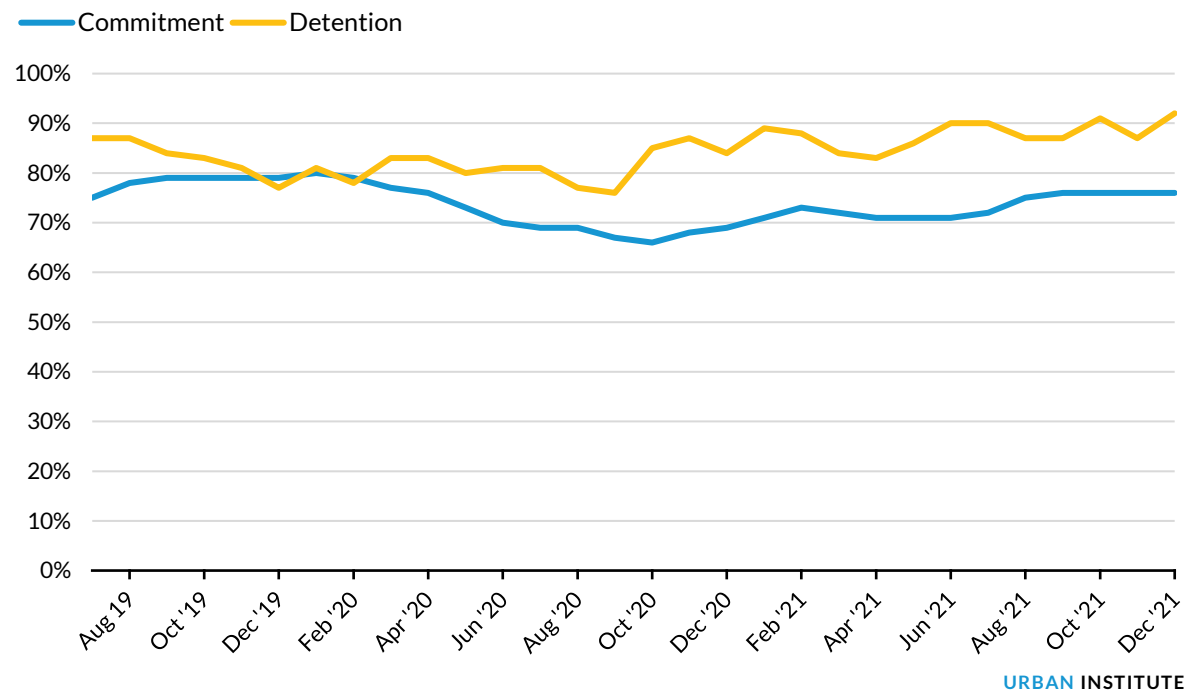
**Source:** Maryland Department of Juvenile Services performance report series, available at <https://djs.maryland.gov/Pages/Publications.aspx>.

Despite progress, however, racial and ethnic disparities remain a significant problem in Maryland and have worsened during the pandemic. Furthermore, the state still has much work to do to provide

young people returning home from incarceration the supports they and their families need. The Maryland Department of Juvenile Services reports that, over the past three years, more than 8 out of 10 detained young people and 7 out of 10 committed young people in Maryland have been people of color (figure 2). Notably, the proportion of detained young people who were Black increased from 77 to 92 percent between December 2019 and December 2021. Whereas roughly 60 percent of young people in Maryland are people of color, in December 2021 young people of color made up 73 percent of youth referrals to the legal system, 83 percent of cases formally referred to the court, 92 percent of detained youth, and 82 percent of those committed to state custody.<sup>9</sup> In addition, there are significant gaps in critical reentry services to support young people returning home, particularly in Baltimore City, where there is limited access to wraparound services and evidence-based therapy providers.

**FIGURE 2**

**Proportion of Young People Incarcerated in Maryland Who Were People of Color**



**Source:** Maryland Department of Juvenile Services performance report series, available at <https://djs.maryland.gov/Pages/Publications.aspx>.

**Note:** Young people of color include those who identify as Black, Hispanic, and/or Other.

## Massachusetts: Creative Methods for Expediting Young People's Release

Massachusetts has long been recognized as a pioneer in youth justice reform, as one of the first states to move away from large youth prisons (state "training schools") in the 1970s and embrace smaller facilities closer to young people's homes.<sup>10</sup> Yet, in the spring of 2020, more than 300 young people were

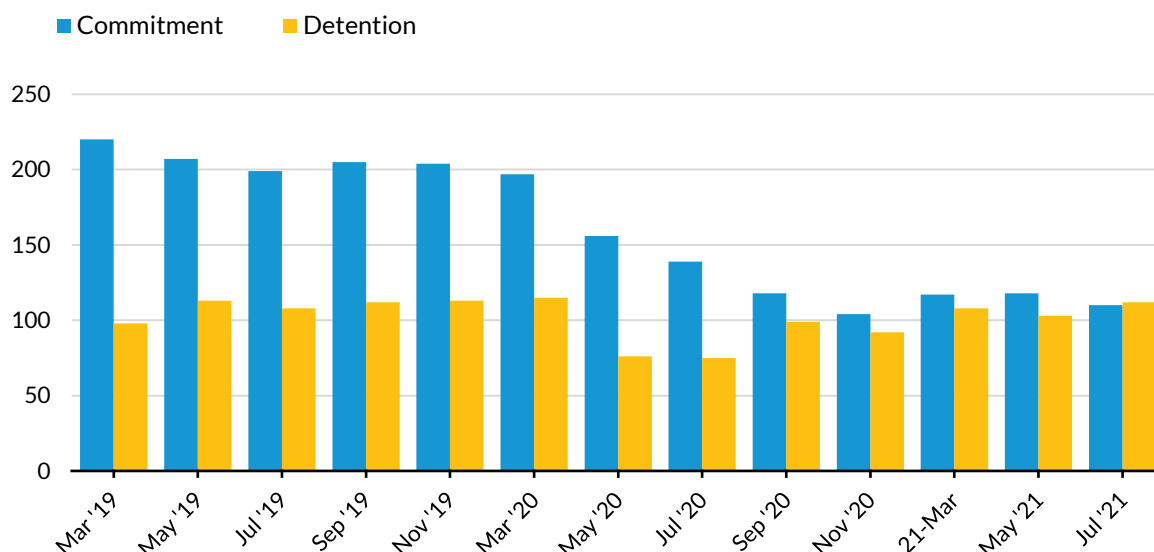
detained in or committed to these facilities, and system stakeholders moved quickly to reduce incarcerated populations in response to the pandemic. The Massachusetts Department of Youth Services (DYS) leveraged opportunities under existing state law to review and authorize “accelerated community release” for incarcerated young people. The agency publicly announced that effective March 30, 2020, it was reviewing all young people then committed to its custody with anticipated release dates within 60 days to identify candidates for accelerated community release.<sup>11</sup> Interviewees external to DYS noted that DYS had increased information sharing and collaborated with the defense bar to prioritize young people’s safety during the pandemic. The agency sent out a daily email notification to the defense bar, the chief probation officer, and the clerk of court’s office identifying any young person who had been arrested or brought to intake, which enabled all parties to work together to expedite initial case reviews. In addition, DYS provided defense attorneys and the juvenile courts regularly updated lists of all young people held out of home, which had not been shared before the pandemic.

DYS’s robust reentry planning and support was an important piece of the state’s COVID-19 response, providing critical services that gave judges and legal stakeholders confidence in accelerating release. In Massachusetts, reentry planning begins on day one of a young person’s commitment to DYS custody and the caseworker assigned to each young person works with them throughout their DYS commitment, from residential placements and release to the community, to statutory discharge from DYS, and through any voluntary engagement. Any young person committed to the state has a monthly treatment meeting with their caseworker, their caregivers and/or other identified supportive adults, clinicians, group therapists, and others to assess progress, set short-term goals, adjust their projected release date if needed, and plan for their return home. In the month before their release, young people spend short periods at home or wherever they will return; youth workers accompany them to any needed programming, job interviews, and other engagements; and a regional clinical coordinator works with their family to help the young person access any needed therapy or treatment in their home community. Because wait times for postrelease therapy and treatment are long in many areas, Massachusetts is piloting a program in one part of the state in which community clinicians are doing “bridge work,” meeting with young people in secure placement programs to provide therapy in tandem with clinicians in secure settings and then continuing to meet with those young people after release until they can get off the wait list and connect with a therapist who will work with them locally. The state also provides an option for young people to elect to receive voluntary services after their statutory discharge, which more than 68 percent do. This option is tailored to young people’s individual needs and can involve services such as housing assistance and ongoing case management with their assigned caseworkers. Remarkably, DYS has as many young people on its voluntary caseload as it does on its committed one, suggesting that many want to continue engaging in services after they are no longer required to do so.

As these policy and practice changes were implemented, youth incarceration fell significantly in Massachusetts. Between March and November 2020, the population of committed young people declined by 47 percent (figure 3). Between March and July 2020, the detained population fell by more than a third (35 percent) before rebounding and rising steadily through the first half of 2021 and reaching prepandemic levels by July 2021. And although detailed data on length of stay are not publicly

available, interviewees raised that delayed court hearings and continuances had significantly increased the amount of time young people were being detained preadjudication, particularly those held on more serious offenses.

**FIGURE 3**  
**Incarcerated Young People in Massachusetts**



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**Source:** “COVID-19 and the Massachusetts Juvenile Justice System: Recommendations for Supporting Youth and Preventing Future Delinquency,” Juvenile Justice Policy and Data Board, October 2021, <https://www.mass.gov/doc/covid-19-and-the-massachusetts-juvenile-justice-system-jjpad-report-october-2021/download>.

**Note:** These counts are from the 15th of each month.

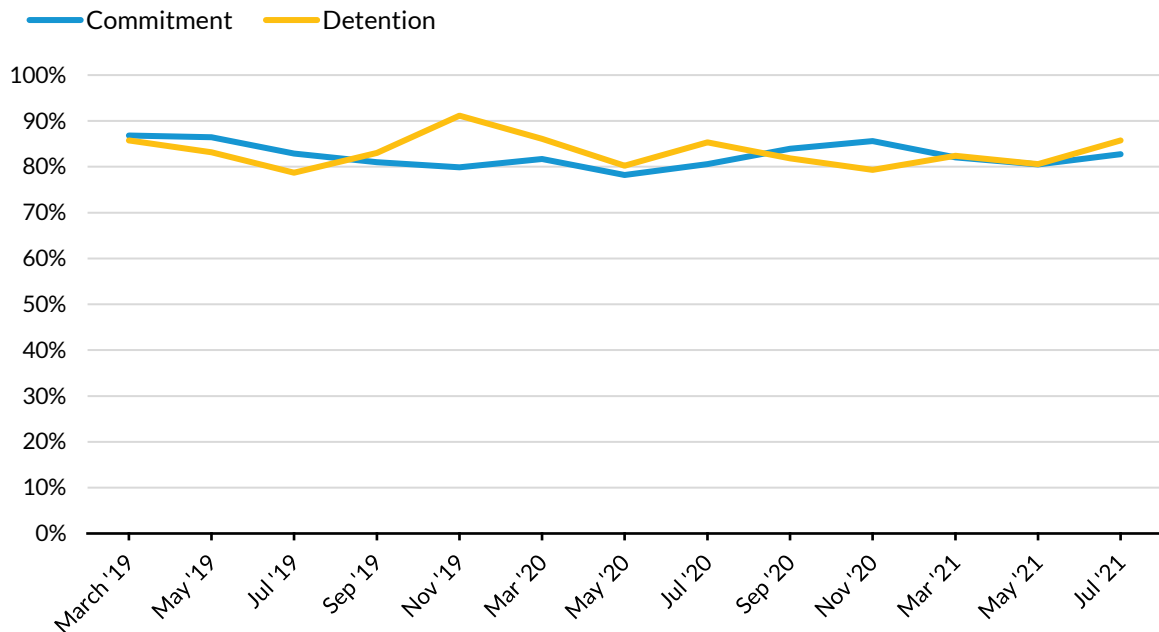
Despite the state’s progress decreasing the number of young people in commitment, Massachusetts still faces significant racial and ethnic disparities in its youth legal system. Youth of color make up roughly a third of the state’s youth population but account for more than 70 percent of detentions and commitments (figure 4). A recent report by the state’s Juvenile Justice Policy and Data Board found that in fiscal year 2021, Black youth in Massachusetts were more than three times as likely as white youth to be arrested, almost nine times as likely to be held overnight following arrest, almost three times as likely to be detained pretrial, and held in detention five days longer.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in fiscal year 2021, Latinx youth were nearly two times more likely than white youth to be arrested, more than seven times more likely to be held overnight following arrest, and held in detention 16 days longer.<sup>13</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic has taken an extraordinary toll on youth and families, amplifying stressful situations and exacerbating a variety of factors that can increase a youth's likelihood of delinquent behavior. But we are not powerless in the face of these challenging circumstances: we can take action to strengthen supports for youth and families, building on lessons learned from the pandemic as well as decades of research on effective practices for preventing delinquency.

—Maria Mossaides, director of the Office of the Child Advocate<sup>14</sup>

FIGURE 4

#### Proportion of Young People Incarcerated in Massachusetts Who Were People of Color



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**Source:** "COVID-19 and the Massachusetts Juvenile Justice System: Recommendations for Supporting Youth and Preventing Future Delinquency," Juvenile Justice Policy and Data Board, October 2021, <https://www.mass.gov/doc/covid-19-and-the-massachusetts-juvenile-justice-system-jjpad-report-october-2021/download>.

**Notes:** These counts are from the 15th of each month. Young people of color include those who identify as Black or African American, Hispanic/Latino, and/or Other.

## New Jersey: Legislating Sentence Reductions and Investing in Community-Based Restorative Programming

Before the pandemic, New Jersey had worked for years to transform its approach to youth justice. It was the first state to implement the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative—an initiative supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation to make the youth legal system more equitable—statewide, through which it has significantly reduced its detained population and consolidated and closed several detention centers.<sup>15</sup> In 2018, then-governor Chris Christie announced plans to close two of the state's three largest youth correctional facilities (Jamesburg and Hayes),<sup>16</sup> and later that year, Governor Phil Murphy



established the Task Force for the Continued Transformation of Youth Justice in New Jersey.<sup>17</sup> But the state has not followed through with closing those facilities, even though its incarcerated youth population has dwindled and the per-youth cost of incarcerating that population has skyrocketed: as of February 2022, there were 102 young people in secure placements and the annual cost of incarceration per young person is projected to reach \$608,095 in fiscal year 2023.<sup>18</sup>

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*“We have to do everything in our power to curb the spread of COVID-19, especially among our youth in the juvenile system who are at greater risk because of their physical circumstances. Thankfully, the mechanisms to keep children out of detention facilities and prioritize community-based programming were already in motion.”*

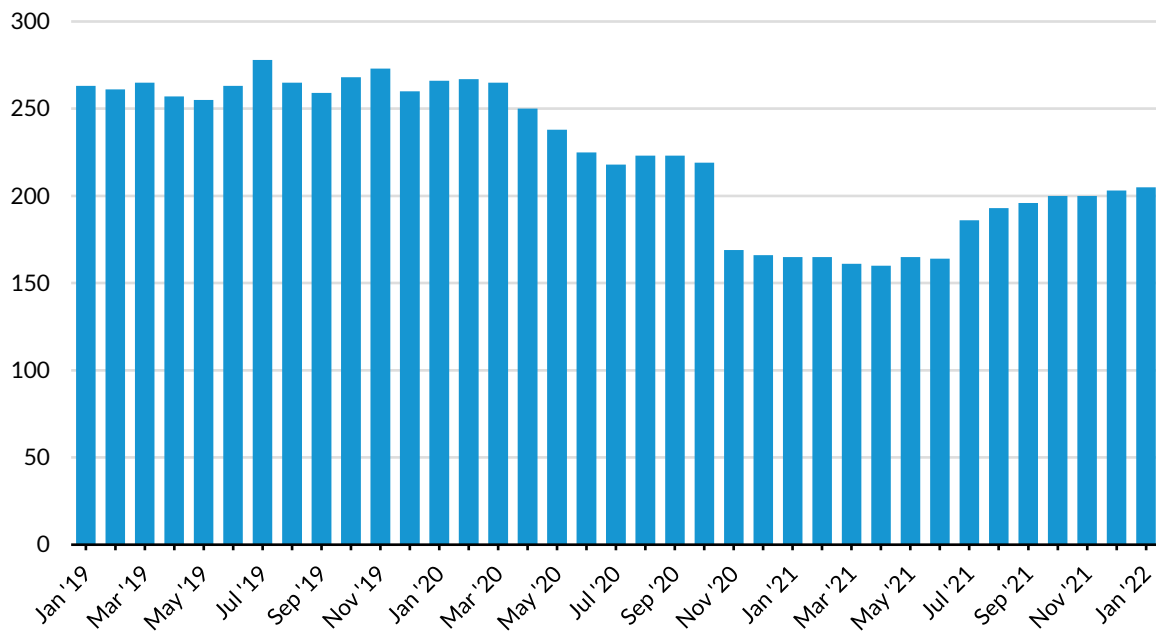
*—New Jersey Assemblywoman Verlina Reynolds-Jackson*

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Along with reducing youth incarceration, the state has made progress promoting investments in community-based services and supports for young people. After the pandemic began in 2020, sweeping changes were made throughout the state’s youth legal system. New Jersey Assemblywoman Verlina Reynolds-Jackson issued a strong call to action and championed youth justice reform legislation early in the pandemic, stating, “We have to do everything in our power to curb the spread of COVID-19, especially among our youth in the juvenile system who are at greater risk because of their physical circumstances. Thankfully, the mechanisms to keep children out of detention facilities and prioritize community-based programming were already in motion.”<sup>19</sup> Following advocacy early in the pandemic by a team including the ACLU of New Jersey, the New Jersey Institute for Social Justice, Salvation and Social Justice, and the Rutgers Criminal and Youth Justice Clinic, New Jersey became the first state to test all of its incarcerated young people for COVID-19.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in response to the spread of the virus, that coalition of advocates and others pressed for the release of some committed young people nearing the end of their sentences, leading to S2519, a first-in-the-nation bill that reduced sentences because of COVID-19.<sup>21</sup> The bill authorized public health emergency credits for incarcerated young people and adults who were slated for release within one year. At least 50 young people were released because of the bill by the end of May 2021. These efforts significantly impacted New Jersey’s youth prison population, which fell 39 percent between February 2020 and June 2021, when the state had the fewest young people incarcerated at the state level in recent history (figure 5).

FIGURE 5

Young People Committed to Secure Facilities and Nonsecure Residential Placements in New Jersey



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**Source:** New Jersey Office of the Attorney General Juvenile Justice Commission's Juvenile Demographics and Statistics, accessed May 4, 2022, available at <https://www.njoag.gov/about/divisions-and-offices/juvenile-justice-commission-home/juvenile-demographics-and-statistics/>.

**Notes:** These counts are from the last Friday of each month and include young people committed to the Juvenile Justice Commission and waived to criminal court. These numbers include young people in secure facilities and nonsecure residential community homes.

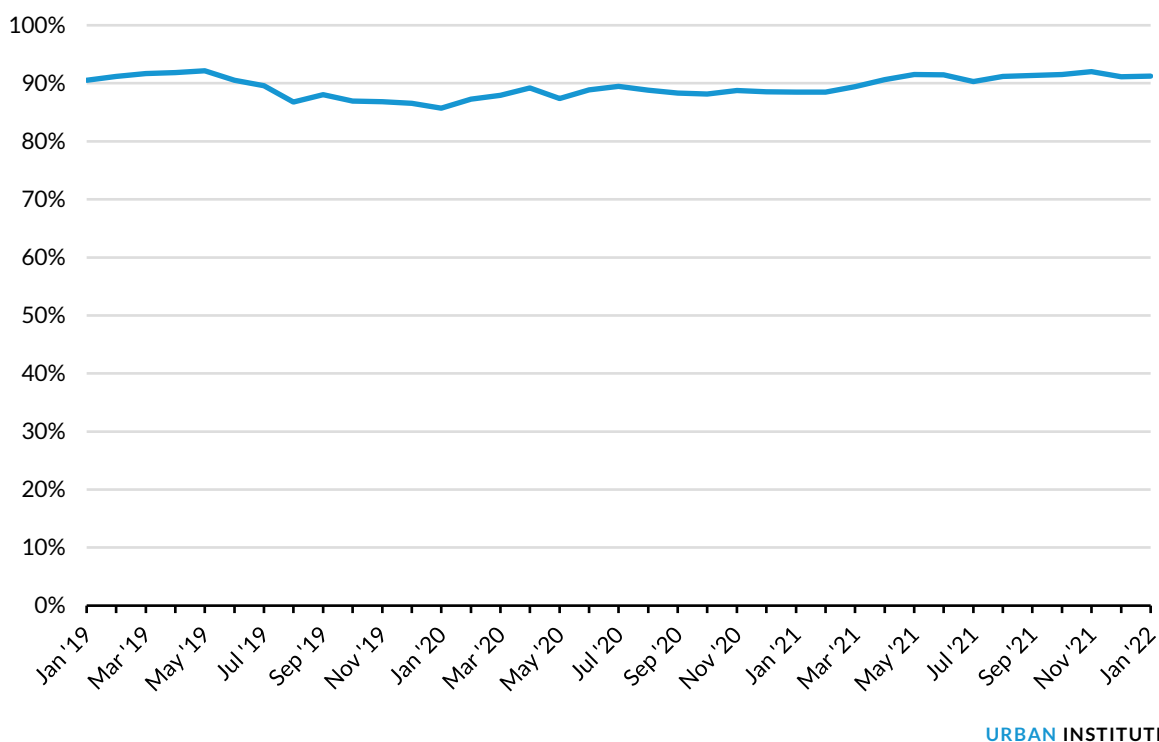
A series of other bills passed in the second half of 2020 initiated systemwide changes in New Jersey. On July 1, 2020, Governor Murphy signed legislation accelerating the cancellation of most juvenile delinquency fines, which kept young people in prison until they were paid, and creating a postincarceration supervision option to expedite the release of some young people.<sup>22</sup> In October 2020, the New Jersey Supreme Court waived all juvenile fine debt to fully remove that barrier to release. In January 2022, the state passed a law that eliminated all outstanding fines and fees in youth cases, finishing the work started by a previous bill.<sup>23</sup> Lastly, a bill to eliminate public defender fees for youth was passed and signed into law.<sup>24</sup>

New Jersey also recognized the critical importance of community-based services to prevent legal system involvement and support people returning home from incarceration. Based on recommendations in the New Jersey Institute for Social Justice report *Youth Justice Toolkit: A Community-Led Restorative Justice Approach*,<sup>25</sup> and prompted by strategic organizing and advocacy from the institute and Salvation and Social Justice and more than 100 residents across 11 communities in the state, then-acting governor Sheila Oliver signed legislation in August 2021 (S2924/A4663) that invested \$8.4 million in a two-year, community-based restorative justice pilot program.<sup>26</sup> Through the

program, four cities (Camden, Newark, Paterson, and Trenton) will establish youth hubs that offer highly needed prevention, diversion, and reentry services to support young people, help them build healthy relationships, and teach them conflict resolution skills.

Despite progress, however, New Jersey has much work to do to sustain and deepen reforms. First, the population of incarcerated youth increased between July and October 2021 (see figure 5). Though numbers are still significantly below prepandemic levels, the state should examine what led to the increase and develop a plan to reverse it. Second, youth of color have long been overrepresented in the state's youth legal system, and that disparity has persisted. New Jersey incarcerates almost 18 Black young people for every white young person—the worst Black/white racial disparity in the country (Rovner 2021)—even though Black and white youth commit most offenses at similar rates (Rovner 2016). Between 2019 and 2021, roughly 9 out of 10 committed young people were people of color (figure 6). To put it in broader context, youth of color make up 55 percent of the state's youth population but roughly 90 percent of its incarcerated youth population.

**FIGURE 6**  
**Proportion of the Committed and Waived Youth Population in New Jersey Who Were Youth of Color**



**Source:** New Jersey Office of the Attorney General Juvenile Justice Commission's Juvenile Demographics and Statistics, accessed May 4, 2022, available at <https://www.njoag.gov/about/divisions-and-offices/juvenile-justice-commission-home/juvenile-demographics-and-statistics/>.

**Notes:** These counts are from the last Friday of each month and include young people in secure facilities and nonsecure residential community homes. Youth of color include those who identify as Black, Hispanic, Asian, and/or Other.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

As Mossaides so eloquently summarized, the pandemic has taken a terrible toll on youth and families across the country, exacerbating existing challenges, and magnifying inequities that have existed for generations. It has forced all of us to take stock of where we are, reassess our choices, and change how things are done. In youth justice, it has highlighted the need for youth legal agencies to reduce youth incarceration, particularly as young people have been exposed to even more traumatic experiences while incarcerated during the pandemic, including extended disconnection from their families and frequent and long periods of solitary confinement.<sup>27</sup> Given what research shows about the harms incarceration can cause, many argue that we should think of youth incarceration itself as an inherent public health crisis, exacerbated by the pandemic, that demands policy and practice solutions that limit its reach and impact on vulnerable youth and families.<sup>28</sup> The pandemic has prompted stakeholders in some states to expedite decarceration efforts, and stakeholders across the country should learn from and build on that work and seek out opportunities to sustain changes long term. As Director Mossaides further urged, “We are not powerless in the face of these challenging circumstances: we can take action to strengthen supports for youth and families, building on lessons learned from the pandemic as well as decades of research on effective practices for preventing delinquency.”<sup>29</sup>

Each of the three case studies in this brief highlights an example of a youth legal system working to reduce the harm it inflicts on system-involved young people, their families, and their communities. Each offers strategies that other states could replicate and adapt to reduce youth incarceration and implement safer, more effective strategies to prevent harm. The states have also learned important lessons, and the case studies illuminate the challenges that remain and the significant work left to do to transform the way systems respond to youth behavior and promote better outcomes for all. Drawing on those case studies, we present the following conclusions and recommendations:

- **Many different stakeholders can effectively champion youth justice reform in their communities.** The three case studies illustrate ways judicial leaders, legislators, and youth legal agency leaders have leveraged existing laws, passed new legislation, and revised policies to limit out-of-home placements for young people during the pandemic. Each of these groups has a unique role to play, and each has the power to effect transformational change.
- **Declines in youth incarceration may be tenuous, and more work is needed to sustain recent efforts.** Though youth incarceration fell (in some places quickly and precipitously) after the onset of the pandemic, detention and/or commitment populations have begun to increase again, including in Massachusetts and New Jersey, illustrating that the impact of policy and practice changes may be temporary or short-lived. Every jurisdiction should closely examine its data, sustain effective strategies, analyze what is driving increases in youth incarceration, and develop strategies to implement more effective alternatives to incarceration that help young people take responsibility for their actions and provide needed services and supports in their communities.

- **Racial disparities in youth legal systems are getting worse and intentional strategies are needed to address them.** Consistent with trends observed following youth decarceration efforts across the country over the past couple of decades, reductions in incarceration after the onset of the pandemic did not benefit all youth equally. In fact, in each of these states (and in many of the Annie E. Casey Foundation detention survey sites mentioned earlier),<sup>30</sup> Black, Latinx, and other youth of color made up an increasing proportion of incarcerated youth in the first two years of the pandemic, worsening racial disparities that were already high. Given the exclusion and oppression people of color continue to experience and the pandemic's disproportionate impact (rooted in systemic disadvantages) on communities of color, there is a pressing need to identify and implement strategies that benefit all young people and to prioritize addressing and reversing racial and ethnic disparities in youth legal processing by providing Black, Latinx, and other young people of color equitable opportunities for support at home.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> "At Onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic, Dramatic and Rapid Reductions in Youth Detention," Annie E. Casey Foundation, April 23, 2020, <https://www.aecf.org/blog/at-onset-of-the-covid-19-pandemic-dramatic-and-rapid-reductions-in-youth-de>. See <https://www.aecf.org/work/juvenile-justice/jdai/youth-detention-survey-during-covid-19> for additional survey results.
- <sup>2</sup> "At Onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic, Dramatic and Rapid Reductions in Youth Detention," Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- <sup>3</sup> "Youth Detention Use Reaches Highest Level in 19 Months," Annie E. Casey Foundation, December 14, 2021, <https://www.aecf.org/blog/youth-detention-use-reaches-highest-level-in-19-months>.
- <sup>4</sup> "Youth Detention Use Reaches Highest Level in 19 Months," Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- <sup>5</sup> See pages 10–13 of the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services' *Data Resource Guide Fiscal Year 2021*, available at [https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/DRG/Data\\_Resource\\_Guide\\_FY2021.pdf](https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/DRG/Data_Resource_Guide_FY2021.pdf).
- <sup>6</sup> Paul DeWolfe, Deborah St. Jean, and Jennifer L. Egan, petition to the Court of Appeals for the State of Maryland, [https://c026acbc-bc5d-4cef-8584-0a0bde77d83b.filesusr.com/ugd/868471\\_e7ee35309c104ca69fe85442ab619f05.pdf](https://c026acbc-bc5d-4cef-8584-0a0bde77d83b.filesusr.com/ugd/868471_e7ee35309c104ca69fe85442ab619f05.pdf).
- <sup>7</sup> "Administrative Order Guiding the Response of the Circuit Courts Sitting as Juvenile Courts to the COVID-19 Emergency as It Relates to Those Juveniles Who Are Detained, Committed Pending Placement or in Commitments," Court of Appeals of Maryland, April 13, 2020, <https://mdcourts.gov/sites/default/files/admin-orders/20200413guidingresponseofcircuitcourtssittingasjuvenilecourts.pdf>.
- <sup>8</sup> Maryland Department of Juvenile Services' *Data Resource Guide Fiscal Year 2021*, page 32.
- <sup>9</sup> Maryland Department of Juvenile Services' *Data Resource Guide Fiscal Year 2021*, page 32.
- <sup>10</sup> "Juvenile Correctional Reform in Massachusetts," Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, accessed May 3, 2022, <http://www.cjcj.org/Education1/Massachusetts-Training-Schools.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> "DYS Interim Residential Release Planning Advisory," Massachusetts Department of Youth Services, March 30, 2020, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58ea378e414fb5fae5ba06c7/t/5e8b7ace83c6ef63caf2db9a/1586199247033/DYS+Interim+Advisory+RE+Residential+Release+Planning+3-30-2020.pdf>.
- <sup>12</sup> "Massachusetts Juvenile Justice System: 2021 Annual Report," Juvenile Justice Policy and Data Board, March 2022, <https://www.mass.gov/lists/jjpadcttf-legislative-reports-and-key-documents>.

- <sup>13</sup> “Massachusetts Juvenile Justice System: 2021 Annual Report,” Juvenile Justice Policy and Data Board.
- <sup>14</sup> “New Report Highlights Negative Impacts of Pandemic on Youth, Makes Recommendations to Prevent Future Delinquency,” University of Massachusetts Office of the Child Advocate, October 6, 2021, <https://www.mass.gov/news/new-report-highlights-negative-impacts-of-pandemic-on-youth-makes-recommendations-to-prevent-future-delinquency>.
- <sup>15</sup> “New Jersey Becomes First State to Implement JDAI Statewide,” Annie E. Casey Foundation, September 12, 2018, <https://www.aecf.org/blog/new-jersey-becomes-first-state-to-implement-jdai-statewide>.
- <sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Weill-Greenberg, “Institute Statement on Governor Christie’s Plan to Close Two New Jersey Youth Prisons,” New Jersey Institute for Social Justice, January 8, 2018, [https://www.njisj.org/institute\\_statement\\_on\\_governor\\_christie\\_s\\_plan\\_to\\_close\\_two\\_new\\_jersey\\_youth\\_prisons](https://www.njisj.org/institute_statement_on_governor_christie_s_plan_to_close_two_new_jersey_youth_prisons).
- <sup>17</sup> N.J. Exec. Order No. 42 (Oct. 26, 2018), <https://nj.gov/infobank/eo/056murphy/pdf/EO-42.pdf>.
- <sup>18</sup> “The State of New Jersey Budget in Brief: Summary of Budget Recommendations FY 2023,” New Jersey Department of the Treasury, Office of Management and Budget, March 2022, <https://www.nj.gov/treasury/omb/publications/23bib/BIB.pdf>.
- <sup>19</sup> This is a public quote found at the following link, not information collected in stakeholder interviews. <https://www.nj.gov/governor/news/news/562020/20200701e.shtml>.
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