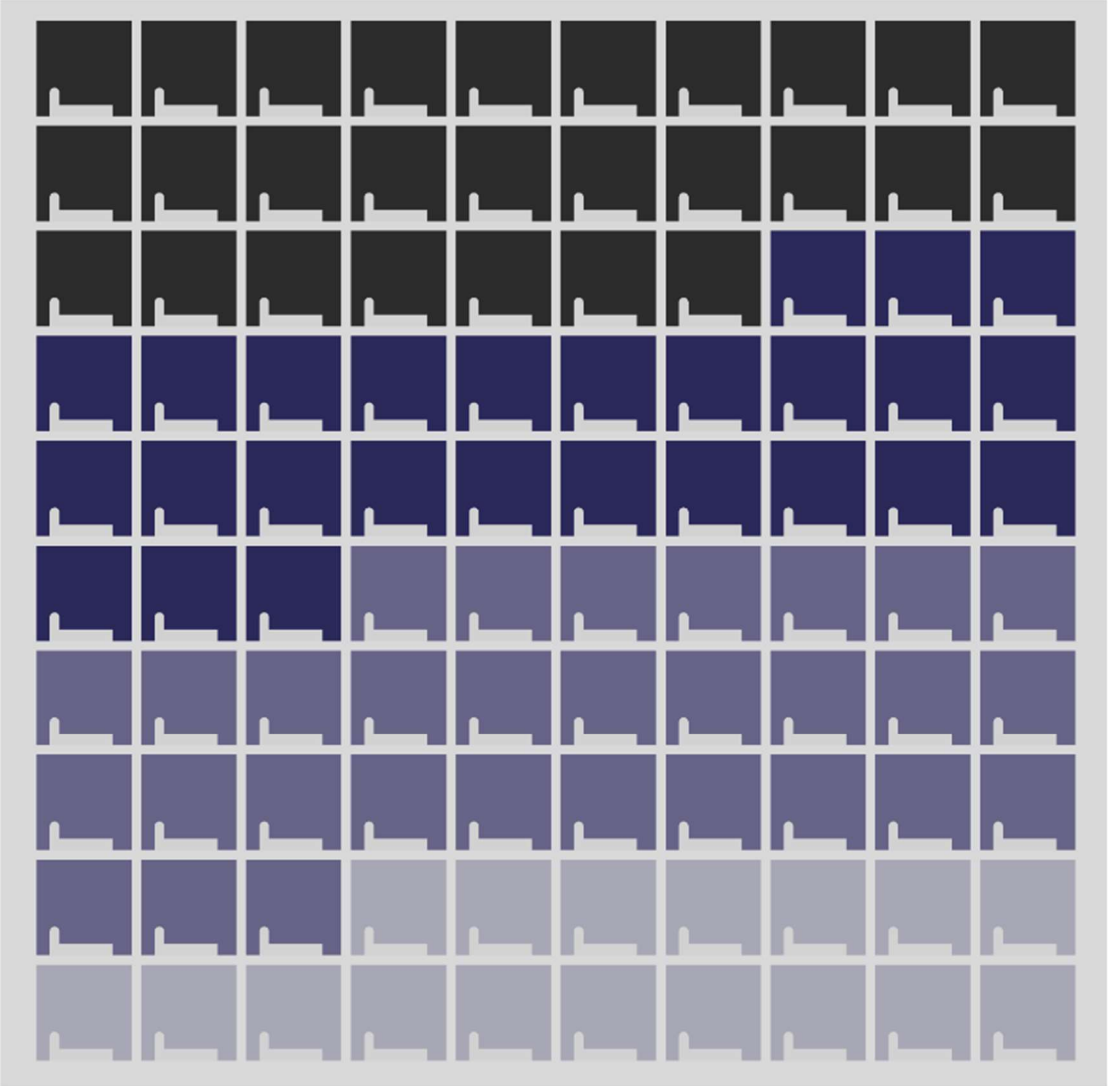

Research Report:

Long detentions and case processing:

A descriptive analysis of juvenile cases in Harris County

OCTOBER 2024

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TEXAS POLICY LAB

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The Texas Policy Lab is a research center within the School of Social Sciences at Rice University. Founded in 2018, TPL partners with policymakers to pursue data-driven scientific inquiry in decisions that affect millions of Texans. We are an interdisciplinary, closely-knit collection of faculty, professionals, researchers, and data scientists, focusing primarily on early childhood development and youth justice. We strive to build government capacity to innovate and implement new programs while putting science at the center of policy decisions.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the landscape of juvenile justice in Harris County has undergone significant transformation, marked by a notable decline in the use of juvenile detention facilities. This reflects a broader national trend that has shifted away from punitive measures towards more rehabilitative approaches. Harris County, once confronted with the prospect of expanding its juvenile detention center to accommodate an increasing detention population, now focuses on strategies aimed at reducing the number of youths in detention. For example, the Harris County Juvenile Probation Department (HCJPD) has been involved in the Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative (JDAI), with support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation. In addition to these efforts, changes in delinquency referral trends have also contributed to reducing the use of detention facilities. As a result of all these changes, the average daily population in detention has seen a significant 50% reduction over the past decade, as shown in Figure 1. This trend exhibits a sustained decrease over time, punctuated by large drops in late 2017 and early 2020, the latter coinciding with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Figure 1: Population in pre-adjudicated detention, 2015-2022

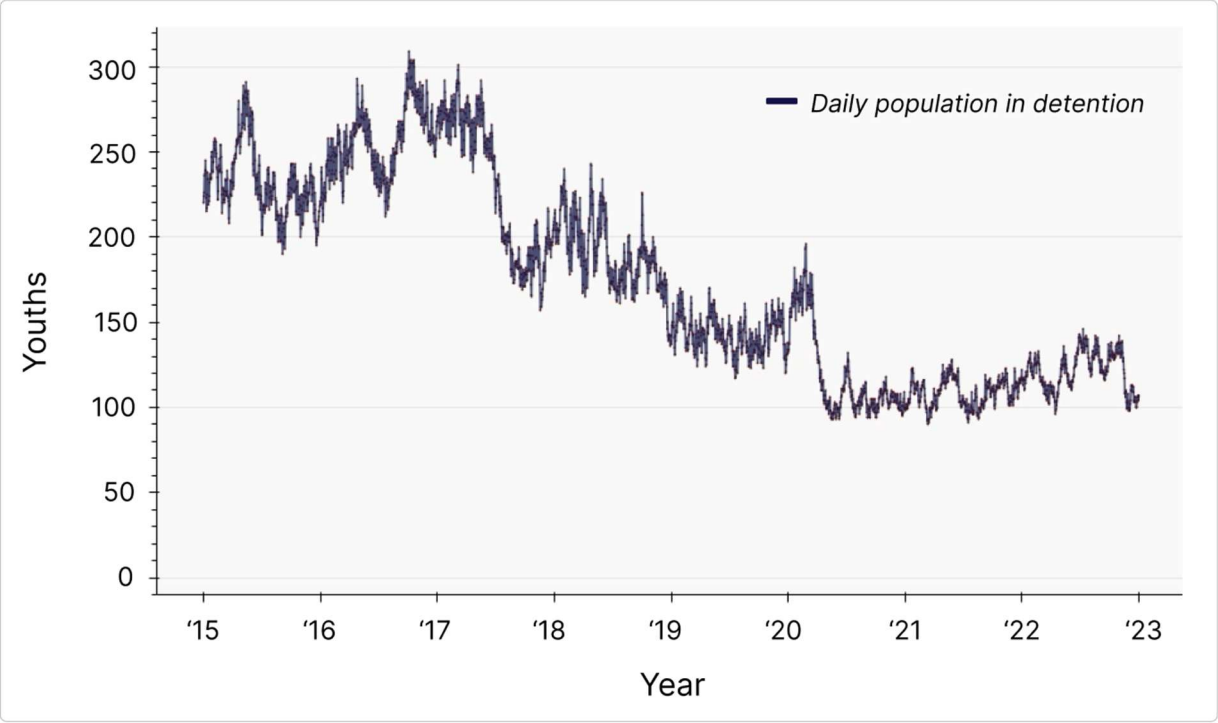


Figure 2: Prevalence of detention according to whether case proceeded to court

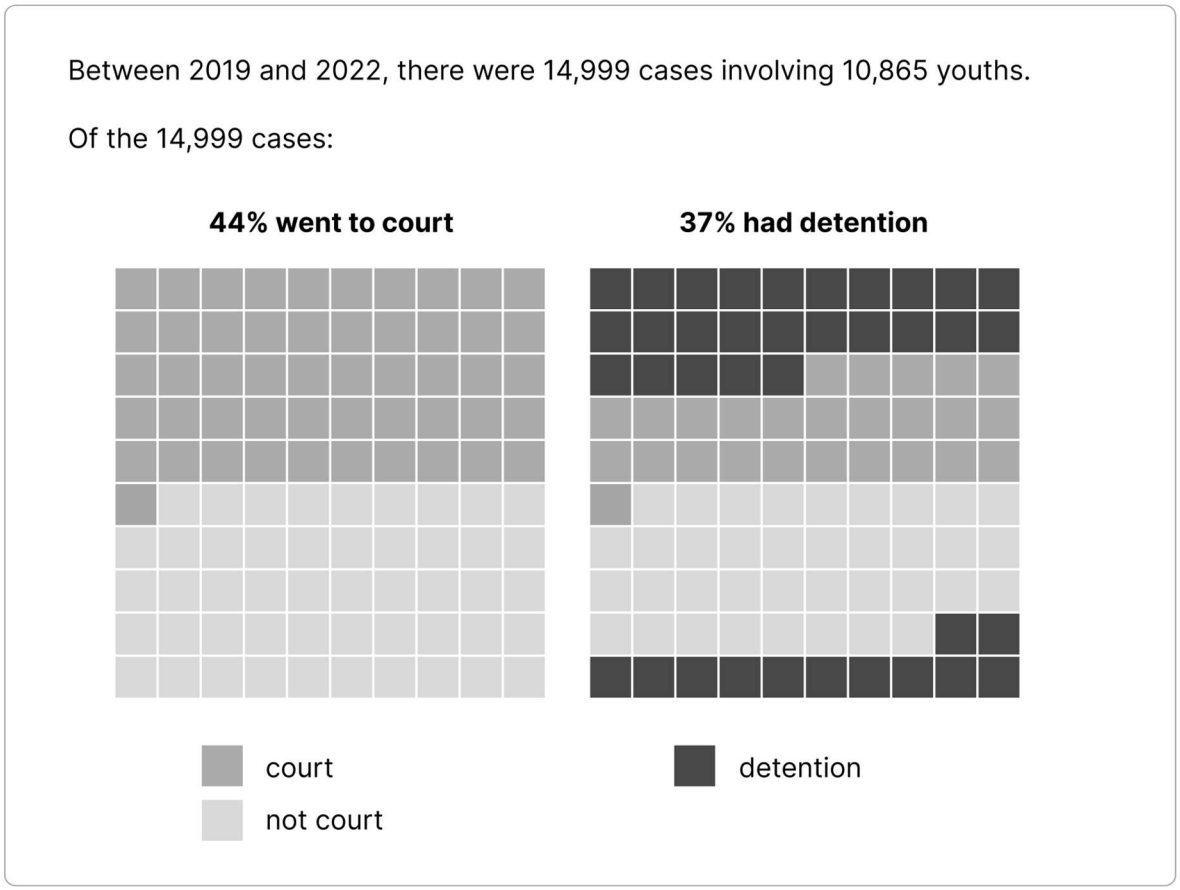
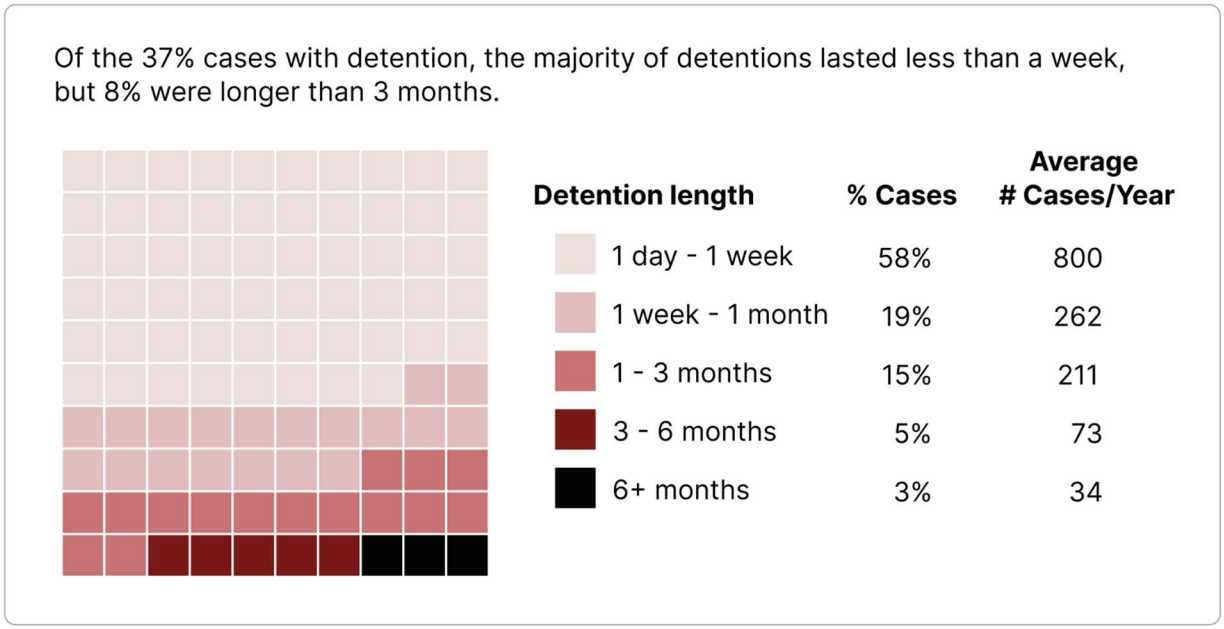


Figure 3: Distribution of time in detention among cases with any detention, 2019-2022.



Detention experiences in Harris County's juvenile justice system are highly heterogeneous. As shown in Figure 2, approximately 37% of cases involve some form of detention. Most of these detentions are brief and very extended detentions are rare. As illustrated in Figure 3, cases with detentions lasting less than a week account for 58% of all detention cases, while those with detentions longer than six months make up only 3% of cases. However, even among these cases with exceptionally prolonged detentions, there is considerable variability, with some instances extending beyond a year, as highlighted in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Duration of detention for all cases with detentions longer than 6 months

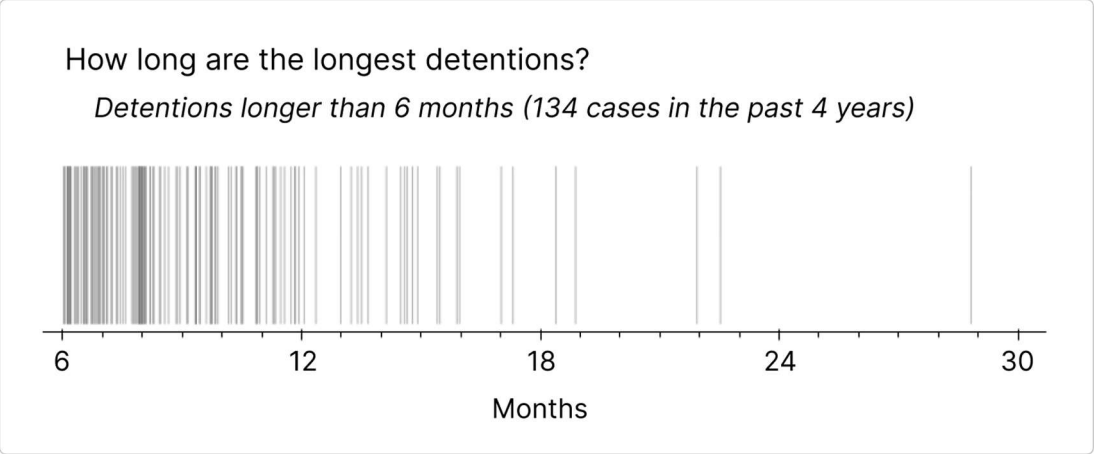
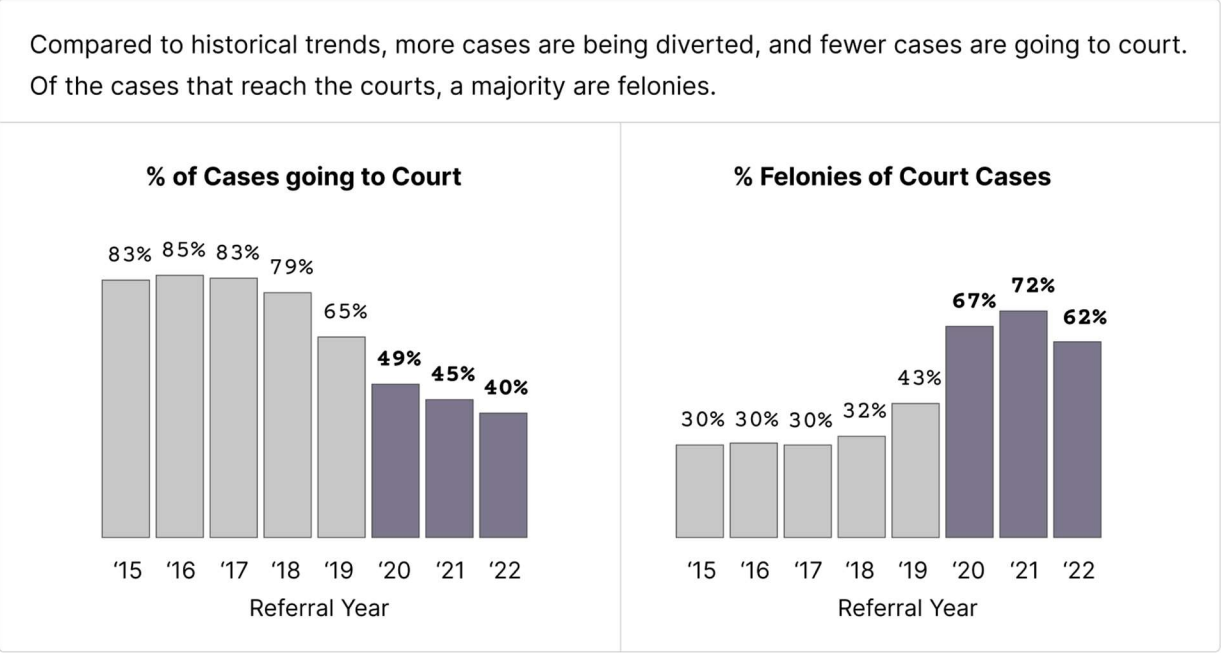


Figure 5: Changes in prevalence and complexity of cases that proceed to court



Detention decisions are intricately linked with other procedural elements of the juvenile justice system. Notably, the decision to detain strongly correlates with whether a case advances to court, as evidenced in Figure 2. Indeed, long detentions only occur in cases that proceed through the court system. Furthermore, the types of cases that advance to court have changed over time. Specifically, there has been a notable decline in the number of cases reaching court, coupled with an increase in their complexity, as illustrated by the significant increase in felony cases shown in Figure 5. Consequently, these complex cases are more prone both to prolonged durations and to involve detention.

This report explores long detentions and how they relate to case processing. Following some key definitions in Section 2, Section 3 of this report compares cases with short detentions to cases with long detentions. Our analysis shows that long detentions are far more likely to include more serious offenses, such as felonies and offenses against persons, and result in more severe dispositions. Determinate sentencing and certification proceedings are substantially more likely in cases with long detentions, highlighting their complexity and the extensive legal processes involved. Moreover, cases with long detentions are often characterized by longer durations and more resets. Importantly, youths in long detentions are more likely to spend the majority of their cases in detention while they wait for a disposition, emphasizing the critical impact of case processing efficiency on detention lengths.

Given these differences, we explore in detail how long detentions relate to specific case-processing measures (Section 4). We document how long detentions inherently happen in cases that proceed to court and how most of a case's processing time occurs after petition. Consequently, we focus the rest of our analysis on post-petition dynamics. Our results show that long detentions are rare, even among cases that extend for several months. Rather than case length, the share of time spent in detention emerges as the common characteristic of long detentions, which predominantly involve youths who are detained for most or all of the case duration. This highlights the potential for improvements in case processing to directly influence detention lengths, particularly in cases with extended detentions. Resets emerge as a crucial mechanism in prolonging case durations, presenting an opportunity to mitigate unnecessary delays and thereby reduce detention periods for cases experiencing long detentions.

In Section 5, we present qualitative evidence that allows us to further explore the case processing practices that contribute to long detentions. Through interviews with juvenile judges, public defenders, private attorneys, and probation staff, we identified key factors contributing to long detentions. These factors fall into two main categories: barriers to release and causes of case extensions. Release barriers include family-related challenges (such as cases involving violence against family members), limited availability of electronic monitoring devices, and divergent interpretations of youths' behavioral incidents while in detention. Factors extending case processing times include delays in evidence processing (particularly for body camera footage and technical evidence), inefficiencies in evidence transfer, lengthy evidence review periods, communication gaps between prosecution and defense teams, and delays related to

Grand Jury proceedings. While these interviews provided valuable insights into the mechanisms behind long detentions, the findings are limited by the selective nature of the interview sample and the inability to quantify how frequently these issues occur.

In Section 6, we quantify the importance of long detentions for the average population in detention and explore how sensitive daily population numbers are to changes in case processing times. We find that, between 2019 and 2022, more than half of active detention beds were occupied by youths who spent more than three months in detention. Moreover, the share of occupied detention beds that can be attributed to long detentions has increased since 2020, when responses to the COVID-19 pandemic led to a reduction in shorter detentions.

Building on the results of Sections 5 and 6, we ask: what if case processing had been different (faster) during this period? To answer this question, we simulate a series of scenarios in which cases were resolved faster than what we observed in the data (Section 7). To quantify the effects of these changes, we calculate how they would have affected the detention population. We interpret these exercises as rough approximations to the potential effects of policies, actions, or interventions that could lead to more expeditious case processing in the future. Our results show that feasible changes in case processing times could have large effects on the size of the detention population. For instance, targeted actions that would have expedited cases where youths had already been in detention for 90 days would have resulted in a detention population nearly 20% smaller.

Finally, Section 8 provides a brief discussion of our findings. We argue that our results highlight the importance of addressing long detentions. Specifically, our simulation results clearly suggest that small improvements in case-processing efficiency may have large impacts on detention populations. A strategic approach that involves all relevant stakeholders and incorporates the kind of elements brought up in our interviews could provide clear opportunities for interventions or small changes in policies and procedures which could yield significant benefits.

2. Definitions and Data

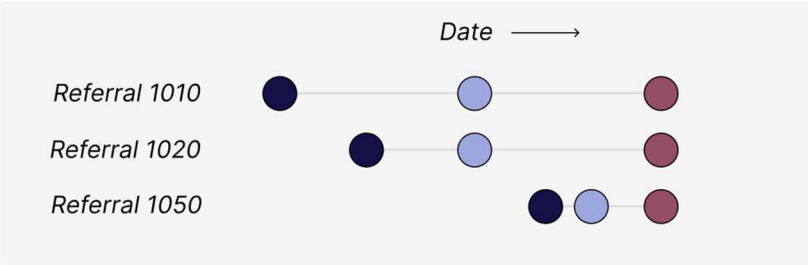
CASE

In Harris County's Juvenile Justice System, each separate offense a youth is charged with is known as a referral. However, the Juvenile Court may treat multiple referrals, even those that did not stem from the same incident, as a single case. The data does not allow us to directly identify which referrals are grouped together in this way. Thus, for the purpose of this report, we define a case as a set of referrals that share either a petition or disposition date. For referrals that never make it to Court, we define a case as a set of referrals with the same referral date. The graph below illustrates our procedure for *bundling* referrals to form a case.

Case Bundling

To accurately represent the length of detention stays, we combine or bundle together referrals that are likely to be treated as a single case by the courts.

To illustrate how we implement this, consider a fictional youth with three referrals - labeled below as 1010, 1020, and 1050 - that overlap as they proceed through court.



For each referral, from left to right, dots indicate referral date, petition date, and disposition dates.

Although all the referrals have different referral dates, 1010 and 1020 share a disposition date, indicating the prosecutor's decision to combine the two charges when bringing the case to court.

Referral 1050 has a later petition date but shares a disposition date with the others. We interpret this as an indication that the court treated these charges as a unified case when deciding on adjudication and disposition. Thus, in our analysis, the three referrals are treated as a single case.

OTHER DEFINITIONS

Length of detention

We refer to the *length of detention* as the total number of days a youth spent in detention for a specific case, counted between the date of referral and the date of disposition for that case. In some cases, youths may be released and later detained again. To simplify the analysis, we focus on the sum of all days spent in detention during the processing of a given case, regardless of whether these days were part of a single spell or multiple spells.

Long detention

Unless noted otherwise, we use the term *long detention* to refer to cases where the youth spent three months or more in detention (i.e. when the length of detention exceeded 90 days).

Short detention

For comparison purposes, we also use the term *short detention* to refer to cases where the youth spent less than one month in detention.

DATA AND SOURCES

Quantitative Data

To elaborate this report, we analyzed rich data from youth, referral, offense, detention, and court records. Our main analysis focuses on cases with referral dates between January 1st, 2019, and December 31st, 2022. Two separate facts about our analysis guided this choice. First, judges in all Juvenile Courts began serving in their positions in 2019. Thus, the composition and characteristics of the courts remain consistent throughout our analysis period. Second, we conclude our analysis with referrals that occurred at the end of 2022 to allow for the resolution of (most) cases in our analysis.

In a few specific instances, our analysis uses data prior to 2019. This includes graphs that present longer-term trends (e.g. Figures 1 and 5), as well as the analysis of cases in detention in 2019, some of which had referral dates prior to 2019 (Sections 5 and 6).

Qualitative Data

In addition to this data analysis, we also conducted qualitative interviews with Juvenile Judges and key staff at the Harris County Juvenile Probation Department, as well as a focus group with Defense Attorneys.

3. What characterizes cases with long detentions?

Comparing cases with short and long detentions

Our analysis begins by focusing on cases involving youth detentions, specifically categorizing them into two groups based on duration: "long detentions" and "short detentions." For the purpose of this analysis, long detentions are defined as cases where youth spent more than three months detained, while short detentions encompass cases with a detention period of less than one month. This distinction allows us to discern significant differences between cases based on the length of detention, thereby identifying key characteristics associated with extended periods of detention.

We present this comparison in Table 1, which is divided into three panels. Panel A examines youth characteristics and referral variables, focusing on factors influencing the initial stages of case processing. Panel B delves into case attributes as they progress through the court system. Finally, Panel C examines additional variables related to case processing and duration, which will help us identify specific factors that may contribute to prolonged detention periods.

In Table 1, each panel is organized to highlight key proportions and differences across the two detention categories. Column 1 presents the proportions of each characteristic among cases with short detentions, while Column 2 depicts the corresponding proportions among cases with long detentions. To ease the comparison of the two categories, Column 3 quantifies the difference between the proportions in Columns 1 and 2.

Youths in longer detentions are more likely to be male, older, and Black

Table 1, Panel A examines youth characteristics and referral (charge) variables, comparing short and long detentions for cases from 2019 to 2022. While most demographic characteristics do not show substantial differences between the two detention durations, certain disparities are evident. Youths in long detentions are more likely to be male, older, and Black. For instance, boys constitute 81% of short detention cases and 94% of long detentions, a 13-percentage point difference. Additionally, there is a 6-percentage point difference in the proportion of youths aged 15 and older in long detentions compared to short ones (93% and 87%, respectively). The proportion of Black youths is 8 percentage points higher in long detentions than in short detentions (56% and 48%, respectively).

Table 1: Prevalence of selected youth, case, and case processing characteristics by resulting detention length.

Comparing Short & Long Detention Characteristics

Panel A: Youth and Referral Variables

2019-2022 court cases with detentions *(N = 3,749)*

		Short Detentions 1 day - 1 month *N = 2,504*	Long Detentions 3 months + *N = 430*	% Difference: Long - Short
Gender	% Male	81%	**94%**	**+13%**
Age	% Age 15 and older	87%	**93%**	**+6%**
Race	% Black	48%	**56%**	+8%
	% Hispanic	44%	**42%**	-2%
	% White	7%	**2%**	-5%
Offense	% Felony	64%	**95%**	**+31%**
	% Against Persons	47%	**87%**	**+40%**

Panel B: Court Variables

Attorney	% Hired Attorney	8%	**9%**	+1%
Special Hearing Types *	% Determinate	*4%*	***54%***	**+50%**
	% Certification	*0.1%*	***9%***	**+9%**
Resulting Disposition	% Certified	*0.04%*	***3%***	***Serious Dispositions*** **
	% TJJD	*1%*	***22%***	
	% Placement	*15%*	***56%***	**+65%**
	% Deferred Adj.	*22%*	***1%***	
	% Probation	*37%*	***9%***	
	% Non-suit	*24%*	***9%***	

* *Special Hearing Types:* % Determinate indicate whether a Determinate Sentence hearing shows up in a case's history. For example, 54% of long detentions had a Determinate Sentence hearing, compared to 4% of short detentions. Certifications are treated in the same way.

** *Serious Dispositions*: This includes Certified as Adult, TJJD Commitment, and HCJPD Placement.

Panel C: Case Processing Variables

Case Length	Case longer than 9 months	30%	**44%**	+14%
	Spent more than 90% of case detained	4%	**41%**	**+37%**
Resets	More than 10 resets	21%	**64%**	**+43%**

Felonies and person offenses are much more prevalent in cases with long detentions

In contrast to demographic characteristics, there are substantial differences in the types of offenses between short and long detention cases. Cases with long detentions are significantly more likely to involve a felony offense, with 95% of long detention cases involving felonies compared to 64% in short detentions. Similarly, offenses against persons are much more prevalent in long detentions than in short detentions (87% and 47%, respectively). These significant disparities suggest that more serious offenses may require extended court processes and are more likely to involve detention, resulting in prolonged detention periods during the adjudication process.

Cases with long detentions are substantially more likely to involve specialty proceedings and result in more severe dispositions

Table 1, Panel B explores case attributes beyond offenses, revealing significant differences in the processes and outcomes of short versus long detentions. A key distinction is the high prevalence of cases following special proceedings among long detentions. For instance, while less than 4% of cases with short detentions involve determinate sentence hearings, more than half of long detentions involve such proceedings. Similarly, virtually no short detentions involve proceedings determining whether the youth should be certified for prosecution as an adult, while almost 10% of long detentions do.

Final dispositions also differ dramatically between short and long detentions. To allow for a more straightforward comparison, we group together cases in which the youth was certified as an adult, committed to TJJD, or placed under HCJPD custody under the category of *severe dispositions*. More than 80% of cases with long detentions result in one of these severe dispositions, compared to less than 20% of short detentions, a 65-percentage point difference. These disparities reflect that long detentions typically involve more serious offenses and youths with more extensive histories of prior offenses. Consequently, such cases may require longer proceedings, including more extended discovery processes, additional hearings and motions, a

more careful review of evidence, and more disagreements between parties regarding potential dispositions.

Notably, the lack of a hired attorney, which could proxy for more dedicated representation, does not appear to be a significant factor in longer detentions. Although only 9% of long detention cases are represented by a hired attorney, the share is virtually the same among short detentions (8%). This suggests that other factors, such as the seriousness of the offense and the complexity of the case, play a more critical role in determining the length of detention.

Although less common than in short detentions, one in ten cases with long detentions resulted in a Non-suit disposition

An additional notable fact about long detentions is that a non-negligible share of them (9%) results in Non-Suit dispositions. In the categorization we use, Non-suits include a variety of decisions, but it mostly captures instances in which the prosecution decides to drop the case. Thus, even though the share of long detentions with Non-suit dispositions is much smaller than in cases with short detentions, these cases highlight how youths often stay in detention for extended periods of time, even in situations where the prosecution eventually decides that the case is no longer worth prosecuting. Presumably, the extended detention in these cases was a consequence of the severity of the initial charges rather than the evidence against the youth, who is presumed innocent.

Nearly half of long detentions and one-third of short detentions happen in cases longer than 9 months

Finally, Table 1, Panel C focuses on measures of case processing. First, we examine case length. While long detentions inherently require longer cases, it's notable that short detentions also occur within extended case durations. Nearly half of long detentions occur in cases lasting more than 9 months, the metric we have chosen to reflect prolonged cases. Surprisingly, almost one-third of short detentions also fall into this category, indicating that shorter detentions are prevalent even within extended case durations. This observation underscores the complexity and variability in detention periods across different case lengths, a topic we will further explore later in this report.

Youths in cases with long detentions are much more likely to spend all or most of the case time in detention

A clearer distinction between short and long detentions emerges when considering cases where youth spent most or all of their time in detention. To operationalize this concept, we first define a binary variable indicating whether the youth spent at least 90% of the time between referral and disposition in detention. Long detentions are significantly more likely than short detentions to have the youth spend most of their time in detention, with 41% of long detentions meeting this criterion compared to only 4% of short detentions. This stark contrast highlights a critical policy implication: longer detentions exhibit a much stronger correlation between overall case

length and the duration spent in detention. Consequently, longer detentions are especially sensitive to actions or policies aimed at expediting case processing times.

Long detentions tend to have more resets

We also investigate differences in the number of resets between short and long detentions. For the purpose of Table 1, cases with a significant number of resets are approximated using an indicator of 10 or more resets. The data reveals substantial disparities: approximately one out of five short detentions experience a large number of resets, whereas nearly two-thirds of long detentions fall into this category. This finding suggests that resets play a pivotal role in extending the duration of cases, a phenomenon we will explore in greater detail later on.

Table 2: Prevalence of selected offense groups by resulting detention length. Court cases with detention, 2019-2022.

Offense Group	% of all Short Detentions *(N=2,504)*	% of all Long Detentions *(N=430)*	Likelihood of Long Detentions Relative to Short Detentions
Murder/Capital	0.08% *(2)*	8% *(36)*	**18x** as likely
Aggr. Robbery	12% *(297)*	57% *(247)*	80% as likely
Aggr. Assault	10% *(242)*	10% *(44)*	20% as likely
Assault	14% *(344)*	3% *(8)*	10% as likely
Sexual Assault	4% *(97)*	3% *(11)*	10% as likely
Robbery	4% *(131)*	4% *(17)*	10% as likely

Almost all Murder cases result in long detentions

Table 1, Panel A, highlighted how long detentions are significantly more likely in cases involving felony offenses or offenses against persons. Building on this observation, we further investigate the distinctions between long and short detentions across specific offense categories critical to public safety: Murder (including capital murder cases), Aggravated Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Assault, Sexual Assault, and Robbery. Table 2 illustrates how Murder cases, although constituting a very small proportion of overall cases, comprise 8% of long detention cases. Only 2 cases with short detentions (less than 1%) had a Murder offense.

Aggravated Robbery is, by far, the most common offense in cases with long detention

More than half of long detentions (57%) stem from Aggravated Robbery cases -far more than any other offense group-, highlighting the importance of this offense type for understanding cases with extended detention periods. The second most common offense group among long

detentions is Aggravated Assaults, which account for 10% of long detention cases, a significantly smaller proportion than Aggravated Robberies. Each of the other offense groups in our analysis accounts for less than 5% of long detentions. In contrast to long detentions, only 12% of short detentions originate from Aggravated Robberies. Thus, the dynamics that lead to long detentions may be particularly relevant in Aggravated robbery cases.

Nevertheless, more Aggravated Robberies result in short detentions than in long detentions

Nevertheless, comparing offense prevalence between short and long detentions, particularly Aggravated Robberies, reveals a more nuanced picture than their high prevalence in long detentions suggests. Recall that Aggravated Robberies account for a majority of long detentions, while they constitute only a small fraction of cases in short detentions. However, the likelihood of an Aggravated Robbery resulting in a short detention is comparable to its likelihood of ending with a long detention. Out of all Aggravated Robbery cases, 297 resulted in a short detention, whereas 247 resulted in a long detention (as shown in Column 3 of Table 2).

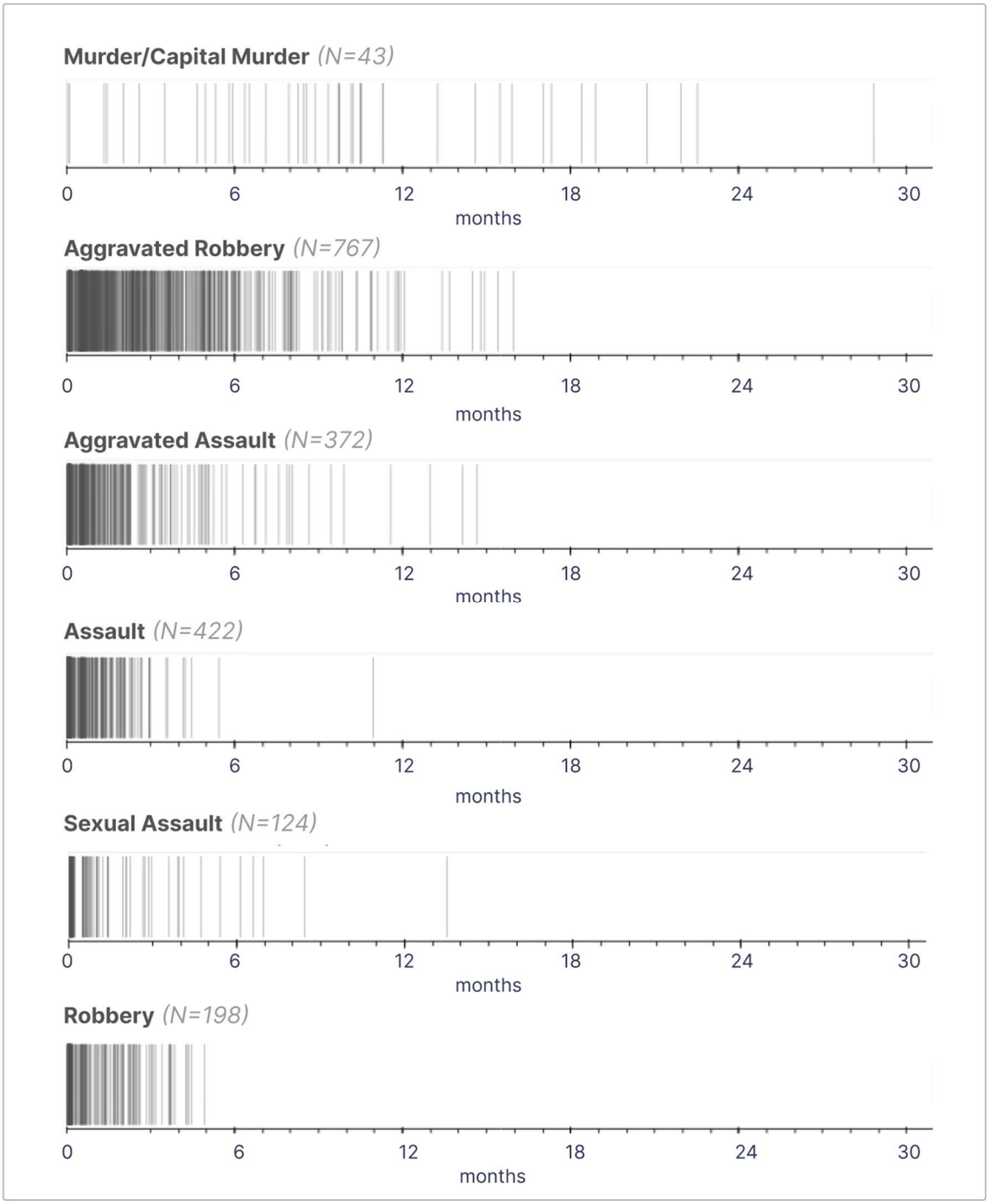
Except for Murder, no other offense is a good predictor of long detentions

Column 3 of Table 2 illustrates the likelihood of each offense resulting in long rather than short detention. For instance, in the case of Aggravated Robberies, it is roughly 80% as likely to result in a long detention as it is to result in a short detention.[1] However, Murder stands out as an exception, being eighteen times more likely to result in a long detention than a short detention. In contrast, for all other offense groups we examined, a short detention is significantly more probable than a long detention.

This observation carries significant policy implications. While examining the characteristics of cases involving Aggravated Robberies may provide insights into factors contributing to long detentions, any interventions aimed at these cases would primarily impact cases that do not result in long detentions. Thus, while serious offenses are relatively more likely than less serious ones to result in long detentions, it remains true that long detentions are rare, even among cases involving these serious offenses. This trend is depicted in Figure 6, which displays the distribution of detention lengths across all cases involving offenses in the specific offense groups we have analyzed. As shown in the figure, with the exception of murder cases, the majority of cases for these offense groups exhibit relatively short detention periods.

[1] 247/297=83%

Figure 6: Detention length by offense groups



In a nutshell

The comparison between short and long detentions reveals distinct patterns in case characteristics and processing dynamics. Long detentions, defined as those exceeding three months, predominantly affect older male youths, often Black. These cases are far more likely to include more serious offenses, such as felonies and offenses against persons, and result in more

severe dispositions. Determinate sentencing and certification proceedings are substantially more likely in cases with long detentions, highlighting their complexity and the extensive legal processes involved. Moreover, cases with long detentions are often characterized by longer durations and a higher number of resets. Importantly, youths in long detentions are more likely to spend the majority of their cases in detention while they wait for a disposition, emphasizing the critical impact of case processing efficiency on detention lengths. Therefore, the next section will delve deeper into case processing dynamics to further explore their association with long detentions.

4. Long detentions and case processing

As we have shown, long detentions are associated with many characteristics related to case processing. Thus, we now investigate how case processing may contribute to long detentions. Because long detentions can only occur in relatively long cases, we begin by identifying the types of cases that that are likely to lead to extended case times.

Long detentions happen only in cases that make it to Court

We begin by examining typical case lengths. Figure 7 illustrates a critical distinction: cases that do not reach court, such as those diverted to alternative programs, resolve significantly faster. The median length for these cases is 8 days, with 75% concluding in less than three weeks. In contrast, the median case length for cases that proceed through the court process is five months. Consequently, long detentions are inherently precluded in cases that do not progress to court. Thus, our investigation into long detentions exclusively focuses on the dynamics observed within cases that proceed through the judicial system.

Figure 7: Measures of case length. Court and non-court cases, 2019-2022.

We define **case length** to be the time between referral and a case's final disposition.
Plots show median, 25th and 75th percentiles of case length for cases that did and did not make it to court.

	Median case length	*25th - 75th percentile*	Graphic
Court cases	**5 months**	*3 - 9 months*	
Non-court cases	**8 days**	*2 - 21 days*	

For court cases, on average it takes 5 months to reach a case disposition, varying from 3 to 9 months.
For non-court cases, on average it takes 8 days to reach a case disposition, varying from 2 days to 3 weeks.

Sample: Jan 2019 - Dec 2022 data

The time between referral and petition takes only a few days, suggesting the focus should be on post-petition proceedings

Figure 8 illustrates two critical measures of case length for court-proceeding cases: the time between referral and petition (pre-court time) and the total time from referral to disposition. Notably, the period prior to the petition is relatively brief compared to the overall duration. While most cases are petitioned within a few days and rarely later than a month, achieving disposition in court cases typically spans months and, in a significant number of instances, years.

This pattern still holds when we separate cases by their resulting detention length. As Figure 9 shows, even among the rare cases with very long detentions (more than 9 or 12 months), the median from referral to petition was 4 days. Thus, any investigation into long detentions must focus on post-petition or court proceedings.

Figure 8: Distribution of time to petition and disposition. All cases 2019-2022.

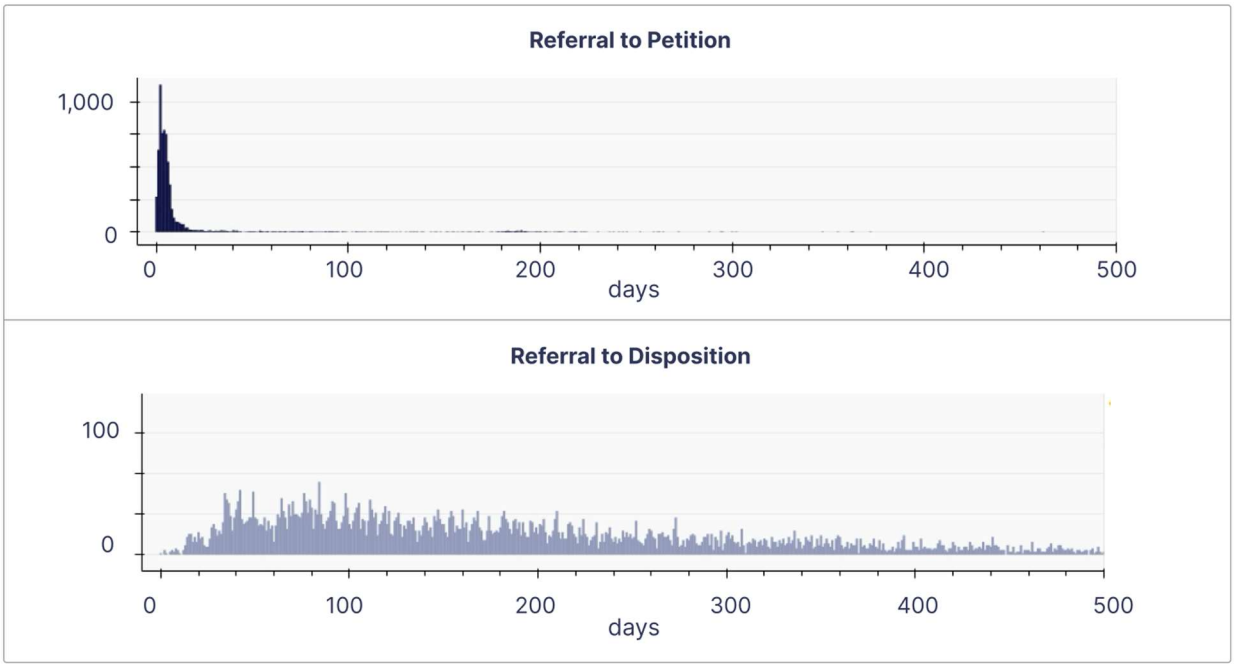
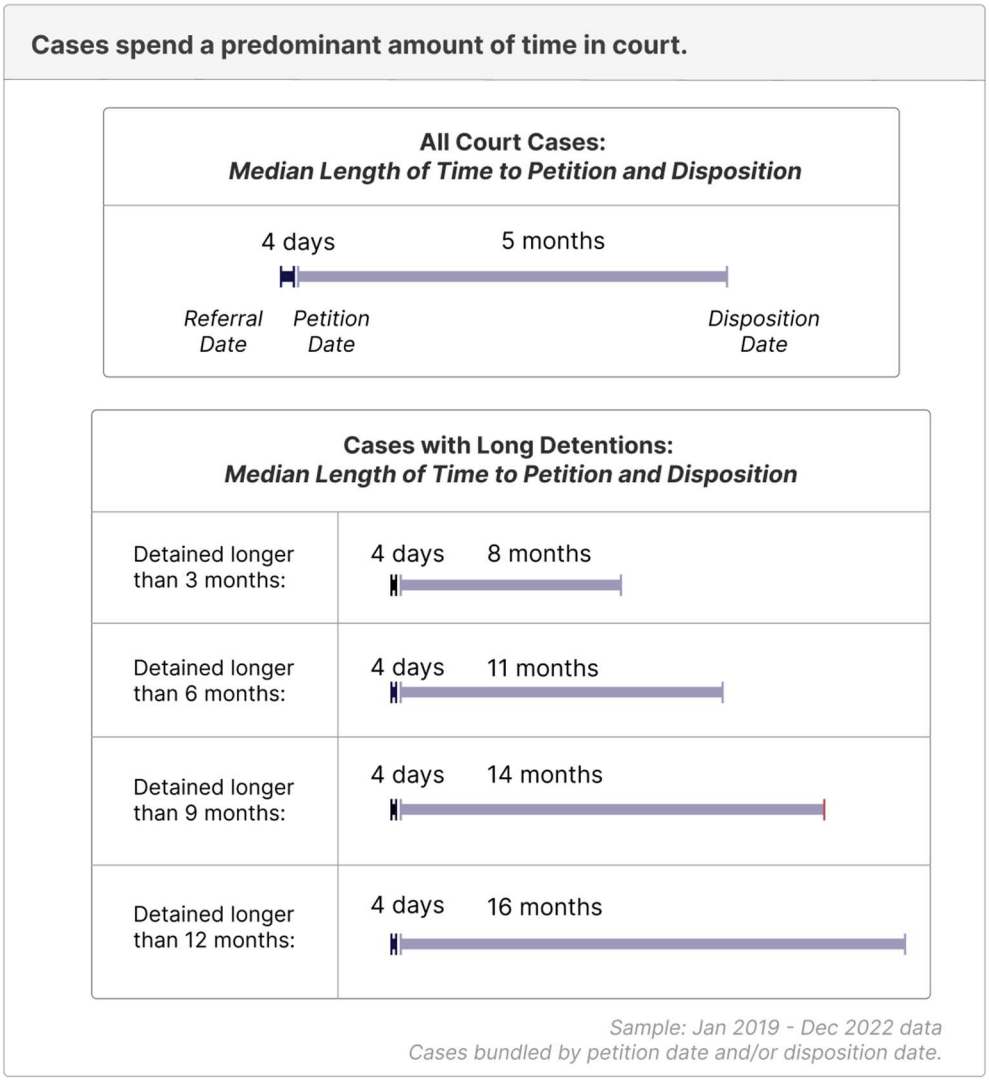


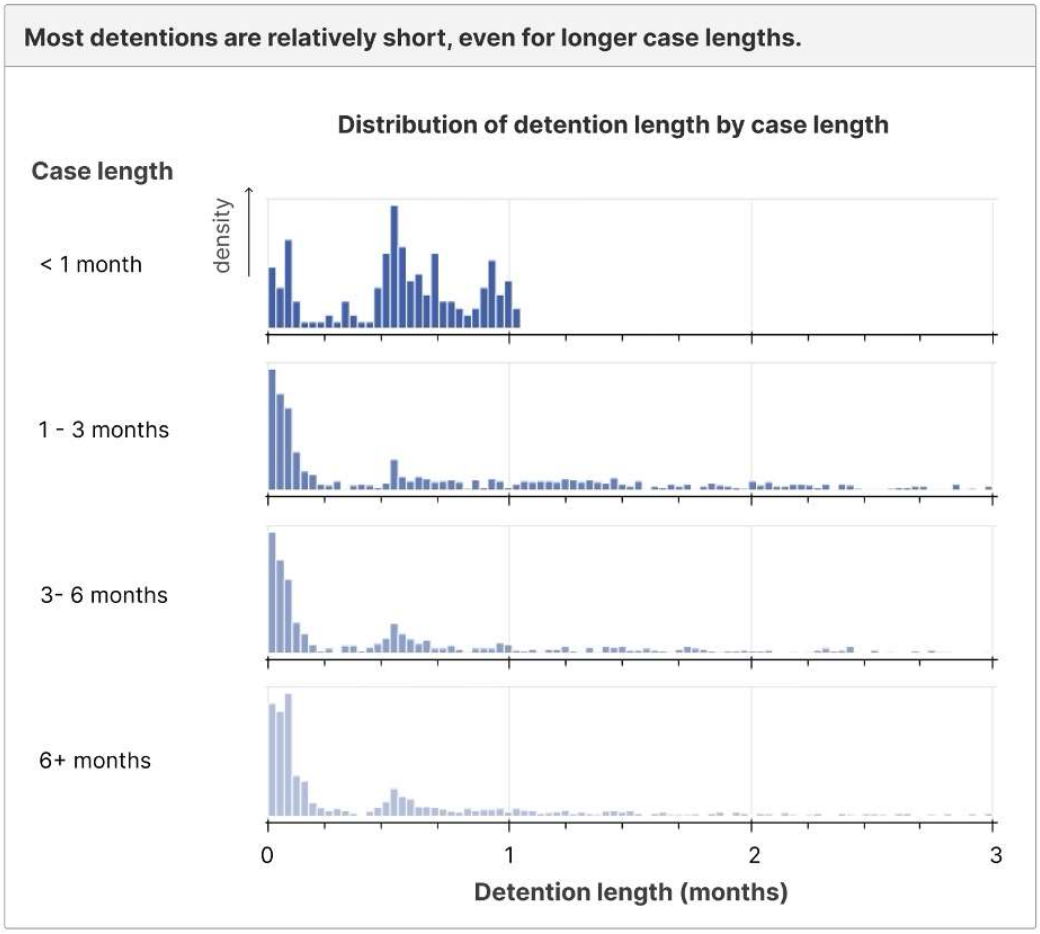
Figure 9: Median time to petition and disposition by resulting detention length.



Long detentions are rare, even among long cases

We now address a fundamental relationship between case length and detention duration. Figure 10 depicts the distribution of detention lengths across various case duration ranges. In the top panel, representing cases resolved within a month of referral, detention lengths are naturally truncated at one month. Moving down the figure, the majority of cases exhibit very short detentions (less than a week) or no detention at all, while other detentions typically last up to one month. Remarkably, even for cases taking more than six months to reach disposition, only a few involve detentions exceeding one month. This underscores a critical point: while long detentions mechanically require extended case durations, the vast majority of lengthy cases do not result in prolonged detentions. Notably, as already shown in Figure 4, out of roughly 5500 cases with detention between 2019 and 2022, fewer than 150 cases experienced detentions longer than six months.

Figure 10: Detention length by categories of case length



Histograms show distribution of detention lengths, of those detained, grouped by case lengths. The x-axis is cut off at 90 days for ease of interpretability - Figure 4 details longer detentions.

Youths spend varying proportions of their case time in detention.

Figure 11 delves deeper into the interplay between case length and detention duration. The left panel of Figure 11 illustrates this relationship by plotting case length against detention length for all cases. Here, individual cases are constrained under the 45-degree line, reflecting that detention length cannot exceed case length. Cases directly on this line indicate instances where the youth was detained for the entire duration of the case. Conversely, cases on the horizontal axis represent situations where no detention was involved. Most cases do not align precisely with these lines, indicating detention times shorter than the entire case length. Notably, the plot reveals considerable variability in how much of the case duration youths spend in detention. However, there is a distinct cluster of cases along or near the 45-degree line, representing cases where youths spent most or all of their time in detention.

Figure 11: Case length, detention length, and fraction of case time in detention

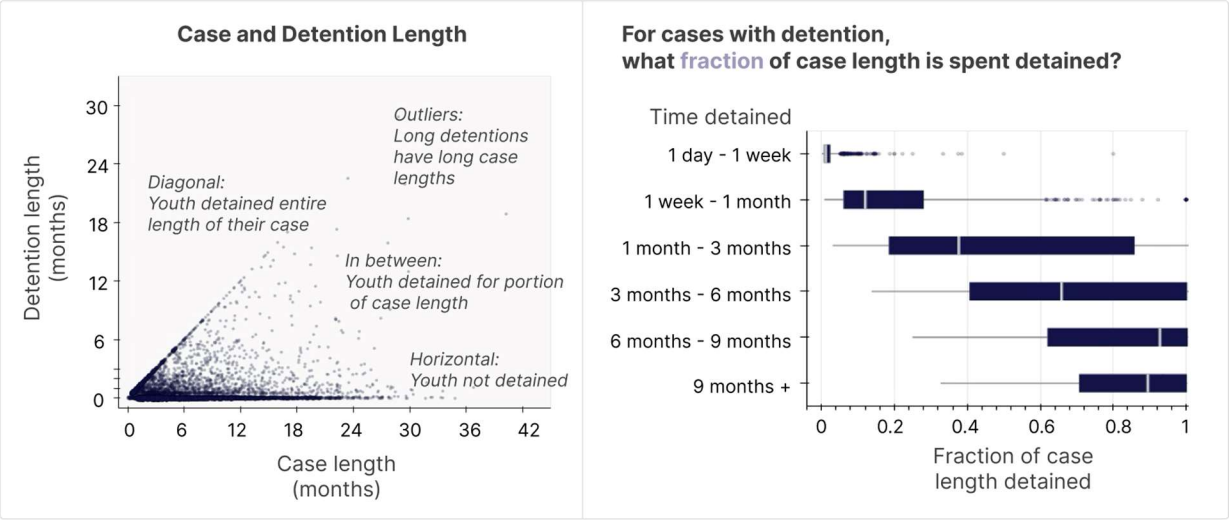
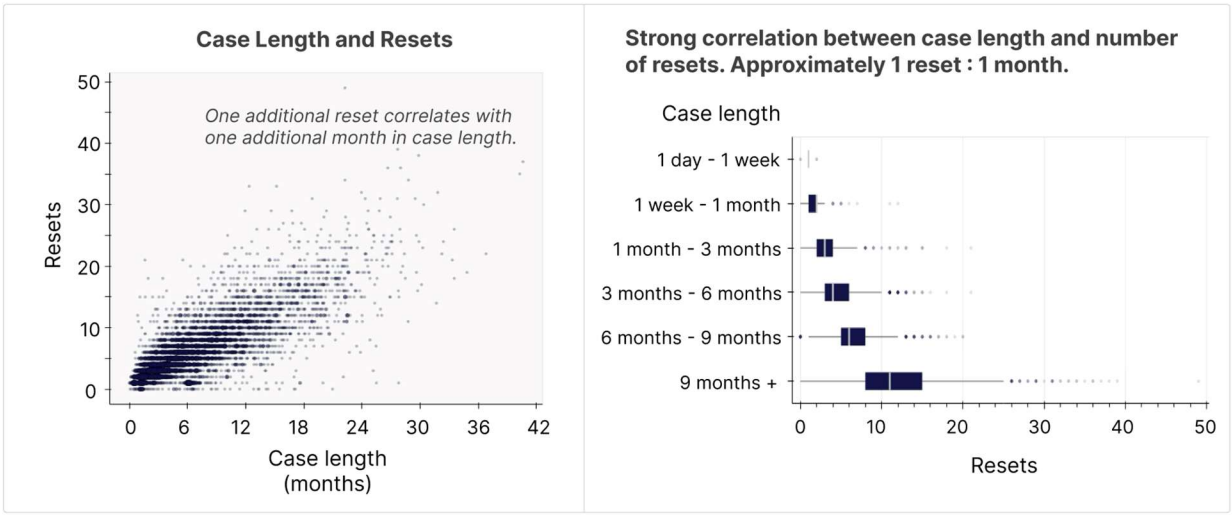


Figure 12: Case length and resets



The right panel of Figure 11 offers further insights into the relationship between case and detention lengths, depicting the proportion of case time spent in detention across different detention lengths. Notably, cases with shorter detentions typically involve the youth spending relatively low shares of their total case time in detention. For instance, in cases with detentions lasting between one week and one month, the median share of case length in detention is only 12%, while three out of four cases spend less than 28% of the time in detention. This aligns with our earlier findings from Figure 10, highlighting the prevalence of short detentions even among longer cases. Conversely, as detention lengths increase, so does the proportion of case time spent in detention. For example, cases with detentions longer than six months often see youths spending a substantial majority of their case time detained. In these instances, the median

proportion of case time spent in detention is 91%, with more than three out of four cases spending over 60% of their total case time in detention. This underscores that long detentions predominantly involve cases where youths are detained for the entirety or the majority of their case processing period.

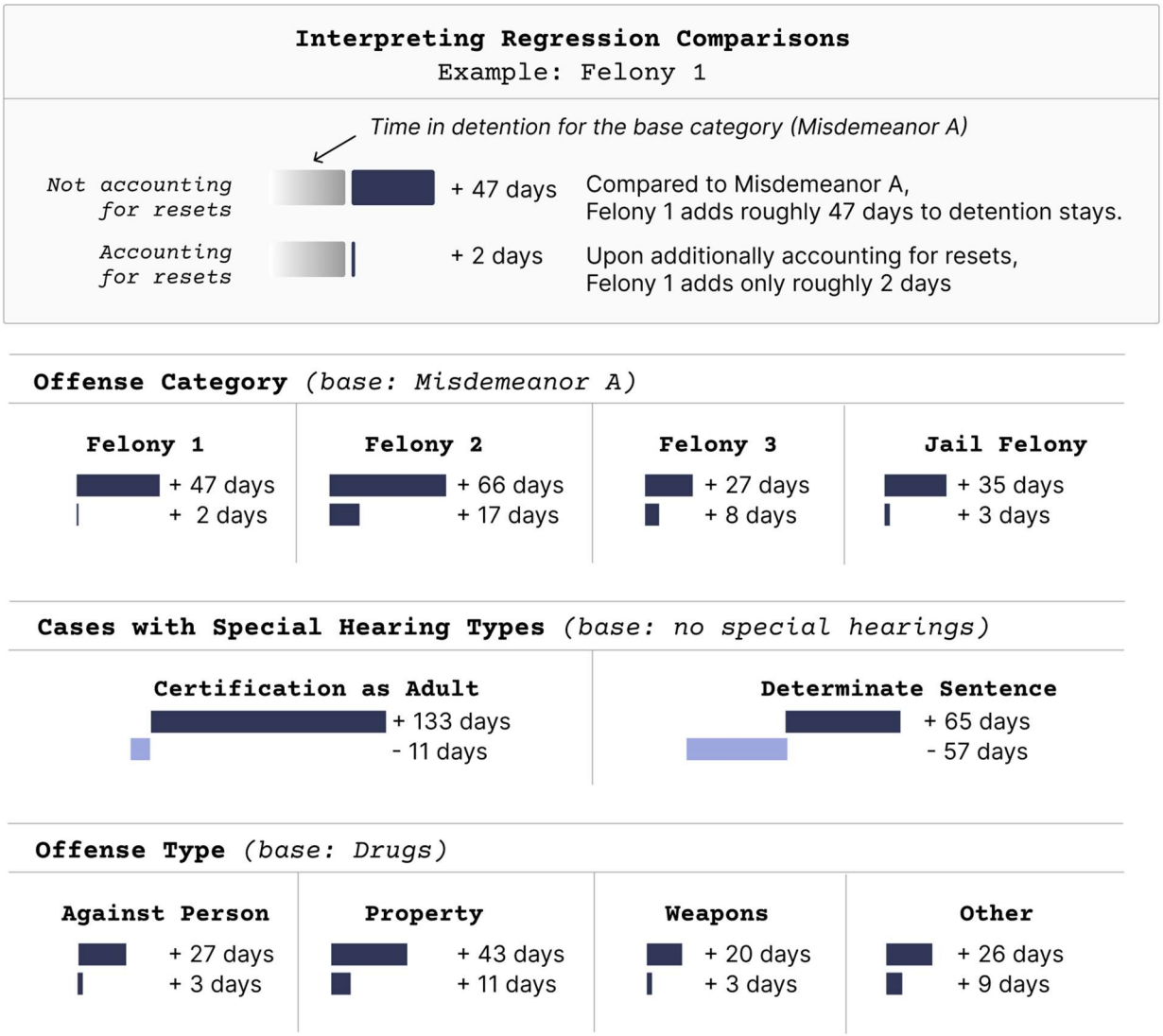
One additional reset corresponds with one additional month in case processing time

We observed in Table 1, Panel C, that long detentions are significantly more likely than short detentions to experience more than 10 resets. Figures 12 and 14 delve deeper into this relationship. Following the format of Figure 11, the left panel of Figure 12 plots the number of resets against case length for all cases. This plot reveals a clear and strong correlation between these variables, with each additional reset corresponding to approximately one additional month in case length. This association may suggest a mechanical connection, where each reset may lead to a new hearing scheduled roughly one month after the original one. The right panel of Figure 12 illustrates this correspondence differently by grouping cases based on their duration. Here, the median number of resets increases with longer case lengths, reflecting the typical timeframes associated with case resets. However, as cases lengthen, the dispersion in reset numbers also increases, indicating variability in how much additional time each reset introduces or how much time passes between scheduled hearings.

Resets are the mechanisms through which more serious and complicated cases are extended

To delve deeper into the role of resets, we conducted a regression analysis, detailed in Table A1 in the Appendix. In this analysis, we initially regressed two outcomes—case length in days and an indicator for cases lasting longer than 9 months—against various youth and case characteristics (columns 1 and 3). The findings from this regression highlight several expected patterns: serious offenses, such as those against persons, are associated with longer case durations compared to drug-related offenses. Cases involving certification and determinate sentence hearings also significantly prolong case lengths. However, upon introducing the number of resets into the analysis (columns 2 and 4), the strength of these associations diminishes notably. In fact, in some instances, these factors become statistically insignificant. These results confirm that these types of characteristics extend case lengths mostly by contributing to or requiring additional resets.

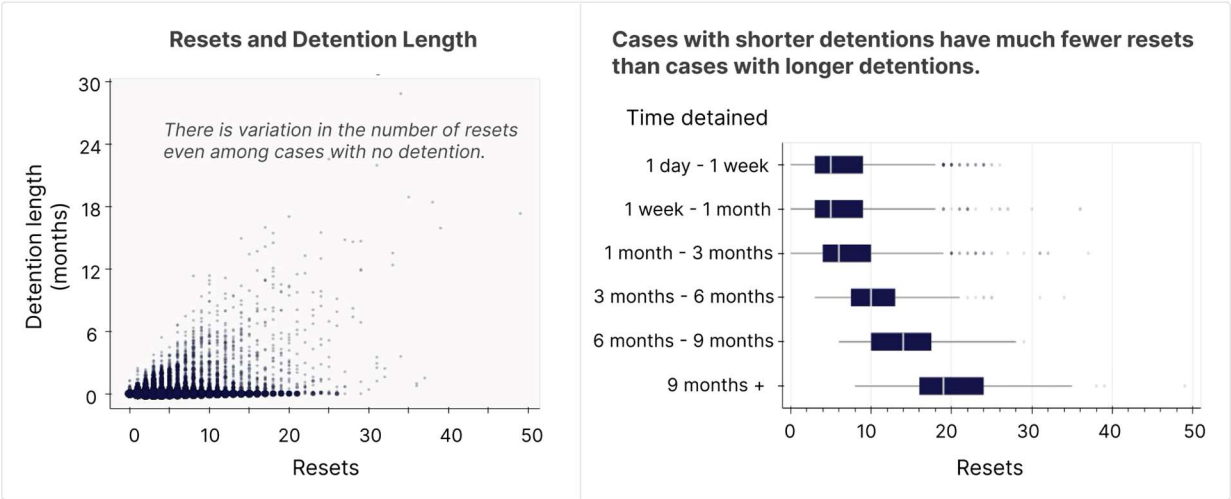
Figure 13: Resets as a mechanism by which case characteristics affect case length. Selected results from regression analyses with and withput accounting for resets.



The association between resets and detention length is much weaker, reflecting the prevalence of short detention even among extended cases.

Figure 14 provides insight into the relationship between resets and detention length. The left panel shows a less pronounced association between resets and detention length when compared to case length. This reflects the prevalence of short detentions even among longer cases. Notably, cases with no detention or very brief detentions still exhibit considerable variability in reset counts. However, the right panel indicates a positive correlation between longer detentions and reset frequency. Cases with extended detentions tend to experience more resets; for example, while cases detained between 1 and 3 months have a median of 6 resets, cases detained between 6 and 9 months have a median of 14 resets. Nevertheless, this correlation is notably weaker than that observed for case length and resets.

Figure 14: Detention length and resets



Summary

Overall, our analysis underscores several key findings. While relatively uncommon, long detentions predominantly involve youths who are detained for most or all of the case duration. This highlights the potential for improvements in case processing to directly influence detention lengths, particularly in cases with extended detentions. Resets emerge as a crucial factor in prolonging case durations, presenting an opportunity to mitigate unnecessary delays and thereby reduce detention periods for cases experiencing long detentions.

5. Qualitative evidence on cases with long detentions

The analysis described in the previous sections clearly indicates that, in cases where the youth is unlikely to be released from detention before disposition, actions that either expedite or delay case processing will have a significant effect on the length of time spent in detention. Our quantitative data analysis identified a few facts that help explain why some of these cases may take many months, and often more than a year, to reach a disposition. For instance, determinate sentence and certification proceedings are strongly associated both with extended cases and long detentions. More than 50% of cases with long detention had Aggravated Robbery charges. Extended cases are prolonged by repeated (and numerous) resets.

These facts, however, describe what happens but do not necessarily provide answers to why or how they happen. Thus, to complement our quantitative analysis, we conducted semi-structured interviews with a variety of individuals who are directly involved in court proceedings or who have direct and detailed knowledge of procedural hurdles that may be relevant contributors to

case length. Our interviewees included juvenile judges, attorneys at the Public Defender's Office, private attorneys, and Probation Department staff.

Our interviews aimed to shed light on factors contributing to long detentions to inform changes in policies and procedures that may reduce them. From our quantitative analysis, it is clear that long detentions typically require two conditions, which operate together. First, that youths are not released while their cases proceed. Second, that their cases take a relatively long time to reach a disposition. Thus, our interviews focused on two main themes:

Release from detention: Actions and considerations that prevent the release of some youths, thus resulting in them remaining detained during all or most of the time while their case reaches a disposition.

Case extension: Actions of individuals or external factors that may contribute to cases taking a relatively long time to reach a disposition.

We discuss our findings on each of these themes below.

Release from detention

Over the last few years, deliberate efforts have been made to release youths from pre-adjudicated detention whenever it is appropriate. These include weekly assessments of cases for all youths in detention that, in turn, lead to the development of potential supervision plans for eligible youths. These plans may then be considered during detention hearings or in other case hearings with the judge presiding the case.

Youths whose release is considered a public safety risk are not released and instead stay in detention during the remainder of their case. Whether a specific youth's release is considered a large enough risk depends on nuanced consideration of the severity of the charges, the details of the youth's history and background, and specifics of the incident where the charges stem from. These considerations are assessed against available supervision plans, which may include providing specific services (e.g. therapeutic programs while the case proceeds). Naturally, in some cases, different parties (judges, prosecutors, defense) may have opposing views as to whether the details of the case and the available supervision plans allow for the youth's release.

In our interviews, we identified three specific types of circumstances or events in which a youth's potential release is considered by at least one of the parties involved, but the youth remained detained during all or most of the time while their case reached a disposition. Due to the qualitative nature of our source information, we are unable to assess how frequently each of these situations occurs.

- In some cases, the youth's conditions or environment at home may impede their release. For instance, in some cases with charges involving violence against family members, the youth's family may be reluctant to take the youth into their custody again. Likewise, in some cases, the youth's environment may be considered a risk to them. In these cases,

even if the youth is not considered to be a risk to others, they may still remain in detention while their case proceeds. These issues may be aggravated or particularly difficult in cases where Child Protective Services are or could be involved.

- In some instances, electronic monitoring devices (e.g., ankle monitors) may be considered a necessary component of a suitable supervision plan. However, an electronic monitoring device may not be available at that time. This, in turn, would prevent the release of youths for whom a suitable supervision plan exists. In some instances, there may be disagreement regarding whether alternative means (e.g. PAT phone app) are proper substitutes for these devices.
- While youths remain in detention, *negative behaviors* are tracked and taken into account when considering whether they can be released. As youths remain in detention, however, the likelihood that a *negative behavior* occurs mechanically increases. Thus, youths who have stayed in detention for longer tend to have accumulated more negative behaviors (known as write-ups). Consequently, different parties may have diverging interpretations of these behaviors. In our interviews, we found three potential sources of disagreement or diverging interpretations. First, parties may disagree on how much weight these incidents should carry. For instance, some observers may consider some of these behaviors as natural responses of adolescents in stressful and restrictive environments, while others may interpret them as signals of potentially risky behaviors if the youth were released. In essence, different observers may use these incidents differently to extrapolate and predict the kind of behavior they would expect if the youth were released. Second, different parties may disagree on the extent of the history of behaviors that needs to be considered (e.g., recent incidents or entire history). Finally, some of our interviewees pointed out that, because only *negative behaviors* are tracked and considered, the use of behavior in release decisions is biased against release and in favor of detention. If the entire history of *negative behaviors* is considered, it will be extremely difficult for a youth to demonstrate potential good behavior once any *negative behavior* has been recorded.

Case extension

In cases where youths remain detained as their case proceeds through court, the length of those proceedings directly determines the length of their detention. Thus, we also examined the kinds of factors that contribute to extended cases, especially in the types of cases youths are likely to remain in detention (i.e., those where, as described in the previous section, public safety or other concerns prevent their release). Here, again, different parties may agree on some of these factors and disagree on others.

- Certain aspects of discovery are delayed by lengthy processing of the evidence. For instance, the production of body camera footage – i.e., law enforcement going through the process of downloading it, reviewing it, and releasing it -may be a long process on its

own. Moreover, in many cases, this will need to be followed by the review of hours of footage by prosecutors and defense attorneys. Similar issues may exist with other technical pieces of evidence, such as ballistics reports and DNA tests. Some of our interviewees also mentioned potential delays when there is a need to obtain psychological or mental health assessments.

- In addition to the above, Defense Attorneys (private attorneys and attorneys from the Public Defender's Office) mention that the actual transfer of evidence may lead to short delays on its own. For instance, in some cases, the digital transfer of files may be slow or not work properly, in which case footage may need to be saved in USB drives that then need to be retrieved in person. Although each of these delays may not add more than a couple of days to each case at a time, they do speak to small inefficiencies that can potentially compound to extend case processing.
- The serious cases that are likely to involve detention typically include considerable amounts of evidence that needs to be reviewed. Some of our interviewees perceive that this process may take too long on the prosecution side. They perceive that, in some cases, it may not be until many months into the case that the defense and prosecution are able to have productive conversations and negotiations that consider the strength of the evidence.
- Many of these cases involve diverging interpretations and expectations between the prosecution and the defense. Defense attorneys we interviewed mentioned receiving what they perceive as unwarrantedly severe offers from the prosecution. This, in turn, may be aggravated by the perceived slow review of the evidence mentioned above, which prevents the two sides from reaching a common understanding of the evidence expeditiously.
- This last point relates to a broader issue of slow communication between the prosecution and the defense. Some of our interviewees described limited communication opportunities between hearings, although there is considerable variation depending on the specific individuals (members of the prosecution and defense teams) involved.
- Finally, in cases that require the convening of a Grand Jury, this process on its own may contribute to a case's extension. Some interviewees perceived that, in some cases, the need for a Grand Jury could be expected since the early stages of the case, and perhaps the process could be started sooner than it is in practice. However, while supporting this perception, other interviewees observed that it may not be an issue anymore.

Limitations

The issues described above provide rich contextual information to complement the quantitative analysis in this report. However, it is important to note two key limitations to how much can be generalized from this information.

- Our interviewees constitute a very specific (and selected) sample of different types of individuals involved in court proceedings. Their views may not be representative of other individuals who engage with the court in a similar role. Thus, we interpret the issues described in this section as a list of important considerations for policymakers to follow up on and explore.
- Even within the specific sample of individuals we spoke to, the information they shared speaks only about which issues they observe but not about how frequently they observe them. Thus, we caution against interpretations regarding the relative importance of each of these issues as contributors to long detentions based solely on this qualitative information.

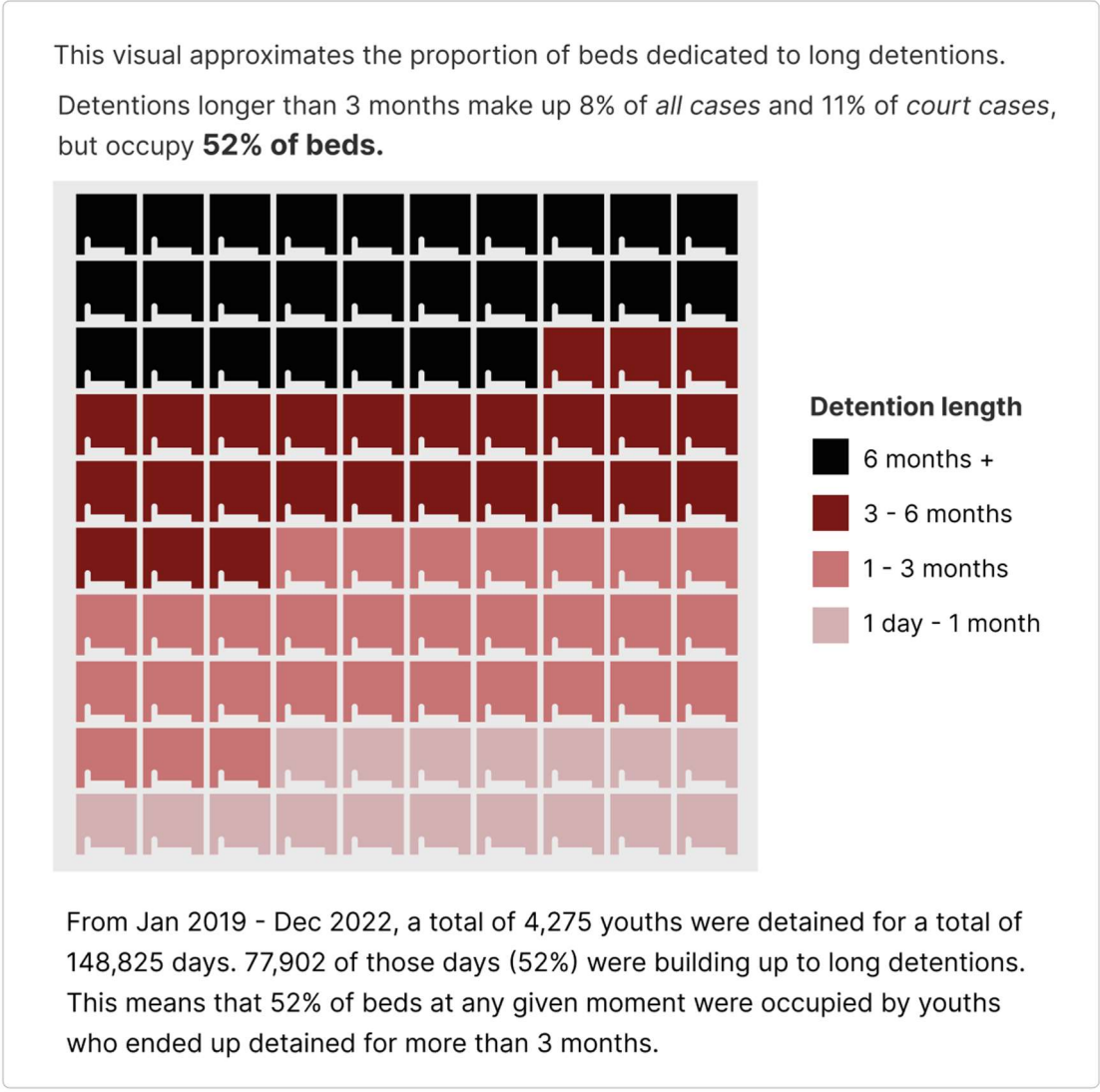
6. The importance of long detentions for the daily population in detention

In previous sections, we have characterized long detentions and explored, quantitatively and qualitatively, how specific actions or trends in case processing may contribute to them. Furthermore, as we have shown, long detentions are relatively rare. For example, as shown in Figure 3, less than one in ten cases with detention (8%) have detention times longer than three months. However, even if they are relatively infrequent, long detentions have potentially large repercussions. First, long detentions are clearly relevant for the youths themselves and may have detrimental effects on them, an important discussion that is outside of the scope of this report. Second, they may have a large effect on resources. In this section, we measure the importance of long detentions by quantifying their contribution to the daily population in detention, a clear and broadly understood metric.

Detentions longer than three months account for more than half of occupied detention beds

Figure 14 summarizes the contribution of long detentions to the daily detention population. We calculated the total number of active person-nights between 2019 and 2022, representing the number of nights a detention bed was used during this period. We then disaggregated these beds according to the youth's resulting total detention time in a specific case. We found that cases with detention longer than three months accounted for 52% of occupied beds (person-nights). Additionally, detentions longer than six months, which only involved 134 cases in total over this period, accounted for 27% of occupied beds.

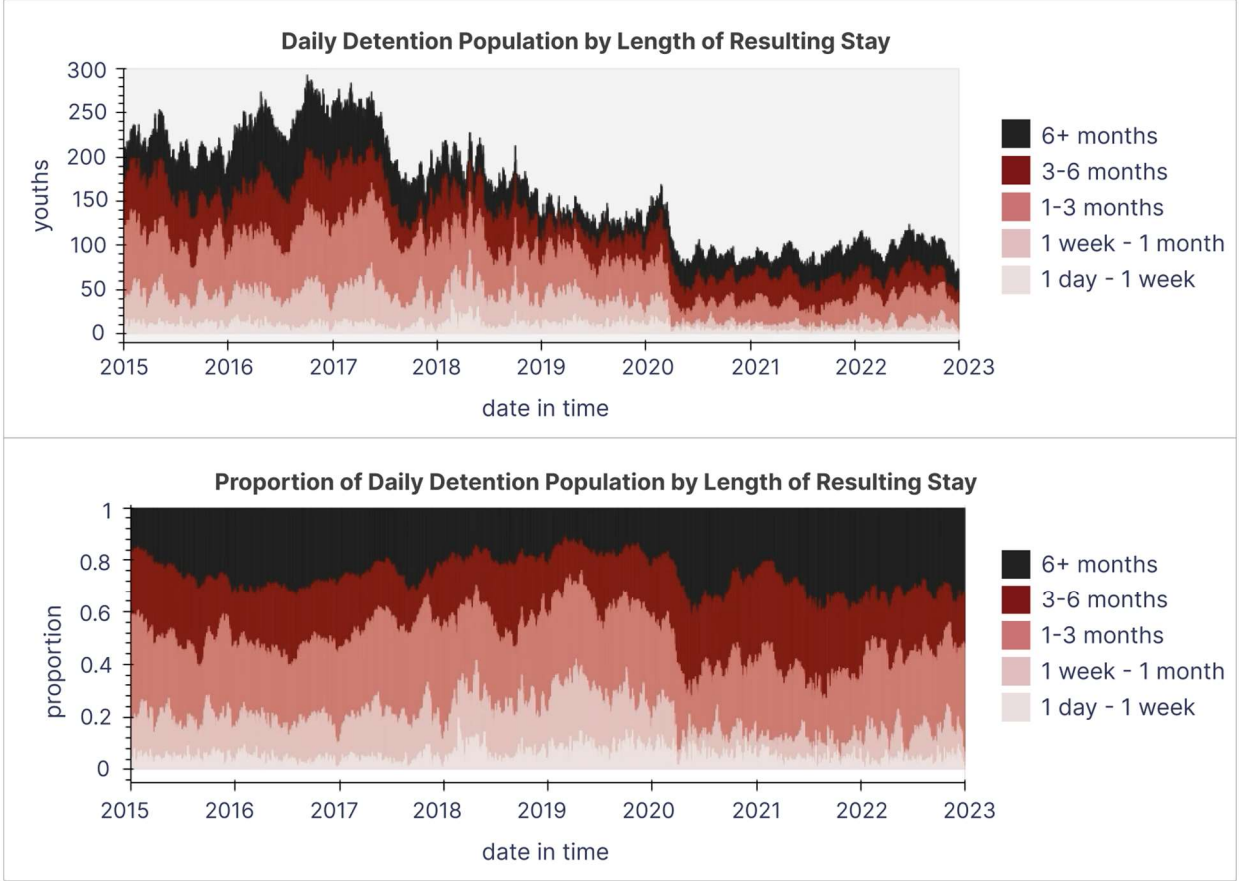
Figure 15: Share of occupied detention beds by categories of resulting detention length



Why long detentions may have a disproportionate impact on the detention population

To explain why long detentions may have a disproportionate impact on detention populations, consider the following example: Suppose seven different youths are detained for one night each, one on each night of the week. For instance, the first youth is detained only on Sunday night, the second only on Monday night, and so on. Now, imagine an eighth youth who is detained for the entire week, totaling seven nights. Together, these eight youths occupy two beds for the entire week, amounting to 14 person-nights in total. However, the eighth youth, who spends the entire week detained, accounts for one of those two beds or 7 out of the 14 person-nights (50%). This example illustrates how a single long detention can disproportionately impact the overall detention population.

Figure 16: Daily detention population by resulting detention length. 2015-2022



Since 2020, longer detentions account for a larger share of the population in detention

Figure 15 extends our analysis to show how this disaggregation has evolved over time. The top panel displays the *number of youths* in pre-adjudicated detention on each day, disaggregated by the length of the resulting stay in the case. In our example above, there would be two youths on Wednesday, one whose detention lasted one night and another whose detention lasted seven nights. The bottom panel shows the *share* of beds used each day, also disaggregated by the length of the resulting stay in the case. In our example above, out of all the occupied beds on Wednesday (two), 50% were part of a one-night stay and 50% were part of a seven-night stay.

These two graphs reveal that the drop in the daily population that occurred in early 2020 with the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has since become the "new normal," led to a sharp reduction in detentions of youths who would have had relatively short detention stays. Concurrently, the number of youths with longer detentions increased during this period. Combined, these two mechanisms contributed to a substantial increase in the share of youths with longer detentions since 2020.

7. Simulating the effects of changes in case-processing times on the daily population in detention

The results from the previous section suggest that actions that lead to a reduction in the length of these long detention cases may have a significant impact on the detention population. Furthermore, we have also shown how, in cases with long detentions, youths typically remain detained during most or all of their case. Thus, changes that lead to shorter case lengths (i.e., faster processing times) may have significant effects on the detention population by reducing detention length for cases with long detentions. We quantify the potential effect of reducing case-processing times on the detention population through a series of simulations.

The mechanics of simulations

Specifically, we formulate three sets of scenarios in which case processing is expedited, relative to the case-processing times we observed between 2019 and 2022. Using all cases that involved any time in detention during this period, we then ask questions such as "What *if cases had been processed 10% faster?*" We then calculate *alternative disposition dates* representing each scenario. For example, if a case took 300 days from referral to disposition, a scenario that expedites cases by 10% would then be represented by a hypothetical disposition date that is 270 days after the observed referral date. We then produce a series of hypothetical detention dates, by eliminating any observed detention dates that occurred after the hypothetical disposition date. Continuing with the same example, we would eliminate any detention dates that occurred between day 271 and day 300 (after referral). Finally, using the new sets of detention dates for each case, we recalculate the daily population in detention for the entire period.

Scenarios

We simulate three sets of scenarios:

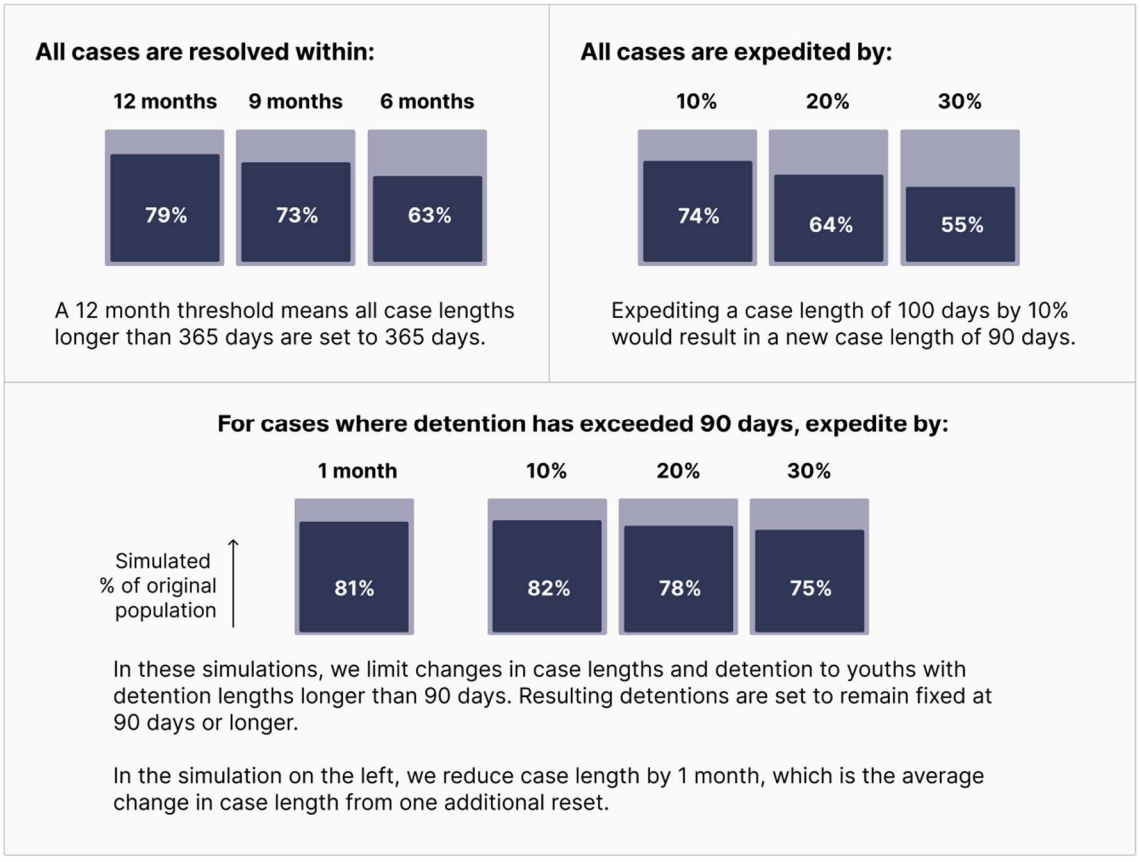
1. *What if all cases had been resolved in 12, 9, or 6 months?* For each case that lasted more than the target amount of time (12, 9, or 6 months), we define the *alternative disposition date* as occurring exactly 12, 9, or 6 months after the referral date. This set of simulations is intended to provide a crude approximation to policies that would set explicit case-processing goals (and were perfectly achieved). It assumes, however, that these policies would only act through the longest-lasting cases (i.e., those that exceeded the target length). Thus, we rather interpret these simulations as a way of quantifying the importance of detentions that happen as part of extended cases.
2. *What if cases had been resolved 10%, 20%, or 30% faster?* For every case, we define the *alternative disposition date* as occurring in 10%, 20%, or 30% fewer days (after referral) than the observed disposition date. This set of simulations represents efforts that would broadly expedite cases. It assumes that such efforts would equally impact all cases.

3. *What if cases with long detentions (longer than 90 days) had been resolved one month, 10%, 20%, or 30% faster?* This set of simulations operates in the same way as the previous set, with one crucial difference: changes in case length were limited to cases where we observed detentions longer than three months. By imposing this limitation, this set of simulations intends to approximate policies in which actions to expedite cases target cases in which youths have been in detention for 90 days. For instance, scenarios in which protocols were implemented to alert relevant parties when a youth has been in detention for 90 days and, in response, actions were taken to expedite their cases.

Figure 17: Average simulated changes in the daily detention population in detention

The graphs below show simulated changes in the average daily detention population as a result of reductions in case length. Each bar corresponds with a different simulated scenario.

These numbers should be interpreted as approximations of how changes in the length of court proceedings can affect the daily detention population.



For each scenario, we calculate how a specific change in case length would affect the days in detention for cases between 2019 and 2022. We re-calculate the daily detention population, and compare the average over the entire period to the observed daily population average. Each bar presents the resulting daily population in detention as a percentage of the original population, averaged across these four years.

Faster case-processing times can significantly reduce the size of the detention population

Figure 17 reports the average results for the simulation exercises, starting with the first set in the top-left panel. If cases that took more than a year to reach a disposition had been processed within 12 months, the detention population would have been 21% smaller. Stricter caps (9 and 6 months) would have resulted in much larger changes in the detention population. As we have mentioned, rather than approximating realistic policies, we interpret these simulations as a direct way to quantify the importance of long(er) cases on the detention population. Under this interpretation, case processing that extends beyond a year significantly contributes to the size of the detention population.

The top-right panel in Figure 17 shows the results for simulations that expedite all cases equally (by 10%, 20%, or 30%). For example, if all cases had been disposed of 10% faster, then the detention population would have been 26% smaller. These results highlight the potentially large impact that moderate improvements in case processing efficiency could have on detention levels.

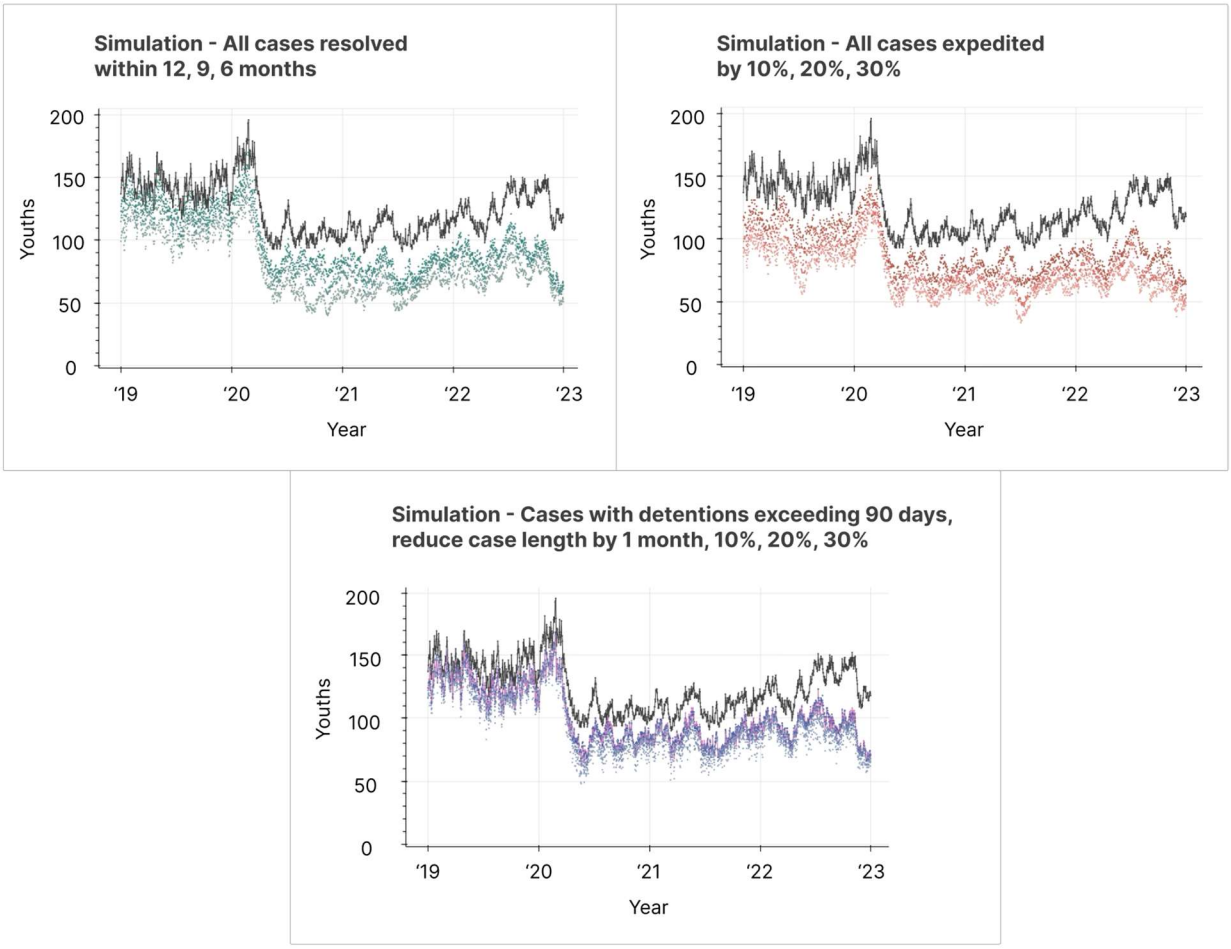
This last set of policies, however, assumes that actions that would expedite cases would affect all cases equally, including those that are resolved in relatively short times. As we have discussed, many of the complexities that lead to cases being extended tend to affect only some of the cases, particularly the ones with more serious offenses or proceedings. Thus, we now implement an alternative version of these simulations, in which changes in case processing times only affect cases where detention has already exceeded 90 days. We interpret these simulations as approximations of policies or actions that explicitly attempt to expedite cases once a youth's detention length has exceeded an arbitrary threshold (90 days in this case). The results are shown in the bottom panel of Figure 17.

As shown, if this targeted group of cases had been expedited by 10%, then the detention population between 2019 and 2022 would have been reduced by 18%. These results are comparable in magnitude to an alternative scenario where case times were one month shorter (19% reduction). As we had shown in Figure 12, each additional reset in court corresponds, on average, with an additional month in case length. Thus, this simulation can also be understood as roughly approximating the effect of reducing the number of resets by one. More ambitious reductions in case-processing times (20% and 30%) lead to only marginally larger reductions in detention populations. The limited benefit of the larger reductions in case processing time stems from the targeting approach in these scenarios. The improvements are thus limited to cases where detention has already exceeded the 90-day threshold, which implies that resulting (counterfactual) detentions cannot be shorter than 90 days.

The results from these simulations indicate that relatively small reductions in case processing times may lead to significant reductions in the size of the detention population. Whether through actions that affect cases across the board or through actions that specifically target cases where detentions have already exceeded an arbitrary threshold (90 days in our example), a

10% reduction in case processing time led to an average reduction of the detention population of between 18% (targeted) and 26% (not targeted). These simulations, however, do not (and cannot) specify specific actions or interventions that would lead to such improvements. Nevertheless, the qualitative evidence in Section 6 provides a promising starting point for effective interventions. For instance, it is entirely conceivable that a more efficient processing of evidence and a smoother discovery process in cases with serious offenses could lead to reductions in case processing times of the magnitude implemented in this simulation exercise.

Figure 18: Simulated changes in the daily detention population in detention, by date



Effects would have been larger in more recent years

Figure 18 plots the daily detention population for each of the simulated scenarios and compares it to the observed population on each given date. As shown there, the magnitude of the changes in the detention population is not constant over time. Particularly, as we had shown in Figure 16, long detentions have become relatively more important as a share of the detention population since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, when we disaggregate

the results by year, the simulated changes in case-processing times have larger effects in the most recent years.

For instance, a one-month reduction and a 10% reduction in case processing times for cases with long detentions (bottom panel of Figure 18) would have both resulted in a 25% reduction in the detention population in 2022. To the extent that more recent conditions (e.g. 2022) are a better predictor for the conditions in the upcoming years than less recent ones (e.g., 2019), the results from more recent years may serve as better approximations of the effects of potential improvements in case-processing times in the near future.

Limitations

The simulations we have presented attempt to approximate real-world scenarios in which changes are implemented to expedite cases. However, different possible actions may lead to differential changes in different cases. For instance, interventions that would facilitate the review and discovery of evidence, such as bodycams, may lead to a faster processing of some relatively complex cases. However, these changes would not affect all cases equally. Our simulations, on the other hand, assume that all cases, or all *targeted cases* in the last set of simulations, are equally affected by changes in case processing.

Another important limitation of these simulation exercises is that they are based on the actual cases that started between 2019 and 2022. However, the value of these simulations from a policy perspective is their ability to approximate the effects of potential *future* policies or interventions. Nevertheless, the conditions in 2025, for instance, will not exactly correspond to those observed between 2019 and 2022. For this reason, as we have mentioned, simulation results for 2022 cases may be a better approximation of the effects of policies in the future. But even 2022 cases may substantially differ from those that will occur in 2025, so using 2022 simulation results as an approximation to potential future changes may over or under estimate the potential effects of these policies.

8. Discussion

Throughout this report, we have extensively analyzed available data to characterize cases with long detentions. Our aim was to identify key case or youth-level factors associated with long detentions and uncover patterns in case-processing practices that result in youths remaining in detention for extended periods. Using this information, we then conducted a series of exercises to illustrate the importance of long detentions for standard detention metrics and quantify how relatively small changes in case-processing times may have large effects on those metrics.

While only 8% of detention cases extend beyond three months, these long detentions account for more than half of all occupied detention beds. This outsized impact illustrates the importance of addressing long detentions. Beyond the obvious relevance for detained youths

themselves, which is outside of the scope of this report, long detentions may have substantial operational and financial importance.

Our analysis reveals that long detentions stem from the confluence of two key conditions: a decision not to release the youth as their case proceeds through court and a relatively lengthy process to reach a disposition. Notably, case duration alone does not predict extended detention stays - many lengthy cases involve little or no detention time. Rather, it is the combination of continuous detention and prolonged processing that drives extended stays.

Several factors influence these conditions. More serious offenses typically involve longer court proceedings and heightened public safety concerns that favor continued detention. These cases often require complex legal proceedings, such as determinate sentence or certification as adult proceedings, which frequently involve additional steps like Grand Jury convenings.

Through stakeholder interviews, we identified two potential approaches to address long detentions. First, there appears to be potential to develop enhanced supervision plans that could safely allow release in some cases where youths currently remain detained. While robust release screening processes exist, our interviews suggest room for innovation in supervision approaches for a small set of marginal cases where stakeholders disagree about release appropriateness.

Second, our interviews highlighted potential opportunities to expedite case processing when youths remain detained. These range from accelerating evidence processing to ensuring continuity in prosecution teams. While each improvement might appear modest in isolation, our simulation exercises demonstrate their potential collective impact: a 10% reduction in processing time for cases exceeding 90 days in detention could reduce overall detention populations by nearly 20%.

These findings underscore the critical importance of addressing long detentions. While the challenges are complex, our analysis demonstrates that targeted improvements, either through enhancing release options or by expediting case processing, could yield substantial benefits for youths themselves and the size of the detention population. A strategic approach that involves all relevant stakeholders and explores the kind of issues brought up in our interviews could result in specific interventions and changes in practices that could reduce the number and/or the extension of long detentions. Such interventions, even if modest in scope, have the potential to significantly reduce detention populations while maintaining public safety and case integrity.

Appendix

Table A1: Characteristics influencing detention length. Multivariate regressions with and without controlling for the number of resets. All Court cases 2019 -2022.

Note: Table spans multiple pages

	Outcome			
	Detention length in days		Detention longer than 3 months	
Court (base=313)				
314	1.213	-0.275	0.000799	-0.00337
	(1.136)	(0.978)	(0.00517)	(0.00621)
315	0.249	-2.251**	-0.00210	-0.00928*
	(0.978)	(0.937)	(0.00503)	(0.00534)
Petition year (base=2019)				
2020	1.983	0.589	0.0174***	0.0112*
	(1.625)	(1.736)	(0.00593)	(0.00627)
2021	7.690***	6.245**	0.0313***	0.0304***
	(2.788)	(2.757)	(0.00981)	(0.00978)
2022	7.350**	6.213*	0.0133	0.0177
	(3.484)	(3.440)	(0.0115)	(0.0118)
Race (base=white)				
Asian	10.08**	9.430*	0.112**	0.113***
	(5.074)	(4.907)	(0.0447)	(0.0407)
African American	3.446***	2.325*	0.0213**	0.0201**
	(1.289)	(1.271)	(0.00848)	(0.00884)
Hispanic	1.727	0.985	0.0201**	0.0193**
	(1.287)	(1.276)	(0.00865)	(0.00901)
Sex (base=female)				
Male	0.518	-1.014	0.0232***	0.0230***
	(0.844)	(0.831)	(0.00585)	(0.00611)
Age				
Age in years	-2.473**	-2.299*	-0.00224	-0.00113
	(1.207)	(1.176)	(0.00434)	(0.00432)
Age<14	-8.967***	-8.929***	-0.0199**	-0.0183**
	(1.887)	(1.860)	(0.00850)	(0.00821)
Youth lives with: (base=two parents)				
One parent + step	-2.138	-2.076	-0.00927	-0.0125*
	(1.441)	(1.409)	(0.00743)	(0.00743)
One parent	-0.948	-1.655	-0.000889	-0.00276
	(1.245)	(1.211)	(0.00617)	(0.00628)
Other relatives	-0.244	-0.904	-0.00525	-0.00892
	(2.011)	(1.961)	(0.00891)	(0.00899)

Foster parents	-4.168	-5.002	0.00170	-0.00124
	(4.136)	(4.153)	(0.0399)	(0.0385)
Other non-relative/ Unknown	0.360	-0.335	0.0180	0.0146
	(2.090)	(2.073)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)
Offense category (base=Misdemeanor A)				
Felony 1	9.927***	6.338***	0.0407***	0.0328***
	(2.068)	(2.072)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)
Felony 2	1.069	-2.522*	0.0188**	0.0111
	(1.366)	(1.442)	(0.00864)	(0.00888)
Felony 3	-2.102*	-3.511***	-0.00108	-0.00432
	(1.271)	(1.282)	(0.00825)	(0.00912)
Jail Felony	2.116**	-0.0197	0.0181*	0.0141
	(1.045)	(1.076)	(0.00948)	(0.00976)
Misdemeanor B	-0.563	-0.821	-0.00867	-0.00954
	(0.830)	(0.842)	(0.00984)	(0.0111)
VOP	8.804***	8.581***	0.0312**	0.0282*
	(1.712)	(1.682)	(0.0152)	(0.0153)
Offense type (base= Drug-related)				
Other	-3.825***	-5.305***	0.0118	0.00921
	(1.260)	(1.282)	(0.0194)	(0.0208)
Against person	-3.684***	-4.746***	0.0113	0.0105
	(1.061)	(1.087)	(0.0197)	(0.0211)
Property	-0.915	-2.905**	0.0104	0.00649
	(1.113)	(1.152)	(0.0193)	(0.0206)
Weapon-related	-7.678***	-8.358***	0.00166	-0.00107
	(2.028)	(1.981)	(0.0215)	(0.0227)
Other case and history variables				
Age at first referral	-2.743***	-2.539***	-0.00884**	-0.00774**
	(0.987)	(0.968)	(0.00354)	(0.00349)
Total lifetime felony referrals	-0.00467	-0.00669	-2.49e-05	-2.61e-05
	(0.00524)	(0.00521)	(2.42e-05)	(2.39e-05)
Total lifetime offenses against person	-0.000750	0.00133	2.47e-05	2.58e-05
	(0.00471)	(0.00475)	(2.25e-05)	(2.20e-05)
Total lifetime referrals	0.00186***	0.00187***	9.95e-07	1.01e-06
	(0.000566)	(0.000557)	(2.17e-06)	(2.12e-06)
Prior petitioned referrals	1.055***	1.013***	0.00328***	0.00377***
	(0.334)	(0.329)	(0.000942)	(0.000905)
Case involved *Certification as Adult* hearing	63.90***	53.48***	0.0475***	0.0253**
	(16.39)	(15.63)	(0.0112)	(0.0117)

Case involved *Determinate Sentence* hearing	40.45***	32.31***	0.0620***	0.0418***
	(4.368)	(3.955)	(0.00584)	(0.00610)
Was detained at time of petition	27.68***	27.70***	0.0745***	0.0738***
	(1.149)	(1.118)	(0.00541)	(0.00541)
Resets				
Number of resets		2.555***		0.00466***
		(0.346)		(0.000602)
Number of admin resets		-1.657***		-0.00161*
		(0.398)		(0.000958)
Observations	8,420	8,420	8,420	8,420

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

This table shows the results from four separate regression analyses. Columns 1 and 2 use the number of days spent in detention as the key outcome. The results presented in these columns are the coefficients from OLS regressions. The outcome variable in Columns 3 and 4 is a binary indicator for whether the total time in detention was more than 90 days. The results presented in these columns are average partial effects calculated based on logistic regression estimates. Columns 1 and 3 exclude reset variables, while columns 2 and 4 include them.