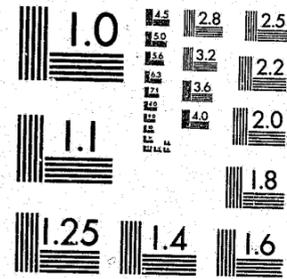


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A Comparison of Programmatic and 'Ad Hoc' Restitution
In Juvenile Courts

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ABSTRACT

"Programmatic" and "ad hoc" approaches to restitution can be distinguished by the fact that the former usually involves a full-fledged restitution program with restitution counsellors or case workers who are responsible for liaison with victims, documentation of victim losses, development of restitution recommendations as part of the pre-sentence investigation, and who also take responsibility for implementing and monitoring the restitution requirements.

In an "ad hoc" approach, restitution is ordered on a relatively infrequent basis and, when ordered, it tends to be viewed as a relatively minor part of the probationary requirements with little or no assistance given either to victims or offenders.

The findings in this study show, first, that a programmatic approach to restitution in Dane county, Wisconsin clearly increased the likelihood of juveniles repaying victims and increased the amount of restitution paid to victims, in comparison with an ad hoc approach.

The second finding was that juveniles who completed their restitution requirements were less likely to reoffend than were youths who did not complete their restitution. A multiple regression analysis indicated that this effect probably was independent of other factors.

INTRODUCTION

A distinction between "programmatic" and "ad hoc" use of restitution was initially made in 1976 after a survey of juvenile courts unexpectedly revealed that more than 85 percent of the courts occasionally ordered juvenile offenders to pay restitution to the victims of their crimes (Schneider, et. al., 1977). The distinction was an important one in light of the fact that the federal government was ready to launch a major initiative to finance restitution programs and they did not wish to provide financial assistance to a juvenile court simply to continue what it was already doing (1).

The survey, however, revealed rather distinct differences between programmatic and ad hoc models of restitution. In the former, the court usually had created job positions for restitution counsellors whose responsibilities included liaison with victims, documentation of victim losses, and development of recommendations for the judge regarding whether restitution was appropriate in the case. Post-adjudication responsibilities included implementation and monitoring of the restitution requirements.

In a programmatic approach, the successful completion of restitution requirements was viewed as a worthy achievement on its own merits because the youth had been held accountable for the crime and the victim had been at least partially if not entirely compensated for the harm that was

done. Thus, regardless of whether the youth was rehabilitated, and regardless of whether subsequent crimes were committed, a measure of success was achieved in terms of offender accountability and victim compensation.

The ad hoc approach differed primarily in that the probation officers were responsible for monitoring restitution orders along with the normal probationary requirements. Furthermore, most of the other functions found in a restitution program (victim liaison, documentation of loss, inclusion of a restitution report in the pre-sentencing investigation, and so forth) simply were not undertaken by anyone.

In the ad hoc approach, the restitution "program" usually consisted of nothing more than a bookkeeping system set up with the court or the county treasurer to receive payments from youths and disburse the funds to victims. Form letters regarding documentation of loss were sent to the victims in some courts but there was usually no direct contact with victims. The restitution requirements were viewed as part of an effort to be responsive to victims but were not considered an integral part of the court's response to the juveniles and "accountability" had not been incorporated into the philosophy of the court.

These different approaches to restitution obviously could have substantially different impacts on victims and offenders alike. The extent to which restitution is approached in a programmatic manner and given a high priority

among the various requirements made of the youth could effect the completion rates and this, in turn, could have an impact on juvenile recidivism. One of the few arguments raised against the use of restitution in juvenile courts is the possibility that the youths will not be able to complete the requirements and that this failure could have adverse effects on both the juvenile and the victim.

It is also obvious, however, that an ad hoc approach should cost considerably less than a full-fledged restitution program, unless restitution replaces probation as the disposition of choice by the court--a possibility that was virtually unheard of prior to the national juvenile court restitution initiative funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).

Many of the programs funded by the federal agency in 1977 and 1978 initially resembled the ad hoc model: restitution was an "add-on" requirement monitored by probation officers as part of their normal responsibilities. Continuous pressure, however, from the federal officials as well as experience with the restitution process and the underlying philosophy of restitution gradually changed the nature of most programs so that, by the end of the federally-funded period in 1980 or 1981, most were full-fledged restitution programs espousing the principles of offender accountability and victim reparations.

It was apparent at the time the national evaluation of the restitution initiative was being designed that a key

issue would arise regarding whether restitution would be equally effective if handled in an "ad hoc" manner by a probation department or whether a separately organized and relatively independent group would be needed to implement and operate the restitution program. For this reason, one of the sites selected for an intensive evaluation was Dane county, Wisconsin, in which an ad hoc program could be compared with a programmatic approach.

The purpose of this paper is to report on the results of that evaluation. The effectiveness of a programmatic approach, based on principles of accountability and victim compensation, will be compared with an ad hoc model in which restitution requirements were monitored by probation officers along with the usual probationary requirements, family counselling, and so forth. The latter model operated within the traditional rehabilitative tradition of the juvenile court.

Two propositions will be examined. The first is whether the programmatic approach produced a higher rate of successful completion and returned a greater proportion of the victim's loss. The second is whether successful completion, per se, had an impact on the likelihood of recidivism.

THE PROGRAMS

Prior to the development of the Youth Restitution Program in 1977, the Dane County, Wisconsin, juvenile court had often ordered restitution for juvenile offenders. Youths who were ordered to make restitution to the victims were handled in virtually the same way as youths for whom no restitution requirements had been imposed. Following the disposition hearing, juveniles were assigned to the Dane County Department of Social Services and a probation officer was appointed to handle the case. The probation officers sometimes assisted the youths in locating employment but typically the youths were on their own in terms of meeting the restitution requirements.

Judges reportedly were often reluctant to order restitution, or to order the full amount, since the state code permitted restitution to be required only if the youth was able to pay.

In 1977, Dane County chose to participate in the federally-funded juvenile restitution initiative and was, in turn, selected by the national evaluation team at the Institute of Policy Analysis for the development of an experimental design in which comparisons could be made between ad hoc and programmatic restitution.

The ad hoc approach was intended to resemble the restitution program which had existed in Dane county before 1977. The restitution orders would be handled by probation but their priority, within the overall framework of the

treatment plan for the youth, would remain quite low--just as it had in the past. Rather than shift the focus and philosophy from rehabilitation, based on services and "treatment," to accountability or victim compensation, the youths in the ad hoc program would experience the normal probationary requirements of curfew, school attendance, family counselling and so forth.

The Youth Restitution Program was operated by a non-profit corporation under contract with the county court. It provided assistance to the juveniles in locating paying job slots, arranged for community service work (when this had been ordered by the court) and developed a job-training program to help juveniles learn how to apply for a job, know what an employer expects, and so on. Subsidies also were available from program funds. A youth who could not obtain a paying job with an existing private or public sector employer, could be put to work by program personnel and then paid from the subsidy fund.

Juveniles who had been ordered to pay restitution were randomly assigned either to the ad hoc group or to the programmatic group. The random assignment occurred after the youths had been ordered to pay restitution and all juveniles for whom a restitution order was issued were considered eligible for assignment. Because the randomization occurred after disposition, there were virtually no crossovers (i.e., violations of the assignment). Juveniles assigned to the Youth Restitution Program (YRP) also were on probation and

were assigned a probation officer at the Dane County Department of Social Services. Thus, the probation officers were involved both with the "treatment" youths and the "control" youths.

The probation officers were not told which youths were in the restitution program and which ones were not, but they could have gained this information simply by asking the juveniles. Although every effort was made to insure that the study was inobtrusive (probation officers, for example, did not fill out any extra forms, were not interviewed by the evaluators until the study was complete, and so on) they undoubtedly were aware that the study was underway.

Dane county judges initially were reluctant to operate the random assignment in the manner desired by the evaluators because they thought they would be able to order more restitution, for more juveniles, if they knew the youths would have the services of the restitution project to help them make the payments. Thus, they wanted to know in advance which youths were targetted for the Youth Restitution Program. This, of course, could have jeopardized the study (since it was clear the judges believed they could order higher amounts of restitution if the youths were going into the program).

A compromise was reached during the negotiations about the random assignment in which the judges agreed to assume that all the youths would be assigned to the restitution program and that they could order the full amount of

restitution that they thought the youth--with the help of the program--could fulfill. In return, the evaluators agreed that the judges would be able to reduce the amount of restitution at a review hearing held three months or longer after entry to the program if the judge believed the youth genuinely was unable (rather than unwilling) to pay. In practice, however, such review hearings were rarely used and only a small proportion of restitution orders were ever adjusted downward (three percent in the treatment group and five percent in the control).

Actual assignment of juveniles to the ad hoc or programmatic conditions was done by an on-site evaluation specialist hired and trained by the national evaluators.

METHODOLOGY

The primary issues investigated in the Dane county experiment were:

1. Whether the rate of successful completion and the extent to which victims received restitution differed between the ad hoc and programmatic conditions; and
2. Whether successful completion, in turn, had an impact on recidivism rates.

Measuring Successful Completion

Successful completion of restitution can be defined and measured from either a legal or a behavioral point of view. Legally, it can be argued that a youth has successfully completed the restitution if he or she completes the amounts

ordered by the court regardless of whether the amount ordered constituted full restitution of the victim's losses. Alternatively, successful completion could be defined in terms of the proportion of the victim's loss which was recovered through restitution payments. The latter definition permits a gradation of "success" ranging from full repayment through various level of partial repayment.

For the first proposition, in which the programmatic and ad hoc approaches were compared regarding successful completion, the primary indicator used was the proportion of restitution orders fully satisfied by the juvenile. Other measures of successful completion were complicated by the fact that many of the offenses involved co-offenders and it was not possible to determine how much of the total victim loss was actually returned since not all of the offenders were in the evaluation groups.

Several different measures were considered for the analysis of the relationship between successful completion and recidivism. One of these was whether the case was closed as "complete" or "incomplete" (according to program and court records). The second indicator was whether the entire amount ordered had been repaid and a third measure was the proportion of the restitution order that was paid. These were all closely interrelated but the greatest degree of correspondence existed between the project-defined indication of successful completion and the variable in which a case was considered successful if the full amount of the order was

repaid. The correspondence was so high, in fact, that one served as a substitute for the other and most of the analysis uses the project-defined measure of successful completion in the recidivism study.

Measuring Recidivism

All of the analysis in this report is based on official records of offenses collected from the Dane county juvenile and adult courts. The record search extended through March, 1983 thereby providing an average of three years of follow-up beyond referral. Thus, recidivism was defined as a recontact with juvenile or adult court after referral to the program and before March 15, 1983.

Several different measures of recidivism were examined in an effort to control for differences in time at risk and to incorporate both the frequency of reoffending and the seriousness of the reoffenses.

1. TSUBS. This variable is the total number of subsequent delinquent contacts. Its major deficiency, as a measure of recidivism, is that it does not take into account either the seriousness of the reoffenses or the amount of time the youth was at risk.

2. SDRATE. The delinquency rate is measured with this variable in which the total number of subsequents (TSUBS) is divided by the amount of time the youth is at risk.

A possible problem with this variable, however, is that persons who do not reoffend have a numerator of zero which,

when divided by the risk time, remains at zero regardless of the amount of time they were at risk.

3. S1DRATE. S1DRATE is an adjusted delinquency rate calculated by adding a small constant (.01) to the numerator before dividing by time at risk. The effect of adding the constant is that persons who did not commit subsequent offenses have slightly different scores on this variable, depending on their risk time.

4. SSERR. This variable represents the frequency and seriousness of subsequent contacts, corrected for differences in time-at-risk. The variable is formed by first dividing all offenses into five classes of seriousness and then forming an additive, weighted, scale in which each offense in the most serious class (violent) is given a score of five; each in the second class (burglary and arson) is scored four; each in the third class (other felony property offenses including fraud, auto theft) is scored as three; each in the fourth class (misdemeanors) is scored as two and each in the fifth class (status offenses and traffic) is scored as one. The sum is then divided by the number of days at risk. In formula form:

$$SSERR = \frac{(Class1 \times 5) + (Class2 \times 4) + (Class3 \times 3) + (Class4 \times 2) + (Class5 \times 1)}{risktime}$$

5. S1SERR. This variable is identical to SSERR except that a small constant (.01) was added to the numerator before

dividing by the amount of time at risk (as was done with SIDRATE) so that persons who do not commit subsequent offenses will have slightly different scores reflecting differences in their risk times.

Several crime-specific measures also were examined: SVIOLENT, SSERPROP, SPROPFEL, SMINOR, AND STRIV. These variables are simply frequency counts for violent offenses, serious property (which, in fact, consists only of burglaries), other property felony offenses, minor offenses and trivial offenses.

Each of these five crime-specific variables was converted into an offense rate by dividing by the number of months a youth was at risk during the follow-up period. Risk time is defined here as the amount of time between referral to the program and the cessation of data collection, March 15, 1983. Since referral dates varied considerably the amount of time at risk also varied. An adjusted rate also was tested for each of the crime-specific variables. The adjusted rate was developed by adding a constant (.01) to the numerator so that the nonoffender scores would reflect differences in the time they were at risk. In the analysis of recidivism, days spent in detention or incarceration were not removed from the risk time.

Establishing Casualty

Establishing a causal relationship between the program and successful completion is rather straightforward because the youths were randomly assigned into programmatic and ad

hoc restitution. Thus, any differences in successful completion should be attributable to differences in the program, barring problems in the random assignment procedures or randomly-produced differences in the groups. As will be shown later, there were virtually no differences between the control and treatment groups in terms of age, prior offenses, sex, and so forth.

Establishing the effect of successful completion on recidivism, however, is considerably more complex. For this part of the study, the random assignment into treatment and control groups is irrelevant and multiple regression analysis was used in an effort to statistically control for any variables that might simultaneously influence the probability of successfully completing the restitution order and reoffense rates. In particular, the number of prior offenses and age of the youth were viewed as likely candidates for producing spurious correlations between failure to complete and recidivism.

FINDINGS

The results of the study are divided into three sections, beginning with an overview of the data and characteristics of the youths in the study. The analysis of successful completion and its implications for the organization of restitution programs is second and the relationship between successful completion and recidivism is presented last.

Overview of Data

The profile of juvenile offenders in the programmatic restitution group and the ad hoc group is shown in Table 1.

The final sample included 165 youths in the restitution program and 86 in the ad hoc control group. The uneven number of cases was produced intentionally by assigning two youths into the program for every one assigned to the control. Even though it usually is advantageous to have the same number of cases in each group, it was necessary for the program to take as many cases as possible in order to keep the cost per referral at a reasonable level. Thus, we established a random assignment system that permitted the two-for-one result observed in these data.

Most of the youths in both groups were male, fulltime students, white, 16 years of age or older with at least one prior court contact. Almost half of the youths in each group had two or more prior contacts. These characteristics indicate that the youths for whom restitution was ordered in Dane county tended toward the more serious offenders, a conclusion that is strengthened by the data in Table 2.

The offenses for which the youths were contacted at the time they entered the programmatic or ad hoc restitution programs are shown in the second table. Although only a few of the cases are in the violent offense categories (rape, armed robbery, aggravated assault), half of the youths in the programmatic group had been convicted of felony property offenses and 43 percent of the youths in the ad hoc group had

been convicted of felonies.

The profiles of the two groups are quite similar--as should be expected since these groups were formed through a random assignment. None of the differences which exist are statistically significant.

Successful Completion

The data clearly establish the superiority of a programmatic approach over an ad hoc approach in terms of successful completion rates (see Table 3). According to the criteria used by the programs and the court, 91 percent of the youths in the programmatic group successfully completed their orders compared with 45 percent of the youths in the ad hoc group.

Using the less judgemental standard in which successful completion is defined as paying all of the restitution ordered by the court (or completing all of the community service hours) the data show that 88 percent of the youths in the programmatic group would be judged successful compared with 40 percent in the ad hoc group. Similarly, if a very lenient standard were used (i.e., paying at least some of the restitution) the programmatic approach is considerably better as only two percent of their juveniles failed to pay at least some restitution whereas 37 percent of the juveniles in the ad hoc program did not pay even the first dollar of their restitution orders.

A legalistic standard of successful completion--such as those discussed above--is a good indication of whether the

juveniles have been held accountable for their offenses, up to a level deemed reasonable or proportionate by the court. This standard, however, may or may not be a good indication of whether victims are being fully compensated for the losses they suffered.

The remaining portions of Table 3 must be interpreted with caution because of the fact that approximately 75 percent of the incidents involved more than one offender whereas the amounts of restitution shown reflect only that ordered of a single offender. The programmatic model produced considerably better results in terms of the proportion of cases in which a single offender repaid the full loss (27 percent compared to 7 percent)

On the whole, the Dane county programmatic model resulted in a striking improvement over the ad hoc approach in successful completion of restitution orders and, in turn, in the ability of the court to hold juveniles accountable for their offenses. The programmatic approach also returned more compensation to victims and a higher proportion of total victim loss.

Successful Completion and Recidivism

The data from Dane county show a clear pattern of relationship between failure to complete the restitution requirements and recidivism. Youths who were able to repay the restitution were considerably less likely to commit subsequent offenses for which they were referred to juvenile or to adult court during a follow-up period that averaged

three years.

Tables 4 and 5 contain information summarizing the differences in reoffending between the youths who successfully completed their restitution requirements and those who did not. As shown in Table 4, 40 percent of the successful juveniles had not reoffended within the three-year followup period compared with 20 percent of the youths who failed to complete their restitution requirements. Even more marked is the finding that 34 percent of the unsuccessful youths had four or more subsequent court contacts within the three year period compared with 22 percent of the successful juveniles.

Differences between the two groups also were found for several specific types of crimes (see Table 4) including burglary, other felony property offenses and trivial offenses. No differences were observed for violent offenses or minor personal offenses.

The propensity of youths in the successful and unsuccessful groups to commit subsequent offenses also is shown in Table 5 which contains information on the number of offenses committed, per year, by each 100 youths in the two groups. (This type of calculation standardizes the scores for the two groups in terms of risk time and group size). The youths who were not successful in completing their restitution requirements reoffended at a rate of 104 subsequent offenses, per year, per 100 youths, compared with 72 for the successful group. For the unsuccessful group,

these 104 offenses include less than one of a violent nature, 15 burglaries, 51 other property offenses, and 37 trivial offenses. For the youths who completed their requirements, the 72 offenses, per year for a group of 100, include 2 violent offenses, nine burglaries, 39 other property offenses and 23 trivial offenses.

To further illustrate the differences between the two groups and, simultaneously, to show the change in offense patterns before and after the restitution intervention, the "pre" and "post" offense rates for both groups were calculated and are shown in Table 5. These, as before, are the number of offenses committed, per year, by each 100 youths in the groups.

Two observations are in order regarding these data. First, the unsuccessful group had slightly higher rates of reoffending for the minor property crimes and slightly higher total rates than did the successful group before the intervention took place. This underscores the importance of controlling for priors in the multiple regression analysis. The second observation is that the reoffending rate for the successful group dropped tremendously--much more than for the unsuccessful group--after the intervention. For example, there was a drop of 40 percent in offense rates for the successful group (from 122 to 72 per 100 youths, per year) whereas the decline for the unsuccessful group is only 25 percent.

In the absence of random assignment (which is

impossible for this particular test as one cannot randomly assign juveniles to "successful" and "unsuccessful" completion), it is difficult to judge whether a relationship is spurious or whether it is reasonable to infer a direct, causal impact. Multiple regression analysis often will reveal that an apparent direct effect is, in fact, spurious. If, when controlling for potentially confounding variables, the relationship between the critical independent variable (in this case, completion vs. noncompletion) and the dependent variable disappears or is substantially reduced, it is reasonable to assume that there is no direct effect.

The multiple regression analysis conducted here does not indicate a spurious effect, however. Hence, it appears that successful completion had a direct impact on recidivism.

Table 6 shows the zero order correlations between each of the measures of recidivism and successful completion. Figures in the two left-hand columns are the correlation coefficient and the one-tailed t-test. Values in columns 3 and 4 are the standardized regression coefficient between successful completion and each measure of recidivism after controlling for other variables that might produce a spurious correlation. Variables controlled were total number of priors, age of youth, number of violent priors, sex of youth, and (for the frequency variables) the amount of time at risk.

A very clear pattern emerges from these data. Successful completion apparently had an impact on recidivism rates independently of the other variables in the model for

the total number of offenses and for each type of offense except violent crimes. When the other potentially confounding variables were controlled, successful completion correlated with the total offense rate, the burglary rate, other felony property crimes, other minor offenses and trivial offenses. The relationships were strongest for the overall measures of recidivism.

The full multiple regression models for four of the recidivism variables are shown in Table 7. Juveniles with more prior offenses and with more prior violent offenses were more likely to recidivate. The negative correlation between age of the youth and recidivism must be interpreted in light of the fact that the recidivism data included offenses in the adult court and that the "younger" youths were 16 and 17 years old at the time the data collection was completed. Thus, the negative relationship is an indication that juveniles in their mid-teens were more apt to be referred to juvenile court than older youths were to be referred to adult court.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings in this study show, first, that a programmatic approach to restitution in Dane county, Wisconsin clearly increased the likelihood of juveniles repaying victims and increased the amount of restitution paid to victims, in comparison with an ad hoc approach. The

implication is that successful completion of restitution is more likely to occur when a greater importance is attached to the restitution requirement and when the juvenile is given additional incentives to comply with this part of the court order.

The second conclusion is that successful completion made a difference in terms of the likelihood of reoffending and that this effect probably is independent of other factors. The implication here is that courts which implement restitution without simultaneously implementing a program which will place high priority on successful completion (for the purposes of holding youths accountable and repaying victims) may miss the opportunity to have a positive effect on recidivism rates.

The results of this study, however, should not be interpreted to indicate that probation departments cannot or should not operate restitution programs. Too many examples exist of probation departments which effectively transformed themselves into restitution programs to foreclose this possibility. Rather, the critical point is that restitution will be more effective if it is not treated as an "ad hoc" stepchild to the traditional probationary requirements which emphasized curfew, associations, school attendance, and counselling, but, instead, is viewed as an integral part of the juvenile court's approach to delinquency.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that multiple regression does not always completely control for confounding

effects. Thus, even though this analysis indicates that the impact of successful completion is independent of other variables (such as the number of priors and the seriousness of the immediate offense) it is important for similar propositions to be tested in other contexts in order to replicate this finding.

FOOTNOTES

1. This study is part of the national evaluation of the juvenile restitution programs. The programs were funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the national evaluation was funded by the National Institute of Juvenile justice. For additional information about the evaluation, see Schneider and Schneider, 1983.

TABLE 1. PROFILE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

	Programmatic Restitution	"Ad Hoc" Restitution
No. of Cases	165	86
GENDER		
% Male	84 %	87 %
% Female	16	18
SCHOOL		
% Fulltime Students	71 %	73 %
% Parttime/Alternative school	8	3
% Not in School	21	23
RACE		
% Minority	4 %	10 %
% White	96	90
AGE		
14	5 %	7 %
15	21	23
16	28	22
17	29	33
18	17	15
PRIOR OFFENSES		
% With No Prior Court Contacts	32 %	29 %
% With One Prior Court Contact	19	15
% With Two to Four Priors	27	34
% With Five or More Priors	22	22

None of the differences shown were statistically significant at or beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 2. THE IMMEDIATE OFFENSE, BY TYPE

	Programmatic Restitution	"Ad Hoc" Restitution
	N	N
VIOLENT		
Rape	1	0
Armed Robbery	1	1
Aggravated Assault	1	0
Subtotal	3 (2%)	1 (1%)
SERIOUS PROPERTY OFFENSES		
Burglary	62	30
Attempted Burglary	1	0
Arson	0	1
Subtotal	63 (38%)	31 (36%)
OTHER FELONY PROPERTY		
Motor Vehicle Theft	19	9
Forgery, Fraud, Embezzlement	7	4
Subtotal	26 (16%)	14 (15%)
MINOR OFFENSES		
Assault and Battery	4	3
Stolen Property (receiving or possessing)	3	1
Vandalism	31	13
Pursesnatch & Pickpocket	3	2
Shoplifting	3	1
Theft	20	19
Subtotal	64 (39%)	39 (46%)
TRIVIAL OFFENSES		
Drugs	3	0
Criminal Mischief	1	0
Property Damage	1	0
Traffic/Property damage	1	2
Driving Without License	1	0
Subtotal	9 (5%)	2 (2%)

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION RATES FOR PROGRAMMATIC AND 'AD HOC' APPROACHES TO RESTITUTION

	Programmatic Restitution	"Ad Hoc" Restitution
No. of Cases	165	86
SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION		
% Completing Successfully (Program/Court Determination)	91 %	45 %
% Paying All of the Restitution Ordered	88 %	40 %
% of Cases in Which Full Victim Loss was Repaid By Offender	27 %	7 %
% of Cases Paying No Restitution	2 %	37 %
% of Cases in Which Judge Ordered Full Restitution by Offender	35 %	23 %
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CASES		
Median Amount of Victim Loss	\$192	\$157
Median Amount Ordered	\$125	\$ 67
Median Amount Paid	\$100	\$ 20
Average Amount of Victim Loss	\$1,119	\$1,350
Average Amount Ordered	\$215	\$225
Average Amount Paid	\$197	\$152

All of the differences shown, with the exception of the amount of victim loss (median or average) and the average amount of the restitution order are highly significant, at or beyond the .05 level.

The average amount of victim loss is seriously distorted due to the presence of three youths involved in a case with a loss of \$30,000 (two were in the programmatic group and one was in the ad hoc group). The average order is also distorted by one very large order \$5,667) in the ad hoc group.

The figures should not be interpreted as the total amount of restitution provided to the victim since restitution from co-offenders is not included.

TABLE 4. REOFFENSE PATTERNS FOR YOUTHS WHO WERE SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL IN COMPLETING RESTITUTION

	Unsuccessful	Successful
No. of Juveniles	61	190
PROPORTION REOFFENDING		
% With No Subsequent Offenses	20%	40%
% With One Subsequent Offense	25	17
% With Two Subsequent Offenses	13	13
% With Three Subsequent Offenses	8	8
% With Four to Six Subsequents	20	12
% With Seven or More Subsequents	14	10
PROPORTION REOFFENDING BY TYPE OF CRIME		
VIOLENT: No Violent Reoffenses	98%	94%
One or More Violent	2	6
BURGLARY: No Subsequent Burglaries	77%	85%
One or More Burglaries	23	15
OTHER FELONY PROPERTY OFFENSES		
No Subsequent Felonies	82%	92%
One or More	18	8
MINOR (PERSONAL)		
No Subsequent Minor (pers)	87%	90%
One or More	13	10
MINOR (PROPERTY)		
No Subsequent Minor (Prop)	51%	59%
One Minor Property Subsq.	26	18
Two or More Minor (Prop)	23	23
TRIVIAL: % With No Subsequents	48%	64%
% With One	26	18
% With Two	26	18

(TABLE CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

TABLE 4. CONTINUED

	Unsuccessful	Successful
GROUP REOFFENSE RATES		
# of Subsequent Contacts for Group	191	428
Months of Risk Time for Group	2,196	7,080
Average Risk Time, per Youth	36 mo.	37 mo.
Average No. of Contacts, per youth	3.1	2.25
Reoffense Rate, per 100 youths, per year (all reoffenses)	104	72
CRIME SPECIFIC REOFFENSE RATES (Per 100 youths, per Year)		
VIOLENT	.5	2
BURGLARY	15	9
OTHER PROPERTY OFFENSES	51	39
TRIVIAL OFFENSES	37	23

TABLE 5. PRE/POST COMPARISONS OF OFFENSE RATES FOR YOUTHS
BY SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION

Offense Rates Per Year, for 100	Unsuccessful		Successful	
	Before	After	Before	After
Total Offense Rate, Per Year, per 100	140	104	122	72
Violent Rate	1.6	.5	3.4	2.2
Burglary Rate	34	15	40	9
Other Property	81	51	65	39
Trivial Rate	23	37	24	23

Figures in the cells for the "before" period show the number of offenses, per year, committed by each 100 youths during the pre-intervention time period which covered two years. Similar yearly rates are shown for the post intervention time period.

TABLE 6. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMPLETION SUCCESS AND RECIDIVISM

Measures of Recidivism	CORRELATION BETWEEN SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION AND RECIDIVISM				
	Zero-Order		With Controls		
	r	(p)t	r	(pt)	R Sqrd.
OVERALL					
TSUBS (Frequency)	-.11	.04	-.08	.08	.19
SDRATE (Rate)	-.17	.01	-.10	.05	.16
SIDRATE (Adj. Rate)	-.17	.01	-.10	.05	.16
SERIOUSNESS INDICES					
SSERR (Rate)	-.14	.03	-.11	.03	.13
SISERR (Adj. Rate)	-.17	.03	-.11	.03	.13
MOST (Most serious)	-.15	.01	-.12	.03	.16
VIOLENT OFFENSES					
SVIOLENT (Frequency)	.08	.10	.08	.10	.00
SVRATE (Rate)	.06	.16	.06	.16	.00
SIVRATE (Adj. Rate)	.06	.16	.06	.16	.00
BURGLARIES					
SSERPROP (Frequency)	-.09	.08	-.07	.12	.04
SSERPR (Rate)	-.12	.03	-.10	.06	.03
SISERPR (Adj. Rate)	-.12	.03	-.10	.06	.04
OTHER FELONY PROPERTY					
SPROPFEL (Frequency)	-.14	.02	-.17	.01	.03
SFELPR (Rate)	-.18	.01	-.17	.01	.03
SIFELPR (Adj. Rate)	-.18	.01	-.18	.01	.03
MINOR OFFENSES					
SMINOR (Frequency)	-.07	.15	-.04	.24	.12
SMINR (Rate)	-.12	.03	-.09	.07	.08
SIMINR (Adj. Rate)	-.12	.03	-.09	.07	.08
TRIVIAL OFFENSES					
STRIV (Frequency)	-.13	.02	-.10	.06	.09
STRIVR (Rate)	-.19	.01	-.16	.01	.11
SITRIV (Adj. Rate)	-.19	.01	-.16	.01	.11

The significance levels are based on one-tailed t tests. Variables controlled in the equation were the total number of prior offenses, the number of prior violent offenses, and the age of the youth. In addition, the amount of time at risk was controlled for the frequency variables (TSUBS, SVIOLENT, SSERPROP, SPROPFEL, SMINOR, STRIV).

TABLE 7. MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODELS FOR SELECTED MEASURES OF RECIDIVISM

	Total Subsequents		Subsequent Rate		Adjusted Seriousness Rate		Most Serious Reoffense	
	b	(p)t	b	(p)t	b	(p)t	b	(p)t
Successful Completion	-.08	.08	-.10	.05	-.11	.03	-.12	.02
Number of Priors	.23	.00	.22	.00	.16	.01	.28	.00
Age	-.30	.00	-.27	.00	-.25	.00	-.20	.00
Sex (1=male 2=female)	-.05	.34	-.05	.34	-.02	.74	-.12	.02
Number of Violent Priors	.13	.03	.10	.08	.12	.02	.11	.03
Multiple R ²	.19		.16		.16		.16	

The probability of t is based on a one-tailed test. Variables which had a (p)t below .05 were not in the equation for the calculation of the multiple R square nor for the calculation of the other partial regression coefficients. Risk time was controlled for the TSUBS variable but it did not enter the equation (b=.08; (p)t = .19).

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