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JUVENILE RESTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES
PRACTICES, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

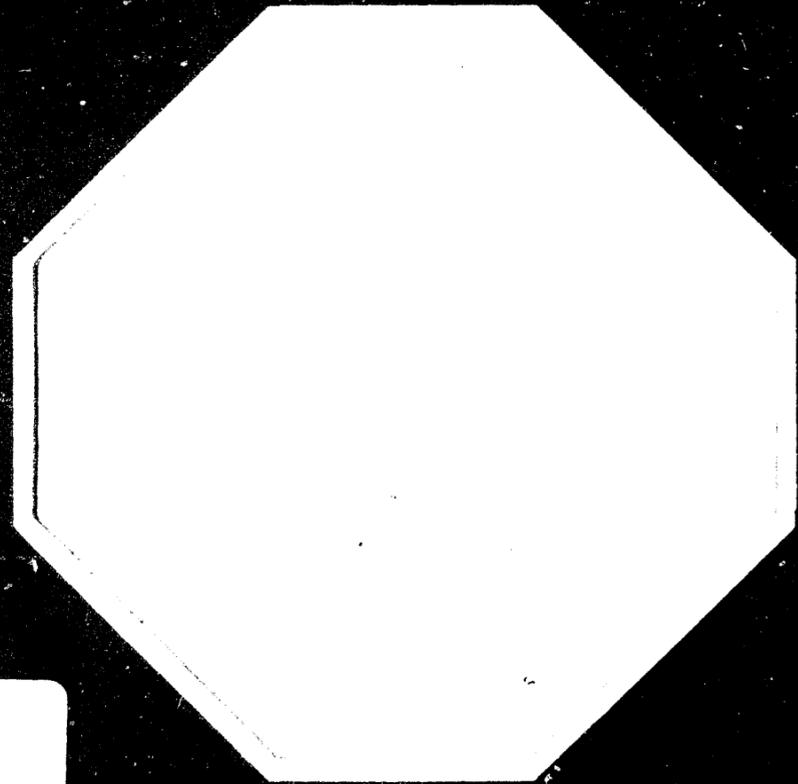
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JUVENILE RESTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES:

PRACTICES, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS

Introduction

The growth and development of restitution programming is one of the most significant innovations in the juvenile justice system in the United States of the past 10 years. A 1983 survey of juvenile courts in this country revealed that 97 percent of the courts were ordering restitution for at least some offenders, as compared with 86 percent six years earlier (Institute of Policy Analysis, 1983a; Schneider, et. al., 1977). Much more dramatic, however, was the observed increase in the number of formal restitution programs. While a 1976 study located only 11 programs for juveniles nationwide (Bryson, 1976), the 1983 survey indicated that formal restitution programs were operating in 52 percent of the juvenile courts in the United States.

The sudden attractiveness of restitution as a disposition, or sentence, for juvenile offenders in the late 1970s is attributed by Troy Armstrong to four factors: (A) its widespread appeal to an ideologically mixed audience; (B) the search for new interventive approaches; (C) the renewed concern for victims of crime; and (D) its intuitive appeal as a way of achieving reciprocity (Armstrong, 1981). These factors were subsumed in two parallel developments, each with adherents on both ends of the political spectrum. On the one hand was the growing concern for the plight of the victims of crime, who increasingly were seen as being ignored, forgotten and even abused by the criminal justice system (Wolfgang, 1981; Viano, 1976). On the other hand was the increasing dissatisfaction with traditional dispositions, and hence the search for new, innovative, and

more meaningful approaches (Empey, 1978). Restitution, which was seen as a means of compensating victims while holding offenders accountable for their actions, received widespread support as an alternative to existing forms of treatment.

The single most important determinant in the development of formal restitution programs -- as opposed to simply ordering a youth to make restitution and leaving the details in the hands of a probation officer -- was the National Juvenile Restitution Initiative. The initiative was launched in 1978 by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an agency within the U.S. Department of Justice, for the purpose of supporting and experimenting with the concept of restitution for juvenile offenders. Government grants awarded under the initiative financed 85 projects in 26 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, with additional funding for technical assistance and evaluation. Altogether, approximately \$23 million was committed to the effort.

The purpose of this paper is to review some of the research conducted as part of the evaluation of the initiative, discuss the reactions to restitution of various publics, including victims, lay citizens, and juvenile justice professionals, and appraise the future of juvenile restitution in the United States.

Types of Restitution: Practices and Preferences

All definitions of restitution share the same central element: namely, the compensation of a crime victim by his offender. The compensation may be monetary or nonmonetary (e.g., services), and may be

provided directly to the victim or to a substitute or indirect victim, such as the community. This implies four types of restitution: victim-monetary; victim-service; community-monetary; and community-service (Galaway, 1976). The third type, monetary payments to the community or some other indirect victim, is extremely rare and for all practical purposes ignored in planning restitution projects. Usually, restitution is assumed to mean monetary compensation, community service, or direct service to victims (OJJDP, 1978).

Monetary compensation to victims is by far the most popular type of restitution, in practice as well as in the expressed preferences of various publics. Of 17,354 referrals to the 85 projects in the Juvenile Restitution Initiative during its first two years, 54 percent were required to make monetary restitution and 32 percent were ordered to perform community service. Twelve percent were given combined sentences of monetary restitution and community service, while only one percent were required to provide direct services to victims (Schneider, et. al., 1982a).

The extremely limited use of victim service restitution is in stark contrast with public opinion: In a survey of 1,045 randomly-selected residents of five U.S. cities and counties (Ventura County, CA; Dane County (Madison), WI; Oklahoma City, OK; Clayton County, GA; and Washington, DC), 70 percent of the respondents ranked victim service first in order of preference and slightly ahead of monetary restitution. A total of 199 juvenile justice professionals, including judges, lawyers, prosecutors, probation officers, and social workers, were interviewed in the same jurisdictions, and they ranked victim service second to monetary restitution (Institute of Policy Analysis, 1983b).

Interestingly, the victims of crime in these jurisdictions -- especially those in the more urbanized areas of Ventura County, CA, and Washington, DC -- tended to be less supportive of victim service, ranking it far behind monetary restitution and frequently behind community service (Institute of Policy Analysis, 1983c). This is consistent with Alan Harland's observation that victims generally are unwilling to enter into a direct service relationship with their offenders (Harland, 1978).

Types of Offenders and Offenses

The framers of the Juvenile Restitution Initiative explicitly intended restitution to be an alternative to incarceration, and hence projects funded under the initiative were required to target serious offenders for their programs (OJJDP, 1978). While contrary to the traditional use of restitution as a disposition for relatively nonserious offenders or even as an informal requirement in lieu of a sentence (Schneider, et. al., 1977), the decision to use restitution with offenders who otherwise would be incarcerated was fortuitous. It demonstrated that restitution was a viable disposition for serious as well as nonserious offenders and consequently greatly broadened its potential application in juvenile courts.

The offense history of youths referred to the OJJDP-funded restitution projects, and the types of offenses which resulted in referral, are displayed in Table 1. The offenses are ranked according to level of

 Table 1 about here

seriousness (following Wolfgang, 1972) and cross-tabulated with the number of prior offenses. This creates a "seriousness matrix" which can be used to describe the type of offenders for whom restitution was ordered.

As shown by the table, most of the juveniles referred to restitution projects had committed property crimes, such as burglary, and had at least one prior offense. More than seven percent, however, had committed serious or very serious personal offenses, such as robbery and assault, and about 15 percent had four or more priors. The percentage of these offenders who might have been committed to an institution if they were not placed in a restitution program is a matter of speculation; however, based on offense seriousness and offense chronicity, it is clear that a substantial number of these youths were at least in jeopardy of incarceration (Schneider, 1983).

Performance of Offenders in Restitution Projects

A major concern of those advocating restitution as a disposition for juvenile offenders is whether a youth ordered to make restitution can carry out the obligation. Inability to complete the requirements of restitution might be detrimental for the youth because, it is feared, it would label him a "failure." On the other hand, completion of restitution is believed to have therapeutic effects in that gives the offender experience at achievement and enhances his sense of self-esteem (Keve, 1978).

Apprehension that juvenile offenders might be unable to perform restitution has largely been allayed by the experience of the initiative. According to data collected on all referrals at the time of case closure,

86 percent of the offenders completed restitution successfully (Griffith, 1982). Moreover, the probability of completing restitution successfully varies only slightly across types of offenders. As shown in Table 2, rates of successful completion are virtually unaffected by age and gender, and are only slightly related to the seriousness of the presenting offense.

Table 2 about here

Even for variables which exhibit a fairly strong relationship with successful completion -- race, annual family income, attendance at school, and number of prior offenses -- the differences across categories are on the order of approximately 10 percent.

Differences in rates of successful completion attributable to characteristics of the restitution order are displayed in Table 3. The results are interesting, and at least one finding appears

Table 3 about here

counter-intuitive: Youths who receive a sentence of restitution as a sole sanction are more likely to complete the order than youths required to make restitution as a condition of probation. This finding has been explored in depth and holds up even when a number of intervening variables, such as socioeconomic factors, seriousness of the presenting offense, and number of prior contacts with the police, are included (Schneider, et. al., 1982b).

The reason that offenders who make restitution as a sole sanction have a higher completion rate than those on probation is not known for certain, but at least two different explanations are possible. It may be that youths appreciate the trust shown them by the court, and respond by making an extra effort to complete their obligations. A competing hypothesis is that greater surveillance is exercised over the youths on probation, and therefore new offenses and other activities resulting in expulsion from the restitution project are more likely to be detected.

Another factor which appears to increase the rate at which offenders complete restitution is the provision to the youth of an employment subsidy. Subsidies usually are provided in one of two ways. In one method, the court assigns youths to perform some type of public service work, such as cleaning parks or sprucing up public buildings, and the restitution project pays them a wage from public funds. In another method, the restitution project locates employment for its clients in the private sector and uses its funds to subsidize the wages paid by the employer. Both approaches are intended to provide poorer and hard-to-place offenders with the means to pay restitution.

As shown in the table, offenders who receive subsidies have a completion rate about six percent higher than those who do not. The effect of subsidization, however, varies across types of offenders. In a more detailed analysis of these data, William Griffith has demonstrated that subsidization does little to improve the completion rates of low-risk offenders (those already very likely to succeed) but increases the rate of high-risk offenders by as much as 28 percent (Griffith, 1983). His advice

to policy-makers is that subsidization should be reserved for offenders who otherwise would be unlikely to succeed in a restitution program. For this group, at least, subsidies appear cost-effective.

A third variable related to the rate of successful completion is the size of the restitution order. The direction of the relationship is clear and consistent: the greater the amount of monetary restitution required, and the greater the number of community service hours ordered, the lower the rate of completion.

A question of interest to policy-makers is whether there is a threshold in the amount of monetary restitution a juvenile offender can be expected to pay. The data arrayed in Figure 1, which compares the size of the monetary restitution order with the percent of the order paid, suggests

Figure 1 about here

there are two thresholds. The first threshold is for very small orders; on the average, about 83 percent of the money ordered -- when the amount is \$100 or less -- is ultimately recovered through restitution. The average percent paid then drops off sharply until the figure of \$300 is reached, after which it levels off. The second threshold, apparently, is at the \$600 mark, when the average percent of the order paid agains begins to be reduced sharply. When the amount of restitution ordered is at \$1,000 or more only 36 percent, on the average, is paid.

In-Program Reoffense Rates

Another question concerning restitution programs of interest to juvenile court policy-makers is the in-program reoffense rate, or the rate at which referrals to restitution projects commit new offenses while still in the program and under the jurisdiction of the court. It is important as a policy issue or several reasons. First, it provides courts with an approximate but readily-available measure of the extent to which restitution as a disposition is taken seriously by juvenile offenders, and hence has any deterrent effect. Second, it permits the court to monitor the credibility of its restitution program, and take remedial action if the in-program reoffense rate reaches an intolerably high level. Third, it provides guidelines for "fine-tuning" projects: if reoffense rates vary by type of offense or type of offenders, then courts can seek and eventually find an optimal mix of clients for a restitution project that would allow them to serve the riskiest population while, at the same time, keeping the reoffense rate within acceptable bounds.

Data collected by the evaluation team on all referrals to restitution projects in the national initiative was used to calculate reoffense rates. A youth was counted as a reoffender if his restitution case was closed as a result of the new offense, and the offense itself was reported to the juvenile court. This is a conservative definition and probably undercounts the actual number of offenses; however, the extent of undercounting -- or error -- should be the same across different restitution projects and different type of offenders. Therefore, even though the true amount of reoffending may be greater than the amount detected, generalizations concerning the correlates of reoffending should be valid.

In the restitution initiative, youths remained in projects for an average of slightly more than six months, and during that time about eight percent of the referrals were counted as reoffenders. The rate varied according to time, and so for three months four percent of the referrals were counted as reoffenders, and for one year the rate was 14 percent. Tables 4 and 5 show the relationship of reoffending to, first, selected socioeconomic characteristics of the offender and, second, to the youth's offense history.

As shown in both tables, small differences in reoffense rates become

Table 4 about here

progressively larger over time. Thus a slight -- and apparently unimportant -- difference detected at three months can become substantial after one year. Statistically significant differences are observed, in Table 4, for race, family income, school attendance, and gender, while there is no apparent difference with respect to age. In Table 5 there is a statistically significant difference in the reoffense rate attributable to

Table 5 about here

number of prior offenses, but, interestingly, no differences due to type or seriousness of the offense that resulted in referral to the restitution program.

While some types of offenders referred to restitution projects are more likely than others to commit new infractions, it should be noted that in no case are the differences greater than 10 percent after one year. Therefore, while it is possible to minimize the reoffense rate of a restitution project by careful selection of clients, to do so would mean the denial of services to many other offenders unlikely to reoffend. The task of project managers is to balance the risks of higher reoffense rates against the greater number of offenders and victims their projects can serve.

Some Problems in Implementation

Cities and counties which have implemented restitution programs have encountered a number of problems, some of which are specific to the jurisdiction and others which recur again and again across jurisdictions. Among the major recurrent problems are (1) employment for referrals to restitution programs; (2) supervision of the referrals; (3) accurately assessing the amount of victim loss; (4) procedures for paying restitution; and (5) the determination of sanctions in lieu of completion of the court order.

In a national survey designed to determine the needs of juvenile courts in establishing new restitution programs, more than two-thirds of the courts mentioned the problem of locating employment for the offenders (Institute of Policy Analysis, 1983a). Unemployment is perennially high among young persons, and the problem is even worse for those who have had contact with the police. Moreover, competition for part-time work is

intense among school-age youths, and officials are fearful of public reaction if they appear to support a program which employs "bad kids" at the expense of "good kids."

Restitution programs address the employment problem in different and often creative ways. Among the 85 programs in the national juvenile restitution initiative, 28 percent pursue job development -- in which they locate and reserve positions specifically for their referrals -- and 61 percent assist their clients in finding jobs (Schneider, et. al., 1982a). A Massachusetts program began its development of a voluminous "job bank" for its referrals (several hundred per year) by convincing local businesses to donate 100 hours of work each year (Klein, 1980).

Other programs -- particularly those in hard-pressed urban areas -- substitute community service work for monetary restitution or rely on subsidization to generate employment. In the restitution initiative, about 70 percent of the projects used subsidies at least occasionally but lost those resources when federal funding ended. In Ohio, restitution projects continued to operate with subsidized employment programs by obtaining money from the state government earmarked for community-based corrections. At the same time these projects were lobbying for legislation which would produce money for restitution programs by a surcharge on court-ordered fines. In answer to complaints that "bad kids" are being favored for jobs over "good kids," restitution projects point out that their jobs involve menial labor and that most if not all of the wages earned by the offenders are used to compensate the victims of crime.

The supervision of offenders in restitution programs is another problem which has been handled in different ways by different projects. One aspect of the problem concerns the use of restitution as a sole sanction or as a condition of probation, and there are arguments for each position (Schneider, et. al., 1982b). In the initiative about 87 percent of the referrals were on probation, and this raised another problem, namely, the issue of joint or shared supervision of the offender. Generally, exclusive supervision was retained by the probation departments, but in 14 percent of the projects the youths were supervised by the restitution project, and in seven percent supervision was shared (Schneider, et. al., 1982a). As the use of restitution as a disposition by juvenile courts continues to spread -- particularly the use of restitution as a sole sanction -- this problem will become even more acute.

The accurate and equitable assessment of victim losses is a problem with several facets, including documentation of the amount of loss; the offender's obligation to victims covered by insurance; and the determination of a restitution order which all parties would consider fair.

New programs invariably encounter victims who exaggerate the actual amount of a loss resulting from a criminal offense. To guard against this, programs usually require that victims document their loss, and in fact many programs assist the victim in doing so. What restitution projects and juvenile court judges accept as actual loss varies, however. Some courts will order restitution only for the actual property loss, while others will include less tangible items such as the victim's time and expenses in attending the hearing. Some restitution orders, therefore, exceed 100 percent of the property loss.

For victims whose losses are covered by insurance, courts usually order monetary restitution only for the amount of the deductible, but often will require, in addition, that the offender perform community service work. In rare cases, restitution has been ordered for the full amount of loss, regardless of insurance coverage, under the assumption that the victim will reimburse the insurance company. Frequently, insurance companies will request that they be awarded restitution for the money they paid to an insured victim. While most states agree that insurance companies are legally entitled to restitution from the offender (Feinman, 1980), 64 percent of the projects in the federal initiative would not, as a matter of policy, require offenders to pay insurance companies (Schneider, et. al., 1983a).

That an order be perceived as fair by both the victim and the offender is an essential element in theories propounding the positive benefits of restitution (Utne and Hatfield, 1978), but it is often difficult to arrive at a settlement that all parties would consider equitable. While the direct losses stemming from most crimes are small and well within the offenders' ability to pay restitution (Harland, 1980), some offenses -- such as arson or vandalism -- may result in large damages which outstrip the offenders' resources. Moreover, crimes against the person may result in little out-of-pocket loss, but leave psychological scars which take a long time to heal. Offenders, on the other hand, may for a number of reasons consider their restitution requirements excessive. Finally, issues of equity arise when there are multiple offenders involved in a single crime.

One procedure for determining the amount of the restitution order which has received considerable attention in the United States is the use of mediation between the victim, or a victim advocate, and the offender. Meeting face-to-face provides both the victim and the offender with an opportunity to influence the details of the restitution order, and thus enhances the sense of fairness for both parties (Hofrichter, 1980). However, despite its innate attractiveness as a mechanism for determining restitution requirements, victim-offender mediation is not widely used. Sessions involving both the victim and offender are difficult to arrange, and often the victim is reluctant to confront the offender. Where face-to-face negotiations occur, Hofrichter reports, "they generally work well and result in dispositions satisfactory to both parties."

Philosophers as early as Jeremy Bentham recognized that one of the most important actions in the restitution process is the payment of restitution by the offender to the victim, for "there is connected with the payment a degree of humiliation, which gives to the punishment thus inflicted the most desirable character" (Bentham, in Hudson and Galaway, 1975). For this reason restitution projects frequently emphasize the manner in which payment is made. So that the significance of the act of making restitution is not lost on young offenders, the payment of the restitution order by the offender's parents is prohibited by 30 percent of the projects in the initiative and discouraged by another 49 percent (Schneider, et. al., 1982a). Some projects go even further: a program in Virginia, for example, requires that the offender make the final restitution payment to the victim in person, apparently to insure that the offender will experience the "degree of humiliation" mentioned by Bentham.

Finally, a problem which all restitution programs must deal with eventually is the matter of enforcement. In the United States, the courts have repeatedly held that an offender cannot be incarcerated for failure to pay restitution unless the failure is "willful" (Feinman, 1980). Usually, in juvenile courts, restitution is imposed as an alternative sentence; that is, the defendant is given a conventional disposition, which is then set aside if restitution is made. If the offender fails to perform as ordered the original sentence is imposed. In the national juvenile restitution initiative, only about 14 percent of the referrals were unsuccessful in completing restitution. Of these, 28 percent ultimately were committed to a juvenile institution.

Prospects for Juvenile Restitution in the Future

The use of restitution as a disposition for juvenile offenders in the United States has assumed the proportions of a national movement. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, more than half of the country's juvenile courts now operate formal restitution projects and the number continues to grow. Among the various components of the movement are the following:

1. The National Juvenile Restitution Association was formed in 1981 and has more than 100 members. In cooperation with the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, the organization sponsors an annual symposium on restitution which brings together researchers, project directors, judges, probation officers and others involved in juvenile corrections.

2. The Institute of Policy Analysis, located in Eugene, Oregon, was awarded a grant by the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in 1982 to develop a series of regional training workshops on restitution for juvenile court personnel. Targeted specifically at judges, chief probation officers, and other senior policy-makers, the workshops are designed to provide the participants with all the information they need to implement a project in their home jurisdictions. Three workshops were to be held in 1983, and six are scheduled for 1984.

3. The National Institute for Sentencing Alternatives, located at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, promotes the expansion of restitution by sponsoring training workshops for both adult and juvenile court personnel. To date more than 200 persons have participated in the workshops, and, as a consequence, an estimated 40 new programs have been initiated (Juvenile Justice Digest, May 2, 1982).

In addition to these efforts, the Office of Juvenile Justice was, at this writing, considering the implementation of a marketing plan which would continue to encourage the use of restitution through training, technical assistance, and research. A major goal of these efforts would be the inclusion of serious offenders in restitution programs.

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TABLE 1. CROSTABULATION OF SERIOUSNESS LEVEL AND OFFENSE HISTORY*

SERIOUSNESS OF REFERRAL OFFENSE	PRIOR AND DELINQUENT OFFENSES KNOWN TO COURT OFFICIALS							TOTALS
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6+	
Number of Cases	6,967	3,370	1,934	1,183	713	446	1,021	14,270
<u>Victimless:</u> Includes traffic accidents or tickets, status offenses, drugs, alcohol, gambling, prostitution, and probation violations.	1.0%	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	2.4%
<u>Minor Offenses:</u> Minor offenses not easily classified as property or personal, such as disorderly conduct.	0.8%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	**	0.1%	1.8%
<u>Minor Property:</u> Any property offense with loss/damage of \$10 or less except burglary and arson.	5.9%	2.4%	1.5%	1.1%	0.5%	0.3%	0.6%	12.3%
<u>Minor Personal:</u> Resisting or obstructing an officer, coercion, hazing, other similar UCR PART II offenses.	0.8%	0.5%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	**	0.2%	2.1%
<u>Moderate Property:</u> Burglaries and arsons with loss/damage of \$10 or less and any other type of property offense with loss/damage of \$11 to \$250.	12.1%	6.2%	3.4%	2.1%	1.2%	0.7%	1.8%	27.5%
<u>Serious Property:</u> Burglaries and arsons with loss/damage of \$11 to \$250 and any other property offense with loss/damage greater than \$250.	13.7%	6.3%	3.4%	2.0%	1.4%	0.9%	1.7%	29.3%
<u>Very Serious Property:</u> Burglaries and arsons with loss/damage of \$250 or more.	6.8%	3.7%	2.4%	1.3%	0.9%	0.6%	1.8%	17.5%
<u>Serious Personal:</u> Unarmed robberies and non-aggravated assaults with loss of \$250 or less.	1.6%	0.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	3.7%
<u>Very Serious Personal:</u> Unarmed robberies and non-aggravated assaults with losses exceeding \$250 and all UCR Part I personal crimes including rape, armed robbery, aggravated assault.	1.7%	0.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	3.6%
TOTAL PERCENT	44.4%	21.5%	12.5%	7.6%	4.6%	2.9%	6.5%	100.0%

*Offenses were coded from the narrative descriptions of the offenses provided by the restitution projects. Coding categories and rules are those used in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR).

**Less than 0.1 percent.

TABLE 2. SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION RATES BY OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS*

CHARACTERISTIC	PERCENT SUCCESSFUL	PERCENT UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL	NUMBER OF CASES
<u>Age</u>				
13 and younger	87.6%	12.4%	100%	1,485
14	86.0	14.0	100	2,020
15	85.2	14.8	100	3,064
16	85.9	14.1	100	3,527
17	86.7	13.3	100	2,751
18 and older	85.8	14.2	100	612
				13,459
$\tau_c = .00 \quad \gamma = .00$ n.s.				
<u>Race</u>				
White	88.1%	11.9%	100%	11,528
Non-white	80.7	19.3	100	1,864
				13,392
$\tau_B = -.09 \quad \gamma = -.27$ $\alpha < .001$				
<u>Income (Annual)</u>				
Less than \$6,000	80.9%	19.1%	100%	1,590
\$ 6,000 - \$10,000	86.3	13.7	100	1,532
\$10,000 - \$14,000	87.3	12.7	100	1,576
\$14,000 - \$20,000	90.3	9.7	100	1,447
Over \$20,000	91.5	8.5	100	1,920
				8,065
$\tau_c = .08 \quad \gamma = .23$ $\alpha < .001$				
<u>School Attendance</u>				
Full-time	88.6%	11.4%	100%	10,013
Not in school	78.5	21.5	100	2,541
Other	81.0	19.0	100	489
				13,043
$\tau_c = -.07 \quad \gamma = -.33$ $\alpha < .001$				

(continued)

TABLE 2. (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	PERCENT SUCCESSFUL	PERCENT UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL	NUMBER OF CASES
<u>Total Number of Priors/Charges</u>				
0	90.3%	9.7%	100%	5,936
1	86.6	13.4	100	2,844
2	83.6	16.4	100	1,614
3	80.7	19.3	100	976
4	79.6	20.4	100	578
5	77.0	23.0	100	352
6 and more	77.2	22.8	100	797
				13,097
$\tau_c = -.09 \quad \gamma = -.25$ $\alpha < .001$				
<u>Seriousness</u>				
Victimless	86.0%	14.0%	100%	335
Minor General	88.7	11.3	100	239
Minor Property	87.4	12.6	100	1,708
Minor Personal	84.6	15.4	100	279
Moderate Property	89.4	10.6	100	3,752
Serious Property	85.1	14.9	100	3,895
Serious Personal	84.6	15.4	100	495
Very Serious Property	82.3	17.7	100	2,222
Very Serious Personal	85.5	14.5	100	470
				13,395
$\tau_c = .04 \quad \gamma = .11$ $\alpha < .001$				
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	86.3%	13.7%	100%	12,175
Female	84.7	15.3	100	1,414
				13,589
$\phi = .01 \quad \gamma = .06$ n.s.				

*Tests of significance are based on the τ_p . The gamma statistic (γ) indicates the degree of association between the successful completion rate and the characteristic.

TABLE 3. SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION RATES BY PROGRAM AND RESTITUTION PLAN CHARACTERISTICS*

CHARACTERISTIC	PERCENT SUCCESSFUL	PERCENT UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL	NUMBER OF CASES
<u>Restitution Order Requirements</u>				
Sole Sanction Restitution	93.9%	6.1%	100%	1,991
Restitution and Probation	84.2	15.8	100	9,555
Suspended Commitment	87.0	13.0	100	713
				12,255
$\tau_c = -.05 \quad \gamma = -.31$				
$\alpha < .001$				
<u>Employment Subsidy</u>				
Yes	90.2%	9.8%	100%	3,840
No	84.5	15.5	100	9,858
				13,698
$\phi = .07 \quad \gamma = -.26$				
$\alpha < .001$				
<u>Percent of Earnings Subsidized</u>				
0 - 75%	90.8%	9.2%	100%	196
76 - 100%	90.2	9.8	100	3,576
				3,772
$\phi = .00$				
n.s.				
<u>Type of Restitution</u>				
Monetary	86.9%	13.1%	100%	7,016
Unpaid Community Service	87.9	12.1	100	4,406
Victim Service	94.5	5.5	100	164
Monetary and Community Service	85.4	14.6	100	1,730
				13,316
<u>Size of Monetary Restitution Order</u>				
\$ 1 - \$ 41	92.7%	7.3%	100%	1,703
\$ 42 - \$ 90	91.8	8.2	100	1,810
\$ 91 - \$ 165	87.4	12.6	100	1,795
\$ 166 - \$ 335	83.8	16.2	100	1,768
\$ 336 - \$ 7,992	77.4	22.6	100	1,682
				8,758
$\tau_c = -.13 \quad \gamma = -.30$				
$\alpha < .001$				

(continued)

TABLE 3. (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	PERCENT SUCCESSFUL	PERCENT UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL	NUMBER OF CASES
<u>Size of Community Service Order</u>				
1 - 16 hrs.	96.2%	3.8%	100%	1,208
17 - 25 hrs.	91.9	8.1	100	1,281
26 - 40 hrs.	89.2	10.8	100	1,330
41 - 74 hrs.	82.8	17.2	100	1,056
75 - 1000 hrs.	76.9	23.1	100	1,249
				6,124
$\tau_c = -.16 \quad \gamma = -.40$				
$\alpha < .001$				

*Tests if significance are based on the τ_p . The gamma statistic (γ) indicates the degree of association between the successful completion rate and the characteristic.

FIGURE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIZE OF MONETARY RESTITUTION ORDER AND PERCENT OF ORDER PAID

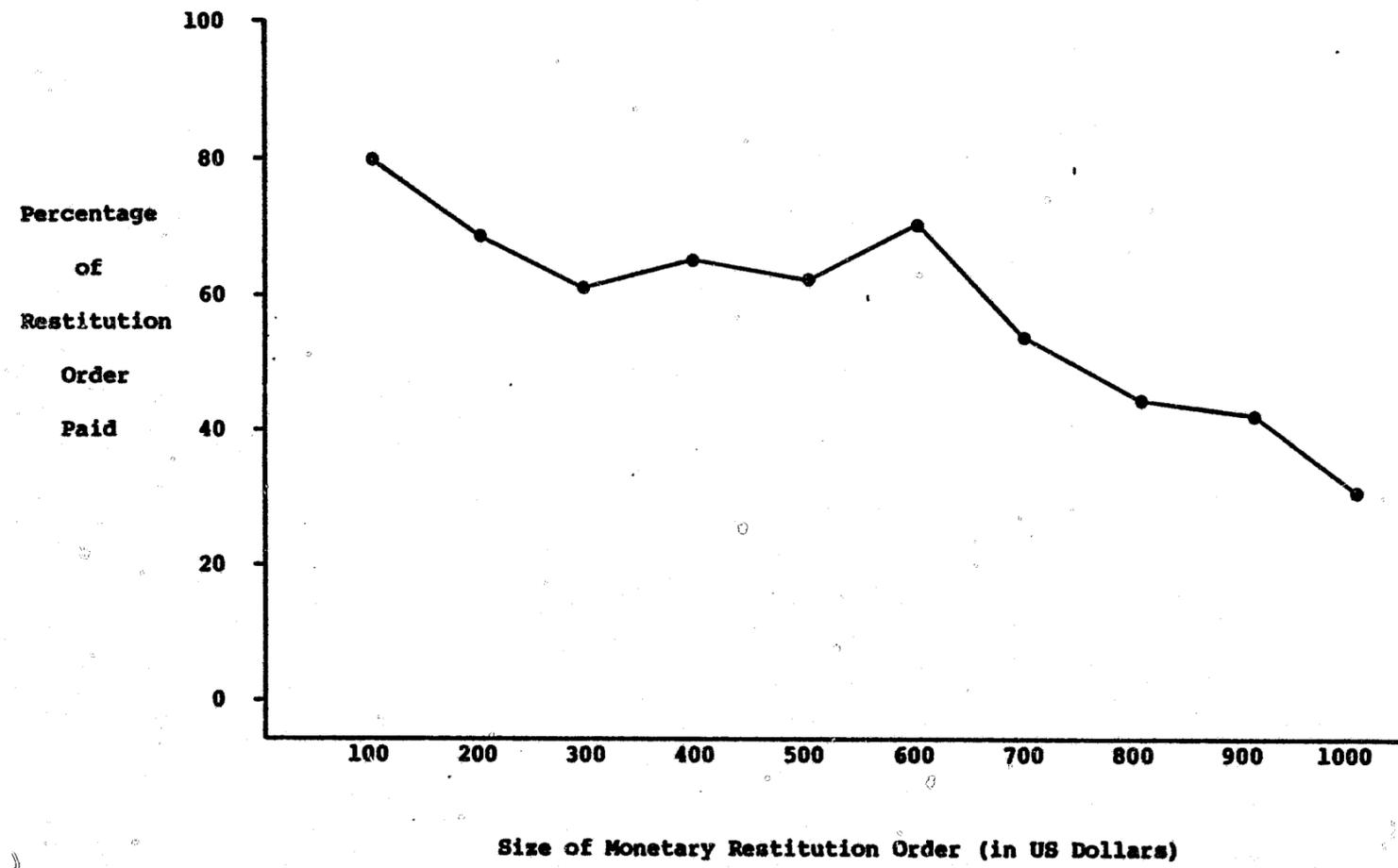


TABLE 4. REOFFENSE RATES BY AGE, RACE, INCOME, SCHOOL STATUS, AND GENDER*

	No. of Cases	Proportion Offending			Signf. Level
		3 mos.	6 mos.	12 mos.	
All Referrals	15,192	04%	08%	14%	
<u>Age</u>					
13 and under	1,645	03%	07%	14%	n.s.
14	2,267	04	09	15	
15	3,423	05	09	14	
16	3,941	05	09	15	
17	3,070	04	08	13	
<u>Race</u>					
White	10,838	04%	08%	13%	***
Nonwhite	4,165	05	10	18	
<u>Income</u>					
\$6,000 or less	1,795	06%	12%	18%	***
\$6,000-\$10,000	1,699	05	09	18	
\$10,000-\$14,000	1,721	05	09	15	
\$14,000-\$20,000	1,569	04	09	14	
\$20,000 or more	2,106	03	07	12	
<u>School Attendance</u>					
Full Time	11,142	04%	08%	14%	***
Not in School	2,929	05	11	15	
Other	552	06	10	17	
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	13,675	04%	09%	15%	***
Female	1,561	03	06	10	

*Significance levels were estimated with the comparison routine contained in the SPSS survival analysis program (Nie, et. al., 1975). Three asterisks indicate significance beyond .001

TABLE 5. REOFFENSE RATES BY TYPE OF OFFENSE, PRIOR OFFENSES, AND SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES*

Type of Offense	No. of Cases	Proportion Offending			Signf. Level
		3 mos.	6 mos.	12 mos.	
Burglary	5,239	04%	08%	14%	
Larceny	3,001	05	10	16	
Vandalism	2,046	03	08	13	
Vehicle Theft	1,451	05	10	14	
Other Property	1,034	04	07	12	
Assault, Rape, Robbery	819	04%	10%	19%	
Other Personal	1,117	04	08	12	
<u>Prior Offenses</u>					
None	6,513	03%	06%	10%	***
One	3,157	04	08	13	
Two	1,829	05	10	17	
Three or More	3,161	07	12	10	
<u>Seriousness of Offense</u>					
Victimless Offenses	358	03%	05%	12%	n.s.
Minor Offenses	259	05	06	19	
Property-minor	1,841	04	09	15	
Property-moderate	4,146	05	10	15	
Property-serious	4,387	04	09	14	
Property-very serious	2,615	04	07	14	
Personal-minor	299	05	11	16	
Personal-serious	565	05	10	18	
Personal-very serious	539	03	08	18	

*Significance levels were estimated with the comparison routine contained in the SPSS survival analysis program (Nie, et. al., 1975). Three asterisks indicate significance beyond .001

END