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July 17, 2025

## **MEMORANDUM**

TO: King County Executive Braddock and King County Councilmembers

FROM: King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office

SUBJECT: Restorative Community Pathways (RCP) and Recidivism

### **INTRODUCTION**

Restorative Community Pathways (RCP) is a juvenile diversion program approved and funded by the King County Council, and managed and operated by the King County Department of Community and Human Services.

The King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office (KCPAO) is and has been invested in an objective evaluation of RCP. After reviewing the initial evaluation plan and having discussions with those managing that evaluation plan, the KCPAO determined that setting up a specific independent evaluation of RCP recidivism rates was an important path to an objective evaluation of re-offense rates.

The KCPAO secured an independent evaluator who was willing to donate their time to this work: Claus C. Pörtner, Professor of Economics at the Department of Economics, Seattle University and External Research Affiliate, Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology, University of Washington. In the interests of transparency and advancing the state of knowledge in this area, the KCPAO supported Professor Pörtner's recommendation to publish the results of the evaluation.

As requested by the KCPAO, Professor Pörtner has completed an initial report describing RCP recidivism as measured by subsequent system contact. Professor Pörtner's report is attached, and the KCPAO views it as an important first step toward future, more comprehensive analyses, which will hopefully include 1) identifying a valid comparison group<sup>1</sup>, 2) examining practices in other counties, 3) developing better methods for determining which youth are best suited to

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<sup>1</sup> Since nearly all the eligible youth in King County while RCP has been running were referred to RCP, with the small exception of those referred to another program when RCP said they did not have the capacity accept additional referrals, there is no group within King County, during the same period, to compare to. An examination of Pierce, Snohomish, or historical King County data may yield some helpful comparisons, but that is work for the future and it would still be limited by looking at youth from different areas with different demographics, criminal system practices, and/or different time periods.

diversion (with attention to misdemeanors vs. felonies<sup>2</sup>), and 4) evaluating differences in effectiveness across participating nonprofits, practices, and curriculum.

On point #3, the KCPAO is currently working with Professor Pörtner to evaluate recidivism rates for traditional prosecution with a comparable felony cohort. The results of that analysis are expected in the next few months and will help inform next steps about whether the KCPAO continues to send non-violent felonies to RCP. In the meantime, the KCPAO is making the decision to pause felony diversion referrals to RCP pending the results of Professor Pörtner's secondary analysis.

## METHOD

The KCPAO obtained statewide data on criminal charges against those referred to RCP from the Washington Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC)<sup>3</sup>. Given the data available, recidivism for purposes of Professor Pörtner's evaluation was defined as:

- having a subsequent "contact" in the form of a criminal referral to the KCPAO (referral data is not available for other counties) *or*
- having a case from another jurisdiction filed/reported to AOC (AOC data only shows filed cases and court recorded diversions recorded) for an offense that was committed after referral to RCP.

## LIMITATIONS

As the KCPAO has noted during evaluation discussions, a three-year follow up period is the accepted best practice among researchers when analyzing recidivism. However, because RCP is a relatively new program, there are not yet enough referrals from three or more years ago to support meaningful analysis over that timeframe. Accordingly, this analysis is limited to looking at recidivism at 6, 12, and 24-month post-referral. These shorter windows have resulted in statistically small sample sizes, which researchers would advise readers to be even more cautious about drawing any conclusions.

Another key limitation in understanding the results from this report is that there is very little research into juvenile recidivism within the "traditional" juvenile justice system for Washington state.

One report from the Washington State Center for Court Research (WSCRR) titled "Juvenile Recidivism in Washington State: A 2014 Court Cohort and 2015 Juvenile Rehabilitation Release Cohort" looked at recidivism in two ways:

(1) a new offense committed within 18 months of the start of their follow-up period that was disposed of in AOC data and

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<sup>2</sup> The following types of cases are NOT sent to diversion: Shooting threats at a school, Unlawful possession of a firearm, Armed robbery, Armed carjacking, Homicides, Sexual assaults, Intimate partner violence, Serious physical assaults, Physical assaults involving a weapon, Any crime type involving the review of a Senior DPA who, after reviewing the case, believes that diversion is not appropriate (and where diversion is not mandatory under state law).

<sup>3</sup> A special thanks is due to Andrew Peterson, M.S., Ph.D., Senior Research Associate with AOC, for his work assisting us.

(2) an offense committed within 12 months of the start of their follow-up period that resulted in a “referral or petition filed in court”

This methodology will necessarily show less recidivism than the methodology used to evaluate RCP because it misses referrals, other diversions, and cases not filed with the court. “Diversions” in this report are not clearly defined but appear to be court diversions given the data source.

This report showed:

- an overall 18-month recidivism rate of 30.3%,
- an 18-month recidivism rate of 21.7% for diversions,
- an overall 12-month recidivism rate of 32.1%,
- a 12-month recidivism rate of 23.1% for diversions,
- a King County specific 18-month recidivism rate of 25.6%, and
- a King County specific 18-month recidivism rate of 10.9% for diversions.

The timeframe of 10+ years used in this report, plus the differing methodology and the lack of comparability between the youth mean that comparisons between the results of this report and RCP are of questionable value.

Further complicating any comparison between RCP outcomes and older juvenile justice data is the context in which the interventions occurred. Youth in the RCP cohort participated during the COVID-19 pandemic, a period marked by extreme disruption to school, family stability, community services, and behavioral health supports. Program operations and service delivery were all affected, often in ways that limited consistent engagement and follow-through. In contrast, the 2014–2015 cohorts studied by the WSCCR were not subject to these same systemic stressors. Any observed differences in recidivism rates may be attributable, in part, to these broader societal conditions rather than the relative effectiveness of the programs themselves.

While recidivism is a commonly used metric to assess diversion programs, it fails to account for other important outcomes such as increased stability, increased engagement in school or work, improved well-being, improved decision-making, improved protective factors or reduced system involvement. Moreover, whether a young person reoffends in the future can be influenced by a host of external factors —such as housing insecurity, trauma, peer environment, or systemic inequities —that lie beyond the control of the diversion program itself.

## RESULTS

Professor Pörtner’s analysis showed 902 referrals to RCP where at least 6 months had passed since the time of referral at the time of the data pull. Of the 902 referrals, 809 were referred to RCP at least 12 months prior to the data pull; 496 of the 902 were referred at least 24 months prior to the data pull. Overall, the recidivism or number of RCP referrals with a subsequent law enforcement “contact” is as follows:

Time since referral	Total RCP Referrals		No New CJ Contact	New CJ Contact
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<b>6 months</b>	902		735 (81.5 %) <sup>4</sup>	167 (18.5 %)
<b>12 months</b>	809		583 (72.1%)	226 (27.9 %)
<b>24 months</b>	496		296 (59.7 %)	200 (40.3%)

These recidivism/contact rates vary amongst the different groups of persons referred to RCP (for a felony or misdemeanor) and whether they accepted RCP, did not provide consent, or were returned to KCPAO (generally because they were unable to be contacted). It is important to note that each subset of referrals in Table 8 of the report results in some very small numbers that Professor Pörtner warns should be “interpreted with caution”.

Given the small numbers, the KCPAO has condensed the data presented by Professor Pörtner into somewhat larger groups below. Overall, there appears to be little difference in recidivism/contact rates between the groups by RCP status (accepted, no consent, or returned). However, it does appear that those referred to RCP on a non-violent felony may be more likely to have subsequent contact than those referred as a misdemeanor.

<b>Time since referral</b>	<b>Accepted</b> % with new CJ contact (contact/total referrals)	<b>No consent</b> % with new CJ contact (contact/total referrals)	<b>Returned</b> % with new CJ contact (contact/total referrals)
<b>6 months</b>	16.9% (95/562) <sup>5</sup>	19.6% (21/107)	21.9% (51/233)
<b>12 months</b>	26.4% (131/496)	28.4% (29/102)	31.3% (66/211)
<b>24 months</b>	37.7% (112/297)	50.6% (43/85)	39.5% (45/114)

<b>Time since referral</b>	<b>Felony Referred to RCP</b> % with new CJ contact (contact/total)	<b>Misdemeanor Referred to RCP</b> % with new CJ contact (contact/total)
<b>6 months</b>	30.5% (69/226) <sup>6</sup>	14.5% (98/676)
<b>12 months</b>	41.3% (81/196)	23.65% (145/613)
<b>24 months</b>	53.2% (50/94)	37.31% (150/402)

## CONCLUSION

The KCPAO commissioned an independent evaluation of RCP – a juvenile diversion program approved and funded by the King County Council and managed and operated by the King County Department of Community and Human Services – to measure program recidivism. Several significant study limitations necessitate caution in interpreting the results of this report; these include relatively small sample sizes, newness of the program, lack of a comparison group, and unique impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The initial report shows a

<sup>4</sup> Of 902 referrals to RCP, 735 (81.5%) of those youth had no new criminal justice system contact within 6 months of referral.

<sup>5</sup> Of 562 youth who accepted RCP, 95 youth (16.9%) had new criminal justice system contact within 6 months of the referral.

<sup>6</sup> Of 226 felony referrals to RCP, 69 (30.5%) had new criminal justice system contact within 6 months of the referral.

24-month recidivism rate of 37.31% for misdemeanors. (This also means that 62.69% of participants had no further contact with the criminal justice system at the 24-month mark.)

The initial report shows a 24-month recidivism rate of 53.2% for felonies. As a result, the KCPAO is making the decision to pause felony diversion referrals to RCP pending the results of Professor Pörtner's secondary analysis, which seeks to evaluate and compare recidivism rates for RCP vs. those of traditional prosecution.

Under Washington State law, most juvenile misdemeanors are subject to mandatory diversion. King County must preserve juvenile diversion as an effective and viable option for case referrals.

King County diversion programs should:

- Be transparent and accountable
- Help lower recidivism
- Help decrease racial disproportionality
- Help both harmed parties and those accused of causing harm
- Produce meaningful and measurable outcomes
- Be independently evaluated to determine effectiveness
- Be cost effective

Our youth deserve opportunities to succeed. Harmed parties deserve opportunities to heal. Taxpayers deserve cost-effective programs that create meaningful improvements. Everyone deserves diversion programs that demonstrate positive results and improve public safety.

The KCPAO is committed to working with all King County leaders to continue to build and improve diversion to benefit all our communities.

# RCP: Experiences and Outcomes\*

Claus C. Pörtner

## Purpose

This report provides an overview of the Restorative Community Pathways (RCP) program, focusing on the experiences and outcomes of individuals who have been referred to the program. Focus is purely on descriptive analysis, with no statistical analysis or modeling included. A more detailed analysis that includes comparisons with Pierce and Snohomish counties is planned.

## RCP Background

RCP is King County’s community-based diversion program for youth who have been referred to the PAO by law enforcement for a misdemeanor or first-time low-level felony. In the summer of 2020, the RCP diversion model was developed through a collaboration between community-based organizations—including Collective Justice, Creative Justice, CHOOSE 180, and Community Passageways. These groups drew on insights from focus groups with youth impacted by the legal system, as well as input from service providers. In partnership with the Department of Public Defense and the PAO, they created a proposal for a new, community-led diversion program. Their collective efforts resulted in a plan that was unanimously approved by the King County Council in the fall of 2020.

That plan evolved into what is now the primary diversion program used by the PAO. Since the first referral to RCP in November 2021, the program has served youth referred by law enforcement for misdemeanors or first-time, low-level felonies. At its discretion, the PAO refers eligible youth to RCP for community-based mentorship and navigation services, which include accountability, restorative justice, basic needs support, goal setting, and social connection. Once a youth consents to participate, RCP notifies the PAO, which then considers the diversion complete and closes the case. Support and engagement with the youth often continue for many months, with the duration of services varying based on individual needs.

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The data used in this report was provided by the King County Prosecuting Attorney’s Office and the Washington State Administrative Office of the Courts. Requests for access to the data should be directed to the King County Prosecuting Attorney’s Office. The R scripts used for data preparation and analysis as well as this document will be publicly available at <https://github.com/kc-pao-seattle-u/rcp-evaluation>. Institutional Review Board approval for this project was obtained from Seattle University for ‘FY2025-079 Evaluation of Restorative Community Pathways (RCP) diversion program.’

RCP navigators also provide support, restitution, and opportunities for restorative dialogue to any victims associated with the youth's referral.

## Data

The data used was provided by the King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office (PAO) and the Washington State Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC). The basis for the data is all individuals who have ever been referred to PAO as a juvenile in 2018 or later, irrespective of whether they were charged or not. The PAO pulled information on all cases and charges for these individuals that was referred to PAO, both as juveniles and adults.

As the PAO data only covers King County, the AOC data provide information on cases filed and court diversions that were reported to AOC for individuals who had been referred to either CEDAR and/or RCP. The process was as follows. The PAO provided AOC with a list of persons referred to RCP as of February 3, 2025. AOC then used the PAO's data to identify matching persons in their data and provide the PAO with the statewide history for those persons, including any before the referral to RCP. The PAO standardized the AOC data to match the format of its own, matched the charges to the common classes (A, B, C, GM, M), and anonymized it for use in this project.

There are 8,780 unique individuals in the data and a total of 18,215 cases.

## Who Has Been Referred to RCP and for What?

At the time of the data pull (June 2025), 1,107 individuals have been referred to RCP. Table 1 shows the age at the time of their first referral together with gender and race. Although RCP is a program for juveniles, 11 were referred as adults. These referrals all occurred at the beginning of the program when there was uncertainty about how many would be referred. Furthermore, 12 years of age is the minimum age for prosecution in Washington State, but PAO can technically divert any youth aged 8 to 11. The four juveniles who were 11 years old when referred were all close to 12 years of age and had factors that indicated some type of intervention was required.

For the race/ethnicity and gender of defendants PAO relies entirely on what law enforcement reports, as the PAO's ethical and legal responsibilities prohibit them from speaking directly with youth in criminal cases. Over 30 separate law enforcement agencies submit cases to the PAO; each of those agencies has separate policies and systems for collecting demographic data, which can result in varying levels of reporting. Law enforcement currently reports seven categories of race/ethnicity: White/Caucasian, Black/African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, Hispanic/Latino, Unknown, Other, and no value at all. These categories create data quality problems by only allowing a single selection, being generally

Table 1: Age, gender, and race distribution at first referral to RCP

Demographic Variable	Number
Age	
11	4
12	65
13	154
14	222
15	236
16	217
17	198
18	5
19	2
20	2
21	1
22	1
Gender	
Female	415
Male	684
Unknown/Non-Binary	8
Race	
Black	382
White	297
Hispanic	176
Asian/Pacific	108
Native	15
Other/Unknown	129

outdated, and grouping race and ethnicity together. These data problems are compounded by inconsistent reporting and collection of this data. Unfortunately, this results in the PAO having very unreliable and inaccurate race and ethnicity data.

With those caveats in mind, the demographics of those referred to RCP are as follows. Males account for the majority of those referred (62%), with female 37% and unknown/non-binary 1% accounting for the remainder. Black juveniles represent the largest racial group with 35%, followed by white 27%, Hispanic/Latino 16%, and Asian/Pacific Islander 10%. Native American/Indian and Other/Unknown account for 1% and 12%, respectively.

Across the 1,107 individuals referred to RCP, there are 1,199 cases, each of which represents a referral to RCP. Hence, while most, 1,021, have only been referred once, there are 86 individuals with multiple referrals. Of those with multiple referrals, 80 have been referred twice, and six has been referred three times.

Table 2 shows the response to the RCP referrals both initially and finally. Of the 1,127 cases where we have an initial status, 709 cases were accepted, 123 did not consent, and 295 were returned for unknown reasons. This means that only 62.9% of the cases were accepted. Of those cases that either did not consent or were returned, PAO subsequently filed in 60 of the no consent cases and 38 of the returned cases.

Table 2: Case Responses to RCP Referral

Status	Number
Initial Response:	
Accepted	709
No consent	123
Referred	72
Returned	295
Final Status:	
Accepted	709
No consent	63
Post-referral filing	98
Referred	72
Returned	257

Note: Initial response is the response to the RCP referral when first contacted by RCP, except that a case is counted as 'Accepted', even if the juvenile did not initially consent or the case was returned, as long the referral was accepted before any charges were filed. Final status is the status of the case at the time of the data pull. The "Post-referral" filing captures those juveniles who either did not consent or whose case was returned and subsequently had their case filed by the PAO. Some of these may turn into RCP acceptance but because they are post-filing they are excluded from "Accepted".

Table 3: Highest Charge Class When Referred to RCP

Charge Class	Number
Felony A	0
Felony B	162
Felony C	142
Gross Misdemeanor	841
Misdemeanor	54

Table 4: Initial RCP Status by Charge Class When Referred to RCP

RCP Charge Group	Accepted	No consent	Returned
Felony	64.0% (190)	13.5% (40)	22.6% (67)
Misdemeanor	62.5% (519)	10.0% (83)	27.5% (228)

Note: Referred cases are dropped because the status is still unknown. The felony group consists of Felony B and C cases, while the misdemeanor group consists of Gross misdemeanor and Misdemeanor cases.

RCP is predominantly a pre-filing diversion program, meaning that the PAO does not file charges against juveniles who are referred to RCP. Hence, the data does not contain any current charges for juveniles who were referred to RCP. However, it does contain information on the charges that PAO would have filed. Table 3 shows the highest charge class PAO would have filed for each case when referred to RCP. The most common highest charge class is a gross misdemeanor, with 841 cases or 70%. The second most common is felony B, with 162 cases or 14%, followed closely by felony C. The least common is a misdemeanor, with 54 cases or 5%.

Table 4 shows the initial RCP status by highest charge class when referred to RCP, excluding cases that are still referred as there is no information on the status of these cases. The likelihood of accepting RCP is essentially the same whether the charge would have been a felony or a misdemeanor at about 63%. Juveniles who would have been charged with felony are slightly more likely to not consent to RCP than if they would have charged with a misdemeanor, while the opposite is the case for the likelihood of a case being returned.

## Timing of Case Events

Figure 1 shows the flow of a case from offense to referral to PAO to referral to RCP and then to the next status. Each bar represents the number of cases that change status within that week. Hence, of the cases, more than 600 were referred to RCP by the law enforcement agency within a week of the offense date, while just below 200 were referred to RCP within the second week after the offense date, etc.. To ease exposition, the figure only shows the first 52 weeks for each transition; very few cases took longer than a year to change status. Furthermore, the red dashed line in each histogram shows the median time for each transition (when 50% of the cases have changed status).

As there might be differences in how long it take for RCP to resolve a case depending on the outcome, Figure 2 shows the distribution of time to different RCP outcomes. The set-up is identical to the previous figure, with each bar representing the number of cases that change status within that week. The left-most histogram shows the time from referral to RCP acceptance, with a median of 61 days. The second histogram shows the time from referral to RCP no consent, with a median of 141 days. The right-most histogram shows the time from referral to RCP return, with a median of 116 days.

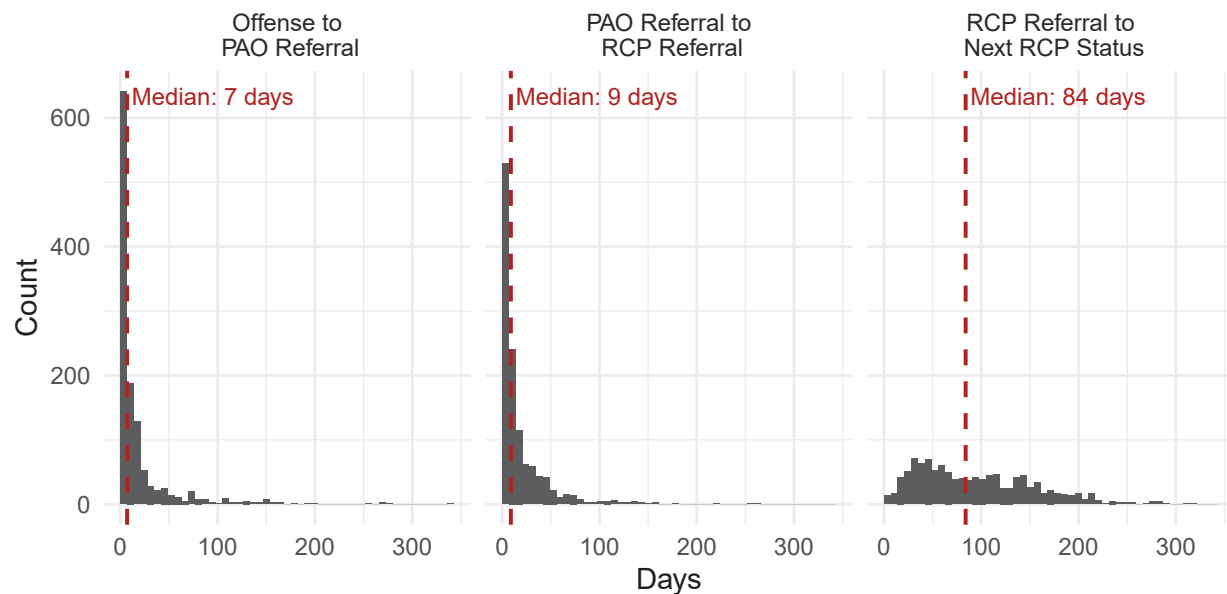


Figure 1: Distribution of case steps timing (0-364 days). Each bar represents the number of cases that change status within that week.

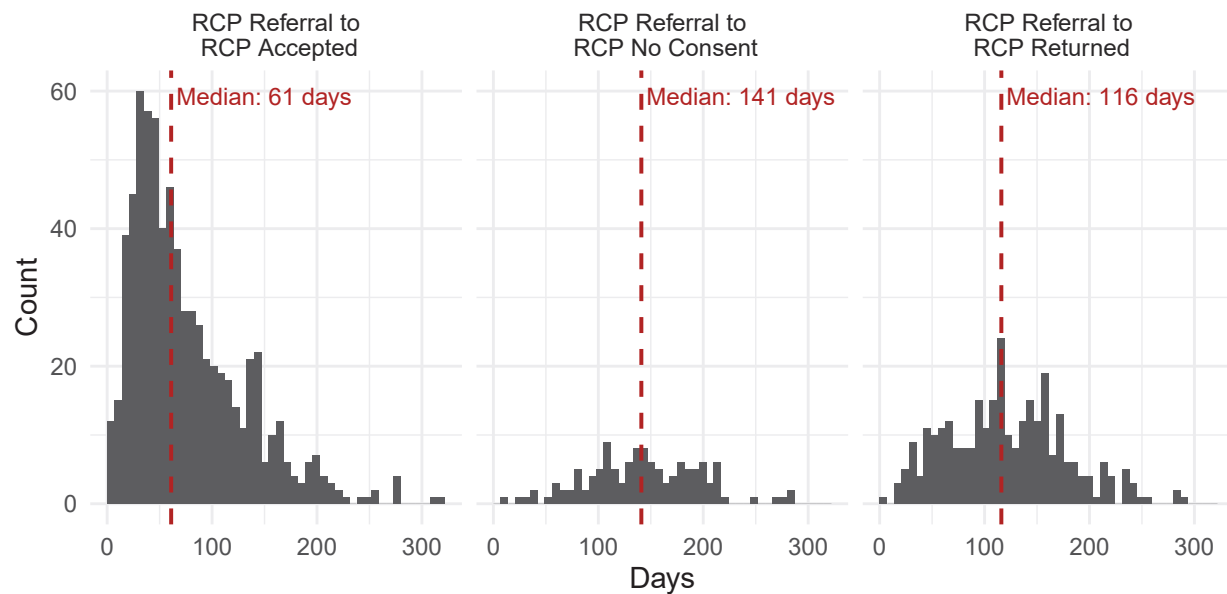


Figure 2: Distribution of time to different RCP outcomes (0-364 days). Each bar represents the number of cases that change status within that week.

Table 5: Types of Prior Exposure before RCP Referral

Program/outcome	Number
Diversion Program	
180	16
Family Violence	84
Juvenile Court	55
Other	29
Case Outcome	
Conviction	24
Decline	88
Deferred Disposition	6
Dismissal	46
Ongoing/Other	8

Note: Each cases is either in the Diversion Program *or* the Case Outcome panels.

## Criminal Justice Exposure Before RCP Referral

Of the 1,107 individuals referred to RCP, 201 had one or more prior contact with the criminal justice system before their first referral to RCP, for a total of 356 cases. While most, 129, had only one prior contact, there are 40 individuals with two prior contacts, 14 with three prior contacts, and 18 with four or more contacts.

Table 5 shows the types of prior exposure before RCP referral by case. Of the 356 cases, 184 resulted in a diversion. The most common of these diversions were to the Juvenile Court Family Violence Diversion Program, which is used for all family violence diversions. The second most common was to the Juvenile Court Diversion, which PAO use for referrals that, for example, require a specific treatment intervention that is offered and funded by court run diversion. By far the majority of those 172 cases that did not result in a diversion were declined or dismissed, with 88 declined and 46 dismissed cases. That still leave 24 cases that resulted in a conviction, with the remainder being ongoing or other cases.

## Recidivism After RCP Referral

To assess recidivism after RCP referral, we examine whether there is contact with the judicial system after the *first* referral to RCP, irrespective of what the final outcome of that contact was. A simple comparison of RCP with prior diversion programs or other policies would make RCP look better than it really is, as it happens to be implemented during a period of lower levels of policing and/or reporting of crimes, biasing downwards the likelihood of recidivism simply from the lower probability of capture.

A substantial number of cases referred to RCP were either returned or the juvenile did not consent, as shown above, and these can provide comparison groups, allowing us to compare outcomes across the three RCP outcomes: accept, no consent, or returned as not found. The primary advantage of this approach is that the comparison will be less sensitive to changes in the level of policing and/or reporting of crimes over time.

The main caveat is that the juveniles who accept RCP may be different from those who do not, making a direct comparison of recidivism rates potentially misleading. The primary concern is that those who do not consent or are returned may be less likely to be compliant and more likely to reoffend.

Given that the first case in the data was referred to RCP in November 2021, the data only covers a short period of time since the first referral. Therefore, we focus on the likelihood of next contact within three periods from referral: 6 months, 12 months, and 24 months. For each time window we excluded cases that were referred to RCP in the last 6, 12, or 24 months, respectively, as these cases have not had enough time to finish the period. This is a substantially shorter time than the three years that the PAO generally uses to access recidivism, but it is the best we can do with the data available. The trade-off here is that the longer the time window we use, the fewer cases we have to analyze, making especially the 24 months analysis noisy and the results should therefore be treated with appropriate caution.

There are three key data considerations when assessing recidivism. First, as shown above, a number of juveniles have multiple cases referred to RCP. Some of these cases are referred to the RCP on the same day, even though they are separate cases and may have separate offense dates. We collapse these cases into one referral and start the recidivism clock from the date of referral to RCP. Second, a substantial number of juveniles have one or more offenses referred to PAO for offenses that occurred between the original offense date and when they were referred to RCP for the original offense. We exclude these cases from the recidivism analysis, as RCP would not have had a chance to work with the juvenile yet. Finally, cases after referral to RCP are sorted by offense date, rather than subsequent referral to PAO. The motivation for this is that we are interested in the juvenile’s behavior rather than when the law enforcement agency was able to apprehend and refer the juvenile to PAO. In practice, most offense and referral dates are relatively close, but there are some cases where the offense date is substantially earlier than the referral date.

An important caveat is that the numbers below are lower-bound numbers and that the actual recontact rates will be higher. While we have all cases that law enforcement agencies referred to PAO, we only have filed cases and reported court diversions from the AOC data and then only until the AOC data pull. Hence, if any of the juveniles in the data were referred to prosecuting entities other than PAO, and these entities declined to file, for example because the juvenile was diverted to a pre-filing diversion program there, we would likely not see these referrals in the data.

Table 6 shows the likelihood of later contact with the judicial system by initial RCP status within three time windows: 6 months, 12 months, and 24 months. Time is measured from the referral to RCP, and, as mentioned above, any offenses that are referred to PAO between the original offense date and the date of referral to RCP are excluded. The three groups are relatively close to each in terms of likelihood of subsequent contact.

Table 7 shows the likelihood of later contact with the judicial system by initial RCP status and whether

Table 6: Later Contact with Judicial System by Initial RCP Status

Initial RCP Status	No Contact	Contact
6-Month Window		
Accepted	83.1% (467)	16.9% (95)
No consent	80.4% (86)	19.6% (21)
Returned	78.1% (182)	21.9% (51)
12-Month Window		
Accepted	73.6% (365)	26.4% (131)
No consent	71.6% (73)	28.4% (29)
Returned	68.7% (145)	31.3% (66)
24-Month Window		
Accepted	62.3% (185)	37.7% (112)
No consent	49.4% (42)	50.6% (43)
Returned	60.5% (69)	39.5% (45)

Note: "No consent" and "Returned" include juveniles who later faced post-referral filing, some of whom subsequently accepted RCP post-filing.

Table 7: Later Contact with Judicial System by RCP Charge Class and Initial RCP Status

Initial RCP Status	Felony		Misdemeanor	
	No Contact	Contact	No Contact	Contact
6-Month Window				
Accepted	71.0% (103)	29.0% (42)	87.3% (364)	12.7% (53)
No consent	73.5% (25)	26.5% (9)	83.6% (61)	16.4% (12)
Returned	61.7% (29)	38.3% (18)	82.3% (153)	17.7% (33)
12-Month Window				
Accepted	59.8% (73)	40.2% (49)	78.1% (292)	21.9% (82)
No consent	59.4% (19)	40.6% (13)	77.1% (54)	22.9% (16)
Returned	54.8% (23)	45.2% (19)	72.2% (122)	27.8% (47)
24-Month Window				
Accepted	47.6% (30)	52.4% (33)	66.2% (155)	33.8% (79)
No consent	45.5% (10)	54.5% (12)	50.8% (32)	49.2% (31)
Returned	44.4% (4)	55.6% (5)	61.9% (65)	38.1% (40)

Note: "No consent" and "Returned" include juveniles who later faced post-referral filing, and some of them subsequently accepted RCP post-filing.

If multiple cases were referred to RCP on the same day, the highest charge class is used.

Table 8: Later Type of Contact with Judicial System by RCP Charge Class and Initial RCP Status

RCP Charge:	Felony			Misdemeanor		
	Contact Type			Contact Type		
Initial RCP Status	No Contact	Felony	Misdemeanor	No Contact	Felony	Misdemeanor
6-Month Window						
Accepted	71.0% (103)	21.4% (31)	7.6% (11)	87.3% (364)	3.6% (15)	9.1% (38)
No consent	73.5% (25)	17.6% (6)	8.8% (3)	83.6% (61)	2.7% (2)	13.7% (10)
Returned	61.7% (29)	23.4% (11)	14.9% (7)	82.3% (153)	7.0% (13)	10.8% (20)
12-Month Window						
Accepted	59.8% (73)	29.5% (36)	10.7% (13)	78.1% (292)	8.0% (30)	13.9% (52)
No consent	59.4% (19)	31.2% (10)	9.4% (3)	77.1% (54)	5.7% (4)	17.1% (12)
Returned	54.8% (23)	28.6% (12)	16.7% (7)	72.2% (122)	11.2% (19)	16.6% (28)
24-Month Window						
Accepted	47.6% (30)	33.3% (21)	19.0% (12)	66.2% (155)	12.0% (28)	21.8% (51)
No consent	45.5% (10)	36.4% (8)	18.2% (4)	50.8% (32)	22.2% (14)	27.0% (17)
Returned	44.4% (4)	44.4% (4)	11.1% (1)	61.9% (65)	13.3% (14)	23.8% (25)

Note: "No consent" and "Returned" include juveniles who later faced post-referral filing, and some of them subsequently accepted RCP post-filing. If multiple cases were referred to RCP on the same day, the highest charge class is used. Charge class for next contact is based on referral charge, with the exception of data that comes from AOC, where the current charge is used as referral charges are not available in that data.

PAO would have charged the juvenile with a felony or a misdemeanor within three time windows: 6 months, 12 months, and 24 months. If the juvenile had multiple cases referred to RCP on the same day, the highest charge class is used. Time is measured from the referral to RCP, and, as mentioned above, any offenses that are referred to PAO between the original offense date and the date of referral to RCP are excluded.

Table 8 shows the likelihood of later type of contact with the judicial system (no contact, felony, or misdemeanor) by initial RCP status and whether PAO would have charged the juvenile with a felony or a misdemeanor within three time windows: 6 months, 12 months, and 24 months. The charge class for next contact is based on referral charge, with the exception of data that comes from AOC, where the current charge is used as referral charges are not available in that data. The cell sizes are even smaller than in Table 7, so the results should be interpreted with caution. It does appear that juveniles who would have been charged with a felony are more likely to have a subsequent felony charge, while juveniles who would have been charged with a misdemeanor are more likely to have a subsequent misdemeanor charge. There are still little difference between the three initial RCP status groups.