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Restorative Community Conferencing

A study of Community Works West's restorative justice youth diversion program in Alameda County

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report, written by Impact Justice’s Restorative Justice Project, explores Community Works West’s Restorative Community Conferencing program, which currently diverts over 100 youth per year away from the juvenile legal system. Restorative Community Conferencing (RCC) is a process for resolving harm through an organized, facilitated dialogue in which young people, with the support of family and community members, meet with their crime victims to create a plan to repair the harm caused by their offense.

Community Works West has been operating the RCC program in Alameda County, California for more than six years through positive relationships with community and criminal legal system stakeholders. This report describes the program’s benefits and effectiveness based on an analysis of available data from January 2012 through December 2014. Notable findings reveal that, of 102 young people who completed the RCC program, after 12 months only 18.4% of the RCC youth were subsequently adjudicated delinquent—that is, determined by the court to have committed another delinquent act—compared to 32.1% of the control group of youth whose cases were processed through the traditional juvenile legal system. Over time, recidivism rates for RCC youth generally held, rising only slightly, while the recidivism rates of the control group youth increased significantly over time. Ninety-one percent of participating victims reported that they would participate in another RCC. The report also describes how the RCC program carries significant cost-saving potential, due to the lower rates of reoffending from using RCC, combined with the RCC intervention’s average one-time cost of \$4,500, versus \$23,000 per year on average for a youth on probation.

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RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Over the last several decades the United States has amassed the largest prison population in the world within a criminal legal system teeming with racial and ethnic disparities.¹ This reality persists despite falling crime rates and evidence that people of color do not commit more crime than white people.² Crime victims have also expressed disappointment with legal system outcomes as many have found that even when convictions are secured, their needs remain unmet.³ As a result of the current system's failures, restorative justice has grown in popularity as a viable alternative, capable of reducing recidivism and incarceration, decreasing spending on public safety, increasing community involvement, and improving victim satisfaction.

Our criminal legal system operates by asking three guiding questions:

- (1) *What law was broken?*
- (2) *Who broke it?*
- (3) *What punishment is warranted?*

In contrast, restorative justice invites a fundamental shift in the way we think about and address crime by asking:

- (1) *Who was harmed?*
- (2) *What do they need?*
- (3) *Whose obligation is it to meet those needs?*⁴

Thus, restorative justice differs from the adversarial legal process as the latter focuses on the actions of the person who caused harm,⁵ while the former prioritizes the people and relationships harmed.

When an offense occurs, legal proceedings can often be intensive, traumatic, and time-consuming for the responsible party, the person harmed, and their families and community members. By contrast, restorative practices encourage constructive responses to wrongdoing by bringing those who have harmed, their victims, and affected communities into processes that repair the harm and rebuild relationships. At its best, through face-to-face dialogue, this

¹ US Department of Justice. (2013). *Smart on crime: Reforming the criminal justice system for the 21st century*. Attorney General Eric Holder's remarks to American Bar Association's Annual Convention in San Francisco, CA. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/ag/legacy/2013/08/12/smart-on-crime.pdf>

² National Research Council (2014). *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. Available at: http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=18613 (pp. 47–56); Mariscal, Raquel, and James Bell (2011). "Race, Ethnicity and Ancestry in Juvenile Justice," in F. Sherman & F. Jacobs (Eds.), *Juvenile Justice: Advancing Research, Policy, and Practice* (pp.111-130). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

³ See, generally, Herman, S. (2010). *Parallel Justice for Victims of Crime*. Washington, DC: National Center for Victims of Crime. Californians for Safety and Justice (2013). *California Crime Victims' Voices: Findings from the First-Ever Survey of California Crime Victims and Survivors*. Retrieved from http://libcloud.s3.amazonaws.com/211/72/d/228/2/VictimsReport_07_16_13.pdf

⁴ Zehr, H. (2002). *Little Book of Restorative Justice*. New York, NY: Good Books.

⁵ The Restorative Justice Project believes terms such as "offender," "perpetrator," and "criminal" ignore the ever changing and complex nature of one's interpersonal and social identity and, instead, label individuals in such a way that defines them by their previous behaviors and experiences rather than as human beings capable of growth and change. Moreover, the language we use to define an individual often affects how society views, values, and treats that person—often creating society-fulfilling prophecies. Thus, this report avoids the use of negative labels and, alternatively, refers to the "person who harmed," "responsible youth, or "responsible party" interchangeably to refer to an individual who has committed a crime or caused harm.

approach results in consensus-based plans that meet victim-identified needs in the wake of a crime.

In applications with young people, restorative justice can prevent both contact with the juvenile legal system and school expulsions and suspensions. Several restorative justice models have been shown to reduce recidivism and, when embraced as a larger-scale solution to wrongdoing, can minimize the social and fiscal costs of crime. Introduced in US cities such as Louisville, Kentucky, and Baltimore, Maryland, and in larger international contexts, restorative programs have proven immensely effective. For instance, this approach has rendered youth incarceration nearly obsolete in New Zealand, as detailed at right.

RESTORATIVE COMMUNITY CONFERENCING (RCC)

The principles of restorative justice have led to the creation of a number of programs designed to address and resolve conflicts in different contexts. Examples of such programs include victim-offender dialogues, circles of support and accountability, and peacemaking circles. An array of restorative models has been introduced at every stage of the legal process, from pre-arrest to reentry. While restorative justice can take on a number of forms, perhaps the most prominent is the Restorative Community Conferencing (RCC) approach, which, according to a 2007 international meta-analysis, is effective at reducing

FROM NEW ZEALAND TO OAKLAND, CA

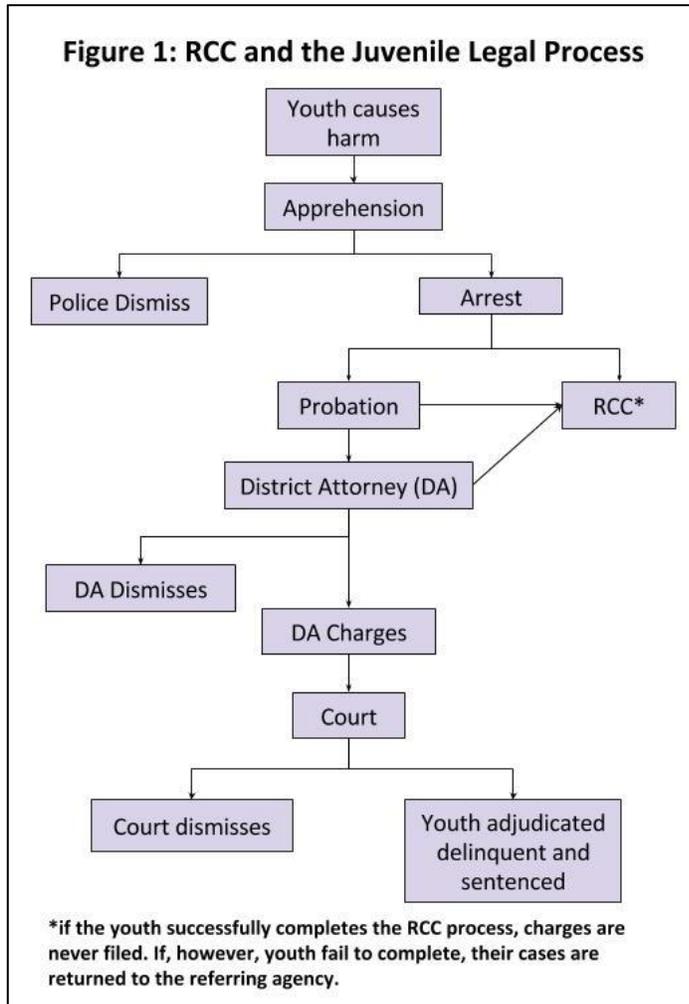
In 1988, New Zealand's government commissioned a report identifying government practices that resulted in institutionalized racism.⁶ This was evidenced by the "higher risks Māori children and young offenders faced compared to non-Māori. The report confirmed that Māori [were] over-represented in negative statistics relating to health, education, housing and unemployment, and concluded that this [was] the result of a 'monocultural bias' which favor[ed] non-Māori culture."⁷ In response, New Zealand passed the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act of 1989, transforming the nation's juvenile justice system, which now relies almost exclusively on Family Group Conferencing (FGC) to address youthful offending. FGC is a form of restorative justice whereby a young person who has offended, their family, victims, and others (e.g., the police, a social worker, youth advocate, etc.) talk about how to help the young person own up to what he did wrong and learn from his mistakes.⁸ During the FGC, participants agree on a plan through which the youth can make up for her offense and turn her life around. The plan becomes legally binding, and the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services monitors the young person to ensure it is completed. New Zealand has found that FGCs reduce recidivism, increase victim satisfaction, and promote a sense of responsibility in offenders. Following in New Zealand's footsteps, Oakland, California, now has a restorative justice program modeled after the FGC approach, called Restorative Community Conferencing.

⁶ Bolitho, J., Bruce, J., & Mason, G. (2012). *Restorative justice: Adults and Emerging Practice*. Annadale, New South Wales: Federation Press.

⁷ Id.

⁸ Id.

recidivism, among other significant benefits.⁹ Modeled after the New Zealand Family Group Conferencing (FGC) model, RCCs involve an organized, facilitated dialogue in which young people, with the support of family, community, and law enforcement, meet with their crime victims to create a plan to repair the harm done. It is most effective with serious crimes in which there is an identifiable victim, such as in the case of robbery, burglary, car theft, assault/battery, arson, and teen relationship violence.



There is power in the simplicity of the RCC process. When police or school authorities apprehend a young person for committing a crime, rather than sending the case through traditional juvenile legal processes, the referring agency (school, police, probation, or district attorney) contacts a nonprofit or community based organization trained in the RCC approach. The organization reviews the file and, if they accept the case, the referring agency places the case in a holding pattern, neither dropping nor charging it. Next, the facilitating organization sends out letters and program brochures to the accused youth and their parents or guardians. The letters are followed by a phone call and a home visit by an RCC facilitator to answer questions and invite participation in the program. If the young person accepts responsibility and agrees to participate, letters and brochures are sent to the victim, again followed by phone calls and visits. No fewer than two meetings are held with both parties to determine amenability

and safety and to allow youth and their victims to independently assess the harms, needs, and obligations resulting from the crime.

Ideally, RCC programs include a formal agreement, often in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), with the district attorney stating that all communications made in the RCC, in preparation for the RCC, and in the completion stage are confidential and cannot be used against participants outside the RCC process. This encourages complete honesty about the crime and its causes and effects. It also encourages the participation of some victims who

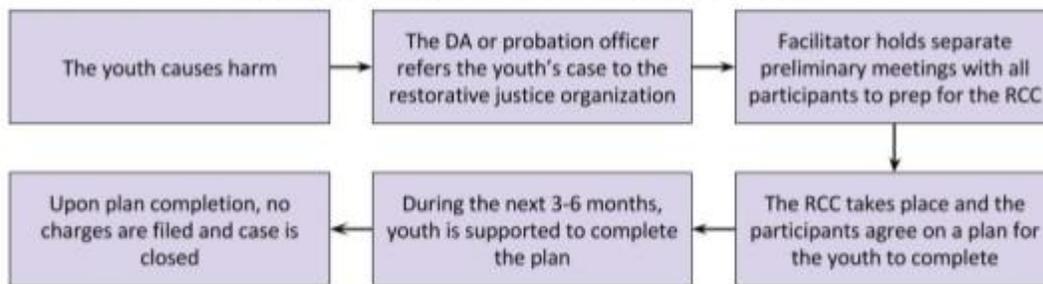
⁹ Sherman, L., & Strang, H. (2007). *Restorative Justice: The Evidence*. The Smith Institute, London, UK. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/RJ_full_report.pdf

would like to hold the youth accountable but are unwilling to engage directly with legal systems.

Within a few weeks following preliminary meetings, the RCC takes place at a neutral location, such as the nonprofit organization's office, a community center, or public library meeting room. Through the conference, the young person, their victim,¹⁰ supporters of both, and community members come together to discuss the crime and its causes and effects. In each RCC, all parties engage in self-reflection, firm yet supportive accountability, and apologies, all culminating in a commitment to help a young person overcome obstacles and mend social ties. During the RCC, participants produce a consensus-based plan for the young person to repair the harm done. The plan typically includes four objectives: to "do right" by one's victim, family, community, and self. If the RCC participants are unable to come to agreement on the plan or the youth fails to complete the plan, the case is returned to the referring agency (e.g., police, probation, or the court).

The RCC facilitator monitors the plan during the completion stage. An RCC agreements/case manager may also verify and assist with plan completion and coordinate services needed beyond the scope of the RCC. The program director receives the cases from the district attorney or other referring agency and provides monthly status reports to them. The plan is generally completed within three to six months, at which point the case is closed without charges ever being filed.

Figure 2: Breakdown of a Successful RCC Process



EVIDENCE BASE FOR RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

The available research conducted both within the United States and internationally has found restorative justice is effective at reducing recidivism rates while improving victim satisfaction compared with traditional, adversarial court processes. For instance, a systematic review of programs in the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom found restorative models decrease the risk of reoffending, especially for violent crimes.¹¹ The researchers found restorative processes also benefit victims in a number of ways, including reducing post-

¹⁰ Occasionally, if the victim declines to participate directly, he or she may choose a surrogate victim.

¹¹ Strang, H., Sherman, L., W., Mayo-Wilson, E., Woods, D., & Ariel, B. (2013). "Restorative justice conferencing (RJC) using face-to-face meetings of offenders and victims: Effects on offender recidivism and victim satisfaction. A systematic review." In *Campbell Systematic Review*, 9(12), 1–59. See also Sherman, L., & Strang, H. (2007). *Restorative justice: The Evidence*. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/RJ_full_report.pdf

traumatic stress symptoms, increasing satisfaction with the resolution of their case, and lessening the desire for violent revenge. Finally, the review determined that restorative justice was more economical than conventional legal systems as it not only prevents crime but also costs less to administer.¹²

RCC IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

RCC has been operating in Alameda County, California for more than 9 years through positive relationships with community and criminal justice system stakeholders. RCC's application in Alameda County is the first of its kind and scope to address youth crimes in a major US urban area in a solely pre-charge posture with an explicit goal of reducing racial and ethnic disparities in diversion and incarceration while producing reliable, quantitative data. In 2008, institutional support to launch this program

was garnered from all necessary partners (the Alameda County Juvenile Court; Oakland's chief of police and several other police departments; the County's public defender, district attorney, and probation departments; victim- and youth-serving organizations; and other community-based

COMMUNITY WORKS "MAKING IT RIGHT" IN SAN FRANCISCO

In addition to its RCC program in Alameda County, funding from The Zellerbach Family Foundation has made it possible for Community Works to launch a similar RCC program in San Francisco called "Make it Right." While still in its pilot phase, the Make it Right program is currently serving 25 youth each year. To learn more about Make it Right, see the note at the end of this report.

organizations). Initial operationalizing of the program proved promising: harms were repaired, youth made amends, and persons harmed felt heard and vindicated. The Oakland-based organization Community Works West (Community Works) ultimately took on the task of running the RCC program, providing conference facilitators and handling case referrals. In 2012, the US Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) awarded Community Works a three year Title II Formula Grant¹³ in the amount of 1.1 million dollars to divert up to 95 youth per year away from the juvenile legal system using Restorative Community Conferencing.

Community Works has demonstrated its ability to successfully and reliably implement RCCs as a pre-adjudication diversion program for youth. Through years of trust building, Community Works now receives RCC cases from agencies across Alameda County, including schools, the probation department, multiple police departments, and the managing district attorney who heads the County's Juvenile Division.

A growing number of stakeholders within Alameda County's criminal legal system have had an opportunity to learn about and gain skills in restorative practices. For example, in 2014, the Restorative Justice Project and Community Works, in conjunction with other community-based organizations, collaborated to facilitate a two-day restorative justice training for the Oakland Police Department (OPD).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ In Fall 2015, Community Works was awarded a new four-year Title II grant.

RCC ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

Eligibility criteria for enrollment in a restorative justice process vary among programs. Some counties target crimes that young people of color are most often incarcerated for, such as robbery, larceny, and assault, whereas others make eligible any crime punishable by a period of confinement. Ultimately, the eligibility criteria for a particular program will depend on the agreement between the applicable jurisdiction's district attorney and probation offices and the organization carrying out the restorative process.

Community Works operates RCC as a pre-charge model (i.e., youth are referred to the program before a prosecutor files criminal charges). This approach allows for the individual accused of a crime and the respective victims and community members to reap the benefits of the restorative process without having to suffer from the debilitating and collateral consequences associated with judicial system involvement. Moreover, a pre-charge restorative program allows the County to keep costs as low as possible by avoiding the use of court time, probation time, and other resources.

In Alameda County, the district attorney has complete discretion to determine which cases to refer to Community Works' RCC process.¹⁴ Community Works then focuses on accepting cases involving serious crimes in which there is an identifiable victim (e.g., robbery, burglary, car theft, assault/battery, arson, and teen dating violence) and the responsible youth would otherwise be exposed to significant contact with the juvenile legal system.

YOUTH CRIME IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

Using data from the Alameda County Probation Department's July 2013 report and the results of a recidivism analysis for Alameda youth on probation in 2010,¹⁵ we can provide some background on youth crime in Alameda County.

In July 2013, 2,147 young people (348 females and 1,799 males) were on probation in Alameda County.¹⁶ Of those probationers, 57.7% were Black, 27% were Latinx,¹⁷ and 8.5% were White. The average time spent on probation was 12 months for females and 18 months for males. The average time Black youth spent on probation was 20 months, with Latinx youth spending 14

¹⁴ Ideally, diversion programs should minimize discretion in the decision to refer a particular case in order to reduce the risk of racial and ethnic disparities and streamline the referral process. One way to minimize or eliminate discretion is for the referring agency to determine which offenses are eligible for the restorative diversion program and to refer all individuals who commit those qualifying crimes to the restorative process. The parallel San Francisco "Make it Right" RCC program employs this preferred method.

¹⁵ Dr. Isami Arifuku, previously a Senior Researcher within the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's Oakland office, conducted this analysis.

¹⁶ Alameda County Probation Department (2013). *A look into probation: Monthly report—July 2013*. Retrieved from <http://www.acgov.org/probation/documents/July2013Report.pdf>

¹⁷ Latinx is a term used in this report to be gender inclusive of those who identify as Latino, Latina, Latin@, and those who identify as non-binary.

months; and White youth, 10 months.¹⁸ The majority of youth were placed on probation for property offenses (28.0%), person offenses (26.0%), or failing to obey a court order (26.0%).

OUTCOMES FOR ALAMEDA COUNTY RCC YOUTH

To measure RCC's impact, the Restorative Justice Project collaborated with Dr. Isami Arifuku, formerly a Senior Researcher at the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. For the analysis, RCC youth were matched with a control group of youth adjudicated through the Alameda County judicial process based on race, gender, age, offense (both in terms of felony/misdemeanor and in terms of person/property/drug/other), and priors. When possible, matches were made using all categories and resulted in two groups with very similar demographics profiles. For example, the RCC had 45% Black youth and 33% Latinx youth while the control group had 40% Black youth and 30% Latinx youth. Similarly, 62% of the RCC had felony charges and 74% had no prior offenses; the control group had 60% with felony and 66% with no prior offenses. Data on new offense(s), probation violations, petitions filed and sustained, and dispositions for all youth in the two cohorts are compared in the analysis. The matching process enables the Restorative Justice Project to compare youth who enrolled in RCC with youth who were processed through the court process and had similar characteristics to examine their different trajectories.

Recidivism Definition and Rates

The term "recidivism" generally refers to the likelihood that a person will commit a new crime after being found guilty of a crime previously. In the juvenile legal system this can be measured by whether a young person is arrested again. However, not all arrests result in sustained charges. Therefore, this study specifies recidivism to refer to the likelihood that a young person will be arrested and subsequently adjudicated delinquent (i.e. found guilty by a judge).¹⁹ Given that Black and Latinx youth are arrested at disproportionately higher rates than White youth,²⁰ defining recidivism in this way provides a more accurate understanding of whether youth are being adjudicated delinquent. The primary inquiry is whether the RCC youth were arrested and subsequently adjudicated delinquent for new offenses at lower, higher, or the same rates as a control group of youth who were processed through juvenile legal system. If a difference is generated, a second consideration is whether the difference between the RCC youth and the court-adjudicated youth is statistically significant.²¹

¹⁸ Since the probation department calculates average length of stay by those cases that closed during the month, it is expected that these numbers are actually higher.

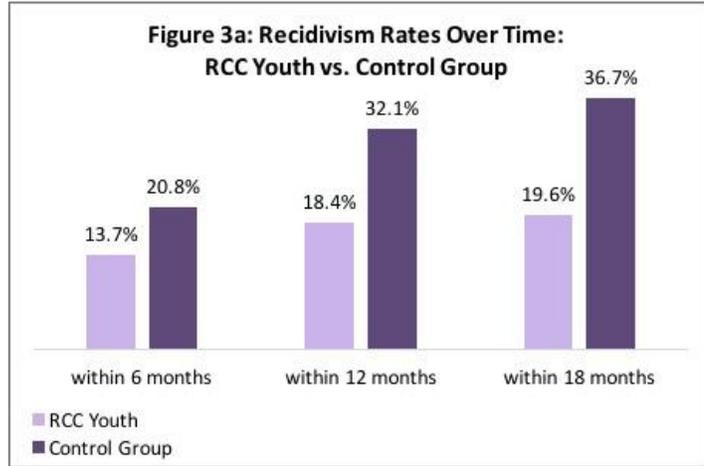
¹⁹ The terms "subsequently adjudicated delinquent" and "charges sustained" are used interchangeably in this report. In the adult criminal court context these two terms are equivalent to being "found guilty" or "convicted of a crime."

<http://www.alameda.courts.ca.gov/Pages.aspx/Delinquency-Process-Proceedings>

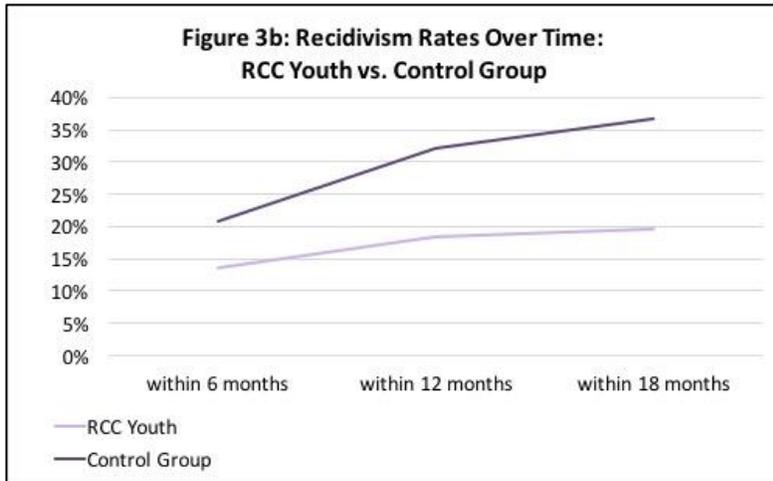
²⁰ Mariscal, Raquel, and James Bell. 2011. "Race, Ethnicity and Ancestry in Juvenile Justice." In *Juvenile Justice: Advancing Research, Policy, and Practice*, edited by Francine Sherman and Francine Jacobs, 111-130. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

²¹ A result or finding is considered "statistically significant" if it is likely attributable to a specific cause as opposed to a random occurrence. Statistical significance, evidenced by the p-value, can be strong or weak. The p-value represents the probability of error involved in accepting the observed result as valid, that is, as "representative of the population." As p-values typically range

The Community Works RCC program has made improvements in Alameda County similar to other restorative programs demonstrating evidence-based success. Between January 2012 and December 2014, 102 youth completed Community Works' RCC program. Figure 3a shows that of those youth, only 13.7% were subsequently adjudicated delinquent within 6 months of completing the program, 18.4% within 12 months, and 19.6% within 18 months. Such low recidivism rates stand in stark contrast with the County's youth subsequent adjudication rate of 20.8% within 6 months, 32.1% within 12 months, and 36.7% within 18 months. This difference is statistically significant ($p = 0.05$).



In other words, within 12 months of completing the RCC program, youth were 44% less likely to get a new sustained charge than youth who were processed through the juvenile legal system.



Another noteworthy finding is how much the gap grows between recidivism rates of the RCC youth compared to the control group over time, as shown above in Figure 3b. The recidivism rate for the RCC youth held and remained significantly lower. From 6 to 12 to 18 months, the RCC youth recidivism rates increase only slightly while the recidivism rates for the control group increase at a much

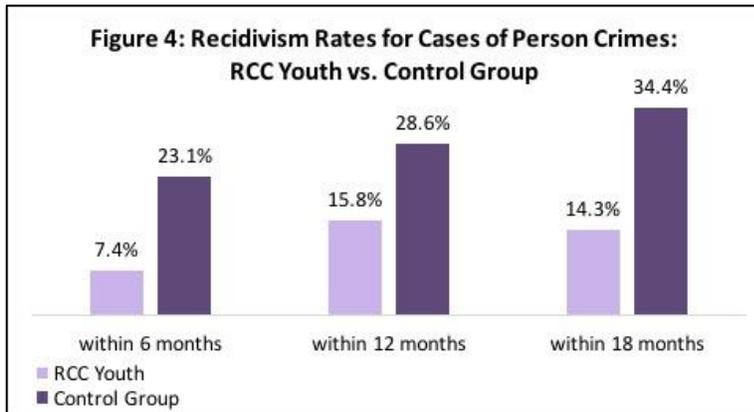
higher rate. This speaks to the effectiveness of the RCC program at sustained recidivism reduction over time.

Case Type and Seriousness of Cases Referred to Alameda RCC Program

With Community Works prioritizing serious offenses, 62% of the conferences to date have involved felony crimes. The most common serious crimes this program has accepted include robberies, burglaries, vehicle thefts, batteries, batteries causing great bodily injury, possession

from .01 to .05, the higher the p-value, the greater the likelihood of error and, thus, the less reliable the observed relationship is between the selected variables.

of marijuana for sale, and felony theft. Community Works has also handled a smaller number of assaults, assaults with a deadly weapon, sexual batteries, arsons, and crimes involving the exhibition of a deadly weapon besides a firearm.



Notably, recidivism rates for RCC youth whose cases involved person crimes were much lower than recidivism rates of youth with the same type of cases who were processed through the juvenile legal system. Within 12 months of completing the RCC program, youth whose cases originally involved person crimes were 48% less likely to recidivate. This data

supports the indication that RCCs are most successful in reducing recidivism with cases involving charges that are more personal and with a direct victim. Even when examining recidivism rates within the RCC participant group, the rates are consistently lower for cases involving person crimes (shown above in Figure 5) compared to cases involving property crimes. The recidivism rates for property crimes at 6, 12, and 18 months were 18.8%, 21.1%, and 21.4% respectively.

With respect to less serious offenses, the program has worked with cases involving vandalism, fighting in class / school assaults, hate crimes²², and thefts of purses and credit cards.

Demographics of RCC Participants

Of the RCC Participants in this study, 45% Black and 33% were Latinx. This is consistent with the program's explicit goal of reducing racial and ethnic disparities in the County's juvenile legal system.

A majority of the RCC youth as well as the control group of young people whose cases were processed through the juvenile legal system resided in Oakland, CA at the time this study took place.

Race: Recidivism rates of Black and Latinx youth who went through the RCC program were lower at 6, 12, and 18 months from program completion compared to the control group. This difference was greatest among male-identified Latinx youth. After 12 months, RCC Latino youth had a recidivism rate of 17.8% while court adjudicated Latino youth had a recidivism rate of 39.4%. Recidivism rates for White youth in the RCC program are not available because the sample group was too small and therefore would not generate statistically significant numbers.

The appendix of this report shows the full data tables for recidivism rates of RCC and court adjudicated youth at 6, 12, and 18 months. It also includes the re-arrest rates for those groups.

²² These hate crimes are being categorized as "less serious" offenses because they involve property damage, vandalism, or graffiti. No intention was made to devalue the impact of the impact of these crimes on survivors.

Gender:²³ As Figure 5 indicates, at 12 months out, boys whose cases were processed through the juvenile legal system were significantly more likely to have new charges sustained against them than RCC boys, RCC girls, and court adjudicated girls.

Victim Satisfaction

Following the RCC, facilitators asked participants to complete a survey to evaluate the process and its outcomes, and 35 victim participants responded to these assessments. **Ninety-one percent of victim participants who completed the survey reported that they would participate in another conference, and an equal number (91%) stated that they would recommend the process to a friend.**

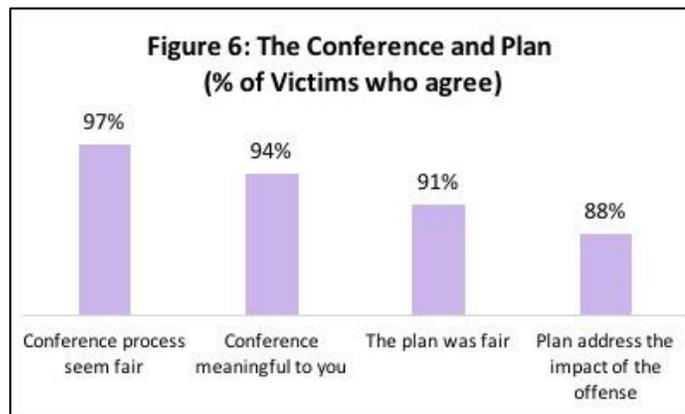
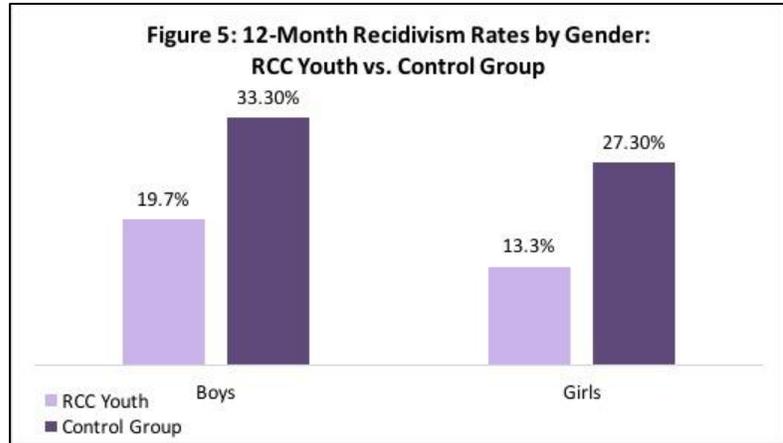
When asked what part of the RCC process was most meaningful to them, victims highlighted their ability to have contact with the responsible youth and their ability to sympathize with and understand the young person's actions.

I could put a face with the person who tried to break in and hear the motivation behind the actions.

Victim respondents also appreciated the ability to get answers to questions not previously answered and to see the youth who have harmed them demonstrate remorse for their actions.

It provided more details about the incident and the process of steps taken to correct the wrong.

Many also found it rewarding to hear the young person apologize and explain how they felt. Most victims indicated high satisfaction with the RCC program and 88% felt that the plan created through the conference addressed the impact of the offense, shown in Figure 6.²⁴



²³ When information about RCC Participants and members of the control group was originally collected, gender identity was collected using Community Works' enrollment form in which male or female were the only options. The current Community Works enrollment form includes multiple gender identity descriptors for participants to self-identify.

²⁴ This report did not track payments of restitution by the control group such that a comparative analysis could be completed. Restitution payment rates as ordered by courts are generally known to be low. See generally <https://victimsofcrime.org/help-for-crime-victims/get-help-bulletins-for-crime-victims/restitution-collect>

Additionally, victims found it meaningful to convey to the youth the severity of their actions. Developing the plan for resolution was also very meaningful for victims.

I liked the fact that we were able to come up with a plan to help.

I think the important part was when the youth said he was going to anger management.

Victims also had generally very high perceptions of the RCC program staff as shown in Figure 7.



Victim Satisfaction Survey Collection: As previously stated, of the 102 RCC cases, 35 post-conference victim satisfaction surveys were collected. In 11 additional RCC cases, surrogates were used in place of the actual victims. Surrogates are individuals who have experienced the same harm as the actual victim and who have agreed to be present in the conference in place of the actual victims.

The post-conference satisfaction surveys are given immediately after the conference, and response rate can be challenging. This is because sometimes victims are content to have shared their story at the beginning of the conferencing process and do not feel the need to be present or part of the subsequent plan development process. In that situation, the victim may leave the conferencing process before the post-conference satisfaction surveys have been circulated. The conference facilitator later contacts the victim by phone after the plan has been developed to get their approval of the plan.

In the remaining 56 cases for which there were no post-conference victim satisfaction surveys collected, some victims may have left the conference under the circumstances described above or no actual victims or surrogates may have been present in the conference. In the latter scenario, community members who experienced harm were present.

This stands in contrast to programs such as Common Justice,²⁵ in which 100% of conferences involve actual victims and, of the cases that are eligible for restorative conferencing, 90% of actual victims contacted agree to participate. The low victim participation rates in Alameda

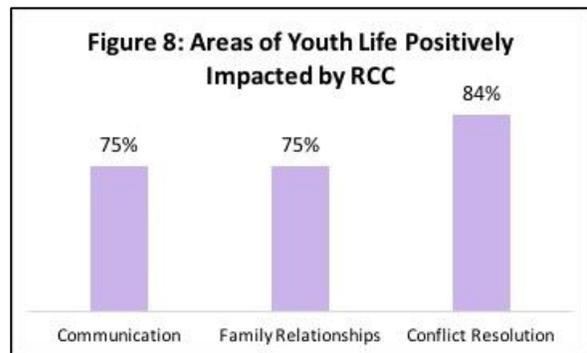
²⁵ <https://www.vera.org/centers/common-justice>

County's restorative youth diversion program could be a result of the program receiving a high number of low level offenses, which could be attributed to victims' disinclination to expend additional time and energy on what may be perceived as no more than a nuisance.

It is interesting to note that 55% of the 102 cases in the RCC program involved person charges (assault, battery, sexual assault/battery, robbery, or fighting), residential burglary charges, or vehicle theft charges, including grand theft auto.²⁶ Of the 35 victim satisfaction surveys that were completed, 69% were for the same category of cases. Additionally, of the 35 victim satisfaction surveys that were completed, 69% were for felony charges.

Youth Satisfaction

100 of the youth who participated in the RCC also completed post-conference satisfaction surveys. 94.9% of those young people said they would participate in the process again and 92.7% said they would recommend it to a friend. Moreover, 67% of them indicated RCC was "definitely" helpful while 33% said it was "mostly" beneficial. All of the surveyed youth said the process had changed them at least "in some ways" and found their experience to be satisfactory, with 64% being "very satisfied." Furthermore, over 90% of the youth felt their needs were considered throughout the process. Overall, while most of the respondents had not had personal contact with the juvenile court process in the past, every one of the 18% who had indicated feeling the RCC approach was "better" than the juvenile court process.



The respondents also identified several aspects of their lives that changed as a result of their participation in RCC. For instance, 75% indicated the process had either a "good" or "big positive" impact on their relationship with their family. Eighty-four percent noticed a "good" to "big positive" change in their ability to deal with conflict while 75% observed a "good" to "big positive" improvement in their communication skills. Additionally, 82% said they have used restorative practices such as repairing harm and truth-telling in their personal lives since participating in RCC.

With respect to the individual steps within the RCC, 92% of youth respondents identified "having support" as an "important" or "very important" part of the process while 90% said "having a voice" was also a critical component. As for the prep meetings with their facilitator, 92% of the young people found those meetings "important" or "very important," and 100% felt the same way about the conference stage, and 99% found it helpful to speak directly with the person they had harmed. Moreover, 83% indicated the process of developing the restorative

²⁶ The law characterizes vehicle theft (Vehicle Code 10851) and grand theft auto (Penal Code 487) differently, in which the former includes instances of "temporary" vehicle theft (or "joyriding") and the latter includes instances of longer-term vehicle theft.

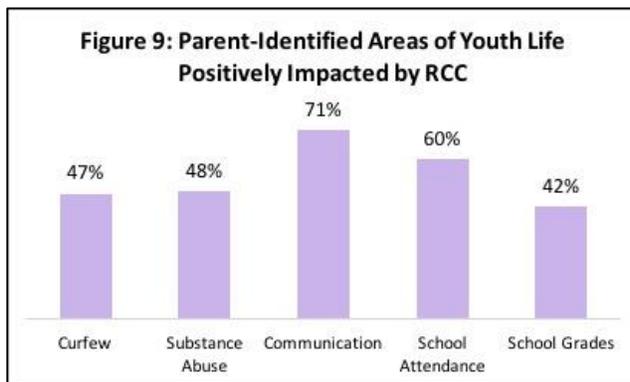
plan was “important” or “very important.” Finally, 100% of the youth identified their ability to avoid a criminal record as being an important part of the RCC with 91% also finding crucial the opportunity to avoid being placed on probation.

When asked to comment on the aspects of RCC they found most meaningful, one youth said, “it helped me to see all the damage I had done upon everyone.” Similarly, another young person emphasized the impact of “hearing the victim’s point of view because I didn’t realize the trouble they have had outside of what we did.” One participant spoke about the feeling of comfort that came along with apologizing while another youth said, “I hadn’t thought about all the relationships (self, family, community, and victim) in need of repair.” Finally, one respondent stated, “the most meaningful part was the plan because I set goals for myself to help myself, my family, and the community.”

Parent/Guardian Satisfaction

In 95% of the conferences, at least one parent/guardian participated. Of those who participated and later completed a post-conference satisfaction survey, 97.8% said they would participate in the process again and 98.8% said they would recommend RCC to a friend, with 52% having already shared their experience with family, friends, and others. Additionally, 69% were “very satisfied” and 14% “mostly satisfied” with the extent to which the facilitator prepared their child for the conference stage of the RCC. Overall, all parents/guardians felt the needs of their children were either “definitely” or “mostly” considered throughout the process.

When asked to reflect on the most meaningful elements of the RCC, 85% of parents/guardians found the “coordinator support to complete the plan” to be the most valuable piece in addition to the fact that participation prevented their child from being criminalized. Furthermore, 81% indicated “seeing youth take responsibility for their actions” and “knowing there was an alternative to prosecution” were also beneficial parts of the process. 74% felt the conference stage was another meaningful aspect, as was “having a voice in developing the plan” (70% of respondents), “meeting the victim(s) and hearing their story” (52%), and “hearing details of the incident” (52%).



Parents/guardians were also asked to comment on how the RCC process has affected ongoing issues with their children. With respect to problems around their child adhering to curfew rules, 35% of respondents indicated noticing “a little change” while 47% observed “definite” to “quite a bit of change.” Moreover, 48% of parents/guardians detected either “quite a bit” or “definite” change in their child’s use of illegal substances while another 35%

indicated “a little change.” Seventy-one percent of parents noticed “definite” to “quite a bit of change” in communication with their child and 29% recognized at least “a little change.” Finally, in terms of school issues, 60% felt there had been a change in their child’s school attendance

and 42% saw a “definite” to “quite a bit” of change in school grades with 25% recognizing “a little change.”

Many of the parents/guardians noted additional improvements in their relationship with their children following participation in the RCC process. For instance, 68% reported “quite a bit” or “definite” change in the frequency of conflicts between themselves and their youth while another 28% reported “a little change.” Similarly, 62% observed “quite a bit” or “definite” change in their ability to establish and instill respect for boundaries. Sixty-percent of respondents also found “quite a bit” or “definite” growth in their child’s respectful behavior and 61% saw “quite a bit” or “definite” progress in their child’s ability to follow through on commitments. Moreover, 80% reported their child talked with them more after having completed the RCC process.

Ultimately, a majority of parents/guardians were pleased with the program and its impact on the young people in their care. One parent found the process to be “a great opportunity for honest conversation and communication” that “deepen[ed] understanding of impact” and provided a “more developmental option than incarceration.” Another parent believed the “contact with the victims” was meaningful and was “grateful to them for understanding the overall situation of what my son did.” Likewise, an additional respondent appreciated the process for “allowing my son to step up and take the responsibility for his actions” as this “made him feel good about himself.” One parent commented “the process was professionally handled throughout and was very valuable. Our son successfully completed high school and is now a freshman at Santa Cruz. We are very grateful.” Some found it reassuring that “others were concerned with [their] child’s well being” and others suggested, “this type of process and talking is the only way kids learn.” In the words of one parent,

I absolutely believe that this is a better alternative for young [people], their families, and even the victims of crime. In this program, the young person is confronted with the seriousness of his crime and the harm it caused... He is given the chance to do something to make up for his crime and to apologize directly. This is so much better than going through the legal system in which the main object is for the culprit to protect himself by hiding details of what he did, if necessary. And in the legal system, restitution is impersonal. I am very grateful for this program and hope that it is available to adults breaking the law as well.

Reflections from Community Works’ RCC Facilitators

In addition to surveying victims, youth who caused harm, and their parents/guardians, the researchers also interviewed three of Community Works’ four RCC facilitators to better understand their opinions on the data and survey results and their approach to interacting with youth and other participants. The facilitators had been working within the RCC program from anywhere between a few months to several years.

When asked why they thought survey data showed both youth and parents/guardians felt the RCC process had had a positive impact on their family relationships and dynamics, one of the facilitators suggested, “hearing how the family is feeling about the incident, for the youth to see

beyond how this is affecting [him or her] to also see how this is affecting someone that they love so much is so powerful.” Another facilitator agreed, adding, “we ask the family: ‘what was it like to have your son arrested?’ or ‘what was it like right after the incident?’ That is a point of... less contention because instead of [the youth] being defensive it’s like ‘oh, you’re sad because you care about me. It’s not just that you’re angry with me.’” Moreover, one facilitator replied,

Also, it’s not just on the side of the youth. Sometimes it’s like the parents also misunderstand the youth. Sometimes the parents also make a commitment. Like “once a week I want to cook dinner with you because I can see we are growing apart and I don’t want to lose that relationship.” So I think the plan is important for the youth, but also important for the parent.

The interviewer also asked the facilitators to contemplate their explanations for why the post-conference satisfaction survey results found that both young people and their parents/guardians noticed a positive change in the youth’s ability to respond to conflict. One explanation offered for this was,

When you talk through the incident also talking through certain emotions is important. For example, understanding what you can do in certain situations... when you feel irritated. What are the causes, how do you usually react, and how can you recognize it and react differently in the future? Because when you first talk to them they can say things like “I didn’t do anything wrong,” but obviously when you talk more to them about it they know they could have reacted differently.

This idea that, with time, youth who participated in the program became increasingly amenable to the process was an overarching theme. In fact, another RCC facilitator stated, “the first time I talk with [youth] about an incident there may be some minimizing or there may be some taking themselves out of the situation – like maybe some blaming. I know there is something changing when there is less of that.” A different respondent noted, “I think sometimes youth want people to listen to them and hear their story,” suggesting that simply providing a rare opportunity for young people to be heard creates a catalyst for change.

Along with asking about the survey results, the facilitators answered questions about the quantitative data. For instance, when asked why they thought youth who completed the RCC program were less likely to be rearrested compared to the matched sample, those who enrolled but did not complete the process, and those who did not enroll at all, one facilitator responded,

Just being in conference can be intense, you’ve hurt someone or done something and you’re sitting in community with your family and someone you’ve harmed, that’s a lot of attention. You’re confronting yourself... When you have all these people behind you... you’re developing empathy, you’re feeling all these things from the whole perspective, not just your perspective. You’re probably thinking “I’m part of this community and this is who I am – is this how I want to be represented?” It’s a big wake-up call; it’s very powerful.

A second facilitator commented,

Once they complete the program they go back to their communities that are under-resourced, etc. So I think about how important it is to extend as many parts of the planning process to the young person. So, [for example,] if you give them a job or volunteer program at the local Boys and Girls Club it's a relationship but also those things stay even after the program ends. Because, realistically, if you steal a cell phone because you can't afford [it] even after the program you are still in that situation. So if you get them a job or into another program it's like a Band-Aid solution but also one that I'm always thinking about and trying to hack.

Finally, the interviewer asked if the facilitators had suggestions for ways to improve the RCC program. The primary response centered on identifying different approaches to addressing specific cases in which the regular RCC process falls short. "For example," one facilitator explained, "cases where there is a mutual fight and we have to identify one kid as an aggressor are difficult. Also, cases that don't have victims, for example drug cases." When asked about better ways to address situations involving mutual fights, the same facilitator answered,

I think circles²⁷ are definitely better but a lot of the time we don't have the people to participate. So for example, I have one case where we are trying to get a kid's friend to participate in a circle . . . it was a bogus arrest in the first place. So it's difficult because you can tell the kid's friend and the kid are not taking this seriously and it's difficult for me to push for a case where I can only hear from one side . . . and when I don't think the process is a good fit for the case it's hard for me to push. I think just setting up those binaries of responsible person and person harmed is difficult because at a certain point everyone is responsible.

Another facilitator added,

I've had a similar situation where the person arrested was Black and the other person in the fight was White and was not charged. And they've talked about it and resolved it but still there is one "responsible" person. That's a real conflict for me because it seems like we are doing someone else's dirty work because he shouldn't have been arrested in the first place. And I don't ever want to be complicit in state violence especially against Black youth . . . This specific police officer has arrested 5 youth and they are all Black and were involved in fights where the harmed youth is White. And I've tried to set up circles at the school and the police officer and the [student resource officer] don't respond so where is the responsibility in that?

²⁷ Circle process involves a facilitated dialogue using a talking piece and can be implemented in a broad range of contexts, from welcoming an individual back into the community after a period of incarceration to addressing conflict between community partners. Like RCC, circle can be used to address youthful wrongdoing by asking the young person, the victim, and their supporters questions about the incident and their needs. There are times when circle is a more appropriate model for addressing harm, such as in mutual fights.

This speaks to the challenges of eroding systemic bias in a post-arrest model. In Alameda County, the District Attorney's Office had previously encouraged restorative youth diversion at the police level, but this has not been the case in recent years.

COST SAVINGS ESTIMATES AND OTHER BENEFITS OF RCC

Along with lower recidivism rates and significant victim satisfaction rates, RCC offers governments the potential for significant cost savings. Youth who are subsequently rearrested following their first offense incur two types of avoidable costs: the costs associated with their first offense and the costs they incur through the later recidivism. The average cost of placing a young person on probation in Alameda County is \$23,000 per year.²⁸ This estimate does not include other costs resulting from a youth's involvement in the legal system, including those associated with the public defender's office, district attorney's office, court costs, and police costs post-arrest. In contrast, Alameda County's restorative justice program carries a marginal cost of approximately \$4,500 per case.²⁹

In addition to the cost savings through both diversion from the current juvenile legal system and reduced recidivism, RCC offers other societal benefits. For instance, this model serves to ease the pressure placed on courts, correctional facilities, and probation departments, all of which are overburdened by the number of individuals cycling through the criminal legal system each year. By reducing this drain on resources through the use of an RCC diversion program, criminal agencies can focus on providing services to those who need them most.

Another societal advantage associated with RCCs is the fact that victims are often more satisfied when their case is resolved through this approach as opposed to the traditional legal process.³⁰ This can largely be attributed to the fact that RCCs are victim-oriented, whereby the person harmed—as opposed to a judge—is instrumental in holding the young person accountable. Furthermore, RCC participation has been found to alleviate symptoms of post-traumatic stress associated with victimization.³¹

As the data from Alameda County shows, RCCs also help strengthen family and community ties, have the potential to reduce racial and ethnic disparities within the criminal legal system, and can reduce truancy, and improve graduation rates. Finally, because the RCC process focuses on healing harms and repairing broken relationships as opposed to punishment, many have found this approach more morally sound than adjudication and incarceration.

²⁸ Estimate based on 2010 probation costs, including salaries, equipment, contract costs, and detention costs. See appendix for reductions in re-arrest rates and note that re-arrest is not the same as re-adjudicated delinquent.

²⁹ This cost estimate was calculated by dividing the annual RCC operating budget at Community Works by the number of youth served.

³⁰ Zehr, H. & Macrae, A. (2004). *The little book of Family Group Conferencing: New Zealand style*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

³¹ Umbreit, M. (2000). *Family Group Conferencing: Implications for crime victims*. St. Paul, MN: University of Minnesota, Center for Restorative Justice & Peacemaking.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: SAN FRANCISCO'S "MAKE IT RIGHT" PROGRAM

Community Works is also the service provider for the San Francisco based "Make it Right" program. Initiated by the San Francisco District Attorney George Gascón, Make it Right differs from the Alameda County RCC program in five significant ways. First, the DA's office only refers felony cases to the Make it Right program. Second, the diversion methodology is discretionless; the Managing DA of the Juvenile Division makes a charging determination on felony cases eligible for Make it Right, and then uses a randomization process to divert 70% of those cases to Make it Right pre-charge. Third, the program bifurcates the facilitator position into two roles: the facilitator prepares the case through the conference stage, and an Agreements Manager (who is housed in a separate program designed to support youth who have had contact with the law) works with the young person through the plan completion process. Fourth, while the District Attorney is welcome to attend conferences in Alameda County, no District Attorney or law enforcement is ever present in the San Francisco conferences. And fifth, San Francisco County's Department of Children, Youth, and Families funds the program, whereas the Alameda County program is not primarily supported by county funds.

The Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley is completing a report based on a randomized control trial conducted with the Make it Right pilot. Preliminary data reported by the San Francisco DA's office suggests that Make it Right has a significantly lower recidivism rate than the Alameda County counterpart described in this report (at 12 months, a 5% recidivism rate at the time of this report's publication). Given that the service provider is the same for both programs, a future, more robust study exploring this disparity would be of benefit to the field. Notwithstanding the need for further analysis after the Goldman School study is published, some initial inferences can be drawn at this time.

Felonies Only

Several studies have shown that low-risk youth do better *without* intervention. Indeed, interventions of any sort for low-risk youth have been found to increase recidivism.³² Severity of the crime is a factor in determining risk.^{33, 34} Relatedly, international studies show that restorative justice is more effective for addressing more serious crimes.³⁵ The present study of Alameda County data confirms this; the "person" cases (i.e. robbery, assault) had a significantly lower recidivism rate than the "property" cases. At six months, RCC youth in Alameda County had a 7.4% recidivism rate for person crimes, as compared to RCC youth's 18.4% recidivism rate at six months for property crimes.

Unlike Alameda County, San Francisco's Make it Right program works solely with felony cases, and preliminary data currently places recidivism at 12 months at approximately 5%. Therefore,

³² Latessa, E. J., & Lowenkamp, C. (2006). What Works in Reducing Recidivism. *University of St. Thomas Law School*, 521-535.

³³ Baird, C. (2009). *A Question of Evidence*. Oakland, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

³⁴ Vincent, G., Guy, L., & Grisso, T. (2012). *Risk Assessment in Juvenile Justice: A Guidebook for Implementation*. Chicago, IL: John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

³⁵ Sherman, L.W. & Strang, H. (2007) *Restorative Justice: The Evidence*. The Smith Institute.

both the Alameda County and San Francisco data, independently and in combination, suggest that low risk, low-level cases should be diverted to other diversion programming, while serious cases are best suited to restorative conferencing.

Of particular interest in the upcoming Goldman School study is whether the rate of victim participation in the Make it Right Program will be higher given the more serious nature of the crimes.

Charging Decision Followed by Randomization (Discretion-less Diversion)

In San Francisco, the Managing District Attorney of the Juvenile Division first makes a charging decision for all cases eligible for restorative justice, and then uses a randomization process to send cases to restorative justice treatment (70% of eligible cases), with the remaining cases comprising the control group (30%). The control group is charged and proceeds through the juvenile justice system. At the time of publication, Make it Right is the only “discretion-less diversion” restorative justice program for felonies in the United States.

This process serves two purposes: it removes the potential for 1) selection bias and 2) net widening. By choosing a set of criteria that makes a case eligible for restorative justice (i.e. age of youth, class of crimes, number of priors), the San Francisco DA’s office ensures that there is no racial/ethnic or other bias in determining which cases are diverted. To increase Make it Right’s impact on reducing racial and ethnic disparities, the DA’s office purposely aligned eligibility criteria to include crimes for which youth of color are disproportionately arrested/charged/incarcerated. And by making the charging decision prior to the diversion decision, the San Francisco DA can be certain that it is not sending cases to restorative justice that it would not have otherwise taken seriously.³⁶

By contrast, the Alameda County District Attorney’s office hand-selects cases for RCC from among all cases that come across its desk. To that end, cases vary in seriousness, with the majority being at the lower end of that spectrum. Nonetheless, the program still reaches a majority youth of color, although it is unclear whether the cases are ones that would ultimately have been charged if they had not been sent to the RCC program.

Bifurcated Facilitator Role

In San Francisco, as in New Zealand, RCCs are bifurcated into two stages, the conference and plan completion. A different person manages each stage; the Facilitator completes preparation for and facilitation of the conference itself, while an Agreements Manager oversees plan completion. By contrast, in Alameda County, an RCC Coordinator plays both roles.

The advantage of San Francisco’s approach is that each position is free to focus on their stage of the process and not have attention directed to various stages of various cases. The youth has two people, not just one, working on their behalf. To solidify the relationship between the Agreements Manager and the youth, the Agreements Manager meets with the youth before

³⁶ Although a decision to charge is made after randomization into the restorative justice treatment group, the decision to charge is withheld until the RCC process is complete. As with Alameda County, when the plan is completed, no charges are ever filed.

the conference and attends the conference as well. In addition, the Agreements Manager becomes a specialist in local resources for the youth participants so that plan completion can be better resourced and operate more smoothly.

Lack of DA/Law Enforcement Presence

While an agreement is in place that prevents the prosecution in both counties from using information learned in the restorative conference in any subsequent judicial proceeding, the mere presence of law enforcement or a prosecutor in conferences necessarily changes the tenor of the dialogue. Recognizing this, the San Francisco District Attorney has opted to not have any presence in the conferences. While we have been unable to disaggregate recidivism data on the basis of District Attorney presence in the conference in this report, we believe it would be an important issue for future study.

County Funding

Finally, the role of funding plays an obvious impact on any program's success. In San Francisco, unlike in Alameda County, the majority of the funding for the Make it Right program comes from San Francisco County's Department of Children, Youth, and Their Families. The funding includes the cost of the facilitator and agreements manager positions, as well as program costs.

Notably, the funder and the District Attorney are in agreement that a program goal is to not allow net widening. Therefore, in San Francisco, Community Works is under no pressure to take low-level cases from the DA to meet a funder quota for the number of cases they complete a year. Funders, then, have an important role to play in upholding standards.

DISCLAIMER

As a matter of transparency it is important to note that this report is authored by the Restorative Justice Project which is currently led by sujatha baliga.³⁷ baliga was instrumental in the early development of the restorative justice movement in the Bay Area and her 2008 Soros Justice fellowship was partly used to initiate the restorative juvenile diversion program that evolved into the current Community Works RCC program described in this report.

³⁷ Lowercase intentional.

APPENDIX

| | 6 month re-arrest rate | 6 month recidivism rate | 12 month re-arrest rate | 12 month recidivism rate | 18 month re-arrest rate | 18 month recidivism rate |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| RCC Youth | 20.6% (n=102) | 13.7% (n=102) | 26.3% (n=76) | 18.4% (n=76) | 32.1% (n=56) | 19.6% (n=56) |
| Control Group | 25.6% (n=125) | 20.8% (n=125) | 39.6% (n=106) | 32.1% (n=106) | 44.9% (n=98) | 36.7% (n=98) |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| RCC Youth – Boys | 22.0% (n=82) | 14.6% (n=82) | 27.9% (n=61) | 19.7% (n=61) | 37.0% (n=46) | 23.9% (n=46) |
| Control Group -- Boys | 25.3% (n=99) | 21.2% (n=99) | 41.7% (n=84) | 33.3% (n=84) | 46.2% (n=78) | 38.5% (n=78) |
| RCC Youth – Girls³⁸ | 15.0% (n=20) | 10.0% (n=20) | 20.0% (n=15) | 13.3% (n=15) | 10.0% (n=10) | 0.0% (n=10) |
| Control Group -- Girls | 26.9% (n=26) | 19.2% (n=26) | 31.8% (n=22) | 27.3% (n=22) | 40.0% (n=20) | 30.0% (n=20) |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| RCC Youth – Black | 23.5% (n=51) | 15.7% (n=51) | 30.2% (n=43) | 23.3% (n=43) | 30.3% (n=33) | 24.2% (n=33) |
| Control Group -- Black | 28.0% (n=50) | 22.0% (n=50) | 36.4% (n=44) | 31.8% (n=44) | 38.5% (n=39) | 33.3% (n=39) |
| RCC Youth – Latinx | 21.9% (n=32) | 15.6% (n=32) | 29.4% (n=17) | 17.6% (n=17) | 53.8% (n=13) | 23.1% (n=13) |
| Control Group -- Latinx | 32.4% (n=37) | 27.0% (n=37) | 45.5% (n=33) | 39.4% (n=33) | 58.1% (n=31) | 51.6% (n=31) |
| RCC Youth – White | 0.0% (n=6) | 0.0% (n=6) | 0.0% (n=6) | 0.0% (n=6) | 0.0% (n=5) | 0.0% (n=5) |
| Control Group -- White | 18.2% (n=11) | 18.2% (n=11) | 36.4% (n=11) | 27.3% (n=11) | 40.0% (n=10) | 30.0% (n=10) |

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| RCC Youth – Person Charge | 14.8% (n=27) | 7.4% (n=27) | 26.3% (n=19) | 15.8% (n=19) | 28.6% (n=14) | 14.3% (n=14) |
| Control Group – Person Charge | 25.6% (n=39) | 23.1% (n=39) | 31.4% (n=35) | 28.6% (n=35) | 37.5% (n=32) | 34.4% (n=32) |
| RCC Youth – Property Charge | 29.2% (n=48) | 18.8% (n=48) | 28.9% (n=38) | 21.1% (n=38) | 35.7% (n=28) | 21.4% (n=28) |
| Control Group – Property Charge | 16.7% (n=30) | 13.3% (n=30) | 37.0% (n=27) | 29.6% (n=27) | 46.2% (n=26) | 38.5% (n=26) |

³⁸ Note that the recidivism rate for RCC girls after 18 months of completing the program is so low (>1%), because there was recidivism data for very few girls (n=3) after that amount of time.

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Impact Justice is a national innovation and resource center committed to reducing the number of people involved in US criminal justice systems, improving conditions for those who remain incarcerated, providing meaningful opportunities for successful re-entry, and attending to crime victims' needs. Home to some of the foremost leaders in juvenile justice, violence prevention, research and evaluation, restorative justice, and youth development, Impact Justice provides an array of technical assistance to criminal justice and community stakeholders. For more information, please visit www.ImpactJustice.org.