

**KIDS
ARE
KIDS**

**MARYLAND YOUTH
JUSTICE COALITION**

What's Best for Kids is Best for Everyone

The case for Maryland safety strategies based on prevention and age-appropriate accountability

Leaders who are serious about safety will recognize that effective responses must be informed by facts, not fears.

This report, one year after the state enacted its most important juvenile justice reforms in a generation, offers a timely reminder of what is known about youth crime in Maryland, our state's history of mass incarceration and racial disparities, and the effectiveness of age-appropriate supports and services in reducing unwanted behavior among young people.

Policymakers must take action now—and being serious about safety requires them to be guided by **facts, not fears**. The Maryland Youth Justice Coalition (MYJC) is calling upon lawmakers to enhance public safety by:

- Restoring, expanding, and coordinating access to age-appropriate supports and services for children and teens,
- Preserving the Juvenile Justice Reform Act and the Child Interrogation Protection Act, and
- Advancing the Youth Equity and Safety Act (YES Act) to keep minors out of the adult criminal legal system unless a judge has intentionally sent them there.

Links *(Click to navigate)*

[Executive Summary](#)

[What the Data Shows](#)

[Juvenile Justice Reform in Maryland](#)

[What Works, and What Doesn't](#)

[Conclusion](#)

When it comes to public safety, what's best for kids is best for everyone. Passing the YES Act, funding a robust continuum of services to support the Juvenile Justice Reform Act, and preserving the Child Interrogation Protection Act will help young people make better choices and make all Marylanders safer.

What's Best for Kids is Best for Everyone

The case for Maryland safety strategies based on prevention and age-appropriate accountability

Executive Summary

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, Maryland, like most of America, is confronting troubling increases in some kinds of crime by young people. Leaders who are serious about safety will recognize that effective responses to this development must be informed by **facts, not fears**. In addition to the fundamental truth that the vast majority of crime in Maryland continues to be committed by adults, these facts include:

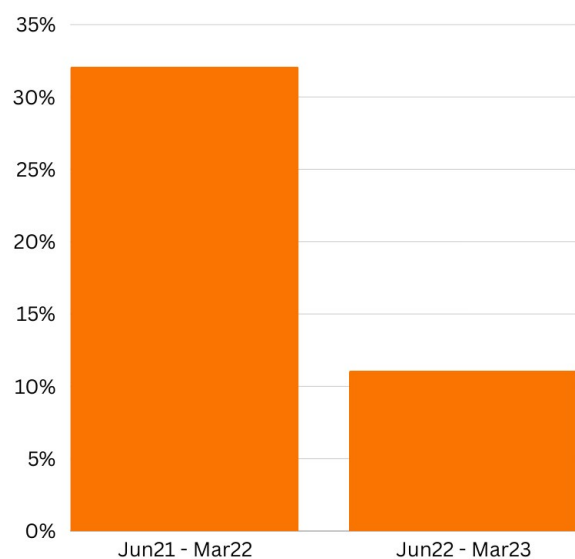
- A century-long understanding that minors are qualitatively different from grown-ups,
- Decades of proof that crime by young people can be reduced without increasing incarceration, and
- Overwhelming evidence showing detention and placement of youths, especially in adult facilities, makes us all less safe, not more.

Approximately one year after the Juvenile Justice Reform Act (JJRA) and the Child Interrogation Protection Act (CIPA) went into effect, Maryland is beginning to be able to use data—rather than anecdotes or misinformation—to gauge the impact of these reforms. After an initial period of adjustment, JJRA has led to measurable improvements, including a four-fold increase in the number of youths referred for Children In Need of Services (CINS) supports and a drop in recidivism within this cohort, from 32.1 percent (June 2021 to March 2022) to 11.1 percent (June 2022 to March 2023). Meanwhile, hundreds of children and teenagers have been effectively informed of their Constitutional rights under CIPA, protecting them from injustices like false confessions.

As Maryland lawmakers prepare for the 2024 legislative session, it is critically important that they resist the allure of fear mongering and sensationalism. Instead, it is time to help concerned communities understand what really works to reduce misbehavior among young people and build the infrastructure of age-appropriate support and services that can help youth still reeling from the pandemic's disruptions. This includes restoring and expanding services for young people and passing the Youth Equity and Safety Act (YES Act), which will end *automatically* charging hundreds of children as if they were adults, in adult criminal court.

When it comes to public safety, what's best for kids is best for everyone. Passing the YES Act, funding a robust continuum of services to support the Juvenile Justice Reform Act, and preserving the Child Interrogation Protection Act will help young people make better choices and make all Marylanders safer.

Rates of recidivism among children under age 13, before and after the implementation of the Juvenile Justice Restoration Act

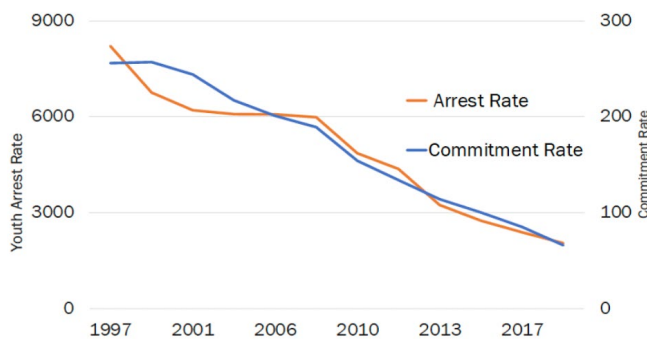


Research Brief: Putting Youth Crime in Maryland in Context September 2023, Maryland Department of Juvenile Services.

What the Data Shows

For more than two decades prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, crime and incarceration of young people ages 17 and under declined across the United States—steadily and substantially. The years 1997 to 2019 saw an astonishing 75 percent drop in arrests of youths and a similarly remarkable 74 percent drop in commitments, or kids accepted into state custody.¹ Most Americans were unaware of these trends, but experts studying both phenomena recognized an important lesson: **Crime among young people can go down without increasing the use of incarceration.**

Contrary to popular belief, youth crime has been on the decline for decades



Since 1997, commitment rates have fallen 74% while the youth arrest rate fell 75%.

This lesson applies equally in the state of Maryland. Over ten years, from 2010 through 2019, complaints against youth in Maryland dropped by more than 55 percent while the number of annual admissions to detention here fell by 52 percent.²

Like so much else in America, these trends were disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Data emerging from 2020, when government-mandated lockdowns and fear of disease saw arrests plummet to artificially low levels, are historically anomalous, and therefore hard to analyze. But one thing is certain: While overall crime rates involving young people remain low compared to historic levels³, the pandemic and its consequent disruptions were followed by notable increases in some forms of youth crime all across the nation. In Maryland, increases in auto thefts, carjacking (see sidebar: **Car Thefts Go Viral Nationwide**), and handgun violations have increased by 64.6 percent, 85.4 percent, and 220 percent, respectively, from their FY2020 low point through FY2023⁴ and are now a significant concern.

Car Thefts Go Viral, Nationwide

Maryland is not alone in experiencing a stark increase in car thefts. Cities and states across the nation have experienced similar spikes, due largely to a design flaw within two brands of automobiles—Kias and Hyundais. The absence of anti-theft devices on these brands led to viral online video explanations on how the cars can be easily stolen. The result, according to Vice, is “a staggering new normal when it comes to stolen cars.”

Criminologists have the luxury of time to study the nuances of these increases, but policymakers must take action now—and being serious about safety requires them to be guided by **facts, not fears**. This report, one year after the state enacted its most important juvenile justice reforms in a generation, offers a timely reminder of what is known about youth crime in Maryland, our state’s history of mass incarceration and racial disparities, and the effectiveness of age-appropriate supports and services in reducing unwanted behavior among young people.

Based on this evidence, the Maryland Youth Justice Coalition (MYJC) is calling upon lawmakers to enhance public safety by:

- **Restoring, expanding, and coordinating access to age-appropriate supports and services for children and teens,**
- **Preserving the Juvenile Justice Reform Act and the Child Interrogation Protection Act, and**
- **Advancing the Youth Equity and Safety Act (YES Act) to keep minors out of the adult criminal legal system unless a judge has intentionally sent them there.**

Juvenile Justice Reform in Maryland

Maryland has contended with indigence, misbehavior, and crime among young people since colonial times—often without differentiation. The state’s first juvenile court, separate from the adult system, was created in 1902 with the stated intention of rehabilitating kids rather than establishing guilt.⁵ Nearly 70 years later, in 1969, a comprehensive set of laws known today as the Juvenile Causes Act sought to further protect young people by, among other things, emphasizing the distinction between youth who were alleged to have committed delinquent acts and youth accused of committing status offenses (behaviors that would not be illegal if committed by an adult, such as skipping school, drinking alcohol, and running away from home).⁶ In Maryland, kids in this latter category are referred to as Children In Need of Supervision (CINS). During the 1990s, when federal lawmakers were advancing the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 amid highly publicized—yet unfounded—fears of youthful “super-predators”, Maryland lawmakers amended the Juvenile Causes Act to increase the number of charges that would automatically direct young people into the adult criminal legal system.⁷

The current period of legislative reform of the juvenile system can be traced to 2019, when the Maryland General Assembly, inspired by the successful Justice Reinvestment Act, established the Juvenile Justice Reform Council (JJRC), a panel of elected officials from both parties, system stakeholders, and subject matter experts tapped to study and make recommendations on ways to increase public safety, reduce recidivism, and set young people up for long-term success when they came into contact with the law. In 2022, state leaders passed wide-ranging legislation aligned with most of the JJRC’s recommendations.

One of these, the Juvenile Justice Reform Act (JJRA), went into effect on June 1, 2022. Among other things, it set the minimum age of juvenile court jurisdiction at 13 (except for children ages 10 to 12 who are alleged to have committed or attempted crimes of violence) and placed time limits on probation⁸ to ensure better outcomes for youth.

The other major reform of 2022 was the Child Interrogation Protection Act (CIPA), which went into effect on October 1, 2022. A key provision of this law obligates police to make a good-faith effort to notify a child’s parents or legal guardians before conducting an interrogation of that child and, prior to a custodial interrogation, requires kids to have their their legal rights explained to them by an attorney to ensure they are understood.

These reforms were motivated in part by a growing awareness that Maryland’s juvenile justice practices were ineffective, racially biased, and out of date. A 2020 report from the nonprofit group Human Rights for Kids went so far as to describe Maryland’s treatment of kids by the criminal legal

system as among the “worst in the nation.”⁹ Children as young as 14 being tried in adult criminal court as if they were adults faced the same mandatory minimum sentences as people decades older and were even incarcerated alongside adults in jails and prisons, for example. Moreover, the system had long been marred by unfair racial disparities. Of the kids tried as if they were adults, more than 87 percent were Black.¹⁰

What Works, and What Doesn't

National Data and Research

Since 1974, the federal government's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has been a leading resource for local and state efforts to prevent unwanted behavior among young people and improve juvenile justice system outcomes.

Based on research, data, and best practice, OJJDP has published three principles that guide its support for jurisdictions across the country.¹¹

- **Treat Children as Children** - Research shows that youth who are prosecuted as if they were adults, in adult criminal court, are more likely to be rearrested and have higher recidivism rates than youth in the juvenile justice system.¹²
- **Serve children at home, with their families, in their communities** - Incarceration has many negative outcomes on young people, including increased criminal behavior and recidivism¹³; OJJDP recommends closing underutilized juvenile correctional facilities and reinvesting the savings into evidence-based programs and services that keep young people out of the system, in school, and connected to their families.¹⁴
- **Open up opportunities for system-involved youth** - Collateral consequences associated with juvenile legal system contact, including a juvenile record, can negatively impact young people's ability to continue their education, secure housing, get a job, or join the military. This, in turn, can lead to prolonged contact with the justice system.¹⁵

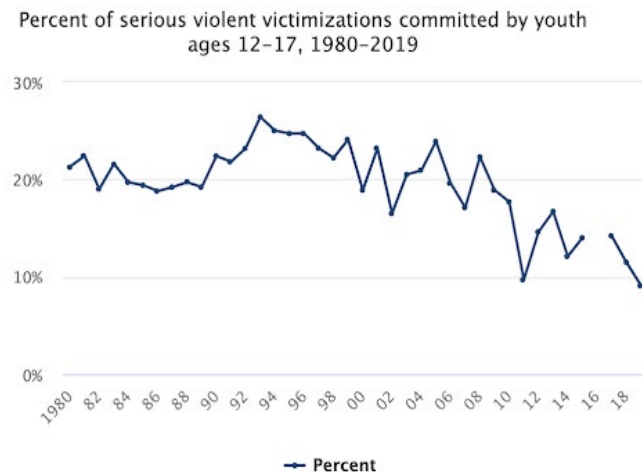
Not recommended by OJJDP: incarcerating more kids for longer periods of time. Why?
Because incarceration is bad for young people and does not make communities safer.

A growing body of evidence shows incarcerating young people is associated with higher rates of recidivism—generally defined as rearrest, reconviction, or return to incarceration. A comprehensive state-by-state review from 2011 found, for example, that 70 percent to 80 percent of youth who left residential correctional programs were rearrested within two or three years.¹⁶ Similarly, a 2022 report in Michigan found that young people confined in a juvenile detention center as their case was deliberated had a 39 percent increase in adult arrests for violent offenses and a 40 percent increase in adult arrests for all felony offenses.¹⁷

Conversely, **young people have lower rates of recidivism when they are held accountable in the community and provided access to age-appropriate supports and services.**¹⁸ A representative 2015 Texas study found, for example, that young people in community-based treatment, activity, and surveillance programs had lower rearrest and incarceration rates than similarly situated youth who were incarcerated and released from state-run facilities.¹⁹ It also found that young people who had been incarcerated in state-run facilities were more likely to commit a felony when recidivating than comparable peers who had been supervised in the community.²⁰ Even when young people are charged with serious offenses, the experience of incarceration, including for longer periods of time, has been found to show no reduction in future offending.²¹

Incarcerating young people—in either a juvenile facility or an adult jail or prison—is also just plain bad for them. Children deprived of their liberty, either before or after resolution of their case, may be subject to physical and sexual abuse, as evidenced by recent law suits against the Department of Juvenile Services alleging these kinds of harms as far back as the 1960s.²² The experience of incarceration can also have negative consequences for youths’ mental and emotional wellbeing²³, which can lead to lifelong adverse impacts on education²⁴ and employment. Longer periods of incarceration are associated with poorer outcomes.²⁵

Maryland Data and Research: Post-COVID, Post-CIPA, Post-JJRA Data and Research About Juvenile Crime and Incarceration in Maryland



The data clearly show unacceptable increases in some crimes by young people over the past two years. If we are serious about safety we must put these increases in historical perspective before jumping to any responses—particularly ones that could lead to even worse outcomes. As noted at the outset of this report, according to the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, during the decade prior to these recent increases, crime by young people as measured by arrests had declined by more than 50 percent, and the vast majority of reported crime continues to be committed by adults.²⁸ This longer-term trend is consistent with national survey data showing fewer crime victims over time indicating a youth ages 12 to 17 were involved in the harm they suffered (see image 2).²⁹

Support and Services are Most Effective

By a margin of more than two to one, people directly harmed by crime—crime victims—prefer public safety investments in prevention, crisis assistance, and strong communities over increasing arrests, strict punishment, and incarceration.²⁶ For young people, this means expanding age-appropriate supports and services that are proven to prevent contact with the juvenile legal system, improve behavior, and reduce recidivism. Some examples of these alternatives include:

- Cognitive-behavioral skill-building,
- Mentoring,
- Family counseling and support,
- Positive youth development – constructive activities that build on youths’ strengths, connect them to caring adults, and teach them new skills,
- Tutoring and other support to boost academic success,
- Employment and work readiness,
- Wraparound care for children and adolescents with serious emotional disturbances, and
- Restorative justice – an alternative to traditional court that focuses on repairing the harm caused by an offense rather than determining guilt and punishment.²⁷

Data Point: Juvenile Justice Reform Act (JJRA). It is similarly important to be clear about the Juvenile Justice Reform Act. New laws and policies always require changes in system stakeholder behavior—understanding and adhering to new policies and procedures takes time and can be hard. Under the JJRA, children younger than 13 who are accused of committing a nonviolent offense are no longer subject to arrest by police (although children 12 and under who are accused of violent crime may still be charged). This change does not mean no consequences exist for unwanted behavior among these newly exempt children, as is often alleged. Following the enactment of the law in June 2022, DJS hosted nearly 50 “Lunch and Learn” briefings, in every county in Maryland, to update law enforcement, educators, social services providers, and parents on their ability to refer youth under age 13 for services and formalized Children in Need of Supervision (CINS) petitions. DJS records indicate that the number of youths referred for CINS services has subsequently more than quadrupled statewide and recidivism by youth under age 13 declined from 32.1 percent (June 2021 to March 2022) to 11.1 percent (June 2022 to March 2023).³⁰

There is, moreover, retrospective evidence indicating JJRA is having the desired beneficial effects.³¹ During FY2022 (most of which took place prior to the law’s implementation in June 2022), DJS received 1081 cases involving children ages 12 and under. All these children had contact with law enforcement—which likely included being handcuffed and riding in the back of a police car, among other things. These experiences are likely to have been profoundly disruptive, if not traumatizing. Yet, by the close of the fiscal year only 16 of these cases resulted in probation dispositions and just four led to out-of-home placements. The overwhelming majority of these cases apparently warranted no further system action. This was *before* JJRA. Today, under JJRA, most of those cases involving children 12 years old or younger would have avoided police interaction altogether. Instead, they would have been afforded access to age-appropriate supports and services designed to help them and their caregivers address any challenges that might have contributed to their unwanted behavior. Meanwhile, under JJRA, the 103 12 and under who were accused of crimes of violence would continue to be under DJS jurisdiction.

Data Point: Child Interrogation Protection Act (CIPA). In October of 2023, the City of Baltimore agreed to pay three men, Alfred Chestnut, Andrew Stewart and Ransom Watkins, a total of \$48 million to compensate them for the combined 108 years they had been unjustly imprisoned on charges brought against them as teenagers.³² This has been called the largest penalty any Maryland jurisdiction has paid for falsely incarcerating innocent young people. But it is not the only one.³³ False confessions have contributed to many of these unjust outcomes³⁴, which is one reason Maryland must preserve the Child Interrogation Protection Act.

Children are three times more likely to make a false confession than adults. More than one-third of people who have been exonerated of past convictions were children at the time their alleged offense happened; among those who were 14 or younger at the time of conviction, 86 percent had made a false confession.³⁵ In cases of adult exonerees, by comparison, only 10 percent included a false confession.³⁶ Since the new legislation went into effect in October 2022, nearly 11 percent of calls to the CIPA hotline, run by the Office of the Public Defender, have involved children ages 13 and younger.³⁷

Ending Automatic Transfer of Youth into the Adult Criminal Legal System

In 2021, the JJRC called upon state officials to end the practice of automatically transferring children into the adult criminal legal system.

Maryland sends more youth ages 14 to 17 to adult court than any other state except Alabama (per capita).³⁸ This is because our state laws list 33 offenses that require people as young as 14 to be *automatically* charged as if they were adults—in adult criminal court. As a result, in 2022 835 teens were charged as if they were adults.³⁹

Research shows treating kids as if they were adults, in the adult criminal justice system, puts them at physical, emotional, and psychological risk, and leads to higher rates of recidivism over time. It is also racially disproportionate: In Maryland, 81 percent of the youth charged in adult court in 2022 were Black.⁴⁰

The YES Act, legislation the JJRC endorsed in 2021, would ensure that kids 17 and younger begin their cases in juvenile court—where they have access to age-appropriate services and protections, where processing times are faster, and where they are safer overall.

Twenty-six other states have passed laws to limit the pathways into adult courts.⁴¹ Eight states (California, Hawaii, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Oregon, Tennessee and Texas) already start all cases involving their youth in their juvenile courts, still allowing transfer to adult court on a case-by-case basis as envisioned by the YES Act.⁴²

COVID, Kids, and Crime

COVID-19 had a profound, negative impact on children. Online instruction during school closures led to huge losses in learning. Chronic absenteeism, a legacy of the shutdowns, remains at all-time highs.⁴³ Young people today are contending with mental health challenges that were unimaginable just a few years ago.⁴⁴ All of these outcomes disproportionately impact vulnerable youth, especially those living in chronically under-resourced communities of color, where a history of economic exclusion and racism have led to higher rates of crime and policing.⁴⁵

Given these facts, the question is not, “Did COVID-19 increase unwanted behavior among young people?” But rather, “How could it not have?”

The answer is not to add trauma on top of trauma by bringing more kids into the juvenile legal system. It is, instead, to expand access to age-appropriate supports and services—like counseling, mentorship, and positive activities—that encourage pro-social behavior, strengthen families, and help communities to both feel and be safer.

Conclusion

High rates of crime by young people are unacceptable. But so are policy responses that ignore the facts and lead to higher rates of incarceration, increased levels of recidivism, and shameful racial disparities. Recent reforms have set our state on the right path; it is crucially important that nationwide phenomena—ignited in large part by the COVID-19 pandemic—not divert us from this progress, which the nonprofit organization Human Rights for Kids singled out in its 2022 National State Ratings Report:

“In 2020 we labeled Maryland among the ‘worst human rights offenders’ in the country and challenged it to be better. In the intervening years, Maryland took that challenge to heart. ... These valiant efforts earned Maryland the distinction of being named the ‘Most Improved State’ in our ratings this year. Furthermore, Maryland has now cemented itself among the best in the nation when it comes to safeguarding the human rights of children in the criminal justice system.”⁴⁶

These are not small accomplishments. They are something to be proud of, and something to protect. They are also a foundation lawmakers can build upon in 2024. Based on the facts—rather than the fears or misinformation—the Maryland Youth Justice Coalition (MYJC) calls upon lawmakers to further enhance juvenile justice and public safety in our state by:

- Restoring, expanding, and coordinating access to age-appropriate supports and services for children and teens,
- Preserving the Juvenile Justice Reform Act and the Child Interrogation Protection Act, and
- Advancing the Youth Equity and Safety Act (YES Act) to keep minors out of the adult criminal legal system unless a judge has intentionally sent them there.

**Because when it comes to public safety,
what’s best for kids is best for everyone.**

For more information contact alice@advancemaryland.org.
Visit MYJC's website at www.md youthjustice.org.

The Maryland Youth Justice Coalition is a diverse array of organizations dedicated to preventing children and adolescents from becoming involved in the legal system, upholding the highest standards of care when youth do enter the legal system, and ensuring a platform for system-involved youth and their families to be heard. MYJC strives for a Maryland where no children are at risk of system involvement and, if they are involved with the legal system, they and their families receive every possible opportunity to define and live safe, healthy and fulfilling lives through restorative practices supported by our state and local communities.



End Notes

¹ Youth Arrest Rates and Commitment Rates in the United States, 1997 – 2019; Rates per 100,000. OJJDP Statistical Briefing Book. Arrest rates from http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/crime/JAR_Display.asp?ID=qa05200&selOffenses=1. July 08, 2022. Commitment rates from Easy Access to the Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement, <https://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezacjrp/>.

² Maryland Juvenile Services Long Term Trends, FY2006 – FY2015, Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, January 2016. <https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/trends/Overall%20Trends%202015.pdf>.

³ Research Brief: Putting Youth Crime in Maryland in Context, Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, September 2023, p. 1-2.

⁴ Ibid, pp.4-5.

⁵ Juvenile in Justice: A Look at Maryland's Practice of Incarcerating Children Without a Jury Trial, Kelsey Robinson, Maryland Law Review Online, Spring 2020.

⁶ Department of Juvenile Services, Maryland Manual On-Line. Accessed at <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/19djj/html/djjf.html#:~:text=The%201969%20law%20required%20not,mentally%20handicapped%20or%20dependent%20minors>.

⁷ Final Report to the Governor and General Assembly Commission on Juvenile Justice Jurisdiction, September 30, 2001, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000113/000000/000424/unrestricted/20040824e.pdf>.

⁸ Transforming Juvenile Probation; Restructuring Probation Terms to Promote Success. Urban Institute, April 27, 2021.

⁹ 2022 State Ratings Report: The Roadmap to Change, Human Rights for Kids, p. 2. <https://humanrightsforkids.org/national-state-ratings-report/>.

¹⁰ TK

¹¹ OJJDP Priorities, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Accessed at <https://ojjdp.ojp.gov/about/ojjdp-priorities#serve-children-at-home-with-their-families-in-their-communities>.

¹² <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/220595.pdf>.

¹³ <https://njdc.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/The-Harms-of-Juvenile-Detention.pdf>.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ <https://njdc.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Collateral-Consequences-Checklist-for-Juvenile-Defenders.pdf>.

¹⁶ Mendel, R.A., Why Youth Incarceration Fails: An Updated Review of the Evidence. The Sentencing Project, March 1, 2023. <https://www.sentencingproject.org/reports/why-youth-incarceration-fails-an-updated-review-of-the-evidence/>.

¹⁷ Baron, J.B., Jacob, B. & Ryan, J.P. (2022). Pretrial Juvenile Detention. NBER Working Paper No. 29861.

¹⁸ Aizer, A., & Doyle, J. J. (2015). Juvenile incarceration, human capital, and future crime: Evidence from randomly assigned judges. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2), 759–804.

¹⁹ Fabelo, T., Arrigona, N., Thompson, M.D., Clemens, A., & Marchbanks, M. P. (2015). Closer to home: An analysis of the state and local impact of the Texas juvenile justice reforms. Council of State Government Justice Center.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Loughran, T. A., Mulvey, E. P., Schubert, C. A., Fagan, J., Piquero, A. R., & Losoya, S. H. (2009). Estimating

a dose-response relationship between length of stay and future recidivism in serious juvenile offenders. *Criminology*, 47, 669-740.

²² Lawsuits allege dozens were sexually abused in MD. Juvenile facilities, *The Washington Post*, October 2, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2023/10/02/maryland-sex-abuse-juvenile-detention/> and 'Scarred for life': 20 women sue over alleged sexual abuse at Waxter detention facility in Maryland, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/2023/12/07/djs-child-victims-act-lawsuit-waxter-facility/>.

²³ Barnert, E. S., Dudovitz, R., Nelson, B. B., Coker, T. R., Biely, C., Li, N., & Chung, P. J. (2017). How does incarcerating young people affect their adult health outcomes? *Pediatrics*, 139(2), 1-9.

²⁴ Aizer, A., & Doyle, J. J. (2015). Juvenile incarceration, human capital, and future crime: Evidence from randomly assigned judges. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2), 759-804.

²⁵ Barnert, E. S., Dudovitz, R., Nelson, B. B., Coker, T. R., Biely, C., Li, N., & Chung, P. J. (2017). How does incarcerating young people affect their adult health outcomes? *Pediatrics*, 139(2), 1-9.

²⁶ 26 Crime Survivors Speak 2022, Alliance for Safety and Justice, September, 2022, <https://allianceforsafetyandjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Alliance-for-Safety-and-Justice-Crime-Survivors-Speak-September-2022.pdf>.

²⁷ Effective Alternatives to Youth Incarceration, By Richard Mendel, The Sentencing Project, June 28, 2023. <https://www.sentencingproject.org/reports/effective-alternatives-to-youth-incarceration/>.

²⁸ During this time, between 7.1% (CY21) and 11.5% (CY13) per year of people arrested in Maryland were juveniles https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/MD-DJS-Juvenile-Crime-Data-Brief_20230912.pdf.

²⁹ In 2019 crime victims reported that youth ages 12 to 17 were involved in about one of every eleven (9.1%) serious violent victimizations. OJJDP Statistical Briefing Book. Online. Available: <https://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/offenders/qa03202.asp?qaDate=2019>. Released on February 24, 2022.

³⁰ Research Brief: Putting Youth Crime in Maryland in Context September 2023, Maryland Department of Juvenile Services. https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/MD-DJS-Juvenile-Crime-Data-Brief_20230912.pdf, p. 30.

³¹ Data Resource Guide Fiscal Year 2022 - Section II: Intake and Community Supervision, Maryland Department of Juvenile Services. <https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/DRG/Intake-and-Community-Supervision.pdf> p. 31.

³² Baltimore to pay three men \$48 million to 3 men wrongly imprisoned for 36 years, *The Washington Post*, October 18, 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2023/10/18/wrongly-convicted-48-million-award-baltimore/>.

³³ Maryland panel OKs \$2.9M compensation for wrongfully convicted man who spent 32 years behind bars, *Associated Press*, July 5, 2023. <https://apnews.com/article/wrongful-conviction-compensation-maryland-e83fe2edbe95ca4386354f5c942ec20c>.

³⁴ Commentary: Attacks on interrogation law ignore everything we know about children, Jessica Feerman and Emily Virgin, 10/29/2023 <https://www.thebaltimorebanner.com/opinion/community-voices/interrogation-law-children-law-enforcement-prosecutors-25Q4AWWCNZFQ3DW3PBO7TU5GBU/>.

³⁵ Age and mental status of exonerated defendants who confessed, National Registry of Exonerations, March 1, 2020. <https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Documents/Age%20and%20Mental%20Status%20of%20Exonerated%20Defendants%20Who%20Falsely%20Confess%20Table.pdf>.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ 2023 Annual Report, Maryland Office of the Public Defender, https://www.opd.state.md.us/_files/ugd/868471_2a3baa9254584cc7beaec906307f0e39.pdf, p. 10.

³⁸ National Trends in Charging Children as Adults, Marcy Mistrett, The Sentencing Project, July 20, 2021. <http://dls.maryland.gov/pubs/prod/NoPblTabMtg/CmsnJuvRefCncl/Sentencing-Project-National-Trends-in->

Charging-Children.pdf.

³⁹ Juveniles Charged as Adults in Maryland (7/1/2022 - 12/31/2022), Governor's Office of Crime Prevention, Youth, and Victim Services (7/1/2022 - 12/31/2022), June 30, 2023, p 6.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ National Trends in Charging Children as Adults, Marcy Mistrett, The Sentencing Project, July 20, 2021. <http://dls.maryland.gov/pubs/prod/NoPblTabMtg/CmsnJuvRefCncl/Sentencing-Project-National-Trends-in-Charging-Children.pdf>.

⁴² States listed on Juvenile Justice GPS (Geography, Policy, Practice, & Statistics) website (<http://www.jjgps.org/jurisdictional-boundaries#transfer-provisions>), plus Oregon, which ended auto-charging in 2019 (<https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2019/04/oregon-senate-approves-sweeping-juvenile-justice-reforms.html>).

⁴³ Rising Tide of Chronic Absence Challenges Schools, Attendance Works, October 12, 2023. <https://www.attendanceworks.org/rising-tide-of-chronic-absence-challenges-schools/?preview=true>.

⁴⁴ The Mental Health of Minority and Marginalized Young People: An Opportunity for Action, Vivek H. Murthy, MD, Public Health Reports, Volume 137, Issue 4. (<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/00333549221102390>).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ <https://humanrightsforkids.org/national-state-ratings-report/>.