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PERFORMANCE MEASURES

Measuring
What *Really* Matters
in Juvenile Justice

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Measuring
What *Really* Matters
in Juvenile Justice

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While measurement is not new to juvenile justice, too often data collected by juvenile justice agencies have been unrelated to outcomes, and have seldom allowed the public to assess performance in a meaningful way. This information has not helped juvenile justice systems and organizations determine the impact and cost-effectiveness of their interventions. It has not provided input to juvenile justice professionals regarding public awareness and support for these efforts. It has seldom provided citizens and other government stakeholders with a sense of what it is that juvenile justice systems and agencies are really accomplishing or trying to accomplish.

This monograph presents a case for utilizing a system of performance outcomes and measures for juvenile justice systems developed by a partnership between the American Prosecutors Research Institute (APRI), the Balanced and Restorative Justice Project (BARJ) (Community Justice Institute, Florida Atlantic University), and the National Center for Juvenile Justice (NCJJ). Funding was provided by a congressional earmark administered by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). These partners collaborated in the *Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System, National Demonstration Project* to create a "report card" system of measuring performance in juvenile justice.[1] This "report card' system is documented in a companion monograph: *Guide to Developing and Implementing Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System* (Harp, Bell, Bazemore and Thomas, 2006).

In many cases, current measurement efforts in juvenile justice have little to do with outcomes at all. As Griffin and Thomas (2004) put it:

> ...juvenile probation departments have tended to keep close track of things like the number of daily, weekly, or monthly contacts with probationers, for instance, without necessarily asking themselves what these numbers have to do with organizational success or failure. Are contacts good in themselves? Is it: the more, the better? Is there any limit to this principle? Does this kind of contact matter?...(this) seems to assume that supervision is an end in itself—to do it well you do more of it.

The lack of development of such an approach by justice systems and agencies and the current focus on process measurement (e.g., number of clients served, number of contacts with clients) rather than outcomes is attributed largely to the historical absence of a clear mission. Now part of recently revised juvenile codes in some 23 states, and policy documents in 10 others, the Balanced Approach mission as part of a Balanced and Restorative Justice model for juvenile justice provides a basis for developing measurement standards grounded firmly in community needs and expectations. This monograph provides a detailed rationale and defense for each set of measures and outcomes proposed under the three Balanced Approach mission goals—accountability, public safety, and competency development—utilized in APRI's National Demonstration Project.[2]

Performance Measurement

According to the Center for Accountability and Performance (2000), performance measurement is:

> a method of gauging progress of a public program or activity in achieving the results or outcomes that clients, customers, or stakeholders expect…(it) tells people how well public programs are doing… (p. 3).

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[1] This partnership is of course not the first to develop a "report card" that seeks to track progress in the response to at-risk and delinquent youth. While there are a number of such benchmarking projects, most operate on a national or state, rather than community level. Most importantly, most other report cards, though summarizing vital information relevant to deficiencies in system responses to young people at risk, are also deficit-focused. That is, they report data on youth crime, suicide, drug use, abuse, school failure, rather than strengths-based measures of positive system and client/stakeholder outcomes of the type proposed for use in the current project.

[2] For the prosecutor's perspective on the Balanced Approach, see, Harp, C, (2002) *Bringing Balance to Juvenile Justice.* (Alexandria, VA: American Prosecutors Research Institute).

Performance measurement focuses on both "results accountability," or impact on conditions of well-being for children, families and communities that cut across various programs and agencies, and "performance accountability," how well agencies and programs perform (Garry, 1997, p. 1). Performance accountability is the focus of most performance measurement efforts, including this national demonstration project, because it seeks to assess how well systems and agencies are carrying out their mandated functions. However, agency performance measures (e.g., compliance with probation, collection of restitution) should both have intrinsic value and also be linked to broader, more long-term goals that are the focus of results accountability (e.g., safer communities, reduced recidivism). The chosen measures should focus on quantity and quality. Agencies should be able to gauge how much service was provided **and** how well it was done, as well as how much they produced **and** how good the products are. (Garry, 1997).

Why Measure Performance?

In a democratic society, the general public and specific constituents of government agencies and systems should receive information about the outcomes of publicly funded activities. More practically, community members are more likely to support and participate in public processes if they are kept informed, and conversely: lack of information often leads to suspicion, distrust, and at times unwarranted criticism. From an agency or system perspective, performance outcome measures also send signals to staff about what is important (i.e. if they are measuring it, it must be important), establish internal priorities for practice, and reinforce mission statements and agency goals and objectives. Indeed, the general conclusion of the "good government" literature of the 1990s, that we "are what we measure" and "what gets measured gets done," suggests that measurement drives practice (e.g., Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), improves quality of services, and helps administrators set priorities for staff and incentives for changing focus; track progress and improvement in achieving goals; prioritize new or previously neglected stakeholders (e.g., crime victims); realign resources toward accomplishment of mission objectives; and fine tune and strengthen practice. In short, you can only manage what you measure.

There are various rationales for various measures: a value-centered *normative* justification; a practical or *pragmatic* justification; and an *empirical and theoretical* rationale that articulates how and why these measures are likely to be linked to other more long-term general outcomes, e.g., public safety, sense of justice and public support for juvenile justice. For particular outcome measures, a shared social or ethical principle justifies tracking a specific outcome for its own sake (e.g., measuring victim satisfaction is "the right thing to do"). Specific measures of criminal justice performance have pragmatic value to the extent that they make sense intuitively with regard to the immediate practical goals of public safety and community well being. The pragmatic value of school attendance, for example, is clear and generally understood because nonattendance creates longer unsupervised periods during the day that provide opportunities for involvement in crime. In addition, in modern societies such attendance is mandated because it is virtually a prerequisite for the development of basic life competencies that allow one to pursue a legitimate, crime free lifestyle.

Performance outcome measures may also be justified not only by their intrinsic or apparent practical value, but because of their documented relationship to other more long-term outcomes. For example, intermediate outcomes such as restitution and community service completion not only have value-based justifications, and apparent practical utility, but have also been shown to be connected to more long-term outcomes such as post-supervision recidivism. Rationales that provide an explanation for *how and why* certain processes or policies lead to desired outcomes and how these outcomes then lead to more long-term results, also often have vital implications for practice standards.

The quality of performance measures must be evaluated by the extent to which they are: mission-based and value driven; limited in number and easily understood; valid and reliable; reflective of community needs and expecta-

tions; identify a common unit of analysis and "baseline" or standard of comparison; strength-based, rather than deficit-focused and supportive of continuous improvement. Of these, the most important criteria in juvenile justice systems today are that measures are based on a mission that is grounded in the core values of the agency and the community, defines overall goals and roles for staff, and prioritizes practices and processes aimed at achieving these goals.

How to Measure Performance: Three Goals for a Balanced Mission

Because most citizens expect that any "justice" system will support fundamental community needs to sanction youth crime, to rehabilitate and reintegrate offenders, and to enhance public safety by assisting the community in preventing and controlling crime,

Figure 1

the Balanced Approach designates three goals of the juvenile justice system—"accountability," "competency," and "community protection." Because proponents of this mission use common terms in a somewhat uncommon way, defining these goals and the criteria for achieving them is an important first step in distinguishing what are in fact unique approaches to sanctioning, rehabilitation, and public safety enhancement under the Balanced Approach mission.

Accountability

Because an offense incurs a primary obligation to crime victims, accountability cannot be equated with simply taking one's punishment, or with being responsible to the court or to juvenile justice professionals (e.g., obeying curfew, complying with drug screening). Accountability, under the Balanced Approach, not only requires offenders to take responsibility for the crime and the harm caused to victims and the community, and to take action to begin to repair that harm, but also to acknowledge that the behavior could have been avoided if they had made better choices.

Competency Development

Competency needs are best met when young offenders make measurable and demonstrated improvements in educational, vocational, social, civic, and other skills that improve their ability to function as capable, productive adults. Competency cannot therefore be equated with the *absence* of bad behavior (e.g., being drug free does not provide young offenders with the support and bonds to law abiding adults they need to avoid further delinquency). Competency development cannot be attained simply by completing a treatment program. When defined as the

capacity to do something well that others value (Polk and Kobrin, 1972), competency is ultimately demonstrated and measured in the community. Community service, team work, and any activities that build stronger bonds between the offender and the community are essential.

Community Protection
Public safety needs are best met when community groups increase their ability to prevent crime, resolve conflict, and reduce community fear and when known offenders are adequately monitored and develop internal controls. While locked facilities are one component of any public safety approach, a balanced cost-effective strategy invests heavily in citizen involvement in monitoring offenders and developing new ways to prevent youth crime. Such a strategy would first ensure that, while under supervision, offenders' time in the community is structured around education, community service, work, victim awareness and other activities. Community adults, including but not limited to parents, must be assigned clear guardianship roles in monitoring offenders. In addition to establishing a safer community, these activities help to ensure long term community protection by developing and/or increasing the offenders' stake in the community.

Defending These Measures

The National Demonstration Project utilized ten Report Card performance measures included under one or more of the three balanced mission categories. These measures are: resistance to drugs and alcohol, restitution, community service, school participation, victim satisfaction, citizen participation in the system, and juvenile crime rate as measured by law abiding behavior while under supervision, law abiding behavior of offenders within one year after completing juvenile court obligations, and adult criminal convictions (age 18-21).

Accountability
The two performance measures of individual accountability, completion of restitution and community service orders, address the human need for reciprocity that arises because of the imbalance created between offender and victim, and between offender and the community, when a crime occurs. Both restitution and community service are widely supported by the public because they allow the offender to "earn his/her redemption" by making amends to those harmed by the crime. From a practical standpoint, victims need compensation for monetary loss, as well as acknowledgement of physical and emotional harm. Many victims have a need for validation. They want to see the offender take responsibility and take some action in an effort to make amends for this harm. Community members and groups also benefit directly from community service, and both service and restitution stand as cost-effective interventions that offer direct multiple impacts at low cost. Restitution and community service have been found to be predictive of reduced recidivism, as well as attitude change in offenders. Studies show significant reductions in re-offending for youth in community service and restitution programs, when compared with those receiving other dispositions. The cost reductions associated with lower rates of recidivism have been documented in studies across thousands of cases. Finally, the use of surveys to measure victim satisfaction, a measure of *system accountability*, shows a commitment to addressing the needs of those most directly impacted by crime. Simply measuring this outcome can have dramatic impact on staff treatment of victims and the importance staff attach to providing opportunities for victim input. Ultimately, such victim-oriented measures may begin to encourage an increase in crime victim participation and support for the juvenile justice system.

Competency Development
As indicators of progress toward prosocial adulthood, the three competency development outcomes have broad appeal among community members who have always supported rehabilitation while skeptical of treatment outcomes limited to completion of counseling programs. Measures of school attendance, employment status (for those not in school), and substance abuse resistance have strong relevance to communities as indicators of increases in skills needed for productive citizenship. Each of these indicators is linked to skill acquisition and relationship

building and is predictive of various outcomes associated with adult success (e.g., viable employment) as well as crime-free lifestyles. It is important to note that one activity can accomplish more than one of these goals, for example, meaningful community service may increase competencies as well as accomplish accountability goals; drug resistance has implications for public safety as well as competency development.

Community Protection
Though technically not a performance measure, tracking and reporting the overall youth crime rate is beneficial because it is the ultimate *results-based* accountability outcome and has educational value for the system's stakeholders—victim, offender and community. Other measures, percent of youth under supervision who later acquire adult charges, and post-supervision re-offending, have greater practical value and can be linked at least indirectly to the quality of juvenile justice system intervention. In-program re-offending rates, when low or declining, provide practical and understandable justification for community supervision itself. When these rates are low, they support greater use of probation and diversion as a public value, and demonstrate great cost savings when compared to incarceration options. In-program re-offense rates have been shown to have a clear connection to post-supervision recidivism, and thus provide a less complex and expensive way of measuring success in crime reduction.

I NTRODUCTION

M easurement is not new to juvenile justice. At least since the court first came under scrutiny in the 1960s and 70s, many juvenile justice system programs and agencies have been required to collect and compile data. Too often, however, such data have been unrelated to outcomes, and have seldom allowed the public to assess agency and system performance in a meaningful way. They have not helped juvenile justice systems and organizations determine the impact and cost-effectiveness of their interventions. They have not provided input to juvenile justice professionals regarding public awareness and support for these efforts. They have seldom provided citizens and other government stakeholders with a sense of what it is juvenile justice systems and agencies are really accomplishing or trying to accomplish.

Most of the data generated by juvenile courts and justice systems often seem primarily related to documenting case flow for funding requirements or liability reasons. Useful outcome measurement when it does occur is too often sporadic, and typically relegated to new programs and evaluation efforts; day-to-day traditional practice is not subjected to empirical scrutiny and hence remains unquestioned. Though juvenile justice is not unique in its failure to develop and utilize performance measures, Blumstein's (1999) comment about policing and measurement seems even more applicable to juvenile justice:

> In light of the large expenditure…it is striking how little effort has been devoted to measuring….. performance and using such measurements for the purpose of continuous improvement. In the military, beginning more than 50 years ago, operations research groups were assigned to many operating units to perform exactly that function (p. 8).

What *should* be measured in juvenile justice? Although this is not an easy question, unfortunately, for many harried practitioners, the answer is often addressed with a *de facto* answer: what are we *required* to measure. There are few clear rationales other than expediency, tracking and documenting workload, avoiding lawsuits, and meeting funding requirements. In many cases such measurement has had little to do with outcomes at all but much to do with attempts to determine whether or not juvenile justice professionals are meeting minimal job task requirements. As Griffin and Thomas (2004) put it:

> …juvenile probation departments have tended to keep close track of things like the number of daily, weekly, or monthly contacts with probationers, for instance, without necessarily asking themselves what these numbers have to do with organizational success or failure. Are contacts good in themselves? Is it: the more, the better? Is there any limit to this principle? Does this kind of contact matter?…(this) seems to assume that supervision is an end in itself—to do it well you do more of it.

There is clearly little rationale or "theory" behind such counts that would link these activities to change in offenders or any other outcome. And, there is also no apparent link to any philosophy of justice. At best, juvenile justice agencies and systems have measured inputs and processes or activities linked to practice such as making contacts, making court appearances, and completing paperwork. Most have failed to measure or even articulate intermediate outcomes associated with such practices, and the connection between such practices and long-term outcomes relevant to the public (e.g., community safety) is almost never articulated.

This monograph presents a case for utilizing a system of performance outcomes and measures for juvenile justice systems developed by a partnership between the American Prosecutors Research Institute (APRI), the Balanced and Restorative Justice Project (Community Justice Institute, Florida Atlantic University), and the National Center for Juvenile Justice (NCJJ). These partners collaborated in the Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System, National Demonstration Project to create a "report card" system of measuring performance in juvenile

justice.[3] This "report card" system is documented in a companion monograph: *Guide to Developing and Implementing Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System* (Harp, Bell, Bazemore and Thomas, 2006). Funding was provided by a congressional earmark administered by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).

In this context, the *Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System, National Demonstration Project* represents the first national effort to develop and pilot a set of practical, mission-based performance indicators for juvenile justice agencies and systems. Though we argue in this monograph that these measures are almost universally relevant— and do not necessarily presume a commitment to any one juvenile justice philosophy or policy model—these indicators are based on a mission that defines clear, comprehensive, and defensible outcomes for juvenile justice systems. In the Balanced Approach mission, three general goals—community safety, accountability, and competency development—prioritize objectives for juvenile justice (Maloney et al., 1988; Bazemore, 1996). In the context of the Balanced and Restorative Justice model, juvenile justice agencies and systems in some 30 states that have adopted this mission in state legislation (juvenile court codes) or policy are also addressing the extent to which systems and organizations are meeting the needs of three primary juvenile justice stakeholders: crime victims, offenders, and communities (Bazemore and Umbreit, 1995; OJJDP, 1998).

While useful for a wide variety of measurement, policy, and practice enhancement needs, data based on these performance indicators are now being presented in a number of jurisdictions in the form of a "report card" to communities. The general aim of these report cards is to provide honest feedback on performance of the juvenile justice system and its component agencies (e.g., probation, court services, diversion) on an ongoing basis to achieve three specific objectives: 1) engage the community as a stakeholder, supporter, and participant in juvenile justice; 2) improve and redirect practice toward mission goals and system monitoring toward assessing goal achievement; 3) increase and improve the capacity of agencies to diagnose problems and enhance the now often tenuous linkage between juvenile justice practice (e.g., contacts with probation clients) and essential outcomes.

The collaborative effort described in this monograph is of course not the only attempt to assess juvenile justice system performance. Currently data on a variety of important juvenile justice statistics are being collected and aggregated on a national level, and to some degree in state and local jurisdictions. The National Center for Juvenile Justice, for example, collects data from the nation's juvenile courts on an annual basis to provide vital reports on the number of juveniles coming through the courts, the range of offenses being committed, and the characteristics of offenders in the system population. These invaluable reports identify important changes in youth crime and processing trends, but are not designed to provide information on outcomes relevant to court dispositions and the effectiveness of probation and other interventions, especially at the local level. There is, therefore, little information on the performance of state and local probation agencies, or for that matter, even less on the performance of other system components (e.g., diversion), that could assess aggregate impacts across multiple dimensions on an ongoing basis. One reason for this, in addition to lack of resources, is a lack of clarity and agreement about what is important to measure. For example, although there is little disagreement on reduction of long-term re-offending as a goal, to what extent do current indicators of recidivism really measure system or program accountability for public safety? Re-offending may be a result of any number of factors that may or may not be related to the system's work with the offender. The problem raised by performance measurement is therefore one of determining to what extent juvenile justice agencies and systems can develop indicators that truly gauge the quality and impact of the *system's* performance. Such indicators in turn should be grounded in a mission that is linked directly to *community expectations* of these agencies and systems (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992).

The purpose of this monograph is to make the case for a consistent, meaningful, and practically useful system of performance outcomes. We have proposed a specific, limited core set of measures that we believe capture and gauge progress in achieving these outcomes. Though self-evident to many juvenile justice professionals and most

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[3] See, note 1.

advocates of Balanced and Restorative Justice (Griffin and Thomas, 2004; Pennsylvania Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 1998; Colorado Forum, 2000), policymakers and researchers may not view the proposed measures as the most important among a potentially wide range of possible choices. As a limited list, this group of measures will necessarily exclude many measures of interest to juvenile justice professionals generally. Though broadly consistent with restorative justice principles and values (Van Ness and Strong, 1997; Bazemore, 2001), and a community justice agenda (Clear and Karp, 1999; Maloney and Holcomb, 2001), some restorative justice advocates may find these measures too restrictive and even shallow or superficial.[4] Ultimately, the current effort in no way precludes, and may even encourage, other ongoing attempts—through evaluation research or surveys, or qualitative methodologies—to examine more refined indicators of impact and implementation of restorative justice and other juvenile justice reform objectives.

Because we give greatest emphasis to case closure as a common point of measurement for many outcomes, there is also likely to be some concern about the relationship between these initial outputs and long term results. While the proposed outcomes and measures have value in their own right, one primary objective of this monograph is to make the case for these measures as correlates of more long-term indicators of success. Any deficiencies related to this more narrow, strategic focus, however, we believe will therefore be compensated for by the value of this ongoing effort to measure positive performance on objectives related to broad system goals (and a mission) geared to the needs of primary community stakeholders. Before considering the value of the specific performance measures being piloted in this project, we first address more general issues in the development of performance indicators and a viable system of performance measurement.

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[4] This conclusion may be based, for example, on their lack of capacity to measure implementation and impact of restorative decision-making processes such as conferencing. On the face of it, measures that do not assess the impact of face-to-face restorative dialogue or restorative group conferencing (Bazemore and Schiff, 2004), or explicitly encourage use of such practices, may seem disappointing to restorative justice advocates. However, experienced practitioners also know that a serious effort to prioritize and measure outcomes such as completion of restitution and community service is also likely to encourage expansion of such practices, if only as a proven means to increase rates of completion and quality of agreements (Umbreit, 2001; Bazemore and Schiff, 2004).

WHAT, WHY, WHEN, AND HOW?
THE LOGIC OF PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

A large and expanding literature on performance measurement has emerged in the past decade (e.g., Freedman, 1997; Center for Accountability and Performance, 2003; Tangen, 2003). Like participants in the National Demonstration Project, advocates of performance outcomes in a wide variety of government and private agencies attempt to select a finite series of performance indicators that resonate with public concerns, have practical significance for guiding intervention and achieving mission objectives, and can be shown to be linked to larger social goals and long-term outcomes.

What is Performance Measurement?

According to the Center for Accountability and Performance (2000), performance measurement is:
> a method of gauging progress of a public program or activity in achieving the results or outcomes that clients, customers, or stakeholders expect…(it) tells people how well public programs are doing… (p. 3).

Performance measurement in human service fields such as juvenile justice focuses on both "results accountability," or impact on conditions of well being for children, families and communities that cut across various programs and agencies, and "performance accountability," how well agencies and programs perform (Garry, 1997, p. 1).

Performance accountability is the focus of most performance measurement efforts, including the current project, because it seeks to assess how well systems and agencies are carrying out their mandated functions. However, agency performance measures (e.g., police response time, collection of restitution) should be linked logically and empirically to broader, more long-term goals that are the focus of results accountability (e.g., safer communities, healthy, stable families). Measures aimed at gauging agency performance, as well as those that seek to document results accountability, may focus on both *quantity* of *inputs* (how much service did we deliver) and *outputs* (how much did we produce) and *quality* of both inputs (how well did we deliver the service) and outputs (how good were our products) (Garry, 1997, p. 2).

Making the most effective use of performance measures requires agreeing upon common units of analysis, and on points in the system where we can most effectively and practically compare outcomes for one period of intervention with those from another period of intervention. We may also wish to compare outcomes from one program or intervention with those from another on common criteria taking account of differences in resources or impacts (Nyhan, 2003).

Performance Measurement: A Risk Worth Taking

Why measure system and/or agency performance? There are of course risks involved in measurement activity that gauges performance based on outcomes officially declared to be important that have not been previously tracked or given the priority they deserve. One risk is that accurate, objective measurement may show that the system or agency is performing quite poorly. It is also possible that initially there will be little rapid improvement, and perhaps even a decline in effectiveness, on some measures. Managing the public relations surrounding the initial weakness of an agency or system on one or more critical outcomes often requires acknowledging a weakness in a certain outcome area (e.g., victim participation and satisfaction) and then affirming that improvement takes time and a refocusing of resources and efforts. The expressed commitment to positive change that addresses core citizen concerns, and the willingness to share information that does not reflect well on the agency, however, is often sufficient to counter problems that may arise from reporting data that reflect badly on performance. As Judge William Byers, Director of the Department of Juvenile Justice for the state of South Carolina argues, the political risk that comes with potentially reporting "bad news" may be off-set by the trust and respect that comes with honesty in

sharing with the public problems in achieving desired outcomes and the current effort to begin to improve and carefully and honestly track and report future system and agency performance:

> We just need to get out in front of these problems. We didn't create this system, and we have no obligation to defend it… However, we *are* obligated to try to improve it. This Report Card can be an important tool for making things better.

Three Rationales for Performance Measurement

In the discussion which follows below, we present a defense of each of our performance outcome categories or measurement domains as well as specific individual measures. We do so based upon a general rationale that includes three components: a value-centered *normative* justification; a practical or *pragmatic* justification; and an *empirical and theoretical* rationale that articulates how and why these measures are likely to be linked to other more long-term general outcomes, e.g., public safety, sense of justice and public support for juvenile justice. Though focused primarily on measurement, we also offer implications for best practice based on this theoretical and empirical rationale and evidence that prioritizes those interventions most likely to produce these outcomes.

The answer to the general question, "why measure performance" itself first requires a *normative* justification for developing and tracking performance outcomes. Such a values-based rationale would appeal broadly to the general premise that in a democratic society, the public and specific groups of stakeholders and constituents of public agencies and systems should know about the outcomes of publicly funded activities. *Pragmatic* rationales for developing performance measures for public distribution are those that would argue that community members are more likely to support and participate in such public processes if they are kept informed. Performance outcome measures provide some basic accountability to the public that justice professionals ignore at their own peril because lack of information leads to suspicion, distrust, and at times unwarranted criticism. Just as important practically are the internal effects of performance measures. Outcome measures send signals to juvenile justice professionals about what is important, establish priorities for practice and reinforce mission statements (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993). Other general pragmatic rationales include: tracking progress and improvement in achieving goals; realigning resources toward accomplishment of mission objectives; fine tuning and strengthening practice.

More practically, community members are more likely to support and participate in public processes if they are kept informed. From an agency or system perspective, performance outcome measures have pragmatic value in that they also send signals to staff about what is important, establish internal priorities for practice, and reinforce mission statements and agency goals and objectives. Indeed, the general conclusion of the "good government" literature of the 1990s, that we "are what we measure" and "what gets measured gets done," suggests that measurement drives practice (e.g., Osborne and Gaebler, 1993), and improves quality of services, and helps prioritize new or previously neglected stakeholders (e.g., crime victims). Finally, drawing upon the previously mentioned "results accountability/performance accountability" distinction, it is also possible to present a general defense of performance measures based on their predictive value: the extent to which successful performance in achieving some short-term agency or system outcomes can be linked empirically to broader indicators of community well-being.

In the case of a defense of *specific* performance measures, these value-based rationales simply call upon a shared social or ethical principle that justifies tracking a specific outcome for its own sake, e.g., measuring victim satisfaction is "the right thing to do." Advocates of restorative and community justice (Bazemore and Schiff, 2001; 2004; Clear and Karp, 1999; Maloney and Holcolmb, 2001) would hope that such movement might have the practical effect of also leading to adjustments in decision-making that include and empower victims, offenders, families and community members in the decision-making process. Regarding effectiveness, this approach would be based on a growing body of research that suggests that such inclusion also increases the likelihood of completion of both restitution and community service, as well as victim satisfaction with the justice process (Umbriet, 2001; Strang, 2003).

Specific measures of performance have pragmatic value to the extent that they *make sense* intuitively with regard to immediate practical goals of public safety and crime control. The pragmatic value of school attendance, for example, is clear and generally understood because nonattendance creates longer unsupervised periods during the day that provide opportunities for involvement in crime. In addition, in modern societies such attendance is mandated because it is virtually a prerequisite for the development of basic life competencies that allow one to pursue a legitimate, prosocial lifestyle.

Empirical and *theoretical* rationales must make the case that specific measures are not only good in and of themselves, but also because they are related to other outcomes. We will argue, for example, that outcomes such as restitution and community service completion have value-based justifications, and in addition drive practice toward a focus on ensuring completion of accountability sanctions. The question then becomes, to what extent does each specific measure also *predict* other important outcomes, including recidivism. Empirical and theoretical rationales are not merely academic, but in fact have pragmatic utility. Specifically, in providing an explanation for *how and why* certain practices, or ways of implementing these practices, lead to desired outcomes and how these outcomes then lead to more long-term results, they have practical, vital implications for improving practice standards.

Standards for Choosing Specific Measures: Practical Limits and Considerations

At a systems level, performance measurement always reflects methodological and practical compromise. In addition to the aforementioned limitations in depth and breadth of measurement when compared to evaluation or systematic survey research, researchers may be concerned about potential gaps in validity and reliability of the indicators chosen for use in this project and point to sources of error in measures. Indeed, as we suggest later, clear understanding of the three goals of the balanced approach mission implies a commitment to development of a deep, and comprehensive, multi-dimensional set of outcomes. But while it is therefore important to be aware of weaknesses, gaps in measurement, and the assumptions one must make in interpreting these measures, it is nonetheless essential to move forward with the effort to develop mission-driven outcomes at a system and agency level. Moreover, the small group of very general measures chosen here are not intended to take the place of more intensive measurement efforts such as those associated with systematic impact and process evaluation.

Like other large scale measurement efforts in criminal justice such as the Uniform Crime Reports system, performance measurement at the juvenile justice agency or system level must make use of indicators that sacrifice depth of measurement for breadth, uniformity, and practicality. Elaborating on, and adding to, the criteria considered in the project overview (Harp, Bell, Bazemore and Thomas, 2006), benchmark performance measures must therefore be:
- **Measurable and accessible.** With few exceptions such as victim satisfaction surveys, performance outcomes will rely on concrete quantifiable indicators based on data already collected as standard requirements of court orders or of the supervision or intervention process (e.g., completion and amount of restitution agreements as part of the court order);

- **Concise, limited in number and easily understood by community members.** Both outcome domains and ways of measuring outcomes must be straightforward and tied to *mission-based* community needs and expectations;[5]

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[5] There is of course an educative dimension of these outcome data summaries presented in the form of report cards to the community. Specifically, outcomes inform the community about what is important and why, and should in turn relate back to the core expectations of the citizenry for the juvenile justice agency or system as articulated in the mission statement. For example, the rate of completion of community service work provides an indication of the degree to which young offenders are being held accountable to the community while also demonstrating the added-value of probation or diversionary supervision in providing meaningful assistance to the community.

- **Valid and reliable.** Outcome indicators must convincingly measure what we think we are measuring (validity) and must repeatedly, over time and place, yield similar results (reliability). For example, a measure of an educational competency must accurately/validly measure change (improvement or decline) in that skill over time and should reliably measure the same competency at different times and in different contexts; completing restitution obligations may be a valid and reliable measure of accountability at the behavioral level, while another measure may be needed at the cognitive level;[6]

- **Capable of employing a common unit of analysis, standard of comparison, and "baseline."** The question "how are we doing" on any outcome raises another vital question: "compared to what." A performance indicator must be clear about the unit of analysis (e.g., all cases closed in the past year) and about the baseline for comparison, e.g., pre vs. post intervention. Measures of aggregate amounts of restitution collected may be interesting, but are relatively useless as a performance indicator because they lack a baseline (amount of restitution ordered) and a unit of analysis (e.g., for cases closed last year). The standard of comparison must allow for a reasonable contrast between similar units of analysis to avoid comparing apples and oranges (programs with widely varying inputs or resources);

- **Strengths-based rather than deficit-focused.** Based on the assumption that delinquent youth, families, victims, and communities have assets that can be built upon, and the assumption that doing so is more likely to lead to successful outcomes, a "strengths-based" (Saalebey, 2001) approach to the greatest extent possible frames outcomes as positive vs. negative performance indicators. Rather than deficit-focused measures (e.g., school failure, recidivism), the emphasis is on support for continuous improvement in such positive attributes as: remaining crime and drug free, improvements in educational status, demonstration of work skills and employment status, completion of community service, restitution and other reparative obligations as a means of being accountable to victim and community. Strength-based performance may also be calculated for communities and other collective as well as individual entities.

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[6] "Predictive validity" will also be an important consideration in that some of our more accessible outcome measures may not directly measure a particular construct (e.g., school attendance does not directly measure educational competence; completing community service is only a partial measure of accountability). However, these accessible, partial measures are in fact predictive of these broader constructs.

The Limits of Juvenile Justice Philosophies

Historically, the juvenile court's "best interests of the child" mission and philosophy provided a justification for the court as an institution that promised to protect both youth in trouble and society. It would do so primarily by providing individual treatment to those youth based on assessment of presumed underlying needs. Beginning in the late 1960s, the court became the target of widespread criticism, and by extension the assumptions of "best interests" were challenged by many critics who viewed this vague mandate as a disguise for abuse resulting from unchecked discretion (Rothman, 1980; Lemert, 1971). In the absence of due process and clear objectives, for example, virtually any kind of confinement could be justified. Attending to the "best interests"—assuming that this could be objectively operationalized—does not of course suggest any outcome measures.

By the 1970s proponents of this mission had become the target of critics from due process, crime control, rehabilitation and just deserts perspectives alike (Guarino-Ghezzi and Loughren, 1992; Bazemore, 2001). In short, for advocates of due process, the best interests rationale placed too much trust in the benevolence of the court and in its ability to make significant changes in the lives of offenders and their families given the limits of the individual treatment model. From a crime control perspective, the best interest philosophy also said nothing about public safety. For others, this model seemed to ignore the fact that delinquent youth, despite their apparent needs for treatment and services, had nonetheless victimized others and should therefore be held accountable by any system that claimed to have an interest in "justice." Best interests and individual treatment visions also failed to recognize other clients or stakeholders, notably crime victims and various communities impacted by youth crime. Most importantly, what outcomes were implied in this approach? Assuming reduced recidivism might be an ultimate goal, what intermediate intervention outcomes were believed to lead to that goal?

As well-intended critiques and valid concerns of reformers promoted a "hands-off" effort to limit court intervention in the 1970s as part of a diversion philosophy, some community constituencies were no doubt angered by the implied message that communities simply needed to "get used to youth crime," or increase tolerance for such behavior (see Schur, 1972). The lack of apparent concern for accountability and public safety in this noninterventionionist approach—along with the perception that the system in some diversion programs even offered special benefits to offenders—no doubt also violated public perceptions of fairness and reciprocity. Again, no stakeholders other than the offender and juvenile justice professionals seemed to matter, and juvenile justice agencies seemed to give little thought to measures of success other than the number of youth diverted from what had become viewed as a harmful system (Lemert, 1971; Presidents Crime Commission, 1967). By this measure, a juvenile court and justice system already under fire as harmful to young people was being shown to be a failure as a result of net widening (Polk, 1987; Bloomberg, 1980).

Getting Boxed In

The absence of a defensible value and logical framework for assessing system performance in either the individual treatment or diversion policy approach, opened the way for the rise of a "get tough" movement in juvenile justice that established a strong foothold in the decade of the 1980s (Regnery, 1980). Based on a merger of what were in fact rather incompatible crime control and just desserts philosophies (von Hirsch, 1976), this approach led most states to a greater emphasis on punishment and a general move away from the focus on treatment and diversion as primary guiding philosophies. By the early 1990s, in the wake of nationwide fear of a violent youth crime "epi-

demic," state and local jurisdictions altered transfer provisions, adopted strict dispositional guidelines, and provided for expanded correctional programming for youth (e.g., blended sentencing) (Feld, 1990; Torbet et al., 1996). This movement clearly engaged political constituencies concerned about accountability and public safety. Yet, it also failed to identify community and crime victim constituencies as stakeholders, and its role in increasing public safety and true accountability was, at best, debatable. Ironically, this new get tough approach seemed to lead to an expansion in the size and authority of the juvenile justice system at the *front-end* (e.g., through development of new status offender programs, the rise of front-end assessment centers, more responsibility for addressing problems in school discipline), even as the system was being severely criticized and losing jurisdiction over more serious offenders. Because getting offenders to take their punishment in local detention and commitment programs (or by sitting in truancy or curfew enforcement centers) is no more an indicator of success than getting them to participate in treatment programs, once again, performance measures were nowhere in sight. Indeed, many jurisdictions today seemed to have settled for a kind of "managerial" policy (Feely and Simon, 1992) that seems to abandon any focus on goals and outcomes in favor of a juvenile justice emphasis on incapacitation in a variety of forms (Bazemore, Leip and Stinchcomb, 2004).

In the past decade, many juvenile justice professionals nationally have found themselves caught between forces trying to preserve the traditional individualized treatment focus on the best interests of the child and a new more punitive emphasis. Some jurisdictions, and a growing number of juvenile justice professionals began to turn the corner on the treatment/punishment duality and debate in favor of other rationales that might seek a different, or at least more balanced approach. Even as punitive rhetoric and policy achieved dominance, it was also being criticized not only by traditional advocates of the best interests and individual treatment philosophy, but by those who recognized the limits of both and the need for a more holistic juvenile justice mission (Maloney, Romig and Armstrong, 1988; Bazemore and Day, 1995; Braithwaite and Mugford, 1994). As one local jurisdiction expressed this concern in its mission statement:

> Treatment and punishment standing alone are not capable of meeting the intertwined needs of the community, victim, offender and family. For the vast majority of the citizenry, juvenile justice is an esoteric system wrapped in a riddle. Support comes from understanding, understanding from involvement and participation. Community involvement and active participation in the working of a juvenile court is a reasoned response. Yet currently, community members are not solicited for input or asked for their resourcefulness in assisting the system to meet public safety, treatment and sanctioning aspirations (Pinal County Arizona Mission Statement, 1999).

Such understanding, participation in, and ultimately support for juvenile justice is unlikely without an open exchange of information between the system and the community based on a rigorous data reporting effort. We discuss this exchange and defend a potent and practical set of juvenile justice performance measures after considering the role of a new mission and value framework in juvenile justice as the basis for developing such community driven measures.

Toward a New Balanced Mission

> "Worse still, we fear that even when something does work, it is seen to do so only in the eyes of certain professionals, while 'outside' the system ordinary citizens are left without a role or voice in the criminal justice process." John Braithwaite and Stephen Mugford

> "Offender-based control strategies are incomplete, since they take a closed-system view of correctional interventions: *change the offender and not the community.*" James Byrne

The aforementioned state of uncertainty and questioning in the 1990s prompted a number of juvenile justice advocates to begin to craft a mission that could move policy and practice beyond the vagueness and lack of inclusiveness of the traditional treatment and the new punitive approaches. Managers currently involved in implementing the Balanced Approach mission view it as a way to send a message to both juvenile justice staff and the community about core values, primary clients, and staff roles, and how these are related to a vision for the future, as well as to what they are trying to accomplish on a day-to-day basis (e.g., Umbreit & Carey, 1995). As the 1990s began, a small but growing number of jurisdictions had adopted a value-based, community driven mission for the juvenile court and juvenile justice system based on the Balanced Approach. (Maloney, Romig and Armstrong, 1988; Bazemore, 1997). During the same period of time, an international movement centered around restorative justice as a systemic alternative to both the social welfare/individual treatment and the new punitive emphasis began changing the juvenile justice landscape in countries as diverse as New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, Australia and a number of European states. Later, an OJJDP-funded project, Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ), began a nationwide effort to merge this mission and its three core goals—accountability, competency development, and public safety—with the larger restorative justice value framework (Zehr, 1990; Van Ness and Strong, 1997).

By 1996, some 20 states had incorporated the Balanced Approach mission, and/or the BARJ model, into their juvenile court purpose clauses, while another 15 had added BARJ to state juvenile justice administrative codes or similar policy documents (O'Brien, 1998). For some of these states, it seems likely that this addition was a carefully considered means of affirming and distinguishing a new vision, or third way, for juvenile justice that was distinctly different from either punishment or treatment-focused models and based on thoughtful consideration of the limits of these models (see, Bazemore and Umbreit, 1995; Bazemore, 1996). However, U.S. policymakers seemed to have more immediate and modest objectives in mind—notably, to counterbalance the aforementioned punitive onslaught by relying on arguments different from those associated with the traditional "best interests of the child" and individual treatment argument used historically to defend the juvenile court (Krisberg and Austin, 1993). Unlike what has been the case in a number of countries in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and now the UK (Crawford and Newborn, 2003) where realization of restorative justice as a new vision for juvenile justice has been sufficient to move toward full implementation and make both philosophical and systemic integration of restorative policy, the U.S. as a whole, and indeed most states, have not moved toward restorative justice in any holistic way.

Despite this, Balanced and Restorative Justice by the mid-1990s had nonetheless become surprisingly popular with administrators and policy makers in a number of jurisdictions. The restorative justice focus on the extent to which harm is repaired, stakeholders are directly involved in decision-making, and communities increase their capacity to respond to crime and conflict, seemed to offer a broader framework that challenged the role of punishment and treatment as the primary currencies of intervention. Indeed, the restorative agenda provided a distinctive new standard for gauging intervention success that is now generally correctly perceived as neither soft on crime nor supportive of expanded punishment (Van Ness & Strong, 1997; Bazemore, 1998). Restorative justice principles also have implications for redefining the role and boundaries of juvenile justice, and providing a new continuum for gauging the success of juvenile justice reform.

While states varied in the extent to which BARJ and the balanced mission were used symbolically, or as the basis for active development of new policy, practice, and outcome measures, some explicitly utilized the mission to affirm a new purpose for juvenile justice that incorporated new goals and objectives. For example, Pennsylvania's Act 33 (Special Session No. 1, Laws of 1995) encompassed the following purposes for the state's juvenile justice system:

(to) provide balanced attention to the protection of the community, the imposition of accountability for offenses committed and the development of competencies to enable children to become responsible and productive members of the community.

More importantly, the willingness of state and local leadership groups to make BARJ "come alive" through a commitment to restorative justice values—especially those that promoted an emphasis on the overall goal of intervention as repairing harm to victims and victimized communities—has made significant difference in states such as Pennsylvania, Colorado, Illinois and others that have made noticeable progress in implementing BARJ. As a mission for systemic reform in juvenile justice, "what's new" about the Balanced Approach is a new *value-base* which focuses attention on the needs of three new *customers,* or stakeholders, attempts to meaningfully involve victim, offender, and community in participatory *decision-making processes,* and articulates new *performance objectives* based on goals aimed at meeting these client needs. The new values, clients, and performance objectives are used to set *new priorities for programs and practices.* New *management protocols and staff roles* are, in turn, based on these intervention priorities.
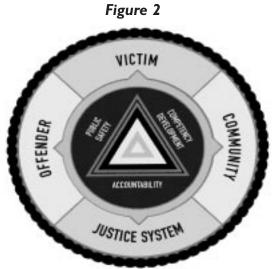
The Importance of Mission
A good mission statement should be more than a broad statement of values that is used for political purposes. While such statements as "serve the best interests of the child" or "protect the public from youth crime" do little to create internal or external understanding of the priorities of a system or agency, a useful mission statement: *Identifies the "clients" of the system; specifies performance objectives; and prioritizes practice while guarding against adoption of fad programs; identifies roles of staff, offender, victim and community in the juvenile justice process.* A mission also implies action and can only be effective if it helps managers plan, execute, and monitor change (Bazemore and Washington, 1995). Unfortunately, however, many juvenile justice managers who are otherwise committed to the balanced approach mission have not begun to use the mission as a tool for guiding systemic reform. They have not done so in part because they remain constrained by their bureaucracies—trapped by current staffing patterns, resource allocation, funding streams, management protocols, and administrative and legal mandates that unfortunately, are the driving forces for setting priorities and shaping core intervention practices. Generally based on the assumptions and requirements of the old individual treatment mission or the political imperatives of the new retributive juvenile justice mission (Bazemore and Umbreit, 1995; Feld, 1999), staff roles defined as "caseworkers" or "counselors" will mean that casework or counseling becomes the primary focus of intervention. Similarly, if funds must be allocated primarily to building and operating secure facilities, there will be few resources available to effectively address competency and accountability goals and to ensure that victims and other citizens are involved in the process. It is the performance objectives component of an agency's mission that can begin to change this state of affairs—if these objectives are operationalized as performance measures that facilitate routine data collection and analysis.

The Balanced Mission
The origins of the balanced mission can be found in a reconsideration of the needs and expectations of community members. Essentially, most citizens expect that any "justice" system will support fundamental community needs to sanction youth crime, to rehabilitate and reintegrate offenders, and to enhance public safety by assisting the community in preventing and controlling crime. Increasingly, justice systems have also been expected to address a fourth need, to attempt to restore victim loss.

To meet these needs, the authors of the Balanced Approach put forward three overall purposes for juvenile justice intervention (Maloney, Romig and Armstrong, 1988; Bazemore, 1992). These purposes define three macro goals for the juvenile justice system and micro goals to be addressed in the response to each case (see Figure 2). Contrary to the assumptions of some critics of the new mission, "balance" does *not* mean simply attempting to provide equal or appropriate doses of punishment and treatment. Rather, "balance" is achieved at a *system* level

when administrators ensure that resources are allocated equally among efforts to ensure accountability to crime victims, to increase competency in offenders, and to enhance community safety. Balance is achieved in each *case* by giving equal attention to broader needs which underlie new sanctioning, safety, and rehabilitative goals as depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2

What do these goals mean and how do they address these broader needs? Because the authors of the Balanced Approach have designated the three macro-level goals of the juvenile justice system using common terms in a somewhat uncommon way, defining these terms and goals is an important first step in distinguishing what are in fact unique approaches to sanctioning, rehabilitation and public safety enhancement under the Balanced Approach mission. These approaches have direct implications for how intervention outcomes and measures are conceptualized.

Community Protection. Public safety needs are best met when community groups increase their ability to prevent crime, resolve conflict, and reduce community fear and when known offenders are adequately monitored and develop internal controls. While locked facilities are one component of any public safety approach, a balanced, cost-effective strategy invests heavily in citizen involvement in monitoring offenders and developing new ways to prevent youth crime. Such a strategy would first ensure that the time of offenders under supervision in the community is structured around education, community service, work, victim awareness and other activities and that community adults, including but not limited to parents, are assigned clear guardianship roles in monitoring offenders.

Competency Development. Rehabilitation needs are best met when young offenders make measurable and demonstrated improvements in educational, vocational, social, civic, and other competencies that improve their ability to function as capable, productive adults. Competency cannot therefore be equated with the *absence* of bad behavior (e.g., being drug free does not provide young offenders with the support and bonds to law abiding adults they need to avoid further delinquency), and it cannot be attained simply by completing a treatment program. When defined as the *capacity to do something well that others value* (Polk and Kobrin, 1972), competency is ultimately demonstrated and measured in the community, and will generally be enhanced when youth assume active roles in service and work projects that also increase the capacity of adults and community groups to allow troublesome youth opportunities to practice competent behavior.

Accountability. Because an offense incurs a primary obligation to crime victims, accountability cannot be equated with simply taking one's punishment, or with being responsible to the court or to juvenile justice professionals (e.g., obeying curfew, complying with drug screening). Rather, sanctioning needs are best met when offenders take responsibility for the crime and the harm caused to victims, take action to make amends by restoring the loss, and when communities, offenders and crime victims play active roles in sanctioning and feel satisfied with the process.

Values, Principles and Restorative Justice
In most jurisdictions, practitioners are aware that the BARJ model is not simply three new goals for juvenile justice. Indeed, an essential component of the model is the restorative justice framework. Restorative practices are essentially different ways of "doing justice" by seeking to repair the harm of crime wherever it occurs (Bazemore and Walgrave, 1999). Because repair is a difficult prospect in the absence of the active involvement of those most affected by the crime, proponents of restorative justice promote informal decision-making in the response to crime, employing a variety of non-adversarial processes designed to include the victim, offender and community in developing a reparative plan. The restorative justice framework also includes such reparative obligations or sanctions as restitution, community service, apologies and victim service, as well as a variety of policies and orientations that support these practices and are grounded in a commitment to change system roles and relationships to empower communities to better address the needs of victim, offender and community as primary "stakeholders" in the justice process.

Three "big ideas" provide the basis for a normative theory of restorative justice. These core principles (Van Ness and Strong, 1997) most clearly distinguish restorative justice from other orientations, and define the core outcomes, processes, practices, and structural relationships that characterize restorative approaches.

- *The Principle of Repair:* Justice requires that we work to heal victims, offenders and communities that have been injured by crime.

- *The Principle of Stakeholder Participation:* Victims, offenders and communities should have the opportunity for active involvement in the justice process as early and as fully as possible.

- *The Principle of Transformation in Community and Government Roles and Relationships:* We must rethink the relative roles and responsibilities of government and community. In promoting justice, government is responsible for preserving a just order, and community for establishing a just peace.

At the conclusion of this monograph, we reconsider the role of these core principles both in shaping the nature of practice aimed at achieving the performance measurement goals addressed here, and in gauging the effectiveness of intervention.

"... communities should not measure the success of any ... community-based initiative based upon what happens to the offender... (Rather, they should measure)... the impact of community based initiatives upon victims, upon the self-esteem of others working (in the community justice process), on strengthening families, building connections within the community, on enforcing community values, on mobilizing community action to reduce factors causing crime, to prevent crime, and ultimately to make the community safer ..."Judge Barry Stuart

General intermediate outcomes and measures for this project are aimed at gauging the degree to which organizational objectives are broadly achieved in the areas of accountability, community protection, and competency development, for the most part at the *point of case closure.* These broad, general intermediate outcomes listed under the three BARJ goals include:

Community Safety. Declining juvenile crime rate; Juvenile offender crime desistance in early adulthood; Short-term post-supervision re-offending; Short-term in-program recidivism

Competency Development. Resistance to drugs and alcohol; Academic/educational competency; Occupational competency; and Community competency;

Accountability. Completion of restitution; Completion of community service; and System accountability/Victim satisfaction.

Aggregate level juvenile justice performance measures are necessarily broad, general indicators, and some outcomes may gauge success in more than one mission goal (e.g., meaningful community service may increase competencies as well as accomplish accountability goals; drug resistance has implications for public safety as well as competency development). For some of the performance measures proposed, the rationale is obvious. For example, the practical value of crime reduction outcomes such as long-term re-offending and in-program re-offending is self-evident. Similarly, measuring behaviors such as the proportion of offenders under supervision who remain drug free indicates the acquisition of drug resistance skills, but also the extent to which these offenders avoided another criminal offense (i.e., drug use), which is also associated generally with other non-drug related offenses. Still other measures, e.g., victim satisfaction, may be easily justified as a normative indicator of the extent to which systems and agencies have addressed what some now view as a moral obligation to victims. Measuring victim satisfaction may also reap practical benefits for staff awareness and sensitivity to victim needs.

The defense of some competency development and accountability measures on the other hand is less straightforward. It is of course possible to collect data on completion of competency building or restorative justice programs. It is more important, however, to collect data on prosocial support relationships that may emerge from these encounters (Bazemore and Schiff, 2004). Community service outcomes may also rely on exit surveys that attempt to assess the meaning of service to offenders and other participants. Victim satisfaction may be linked to directly to participation in victim-offender conferences, or to related interventions. Such research, though valuable, is not however the purpose of our data collection in the current performance measurement project. Indeed, one primary motivation behind the focus on this limited set of benchmark measures is to eliminate data collection focused on measures unrelated to balanced mission goals and to focus efforts around the achievement of mission objectives. It is also important to keep in mind the basic criteria for useful performance measures that require that they be: measurable and accessible; concise and limited in number; valid and reliable; centered around a common unit of analysis, comparison standard and baseline; strengths-based rather than deficit-focused.

Creating Safer Communities

The general concern to foster safer communities relatively free of youth crime suggests four important perform-ance outcomes: youth crime rate; juvenile offender resistance to crime in early adulthood; post-supervision resist-ance to crime; resistance to youth crime while under juvenile justice supervision. Measures of these outcome con-structs are, in order of mention: changes in the youth crime rate; juvenile offender recidivism after the age of majority; one-year, post-supervision re-offending; in-program (under supervision) re-offending.

Outcome 1: Declining Juvenile Crime Rate

The report card outcome least logically connected to the intervention efforts of the juvenile justice systems and agencies is the overall juvenile crime rate. Such rates are affected by many things, and a significant portion of the youth crime rate may be accounted for by young people who have not had any contact (or recent contact) with the juvenile justice system.

In the most general sense, however, a reasonable measure of change in the crime rate is of interest to both com-munity members and policymakers. While such changes can not be linked directly to system or program interven-tion, youth crime rates may be at least generally linked to broad community issues, and to some extent to system policies. For example, those juvenile justice interventions that truly strengthen the capacity of schools and other "micro communities" to deal with minor problems of youth crime and trouble that currently end up in juvenile court could have dramatic implications for reduction in referrals to the juvenile court for "offenses" that were for-merly viewed as disciplinary violations.

Measure 1: Annual Youth Crime Rate.
Regardless of any direct linkage to system or agency intervention, normatively, one might argue that it is part of the responsibility of juvenile justice agencies to provide accurate information about changes in the prevalence of youth crime and to speculate about reasons for changes that have broad implications for policy beyond those asso-ciated with the mandate of juvenile justice. From a pragmatic perspective, using current youth crime rates as a baseline, juvenile justice managers may—in much the same way that police executives do—examine fluctuations in these rates to plan for future resource needs. They may also, in consultation with the community, use this infor-mation to craft new interventions to address emerging needs and to develop a more strategic response that focuses resources on certain high crime neighborhoods and districts. Empirically, though declining crime rates are not necessarily related to system activity or performance, they are the ultimate apparent "results-based" indicator of success.

Outcome 2: Juvenile Offender Desistance in Early Adulthood

This outcome addresses the capacity of the juvenile justice system to prevent and control crime for youth after they age out of the juvenile justice system. Normatively, juvenile justice is in the public mind a kind of "second chance" by which young offenders are protected from criminal prosecution and its consequences based on the presumption of immaturity. Youth who continue to offend after supervision in the juvenile justice system can be said to represent a failure of that system to prevent future crime.

Measure 2: Re-offending in First Year of Adulthood for Youth Formerly Under Court Supervision
Though this measure may be less relevant depending on the age at which the offender completes his juvenile jus-tice supervision (it would be directly relevant for a youth who reached the age of majority while under juvenile justice supervision, but less salient for a 14 year old), the measure nonetheless addresses a concern among some policymakers that the juvenile justice system has lost its relevance. To the extent that a high proportion of youth under juvenile court supervision are *not* charged as adults, public confidence in juvenile justice as a "last stop" or second chance to juvenile offenders is buttressed. The limitation to a one-year follow-up is also a pragmatic one

based on the limited ability of most juvenile justice agencies to track cases years after supervision as adults. It is also a practical and empirical one in the sense that at some point, the juvenile justice system must be viewed as less responsible for the behavior of youth no longer under its supervision.

Outcome 3: Crime Free Short–Term Post–Supervision
An outcome more closely related to juvenile justice system performance is the extent to which youth who have been under court supervision remain crime free for a reasonable period of time post-supervision. Community values and concerns about safety and security would no doubt lead to questions about high rates of re-offending in the immediate period after juvenile court intervention.

Measure 3: No New Charges in First Year of Release from Supervision
The one-year measure of law-abiding behavior proposed in this project, percent who had no new charges in the 12 months subsequent to the completion of court supervision, can be reasonably linked to juvenile justice intervention. Though subject to other factors, pragmatically and empirically, inferences can be made about the relative effectiveness of supervision, and even the *specific aspects* of supervision (e.g., completion of restitution and/or other conditions of supervision) that seem to have the strongest impact on re-offending, especially when other variables are statistically controlled.

Outcome 4: Crime–Free Community Supervision
The outcome most directly linked to system performance and adaptation is the extent to which youth under court supervision remain crime free during the period of time under supervision. Originally used on a national basis as part of the OJJDP-funded national evaluation of juvenile restitution programs (Schneider, 1985; Schneider and Bazemore, 1985; Schneider, 1986), the "in-program re-offending" outcome was conceptualized as an intermediate program performance indicator of the crime reduction impact of restitution and community service programs. Because these programs were contrasted for impact evaluation purposes with probation or diversion alternatives that did not include restitution and community service,[7] this crime-free supervision outcome was also viewed as a general performance measure for probation or other forms of community supervision (e.g., parole).

Measure 4: "In-Program" Re-offending Rate at Case Closure
In the past decade, this method of measurement of re-offending (and other outcomes) at case closure has been adopted by the National Center for Juvenile Justice (under funding from the Pennsylvania Council on Crime & Delinquency), and has been used successfully for several years in Allegheny County and several other jurisdictions in the state (Griffin and Thomas, 2004).

Among the most practically useful conclusions of the restitution evaluation study were the findings that in-program re-offending was strongly related to *post-program* recidivism (program and control group youth in six jurisdictions were followed for three years) in the experimental studies (Schneider, 1991). In addition, completion rates of restitution and community service orders were strong predictors of later recidivism (Schneider and Schneider, 1984; Schneider and Bazemore, 1985)—a relationship we consider later in this monograph. For now, it is important to note the *empirical/theoretical value* of investment in good measures of in-program re-offending at the point of case closure as a strong predictor of post-intervention offending. The theory behind this is that crime-free supervision is one obvious yet neglected predictor of post-supervision success. Another important predictor of post-supervision reoffending is drug and alcohol use during probation supervision. "Resistance to Drug and Alcohol Use," as measured by alcohol and drug test results at intake, during supervision, and at case closure, is included in our measurement protocol a primary competency development indicator.

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[7] For example, in one experimental trial, completion of restitution by a specialized restitution program was compared with completion rates by probation alone; with short-term detention in another; and with restitution alone, restitution with probation, and restitution with counseling.

At the most practical, management level, the measure of in-program re-offending can be used to monitor the success of intervention (i.e., either probation alone or with restitution), with the goal of fine-tuning, or troubleshooting, aspects of supervision that seem to be contributing to the successful and unsuccessful completion of probation (e.g., completing restitution obligations) (Schneider and Bazemore, 1985). When re-offending rates at case closure are tallied at regular intervals as a measure of law-abiding behavior, the percentage of cases that had no new charges can then be linked empirically to post-supervision re-offending, and viewed as a risk factor for predicting long-term re-offending. While it may be viewed as unfair to hold supervision professionals responsible for longer term re-offending, the higher the proportion of one's caseload that remains crime-free while under supervision, the greater the likelihood that follow-up recidivism will be low. In turn, normatively, one can make greater claims about the public value of less expensive, community-based intervention that may be used as an alternative to secure confinement. Conversely, high rates of in-program re-offending present danger signs that may create legitimate doubts that challenge the credibility of probation, and (perhaps) the wisdom of those who choose it over more intensive options.

Skilled and Connected Youth in Capable Communities: Competency Development

The capacity to *do something well that others value* (Polk and Kobrin, 1972), *competency*, is an essential aspect of a prosocial lifestyle. It is closely linked to access to roles that create the opportunity for positive relationships with adults who can provide both instrumental and affective support for young people. Many competencies could be the focus of juvenile justice intervention, including educational, vocational, emotional, problem solving, conflict resolution, health, and others. Several core competencies may, however, have greater value in the response to delinquent youth because they are highly correlated with other competencies, and practically, are linked directly to traditional goals of juvenile court supervision. We consider and defend four such competency outcomes and propose four broad, yet accessible, related performance measures. Consistent with the view that juvenile justice intervention must go beyond targeting only offenders for rehabilitative intervention (Bazemore, 1998; Bazemore and Erbe, 2003), one of these four measures is intended as a general process indicator of increase in community *adult* competency in and willingness to support and supervise youth under juvenile court jurisdiction.

Outcome 1: Academic and Educational Competence

Empirically, general indicators of "school status" as a multi-dimensional construct (e.g., attachment to school and teachers, attendance, GPA) are highly predictive of other competencies such as vocational skills and are also among the most reliable predictors of future delinquency and adult crime (Polk and Schaefer, 1972; Sampson and Laub, 1993). As a primary goal of supervision, increasing commitment and attachment to school is a primary component of any intervention aimed at promoting prosocial bonding for youth under court supervision (Hirschi, 1969; Polk, 1984; Piquero et al., 2004).

Measure 1: School Attendance

School attendance, typically a standard probation requirement, is of course a baseline or "threshold" requirement for acquiring a broad range of educational competencies. While it is not uncommon for effective probation officers to include improvement in school as a supervision goal, and it is possible in some jurisdictions to develop a variety of indicators of school attachment (e.g., Gottfredson, 1990), attendance is at minimum a *necessary condition* for achieving basic academic competence. Moreover, some school systems (e.g., the state of Minnesota) that have tracked high school attendance rates alone have found them to be highly predictive of standardized test score variation across schools (Riestenberg, 2005). From a values perspective, most community members *expect* adolescents to be in school, and enforcing attendance requirements would be for many a basic normative expectation of probation. Practically, as noted previously, nonattendance creates longer unsupervised periods during the day that provide opportunities for involvement in crime.

Though juvenile justice agencies are being encouraged to begin employing more comprehensive indicators of improvement in commitment and attachment (e.g., Grade Point Average), such measures are difficult to obtain in some jurisdictions. Attendance is of course a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for both bonding and skill development, and thus has good reliability and validity as a supervisory goal worth measuring at the point of case termination. School completion is also an important predictor of adult success, including viable employment and a crime free lifestyle.

Outcome 2: Occupational Competency
School status (by virtue of its necessary relationship to educational success) is no doubt the best predictor of delinquency and adult crime, and also of other competencies that predict access to other prosocial roles and relationships. However, for youth not in school (especially older youth), *employment status* assumes a great deal of importance. For such youth, work offers another means of productive use of time and provides another source of guardianship. Normatively, good societies offer a wide range of opportunities for citizens to contribute productively and earn money to support themselves and their families. Equally important, productive work is an expectation of community members that may be fundamental to bring about needed change in the public image of those involved in juvenile justice systems, and to their reintegration and reacceptance as contributing participants in community life.

Pragmatically, the *absence of work* for youth not in school leaves few if any opportunities for competency development. From a community perspective, absence of gainful employment for those not engaged in some formal educational option would be viewed as an unacceptable scenario for effective, crime-free community supervision. Empirically, employment status is one of the best predictors of desistance from crime in adulthood (Sampson and Laub, 1992). This is so for a variety of reasons other than the obviously important one that paid work offers a means to provide for oneself and one's family. It is argued that employment has other important practical and theoretical meanings relevant to a crime-free way of life: it provides a prosocial identity, is a source of commitment to conventional action, is a means of supporting and maintaining family life, and serves as a context for informal social control—all factors found to be independently related to crime and desistance in many research studies. Work experience may also keep open opportunities for—and provide new access to—reentry to the educational process.

For young people, however, research on the employment/crime connection for adolescents appears to contradict positive findings for adults, thus presenting an apparent dilemma for those encouraging work experience for juveniles (see Moon, et al., 2002). Specifically, paid work beyond a minimal number of hours per week (20 hrs. is a critical cut-off point in much research) is a double-edged sword apparently associated with both initial delinquency and an escalation in involvement in youth crime (Moon et al., 2002). Yet, while some have concluded from this growing body of research that employment is simply bad for young people, others argue that it is not work itself that is the culprit but the fact that work for many adolescents in modern societies has a different meaning than it does for adults. Rather than provide for a prosocial identity, commitment, and informal control, youth employment may detract from time spent on school work and involvement in prosocial activities in school that arguably *do* provide these elements. While youth jobs could be "designed" to provide adolescents with positive connections similar to those that appear to reduce crime in adults (Pearl and Reisman, 1969; Bazemore, 1991), such connections are not typical of most youth employment experiences. Typical youth work, such as fast-food or most retail jobs, does not provide much opportunity to develop conventional commitments to prosocial adults (in fact, supervisors in fast-food restaurants are often other juveniles), or to acquire meaningful skills (though they have ironically been shown to provide money used to support drug use) (Moon et al., 2002).

Measure 2: Employment
While these findings, based on data from general youth populations, provide caution against excessive employment of a certain kind for youth already in school, they do not challenge the theory that work experience can provide a positive opportunity for skill and relationship building. Many delinquent youth are already alienated from school, and for those who have already left or been removed from school, employment becomes a far more defensible option—especially if the alternative is idleness. Indeed, there are no studies that show that paid work for youth who are already delinquent increases their involvement in crime.

Why and how can employment help to build prosocial connections and skills that reduce offending while under court supervision? Juvenile justice and youth service professionals who understand the theory behind the negative relationship between work and crime for adults may also seek to increase the positive characteristics of the work experience noted in those studies, while minimizing some of the negative effects of youth work. They may, for example, try to use the employment experience to rekindle interest in education or seek out work experience and employment opportunities for young offenders that offer opportunities for mentoring and development of apprenticeship-like relationships. One avenue for doing so is to utilize community service work crews as a vehicle for employment training; service work, as part of a service learning experience, provides credibility for the participant in the eyes of potential employers. Supervisors in such service crews would be chosen in part for their awareness of the components of positive work experience—including the participation of adult community members as potential mentors (Bazemore and Maloney, 1994; Bazemore et al., 2004). Service crews can also be transformed to provide paid work experience as is the case with Youth Conservation Corps, YOUTHBUILD, and other programs. Juvenile justice professionals have also contracted with parks and recreation, public works, and conservation agencies to provide paid employment for youth under juvenile justice supervision in part as a way of providing a source of funds to repair harm to victims (Bazemore and Maloney, 1994). While employment is ultimately, a "black box" experience that varies by context and the needs of individual youth, it is defensible normatively, practically and empirically for youth no longer in school. It can be designed for more positive impact through attention to the theory of how and why work may reinforce prosocial behavior by building skills and connecting youth to their communities.

Outcome 3: Drug Resistance Competency
As a public health issue, it is important to view adolescent drug use as a problem broader than one that can be easily addressed by employing criminal and juvenile justice tools. Yet, while no one views probation or court staff as therapists capable of treating drug abuse, it is unfortunate that juvenile justice workers are viewed by most of the public as having rather clear responsibilities in monitoring and controlling substance use for youth under their supervision (Schwartz et al 1992; Moon et al 2000). Too often, substance abuse is frequently discussed as a policy issue to some extent detached from the juvenile justice system (Kraft et al., 2001).

Drug and alcohol use is both a law and probation violation that may also lead to a range of harms not just to the abuser (Blechman et al., 2001). As such, substance abuse should be taken at least as seriously as the many offenses processed through juvenile courts, and definitely more seriously than the many technical violations of probation rules. From the perspective of probation performance, substance use and abuse are clear indicators that supervision has broken down. While not directly linked causally to other crimes (Elliott, 1994), substance abuse may increase one's vulnerability to such crimes and therefore provide a threat to public safety, as well as to the capacity of youths under supervision to fulfill accountability obligations. Though it has clear implications for these accountability outcomes, we include drug resistance under the competency development heading. Consistent with the general "strengths-based" goal of maximizing the positive, we hope to also reflect the reality that drug resistance skills are a positive competency development outcome.

Measure 3: Negative Drug Screens

Hence, *drug resistance competency* (as measured by absence of positive drug screens while under supervision) is a vital strengths-based indicator of a youth's capacity for substance abuse avoidance after supervision, as well as a measure of the capacity of the juvenile justice agency to effectively monitor young offenders in the community.

In the public mind, the proportion of youth in the general population who experiment with drugs is often underestimated, while the proportion in the juvenile justice system who have been frequent or chronic users may be overestimated. The public needs to be educated about both general use and abuse among young people, and the higher proportion of youth in delinquency caseloads who are chronic users (Kraft et al., 2001). Then, the public may be more capable of understanding the salience of a performance measure that tracks the proportion of juveniles among probation caseloads who remain drug-free during supervision. Such education can set the normative expectation that use may be quite high in initial efforts to measure incidents of positive screenings during supervision. Then, if measurement really drives practice priorities, one might expect that subsequent measurement will demonstrate a drop in the number of positive screenings. Another positive outcome of this overall measurement effort may be a greater commitment of resources to substance abuse programs and skill training in basic diagnostics and supportive intervention for probation officers.

Pragmatically, an intolerance of substance use simply makes sense to the public. If investment of public funds cannot limit use of substances while youth are under supervision, why should citizens be expected to support juvenile justice generally? Skills for substance abuse avoidance are, from another perspective, perhaps some of the most important for productive adult life. The relationship of such outcomes to other competency development outcomes such as employment and school retention and advancement is also clear. Practically, substance abuse problems may also spur probation officers to be more cognizant of tightly structuring the time offenders spend in productive work, education, and civic activity.

Empirically and theoretically, the causal link between substance abuse and crime has not been well established. Rather, research suggests that it is at least equally likely that delinquency leads to substance abuse, perhaps through the intervening variable of delinquent peer associations. Substance abuse is of course likely to be indirectly linked to delinquency by its tendency to encourage delinquent peer associations and its potential impact on school performance. It may also be a barrier to ongoing participation in prosocial activity such as school organizations, sports, and work.

Outcome 4: Community Competency

Young people must not be the only targets of a competency development strategy. If we wish to achieve safer communities and keep delinquency rates low, communities must increase the capacity of *adults* and community groups to socialize, support, discipline, and reintegrate young offenders. Juvenile justice systems should support this effort by developing outcomes that address increases in parent, teacher, and community member competency and encourage initiatives likely to strengthen these competencies (e.g., parent training, teacher and school personnel conflict resolution, restorative practices, and youth development training).

The decline of parenting skills and family resources has been well documented over the past several decades (Schorr, 1997; Putnam, 2000). More broadly, the absence of participation by community members and groups in a variety of youth development activities has left a void that is even more apparent in local communities hit by a decline in funding for youth and family services at both the state and local level. Though restorative justice practices have opened new doorways to citizen participation in informal sanctioning and support groups (Bazemore and Schiff, 2004), the need to increase the motivation, skill base and opportunities for community participation in a variety of aspects of juvenile justice intervention appears greater today than since the founding of the juvenile court. Some have even noted that the increased professionalization and expansion of juvenile court programs may even discourage such participation.

As criminal and juvenile justice systems have, over a period of decades, expanded their jurisdiction over a wide range of problems, they have in turn weakened and/or displaced the role of citizens and community groups in resolving disputes and repairing harms informally. As observed in classic theories of law and social control (e.g., Black, 1976), community lack of interest in and skills to perform these functions then in turn leads to an expansion in legal and criminal justice controls.

When criminal and juvenile justice agencies take on more responsibility for community problems relating to youth crime that were once easily resolved at the community level, they invite citizens and community groups to "dump" these problems at their doorstep. In doing so, they also redefine the meaning of minor disputes, youth trouble, school discipline issues, and neighborhood conflict as conditions requiring professional justice system intervention and thereby encourage dependency (McKnight, 1995). This professionalization of tasks and roles further undercuts community initiative, devalues citizen competencies, and denies opportunities to apply and nurture problem-solving skills of conflict resolution, reparation and norm clarification (Christie, 1977; Moore, 1994). Citizens and community groups that no longer have responsibility for exercising informal social control and social support begin to lose their capacities for carrying out these tasks (Christie, 1977; Moore, 1994). As Clear and Karp (1999) describe it:

> When agents of the state become the key problem solvers, they might be filling a void in community; but just as in interpersonal relationships, so in community functioning, once a function is being performed by one party it becomes unnecessary for another to take it on . . . parents expect police or schools to control their children; neighbors expect police to prevent late night noise from people on their street; and citizens expect the courts to resolve disputes . . . informal control systems may atrophy like dormant muscles, and citizens may come to see the formal system as existing to mediate all conflicts (p.38).

In contrast, citizen and community involvement is at its core a normative commitment to democratic participation. Since Toqueville (1956/1855), scholars of American culture have noticed the value placed on service to others and the community. Moreover, maximizing citizen participation also has pragmatic value. The connection between such participation and *added value* for juvenile justice system professionals is summarized by Dennis Maloney as follows:

> Participation denied breeds apathy. Apathy breeds suspicion. Suspicion breeds cynicism. Cynicism prevails. Conversely, participation builds a sense of ownership and a sense of ownership builds personal responsibility. A sense of personal responsibility for the well-being of the community prevails (1998, p. 1).

It may also be argued that those who share a strong sense of responsibility will go to great lengths and effort to see their ideas succeed and will share a strong sense of investment in the outcome of those efforts. Rather than criticize the system, they may then become its advocates and defenders.

The theory of civic engagement would posit that citizens and community groups have much to offer to offenders, victims and their families that cannot be provided by professionals. To date, the term civic engagement has been used to describe a theory of offender reintegration based on the idea that offenders who become involved in activities that help others and contribute to their communities—including especially community service, democratic involvement, and mentoring—experience a sense of commitment to the "common good" that is a fundamental factor in their rehabilitation (Uggen and Janicula, 1999; Uggen and Manza, 2003; Bazemore and Stinchcomb, 2004). Drawing on the theoretical and empirical work of Uggen et al (2003) on civic reintegration, a *civic engagement* intervention model would propose strategies that seek to strengthen such commitments in a variety of citizenship domains and then test the impact of these approaches. Civic engagement practice and policy would be expected to weaken barriers to prosocial identity for persons who have been under correctional supervision, change the community's image of such persons, and mobilize informal support and assistance. Such engagement also provides opportunities to "try out" different roles and to learn from experience in these roles (Maruna,

2001). Strategies for changing the *public image* include strategic efforts to make productive efforts of these persons visible to various communities. Offenders engaged actively in conference decision-making may benefit both from participation in the conference agreement and from taking responsibility for acknowledging harm and making things right. Notably, as discussed above, community members and crime victims also benefit by assuming responsibility previously left to authorities as they gain skills needed for resolving conflict in everyday life.

As a result of the diminished capacity of communities to provide informal social control and support, system agencies and professionals continue to play an essential role in building, or rebuilding, this capacity. Specifically, those professional agencies must provide a great deal of support, as well as education, resources, guidance and oversight to empower community groups and citizens to respond effectively. What is needed then is not to simply devolve responsibility to the community level (Crawford, 1997; Bazemore and Griffiths, 1997), but rather to also transform the work of the juvenile and criminal justice agencies and professionals from "expert" service providers to supporters of community and citizen-driven restorative responses (Pranis, 1998).

Measure 4: Volunteer Participation
How can gains in citizen and community group capacity for social control and support be measured? This is a complex issue even in the increasingly sophisticated literature of social capital and social disorganization (e.g., Putnam, 2000). Such measurement of community building is in any case beyond the scope of data collection of most juvenile justice systems.

In this context, the simplest measures may be best as a means of signifying the importance of community *involvement* as a threshold indicator of community competency. Simply counting the number of community organizations—not under contract to provide services—that are volunteer partners with juvenile justice in supporting interventions such as community service, restorative group conferencing, neighborhood boards, and mentoring activities, for example, can provide a good baseline for continuous improvement in engaging community groups. Businesses and civic groups that provide employment opportunities for offenders owing restitution should also be included in these counts.

For this project, we have chosen to begin at the individual level by simply counting the number of volunteers involved in providing support services to the court, the juvenile justice system, and their various programs. As with all measures, these counts should begin over a fixed period of time (ideally one year) that can serve as a baseline, and then continue on a yearly basis. The jurisdiction may wish to separately track, and measure increases in, the number of *new* volunteers that come into the system on a regular basis.

Accountable Offenders and Systems

Our final proposed set of juvenile justice performance measures, focused on the goal of accountability, has three outcome categories: Successful Completion of Restitution Orders; Successful Completion of Community Service Orders; and System Accountability as Determined by Victim Satisfaction. The third category, measured as the level of satisfaction of the newest yet increasingly important client of juvenile justice systems, seems self-evident and needs little defense as a priority performance outcome. Victims are essential to the operation and success of the justice process and, given their numbers, have been the target of probably the smallest proportion of justice system improvement resources.

The first two performance outcomes, on the other hand, are accountability sanctions, each with a 30 year history. However, while application of these sanctions has brought about substantial positive impact, both seem misused, misunderstood, and too often underutilized. Despite their positive track record in evaluation and other empirical research studies, there is little awareness and many doubts in the field about the value of these sanctions.

Because the concept of accountability is so widely misused, and our proposed outcomes based on completion of reparative sanctions—restitution and community service—may become the target of criticism in some circles, we devote greater attention to presenting the defensible basis of these performance outcomes than we do to most of the other outcomes being used in this project. Indeed, we argue that these restorative sanctions are uniquely capable of promoting *active responsibility* rather than the passive accountability of taking one's punishment (Braithwaite and Roach, 2001) in a way that provides added benefits for victim and community, as well as the offender.

We consider the two sanctions at first together as accountability sanctions with a great deal of normative public support and pragmatic value. We then separately review the empirical track record of restitution and community service, providing a more in-depth summary of research on the impact on re-offending and the theoretical base for each sanction. The goal of the latter discussion is to ensure that these sanctions are implemented in a way that ensures high compliance and produces intermediate impacts shown to be related to recidivism and other positive outcomes. Finally, as in other sections, we present performance outcomes for each sanction and distinguish appropriate from inappropriate performance measures for each sanction at the point of case closure.

Defending Reparative Sanctions: Restorative Justice and Authoritative Accountability
"Accountability" is a term used in criminal justice and corrections in a unique way. Webster's dictionary defines accountability as simply "the quality or state of being accountable; responsible" (where accountable is defined as "being answerable, or obligated to give an explanation"). Yet, criminal and juvenile justice professionals have developed a tradition of using the term to refer to the obligation of offenders to "pay their debt" by taking their punishment (Wright, 1990). Alternatively, in correctional settings in particular, accountability is often used in a more utilitarian way to signify the obligation of offenders to abide by the regulations of residential programs or by the rules of community supervision. While the latter type of accountability may be necessary to ensure control in correctional programs, the former is an arbitrary usage based on retributive ideology. Either use is problematic as the primary philosophical basis for juvenile justice sanctioning.

True accountability requires acceptance of responsibility for the crime (or some part of it), and taking action to repair the harm. Though such action can take many forms—including restitution, apology, service for the victim, and agreement to stop fighting with or bullying someone, and many other reparative obligations—in restorative justice practice, such obligations are often determined through informal "restorative group conferencing" processes which give crime victims, offenders, their families and other community members input into determining the terms of accountability. These participants may then play a role with the offender in repairing the harm (e.g., providing a job for the offender; working with him/her on a service project), as well as attending to victim needs.

Psychologist David Moore (1994) has suggested that the treatment/punishment debate in juvenile justice is analogous to misguided arguments in child rearing which view disciplinary options as a stark choice between "authoritarian" and "permissive" approaches. Authoritarian parenting enforces far too many rules and relies too heavily on external control. Permissive parenting enforces too few rules while assuming an innate capacity for self-control. Because both extremes tend, in Moore's view, to "shield children from the challenge of social and moral demands," what is needed is an "authoritative" approach that is consistent about standards while encouraging "self-regulation and self-control based on a shared commitment to these standards." Such an approach would provide limits without submitting to the easy solutions of either leniency or punitiveness. In a similar way, Moore argues, the regulatory culture of institutions and public agencies can be evaluated along the continuum ranging from authoritarian, through authoritative, to permissive. Authoritarian cultures are those that overemphasize social responsibilities while neglecting individual rights, while permissive cultures give too much emphasis to rights over responsibilities. Authoritative cultures, however, seek a balance between fostering social responsibility to the community and individual rights.

Such a balance is needed to promote an *authoritative accountability* that links sanctions to a broader set of shared values. Like families, juvenile justice systems have fallen prey to pendulum swings between these two extremes. Completing a treatment program and ceasing bad behavior while under court supervision does not equip offenders with the capabilities or the desire to do something other than offending. Likewise, passively "taking one's punishment" produces few positive outcomes for the offender, or for victim and community. Juvenile corrections professionals need practical, concrete, active sanctioning options that make sense to offenders and communities. Concrete sanctioning measures are also needed as consequences for infractions in correctional programs that harm other participants, staff and/or the peace of the residential community.

Neither restitution nor community service would seem to require an elaborate defense as vital measures of system performance. Indeed, community member surveys suggest that both measures reflect common values of fairness and obligation and are extremely popular even as alternatives to jail and prison time for nonviolent offenders, as well as an expectation of probation (Pranis and Umbreit, 1992; Moon et al., 2000; Doble et al., 1997; Schwartz et al., 1992). The need for a defense of such measures comes mostly from some professionals and researchers who have portrayed restitution and community service as either punitive, ineffective, or difficult to implement—though there is no evidence to support these claims. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that restitution and community service be grouped in a category of programs—including shock incarceration, Scared Straight, shock therapy and boot camps—that "do not work" in reducing recidivism, and would be viewed by many as ineffective at best, and harmful at worst (Krisberg et al., 1995).[8] But are we to believe that paying restitution or completing community service projects are as demeaning and stigmatizing as being forced to clean toilets in a boot camp, or that community service work crews that deliver firewood to the elderly or help to build a shelter for abused women and children provide the same experience as a chain gang?

There is, unfortunately, some basis for the, at times, disparaging response to reparative sanctions.[9] Although service to communities by those under criminal justice supervision has become a standard component of sentencing and correctional practice, Michael Tonry argues that, "community service is the most underused intermediate sanction" (1996, p. 121), and that its growth and application since it became popular internationally in the 1970s has been unsystematic. But if community service is underused, it is also generally *under-conceptualized*, and therefore often *misused*, as an intervention capable of meeting important needs and achieving multiple community, participant, and criminal justice objectives. Community service has too often been an intervention in search of a mission, and has suffered accordingly from attempts to be "all things to all people": a retributive punishment, an alternative to other punishments such as jail and prison, an effective form of treatment, a way of structuring probation supervision, a means of meeting public needs, and a public relations device (Pease, 1982). On the one hand, examples of solely punitive, as well as mundane, "make work" performed as community service have led to valid criticism and to a general conclusion that service in corrections system has not lived up to its potential. On the other hand, community service projects have provided great benefits to community members, groups, and to participants, and have generally been positively evaluated. Without a coherent mission, however, service initiatives remain uncoordinated, unexamined, and without proponents and supporters.

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[8] Other criticisms of restitution have focused on its potential for inequity and injustice when, for example, two offenders committing the same crime with the same degree of culpability are ordered to pay very different amounts of restitution based on the degree of victim injury and harm, victim insurance, and other factors. Similarly, very wealthy victims and impoverished victims may be said to receive unequal and unjust treatment based on pre-existing ability to pay (Karmen, 2003). Once again, multiple solutions to such problems have been developed in European countries (and some U.S. states) where restitution (and also fines) are used extensively in large amounts (at least in Europe)—even widely as alternatives to jail and prison time. For example, sliding scales, earning opportunities for offenders, requirements that offenders pay according to calculated extent of damage or harm regardless of victim need or demands into funds used to compensate other victims when completion of restitution by offenders will be a lengthy process, and paying offenders for public work with monies that are then passed on to victims do much to equalize the obligation for offenders of differential social status and in cases in which the level of culpability seems unrelated to victim loss or harm.

[9] With regard to community service, for example, one unfortunate popular image is of work crews in striped prison uniforms building roads while chained together (Anderson et al., 2000). Chain gangs tragically conflate cruel and demeaning punishment with service to the community. Thus, community service is often perceived as a "ceremony of degradation" (Garfinkel, 1956), rather than an opportunity for repairing harm and demonstrating accountability (Bazemore, 1998).

In juvenile justice, community service has too often been viewed as another form of punishment (e.g., assigning youth to pick up trash, or simply make-work tasks to complete hours), a form of treatment where the service is viewed as an intervention aimed only at meeting the needs of the offender rather than community and victim, or as a mindless court obligation. In the latter case, this obligation is often met by allowing young offenders to complete "hours" on their own, or by substituting other supervision requirements for other service interventions or probation requirements (the practice of some probation officers in one state of awarding community service hours *for attending school* comes to mind).

Similarly, restitution in many jurisdictions appears to be a sanction in search of a mission. Despised by some probation officers in some jurisdictions as a "bill collection" enterprise, restitution is often viewed at best as a troublesome part of the court order that detracts from "more important" goals of supervision. Though "best practice" guides are full of examples of how restitution can reinforce the kind of authoritative accountability discussed above (Schneider, 1985; American Probation and Parole Association, 1999) and have vital positive impact on victims, offenders and community stakeholders, standard restitution practice in many juvenile court jurisdictions falls far short of such ideals. Indeed, such practice may involve at best transfer of money to victims from the bank accounts of offenders' parents via a court clerk, with little knowledge on the part of the offender (who may view it as a punitive fine) or victim (who does not connect it in any way to offender accountability). Typically, restitution is the lowest priority after other obligations (including fines payable to the court) are addressed, and therefore abysmally low collection and payment rates simply add insult to the injury already sustained by crime victims (American Probation and Parole Association, 1999). Moreover, given the nature of work required to complete restitution and service orders, the lack of victim and offender input into these obligations, and the disconnect between these efforts and stakeholder outcomes, it should not be surprising that some restorative justice advocates who once placed such sanctions at the core of restorative priorities no longer view restitution as a fundamental core feature of the restorative justice paradigm (see generally and compare, Zehr, 1990; Zehr and Toews, 2004; Van Ness et al., 1995; Van Ness and Strong, 2002; Braithwaite, 1989; 2001).

Much change in what in many jurisdictions has become standard practice is required if these sanctions are to silence critics who would prefer to see both obligations removed from juvenile court dispositions and diversion plans. Systematic collection of performance data on completion of restitution and community service is a first step along the road to bringing about needed improvements in practice. These improvements must also be grounded in a value base (normative rationales), a sense of real possibilities for pragmatic impact of service and restitution on the stakeholders of Balanced and Restorative Justice, and an understanding of the theory (or theories) and research that links these sanctions to other outcomes (e.g., reduced re-offending, victim satisfaction) and can in turn shape practice in a way that maximizes the likelihood of achieving these outcomes.

Restitution: A Normative and Practical Defense

Restitution is *one form* of reparation, specifically aimed at addressing financial loss to crime victims. Restitution is different than other less holistic victim services or other offender interventions and sanctions in that it potentially offers collective benefits for victim, offender and community. As a restorative practice, restitution obligations may also, as we will consider below, address a variety of other needs and concerns including the emotional needs of victims (including public confirmation of the offender's culpability for the offense), the need for offenders to experience making and completing agreements/obligations, and the need for community members to witness in a concrete way the efforts of an offender to regain their trust and earn their way back into their good graces.

The value base underlying the obligation of offenders to "make things right" by repairing damage resulting from their crime appears to build upon a sense of need to address the imbalance that occurs when one person harms another (Bazemore, 1998; Miller, 1993). Most importantly, norms of fairness and reciprocity work against the idea that someone who has hurt another person or group should receive help or service without first taking some

action to make things better for that person or group. While such imbalance is addressed in retributive justice theory via the currency of punishment, it is addressed in restorative justice by reparation. Normatively, both restitution and community service address the virtually universal expectations of reciprocity (Molm and Cook, 1995) that make us want to restore balance in the aftermath of a crime or harm. For offenders, the failure to take responsibility to repair harm is therefore a barrier to meaningful reintegration that may also impose limits on victim healing and on the establishment of community peace and safety (Herman and Wasserman, 2001). Building on the principle and theory of social exchange, rather than the principle of entitlement inherent in the treatment/social welfare model, a kind of "earned redemption" (Maloney, 1998; Bazemore, 1988) can occur in a restorative process in which the offender is generally expected to first acknowledge responsibility for the wrong, and then also take significant reparative action.

For the victim, the receipt of a tangible repayment of loss is not only practically important to financial recovery in some instances, but also, more importantly, to improved psychological well being (Tontodonato and Erez, 1994). As Presser and Van Voohis (2002) suggest, the value of offender reparation to victims may be more about "demonstrated willingness to pay restitution (or an effort to make things right), rather than actual completion of the reparative agreement as written." More concretely, though the importance of victim compensation for loss should not be diminished (see above), reparation of all kinds (money, service, meeting victim requests) is likely to be important to victims *in part* because it provides additional validation of the wrong done to them: by paying restitution, the offender "owns" responsibility for the crime, and thereby takes away any implication of the victim's culpability in the act.

Outcome Research on Restitution: Offender Impact

Regarding the empirical research on restitution and re-offending, the bulk of evidence from a growing body of studies shows significant positive impact on recidivism—especially for juvenile offenders (e.g., Schneider, 1986; Butts and Snyder, 1991; Van Voorhis, 1985). Most convincing in this regard are data from the comprehensive national evaluation of juvenile restitution programs funded by OJJDP in the 1980s. Juvenile offenders in four of six randomized experiments showed significant reductions in re-offending over a three year follow-up period when compared with offenders assigned to alternatives including probation without restitution, probation with counseling, short-term incarceration and other options. Re-offending outcomes in two sites were not significantly different than those for the control group in two sites (Schneider, 1986), but in no case did the researchers find that youth in restitution programs had higher rates of recidivism than the control group.

Equally significant for program management, as well as the crime reduction potential of restitution, were findings from the national evaluation on the causes and impacts of successful completion. First, contrary to the expectations of some critics concerned that youth would be unable to complete restitution orders, findings showed high rates of completion of orders nationally (88 percent) in an aggregate study that included 18,000 offenders in restitution programs in some thirty states. Moreover, few if any offender characteristics—offense seriousness, priors, social class, etc.—were found to have major impact on ability to complete orders. (Schneider and Schneider, 1984).

Because the biggest criticism by far has been non-compliance with orders (Karmen, 2003), such findings demonstrating the possibility of achieving high rates of completion are especially instructive because they challenge misguided perceptions that offenders are incapable of completing restitution orders. Rather than simply offender defiance, on the one hand, or lack of resources on the other, primary factors affecting ability to pay stem directly from *lack of priority given to restitution by the agency or system in question*. The key to the high rates of completion in OJJDP's juvenile restitution initiative overall was the priority given to restitution through a *programmatic approach* (Schneider, 1985), with variation in successful completion of orders as high as 40 percent when restitution was the responsibility of designated (program) staff vs. probation officers (Schneider and Schneider, 1984) compared with restitution as the sole responsibility (and a low priority) of individual probation officers. While this finding does

not indicate that probation officers cannot be successful in collecting restitution (indeed, many probation departments have collection rates as high as those for programs in the national evaluation), it simply suggests that restitution must be a management priority to ensure the best collection rates (American Probation and Parole Association, 1999). Size of order and provision of opportunities for offenders to earn funds to repay victims (e.g., through employment opportunities) were also important factors in completion of restitution orders, though size of order mattered only in the extremes (orders over $600 in 1970s currency began to show some diminishing returns, with orders over $1,000 yielding less collected restitution than those at $600) (Schneider and Bazemore, 1985). Programs and probation departments offering earning opportunities also had higher rates of completion even in the case of orders greater than $1,000. Interestingly, in both aggregate analysis of cases in the larger study sample and at least one experimental study in the evaluation, youth assigned restitution as a "sole sanction" performed better than those in programs who were also on probation or required to participate in other court services or treatment requirements (e.g., counseling programs) (Schneider and Bazemore, 1985). Though more research is needed on this issue, the latter findings suggest that participation in a restitution program alone could result in both cost savings and better outcomes.

Completing restitution, though important in its own right both for victims and for the credibility of the juvenile court, may be most important for public safety. In addition to the aforementioned significant reductions in re-offending in four of the six experimental sites in the national evaluation, in yet another experimental site in the evaluation, researchers found that one of the strongest predictors of recidivism was *completion* of the restitution or community service order. This suggests an important pragmatic, cost-benefit value in giving priority to ensuring success in fulfilling this reparative obligation. This pragmatic public safety value of completing orders, coupled with this strong empirical evidence, further elevates the importance of a strong prioritization of restitution monitoring and collection (e.g., through a programmatic approach).

Another large aggregate, statewide case study in Utah provides additional confirmation of these findings. Butts and Snyder's (1991) examination of more than 13,000 cases participating in restitution and alternative dispositions in Utah suggests that even relatively small, though statistically significant, differences in re-offending can make large differences in cost savings and public safety in an entire juvenile justice system. In this study, the researchers examined re-offending during a one-year follow-up period (a new charge since the time of disposition) in a sample of 7,233 diversion cases, 30 percent of whom had restitution orders and 70 percent of whom received other dispositions (e.g., voluntary probation, fines, or referrals to other agencies). The researchers similarly compared a group of 6,336 probation cases, 51 percent of whom were ordered to pay financial restitution or complete public service to earn money for restitution, and 44 percent of whom received regular probation supervision without restitution. Both samples excluded offenders in crimes of low levels of seriousness, and both samples included substantial numbers of burglary, assault and robbery cases. In the diversion study, 11 percent of the restitution cases recidivated within the follow-up period while 18 percent of the comparison group re-offended. These differences were statistically significant and were maintained even when the research controlled for a variety of other variables; differences in favor of the restitution group were even more pronounced for males (20 vs. 12 percent re-offense rates) and for white youth (21 vs. 11 percent), though differences were significant for all sub-groups. In the comparison of probation cases, 32 percent of the restitution cases recidivated within one year compared with 38 percent in the non-restitution group, differences which were also statistically significant and maintained across various demographic and other categories of offenders (the magnitude of difference in favor of the restitution group was slightly higher for burglary offenders and slightly lower for theft). These findings are especially relevant for cost-benefit considerations of the crime reduction potential of restitution. Though statistically small, these differences—like the aggregate differences in the national evaluation study—add up to significant savings in costs to the court and significant public safety benefits, not to mention benefits to victims and communities (some of whom received service as well). For a relatively small investment of effort (we know little about the structure of these probation and diversion options and their variation in the priority given to restitution, and thus internal comparisons may have

revealed—as was the case in the national evaluation—that much higher rates may have been found in units using a programmatic approach to restitution)—especially compared with the cost of intensive treatment programs (which may be needed for some but not all offenders)—these are indeed large benefits.

In summary, despite what some critics of restitution have implied (e.g., Krisberg et al., 1995; Andrews and Bonta, 1994), the worst that can be said is that the impact of restitution on recidivism is not as strong as the effect achieved by some of the best multi-modal treatment programs. Such comparisons however are not appropriate given the cost and duration of such programs compared with that of restitution and when one considers that reducing recidivism is not the primary purpose of restitution. Though the same cannot be said of many treatment programs that continue to show negative impacts on recidivism in meta-analysis studies (Lipsey, 1995), we have been unable to find any research studies that find that paying restitution is in any way harmful to the offender on any outcomes (e.g., causing an increase in recidivism).

Theory of Restitution: Accounting for Success and Improving Practice

Why does restitution work in reducing re-offending? What can improve the effectiveness of restitution on this outcome? Aside from the fact that all efforts to improve completion (excluding threats and forms of coercion and efforts aimed more at parents than young offenders) seem to show benefit in recidivism reduction, there is also some evidence to suggest that offenders are more likely to comply—and to gain an added benefit in increased *empathy* for victims and remorse (also a strong correlate of re-offending in some studies, e.g., Hayes and Daly, 2003; Morris and Maxwell, 2001)—when there is a clear connection made between the tangible act of earning and paying restitution and its relationship to victim needs for reparation (Van Voorhis, 1985; Schneider, 1990). Specifically, positive impacts would appear to be more likely when the offender willingly completes work in order to make restitution and recognizes that the payment is going directly to address victim needs resulting from the harm of his/her offense, and some research evidence to suggest that restitution is more likely to be completed when the restitution agreement comes out of a restorative justice decision-making process (e.g., victim-offender dialogue) (see, Umbreit, 2001). Those experienced with restorative group conferencing are now becoming convinced that the face-to-face encounter with one's victim—often also in the context of one's family and support group—does much to drive home to the offender the reason behind the reparative obligation he/she faces and to increase "buy-in" to the agreement (Bazemore and Schiff, 2004; Hayes and Daly, 2003). Though court ordered restitution is sure to continue to be a dominant mode of restitution agreements, practitioners wishing to improve compliance should maximize the use of such informal meetings.

The most important *theoretical* impact of restitution on re-offending, however, may *not* be its direct effect on the offender. Rather, it is likely the impact on victim and community. Specifically, victims and affected community members will therefore be more likely to accept offenders who have demonstrated "good faith" by meeting these obligations. Conversely, *not taking* such action, by violating the dominant expectations of reciprocity (Molm and Cook, 1995), may therefore present a critical barrier to such acceptance. Hence, according to the theory of earned redemption, offenders who acknowledge personal responsibility for harms and seek to make amends may alter the community's image of them and thereby stand a greater chance of eliciting the support needed to ensure their own reintegration and desistance from crime (Bazemore, 1998; Maloney, 1998). Long-term outcomes, those linked ultimately to the well-being of victim, offender, and community and to the sense that justice has been accomplished, according to social exchange theory, flow from these amends-making actions to restore balance and the sense of reciprocity. Although there is no direct empirical evidence on community reacceptance, there are research findings relevant to the proposed connection between amends and individual transformation of victim and offender (Schneider, 1986; 1990; Tontadanato and Erez, 1994).

While this feature of the theory of earned redemption is focused primarily on the community and victim side of the equation, meeting one's obligation to victims, as Braithwaite (2001) has observed, also has important implications for offender change. Based on exchange theory, restorative justice practitioners employ the assumptions of

"earned redemption" in restorative intervention as a rationale for requiring action on the part of the offender as a first step on the road to reintegration as a type of reparation to the community (Bazemore, 1998). But why and how does the process of making amends influence the future well being of victim, offender, and community, the behavior of the offender, and the interrelationship between all stakeholders? Theoretically, making amends as a primary outcome is based on the assumption that human cooperation and civil discourse is dependent upon assumptions of reciprocity and balance.

Other than the exchange theory approaches, and speculation and consideration of empirical evidence on the empathy connection noted above, the logical connection between completing restitution and reduction in re-offending has yet to be explored systematically. One interesting examination of this connection is Schneider's (1990) reanalysis of the restitution evaluation data in an attempt to refute or validate several alternative theories that account for this relationship. A major focus of this analysis was a careful consideration of the impact of deterrence for youth completing restitution and other dispositions as an explanation of reduced recidivism. After rigorous statistical analysis of attitudinal data to examine various hypotheses regarding whether offenders avoided future crime because of fear or threat of future consequences, Schneider concluded that deterrence had virtually no explanatory power in the prediction of re-offending. After then considering a variety of other explanations based on other criminological theories (e.g., labeling, control theory), Schneider concluded that the most salient explanation connecting the restitution experience with reduced recidivism had to do with a difference in offenders who completed restitution: a sense of connection to the community. This factor—which Schneider referred to as a "citizenship effect" in which offenders seemed to feel that they had accomplished something positive that would now restore their status as a positive asset to others—seems consistent with other theories such as social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) and what has been called "civic engagement" theory (Bazemore and Stinchcombe, 2004). It is, however, unique in its implication for a more collective commitment to the "common good" than theories more focused on the strength of bonds to one or more individuals (Werner, 1986; Werner and Smith, 1992; Saleeby, 2000)—though it is certainly consistent with these as well. Other related and applicable, though somewhat different, theoretical rationales that have been examined with regard to the connection between community service and re-offending are considered in the following empirical defense of the focus on community service as a primary measure of accountability.

Accountability Outcome 1: Completion and Payment of Restitution Orders/Agreements
It is possible to envision many potential outcomes that could be used to demonstrate offender accountability. Aside from the desire to see signs of cognitive acceptance of responsibility or "ownership" for the crime or harm (or at least some portion of it) as is emphasized in restorative justice processes through expression of remorse, apology or other means, there are numerous ways in which young offenders could take active behavioral responsibility or *action* to repair the harm they caused. These could include a wide variety of services to the crime victim, behavioral agreements, and other means of taking direct responsibility for repairing damage to property one has broken, at a system level. While monetary payment need not exclude other forms of reparation (and could be substituted for such payment through informal agreement with the victim and other parties), monetary payments of restitution directly to victims, or indirectly into victim funds when some or most of the victim's loss has been recovered, is likely to remain the most prominent means of asking offenders to actively take responsibility for the harm caused to crime victims.

The most important feature of such payments, if they are to serve as true accountability measures, is to ensure that it is the offender (not the parent or others) who takes primary responsibility for the work required to make the payment—generally, and most desirably by working to directly repay the victim (or in appropriate cases other victims on behalf of an already compensated victim) per an agreement and routine payment schedule. The offender must also understand that these funds are going directly to the victim (not being paid as a fine to the state or county), and the victim must understand that the young person has worked and sacrificed to make these pay-

ments. Specifically, if we wish to ensure that restitution has value beyond simple transfer of money, as specified in the theories and research discussed previously (e.g., earned redemption, offender remorse, victim vindication and healing), and is capable of achieving outcomes such as reductions in re-offending and increased victim satisfaction, a great deal of attention should be given at the practice level to the *process* by which restitution is both negotiated and achieved. While restorative processes provide the best mechanism for accomplishing this awareness and interchange between victim, offender and other stakeholders, when these processes cannot be used, other efforts must be made to ensure that the meaning of restitution as a primary form of accountability to victims is understood.

Accountability Measure 1: Percent of cases paying full amount of restitution ordered or agreed to.
Rather than the amount of restitution paid, the appropriate accountability outcome with regard to restitution is in fact the amount paid *per the amount ordered*. Measure 1 is most important in addressing this issue at the *case* level. Because probation officers, and community supervision performance generally, are concerned primarily with case performance, measuring the proportion of cases that complete court ordered restitution and reporting this percentage is essential. Many jurisdictions also report partial completion as an indicator of partial success on this performance outcome.

Accountability Measure 2: Proportion of total restitution ordered or agreed to that was paid.
At the aggregate level, many, if not most, jurisdictions report the total amount of restitution returned to crime victims. This figure, which will total in the hundreds of thousands of dollars in large jurisdictions, may be an impressive indicator that suggests that the financial needs of victims are being served by the court, probation department or other responsible agency. For this reason, it may serve as an important public relations tool. It must in no way be viewed as a performance measure, however, unless the aggregate amount of *restitution ordered* is also reported. When this figure is reported, the percentage of that total amount of restitution ordered that was *paid* in restitution to victims (or victims' funds) is a sound aggregate indicator of agency and/or system performance in addressing this accountability (and victim service) outcome.

Community Service: A Normative and Practical Defense
The popularity of community service with the public noted above (Doble and Immerwahr, 1997; Schwartz et al. 1992) is in part based on the normative expectation that offenders need to experience giving back to communities they have harmed, and on the tangible and public nature of this type of amends making. In addition, there are in fact many examples of community service projects that not only repair harm and have obvious public benefit but also clearly develop and showcase the talents and assets of participants.

Such examples meet the theoretical, empirical and practical requirements for achieving multiple impacts including changing the image of youth under correctional supervision, community building, and meeting a range of specific needs. Programs that feature model community service include, for example, Cleveland's "Redcoat Brigade" developed by a faith-based group that engages formerly incarcerated persons reentering the community in service to elderly persons and youth in the inner city. Regarding local corrections programs that prioritize community building service, the Deschutes County, Oregon Department of Community Justice engages youth and adults under court supervision in the winter months in cutting and delivering firewood to the elderly and working with community members on a variety of specialized community projects. Recent projects include building a domestic abuse center and shelter and raising funds and helping in the construction of a shelter for the homeless. Regarding corrections systems, Minnesota, through its Sentenced to Service Brigade, has for more than a decade employed community corrections clients, as well as incarcerated persons and parolees in meaningful public works and direct service projects, while the State of Ohio has recently made a commitment to maximize opportunities for incarcerated persons to participate in a range of service projects both within and outside prison walls (Wilkinson, 1998).

For young offenders specifically, Youth as Resources programs have organized youth in detention and correctional facilities to plan, design, and carry out meaningful human service oriented projects including elderly assistance and tutoring younger children. In the California Youth Authority, facilities in Stockton and other locations contract with civic groups and local government leaders to restore parks and playground equipment and maintain baseball and soccer fields. The Youth Build and Habitat for Humanity organizations now frequently partner with residential facilities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and other states to engage incarcerated juvenile offenders in initiatives to build homes for the underprivileged. Community service projects are of course not limited to those involving youth under residential supervision. Indeed, substantially more community service projects are developed for youth under probationary supervision or in diversion programs, and in a growing number of juvenile court jurisdictions, meaningful human services, environmental, and public works projects using young offender work crews are becoming increasingly common (O'Brien, 2000; Bazemore and Karp, 2004).

Pragmatically, evaluations of community service document large and significant amounts of labor estimated at significant costs. Quantitatively, some studies have documented impressive numbers of hours completed, homes and shelters built, children and elderly assisted and so on (McIvor, 1992; Schneider, 1991; Wilkinson, 1998). In three New York city boroughs, for example, McDonald (1986) estimated that for fiscal year 1984, participants in the Vera Institute service program provided some 60,000 hours of labor at an estimated dollar value (at $4.50 per hour) of as much as $270,300. In themselves, hours completed may be viewed as a weak if convenient indicator of the value of service projects completed to those served as well as participants in completing the service. Community satisfaction with service work as assessed by surveys of community organizations and individual recipient surveys has also been quite high. Internationally, surveys in parts of the world as different as Scotland, New Zealand, Canada, New York City, and Vermont find high satisfaction among community recipients of service (Leibrich, 1986; Doob and McFarland, 1984; Caputo, 1999). Value to justice systems has generally been understated, though where used strategically and systematically, community service has proved valuable in reducing workloads and increasing the quality of intervention and supervision provided to offenders (Wilkinson, 1998; Maloney, Bazemore, and Hudson 2001). Regarding impact on the system that might reduce correctional populations, early experiments whose primary focus was to provide an alternative to jail, prison, or probationary supervision, showed potential, though mixed results (Hudson and Galoway, 1990; Schneider, 1986; McDonald, 1986; Pease, 1984). Though few policymakers in the U.S. appear to view community service as in any way a substitute for incarceration, strong precedent exists for use of service both to reduce sentences (Hudson and Galoway, 1990) and to displace jail sentences (McDonald, 1986). Moreover, successful international experiments continue today, including a successful Israeli experiment that substituted intensive service for prison time (Nirel et al., 1997). New York's Suffolk County Jail compared community service participants to a control group of parolees, finding that the community service program saved between 4,199 and 4,461 jail days over a 27 month period. In addition, the program was cost-effective, and was able to return approximately $230,828 to the community through jail costs saved and community service performed (Brownstein et al., 1984).

Outcome Research on Community Service: Impact on Offenders
In addition to community and system impact, community service, despite the doubts of critics, has performed well in achieving a variety of offender impacts, including reductions in recidivism. These findings are especially significant when one considers that most community service projects today do not begin to live up to the potential for offender (and community) impacts inherent in some of the projects mentioned previously.

Though community service is thought to have a number of potential effects on participants under criminal justice supervision (Bazemore and Maloney, 1994), most studies have focused almost exclusively on recidivism. With a few exceptions noted below, evaluations that have examined intermediate impacts such as improvements in self-concept or other outcomes have focused on juvenile offender populations (e.g., Schneider, 1991; Doob et al., 1982). In general, studies comparing community service participation with alternative sentences document some reduction in recidivism, or at worst, *no increase* in recidivism. Like earlier studies in the UK which were inconclusive regarding

reductions in re-offending, McDonald's (1986) report on the Vera Institute's studies indicates no significant reduction in recidivism when community service orders were used as an alternative to jail and outcomes compared with those of offenders sentenced to short jail sentences. McDonald concludes however, that it cannot be said based on the high re-offense rates of the control group receiving jail sentences that locking up the community service participants would have produced a significant decrease in re-offending or in any clear way enhanced public safety.

In a more recent study of a new cohort of Vera project participants, Caputo (1999) reports that the program has maintained the rate of recidivism reported by McDonald in the earlier study (about 25%). This rate was achieved despite the fact that the more recent findings were based on a population of higher risk participants (with on average, 10 prior offenses and including a greater number of offenders with prior felonies, 69 percent). Moreover, of the participants rearrested, the more recent study found that the vast majority had committed misdemeanor offenses such as petty larceny and all but three of the 33 recidivists were arrested for lower level felony offenses (burglary, possession of stolen property). Because the program does not have resources to monitor participants beyond the time they are involved in service, this relatively low re-offense rate may be due to the fact that service experiences in the more recent study appeared to have been more constructive and less punitive (in the view of both participants and community members). Finally, the finding that the program had maintained relatively high completion rates (74%) despite serving a more high risk population, bodes well for future concerns with public safety given the strong correlation reported in other studies between completion of reparative sanctions and recidivism (Schneider, 1990).

Another important recent study of recidivism for community service participants under correctional supervision was based on the previously mentioned Israeli experiment using service as an alternative to short-term sentences (Nirel et al., 1997). In this study researchers documented significantly lower rates of recidivism for the community service group (the incarcerated group re-offended at a rate 1.7 times higher than the service group). In a similar study in Switzerland in which approximately half of a group of convicted offenders who would have received short-term prison sentences of up to 14 days were randomly assigned to an experimental group that participated in community service, researchers found higher rates of re-arrest for the incarcerated group (Killias and Aebi, 2000). Another study which examined recidivism rates found that even though the members of the community service group had originally been incarcerated for more violent crimes than the parole group, the recidivism rate for the community service group was only 29% in comparison to 50% for the parole group (Jengeleski and Richwine, 1987).

While finding general reductions in recidivism for service participants in the Scottish community service program overall, McIvor (1992) also found that the reduction for participants was related to participant satisfaction with the service assignments. This finding suggests, as many have hypothesized (e.g., Bazemore and Maloney, 1994), that the positive impact of service may depend in part upon the meaning attached to it by participants. Finally, it is important to note that a number of recidivism studies with juvenile offender populations of varying degrees of chronicity and seriousness report similar positive results in cohorts that also may have completed restitution and/or participated in other reparative activity (Schneider, 1986; 1991; Butts and Snyder, 1991). Perhaps the most important recent research in terms of its relevance for community service initiatives is Wilkinson's large study of incarcerated men and women released from Ohio prisons during the last three months of 1994. Using comparison groups of individuals who had not performed community service (N=4,102) with a smaller group that had completed community service in the year prior to release (N=384), Wilkinson reported significant differences in recidivism in favor of the community service participants. While not an experimental study, these differences persisted when a variety of variables related to recidivism—including prior incarcerations, commitment offense, race, educational attainment, and so on—were controlled statistically using logistic regression. Similar to McIvor's emphasis on quality of the service experience, Wilkinson suggested that quality of service projects based on restorative justice principles (a recent priority of the Department of Corrections in the years just prior to the study), in addition to a departmental emphasis on the rehabilitative value of service assignments, was in part responsible for these positive findings.

Though the number of community service studies of offender impact is limited, it is important to note that there are hundreds of studies of use of community service with other populations (especially adolescents) that are nonetheless relevant to this discussion. For example, in a recent review of the literature on community service, Bazemore et al. (2003) summarize research on students in service learning programs, college students, at risk youth in paid and unpaid service, youth in programs such as Americorps, YouthBuild, and other programs with a primary focus on community service. Numerous evaluations of these programs have compiled a number of positive impacts including reductions in recidivism.

Finally, one of the most important studies of the impact of service is one based on a national longitudinal study that has followed a cohort of high school students into their adult years. In this research, Uggen and Janikula (1999) document a strong empirical relationship between participation in voluntary, uncompensated service as high school students and adult crime.[10] Though service has a cumulative impact over time (i.e., the more involvement in service, the less likely there is to be involvement in crime), the impact of service in young adulthood appears most important. While the study finds relationships between five general categories of volunteer service activity and future crime (including religious, secular-civic, informal neighboring, private business, and partisan-political), "secular-civic" service had the strongest impact—and is also most relevant to criminal justice policy. Like some other researchers, Uggen and Janikula suggest that it is the role service plays in shaping one's public identity through civic engagement that makes the difference, and as noted earlier, this finding is also consistent with evidence that community service and restitution improves the civic self-image and behavior of persons under juvenile and criminal justice supervision (Nirel et al., 1997; Schneider, 1990; Butts and Snyder, 1991).

In summary, while the research literature on community service with juvenile justice and correctional populations is largely positive, especially regarding concerns about recidivism and community support, much remains to be learned about the quality dimensions of service, about how specific service efforts—and service participants—are actually perceived by community members, and about how correctional participants view service. Though there is some evidence that service "works" in terms of its influence on several outcomes, we know relatively little about the theory behind service's apparent positive impact, and there have been no studies of carefully designed service on its "highest plane" (Bazemore and Maloney, 1994).

Theory of Community Service: Accounting for Success and Improving Practice

> "Even the most extreme partisans on either side of the punishment-rehabilitation debate do not suggest that either state rehabilitation or punishment can account for most ex-offenders desisting in any consistent way." Shadd Maruna

Why and how does service "work"? Trapped by a simplistic focus on either rehabilitation or punishment, the contemporary criminal justice debate has failed to effectively explain why lawbreakers "go straight." Potentially, the factors embedded in service work are, according to the research discussed in the previous section, more important than previously realized—and provide an alternative perspective on rehabilitation and desistance from crime (Maruna, 2000). In a recent review of community service research noted above (Bazemore, 2003), the authors consider several theories of community service impact at several levels of analysis. We elaborate briefly below on three empirically supported theories and their implications for practice.

First, following exchange theory logic of the aforementioned theory of earned redemption, we may view service efforts as an attempt to change the community's image of the offender. Essentially, trust may be viewed as a commodity that is stolen from community members when a crime occurs—and this trust goes beyond individual victims of crime to include families of offenders and other acquaintances. "Doing time," or completing probationary

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[10] While we cannot conclude from this study whether or not the voluntary nature of this service made a difference in the impact on subsequent crimes in the absence of a comparison group that was paid for such work, this finding is an important one in its implications for expectations of a sustained preventative effect of meaningful group work on a general population of participants.

supervision or a treatment programs, does nothing to address the harm caused to others by offenders and the need to restore the trust that others had in them. According to this theory, community acceptance requires a concrete demonstration that the individual acknowledges harm caused and is doing something to make things right. It is a positive affirmation of responsibility for harm and of capacity and willingness to make amends in a way that, when visible to the community, can be a fundamental step in public image change from liability to resource or asset. As Maruna et al. (2002, p.20) observe, "the reciprocal implications of the 'strengths narrative'—that one needs to 'do something to get something,' (Toch, 2000, p.71)—make it intuitively appealing." In a recent study, one focus group participant argued that disregard for this need to rebuild such breakdowns in reciprocity is a central flaw in contemporary criminal justice practice.

> …if the public knew that when you commit some wrongdoing, you're held accountable in constructive ways and you've got to earn your way back through these kinds of good works, …(Probation) wouldn't be in the rut we're in right now with the public. (Dickey and Smith, 1998, p. 36)

Second, from a human capital theory perspective (Becker, 1964), one might theorize that demonstrating both *competency* and *trustworthiness/reliability* is crucial to community reacceptance. While this demonstration could be complemented by a process of earned redemption, the human capital perspective would emphasize the value of service work based on its capacity to allow persons under correctional supervision to actively practice and demonstrate vital skills and responsible behavior that may lead to the more instrumental goal of securing regular employment. Finally, service can also have an important impact on internal change in self-image when it offers the offender an experience in a new role that allows him/her to experience a different sense of self with something important to offer to others.

Third, while theories of exchange such as earned redemption and human capital perspectives may help to account for a change in the service corps participant's *public* image, they may not explain how persons currently or formerly under correctional supervision may undergo a change in *self-image*. Not only are skills needed to ensure successful reintegration, but recent evidence and theorizing points to the importance of a transformation of identities from deviant to prosocial self-images (Maruna, 2001). This research focuses on the importance of how the development of personal identity as a law abiding citizen is shaped in a similar way to identities as those of lawbreakers—in social interaction with others (Erikson, 1964; Lofland 1969). Sometimes behavior and self-presentation will result in a deviant label—such as criminal offender. But, such labels are only removed through prosocial behavior and presentation of positive identities. Maruna's (2001) study of formerly incarcerated persons in the UK finds that it is this construction of a new identity as a person with something to contribute that distinguishes those who "go straight" from those who do not. Most relevant is that a key aspect of the new identity is taking on the role of helping others through service.

Community service that allows for *earned redemption* through reparation of harm and restoration of trust will therefore be service that is visible, voluntary, viewed as "giving back" what was taken from victims and communities, and linked to the harm of one's crime or crimes will be more likely to change the image of the formerly incarcerated person as someone who honors obligations and has earned his or her way back into the "good graces" of the community. It will also ideally be designed with maximum input from community members and individuals who have been victimized; whenever possible, be voluntary on the part of the participant, rather than ordered; and allow offenders, victims, and community members to have the opportunity to collectively reflect on the link between the criminal harm and the service conducted.

From the *human capital* theory perspective (Becker, 1964), service that is visible and valuable to individuals and communities and allows the participant to practice and demonstrate competency, reliability and creativity can change the image of the person under court or correctional supervision from liability to asset. Such service should also bring service participants together with community members (especially business persons and other potential employers), and the service activity and its outcome should be visible and known throughout the community,

involve participants and community members in planning and executing projects, celebrate accomplishments, and provide for community recognition. Service projects should involve multiple tasks and maximize opportunities to demonstrate a variety of skills, and whenever possible be enhanced by combining the service with classroom learning, building in time for reflection about the value of the work, skills, and competencies participants are developing.

Finally, the logic of identity transformation through service to others is based on logic underlying the following statement from the director of a long standing service-focused reentry program in Cleveland, Ohio:

> *It is easier to act one's way into better thinking than think one's way into better acting.* Charles See (1996)

As one incarcerated person in Maruna's sample who later made a successful transition to community life described his experience helping the less fortunate:

> . . . since I've been here I've made three big playhouses, like eight-foot wide… the first one we made, we donated it to the children's home. We took so much out of the community, [but] now we're putting something back in (2001, p.122).

Such atonement may be directed to the community as a whole. Other members of the sample described their service activities as directed to family, specific community groups, their victims, or organizations that support crime victims (e.g., domestic abuse shelters, victim advocacy centers).[11] While the psychological process of forging a new identity through a "restorying process" may occur independently of service work, interactionist researchers suggest that identity change may be facilitated by amends making activity—especially when the work enables the person to empathize with others in need or to understand how their actions contribute to the public good (Batson, 1994; Schneider, 1991; Bazemore and Erbe, 2003). Overall, this body of research provides the basis for a dynamic, strength-based, *experiential* model of identity change. Essentially then, community service activity that is clearly directed toward meeting the needs of the less fortunate or young people will be more likely to change the role and self-image of the former offender.

Offender Accountability Outcome 2: Completion of Community Service Hours

Like restitution to individual victims, service to the community provides a vital means of repairing harm caused to the community as a whole or its individual components (e.g., neighborhoods, work groups, school classrooms). The theory and research on community service suggests that to the greatest extent possible, community service should be directed to those communities specifically harmed by the offenders' actions. Aside from such specific applications which will not always be possible, it is generally important to ensure that service involves work that truly meets community and human needs. "Make work," or routine efforts to ensure that offenders log their "hours," as opposed to activity that directly or indirectly repairs harm, meets human needs, rebuilds trust and relationships, and strengthens offenders' skills and connections, should be avoided, and at some point juvenile justice agencies should conduct qualitative audits which address the issue of integrity of service work. Again, one practice to ensure that service is community and human needs-driven and is grounded in community and/or victim input is to develop service agreements through restorative justice conferences.

The purpose of community service as a performance outcome is to ensure that the service tasks assigned are effectively completed and, despite the need to focus on projects and needs met rather than time, it is nonetheless important to ensure that hours ordered or agreed to are carried out. Accountability in the service sense should not become detached from its meaning and intent. Yet, as is also true in the case of monetary restitution, hours, like money paid out to victims, signifies a nonetheless important quantitative form of accountability.

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[11] Maruna (2001) utilizes Erik Erikson's theory of "generativity" to account for differences in identity transformation between desisting and non-desisting former prisoners. Essentially, the theory—and Maruna's research—suggests that the critical variable is "a (broader) concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, manifested through parenting, teaching, mentoring, and generating benefits for others" (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1998, cited in Maruna, 2001, p.99). In other words, concern for others and the community includes the core idea of helping others as a way of ensuring one's own recovery and one's identity as a person who "makes good" by doing good. Such a process is also incorporated into well-known recovery programs such as the 12-Step model (Trice and Roman, 1970).

Accountability Measure 3: Proportion of cases closed completing all community service hours ordered.
As in the case of monetary restitution, the most meaningful measure of performance effectiveness of accountability is at the case level. This indicator must then consider closed cases as the appropriate unit of analysis and then examine and report on the proportion of those closed cases in which the offender completed the full number of community service hours ordered. Once again, the proportion of cases in which the offender completed *some portion* of the court ordered number of community service hours completed may also be instructive in indicating a result other than complete failure to abide by the terms of the court order or accountability agreement, and in producing some meaningful service. In jurisdictions or specific agencies in which the average number of service hours is higher than the going rate, the agency or system may also wish to report a statistic such as "average number of hours completed."

As important as these numbers, however, is some account of the types of projects completed and the kinds of ongoing work being done that meets human needs—hours spent by youth working with elderly, tutoring younger children and so on come to mind and associate this important work with a community image of the agency and young offenders that would not be possible in a report in which hours is the only information provided.

Accountability Measure 4: Number of hours completed as a percentage of hours ordered.
As in the case of monetary restitution, the performance efficiency measure at the aggregate level for community service uses the total number of hours ordered for the relevant period of time as the baseline or denominator in the calculation of the proportion of service hours completed. While this measure does not speak directly to case level efficiency, it does provide an indication of judicial and system priority given to community service in systems where much service is ordered, and provides a reasonable indicator of overall system performance in ensuring that those ordered hours were converted into hopefully meaningful and beneficial help to individuals and communities. This proportion could also be compared across individual probation or diversion units as another measure of aggregate efficiency and perhaps priority being given to community service.

System Accountability: Defending Victim Satisfaction

The normative rationale for a focus on victim satisfaction should by now be self-evident. As summarized in a recent guide to victim-related practices developed by the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA), attempting to address the needs of victims is simply "the right thing to do." Victims do not ask to become involved in a crime or to participate in the criminal justice system. Yet, they have the right—and often the need—to participate and the right to expect helpful treatment by the system.

Largely due to the efforts of the victims' rights movement beginning in the 1970s, the normative commitment of community members to meeting victim needs is no longer in doubt. This commitment is—as previously mentioned—reflected in part in the widespread support given to restitution sanctions as first priority among a long list of possible offender treatments, punishments and sanctions in a number of state and national criminal and juvenile justice public opinion surveys (Pranis and Umbreit, 1992; Doble and Immerwahr, 1997; Schwartz, 1992; Moon et al., 2000).

For those who need additional value-based rationales, one may consider the following: costs of personal crime exceed $4.5 billion per year in pain and suffering to victims, quality of life, lost wages, and medical expenses; four out of five gunshot victims are on permanent disability at a cost of $4.5 billion; victims pay $45 billion of the $57 billion in tangible non-service expenses for traditional crimes of violence (American Probation and Parole Association, 1999).

Practical reasons listed by the APPA for seeking to increase and measure victim satisfaction include the following: probation and related justice system agencies have access to offender specific information that victims need to address their concerns; victim groups that become true customers of the system will also become powerful allies of the system; victims can be effective in educating the general public about the mission of probation and parole—and enhancing their public image; and victims can provide information and creative input to criminal justice agencies. Regarding the latter, the extent and nature of their participation and sense of having contributed to the solution may also be important to victims' own healing, as well as critical to the quality of the system response. Victims asked for their thoughtful input in the restorative conference setting often propose some of the most creative alternatives, as in a recent case in a Minnesota conference in which the victim, at first very angry at an offender who had pointed a loaded BB rifle at his head, upon learning that the youth used the gun to hunt with his grandfather, proposed that the youth's agreement should be to simply tell his grandfather what he had done (Bazemore, 1998).

As suggested earlier, victims can often feel vindicated simply by having a say in the juvenile justice process or by having their needs for restitution addressed by the offender. Most importantly, when the juvenile justice system *fails* to provide opportunities for such input, victims may feel further isolated and even revictimized by the system. While much work needs to be done to increase understanding of victim needs, and much effort is required to encourage juvenile justice professionals to even ask about those needs, much of the problem comes from the inability of justice systems and agencies to offer meaningful choices and options. When victims feel trapped by the range of choices offered, the retributive option may become more desirable, if not inevitable. As one victim advocate, who compares the juvenile justice system response to victims to a game show, puts it:

> Victims frequently want longer time for offenders because we haven't given them anything else. Or because we don't ask, we don't *know* what they want. So [the system] gives them Door Number One or Two, when what they really want is behind Door Number Three or Four.

When Door Number One is letting the offender go or providing him with a service such as counseling and Door Number Two is serious and even severe punishment, most victims (and most of us no matter how punitive our attitudes) might reasonably take Door Number Two. The hard work in justice systems and agencies is to find new and better ways to listen to victims and whenever possible to provide them with more meaningful "doors" and choices. Clearly, collecting performance outcome data on victim satisfaction will provide some indication of the extent to which victims feel that they are receiving an adequate range of choices. It will also provide victims as a whole and their advocates with an opportunity to express their concerns in a format that juvenile justice professionals are unlikely to ignore, while also serving notice to staff and community members that the system or agency in question is serious about its attempts to address victim needs. Information about system accountability to victims, as measured by victim satisfaction instruments, will also no doubt increase the likelihood that staff will pay attention to how they respond to victims on a day-to-day basis, on training priorities and on the redefinition of professional roles in probation and other agencies. It may also, especially if satisfaction rates are low and remain low, encourage additional research to explore the reasons that underlie victim dissatisfaction—e.g., through focus groups, interviews, etc. Like many of the other performance measures considered here, victim satisfaction is of course only one very general indicator of the quality and impact of the system's response to crime victims. Systems, agencies and programs should consider a range of indicators and methodological approaches (e.g., program evaluation, focus groups) to more completely assess impact of intervention and the day-to-day response on

crime victims. Collecting routine data on satisfaction at the macro level will, however, provide an important base-line of victims' perception of the system and its components that can then form the basis for a more expansive look at specific features of the system's response.

Research on victim satisfaction, like the previously discussed research on community competency and community participation, is in its infancy. However, the possibility of movement toward what Mark Moore (1997) has referred to as a "more ambitious form of justice" in which responsibility is shared by all, seems worth the effort and the risk. Such movement is, perhaps more than anything, dependent on good behavioral outcomes and continuous collection of performance data to move forward effectively.

U SING THE D ATA

By now our discussion should make clear that there are many uses and functions for the data that will be generated on a routine basis in jurisdictions choosing to participate in this effort to develop, routinely track, and report to the community on performance outcomes and measures. The value of these data as a vehicle for sharing information and educating community members, for example, is alone a sufficient justification for involvement and investment of resources in this effort to measure what matters.

Throughout this monograph, however, we have also implied that these data will have significant practical value to juvenile justice managers and staff. Specifically, we have argued that the focus on a few important measures and outcomes will clarify priorities for staff and help them focus energies on activities strategically aimed at producing positive benefits for three stakeholders vs. one, and on achieving three mission-based goals. Though generic to quality, efficient assessment of juvenile justice performance accountability, these goals and stakeholder benefits are also generally aligned with core principles of Balanced and Restorative Justice. Collecting data on these outcomes will signal to communities and staff that achieving objectives relevant to these goals is of the utmost importance and should promote shared ownership of mission performance outcomes.[12]

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[12] For an example of how performance data may be used on a routine basis to address the ultimate management goal of improved decision-making about more effective use of intervention resources and continuous staff improvements related to these core outcomes, see our companion monograph: *Guide to Developing and Implementing Performance Measures for the Juvenile Justice System.* (Harp, Bell, Bazemore, Thomas, 2006). Appendix 5 contains eight tables with a detailed analysis of some of the data Allegheny County collected between 1998 and 2002. These graphic illustrations show how managers can use even the most basic and easily generated of these data to confirm that agency performance is generally in line with expectations for continuous improvement, and if necessary make adjustments in the focus of probationary supervision.

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