

COLLABORATIVE JUSTICE: A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE  
MISDEMEANOR DIVERSION PROGRAM

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## **Abstract**

North Carolina convicts sixteen- and seventeen-year old adolescents in the adult criminal justice system. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program is cross-agency collaborative program that diverts youth out of the justice system to prevent them from suffering from the collateral consequences of an adult criminal record. "What are the key factors that contribute to a successful court diversion collaborative?" This question is significant to policymakers focused on public safety, protecting youth, and collaboration amongst conflicting parties.

The findings describe the origins of the collaborative group, determine five key success factors for collaborative, and analyze program implementation and preliminary evaluation. The five factors leading to a successful collaborative include: (1) Prominent Leadership Spearheading the Collaborative; (2) Framing Collateral Benefits in Alignment with Agency Mission; (3) Simple Goal to Conceptualize and Buy Into; (4) Neutral Party Housing Program Implementation and Management; (5) Consistent Communication Lines Established. The findings offer insights to other counties interested in forming a successful collaborative and provides policymakers a rehabilitative alternative to traditional criminal court processing.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Diamond, a sixteen-year old girl, stole a \$70 pair of jeans from a local department store. She was charged with misdemeanor larceny. She left her court hearing paying almost \$1,000 in court fees. Diamond tries to get employment? Denied. She appeals for public housing? Denied. She applies for college scholarships? Denied.

This hypothetical situation can be a reality according to current North Carolina laws. A major problem facing this criminal justice system is that sixteen- and seventeen-year children in North Carolina are being tried as adults for all criminal charges resulting in damaging collateral consequences. There are approximately 26,000 sixteen- and seventeen-year old adolescents in the State of North Carolina that are prosecuted in the adult criminal justice system every year (Birckhead, 2008). North Carolina is one of the last states to treat youth under eighteen as adults. They're one of the last states to recognize that sixteen and seventeen-year olds are physically, emotionally, and cognitively different than adults. Teenagers' brains have not fully matured and lack impulse control, which skews their judgment of behavior and consequences (Lenzer, 2013). Other states recognize these neurological differences between the population and convict teenagers under the juvenile justice system, which is proven to be more rehabilitative. Professor Birckhead claims that "youth who are tried and sentenced as adults have been shown to receive little or no educational services, mental health or substance abuse treatment, job training, or any other type of rehabilitative programming" (Birckhead, 2008: 1458). In order to protect youth's future from permanent consequences

of an adult criminal record, Durham County developed a collaborative court diversion program, known as the Misdemeanor Diversion Program (MDP).

The Misdemeanor Diversion Program (MDP) is a Durham County diversion program that allows first-time non-violent offenders ages 16 to 21 to avoid adult criminal charges and the adult justice system. This was a collaborative program led by Chief District Court Judge Marcia Morey, partnered with the Durham Police Department, Office of Sheriff, District Attorney's Office, Criminal Justice Resource Center, Durham Public Defender's Office, Carolina Justice Policy Center, and local community service organizations. This program is an interagency collaboration that aims to reduce the number of youth entering the adult justice system and allows them a second-chance while learning consequences of their mistakes.

The research question for this thesis is: What are the key factors that contribute to a successful court diversion collaborative? Once these factors are determined, they can be used as a guide for replication in other counties. It is important to note that 'success' in this research question is focused on collaborative relationships, rather than program implementation and evaluation.

In order to answer the stated research question, I will conduct a critical instance case study to understand the nuances of this unique program. Data sources include interviews with key stakeholders of the collaborative, primary documents, and mock court session observation notes. Content analysis will be used to analyze data, as well as quantitative analysis of program participants in order to gain insights into motivations behind collaborative.

## **Policy Context**

North Carolina is now the only state to automatically prosecute sixteen and seventeen-year old youth in adult criminal court without the possibility to petition to juvenile court. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program was the first and only program to address the needs of these juveniles where they can be handled in a more age-appropriate and rehabilitative system. This inter-agency collaboration overcomes the paradox of agencies with conflicting interests by coming together to create a solution to help sixteen- and seventeen-year old youth avoid the collateral consequences of an adult criminal record.

The Misdemeanor Diversion Program is a program that developed in tangent with the efforts for ‘Raise the Age’. ‘Raise the Age’ is a political advocacy campaign focused on pushing legislators to pass legislation that will rise the age of juvenile jurisdiction to eighteen-years old. The Raise the Age movement does not describe a specific advocacy group or moment, but rather outlines rationale and goals for change. In North Carolina, advocates for Raise the Age focus on using the narrative of collateral consequences that these youth need to avoid due to their adolescent nature. According to a *Raise the Age* advocacy guide by Action for Children North Carolina, messages for legislators and media emphasize youth accountability, economic savings, and public safety (Action for Children North Carolina, 2014). These messages and rhetoric used to advocate for Raise the Age are themes found throughout discussions of collaborative and in program implementation.

## **Policy Significance**

North Carolina policymakers will find this study useful in order to understand

mechanisms behind a rehabilitative criminal justice collaborative, which can inform possible replication efforts or legislative change. Additionally, a case study of this program can provide insights into an alternative platform for addressing first-time offenders and this unique population of sixteen and seventeen-year olds.

The study of diversion programs is critical as these programs aim to prevent a cycle of criminal behavior. In North Carolina, low-risk minors in criminal court system were more than twice as likely to be re-arrested as low-risk offenders aged 18-21 (John Locke Foundation, 2013). In addition to deterring future crimes, if courts were to divert juvenile first-time offenders out from the criminal justice system, there could potentially be a 93% decrease in cost associated with use of a diversion program rather than formal processing of a juvenile (Fedders, 2015).

#### Significance to Community: Public Safety

Furthermore, this collaborative aims to further the established mission of the North Carolina Department of Public Safety, which is “safeguarding the life and property of the people of North Carolina” (North Carolina Department of Public Safety, 2015). Since the program is only targeting youth charged with non-violent, minor offenses, there are no serious negative public safety ramifications from not processing these individuals in court. Additionally, courts and police officers are able to use their time and resources to focus on more serious and violent offenses to preserve safety and well being of North Carolina citizens.

#### Significance to Public Officials: Ameliorating Racial Inequities and Overcoming

#### Philosophical Barriers

In addition to the benefits that this study will provide to citizens regarding public

safety, this study will be useful for policymakers interested in addressing the racial bias within the criminal justice system. In the national criminal justice system, it has been established that Blacks and Latinos are incarcerated at a much higher rate than their white counterparts. This national trend is reflected in the incarceration rate and criminal justice-involved individuals in North Carolina. In North Carolina, roughly 70% of juveniles referred to justice system are minorities (NCCU Juvenile Justice Institute, 2012). In the North Carolina adult criminal justice system Blacks represent 55% of prison and jail population, while only 22% of total state population (US Census, 2010). National and local trends show that racial minorities are those most affected by the criminal justice system, thus diversion programs can help keep racial minorities out of this system that has adverse consequences helping to ameliorate the racial inequities found in the system. Therefore, a case study analysis of this program identifying key factors for success will be beneficial for policymakers who want to address racial justice in North Carolina through addressing racial disparities in the justice system.

Collaboration between criminal justice agencies allows for more comprehensive and effective services for youth, however collaboration requires agencies with conflicting missions (Unnithan, 2012). Each agency has their own language and approach for handling situations. Kelly Andrews, program coordinator demonstrated this when she stated, “I’ve also had to learn how to talk to [law enforcement] and learn some of their lingo. When I talk to law enforcement, I certainly am not going to be as touchy-feely as when I’m talking to a community group about the program because they don’t want to hear that.” (Personal Interview, Feb. 19, 2016)

In a collaborative that aims to set up a program, there will be conflicts regarding

program implementation and details. This is exemplified by Public Defender Lawrence Campbell statement, “I certainly had some differences in opinion. It was my opinion that we should have included some of what they considered assaultive behavior such as affrays” (Personal Interview, Feb. 25, 2016) Campbell is pointing to the negotiations and compromise that needed to occur between his office and the Police Department and Sheriff’s office. Understanding how these differing parties handle negotiations and compromise during a collaborative is a useful finding for other localities interested in maximizing benefits from collaborative efforts.

Overall, it has been shown that it is harmful for youth to enter the adult justice system because it leaves them with permanent records barring them from future employment, educational, and housing opportunities. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program aims to help break the cycle of crime, and take a collaborative rehabilitative approach to handling first-time youth offenders. This paper aims to understand the key factors necessary for successful implementation of this collaborative. Since North Carolina is the last state left to change their juvenile jurisdiction age, there needs to be ways to ensure that the special psychological and emotional needs of juveniles are being handled while maintaining public safety and minimizing costs, and insights into this program could potentially address this.

Now that the reader has an understanding of the policy context and significance surrounding this research question in the introduction, it is important to understand what is already being done in this field of juvenile diversion programs. Chapter 2 will focus on research on juvenile diversion programs, as well as criminal justice collaborative

programs. Chapter 3 will focus on outlining the details of the qualitative methodology used to conduct this critical instance case study.

After analyzing interviews, primary documents, and court observation notes, Chapter 3: Findings will elaborate on the identified five key factors for success: (1) Prominent Leadership Spearheading the Collaborative (2) Framing Collateral Benefits in Alignment with Agency Mission (3) Simple Goal to Conceptualize and Buy Into (4) Neutral Party Housing Program Implementation and Management (5) Consistent Communication. The final chapter, Chapter 4: Policy Implications and Suggestions for Further Research, will outline the necessity of policy action and suggest further empirical research to explore causal relationships in relation to the program.



## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In order to understand where this research fits into the field, it is important for the reader to first have contextual background on the juvenile jurisdiction issue in before focusing on research surrounding juvenile diversion programs. Furthermore, this paper will do an analysis on existing literature surrounding criminal justice collaborative to determine the gap that this research fits. This chapter concludes that there is numerous research studies focused on collaboration between mental health agencies and criminal justice agencies, but this research can fill in a gap by providing a more nuanced understanding of collaboration within criminal justice agencies. Furthermore, most of the research conducted on diversion programs is done in the context of sixteen and seventeen-year olds being treated as juveniles in the juvenile justice system. This research will provide new information on this population that falls in between a juvenile diversion and adult diversion program since although considered a juvenile in other facets of law, they are charged as adults.

### **Understanding Juvenile Jurisdiction and Raise The Age Movement**

The collaborative originated as a response to the current age of juvenile jurisdiction in North Carolina, according to Chief District Court Judge Morey. In order to discuss the motivations of the collaborative, it is important for readers to understand what is meant by juvenile jurisdiction and the current *Raise The Age* Movement to increase the age of juvenile jurisdiction. In North Carolina, the maximum age of juvenile jurisdiction is sixteen. This means that any individual above the age of sixteen that is charged with a

crime, regardless of severity of crime, will be tried as an adult and denied the right to appeal for a return to juvenile system (Birckhead, 2008).

The age of juvenile jurisdiction matters to external stakeholders like taxpayers and policy makers, but is critical for the individual accused of a crime as an adult criminal charge has severe collateral consequences that impact that individual's opportunities. Collateral consequences can range "from immediate loss of driving privileges, loss of college admission or scholarships, loss of various federal benefits (e.g. financial aid), to loss of housing, deportation, loss of/inability to qualify for professional licensure, and future employment opportunities." (Birckhead, 2008: 1454). It is important to note that even if an individual is found not guilty and their charge is dismissed, they will still suffer the immediate and subsequent consequences of receiving a charge on their criminal record. However, the impact of juvenile jurisdiction age does not just solely affect the offender. Advocates for a higher juvenile age jurisdiction cite recidivism and public safety as key factors that are at stake for legislators and community residents (Birckhead, 2008).

The impetus for the *Raise the Age* movement came from neuroscience studies showing that youth under eighteen are not competent to stand trial under the same circumstances as adults (Lenzer, 2013). Furthermore, studies have shown that the brains of these adolescents (under 18) differ from adults in their cognitive decision-making (Henrichson, 2011). Scholars and practitioners argue that youth under eighteen are not physically, emotionally, or cognitively adults and therefore should not be in the adult justice system, but in a more appropriate and rehabilitative juvenile justice system.

### **Existing Literature on Diversion Programs**

In efforts for the criminal justice system to be more rehabilitative and less prescriptive, juvenile diversion programs have developed to keep low-level offenders out of the justice system, which imposes burdens on courts and costs on offender. As the nature of the collaborative was to form a diversion program, it is critical to understand the history and purpose of diversion programs.

Juvenile Diversion programs began in the 1960's and 1970's as a recommendation from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) who called for an alternative for youth referred to the juvenile court system (Jacobsen, 2013). Palmer and Lewis (1980:2) described five primary goals of early diversion programs,“ (1) to reduce stigma, (2) to reduce coercion and social control, (3) to reduce recidivism, (4) to provide services, and (5) to reduce costs and improve the efficiency of the juvenile justice system”

Diversion Programs for juveniles stem from theories demonstrating the negative impact that court processing can have on an individual. Differential association theory states that through association with deviant groups, individuals are more likely to become deviant themselves. This provides support for the evidence that juveniles incarcerated with other juvenile offenders are more likely to join deviant groups and exhibit deviant behaviors, than if they were not incarcerated (Marsh, 2005). Furthermore, Labeling Theory states by labeling an individual as a “criminal” through court processing, this can promote secondary deviance behavior. If labeled as a criminal, others will see this person as a criminal, forcing them into criminal roles due to public stereotyping (Sydnor, 2005). The labeling theory provides clear insights into motivations for creating a diversion program, like the Misdemeanor Diversion Program.

## Juvenile Diversion Programs

There have been multiple studies conducted analyzing diversion programs ranging from substance abuse issues (Dickerson et al, 2012) to Teen Court diversion programs (Patrick et al., 2003). One of the most relevant studies that analyzed the impacts of this unique population of sixteen and seventeen year olds in the adult criminal justice system was an analysis of the Adolescent Diversion Project (ADP) in New York. New York used to be one of the only other states that prosecuted sixteen- and seventeen-year olds as adults. Each year in New York, between 40,00 and 50,000 sixteen and seventeen-year olds are arrested and prosecuted as adults while youth fifteen-years old and under are prosecuted in the juvenile justice system (Rempel et al, 2013). Although New York recognizes the collateral consequences associated with a permanent adult criminal record, this program does not guarantee that a youth will be released with a clean record. Therefore, this program is beneficial in providing rehabilitation services, but the sixteen- and seventeen-year old offender still suffers long-term consequences as a result of their adult criminal record. This study proved to be a useful guide for my methodology and context when analyzing descriptive statistics of program participants.

For other methodology insights, the study of JETS program by Dickerson et al. (2012) provides guidelines for structure of qualitative data collection and analysis. The semi-structured interview guide allows for baseline questions to ask key stakeholders during interview when answering the question surrounding key implementation factors for another county to replicate, as well as gain an understanding of factors that were necessary for collaboration. Additionally, this study was beneficial in understanding how

interview remarks can be used for analysis to discover broader lessons and themes that aim at answering research questions.

### **Collaborative Approach**

Collaborative models for juvenile justice have been seen as a more effective way to rehabilitate juvenile offenders. Multi-disciplinary and multi-agency treatments for youth involved in system has been pushed as a model of juvenile justice by Bruner (1991), Tapper, Kleinman, and Nakashian (1997), and Rivard, Johnson, Morrissey, and Starrett (1999). In fact, scholars in the juvenile justice field agree that collaboration is a way to provide juveniles and their families with more cohesive and efficient services, rather than traditional separatist approaches, such as solely mental health services without community service (Unnithan, 2012). With the literature showing that collaboration is a useful tool to better serve juveniles in the justice system, this sheds light on the necessity of analyzing the mechanisms of the collaboration that was necessary for implementation of the Misdemeanor Diversion Program.

There have been studies conducted analyzing collaborative factors for juvenile diversion program, like the study conducted by Dickerson, et al., analyzing the Juvenile Enhanced Treatment Services (JETS) program (2012). This study aimed to understand the strengths and limitations of interagency collaboration. Although, this study was useful in identifying four clear themes that were lessons for future collaborations as well as programmatic recommendations, it failed to discuss the impacts that these factors had on program outcomes and recidivism. Furthermore, this collaboration was strictly within the juvenile justice field, and does not address nuances that youth tried in the adult system

face. Overall, this study was especially useful in providing a methodological framework to analyze collaborative and providing a strategy for organizing findings.

Lastly, most of collaboration studies in the criminal justice field are focused on collaborations between the mental health systems and the criminal justice system. Existing research has found that collaboration with mental health services were critical to provide coordinated care and allow for proper rehabilitation of criminal offenders. (Kapp, 2013, Unnithan, 2012, Yamatani, 2011). The existing literature continues to suggest further research focused on the dynamics between collaborative with the mental health system, but there is a gap in the literature focused on collaborations within the justice system. Therefore, there are few studies focused on understanding the nuances of relationships between criminal justice agencies like the Sheriff's Department, District Attorney's Office, and resource agencies like the Criminal Justice Resource Center. Although the Misdemeanor Diversion Program does include mental health and community service partners, this was not critical to the origins and founding of the collaborative when attempting to secure buy-in from several partners. This study will be focused on conducting an analysis to determine critical factors that lead to this collaborative which can provide insights into collaborative within the criminal justice system, as well as provide analysis for working with this unique population of youth who are tried as adults.

In conclusion, this research can provide valuable insights into the inner-workings and motivation of a collaborative focused on partnerships within various criminal justice agencies. Additionally, this research will provide collaborative and programmatic

insights on a collaborative program that is focused on a unique juvenile population that works within context of adult justice system.

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### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

As previously mentioned, this thesis aims to answer the research question posed of “What are the key factors that contribute to a successful court diversion program?” As this is a new program for North Carolina, this thesis is focused on first answering exploratory questions, then suggesting further studies in causal research. More specifically, I will conduct a critical instance case study to develop emerging themes and factors that led to the success of the collaborative, as well as provide a narrative for readers to understand the origins of the collaborative and early program implementation evaluation. This qualitative study will utilize deductive content analysis on interviews, primary documents, and written court observation notes to develop these themes. Developing themes and factors from analyzing interviews is a methodology commonly used by scholars writing about collaborative in juvenile diversion programs, as it is an fitting measure of trying to capture the dynamics of nuanced relationships (Dickerson, 2012, Kapp, 2013).

#### **Critical Instance Case Study Method and Case Selection**

A critical instance case study is a model proposed by the Program Evaluation and Methodology Division of the United States General Accounting Office. This method functions to investigate a specific problem and test existing theories (1990). The nature of critical instance case studies means that there is a singular intentionally selected sample; in this case the Misdemeanor Diversion Program is the sample. Although this

methodology does not allow for strong generalizability, this is a useful methodology to explore the nuances of this unique program, as it is the first of its kind in the state.

North Carolina is a unique state in that it is the only state left to criminally charge 16 and 17-year olds as adults. This means that the effects of a diversion program are more robust in this state as the alternative to diversion program proves to have higher stakes, faced with adult criminal charges.

Additionally, the Durham Misdemeanor Diversion program is the first misdemeanor diversion program in North Carolina targeted towards this sixteen and seventeen-year old age group, which makes it an ideal case for a critical instance case study. With this program being the first, and one that is gaining in popularity within the state, it is important to understand the key factors that lead to this successful collaborative.

### **Data Sources: Court Observations, Interviews, and Primary Documents**

This thesis utilizes triangulation strategy and draws on three main points of qualitative data collection: MDP court session observation notes, interviews with key stakeholders and leaders involved in the program, and primary documents.

The MDP Diversion Court sessions take place every first Friday of the month. During this session, Chief District Court Judge Morey and representatives from the Public Defender's office and District Attorney's office role play a scenario of an actual court proceeding for a misdemeanor case tried in adult court. The parties involved in the role-play are constantly emphasizing the direct and collateral consequences of adult criminal involvement with the program participants in the courtroom. The court session notes are hand-written notes that detail the court proceedings, as well as parties involved

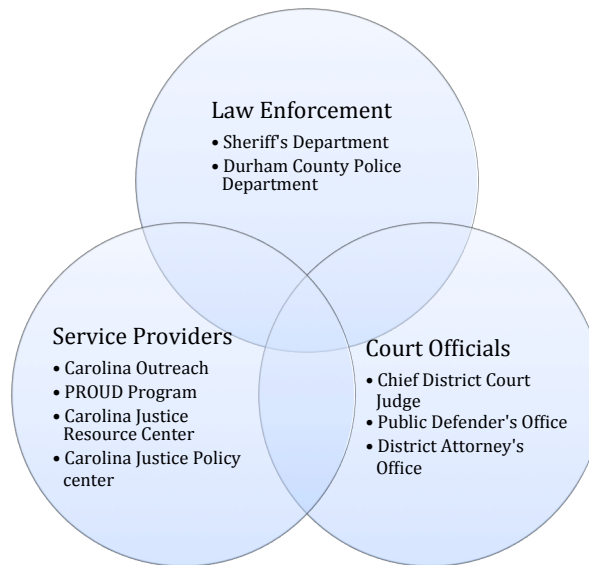


and individuals in attendance. The court observations data will be used to provide a description of the program proceedings, and the interaction between representatives from collaborative partner agencies (e.g., District Attorney's Office). These data are limiting in that observations cannot be used to provide concrete findings, but can be an effective mean to capture details of social processes and phenomena (Dickerson, 2012).

The court observation data will be used to support findings concluded from the in-person interviews. The purpose of the interviews is to gain primary evidence in order to determine these factors necessary for successful collaborative. In order to do this, interviews will take place with the core-founding group of the collaborative. These members include Chief District Court Judge Morey, Chief of Police Department, and representatives from the Sheriff's Office, District Attorney's office, and the Public Defender's office. In addition to representatives from the founding team, interviews took place with agencies currently involved in the program, including service providers (see Appendix 1.1 for list of interviewees). The interviews were semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1.2 for sample interview guide), with questions tailored for each category of party within the collaborative.

Within the collaborative, the agencies and parties involved can be broken up into three categories: Court system, law enforcement officials, and service providers.

Figure 3.1: Collaborative Partners Categories



There was at least one informant from each category to gain a diverse understanding of attitudes and interactions within the collaborative. The respondents were selected in regards to their relevancy of the program, as well as accessibility. Some members of the original planning group for MDP are no longer in public office and could not be contacted for this research. This includes former interim District Attorney Leon Stanback and former Durham County Police Chief Jose A. Lopez. Since these direct individuals could not be reached, I focused on finding representatives from the respective agencies who were strongly involved in the program and knowledgeable about the origins

of the program. Interviews took place at the participants' places of employment and were digitally audio-recorded. The interviews were then transcribed.

The primary documents used are documents that I received either from Judge Morey directly, or through Tamar Birkhead, a UNC law professor and District 15B Public Defender. Primary documents include PowerPoint trainings, official memos sent between partners, and resolutions passed by the Durham County School Board in support of the program. Primary documents are useful to understanding communication between collaborative partners, as well as provide context for semi-structured interview responses. Primary documents also include data and reports that the program coordinator keeps on the program participants.

The data that the program coordinator collects on the referred participant includes (1) Youth Name (2) Age (3) Gender (4) Race (5) Current School/Grade (6) Employment for Youth (7) Incident(s) referred for (8) Agencies involved with family/youth (9) Youth Strengths/Interests (10) Youth needs. In addition to data specific to the youth participant, Andrews also collects data on the intake source, which could either be the Durham Police, Durham Sheriff, Student Resource Officer (SRO) from Police Department, or an SRO from Sheriff's Department. These are useful for this research as the data can serve as descriptive statistics to help readers understand the population that this program aims to serve. This provides context for understanding the program development negotiations that needed to occur during the collaborative.

### **Data Analysis: Deductive Content Analysis**

Once interviews are conducted and court observation notes synthesized, deductive content analysis will be used to analyze interview notes. The focus is to gain an

understanding of various point of views of key factors necessary for successful collaborative then use content analysis to synthesize information to come up with applicable themes (Dickerson, 2012). Content analysis “allows for words, phrases, and comments to be deconstructed into fewer content-related themes – with the assumption that they share the same meaning” (Cavanagh, 1997). This is a useful technique when reviewing interview transcriptions as it helps to match interview responses with current theories surrounding barriers to successful collaborations. This study used the Technical Assistance Partnership for Child and Family Mental Health (TAPCFMH) model which identified three barriers to successful collaborative: philosophical, structural, and communicative barriers (Shufelt, 2010). This thesis utilized content analysis from interviews, observation notes, and primary documents to enhance understanding of the theories put forward by TAPCFMH, as well as theories proposed by Dickerson et.al in paper, *How Collaborative the Collaboration? Assessing Interagency Collaboration within a Juvenile Court Diversion Program*.

### **Data and Methodology Limitations**

There are limitations to the use of qualitative data and analysis. There are claims that qualitative data does not undergo the same scientific rigor as quantitative data and analysis, therefore proving difficult to establish causality. However, this study is not aimed at establishing causality, but is an exploratory study aimed at providing baseline analysis for future studies to build off of. There are limitations in the use of interviews as it raises concern of interview bias and response misinterpretation. This research aimed to reduce interviewee bias by speaking to agencies with different mission and stake in the

program then make connections, rather than interview only individuals from one category, and by utilizing semi-structured interview techniques.

Lastly, to address concerns of scientific rigor, this thesis uses the triangulation approach to make analysis stronger. The triangulation approach is a method used in the Dickerson (2013) study. It is an approach that combines “two or more theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in one study of a single phenomenon” (Dickerson, 2013). In relation to the Misdemeanor Diversion Program, triangulation is accomplished through a variety of qualitative data including mock court session observational notes, semi-structured interviews, and primary documents.

## **Chapter 4: Findings and Results**

After conducting the critical instance case study using the triangulation methodological approach, this thesis reports findings on the origins of the collaborative group, recommendations for replication, as well as preliminary evaluation findings. The finding on the origins of the collaborative provides background on the collaborative group members, as well as describing the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee, which prefaced the Misdemeanor Diversion Program. After reader understands background of collaborative, I will present my five factors that resulted in a successful collaborative. To conclude, this chapter will discuss collaborative program implementation and preliminary evaluation.

### **Origins of the Collaborative Group: Criminal Justice Advisory Committee**

The Misdemeanor Diversion Program began with an idea from Chief District Court Judge Marcia Morey. Judge Morey believed that the North Carolina criminal justice system was too harsh on sixteen and seventeen-year olds charging them as adults. Before reaching eighteen, youth cannot legally smoke, get married, join the military, or vote. Judge Morey found it unfair that the government treats these sixteen and seventeen-year olds as juveniles in every other facet of law, but yet the criminal justice system still punishes these youth as adults. The motivation for this program was Morey's perception of an unjust justice system, but the solution required working within the justice system to provide a fair chance for these youth to avoid the collateral consequences of an adult charge. This required a cross-agency collaboration.

Many of the key original partners (e.g. District Attorney's Office, Police Department, Sheriff's Department, Public Defender's Office) in this cross-agency collaboration first worked together as members of the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee. The Durham County Board of County Commissioners created the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee (CJAC) in 2012, in response to the Justice Reinvestment Act of 2011, which repealed the existing Criminal Justice Partnership Advisory Board. According to the resolution establishing the CJAC, the purpose of the committee is "to develop a comprehensive continuum of services for the adult criminal justice system, identify services gaps, and develop intervention strategies and comprehensive solutions." (Durham County Government, 2012). The committee has twenty-four representatives from Durham County and State agencies, community organizations, and community members. Sixteen of those members are appointed by the Durham County Board of Commissioners and serve two-year terms. Serving along with county officials, the charter mandates that a formerly incarcerated individual serve on the committee to help better serve the committee's value of pursuing initiatives that are "respectful towards victims, offenders, and the community" (Durham County Government, 2012).

The Criminal Justice Advisory Committee provided a strong foundation to form the collaborative that led to the Misdemeanor Diversion Program. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program began with an idea from Chief District Court Judge Morey. Judge Morey served as chairwoman of the committee in 2012 when the committee was founded. She was nominated for the position by then Interim District Attorney Judge Leon Stanback and received unanimous approval from the committee (Criminal Justice Resource Center, 2012) Additionally, many of the key partners in the original

collaborative were county officials that were apart of the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee. Furthermore, the committee created a space for these leaders in the criminal justice system to be brainstorming ideas for criminal justice reform.

Judge Morey first proposed the idea for the Misdemeanor Diversion Program during a CJAC meeting. Following the initial introduction of the program, she began to meet with key stakeholders to determine what each party needed in order to agree to participate in this collaborative diversion program. She first met with law enforcement officials, as she recognized that they have the statutory power to make decisions on what happens to these youth. During interview Morey stated, “To get this project [MDP] off the ground, we set up the table with police chief and his top officers under him” (Personal Interview, Nov 9, 2015). Following meetings with law enforcement, Judge Morey worked with the Criminal Justice Resource Center (CJRC) to determine the agency placement and funding for this program. This was a critical element for Morey because as she as meeting with collaborative partners, she needed to be prepared to answer where the staffing and funding was coming from. Therefore, she worked with CJRC to apply for a Governor’s Crime Commission grant to secure funding for the program to hire a program coordinator. By securing funding for the program coordinator, Judge Morey was able to use this as leverage to gain support from service providers, like PROUD Program.

#### Members of the Collaborative Group and Their Roles

Members of the collaborative group can be grouped into three categories: Service Providers, Court Officials, and Law Enforcement. Law enforcement includes the District Attorney’s Office, Sheriff’s Office, and the Police Department. Law enforcement holds the statutory power to prosecute individuals; therefore their buy-in was necessary to



ensure that youth would not receive an adult permanent criminal record. Court Officials include the Public Defender's Office and Chief District Court Judge Service providers were one of the last groups to get involved in the collaborative. This group includes both the individuals who would be providing additional services to youth during implementation of the program, as well as agencies that assisted in the background research to determine effective program components, like the Carolina Justice Policy Center.

It is important to note that the collaborative serves more of a symbolic function, rather than substantive. Substantive functions include each agency managing day-to-day program implementation or consistent interaction with youth. The nature of this collaborative is rather informal as the parties involved in agreeing to participate in the program, but do not interact on a daily basis. The program is a collaborative in that it involves the agreement and support of criminal justice agencies, however the staff from the agencies is not responsible for the day-to-day program management. The District Attorney's Office was involved in the initial planning meetings for this program. They were there to reach a point of agreement on the types of charges that will qualify for this program, which excluded felonies and violent crimes.

Moving forward, the collaborative partners refers to the Sheriff's Office, District Attorney's Office, Public Defender's Office, Police Department, Criminal Justice Resource Center, Carolina Justice Policy, Mayor's Office, and various service providers like Carolina Outreach. The Mayor's Office served as a catalyst for the program development, as well symbolic support for the program. The Mayor publicly endorsed the

program, which increased visibility of program and allowed for other key stakeholders like the Police Department to agree to join the program.

#### Involvement of Partners in Collaboration

The initial planning meetings involved representatives from the Carolina Justice Policy Center, the Criminal Justice Resource Center, The Public Defender's Office, the District Attorney's Office, Police Department, and Sheriff's Department. Once the program was implemented, all the key stakeholders who were involved in planning this program took a more passive role, and relied on the program coordinator to stay updated and connected. Meetings with the collaborative group used to be once a month prior to program implementation, and have now moved to meeting on an as-needed basis (Morey, Personal Communication, April 4, 2016). Program coordinator, Kelly Andrews, primarily manages program implementation and interacts with the youth on a daily basis.

The nature of these collaborative meetings have shifted from negotiations on program structure, and serve as update meetings to keep stakeholders involved, as well as to seek informal evaluations to see how the program can be continuously improved. For example, a little over a year after the program began in April 2014, city leaders announced that beginning in October 2015, the program will begin accepting eligible offenders up to 21-years old.

#### **Recommendations for Replication: Success Factors for Collaborative**

By interviewing key stakeholders and utilizing content analysis, this study identifies five key origin factors that lead to the success of the collaborative Misdemeanor Diversion Program: (1) Prominent Leadership Spearheading the Collaborative (2) Framing Collateral Benefits in Alignment with Agency Mission (3)

Simple Goal to Conceptualize and Buy Into: “It is the Right Thing To Do” (4) Neutral  
Party Housing Program Implementation and Management (5) Consistent

Communication Lines Established. These findings support existing theories proposed by the Technical Assistance Partnership for Child and Family Mental Health, which identifies philosophical, structural, and communication barriers as the main obstacles for successful collaborations (Shufelt, 2010, Unnithan, 2012). It is important to reiterate that success in this context refers to agency partners working together, rather than implying a claim about the success of program in meeting goals.

#### (1) Prominent Leadership Spearheading the Collaborative

– Heidi Carter, Chairwoman of Durham Public Schools Board of Education

Strong leadership played a major role in the formation of the collaboration as prominent figurehead, Chief District Court Judge Morey, spearheaded the program. Chairwoman of Durham County Public School Board of Education Heidi Carter stated, “I can not understate the importance of the vision of the people in leadership positions in each of the agencies that are participating” (Personal Interview, Feb. 26, 2016). More specifically, Judge Morey’s leadership allowed her to tap into existing networks, like the Criminal Justice Advisory committee, to recruit partners. Additionally, since there was a clear leader this allowed for a clear articulation of vision and consistency when speaking to representatives about joining collaborative. By having an established vision in place when approaching collaborative partners, this allowed for easier buy-in, as there was a unified vision and goal.

Judge Morey is highly active and visible in the Durham criminal justice system, which allowed her to reach collaborative partners by tapping into existing networks. Her

involvement on the Criminal Justice Advisory Committee, as well as on the Mayor's special committee allowed her access to heads of partner agencies. For example, Judge Morey first introduced the Misdemeanor Diversion Program as a pilot program to support "Raise the Age" legislation at a Criminal Justice Advisory Committee meeting. Key stakeholders in this collaborative include the Sheriff's Office, District Attorney's Office, Public Defender's Office, Criminal Justice Resource Center, and the Carolina Justice Policy Center, have representatives in the Advisory Committee (see Appendix 4.2 for complete list of CJAC members). Major Adam Clayton from the Sheriff's Department claimed that he was first introduced to the program through the advisory board (Clayton, 2016). Since there is an existing space for these leaders to meet, it made it easier to have agreement on goal and program since Judge Morey served as chair of committee and had been leading the discussion on juvenile justice reform.

With one defined leader of the collaborative, this allowed for a consistent and clear vision for the collaborative that allowed for clear communication of program benefits to stakeholders to receive support for the program. Additionally, since there was a visible face to associate the program with, this made stakeholders less confused about who would be responsible for managing program details, allowing them to feel less burdened when agreeing to join collaborative.

## (2) Overcoming Philosophical Barriers: Framing Collateral Benefits in Alignment with

### Agency Mission

*"Seeing the unjustness of the system, this pilot program was an effort to do something. Not to replace efforts to 'Raise the Age', but to do something to help stop this flow of kids into the adult criminal system"* – Marcia Morey, Chief District Court Judge

Research has shown that one of the main barriers to successful collaborations within the juvenile justice system is philosophical barriers between agencies (Shufelt, 2010). Each agency enters the collaboration with an established mission and goal that they are working towards, and often not all agencies approaches and missions clearly align. For example, law enforcement agencies are focused on protecting public safety, which often means prosecuting an individual that the Public Defender's Office wants out of the criminal justice system.

Major Clayton exemplified this point by stating, "You bring different ideas to different people with different roles, and sometimes they have a different outcome that I may have". (Personal Interview, Apr. 4, 2016) In order to obtain buy-in from each agency and to overcome the varied missions it is important that the collaborative program clearly articulates the joint effort benefits that will enhance each agency's missions. The leaders of the collaborative, particularly Judge Morey and Kelly Andrews accomplished this by framing the benefits differently for each respective agency. Stakeholders claimed that the most negotiations needed for buy-in came from law enforcement agencies. Gudrun Parmer, Director of the Criminal Justice Resource Center stated, "This is a law-enforcement driven diversion program". (Personal Interview, Mar. 7, 2015)

In order to achieve buy-in from law enforcement agencies, it was critical for leaders of the collaborative to frame program benefits centered on individual consequences and accountability. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program is directed to 16-21 year olds who commit their first non-violent misdemeanor. If qualifying individuals were to not enroll in the program, then they would have to go through traditional criminal processing in which their minor offense charge is likely to be dropped. Once a charge is

dropped, there are no clear consequences learned from their short court session. Judge Morey stated, “We’re making kids do a whole lot more and be a whole lot more responsible with the MDP than 20 seconds in front of a judge saying pay the court costs” (Personal Interview, Nov. 9, 2015). Police Chief Rick Pendergrass suggests that if an individual did not have an opportunity to learn consequences then they are likely to re-offend. Reoffending deters public safety, an important goal for law enforcement agencies. Pendergrass reinforces this by stating, “I would much rather see someone be a productive member of this community than get up in this criminal justice system” (Personal Interview, Feb. 26, 2016). This statement reflects his desires that alternatives to criminal justice system can allow for an offender to be productive in society rather than reoffend.

“Majority of time if someone is charged and they go to court, it’s going to be dismissed. So there are no consequences, but it stays on their record....There are no consequences, at least through this there are some consequences to be in the program — they have to go through classes....learn how important good decisions and choices are”, stated Pendergrass. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program provides these consequences that law enforcement is looking for. Completing MDP requires a youth to conduct community service, attend mock court session focused on collateral consequences of charge, as well as directly work with program coordinator to secure rehabilitative services, like mental health or leadership skills development.

Therefore, in the communicating the program to law enforcement, it was critical for Judge Morey and other collaborative partners to emphasize how program structure demonstrated consequences to youth to deter reoffending. However, when program coordinator is communicating to the Public Defender’s Office to gain support, program

benefits are framed around the second-chance that these youth get to avoid the criminal justice system. There are various benefits to the program, but the program coordinator and Judge Morey were intentional about the framing of the benefits aligning with the specific agencies mission in order to get buy-in from all the collaborative partners and overcome philosophical barriers.

### (3) Simple Goal to Conceptualize and Buy Into: “It is the Right Thing To Do”

*“It is the right thing to do”* – Gudrun Parmer, Director of CJRC

A recurring theme that emerged from interview respondents was that there was an establishment of a clear and unified goal. This goal was preventing sixteen and seventeen-year old teenagers from entering the adult criminal justice system and suffering the collateral consequences from an adult criminal charge. Respondents agreed that this was a simple concept and goal for criminal justice officials to buy into because it was easy to demonstrate the efficiencies, savings, and justice that would result from such a program. Furthermore, according to Chief District Court Judge Morey, “This program was a chance for Durham to do the right thing” (Personal Interview, Nov. 9, 2015). These findings support theories that state that demonstrating the resource savings from a collaborative program is useful in overcoming philosophical barriers. Demonstrating these savings for the program was easy, as diversion programs are known to be more cost-efficient in comparison to court processing. Research conducted in Florida showed that an average juvenile misdemeanor diversion program costs 92% less than formally processing a juvenile (Walby, 2008).

Furthermore, the goal was simple to conceptualize because it was supporting existing arguments in the field surrounding the Raise the Age movement. The Raise the Age movement utilizes the same narratives in that it was not difficult to mobilize action

from partner agencies, as it was a familiar concept. Additionally, it was a concept that stakeholders found to be common sense citing evidence of psychological differences between sixteen and seventeen-year olds versus adults. Rick Pendergrass from the Police Department stated, “it’s a no-brainer...young folks make bad decisions and everyone deserves a second chance” (Personal Interview, Feb. 26, 2016). This “common sense” sentiment was supported by the fact that North Carolina is the last state holding out on changing age of juvenile jurisdiction.

This articulation that this program is “the right thing to do” for youth is reinforced through the discussions had with youth during the mock court sessions. Through court observations, representatives from the District Attorney’s Office, Public Defender’s Office, Law Enforcement agencies and Judge Morey consistently stress the fact that North Carolina is one of the only states that charge 16-18 year olds as adults when talking to youth. It is clear that this program has a defined goal and vision to protect the youth from the criminal justice system and it is an articulated goal that all stakeholders in the collaborative agree is worth pursuing as it benefits the offender, public, courts, and respective agencies.

#### (4) Neutral Agency Housing Program Implementation and Management

Shufelt et al. found that hiring liaisons, often called “boundary spanners” could help bridge the gap between different partners in the collaborative to overcome philosophical barriers. To be most effective, boundary spanners should have experience working with the targeted population, and have existing relationships with partners in the collaborative. The theme of the necessity of a boundary spanner mainly emerged from interview with Gudrun Parmer who stated, “This program needed one specific person to



be contacted for referrals and case management” (Personal Interview, Mar. 27, 2016).

Kelly Andrews was appointed program coordinator to serve in that role. Andrews brings years of experience in juvenile justice field, as well as had relationships with existing partners. This allowed for her to quickly build relationships and trust to gain buy-in from stakeholders, a critical step in success for collaborations (Stadelman, 2014).

Once leaders of law enforcement bought into the program idea, Andrews existing relationships with collaborative partners allowed her to gain direct access to officers to clearly communicate program goals and train officers to utilize program. Director of the Criminal Justice Resource Center, Gudrun Parmer, stated that for a multi-agency collaborative, it is more efficient to have an individual outside the agencies coordinating the program rather than adding more responsibility to individuals who might not have the time. When asked about initial hesitations during program founding Public Defender Lawrence Campbell stated, “I think there were concerns expressed about the record-keeping, whether it was going to create more work for officers in the field.” (Personal Interview, Feb. 25, 2016). By planning for a boundary spanner during collaboration meetings, this allowed agencies to feel more inclined to support the program. In addition to an external program coordinator that can build bridges between agencies, as well as provide time and dedication to program, another theme that appeared in interviews is the necessity of a central, neutral agency to house the program coordinator.

Parmer suggests that agencies looking to have a successful program need a neutral lead agency. It is recommended to avoid agencies that are directly involved in the criminal justice system, but rather third-party agencies like the Criminal Justice Resource Center (CJRC) or a non-governmental organization. CJRC worked well as a central

agency for the Misdemeanor Diversion Program as they already had infrastructure in place to hire a new employee. Additionally, since they are a county agency they have a more secure source of funding which allows programs housed under this agency to be cost-effective, an important criteria for a successful collaborative.

This was useful during the forming of the collaborative because it released responsibility from any specific agency. During collaborative programs, agency heads are concerned with burdening their overworked staff with additional work (Shufelt, 2010). By offering a program coordinator responsible for keeping youth accountable, this made partners more likely to buy into the program and join the collaborative because they could clearly understand the structural organization of the program.

#### (5) Overcoming Communication Barriers: Trainings and Top-Down Communication

When discussing the key to partners working together, MDP Program Coordinator Kelly Andrews stated, “The key to a lot of our work with law enforcement is just ongoing training and ongoing conversations. Letting them ask questions” (Personal Interview, Feb. 19, 2016). This finding supports ongoing literature that a barrier to successful collaborative often stems from miscommunication between agencies (Dickerson, 2012, Shufelt, 2010, Unnithan, 2012). Andrews stated that in order to make law enforcement feel a part of the process and feel included, it was critical for there to be an individual who law enforcement could have ongoing conversations with. Andrews would come directly to the police force and do short PowerPoint trainings with the unit during their required training sessions, and then leave ample time for questions and conversations. During these trainings, she goes over program description, criteria for referral, walk through filling out referral form and incident report, then give a personal

example of a success case. By focusing on the personal example of success, this helps to overcome a common barrier of staff resistance. Research shows that when staff is able to directly see the benefits of additional workload, they are more likely to see positively the additional responsibilities. Andrews accomplishes this by sending updates of each juvenile to the arresting officer once they have completed the program. The updates include positive personal stories about the youth, such as their acceptance to university. This information about communication is useful as it shows the necessity of establishing clear communication lines when developing collaborative.

In addition to the existing trainings presented by the program coordinator, Assistant Chief Rick Pendergrass stated that all 512 sworn officers in Durham County would be required to complete an online PowerPoint training as part of their training module. Shufelt, et al. found that training materials that included a process chart for each agency was especially useful. Training requires consistent communication since program coordinator Kelly Andrews states that there is a learning curve for law enforcement, as they are being asked to go against their training of learning to arrest, but instead – learning to divert. She stated, “We’re asking them to change the way they’ve been taught to do things. It’s a change of training and also a change of their mindset” (Personal Interview, Feb. 19, 2016)

In order to achieve a clear, streamlined articulation of vision, the Misdemeanor Diversion Program took a top-down approach to communicate program. In the initial meetings that led to the formation of the collaborative, the main individuals involved were the head of each agency. Once there was buy-in from the head of each agency then the respective leaders communicated it to their respective units. Police Chief Rick

Pendergrass stated that the leadership level was in agreement with the diversion policy and they had to communicate this importance of this program to their officers through supervisory weekend training and department-wide memos.

In conclusion, clear communication lines need to be established in order to have a successful collaborative. Within these communication lines, the Misdemeanor Diversion Program utilized top-down communication to gain support from leaders then consistent trainings to gain support from officers and staff.

## **Program Implementation**

### Program Participants and Demographics

In order to gain a clear understanding of the motivation behind collaborative negotiations, it will be useful to analyze program participants and help clarify claims surrounding the net widening effect. Much of the literature on diversion program raises the concern of the “net-widening” effect. The net-widening effect claims that diversion programs serve clients who would have avoided a formal court processing and are less likely to reoffend (Patrick, 2004). As a result, juvenile diversion programs need to be designed in order to not miss their targeted client. Furthermore, there is concern of racial bias and stereotyping for programs that involve discretion at the intake process (Garcia, 2001), like the Misdemeanor Diversion Program that relies on officer discretion.

In order to explore the claim of bias, this thesis will briefly compare program participant demographics to demographics of average sixteen and seventeen-year old criminals in Durham. This is not a statistical study and does not intend to prove correlation, but rather an initial exploration of data. It is recommended that future research on the misdemeanor Diversion program statistically test the claim of if the

program participants match the targeted clients, and if the participants are representative of those involved in the Durham County justice system.

As of the end of February 2016, 64% of MDP participants are African American, 19% are White, 16% are “Other”, and less than 2% are Asian/Pacific Islander (Andrews, Personal Communication, Feb 24, 2016). The program coordinator who compiles and manages statistics on participants does not define “other”. However, it can be concluded that “Other” includes Latinos/Latinas, according to other primary documents such as youth write-ups for court sessions. Roughly 65% of program participants are male, while 35% are female. There are no statistical breakdowns of the racial and gender makeup of sixteen and seventeen-year old teenagers charged in Durham, but the program participants are aligned with national trends showcasing the disproportionate minority contact with the criminal justice system.

The North Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention found that in 2010 roughly 48% of complaints filed against juveniles were African Americans, while African Americans juveniles only account for 21.5% of North Carolina’s population (Parker, 2014). Therefore, the race most disproportionately impacted by criminal justice in North Carolina is African Americans, which is the race of the majority of MDP participants. As of March 2016, The Misdemeanor Diversion Program has a reported success rate of approximately 2%, with 161 out of 165 participants, successfully completing the program (Morey, 2016). Of the four participants who had not completed the program, only two had not completed the program due to receiving new allegations. Successful completion of program means that the participant completed required program components and did not receive a new charge within the

follow-up period. Therefore, if the majority of participants are African Americans and they are successfully completing the program, then that allows for less African Americans being involved in the criminal justice system, reducing Durham County's disproportionate Minority contact figure. Additionally, the program has begun tracking participant's future charges to record recidivism rates. According to Kelly Andrews, as of April 2015, there was 112 successful completions, with only seven youth receiving new charges within one-year of program completion; this is a 6% recidivism rate (Personal Interview, Feb. 19, 2016) This section is preliminary evaluation and analysis of the program implementation, and suggests further research evaluating the Misdemeanor Diversion Program, the net widening effect, and recidivism rates.

#### Program Components and Process

In addition to participant demographics, program components and implementation details can provide insight into the necessary negotiations and compromises that the collaborative group faced.

##### *Eligibility and Officer Discretion*

One of the most critical negotiation points during the program founding and initial planning group meetings revolved around officer discretion and the charges that would be applicable for this program. The Misdemeanor Diversion Program initially began for sixteen and seventeen-year old teenagers who had committed their first misdemeanor crime. Misdemeanor offenses in North Carolina include simple assault, affray, larceny, drug possession, as well as other low-level crimes (North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission, 2009). In order to reach an agreement between law enforcement and other agencies, youth with charges related to firearms offenses, sex offenses, and

traffic matters are ineligible to participate in the Misdemeanor Diversion Program.

Interview respondents revealed that traffic offenses are kept out of the Misdemeanor Diversion program for both the revenue that they bring in, as well as the lesser severity of collateral consequences from charge. It is important to note that even if a sixteen or seventeen-year old teenager fits the eligibility criteria for program enrollment, the referral is at complete discretion of the arresting officer.

According to the Durham County Police Department, eligibility is determined by a name search in the criminal records system and the offender is eligible for diversion if “there are no prior arrests, AND the officer deems it appropriate” (Durham County Police Department, 2015). There is no standard criterion for what officers may deem “appropriate”. Discretion can be controversial in context of diversion programs as scholars reveal concerns of accountability, transparency, and respect of full due process (Smyth, 2011, Kilkelly, 2011). Law enforcement and collaborative partners do not want to rid of discretion, but Durham County Police Assistant Chief Rick Pendergrass stated that he has stressed to his officers through training and communication that, “Diversion is the first choice” (Personal Interview, Feb. 26, 2016).

However, it is important to note that police officers are not the only officers using their discretion to refer youth to program. The arresting officer includes representations from the Durham Sheriff’s Office, Durham Police Department, and School Resource Officers (SROs) from either the Police Department or Sheriff’s Office. The majority of referrals, roughly 56%, to the Misdemeanor Diversion program come from Sheriff’s Office SRO’s. SRO’s in the Durham Public School (DPS) school system are provided by the Sheriff’s Office to “preserve student and staff safety as well as to provide

opportunities for positive interactions between students and law enforcement agents” (Stuit, 2015). Durham Police referred roughly 40% of program participants, with the Durham Sheriff’s Office and Police Department SROs referring roughly 2% of participants (Andrews, Personal Communication, Feb 24, 2016).

### *Youth Self-Selection*

Once an arresting officer checks that youth meets eligibility requirements and use their discretion to divert the offender, the officer completes a referral form and hands the offender a “post card” (see Appendix 4.1) that includes a description for the Misdemeanor Diversion Program, as well as contact information for the program coordinator. Once the offender receives this post-card, it is their obligation to contact the program coordinator within 48 hours of incident. If the offender does not contact the program coordinator, their case will be tried in adult criminal resulting in a permanent criminal record and collateral consequences. Therefore, there are two stages of selection for program participants. The arresting sheriff, school resource officer, or police officer uses their discretion to refer youth offender and secondary, there is a self-selection process by the youth. Once a youth has contacted program coordinator Kelly Andrews, she will begin the intake process for that youth. The intake process includes Andrews meeting with offender and their parents to read through police incident report, and outline the program components, responsibilities of youth, and consequences if they do not comply.

### *Wraparound Services*

Program participants must complete the program in 90 days. Completion of program includes compliance with recommended services; minimum of ten hours of

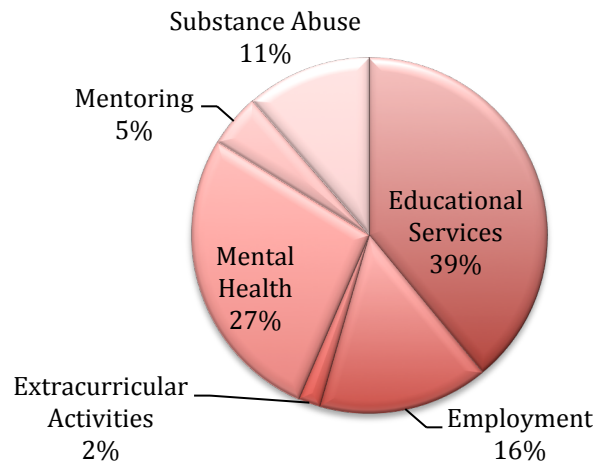


assigned community service, and mock court session attendance. After intake meeting, Andrews determines the needs of youth by noting their strengths, interests, needs, and current agency involvement. She then refers youth to an appropriate wraparound service to aid in the growth and rehabilitation of youth offender. The wraparound service approach is a comprehensive and community-based diversion model that is focused on team-oriented service delivery, individualized and needs driven planning to build on strengths of offender to encourage positive behavior (Carney, 1996).

This individualized and community-based intervention model has proven to be a tool to reduce juvenile recidivism and promote offender rehabilitation (Carney, 2003; Pullmann, 2006), a result that is aligned with the stated goals of the criminal justice system. For the MDP, these wraparound services include leadership skills, life skills programs, conflict resolution, computer literacy, and mental health and substance abuse treatment (See Appendix 4.3 for full-list of programs). Additionally, during the intake session Andrews offer offender and their parents/families resources for Durham support services including food assistance, emergency housing, homeless prevention assistance, etc. (See Appendix 4.4 for Resource List). The program coordinator assigns youth to appropriate services, and often youth are enrolled in an average of two programs. The highest percentage of youth utilized leadership skills development programming then mental health services. Figure 4.1 illustrates the breakdown of wraparound services enrollment demonstrating the comprehensive and coordinated efforts resulting from collaborating with community service partners.

Figure 4.1: Wraparound Services Participation

## Wraparound Services Referrals



### *Mock Court Session*

In addition to completing the prescribed wraparound services, MDP participants are required to attend a mock court session. These mock court sessions are held on the 1<sup>st</sup> of every month at the Durham County District Court. A key founding member of the collaborative, Chief District Court Judge Marcia Morey leads the court session. The session is meant to emulate a real-life court trial for a sixteen and seventeen-year old juvenile with a misdemeanor charge, to illustrate to participants what could have happened if they were not referred to the program. The program participants witnessing the court proceedings are led to believe that this is a real trial. During this mock trial, Judge Morey clearly outlines the consequences that this mock offender faces as a result of their misdemeanor charge. These consequences include an emphasis on the financial distress of a charge, as well as the possibility of jail time and revoked freedom. In order to make the mock trial appear realistic, the program has a volunteer prosecuting attorney, defense attorney, court clerk, and court bailiff. Once youth have been informed that the

witnessed trial was simulated, each of the court participants has an opportunity to speak to the youth directly. The court volunteers speak to the youth about the collateral consequences of the program and stresses the unique opportunity that this program provides for them to have a second chance and better for their future. Each court volunteer speaks from their professional experience on the interactions they have had with sixteen and seventeen-year old teenagers in the adult criminal justice system.

During a mock trial, Assistant District Attorney Shamieka Rhinehart stated, “So many people are here because they made bad decisions...this program is about giving you a second chance” (November, 2015). These speeches and personal anecdotes given to program participants are useful to humanize the criminal justice system, as well as intended to show participants that the North Carolina Justice system cares about their future. In a November court session, Judge Morey pointing to all the court volunteers stated, “We are all here because we care” (Personal Interview, Nov. 9, 2015).

The court session is open to the public, but anyone who attends must sign a confidentiality agreement to protect the clean record of the program participants. As a result, court attendees are often individuals working in the criminal justice system who are interested in finding out more about the program. For example, past Orange County District Judge Patricia DeVine visited the court session in order to take notes and recommend Orange County implement a similar program. The mock court session not only allows for youth to understand severity of consequences, but also provides an open space for criminal justice officials to learn more about the program in aims of pushing other counties to take a more rehabilitative approach towards juvenile offenders in the adult criminal justice system.

## **Chapter 5: Policy Implications and Suggestions for Further Research**

The Misdemeanor Diversion Program is a model for collaborative approach to a more rehabilitative criminal justice system that is focused on justice and accountability. This thesis focused on identifying factors that led to a successful collaborative program across agencies, identifying five key factors: (1) Prominent Leadership Spearheading the Collaborative (2) Framing Collateral Benefits in Alignment with Agency Mission (3) Simple Goal to Conceptualize and Buy Into: “It is the Right Thing To Do” (4) Neutral Party Housing Program Implementation and Management (5) Consistent Communication Lines Established. These findings can be useful for other counties in North Carolina or other courts around the country that want to have a more rehabilitative and just system for sixteen and seventeen-year olds. These findings are directly related to policymakers as they are in control of funding and support for such programs through agency budgeting.

This program can serve as a model for counties that are committed to making progressive reforms to their criminal justice system. This thesis closely studies the formation and development of this collaborative, and gives a useful framework for other counties to develop a similar program. The development of these programs matter to policymakers because this program represents a commitment to youth in their locales. North Carolina is the harshest state for minors in the criminal justice system as it is the only state in the United States where sixteen and seventeen-year-olds are treated as adults when charged with criminal offenses and are denied the ability to petition to return to the juvenile system (Birkhead, 2008). The diversion program allows North Carolina to take a more rehabilitative approach to dealing with these minors where they are likely to

successfully complete the program resulting in reduction in collateral consequences for the juvenile, as well as maintaining public safety.

This research focuses on the inner-workings of a specific collaboration, the Misdemeanor Diversion Program. Although these findings cannot be generalizable for all counties, this is a useful guide of policymaker's understanding collaborative in the juvenile diversion field. Collaborative efforts are often difficult between agencies due to communication conflicts and philosophy barriers, like described in this thesis. However, this research helps provide a stepping-stone for overcoming these common barriers that arise during collaborations within the criminal justice system, and provides an alternative for addressing first-time youth offenders.

The high completion rate of the program is due to the efforts of all the parties involved in the collaborative, according to Judge Morey. Therefore, policymakers should promote a collaborative spirit amongst local agencies in order to better serve the needs of juveniles. This promotion of a collaborative spirit can be done by providing more block grants that encourage cross-agency partnerships, like the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant which “encourages the establishment of information-sharing systems designed to facilitate more informed decision-making on the part of the juvenile justice system around the identification, supervision, and treatment of youth.” (Shufelt, 2010:2)

Lastly, when considering policy implications, it is important to consider the possibility of future legislation that can result from this study. The Misdemeanor Diversion program was founded on a belief that the current laws of trying sixteen and seventeen-year old teenagers as adults, is an unjust law. Founding member, Judge Morey, states, “Seeing the unjustness of the system, this pilot program was an effort to do

something...not to replace efforts to ‘*Raise the Age*’, but to do something to help stop this flow of kids into the adult criminal system” (Personal Interview, Nov 9, 2015). The analysis of this program revealed that this collaborative was successful because the stakeholders agreed that the concept behind it, preventing sixteen and seventeen-year-olds from a permanent criminal record, was one that was straightforward and easy to support. Although the findings of this program cannot be generalized for all future similar collaborative programs, this program can serve as an indicator to policymakers that agency officials are ready to see a change in legislation, and can be a call to action to support the *Raise the Age* campaign.

In conclusion, policymakers can use this exploratory study as an indicator of support for the Raise the Age movement, and encouraging a spirit of collaboration amongst local agencies by ensuring neutral agencies are properly funded and supported, providing collaborative grants, and support leaders creating innovative programs.

### **Limitations of Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

Given the explanatory nature of this study, more explicit research needs to be done to determine the effectiveness of this program. It is critical for future research to do an evaluation of the program, including recidivism as a measurement. In regards to evaluation, since this program is not able to have an element of randomization due to officer discretion and participant self-selection, it is necessary for researchers to consider quasi-experimental techniques to gain an understanding of effectiveness of the program over the coming years. Since the program began in April 2014, there has not been a substantial amount of participants to track to complete an in-depth evaluative analysis of the program. Additionally, as of September 2015, the program has grown to include first-

time misdemeanor offenders up to the age of 21. Further research should investigate the impact of this new cohort of participants, identify their recidivism rates, and possibly draw a comparison between minors in the program, and those eighteen to twenty-one-years-old. This research serves as a building block for further research to explore nature of juvenile justice collaborations, with the specific focus on analyzing rehabilitative methods for juvenile justice reform.

This thesis was focused on gaining an understanding of the factors that led to a successful collaborative, with a focus on the relationship between partners and gaining buy-in from the respective agencies. Utilizing the Berkeley model for stages of collaboration, this paper was focused on launching the collaboration, mobilizing for action, and building relationships (Stadelman, 2014). Further research needs to be completed on sustaining the collaboration, included assessment of standards and monitoring practice. Given the time constraints of this study, it was not possible to assess sustainability factors, but this is critical research to ensure maximum long-term benefits for program participants and agency partners.

## **APPENDIX**

### **Appendix 1.1: Interview Participants**

#### **Legal/ Court System**

- Chief District Court Judge Morey
- Lawrence Campbell — Public Defender's Office

#### **Service Providers**

- Laura Wooten – Carolina Outreach
- Kelly Andrews – MDP Program Coordinator
- Gudrun Palmer – Director of Criminal Justice Resource Center
- Heidi Carter -- Durham County Public School Board of Education Chair

#### **Law Enforcement Officials**

- Rick Pendergrass – Police Department
- Adam Clayton – Sheriff's Department

### **Appendix 1.2: Sample Interview Guide**

#### **Introduction**

- How did you get involved with the misdemeanor program?
- What was your specific role in the development of the program?

#### **Collaboration**

- Can you describe the interactions you had with other partners in the program?
- What made this a successful collaborative?
- What do you find as challenging factors during this collaboration? Any particular challenge with any particular partners?
- Specificity on collaboration:
  - Were roles clearly defined in the collaboration?
  - Do you think there was a unifying goal for partners?

#### **Replication**

- What do you view as key factors necessary for replication?
- What were your initial hesitations when you heard the program was developing?
- What do you think would range from county to county?



## Appendix 4.1: Intake Post-Card

### IMPORTANT INFORMATION PLEASE KEEP FOR YOUR RECORDS



You have been referred to the Durham County Misdemeanor Diversion Program (MDP). This is an initiative in Durham to assist individuals charged for the first time with non-violent offenses from having a permanent criminal record. Instead of being arrested, the individual is given an Incident Report (IR) and referred to the MDP Coordinator.

There will be one special court session to educate you on the unintended consequences of an adult criminal record. You will have **90** days to complete a **minimum** of ten hours of an assigned community-based service program.

Upon successful completion, law enforcement will be notified by the MDP Coordinator and the allegations will be dismissed. However, if you do not complete the program, the MDP Coordinator will notify law enforcement and criminal proceedings may begin on the allegations.

We are excited to have this pilot in Durham to keep you out of the adult legal system, which can have a lifelong negative impact on a person's future. To set up intake, contact the MDP Coordinator within 48 hours of referral. (*contact info on reverse*)

### CONTACT INFORMATION



Criminal Justice  
Resource Center

*Durham MDP Coordinator  
326 E. Main Street  
Durham, NC 27701  
Main Number (919) 560-0500  
Office (919) 560-8292  
Email: [kcandrews@dconc.gov](mailto:kcandrews@dconc.gov)*

The Juvenile Diversion Project is supported by Award No. PROJ009693  
Awarded to the Durham County Criminal Justice Resource Center, by the U.S. Department of Justice,  
through the N.C. Department of Public Safety/Governor's Crime Commission

#### **Appendix 4.2: Criminal Justice Advisory Committee Membership Requirement**

The following members are appointed by the Board of County Commissioners:

1. Durham County Commissioner
2. Durham Police Chief or designee
3. Durham County Sheriff or designee
4. Superior Court Judge of the 14th Judicial District
5. Chief District Court Judge of the 14th Judicial District
6. Durham Public Defender or Criminal Defense Attorney
7. Durham County District Attorney or designee
8. Durham County Public Health Director or designee
9. Durham County Social Services Director or designee
10. Local MCO/ LME Director or designee
11. Durham County Manager or designee
12. 14th Judicial District, Division of Community Corrections District Manager
13. Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC) Director
14. Member of Durham Business Community
15. Director of Criminal Justice Resource Center
16. Mayor or designee
17. Citizen
18. Citizen

The following members are appointed by the Criminal Justice Advisory Council:

1. Community College or other educational institution
2. Local Mental Health or Substance Abuse Provider
3. Local Non-Profit Organization
4. Housing Provider
5. Formerly incarcerated Individual
6. Formerly criminal justice involved Individual
7. Specialty Court Judge
8. Employment & Training Provider
9. Faith-Based Organization
10. Legal Aid Representative

#### **Appendix 4.3: Wraparound Services List and Description**

- BECOMING Program
  - Leadership Skills
- Carolina Outreach
  - Mental Health and Substance Abuse
- Criminal Justice Resource Center – Making a Change Program
  - Social and Behavioral Skills development
- Elna B. Spaulding Conflict Resolution Center
  - Mediation Program
- Woe 9
  - Computer literacy and coding
- Durham Together for Resilient Youth (TRY)
  - Substance Abuse treatment programming
- PROUD Program
  - Leadership Skills
- Teen Court
  - Leadership skills and Court Knowledge
- Volunteer Center
  - Community Service

## Appendix 4.4: Durham Support Services Resource List

**Durham County Pocket Guide  
of Support Services**



**DURHAM OPENING DOORS  
HOMELESS PREVENTION & SERVICES**

For more information, call 211 or visit  
[www.durhamtenyearplan.com](http://www.durhamtenyearplan.com)

**Health, Mental Health (MH) & Substance Abuse (SA)**  
Durham Center Access—24/7 crisis services, mobile crisis response. 309 Crutchfield St., (919-560-7100)  
Alliance Behavioral Healthcare—General information about publicly funded MH/SA/DD services. 414 E. Main St. (919-560-7200)  
Duke Addictions & Family Care Program—Adult individual & group counseling. 2213 Elba St., (919-684-3850)  
Durham Child Development & Behavioral Health Clinic—SA services for children/adolescents. 402 Trent Dr., (919-416-7200)  
Duke University Hospital, 2301 Erwin Rd., (919-684-8111)  
Durham Regional Hospital, 3643 N. Roxboro Rd., (919-470-4000)  
VA Medical Center, 508 Fulton St., (919-288-0411)  
Durham County Health Dept.—Testing, vaccines, general health services. 414 E. Main St., (919-560-7600)  
Lincoln Community Health Center—Ambulatory, health, dental care. 1301 Fayetteville St., (919-956-4000)  
Lincoln Community Health Center Homeless Clinic—Urban Ministries—medical care. 412 Liberty St., (919-683-1722)  
Healing with CAARE Clinic—medical & dental care, SA, HIV/AIDS services. 214 Broadway St., (919-683-5300)  
Samaritan Health Center—medical & dental care for residents & former residents of the Durham Rescue Mission, 507 E. Knox St., (919-688-9641 x5040)  
TROSA, substance abuse recovery community, 1820 James St., (919-419-1059)  
El Futuro, Hispanic focused SA & MH services, (919-688-7101)  
Alliance of AIDS Services, 1018 E. Main St., (919-568-1782)  
Senior PharmAsst—supplemental medication plan for seniors. 408 Rigsbee Ave., (919-688-4772)  
American Red Cross—24/7 emergency assistance. 4737 University Dr., (919-489-6541)  
Alcoholics Anonymous—(919-289-9499)  
Narcotics Anonymous—(919-831-5321)  
Al-Anon/Alateen Family Groups—(919-787-1853)

**Food Assistance—Hot Meals**  
Urban Ministries Community Café—breakfast & dinner daily, brown bag lunch distributed at brkfst, M-F. 410 Liberty St., (919-682-0538)  
Ashbury Temple United Methodist Church—2<sup>nd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Sat of the month. 201 Alston Ave., (919-688-4578)  
Immanuel Temple SDA Church—Sunday 1-3PM. 309 Lincoln St., (919-957-0030)

**Food Assistance—Food Pantries**  
Food & Nutrition Services, Dept. of Social Services, (919-560-8781)  
United Pentecostal Church, 2008 Carver St. (919-477-6555)  
Bell Yeager Free Will Baptist Church, 123 E. Cornwallis St., (919-596-3044)  
Calvary Baptist Church, 1204 Lynn Road, (919-596-2592)  
Catholic Charities, 902 Broad St., (919-286-1864)  
Christian Assembly Emergency Pantry, 5516 N. Roxboro Rd., (919-471-0220)  
Durham First Assembly of God, 1034 Hamlin Road, (919-471-1370)  
Springs of Life Bible Church, 5301 Guess Road, (919-698-6200)  
Urban Ministries of Durham, 410 Liberty St., (919-682-0538)  
Healing with CAARE, 214 Broadway St., (919-683-5300)  
Oak Grove Free Will Baptist Church, 1008A Simmons St., (919-680-2927)  
Church of God of Prophecy, 800 Grant St., (919-688-7838)  
Alliance of AIDS Services, 1810 E. Main St., (919-596-9696)  
First Calvary Baptist Church, 1311 Morehead Ave., (919-489-4184)  
Fisher Memorial United Holy Church, 420 E. Piedmont Ave., (919-682-7416)  
House of Refuge, 947 E. Main St., (919-687-6987)  
Ark of Safety Outreach Ministry, 1201 W. Chapel Hill St., (919-620-7774)  
Emmanuel Pentecostal Temple, 2722 E. Main St., (919-596-0038)  
Immanuel Temple SDA Comm. Services, 2104 S. Alston Ave., (919-596-4440)  
St. James Baptist Church, 1119 Lancaster St., (919-286-5024)  
Grey Stone Baptist Church, 2601 Hillsborough Rd., (919-286-2281)  
Faith Gospel Tabernacle, 663 Troy St., (919-596-4533)  
First Pentecostal Church, 2008 W. Carver St., (919-477-6555)  
Mt. Zion Christian Church, 3519 Fayetteville St., (919-688-4245)  
Rise & Shine Ministries, 4625 Denfield St., (919-471-6765)  
First Assembly of God, 1034 Hamlin Road, (336-330-0332)  
The River, 4005 Holt School Road, (919-395-0148)  
On Fire for God, 3741 Wake Forest Hwy., (919-596-5194)

Five Oaks SDA Church, 4124 Farrington Road, (919-960-0140)  
Victorious Praise Fellowship Church, 2116 Page Rd., (919-957-7500)  
Life Community Church, Merry House, 4823 Meadow Dr., (919-382-1944)  
Word Harvest International, 4919 Prospectus Dr., (919-997-8409)

### Clothing Assistance

Grey Stone Baptist Church, 2601 Hillsborough Road, (919-286-2281)  
Dress for Success, 1058 W. Club Blvd. Ste. 852 (919-286-2126)  
Mt. Zion Christian Church, 3519 Fayetteville St., (919-688-4245)  
Hold Your Head Up, (919-402-6684)  
Urban Ministries of Durham, 410 Liberty St., (919-682-0538)  
Rescued Treasures/Durham Rescue Mission, 3220 S. Hwy 55, (919-284-9014)  
Oak Grove Outreach, 1008A Simmons St., (919-680-2927)  
Russell Memorial Church, 703 S. Alston Ave., (919-662-2523)  
Welcome Baby Giving Closet, for children to age 5, (919-560-7150)

### Emergency (Short-term) Housing

Coordinated Housing Intake (for families only), (919-560-8014)  
Urban Ministries Community Shelter, 412 Liberty St. (919-682-0538)  
Durham Rescue Mission, men's shelter, 1201 E. Main St. (919-688-9641)  
Good Samaritan Inn, Durham Rescue Mission's women & family shelter, 507 E. Knox St. (919-688-4908)  
Durham Interfaith Hospitality Network, families only, (919-682-2848)  
Durham Crisis Response Center, survivors of domestic violence, (919-403-6562)

### Transitional & Permanent Supportive Housing

Genesis Home, families, 311 N. Queen St., (919-683-5878)  
Housing for New Hope, various facilities, (919-489-6282)  
First Endeavors, 2317 E. Chapel Hill Rd., (855-347-7363)  
Freedom House Recovery Centers, (919-425-5474)  
Healing with CAARE, veterans & HIV/AIDS patients, 214 Broadway, (919-683-5300)  
Love & Respect, men in addiction recovery, (919 768-0989)  
AIDS Community Residence Assoc., HIV/AIDS patients, (919-956-7901)  
CASA, Vasson Court, (919-754-8960)  
Volunteers of America, veterans, (919-477-0571)  
Shelter Plus Care, Durham Housing Authority, (919-683-1551)  
HUD-VASH, veterans, (919) 286-0411 x8172  
Durham Rescue Mission, (919-688-9641)  
Durham Crisis Response Ctr., survivors of domestic violence, (919-403-6562)  
The Durham Center (919-560-7144)

### Homeless Prevention Assistance

Dept. of Social Services, Homeless Prevention, (919-560-8655)  
Family Emergency Services, (919-560-8301)  
Elderly & Disabled Emergency Services (919-560-8800)  
Presbyterian Urban Ministries, (919-220-8757)  
Grey Stone Baptist Church, 2601 Hillsborough Rd., (919-286-2281)  
Catholic Charities, (919-286-1864)  
Salvation Army, (919-688-7306)  
PATH-Homeless Street Outreach (919-724-3170)  
Open Table Ministry, (919-412-7011)  
Second Mile Ministry, (919-286-3586)  
Reinvestment Partners, foreclosure prevention, 110 E. Geer St., (919-683-1185)  
Durham Regional Financial Center, financial education & foreclosure prevention, 2530 Meridian Pkwy, #2115, (919-808-4596)

### Job Training

Durham Technical Comm. College, 1637 Lawson St., (919-688-3628)  
Job Link, (919-560-6880)  
Center for Employment Training, 807 E. Main St., (919-688-4050)  
Work First, Dept. of Social Services, (919-560-8347)  
Exchange Club, 1717 Lawson St., (919-596-1341)  
Durham Economic Resource Center, 118 Hunt St., (919-683-2567)

### Other Services

Social Security Administration, 3004 Tower Blvd., (888-759-3908)  
Veterans Affairs, 508 Fulton St. (919-286-0411)  
Pregnancy Support Services, 3700-D Lyckan Parkway, (919-490-0203)  
Vocational Rehabilitation, 4312 Western Park Pl., (919-560-6810)  
Healthy Families of Durham, parent education & support, 411 W. Chapel Hill St., (919-419-3474)  
The Arc of Durham, developmental disability services, (919-483-8141)  
Durham Public Schools, services for homeless children, 919-560-3927  
El Centro Hispano, Hispanic focused services, 201 W. Main St., (919-687-4635)  
Lutheran Family Services, (919-632-2620 or 919-652-8600)  
Alcohol/Drug Council of NC, (800-688-4232)  
Durham Literacy Center, (919-489-6383)  
Community Empowerment Fund, small loans & financial education (919-200-0233)  
Durham Area Rapid Transit (DATA), (919-465-RIDE (7433))  
Legal Aid of NC, Durham office, 201 W. Main St. (919-688-6396)  
Planned Parenthood, 620 Broad St., (919-286-2872)  
Mrs. Jennie's Place Community Enrichment Center, (919-765-9188)  
KQ Fair Housing Center, 114 W. Parish St., (919-667-0689)  
Elna S. Spaulding Conflict Resolution Center, mediation services, 634 Foster Street, (919-680-4575)

#### Appendix 4.5: Primary Program Participants Data

Race, Gender	Count of ID2	Count of ID
African American	92	63.89%
White	27	18.75%
Other	23	15.97%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2	1.39%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

#### Referral Charge

	Total	Primary Charge	Secondary Charge	Tertiary Charge	Total %	Primary %
Disorderly Conduct	15	4	7	4	8.02%	2.78%
DV	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Larceny	65	61	3	1	34.76%	42.36%
Other	23	15	5	3	12.30%	10.42%
Possession of Drug Paraphernalia	14	5	9	0	7.49%	3.47%
Possession of Marijuana	35	33	2	0	18.72%	22.92%
Possession of Stolen Goods	2	2	0	0	1.07%	1.39%
Resisting an Officer	7	0	7	0	3.74%	0.00%
Simple Affray	8	8	0	0	4.28%	5.56%
Simple Assault	16	16	0	0	8.56%	11.11%
Trespass	2	0	1	1	1.07%	0.00%
Blank/Unknown						
	<b>187</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Referral source	#	Referral Source	%
Durham Police	57	Durham Police	39.58%
Durham Sheriff	4	Durham Sheriff	2.78%
SRO-Police	3	SRO-Police	2.08%
SRO-Sheriff	80	SRO-Sheriff	55.56%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

### Wraparound Services Referrals

Intake FY	(Multiple Items)	(Multiple Items)
<b>Program</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>
BECOMING Carolina Outreach	46	31.94%
CJRC (MAC)	26	18.06%
CRC Mediation	28	19.44%
Durham TRY	7	4.86%
PROUD	2	1.39%
Teen Court	3	2.08%
Volunteer Center	10	6.94%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

### Program Completion Data

Count of ID	Age		Grand Total
Closing Reason	16	17	
<b>New Charge/Arrest</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
No Closing Date/Not Closed	1	1	2
<b>Successful Completion</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>124</b>
FY 14	6	6	12
FY 15	56	35	91
FY 16	11	10	21
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>126</b>



Participant's Gender

Count of ID Intake CY	Gender		Grand Total
	F	M	
Jan	1	3	4
Feb	5	5	10
Mar	5	15	20
Apr	4	7	11
May	4	6	10
Jun	3	2	5
Jul	4	4	8
Aug	2	2	4
Sep	4	13	17
Oct	5	17	22
Nov	5	11	16
Dec	8	6	14
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>141</b>

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