The Impact of Restorative Justice Practices

The Center for Victim Research (CVR) Library’s annotated bibliographies collect and summarize research about difficult-to-search topics in victim research.

Restorative justice practices offer an addition, or in some cases an alternative, to the traditional retributive justice system. Rather than focusing on punishment, restorative justice focuses on repairing the harm by engaging victims, offenders and their families, other citizens, and/or community groups in the process. Victims who participate in restorative justice typically express higher levels of satisfaction than those whose cases are handled in the traditional justice system. This annotated bibliography gathers research on the impact of restorative justice practices on victims, among other outcomes.

Searches were conducted in English in the CVR Library collection, Google Scholar, and the National Criminal Justice Reference Service. Most papers were published between 2009 and 2019, and this bibliography includes meta-analyses, journal articles, and program evaluations. Articles are sorted first by year and then by author. The research articles in this bibliography focus primarily on victim-offender mediation, victim-offender dialogue, and restorative justice conferencing. Contact the CVR Research Librarian for assistance locating full text or additional articles.

DEFINITIONS AND ORIGINS

Restorative justice values inspire a range of different applications to criminal justice systems. It is important to understand the history behind these practices.

The Little Book of Restorative Justice: Revised and Updated by Howard Zehr. (Simon and Schuster, 2015)

Howard Zehr, often referred to as the father of restorative justice, lays out three pillars of restorative justice in this book: (1) Restorative justice focuses on crime done to individuals and communities, with the harm to victims, offenders, and the community
in need of healing; (2) Wrongs and offenses to victims mean that offenders need to be held accountable and responsible; and (3) Restorative justice principles emphasize the importance of victims, offenders, and the community to be involved in a dialogue about what justice means in a particular case.


This book provides a clear explanation and history of restorative justice, a movement within criminal justice with growing worldwide influence. The book presents a theoretical foundation for the principles and values of restorative justice and develops its four key elements of inclusion, encounter, amends, and reintegration. After exploring how restorative justice ideas and values may be integrated into policy and practice, it presents a series of key issues commonly raised about restorative justice, summarizing various perspectives on each.

*For more information on restorative justice processes being used by police, prosecutors, judges, prison officials and probation and parole authorities in different parts of the world, see: An Overview of Restorative Justice Around the World* by Daniel W. Van Ness (Criminal Justice, 2005, vol. 18, 19 pgs)


This Bulletin features four models of restorative conferencing in juvenile justice: victim-offender mediation, community reparative boards, family group conferencing, and circle sentencing. Although these four models by no means exhaust the possibilities for community involvement in decisions about how to respond to youth crime, the models do illustrate both the diversity and common themes apparent in what appears to be a new philosophy of citizen participation in sanctioning processes. These models are compared and contrasted in administration, process, community involvement, and other dimensions, and several related issues and concerns are addressed.


This report provides an overview of restorative justice defining it as a process whereby parties with a stake in a specific offense collectively resolve how to deal with the aftermath of the offense and its implications for the future. The report includes a description of the history of restorative justice practices along with limitations and examples of programs in practice. While this is an older piece, Marshall’s definitions are still used to frame research today.
META-ANALYSES

Meta-analyses are ways of synthesizing the results of research. Specifically, meta-analyses are an examination of data from several independent studies of the same subject, in order to determine overall trends. Combining the results of several studies can create a clearer picture of the effect of an intervention. There have been several such efforts in restorative justice in recent years.


This meta-analysis examines available research that, at a minimum, compares participants in a restorative justice program to participants processed in a more traditional way. This study analyzed 60 unique research projects or studies, extracting results related to delinquency, non-delinquency, and victim outcomes for the youth and victims participating in these programs. Findings suggest potential but still uncertain benefits for the youth participants in terms of reduced future delinquent behavior and other non-delinquent outcomes. Victim participants in these programs, however, do appear to experience a number of benefits and are more satisfied with these programs than traditional approaches to juvenile justice.

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CVR Library Search Strategy

Below are similar or related keywords for:

- **Restorative Justice**: victim-offender mediation, victim-offender dialogue, restorative justice conferencing, family group conferencing, community reparative boards, reparative boards, victim impact panels, victim impact training, peacemaking circles, circle sentencing, apology banks
- **Recidivism**: reoffending, repeat offending, rearrest, reconviction, recidivist, subsequent delinquent behavior
- **Victim Outcomes**: satisfaction with the process, material restoration, emotional restoration

Login to [VictimResearch.org](http://VictimResearch.org) and view an example of how to combine search terms to create a database search string.

This systematic review and meta-analysis examines the effects of the subset of restorative justice programs that has been tested most extensively: a face-to-face Restorative Justice Conference (RJC). This study analyzes results from 10 randomized controlled trials in which victim and offenders consented to meet prior to random assignment. Findings indicate that, on average, RJC’s cause a modest but highly cost-effective reduction in repeat offending, with substantial benefits for victims. A cost-effectiveness estimate for the seven United Kingdom (UK) experiments found a ratio of eight times more benefit in costs of crimes prevented than the cost of delivering RJC’s.

For a journal article on this study, see: Are Restorative Justice Conferences Effective in Reducing Repeat Offending? Findings from a Campbell Systematic Review by Lawrence W. Sherman et al. (Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 2015, vol. 31, no. 1, 1-24)

For a book on an earlier meta-analysis of RJC’s from these authors, see: Restorative Justice as Evidence-Based Sentencing by Lawrence W. Sherman and Heather Strang. (The Oxford Handbook of Sentencing and Corrections, 2012, 215-243)

For an article on an earlier meta-analysis of RJC’s from these authors, see: Effects of Face-to-Face Restorative Justice on Victims of Crime in Four Randomized, Controlled Trials by Lawrence W. Sherman et al. (Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2005, vol. 1, no. 3, 367-395)


This systematic review and meta-analysis examined the effects of restorative justice conferencing on recidivism and other outcomes for young offenders and satisfaction for victim participants. The study included four randomized controlled trials or quasi-experiments. Results failed to find a significant effect for restorative justice conferencing over normal court procedures for any of the main analyses, including number re-arrested, monthly rate of reoffending, young person’s remorse following conference, young person’s recognition of wrongdoing following conference, young person’s self-perception following conference, young person’s satisfaction following conference, and victim’s satisfaction following conference.

This study conducted a meta-analysis of seven randomized controlled trials for a restorative justice conferencing scheme at three sites in the United Kingdom and at different stages in the criminal justice process. Results indicate that restorative justice groups showed a statistically significantly lower number of reconvictions over the two years after the offense compared to the control group. However, results suggest that adult offenders in both the restorative justice and control groups were offending less frequently over the four years, a potential effect of the general age-crime curve.


This book chapter details a meta-analysis of 39 studies of restorative justice interventions including juvenile and adult victim offender mediation, restitution, community service, family group conference, and community forum programs. To be included, studies had to include a control or comparison group and look at the effects on recidivism. Key findings include: restorative justice interventions, on average, are associated with reductions in recidivism; there is evidence to indicate that restorative justice programs in coercive environments (i.e., court-ordered) have no impact on recidivism; restorative justice interventions appear to be more effective with low-risk offenders; and for high-risk offenders, restorative justice may be insufficient to decrease recidivism.


This meta-analysis examines the effects of victim-offender mediation and family group conferencing on juvenile reoffending. Nineteen studies with 11,950 juveniles and comparison groups from 25 different service sites were synthesized. Victim-offender mediation programs accounted for a 34 percent reduction in juvenile recidivism while family group conferencing accounted for an 11 percent reduction.

For a report on a subset of these studies, see: The Effect of Victim Offender Mediation on Juvenile Offender Recidivism: A Meta-Analysis by William Bradshaw, David Roseborough, and Mark S. Umbreit. (Conflict Resolution Quarterly, 2006, vol. 24, no. 1, 87-98)


This article utilizes meta-analytic techniques to examine 22 unique studies of 35 individual restorative justice programs for their effect on four outcomes: recidivism, victim satisfaction, offender satisfaction, and restitution compliance. Restorative justice conferencing and victim-offender mediation programs are included. Findings indicate that restorative programs are a significantly more effective method than more traditional criminal justice responses across all four outcomes.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE CONFERENCING

Restorative Justice: An Observational Outcome Evaluation of the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) Program by Roderic Broadhurst et al. (*Australian National University & the Australian Institute of Criminology*, 2018, 30 pgs)

This outcome evaluation examines the effects of a juvenile offender restorative justice conferencing program on victim and offender satisfaction and reoffending. The proportion estimated to reoffend after 12 months was 20 percent for restorative justice participants and 29 percent for the matched comparison group of non-restorative justice participants. Analysis of the surveys completed by conference participants show that between 97 and 99 percent of participants expressed satisfaction with the process (i.e., the conference process treated them with respect, their rights were respected, they were able to say what they wanted, etc.) and 93% of victims reported satisfaction with the outcome.


This report details a study of the Community Works West’s Restorative Community Conferencing (RCC) program in Alameda County, California. This family group conferencing model involves an organized, facilitated dialogue in which young people, with the support of family, community, and law enforcement, meet with their crime victims to create a plan to repair the harm done. Notable findings reveal that, of 102 young people who completed the RCC program, after 12 months only 18.4 percent of the RCC youth were determined by the court to have committed another delinquent act compared to 32.1 percent of the control group of youth whose cases were processed through the traditional juvenile legal system.

This article examines four Australian-based randomized control trials of the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments including personal property, shoplifting, violent, or drunk driving offenses for objective procedural justice. Juvenile, young adult, and adult offenders were included. Findings indicate that the restorative justice diversionary conferences produced significantly higher levels of offender engagement within the adjudicative process and higher levels of ethical treatment.

Twelve Experiments in Restorative Justice: The Jerry Lee Program of Randomized Trials of Restorative Justice Conferences by Lawrence W. Sherman et al. (Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2015, vol. 11, no. 4, 501-540)

This article details a study measuring outcomes from the Jerry Lee Program of 12 randomized trials over two decades in Australia and the United Kingdom (UK), testing an identical method of restorative justice taught by the same trainers to hundreds of police officers and others who delivered it to 2,231 offenders and 1,179 victims in 1995-2004. The article provides a review of the scientific progress and policy effects of the program, as described in 75 publications and papers arising from it, including previously unpublished results of ongoing analyses.

Short-Term Effects of Restorative Justice Conferences on Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms Among Robbery and Burglary Victims: A Randomized Controlled Trial by Caroline M. Angel et al. (Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2014, vol. 10, no. 3, 291-307)

This article describes two randomized controlled trials in London examining the effects of face-to-face restorative justice conferences, in addition to conventional justice, on victims’ post-traumatic stress symptoms (PTSS). Analyses show that PTSS scores are significantly lower among victims assigned to restorative justice conferencing in addition to criminal justice processing through the courts than to customary criminal justice processing alone. There are overall 49 percent fewer victims with clinical levels of PTSS, and possible post-traumatic stress disorder. Findings suggest a stronger overall treatment effect immediately after restorative justice conferences.

Restorativeness, Procedural Justice, and Defiance as Predictors of Reoffending of Participants in Family Group Conferences by Natalie Kroovand Hipple, Jeff Gruenewald, and Edmund F. McGarrell. (Crime & Delinquency, 2014, vol. 60, no. 8, 1131-1157)

This article details a US-based study examining variation in family group conferencing (FGC) characteristics derived from reintegrative shaming, procedural justice, and
defiance theory and their effects on reoffending. The findings suggest that the more the FGC appeared to follow principles of restorativeness and procedural fairness and avoided defiance, the less reoffending occurred. Specifically, offense type and conference restorativeness influenced the probability of recidivism at six months, whereas offense type and race influenced the probability of recidivism at 24 months.

For an article from these authors examining long-term recidivism, see: Restorativeness, Procedural Justice, and Defiance as Long-Term Predictors of Reoffending of Participants in Family Group Conferences by Kroovand Hipple, Jeff Gruenewald, and Edmund F. McGarrell. (Criminal Justice and Behavior, 2015, vol. 42, no. 11, 1110-1127)


This article reports a process and outcome evaluation of a restorative justice conferencing program for adult misdemeanor and felony sexual assaults in Pima County, Arizona entitled RESTORE. Outcome measures including pre-post reasons for choosing RESTORE, preparation and conference experiences, overall program and justice satisfaction, and completion rates were examined in 22 cases. Findings indicate that the most satisfied group was survivor victims who attended their conference. Responsible person supporters were the most dissatisfied group across all indicators. Surrogate victims were least satisfied with the justice outcome. The article details additional findings.


This article reports findings from three University of Pennsylvania studies investigating whether victims’ satisfaction with a restorative justice process influenced third-party assignments of punishment. Participants evaluated criminal offenses and victims’ reactions to an initial restorative justice conference and were later asked to indicate their support for additional punishment of the offender. Across the three studies, victim satisfaction (relative to dissatisfaction) reduced people’s desire to seek offender punishment, regardless of offense severity (Study 2) or conflicting reports from a third-party observer (Study 3).

This bulletin details a study comparing re-offending between young people processed in New South Wales (NSW) with a Youth Justice Conference and those eligible for a conference but processed in the Children’s Court. Propensity score matching was used to match 918 youth who attended a conference with 918 youth who did not. Results indicate that differences in re-offending among young eligible for a conference are not significant between youth who participate in a Youth Justice Conference and youth processed in the Children’s Court.


This article builds on previous analyses of the Australian-based Reintegrative Shaming Experiments to explore the effect of victims’ age and baseline differences in the level of harm caused to victims of different crimes on outcome variables. Findings suggest that conference juvenile victims were less satisfied than court juvenile victims, the opposite of what was found for adults. Additionally, more serious harm is associated with decreased process satisfaction for all victims. Adult domination and insensitivity to youth’s special needs were common themes in the qualitative analysis.

VICTIM-OFFENDER DIALOGUE


This article outlines the evolution and development of victim offender dialogue. A case study in Milwaukee, Wisconsin outlines the rationale given by both victims and offender for participation and the necessary preparation undertaken to conduct an authentic process with both. An examination is made of the nature and extent of the issues explored during the dialogue and the process and outcome of the dialogue itself.


This dissertation examines survivors’ decisions whether to use the victim offender dialogue (VOD) program in Ohio. In-person semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight survivors who completed VOD, seven survivors who did not complete VOD, six VOD facilitators, and one key informant. Survivors’ views about forgiveness were explored with attention to ideas about and experiences of forgiveness for survivors who participated in VOD and for those who did not.

This article examines the completion rates of victim-offender dialogue in Ohio. A sample of 212 completed and will-not-proceed files were reviewed. The amount of time between the date the crime occurred and the date on which the dialogue file was initiated was not a significant predictor of dialogue completion. However, both victim-offender’s pre-crime relationship and dialogue file initiator were found to significantly impact dialogue completion rates.


This article details a five-year study of victim-offender dialogue programs in Texas and Ohio. The purpose of the study was to describe participants, the processes, the experience, and the outcomes of facilitated dialogue in serious and violent crimes and to begin to examine the implications for policy, theory, practice, and training. Program materials and documents were reviewed, and interviews were conducted with 40 victims and 39 offenders who participated in mediated dialogue in cases of violent and serious crime. Findings show nearly all homicide victims and offender participants (98 percent) in the study named at least one major life change as a result of their participation.

PEACEMAKING CIRCLES

A Randomized Controlled Trial of Restorative Justice-Informed Treatment for Domestic Violence Crimes by Linda G. Mills et al. (Nature Human Behaviour, 2019, 11 pgs)

This article describes a randomized controlled trial conducted in Salt Lake City, Utah comparing a typical batterer intervention program (BIP) with one that included a restorative justice-informed treatment called circles of peace (CP). 222 offenders were randomly assigned to either program during the 24-month study timeframe, with a 24-month follow-up period. Findings indicate that the ‘hybrid’ BIP-plus-CP resulted in statistically significant reductions in both new arrests (53 percent) and crime severity scores (52 percent) for all offenses, including domestic violence, over the 24-month period.


This article details a study comparing a restorative justice-based treatment program for domestic violence offenders called Circles of Peace, a peacemaking circle, with a
batterer intervention program in Arizona. One hundred fifty-two domestic violence cases were randomly assigned to either the batterer intervention program or Circles of Peace. Both domestic violence and non-domestic violence re-arrest rates are examined. Findings are generally statistically non-significant, indicating that Circles of Peace does no worse than the traditional batterer intervention program.

**VICTIM-OFFENDER MEDIATION**


This article details a study examining victims’ perceptions of a restorative justice process, implemented as victim-offender mediation. Utilizing mix-method data collection, questionnaires were completed at the pre-panel stage to ascertain victims’ perceptions of the restorative process. The results informed interview schedules which were employed within 35 semi-structured interviews, conducted with individuals following the conclusion of their restorative meeting. Findings indicate high levels of victim satisfaction which many victims attributed to aspects of the process such as high-quality preparation, independence of the facilitator, and the presence of police.


This article reports findings from a qualitative study of 37 youth participants in a victim offender mediation (VOM) in a mid-sized Midwestern city in the United States. The study examines youths’ experiences in their VOM to deepen the understanding of how and why restorative discourses work. Findings suggest that meeting their victims through VOM helped the youths realize the extent of the consequences of their actions by being able to personalize their victims and their victimized experiences.

For an earlier article from these authors examining mediator’s roles and skills, see: *Joe Everyday, People Off the Street*: A Qualitative Study On Mediators’ Roles And Skills In Victim-Offender Mediation by Jung Jin Choi and Michael J. Gilbert. (*Contemporary Justice Review*, vol. 13, no. 2, 207-227)


This study examines the complex interactions between victims and offenders in victim-offender mediation in the United States and how victims’ roles are related to offenders’ participation and empowerment. Fourteen mediations were observed in which 17
agreements were produced. In addition to the observations, post mediation survey data from 119 victims and 130 offenders were collected. This research uncovers several impediments to individual participation, including problems in the implementation of restorative practices; participant domination, including victim lecturing; and a lack of awareness among the participants about the restorative vision of justice.


This ethnographic study collected field notes from 28 youth restorative justice sessions in a mid-sized Canadian city. The authors examined strategic interpersonal dynamics among victims and offenders in the restorative justice process. These researchers were concerned about adoption of the “victim role” by other participants in the restorative justice process, particularly by offenders seeking to achieve self-serving goals by deflecting or defending against criticism. Findings reveal a different picture than the frequently idealized images of restorative justice. For example, victims sometimes expressed harsh views during the restorative justice session that put youth offenders and their supporters in a very defensive position. Offenders would respond with self-serving statements, often leading the victims to become defensive, critical, and at times angry.

**VICTIM IMPACT PANELS**


This study was conducted in Delaware and included 486 prisoners who attended the Victim Impact: Listen and Learn program. Responses to the 50 question pre/post-test indicated an increase in knowledge about the effects of crime and improvement in the attitudes of sensitivity to a crime victims’ experience and a decrease in victim blaming – key outcomes that the program is designed to achieve. 333 prisoners had been released since completing the program and had recidivism data available. In total, 118 (35 percent) released prisoners re-offended and were re-incarcerated over the three-year period that data was available. These data were compared to an analysis conducted by the Delaware Statistical Analysis Center where 67 percent of prisoners were recommitted to prison at the end of year three. The author concludes that significantly fewer prisoners who completed the Victim Impact program re-offended and were recommitted compared to what would be expected of prisoners who do not attend the program.

This article reports results of a study examining the effect of a Missouri-based restorative justice program (Victim Impact Training) on the development of guilt, shame, and empathy among offenders. Results show no overall significant differences between offenders who participated in the Victim Impact Training program on their development of guilt, shame, and empathy over time. However, results do indicate significant relationships among gender, program type (10-week versus 4-week), guilt, shame, and empathy. The latter finding indicates that the Victim Impact Training program may prove to be more effective when the course is longer and when it is conducted with female offenders.

**COMPARISONS OF INTERVENTIONS**


This article utilizes a quasi-experimental design to examine the effects of various restorative justice programs on juvenile recidivism in a small, mostly rural area in the upper Midwest. Programs examined include direct mediation, indirect forms of victim/offender mediation accomplished without direct victim/offender contact, the use of community panels (i.e., with community representatives when no direct victim was available), and a group who received only minimal interaction with restorative justice staff. Results generally not only support the effectiveness of restorative justice programming as compared to traditional juvenile court processing but also suggest that each type of restorative justice intervention, even those that are minimally involved (i.e., indirect mediation by the program facilitator) reduces recidivism risk relative to juvenile court proceedings.


This qualitative study examined factors contributing to victim satisfaction with the restorative approach and asked to what extent victim satisfaction is simply due to procedural justice. Semi-directive interviews were conducted with 34 victims of violent crime who participated in victim-offender mediation, family group conferencing or victim-offender encounters in Canada and Belgium. The authors found satisfaction with a restorative approach was related not only to being perceived as procedurally just, but also other factors such as flexibility, provision of care, centering on dialogue, and
permitting pro-social motives to be addressed. These factors were not a part of the procedural justice model. The authors conclude that procedural justice partially, but not entirely, explains victim satisfaction with restorative practices.

**Examining the Effectiveness of a Restorative Justice Program for Various Types of Juvenile Offenders** by Kathleen J. Bergseth and Jeffrey A. Bouffard. (*International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 2012, vol. 57, no. 9, 1054-1075)

This study examined whether a restorative justice program for juvenile offenders in a small city in the upper Midwest had differential impacts on recidivism across various offender characteristics (including age, gender, racial group, offending history, and current offense). Recidivism rates for 352 youth referred to the restorative justice program were compared with 353 youth in a comparison group. This study found that restorative justice programming was more effective than traditional juvenile court processing for younger offenders, males, those with no prior arrests, and those who had a current violence or property offense (rather than a drug crime).


This article describes an experimental study of the Pono Kaulike program in Hawaii. A control group is utilized to examine satisfaction of participants and recidivism rates following restorative conferences, restorative dialogues, and/or restorative sessions. 95 percent of participants reported the process was positive. Of the 21 people in the control group, 12 of them were counted as recidivists with a recidivism rate of 57 percent. In the Pono Kaulike experimental group, of the 38 people studied who received the interventions, 11 were counted as recidivists with a rate of 29 percent.
Toolkits/Programmatic Resources

- [Restorative Justice and VOCA](#): webinar describing the Victims of Crime Act and its application to restorative justice.
- [Just Alternatives Victim Offender Dialogue](#): resources on an approach to victim offender dialogue.
- National Institute of Corrections: NIC has a page of [Resources on Victim Offender Dialogue](#) including the [National Association of Victim Assistance in Corrections’ Victim-Centered Victim Offender Dialogue in Crimes of Severe Violence: 20 Essential Principles for Corrections-Based Victim Services](#).
- Office for Victims of Crime: [Multicultural Implications of Restorative Justice: Potential Pitfalls and Dangers](#).
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: [Handbook on Restorative Justice Programmes](#).