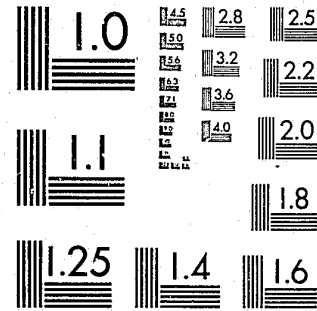


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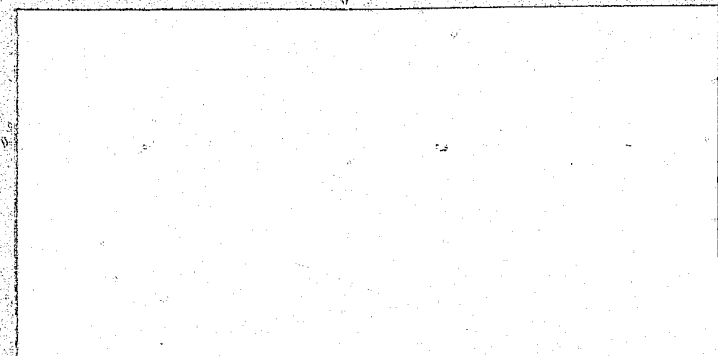
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**NOT GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER:  
SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS  
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

by  
**Margaret Beyer, Ph.D.  
Washington, D.C.**

U.S. Department of Justice  
National Institute of Justice

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a final report of the  
**Fellows in Education Journalism  
Juvenile Justice Program  
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP**

PREFACE

Margaret Beyer prepared this report on juvenile justice in Washington, D.C., with a special study award from the Fellows in Education Journalism Program. The 1982 program provided seven outstanding writers and journalists with the opportunity to study and report on specific aspects of juvenile crime and justice. In addition to this report of Beyer's and the final reports of the six participating Fellows, a monograph of news series is available from IEL, Juvenile Justice: Myth and Realities. The 1982 awardees and their topics were:

Charlotte Grimes  
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Girls and the Law

Wiley Hall  
Baltimore Evening Sun

Getting Tough With Violent  
Juvenile Offenders

Leslie Henderson  
Knoxville Journal

Violent Juvenile Crime in East  
Tennessee: A Family Perspective

Andrew Petkofsky  
Richmond News Leader

Locks and Lessons: Virginia's  
Reform Schools

Woody Register  
The Tennessean

Juvenile Incarceration and  
Alternatives in Tennessee

Gary Strauss  
The Idaho Statesman

Juvenile Justice in Idaho

Margaret Beyer, PhD  
Freelance (received study  
grant)

Not Getting Away with Murder:  
Serious Juvenile Offenders in  
the District of Columbia

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Additional copies of this report may be obtained for \$3.50 each from IEL Publications, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 310, Washington, D. C. 20036.

The Fellows in Education Journalism program seeks to strengthen the media's reporting and the public's understanding of education and social service issues by providing journalists with the resources and time to conduct comprehensive studies. Initiated at the Institute for Educational Leadership in 1976 by The Ford Foundation, the program is also sponsored by participating news organizations across the country and other foundations, government agencies and national organizations. The list of 1976-82 Fellows, sponsoring news organizations, and topics of study is included in this publication.

*Susan Farkas*

Susan C. Farkas  
Director  
Fellows in Education Journalism

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ACQUISITIONS

NOT GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER:  
SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"Diane" is 16. A good student who had never been arrested before, she killed a friend while playing with a gun she did not realize was loaded. Officials in the juvenile justice system thought they should have handled the case since Diane was really not a criminal. They attributed her offense to immaturity. Because it was a gun charge, prosecutors in the adult criminal system exercised their option to keep the case. Should Diane serve an adult sentence in an adult prison? Should she spend two years in a juvenile institution? Should she be eligible for probation or other community-based treatment instead of incarceration despite the seriousness of her offense?

"Tyrone," age 15, may have the distinction of being the city's #1 car thief. He loves cars and never damages them, but he has stolen more than 100! After another young person hit and killed a child while driving a stolen car, frustrated prosecutors began considering asking the judge to waive Tyrone to adult court. "He's only a car thief, but he keeps building his record and we can't find any way to make him stop." Are we ready to say that Tyrone cannot be rehabilitated? Does it make sense to spend \$20,000 a year for Tyrone in adult prison until he loses the urge to joyride?

"Michael," age 15, was found guilty in juvenile court of



a bloody murder. A counselor called him "extremely deprived, with almost no emotional life." He is incarcerated at the city's juvenile facility until his twenty-first birthday. Will he do it again?

"Ricky," Michael's 17-year-old cousin, was also convicted of this homicide. He was tried and sentenced in adult court. The earliest he will be released from Lorton Prison is at age 37. Prosecutors are confident that, like most inmates with long sentences, he will have "aged out" of crime. The cousins were both small and immature. Was there a rational basis for handling Ricky and Michael differently?

What should be done with serious juvenile offenders?

This is the major juvenile justice controversy in the District of Columbia and across the nation. The U.S. Supreme Court captured this dilemma in Kent (1966):

The juvenile stands at the threshold of the criminal justice system, oriented towards punishment and the best interests of society, and the juvenile justice system, oriented towards rehabilitation and the best interests of the youth.

The juvenile justice system has failed to cure most serious juvenile offenders of the underlying causes of their criminality. Juvenile institutions are schools of crime, pressure cookers generating anger in youth later released to

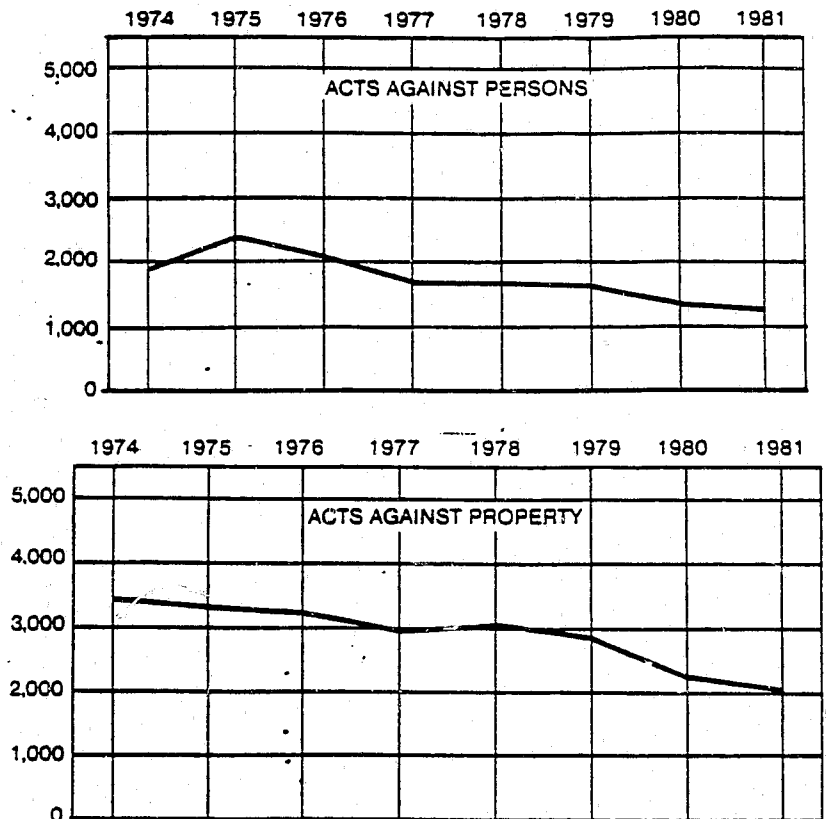
the community. It has been estimated that 70% of Lorton Prison inmates are graduates of juvenile facilities. The failure of the juvenile justice system and the public's erroneous perception of a juvenile crime wave have led prosecutors, judges and legislators to transfer more and more young people into the adult criminal system. The handling of juveniles in adult court does not address the fundamental problem of rehabilitation. If a young person does not stop committing serious crimes, we will invest at least half a million dollars in him/her for twenty years of incarceration. Most criminals do not commit serious crimes after release from prison when they are over 35, but the "aging out" solution is very costly.

There are alternatives for rehabilitating serious juvenile offenders which are more effective than the juvenile justice system and less costly than the aging out approach. Let's take a look at the actual juvenile crime statistics and the comparative costs and effectiveness of various approaches to rehabilitating young offenders.

#### THERE IS NO JUVENILE CRIME WAVE IN THE CITY

Since 1975, all categories of juvenile crime in the District of Columbia have shown a substantial decrease.

TREND OF JUVENILE REFERRALS TO D.C. SUPERIOR COURT



Source: 1981 Annual Report, D.C. Courts

Similarly, there has been a drop in juvenile crime around the country. The dramatic increase of juvenile arrests from 1965 to 1975 has resulted in the widespread, incorrect assumption that a juvenile crime wave continues. In fact, between 1975 and 1980, juvenile arrests across the country plummeted 16%. There are multiple causes for this drop (including the decrease in the adolescent population and the removal of runaways and truants from many juvenile courts), but unquestionably there are fewer juvenile arrests for serious crimes nationwide.

JUVENILES DO NOT COMMIT A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF CRIMES

The crackdown on delinquency is attributed to community concern over violent crimes committed by juveniles. In

fact, juveniles commit a small proportion of crimes against people in the District of Columbia. Juveniles, particularly those involved in burglary, car theft, and shoplifting, do account for a disproportionately large number of property crimes.

In 1981, juveniles 10-17 years old comprised 15% of the District population and accounted for 10% of all arrests in the District of Columbia. Young people were arrested for 27% of the three major property crimes and 18% of the four major crimes against people:

	Percent of total arrests by those under 18
Murder (incl. manslaughter)	7.1
Rape	11.7
Aggravated Assault	13.8
Robbery	22.7
Larceny (incl. theft, not m.v.)	16.0
Burglary (incl. break.& enter.)	27.4
Motor Vehicle Theft	29.1

Source: Metropolitan Police Department Annual Report, 1981

Nationally, the picture is similar. A small part of juvenile crime is violent: of the two million arrests of young people under age 18 nationally in 1980, 4% were for violent crimes. Juveniles are arrested for less than a fifth

of all violent crimes nationally: 9% of the murder arrests, 15% of the rape arrests, 15% of the aggravated assault arrests, and 30% of the robbery arrests. The real juvenile delinquency problem, here and across the country, is in property crimes: about 40% of the larceny, burglary and motor vehicle theft arrests nationally were of juveniles.

#### THE MISTAKEN IDENTITY OF SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Our image of a violent delinquent is a ruthless gun-carrying teenager who beats up and robs elderly people. There are some juveniles who fit this stereotype. But nationally and locally, most do not. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency concluded from a multitude of research efforts across the country that:

- \* Most serious crimes by juveniles do not involve the use of weapons
- \* Most youth arrested for violent crimes did not threaten or inflict serious physical harm
- \* The victims of violent juvenile crime tend to be young males
- \* There is not a pattern of increasing seriousness in juvenile offense histories

Most of the 600 arrests of young people under 18 last year in D.C. for robbery and assault did not involve a weapon, did not result in serious injury, and the juvenile had not committed a violent crime before. Of course, crimes against people threaten us all. But the pressure to lock delinquents up in adult prisons comes from our incorrect belief that there is a juvenile crime wave and our inaccurate stereotype of violent juvenile offenders.

#### THE REHABILITATION DILEMMA

In the District of Columbia, like most jurisdictions, delinquent young people by law are guaranteed rehabilitation. The philosophy that troubled young people can be re-directed is based on several assumptions about the causes of their illegal activities:

##### \* Immaturity

The ability to recognize the consequences of actions is normally still developing in teenagers. Poor judgment in youth is the source of many delinquent acts. "Diane," who killed her friend by mistake, is an example of tragic poor judgment in a teenager. Rehabilitation can help juvenile offenders like Diane increase their sense of responsibility as they mature.

##### \* Childhood problems

Growing up for many delinquents has been

dominated by the struggle to survive. Survival is often in conflict with the development of self-control required for success in society. It is not surprising that adapting to their surroundings leaves young offenders feeling worthless, having limited empathy, and unable to tolerate frustration. "Michael" was raised in a violent neighborhood and repeatedly abused at home--being tough was key to his survival and led him to murder. Rehabilitation can offer the opportunity to form relationships through which juvenile offenders like Michael learn more acceptable behaviors.

\* Limited opportunity

Most delinquents in the city are very poor. In a time of high unemployment among teenagers and their parents, crime offers these young people their only access to money for food, clothes and entertainment. The typical 16-year-old delinquent with a fourth grade reading level will never escape the cycle of poverty. Although he is bright, "Tyrone" sees no future for himself and enjoys life now by stealing cars. Rehabilitation can offer juvenile offenders like Tyrone a future which is more attractive than crime.

Are young offenders worth the investment which rehabilitation requires? Is society responsible for correcting what has gone wrong in their upbringing? How dangerous or old should they be before we decide our

investment in them is senseless? There are probably serious juvenile offenders who cannot profit from rehabilitation. But age and offense have little to do with reaching this determination. We need an accurate way to identify those young people who can benefit from rehabilitation. Institutionalization has, in general, failed to guide the maturation of troubled youth, remediate their losses during childhood, and offer real opportunities for the future. The juvenile justice system has not offered rehabilitation. But it does not follow that most juvenile offenders cannot be rehabilitated.

How do we evaluate approaches to rehabilitating serious juvenile offenders? Let's begin with a case study:

"James" is a 15-year-old with ten burglary arrests. He was on probation for one year and was just released from a juvenile facility. His father is an addict who is at home intermittently. Protective Services investigated several times after the father abused James and his sisters. His mother struggles to raise four children on welfare.

They live in a two-bedroom apartment in public housing where caseworkers are afraid to visit. James' mother—who is only 30—is overwhelmed by meeting the demands of young children with too few resources in a noisy, dangerous



environment. Violence is a fact of life in the housing project. James has seldom had consistently-enforced limits. A psychiatrist says of James in an evaluation, "His feelings surprise him. When something makes him angry, he lashes out with no control. When he wants something, he takes it." James and his mother care for each other, but his relationships have always been distant. Abuse has made him deeply mistrustful of his father and others in authority. The psychiatrist writes, "He has a poor ability to form relationships with others, connections which might give him a rationale for behaving differently." From the beginning James had trouble in school. He has repeated two grades. He can barely read. He has never been tested for learning disabilities or considered for special attention. "School has made James dislike himself and need to seek success in other arenas such as delinquency." Burglary meets many of his needs: his skill at it makes him feel competent; his success gives him popularity with peers which he cannot achieve by building relationships with them, and the proceeds from his crimes raise his standard of living.

How do we rehabilitate James? He has three primary needs:

\* He needs a strong school program. Since he has had a history of academic failure, engaging him in a school program will require perseverance by staff and a great deal of individual attention. At 15, he needs academic skills as well as vocational programming determined by his abilities and the job market.

\* He needs a close relationship through which he can learn about trust and changing his behavior. With this relationship and school success, he will gradually develop self-esteem, the foundation for investing in the future. It is conceivable that family intervention could enable James' mother to build this relationship; however, many aspects of the family's impoverished life would have to change. Probably a counselor or trained foster parent is needed to offer this relationship to James.

\* He needs to learn not to act on his feelings impulsively. He needs to recognize the importance of his choices by seeing that each one of his actions has a predictable consequence.

What kind of a program can meet the needs of the hundreds of delinquents like James? Ruling out approaches which cannot provide the intensive services James needs, we are left with three options: juvenile institutions, adult institutions, and community-based alternatives.

#### SERIOUS OFFENDERS IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Five years ago the city's Corporation Counsel started a Major Juvenile Offender program. Using a weighting system based on the offense, whether a gun or knife was used, and whether the case had gone to conviction, more than 250 chronic juvenile offenders have been identified in the past five years. Among these serious offenders are:

- \* a 12-year-old with 25 shoplifting arrests and two convictions
- \* a 15-year-old with an armed rape and an armed robbery conviction
- \* a 16-year-old with three burglary convictions and eight other arrests

The program has successfully identified young people with patterns of delinquency. Some are violent offenders, but more often they are young people with a series of property crime arrests. Except for a few cases placed on probation, the identified major juvenile offenders have been committed by judges to the Department of Human Services for rehabilitation. For most of these juveniles, commitment means spending an average of ten months at Oak Hill, a maximum security facility which is one of the city's two juvenile institutions in Laurel, Maryland. Some will be committed for two years to Oak Hill, and, like Michael described at the

beginning of this article, with regular petitions to the court can be contained there until age 21. A few will be spend their commitment in residential treatment centers where underlying emotional disturbance can be addressed.

The chief of the juvenile section of Corporation Counsel estimates that sometime after their commitment, 85% of these identified chronic juvenile offenders are again prosecuted in the adult or juvenile justice system. If rearrest is used as a measure of failure, only 15% of the major offenders are rehabilitated. Even at a cost of \$25,000 a year per child, the two juvenile institutions operated by the city do not pretend to provide the individualized program that James and other major offenders need. With two staff on duty for twenty delinquents, we cannot expect much more than babysitting for James. With two psychologists for 160 youth, James cannot have individual therapy. With eight teachers for 160 youth, James' institutional school experience will not differ from his previous academic environments.

After incarceration, James will return to the same housing project, the same classroom, the same job market. The institution will not reach out to his mother; her problems will be no more resolved when James returns home. The institution has inadequate vocational programs, so James will not find himself skilled or excited enough about a trade to seek successfully more training or a job.

In short, the juvenile institution option is expensive

and fails to rehabilitate the majority of young people. We spend \$25,000 to keep James off the street for a year. He returns to the community no more likely to be a productive citizen than when he was arrested.

#### HANDLING JUVENILES IN ADULT COURT

Around the country, disenchantment with the rehabilitation offered by the juvenile justice system and increasing concern over serious juvenile offenses has brought us to a turning point in public policy. Most legislatures have considered or passed bills to remove larger and larger segments of the juvenile population to adult court by: lowering the age of adult court jurisdiction; mandating transfer of younger juveniles for expanded categories of crime; and giving juveniles the same penalties as adults. In D.C., one or more of these options is likely to be incorporated into legislation during the next year.

In the District of Columbia, like most states, delinquents under 16 can be waived to adult court by a judge convinced that the juvenile cannot be rehabilitated. In addition, like 13 states, the District of Columbia also permits youth 16 years and older charged with murder, forcible rape, armed robbery, burglary of an occupied building, or assault with intent to commit any of these offenses to be tried as adults, based solely on the decision of the U.S. Attorney.

In 1982, about 160 young people under age 18 will be tried as adults in the District of Columbia. In 1978 when 130 juveniles went into the adult system, the city had the second highest rate of processing juveniles as adults in the country. In D.C., youth tried in adult court can be sentenced to adult probation, under the Youth Corrections Act to Lorton Youth Centers I or II, or to federal facilities. Young people pending trial in adult court are held in a 17-bed unit at D.C. Jail.

Would it be better for James or the community if he were sentenced to Lorton Youth Center instead of Oak Hill, a juvenile facility? We don't know which placement would rehabilitate James more effectively, since the facilities have not been compared. The Youth Centers are larger (200 and 250 inmates) than Oak Hill (160). The average stay at the Youth Centers is longer: 24 months as compared to 10 months. James will be with young adults up to age 25 at the Youth Centers; at Oak Hill the average age is 16. The proportion of mental health staff is about equal in the facilities. The vocational programs are more substantial at the Youth Centers.

The bottom line is the same: like juvenile facilities, the adult system does not pretend to remediate childhood problems or create future opportunities. At a cost of \$20,000 a year we can remove James to Lorton Youth Center for two years. We can project that if James commits offenses as an adult, he may spend twenty years or more

behind bars before he "ages out" of criminality. The aging out solution of adult corrections is effective protection for the community, but at a staggering cost.

Jerome Miller of the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives has described the identical failures of juvenile and adult facilities and the inappropriateness of both for young people: "Those most in need of care, concern, supervision, or treatment, are placed for the longest terms in the worst juvenile and adult facilities, subject to unspeakable neglect and violence, while those more likely to survive their adolescent years successfully, with or without services, are made heir to the finest of federally funded programs, professional care, psychiatric services, halfway houses, creative sentencing arrangements, etc. The delinquent youngster convicted of a serious crime returns to the streets from his 'treatment' having been confirmed in his perception of a hostile and predatory world, and more often than not, having been given a 'graduate' training in social deviance and criminal sophistication." Miller concludes that "incarceration is itself, criminogenic, and therefore should be resorted to only as a last resort...with full realization that though it may give respite from an offender's crimes for awhile, it will confirm, reinforce, and escalate later criminal behavior."

#### COMMUNITY BASED PROGRAMS FOR SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS

An alternative to incarceration in a juvenile or adult facility is to meet the needs of these young people through intensive family-oriented services. Across the country there are a variety of intensive youth programs offering successful community-based rehabilitation. Youth Advocate Programs, Inc., started in Pennsylvania in 1975 in response to the failure of juvenile institutions. In D.C. a branch of the program has 25 young people who have been found guilty of delinquent acts. Juveniles who are committed to the program by a judge, are assigned an advocate who spends seven to 30 hours each week with them. "This relationship becomes the foundation for the development and growth of the youth's strengths within the context of the family and community." An important role of the advocate is to teach the young person to make better decisions. According to YAP staff, "Staying out of trouble means getting assistance to select more positive behaviors with family and peers as these choices occur each day." Some of the young people in YAP are serious offenders.

"Vicky" is a 14-year-old with a long record. Many of her arrests were for taking things her family needed from stores. Vicky's father is an unemployed alcoholic. Her mother, although concerned about Vicky, has her hands full with a large family. Counseling for the family has been recommended by the court, but no program has successfully involved them. Both parents are hostile toward official interventions because of past allegations that they

neglected the children.

Vicky has been in YAP for nearly a year with no additional arrests. The court placed her in a group home to relieve some of the family problems. Her advocate works with her 15 hours a week. The advocate tutors Vicky who is in high school but is far behind in reading. She arranges a variety of activities through which she can teach Vicky responsibility. She helped Vicky get a job and get into therapy, and has encouraged consistent attendance. The cost to the city: \$375 a month for YAP and \$1,600 a month for the group home, or a total of \$23,700 per year.

"Steven" is a 15-year-old serious offender helped by YAP. He has a record of burglaries and of selling drugs. He was outspoken about bad conditions, including physical abuse, at the juvenile institutions and was seen by staff there as disruptive. But Steven bloomed with individual attention 30 hours a week from his advocate. His advocate is an ex-offender who confronts Steven's manipulateness. The advocate has worked with Steven's mother to help her set limits. Another challenge will be to work out with the public schools an appropriate placement for this bright, underachieving youth far behind his agemates in basic skills. The advocate is with Steven on the street when he is tempted to settle a problem with his fists or is approached to buy drugs. Through these activities, the advocate hopes to "get Steven out of his tunnel vision, exposed to more of life than a few street corners and a

jail." The cost: about \$600 a month or \$7,200 per year.

Baltimore Family Life Center is another community-based program which uses enriched structural family treatment to help young people and their often disorganized families. Started in 1977, BFLC is one of a number of "normalizing" programs around the country. BFLC staff believe that traditional treatment has been too one-dimensional, and that removing young people from family settings is counter-productive. BFLC strives to offer troubled young people what has enabled their "normal" peers to be successful: socialization, nurturance, validation. By "re-parenting" troubled young people with love, limits, and recognition in normal settings--home and community support systems--BFLC staff say they "turn around young people whom many other programs have failed to reach."

"Darnell" is a 16-year-old violent offender. His family expected him to be mature beyond his years, taking responsibility in the family and doing without nurturance. His serious crime was the result of his protecting the family when it was terrorized. Without the program's intervention, BFLC staff believe that this young person might be driven to other dangerous activities because of family expectations. BFLC placed Darnell in a therapeutic foster home to allow him to be "resocialized in a normal, stable family." He held a job and functioned normally in school, but in the family he was very dependent and needed constant encouragement. If too much was expected of him, he



became extremely immature. When given strict boundaries and allowed to be dependent, he improved. Within a year, his new home was helping him make great progress. The cost: about \$2,450 a month (including the cost of foster care) or \$29,400 per year.

"Tony" is another BFLC serious offender from an inadequate family. According to BFLC staff, Tony is "disconnected from normal family values and the values of the broader community. He does not observe normal boundaries—such as the distinction between something belonging to him and to you. He deserves a chance, but the community also needs protection from him." BFLC goes far beyond the office-based settings of most programs for offenders, activating an entire network to give Tony the nurturance, socialization, and encouragement he needs while protecting the community from him. He lives in a therapeutic foster home. His grandmother's church network is offering alternative peers and older individuals ready to help Tony develop new interests. A staff member is with Tony all the time, teaching him to handle situations in ways which will not damage the community or himself. Tony is exposed to values he never learned. A crucial part of the BFLC program is teaching this network to handle Tony. They need to take initiative in building their relationships with him, since he has poor skills in connecting with others. They need to be trained to tolerate his continuing mistakes. Tony can be expected to take steps backward as he improves.

His maladaptive ways of getting his needs met—such as criminal activity to make him feel competent and proud—will not go away overnight, and his support network must tolerate backsliding. When Tony is helped to find a job, the business will be partially reimbursed for their cooperation in rehabilitating him. They will train Tony and a BFLC staff member will be on the job the entire time. Gradually Tony will be able to rely by himself on his new values at work and at home. The cost: about \$3,700 a month (including the cost of a foster home) or \$44,400 per year.

#### CONCLUSION

Juvenile justice expert Paul DeMuro has concluded: "Unfortunately, it has been extremely difficult for the public to place genuine juvenile crime in its proper perspective. A realistic fear of violent crime is mixed with outrage at property crime and a general intolerance of irritating, but basically harmless, adolescent behavior....It must be remembered that delinquency is just one part of our national crime problem. And violent delinquency is a very small part of juvenile crime."

Since 1975 juvenile crime has steadily decreased. This is true despite steeply rising unemployment and increased numbers of families living below the poverty line. Juveniles under 18, who comprise 15% of the D.C. population, are arrested for 18% of the serious crimes against people and 27% of the serious property crimes. National research

indicates that serious juvenile offenders generally are not armed, do not victimize the elderly, and do not repeat their violent crimes. In D.C., 250 repeat and/or violent juvenile offenders have been convicted and most of them committed to juvenile facilities in the past five years. About 85% of them have been rearrested after their incarceration. More than 150 young people under age 18 are tried in adult court each year, and many receive sentences to Lorton Youth Center. There is no evidence that the adult facilities rehabilitate a higher percent of the young people. The story of James points out many longstanding needs that are characteristic of serious juvenile offenders: an individualized school program, a trusting relationship, and assistance in developing self-control.

Because of the popular--but outdated and incorrect--view that there is a juvenile crime wave, the city is seriously considering measures to handle more young people in adult court. This in no way addresses the rehabilitative dilemma posed by young serious offenders. To rehabilitate juvenile offenders, we must take three steps:

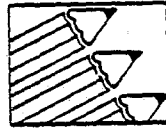
\* First, we need to develop a reliable method for assessing which juvenile offenders are good risks for community-based interventions, which ones would profit more from institutional rehabilitation, and which ones cannot be rehabilitated. We must collect data on success rates of various approaches.

\* Second, we need to use increased resources in our

juvenile institutions for a smaller number of major offenders. Creative improvements are now underway in these facilities, but they don't stand a chance given the overwhelming needs of the multiproblem youth sent to them.

\* Third, we must allocate substantial funds for community-based programs capable of giving serious juvenile offenders the one-to-one attention they need. Some of these programs have a far better track record for rehabilitation than equally costly institutions, while also protecting the community.

At a cost of usually less than \$30,000 a year for not more than two or three years, we have a good chance of transforming these serious offenders into productive citizens. Or we can throw away \$20,000-\$25,000 a year on juvenile or adult facilities to keep these youth off the streets. This approach will ultimately cost hundreds of thousands of dollars for each serious offender and is not likely to produce a contributing member of society after release. With today's great interest in increasing the number of "tax earners" and decreasing the number of "tax burners," rehabilitation through community-based programs is a compelling alternative.



## Journalism Fellows

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

Since 1976 The Institute for Educational Leadership has administered The Fellows in Education Journalism Program, enabling journalists to conduct studies of education and related social issues. Journalists who have participated in this Fellowship and their study topics are listed by year.

### 1976

DAVID BEDNAREK	<i>The Milwaukee Journal</i> Milwaukee, WI	Desegregation
MICHAEL BOWLER	<i>The Sun</i> Baltimore, MD	Textbook Selection
HELEN CARRINGER	<i>The Beacon Journal</i> Akron, OH	Parent Power
JAMES A. KILLACKY	<i>The Daily Oklahoman</i> Oklahoma City, OK	Teacher Unions
JACQUELYN KING	<i>WRR News Radio</i> Dallas, TX	Testing
ANDREW MILLER	<i>The Kansas City Star</i> Kansas City, KS	Testing
LAEL MORGAN	<i>Tundra Times</i> Fairbanks, AK	Bilingual Education
LINDA STAHL	<i>The Courier-Journal</i> Louisville, KY	Basic Skills
STANLEY WELLBORN	<i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> Washington, DC	Federal Education Policy

### 1977

CONSTANTINE ANGELOS	<i>The Seattle Times</i> Seattle, WA	Basic Skills
MURIEL COHEN	<i>The Boston Globe</i> Boston, MA	Teacher Education
REBECCA KUZINS	<i>The Muskegon Chronicle</i> Muskegon, MI	Special Education
LORENZO MIDDLETON	<i>The Washington Star</i> Washington, DC	Desegregation
CYNTHIA PARSONS	<i>The Christian Science Monitor</i> Boston, MA	School Finance
WAYNE F. REILLY	<i>The Bangor Daily News</i> Bangor, ME	Competency Based Testing
DALE ALAN RICE	<i>The Post-Standard</i> Syracuse, NY	Magnet Schools

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HUNTLY COLLINS	<i>The Oregonian</i> Portland, OR	Gifted & Talented Education
JIMMIE COVINGTON	<i>The Commercial Appeal</i> Memphis, TN	Competency Based Testing
JOE DONOVAN	<i>KYW News Radio</i> Philadelphia, PA	Basic Skills
GARY FIFE	<i>United Indian Planners News</i> Washington, DC	Indian Education
ROBERT FRAHM	<i>The Journal Times</i> Racine, WI	Competency Based Testing
DIANE GRANAT	<i>Chicago Daily Herald</i> Arlington Heights, IL	Parent Power
SAUNDRA IVEY	<i>The Tennessean</i> Nashville, TN	School Finance: Tax Revolt Issues
RICK JANKA	<i>The Milwaukee Sentinel</i> Milwaukee, WI	Achieving Quality Education
ROSA MORALES	<i>KCET Television</i> Los Angeles, CA	Desegregation
ETHEL PAYNE	<i>St. Louis Sentinel</i> St. Louis, MO	Black Colleges
DONALD SPEICH	<i>Los Angeles Times</i> Los Angeles, CA	Effect of Proposition 13
MONTE TRAMMER	<i>The Sun</i> Baltimore, MD	Declining Enrollments and School Closing
LINDA WILLIAMS	<i>Daily Herald/South Mississippi Sun</i> Biloxi, MS	School Finance Patterns in the South

1979\*

ROBERT BENJAMIN	<i>Cincinnati Post</i> Cincinnati, OH	Educating Low-Income Students
JOHN CUMMINS	<i>The Salt Lake Tribune</i> Salt Lake City, UT	Education in High-Growth Areas
CHRISTIE DUNPHY	<i>The Evening Gazette</i> Worcester, MA	Declining Enrollment in High Schools
CHARLES HARDY	<i>The Charlotte Observer</i> Charlotte, NC	Black Achievement/Operation Push
WISTA JOHNSON	<i>The New York Amsterdam News</i> New York, NY	Health Education in Urban Schools
MARK LIFF	<i>New York Daily News</i> New York, NY	Education of Indochinese Refugees
BETTE ORSINI	<i>St. Petersburg Times</i> St. Petersburg, FL	Suicide/Depression on College Campuses
BARBARA REINHARDT	<i>Options in Education</i> National Public Radio Washington, DC	Teenage Pregnancy and the Schools
LINDA WERTSCH	<i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> Chicago, IL	Teacher Accountability

FRAN ZUPAN	<i>The Columbia Record</i> Columbia, SC	Sex Barriers in Job Preparation
JANE EISNER	<i>The Virginia-Pilot</i> Norfolk, VA	What's Effective in Virginia's Integrated Schools
JACK KENNEDY	<i>The Lincoln Journal</i> Lincoln, NE	Rural vs. Consolidated Districts: What's Effective in Nebraska
JANET KOLODZY	<i>Arkansas Democrat</i> Little Rock, AR	What's Effective in Arkansas Schools
MARGO POPE	<i>The Florida Times-Union</i> Jacksonville, FL	What's Effective in Florida's Suburban Schools
WAYNE REILLY	<i>Bangor Daily News</i> Bangor, ME	What's Effective in the Rural Schools of Maine
M. WILLIAM SALGANIK	<i>The Sun</i> Baltimore, MD	Academic Achievement in Urban Schools: What Works in Baltimore
ROBERT BENJAMIN	<i>The Cincinnati Post</i> Cincinnati, OH	Towards Effective Urban Schools: A National Study

\* In 1979, one group of Fellows looked at general education issues; a second group focused on "What Makes Effective Schools?"

1980-81

MEA ANDREWS	<i>Missoulian</i> Missoula, MT	Middle Schools in Montana
LINDA AUSTIN	<i>Dallas Times Herald</i> Dallas, TX	How High Schools Serve Minorities in Texas
JOHN MCMANUS	<i>The Ledger-Star</i> Norfolk, VA	How Inner City Schools Work for Minority Children
ELIZABETH OLDER	<i>Charleston Daily Mail</i> Charleston, WV	From Coal Mines to Gifted Education
CAROL RUBENSTEIN	<i>Oregon Journal</i> Portland, OR	How Elementary Schools Work for Four Different Minority Groups
STEPHANIE SEVICK	<i>The Hartford Courant</i> Hartford, CT	Schools That Work in "Gold Coast" Towns
PATRICIA SULLIVAN	<i>Sun Sentinel</i> Fort Lauderdale, FL	Schools That Serve the Gifted in Florida

1982

CHARLOTTE GRIMES	<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> St. Louis, MO	Girls and the Law
WILEY HALL	<i>The Evening Sun</i> Baltimore, MD	Getting Tough with Violent Juvenile Offenders
LESLIE HENDERSON	<i>The Knoxville Journal</i> Knoxville, TN	Violent Juvenile Crime in East Tennessee: A Family Perspective
ANDREW PETKOFSKY	<i>The Richmond News Leader</i> Richmond, VA	Locks and Lessons: Virginia's Reform Schools
WOODY REGISTER	<i>The Tennessean</i> Nashville, TN	Juvenile Incarceration and Alternatives in Tennessee
GARY STRAUSS	<i>The Idaho Statesman</i> Boise, ID	Juvenile Justice in Idaho



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The Institute seeks to improve the quality of education policymaking by linking people and ideas in order to address difficult issues in education. IEL serves state, local, and national education leaders as well as other individuals who have or will have an influence on education policymaking.

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