# Research on the Effectiveness of Diversion: Evidence from San Francisco

Steven Raphael
Goldman School of Public Policy
University of California, Berkeley
stevenraphael@berkeley.edu

# Overview

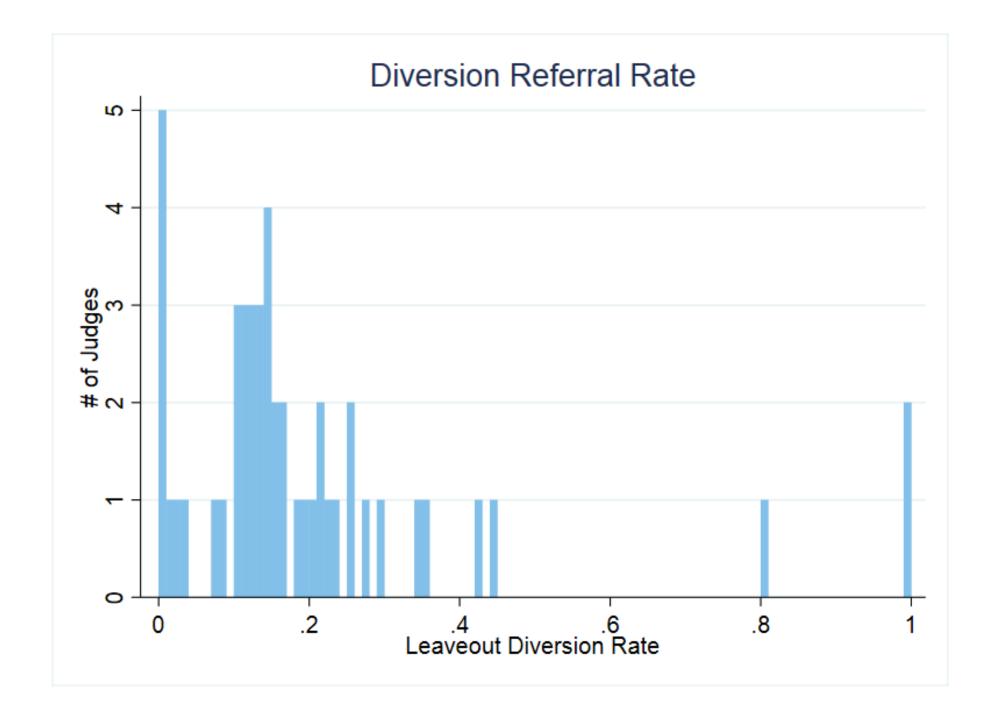
- San Francisco has a robust set of post-filing pretrial diversion programs and a long history of experimenting with reform
- Research partnership between the San Francisco District Attorney's Office and the California Policy Lab at UC Berkeley has generated several studies over the past decade or so including
  - Decision point analysis of race disparities in criminal case processing.
  - Disparate impacts by race of California reforms on case dispositions.
  - Deep descriptives dives into the diversion programs that have existed in the county for decades
  - Causal analysis of adult diversion for felony cases.
  - Randomized control trial evaluation of a youth restorative justice program.

# Studies discussed today

- Augustine, Elsa, Johanna Lacoe, Steven Raphael, and Alissa Skog. "The impact of felony diversion in San Francisco." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 41, no. 3 (2022): 683-709.
- Shem-Tov, Yotam, Steven Raphael, and Alissa Skog. "Can Restorative Justice Conferencing Reduce Recidivism? Evidence From the Make-it-Right Program." *Econometrica* 92, no. 1 (2024): 61-78.

# SF Collaborative Courts

- The City and County of San Francisco operates a network of programs to divert criminal cases from traditional case processing
- The Collaborative Courts serving individuals charged with felonies:
  - Behavioral health court (treatment and case managed for mental health needs)
  - Drug court (diagnosed substance abuse disorders)
  - Veterans Court
  - Young adult court (serves individuals 18-25)
  - Participants meet with case attorneys, program staff, and a judge to monitor progress
- Successful cases are often disposed without a criminal conviction and without community supervision once the case is resolved
  - Cases that do not successfully complete are returned to criminal court



# Research question and methods

**Main question:** What is the impact of a referral to a felony diversion program in SF on case outcomes and subsequent contact with the criminal justice system?

**Methods:** Exploit random assignment of cases to judges to identify exogenous variation in the likelihood of being referred to one of the Collaborative Court programs

# Sample

- First observed arrest for each defendant resulting in charges filed by the SFDA between 2009 and 2017
- Felony cases only
- Exclusions
  - Defendants with missing age (159 records)
  - Cases based on arrests for DV, murder, and sex crimes that are categorically ineligible for diversion to the Collaborative Courts (1,695 records)
  - Cases where arraignment judge was not recorded (2,038 records)
- Final sample: 16,958 records

# Case outcomes

	C	DLS	2SLS		
	BIVARIATE	MULTIVARIATE	BIVARIATE	MULTIVARIATE	
Convicted	-0.289a	-0.239a	0.0846	-0.0878	
	(0.0229)	(0.0202)	(0.155)	(0.143)	
Case Dismissed	0.0397 <sup>b</sup>	0.00716	-0.177	-0.0958	
	(0.0159)	(0.0143)	(0.127)	(0.0791)	
Time to dispo.	204.7 <sup>a</sup>	208.8 <sup>a</sup>	288.5 <sup>a</sup>	325.5a	
	(13.27)	(13.95)	(114.0)	(68.26)	
Positive outcome	0.189a	0.146 <sup>a</sup>	-0.0879	0.0316	
	(0.0164)	(0.0151)	(0.0998)	(0.0751)	

Figure 1

Impact of diversion referral on cumulative subsequent outcome 2 yr cohort, 95% and 90% CIs

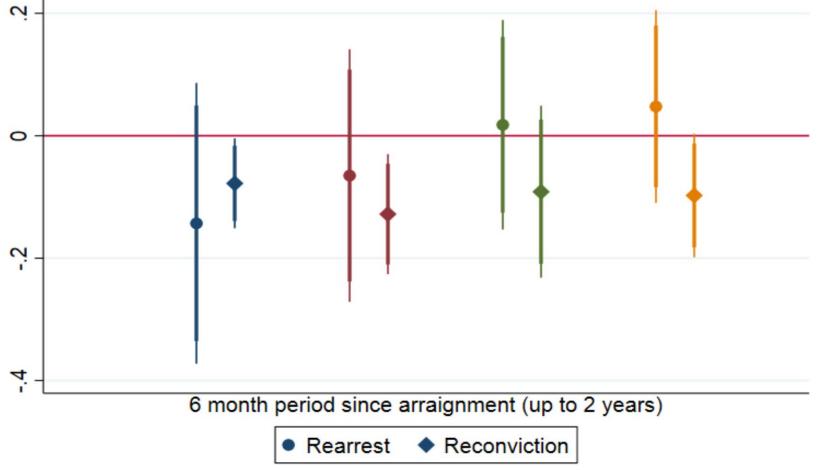
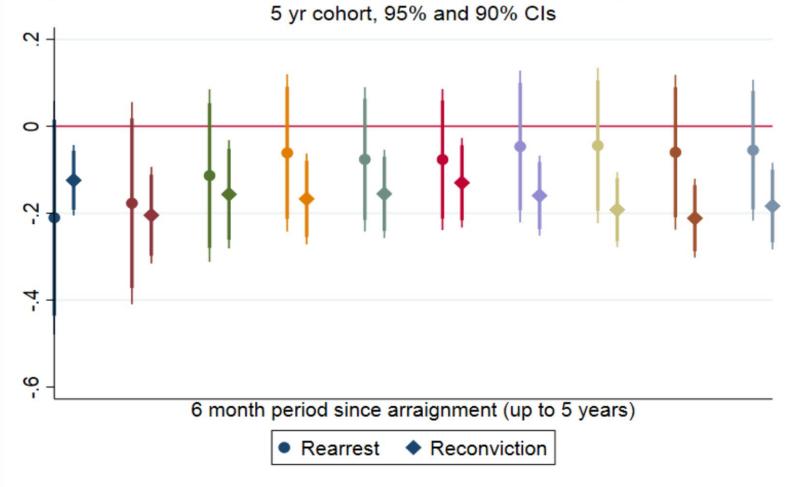


Figure 2
Impact of diversion referral on cumulative subsequent outcome



## The MIR program

Piloted in late 2013 and RCT lasted until May 2019 (then expanded to all eligible youth)

MIR is a restorative justice community conferencing intervention that is an alternative to a criminal prosecution and acts as a diversion program

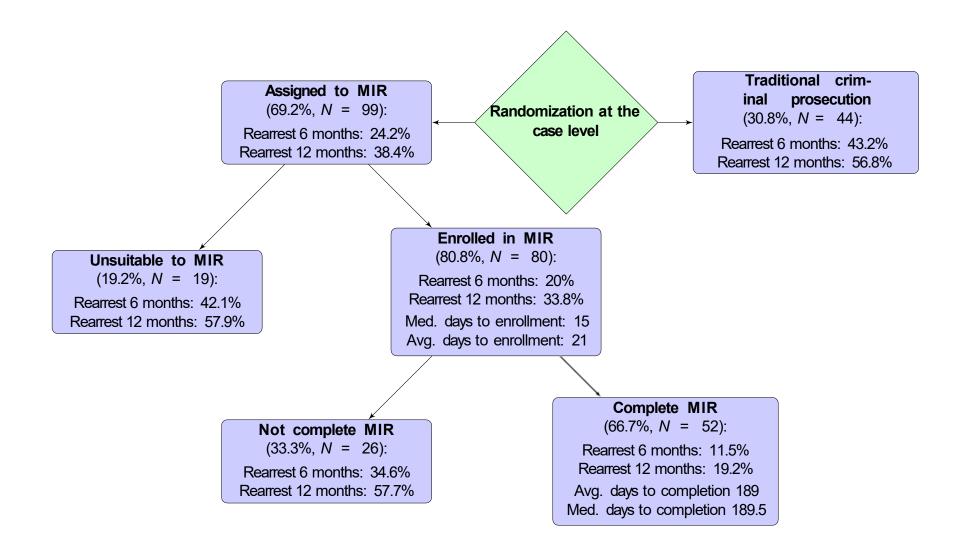
#### Main eligibility criteria:

- Did not injure the victim or use a weapon
- Not affiliated with a gang
- Not on probation or in detention at arrest
- No prior 707(b) arrests or sustained positions (707(b) offenses that would count as a strike under California's three-strikes for juveniles 16 and over),
- Resident of San Francisco county, northern Alameda county

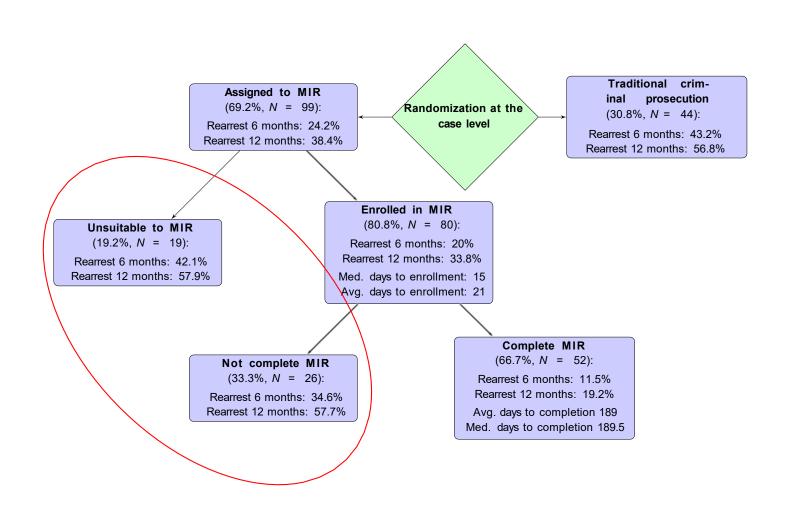
## Case sequencing

- Determine eligibility (will be charged with a felony, meets other eligibility criteria)
- Seek victim consent (all victims consented)
- Randomly assign cases to MIR or traditional felony prosecution
  - Randomization handled by paralegal and walled-off from ADA making the eligibility and charging assessment
- Community Works West (non-profit specializing the restorative justice programming)
   implemented pre-conference activities and actual conference
- Huckleberry youth center manages post-conference case management and compliance monitoring.
- Law enforcement is not involved in the RJ programming and no-information is shared other than whether or not the youth successfully completes.

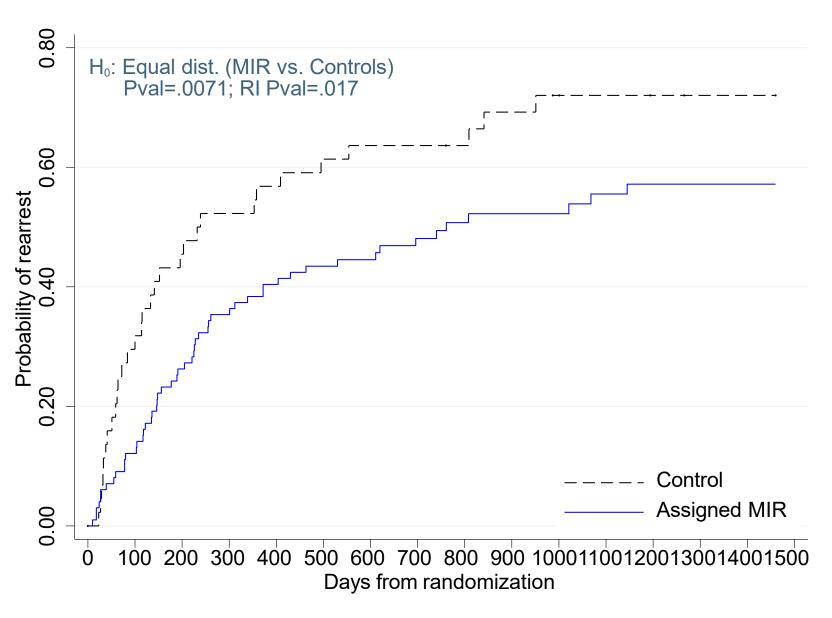
## Treatment assignments, enrollment, and rearrest outcomes



## Treatment assignments, enrollment, and rearrest outcomes



# MIR causes a permanent reduction in rearrests



# Assignment to MIR reduces recidivism

$$Y_{it} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 (Assigned MIR)_i + c_{it}$$

	(1) 6 months	(2) 12 months	(3) 24 months	(4) 36 months	(5) 48 months	(6) 12-48 months
Assigned to MIR (ITT)	-0.189	-0.184	-0.144	-0.147	-0.267	-0.270
	(0.084)	(0.092)	(0.103)	(0.118)	(0.133)	(0.154)
	{0.0132}	{0.0237}	{0.0830}	(0.1092)	(0.0249)	{0.0423}
	[0.0140]	[0.0410]	[0.1130]	[0.1680]	[0.0850]	[0.1040]
First-Stage coefficient	0.808 (.0463)	0.808 (.0463)	<del>0.781</del> (.0558)	0.750 (.0676)	0. <del>736</del> (.0832)	0. <del>736</del> (.0832)
Rearrest rate among controls	0.432	0.568	0.632	0.750	0.833	0.667
Rearrest rate among compliers	0.434	0.566	0.606	0.745	0.876	0.726
controls Includes controls	No	No 143	No 120	No 100	N 71	No 71
Number of observations	143					

# Participation in MIR causes large reductions in recidivism

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{Enrolled MIR})_i + \eta_{it}$$
  
(Enrolled MIR)<sub>i</sub> =  $\alpha + \alpha_1 (\text{Assigned MIR})_i + \xi_i$ 

	(1) 6 months	(2) 12 months	(3) 24 months	(4) 36 months	(5) 48 months	(6) 12-48 months
Participated in MIR (treated)	-0.234	-0.228	-0.184	-0.196	-0.363	-0.368
	(0.103)	(0.111)	(0.128)	(0.151)	(0.165)	(0.199)
	{0.0120} [0.0030]	{0.0211} [0.0050]	{0.0759} [0.0722]	{0.0979} [0.1150]	{0.0157} [0.0230]	{0.0344} [0.0250]
Rearrest rate among controls Rearrest rate among compliers	0.432 0.434	0.568 0.566	0.632 0.606	0.750 0.745	0.833 0.876	0.66 <del>7</del> 0.726
controls Includes controls	No	No 143	No 120	No 100	No 71	No 71
Number of observations	143					