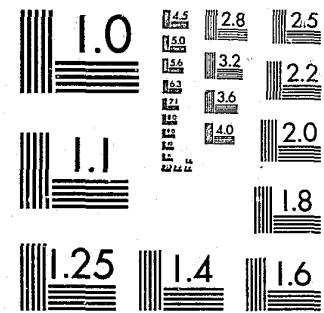


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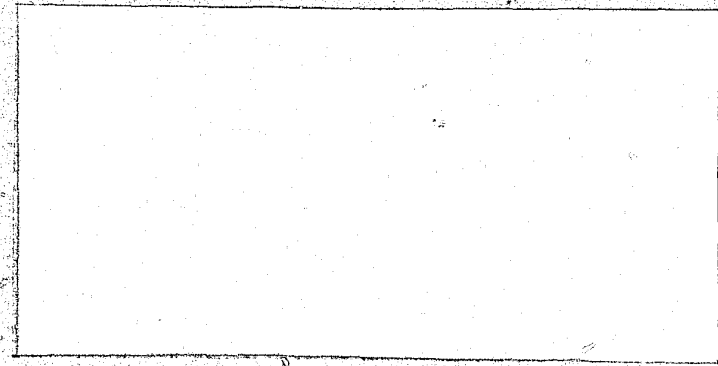
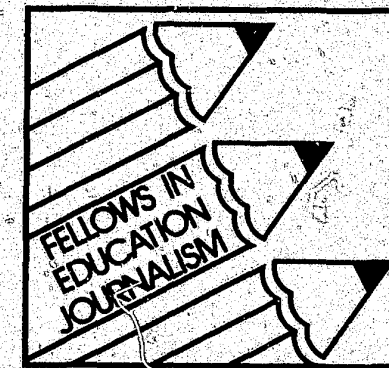
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**VIOLENT JUVENILE CRIME IN EAST TENNESSEE:
A FAMILY PERSPECTIVE**
by
Leslie Henderson
The Knoxville Journal
Knoxville, Tennessee

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice
89435

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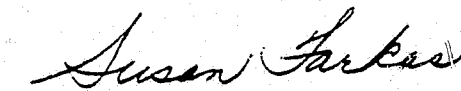
a final report of the
Fellows in Education Journalism
Juvenile Justice Program
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

PREFACE

Leslie Henderson prepared this report on juvenile justice in Tennessee as a Fellow in Education Journalism. The 1982 Fellowships provided six outstanding and competitively selected journalists with the opportunity to study and report on specific aspects of juvenile crime and justice while on six weeks leave from their newspapers. In addition to this final report, Henderson wrote a series of articles for The Knoxville Journal. Her series and those of the other Fellows appear in the IEL monograph, Juvenile Justice: Myths and Realities. The 1982 Fellows and their topics were:

Charlotte Grimes <u>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</u>	Girls and the Law
Wiley Hall <u>Baltimore Evening Sun</u>	Getting Tough With Violent Juvenile Offenders
Leslie Henderson <u>Knoxville Journal</u>	Violent Juvenile Crime in East Tennessee: A Family Perspective
Andrew Petkofsky <u>Richmond News Leader</u>	Locks and Lessons: Virginia's Reform Schools
Woody Register <u>The Tennessean</u>	Juvenile Incarceration and Alternatives in Tennessee
Gary Strauss <u>The Idaho Statesman</u>	Juvenile Justice in Idaho
Margaret Beyer, PhD Freelance (received study grant)	Not Getting Away with Murder: Serious Juvenile Offenders in the District of Columbia

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 C. Farkas
Director
Fellows in Education Journalism

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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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I wish to thank the young people and the families who allowed me to interview them about their experiences. I also wish to thank the juvenile court personnel who provided background for these cases.

I also wish to thank the many employees with the Tennessee Department of Corrections who helped me compile information about those juveniles convicted of violent crime in East Tennessee, and especially the staff at Taft Youth Center who were particularly straightforward in their commentary about the system.

For the opportunity to conduct this study, I especially want to thank the Ford Foundation, the U.S. Department of Justice, the Institute for Educational Leadership and The Knoxville Journal.

The views expressed in this study are those of the author or of the persons quoted and do not represent positions of the Foundation, the Institute or The Journal.

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ACQUISITIONS

Introduction

While covering a criminal trial last summer for The Knoxville Journal in Knoxville, Tennessee, I heard a prosecutor plead with the jury to sentence a man to life in prison for shooting his wife. His plea was unusual. He asked the 12 jurors to jail the man for the protection of his family. He asked them to sentence him to the maximum penalty allowable in second-degree murder in Tennessee to stop the vicious pattern of violence perpetuated in his family.

In the three-day trial, seven of the couple's eight children testified, detailing incident after incident of violence in their home in the past 25 years. One son told the jury about the night when he, another brother and his stepmother--the victim--were held at gunpoint from sunset to midnight. The three were told by the father to stand on one leg with the threat, "The first one to put his leg down will be shot."

Another child, now grown, told of being charged in juvenile court for attempting to murder his father with a shotgun. He told the court his stepmother had promised him the family car if he was successful. He was not.

The eighth child did not testify. He was convicted of rape three weeks prior to his father's trial.

As a journalist, as a human being and especially as the mother of four children, I left that trial troubled and confused and wondering how many of the adults I had seen on trial for violent crimes came from homes like that.

It was because of that trial that I began this study. For six weeks, I interviewed a number of juvenile court judges and juveniles convicted of serious violent crimes in East Tennessee along with their families, in an effort to find out more about the influences the family situation has on these children and their crimes.

What I found were case histories containing incredible sadness and tragedy--children who had lived lives I did not know really existed. Although time did not allow a large enough study to draw scientific conclusions, I offer their stories in the hope they will stimulate further research.

Summary

The major purpose of this report is to present, in a personal way, a glimpse into the family lives of a small number of East Tennessee children who have been involved in serious violent crime.

It is also meant to give a limited view of the particular problems East Tennessee has with violent juvenile crime.

The report was developed mainly through interviews with court personnel, convicted juveniles and their families and others who work in the juvenile justice system in Tennessee.

Although a number of interesting facts emerged from the study, the research data offered must be viewed critically for a number of reasons. For instance, due to the severe constraints of the confidentiality laws, much of the background material in these cases had to be gathered from the family members and the children. When records were made available, I noticed at times that their versions differed from the court's. If the information was used in this report, the discrepancies were noted. Another reason this report should be viewed critically is that a number of major characters in the cases were not interviewed, due to lack of time or availability.

With those limitations in mind, this first part of the report will chronicle the lives of six native East Tennessee families whose sons were involved in violent crime.

Since the study participants were originally identified by court personnel, the selections may reflect their biases. Three were chosen from urban areas and three from rural areas. Three of the boys came

from broken homes and three were raised by their natural parents. All were boys--in fact, less than a dozen girls were convicted of violent crime in this area over the past 19 months--and most of them had reached legal adult age at the time of this study, although violent crimes were committed during their juvenile years. Within the families, there were ten boys who were charged with violent crimes in a total of 18 violent offenses.

Part II of this report is concerned with the current situation in Tennessee for juvenile violent offenders, with segments on "get tough" legislation, incarceration rates, a description of the juvenile facility housing violent offenders and a treatment program for violent offenders.

This part also includes two tables of figures gathered to reflect the extent of the violent juvenile crime problem in East Tennessee in recent months. For the purposes of this study, 33 counties were identified as being in the historical East Tennessee region, all the counties east of a line drawn roughly north from Chattanooga.

The statistics, which were gathered from the Tennessee Department of Corrections, cover a time period from January, 1981 through July, 1982 for a simple reason. The building which housed the juvenile records for a 16-county area around Knoxville burned in December of 1980, so for consistency, the fire set the time limitations. These figures show a total of 91 juveniles convicted of violent crimes in East Tennessee juvenile courts over that 19-month period. For this study, violent crimes include murder, rape, serious assault and armed robbery. Also compiled were figures showing the number of juveniles remanded to the adult court system during that same time period--24 in all--presumably for serious offenses, and presumably a number involving violence.

At the conclusion of the study, the most surprising finding was that five of the six families studied shared an unusual tragic experience. Each of them lost an older brother prematurely and violently and in four out of five of those cases, the families believe the death was not accidental. Although little can be surmised by this in this small sample, it seems almost too coincidental and hopefully this will be studied further.

PART ONE

The Families

Bobby "ain't been right" since he killed that boy, his father told the court, he "beats his head against the wall."

Bobby was 15 and small for his age when he stabbed a neighborhood bully with a butcher knife. He said four boys, led on by the bully, jumped him outside the corner grocery store, threatening to force him to perform oral sex on them. He ran to his project home crying, but slipped out the back door with a knife in his jeans, while his parents called the police to report the attack.

His mother said when he returned he told her calmly that he didn't have to worry about that boy any more.

* * *

Raymond's father wasn't home much when he was growing up. He was in jail for armed robbery and attempted rape. His mother, according to court records, lost the children to the court for neglect. "This worker thinks she is prostituting herself...although we realize it must be hard for this woman to raise her eight children alone."

The first time Raymond was sent away for delinquency he and his brother were found guilty of stealing silk underwear. In a psychological workup for the court, Raymond couldn't respond to the standard test asking him to name three wishes. "His only wish," the report read, "made many times over, is not to be locked up."

He is now in the state penitentiary for second-degree murder serving a 60-year sentence. In the hearing transferring the murder case to adult court, the arresting officer testified that Raymond told him he stabbed his friend in the chest because "I like to stab people."

* * *

Otis at 17 is big for his age, always has been. Youngest son in a large family, one of his sisters married a jealous man. A few months ago in an inner-city neighborhood, Otis' brother-in-law came at his wife with his fists. Otis gripped the raging man's upper body with his arm, holding him tightly while his sister held a pillow across his face until he slumped.

"I don't think they meant to kill him," one of the juvenile court officers said. Otis, whose only juvenile record was a petty theft charge at age 14, was arrested in the murder, but the charges were later dismissed.

* * *

Lloyd is a soft-spoken, slender boy whose mannerisms indicate shyness and remorse. His mother says his "trouble" started on Halloween night in 1971 when the body of his 15-year-old brother was thrown out of a car in front of the family's house.

Just turned 18, Lloyd now is in the county jail awaiting trial in adult court for escape and burglary. He said he escaped from a work release program and went home. He was serving a three-year sentence for cutting a man's throat.

His soft, dark hair falls over a large triangular-shaped scar on his forehead. He got the scar when, drunk, he wrecked a car the night his assault case was transferred to adult court. He was 16 at the time. A boy in his rural neighborhood is permanently brain-damaged from injuries received in that wreck.

* * *

These are the stories of a number of East Tennessee's children. Why do they kill and maim? Although not a large percentage of juveniles are convicted of violent crime in Tennessee, in a 33-county region in East Tennessee 91 convictions for murder, rape, armed robbery and serious assault were recorded over a 19-month period beginning in January, 1981 and ending July 30, 1982, according to Tennessee Department of Corrections figures. Another 24 children were transferred to adult court during that period, presumably for serious offenses, probably a number of them violent.

Part one of this report tells the stories of six native East Tennessee families whose children were involved in violent crime. The real names and locations will not be used. Of the families studied, ten of the children were involved in violent crime--in a total of 18 violent crime arrests: 4 murder; 7 assault; 2 armed robbery; 1 ring-leader in juvenile facility riot; 1 gang rape; 1 purse snatching; 1 threat with a deadly weapon; 1 arson.

The families were all in the lower socio-economic strata, four of them were large families of eight to ten children, all the youths involved in violence were males between the ages of 14 and 18, and

nine of the crimes were known to be drug-related (either the juvenile, the family or the juvenile court personnel said the crime was committed while the juvenile was under the influence of alcohol or drugs).

The families were evenly split between rural and urban areas and family intactness, with three in each category. Two of the families at one point in the children's early life were separated because of parental neglect and the children were put into foster care for a number of years. Those two families also lived in public housing, in high crime areas and received government subsidies as their main source of income.

Only one family is known to have a parent with a lengthy criminal record. In that family, nine of the ten children have juvenile court records.

The following family stories have been patched together from information gathered from interviews and court records.

The Bandy Family

In Upper East Tennessee on the northeastern edge of a rural county, and often on the far side of the law, is an old moonshiners' community called Long Creek. It's a rough, rural community where people "get lickered up" every night and cuttings and shootings are commonplace.

A few family names in the Long Creek area stand for "tough and mean" and the Bandy family is one of them. Marge Bandy's car, parked in the carport of their small white house on Long Creek Road, has a bumper sticker that reads, "You toucha my car, I breaka you face!"

The county juvenile officer says Marge's youngest son, Lloyd, is "not a bad kid" although he has a juvenile police record listing several serious felony charges, including aggravated assault, arson and rape. He says of Lloyd, "There are two of him," and one of them "has a reputation to keep up."

Marge, whose four children's names are tattooed on her arm with the word "love," talks about her son:

"It really all started when his brother got killed. Somebody killed him on Halloween night back in '71. They said a car run over him but there warn't no car run over him...I've always said, if I ever found out who done it, I'd kill him...After it happened I was just about to lose my mind...Finally went to church and I got saved. The Lord is all that pulled me out of that.

"I went down the road here, they (TBI and sheriff) told me get out and investigate, 'They'll talk to you. They won't talk to us.' So I did, but I was a'drinkin' when I done it. Went to this guy's house and he slapped me, so I come back home and got my gun and went back and I had the shotgun in the car, but I just pulled in front of the church and turned around and started back up the road. I guess he knew that I went after a gun, but I just pulled out and started back up the road and he shot me. He ran to the end of the driveway and shot me in my car. I had just went there to talk to his boy. Somebody told me that he knew something about it...he was up here that night with a load 'a licker or somethin'. So I was just going to talk to the boy a bit. So I wind up getting shot...like to get killed...hit me in the face...tore th' whole top of the roof of my mouth out. I had to learn to eat again. Took me a long time to get over that. He almost killed me. I was just like a baby, every time I took a drink of water it'd run out my nose. See, I had a big hole in the roof of my mouth. I ate soup I guess six months. (Lloyd) was maybe...seven years difference in the boys...he was about six or seven years old. (Bruce) was about 14.

"That's when (Lloyd)'s trouble started. See, 'cause he and (Bruce) was just like that (motion with fingers close together)...everywhere (Bruce) went, (Lloyd), he was right on his heels, he had to go with him. But (Lloyd), he's a kind of a young'un, I guess he takes that after his daddy, he won't talk his problems out. He just holds them in and I'm not that way. If I got a problem I usually have somebody to go to...when I get troubled...but (Bo) and (Lloyd), they're just about alike. They hold stuff in. About the only time they talk about anything is when they get to drinkin', then it'll boil out.

"That's when (Lloyd)'s trouble started. Started getting into trouble, just small things, like leaving school, running off with some of the little boys down there. Later on, it was breakin' in the school house, breakin' the winders out and...uh...then he was expelled for a whole year. I can't remember what it was fer.

"Went, tried to get him back in school. Then he got out with these boys here. He's bad to run with them (Biddles). In one thing, right after another. And it seems like that's who (Lloyd) wants to go with all the time...the very ones who gets him into it, that's the ones he'll go with. So I guess...first time he got in trouble, went up to this woman's house. They whopped this guy and there was a shotgun involved in it and this woman said that (Lloyd) threatened to kill her, so Judge was going to send him off again but his older brother. He's married. Of course, he's off in the penitentiary now...selling marijuana to the TBI man or somebody. I think they just give him a year...but I never did have no other trouble out of my other children. (Lloyd) is the only one.

"He went up there (with the older brother in town) to live with them. Stayed up there about six months. One Saturday he got drunk and he come home. So then he came back down. He got with little old (Lonnie Pilkey) and they wen: up here and broke into this woman's house and they got scared. (Lonnie) said, 'We put fingerprints all over the house.' So, well, just set the damn thing on fire. So (Lloyd) told me, 'Don't know who set the fire.' Don't know who set the fire, maybe both of 'em did. They was just out drunk, into meanness, something to get into. Thar warn't nobody home and said they thought they'd just break in there. Didn't know nothing about that for a long time.

"Took him to jail, but I don't think it was fer that, and (Lloyd) told him what he had done so they sent him up and he stayed nine months there and I thought that would help, but he got right out from down there and he wanted a car so bad and his daddy said, 'Now (Lloyd) honey, just straighten up, stay home and don't get into any more trouble and when you get old enough to get your license, we'll get you a car. We'll do everything we can for you.' Warn't no time, he was back with those (Biddles). He wouldn't stay here for one minute...it warn't long till they took him to (town).

"Came home one night, I was working nights--me and my husband both. Here he was laying on the couch. He was just bloody as a hawg. All his har was pulled out. We had an oil stove and the top of that stove, I bet it had a pile of har on it that big (her hands show the size of a football). Well, his shirt was tore off of him. He was drunk. Finally got him awake. I said '(Lloyd), what's wrong with you. What happened?' And he said, 'Damn son of a bitch tried to kill me tonight.' I said, 'Who, what, whar?' I don't know, just talked about how big he was. So I said, 'Let's get up here and see how bad you're cut.' Got his shirt off his hand. His thumb was cut pretty bad, so I got him up. Took him on to...the hospital. Had him sewed up. Then they took a warrant for him cause he cut that boy. (Lloyd) said he cut him. Said he was trying to kill him and that was the only way he could get him off...

"Lawyer had him scared to death. So was I. I ain't never been in a big trial before. They had him for intent to murder, assault with intent to kill and a whole bunch of things. He (the lawyer) told him that jury would probably give him 25 to 50 years.

"These boys that he gets in with, they won't go to the courthouse and swar for you, they take you and get you into it, but won't swar for you. (Lloyd) was just 16 when this happened. (Lloyd) was drunk anyway.

"He just acts like he's got to prove to these people that he can take care of hisself or that they ain't going to run over him. I don't know what he's trying to prove. He can't stay out of trouble. I wrote Judge a letter, '(Lloyd) don't need to be punished. He don't need to be sent to the penitentiary. He needs some hep.' And he just got hot. He got up behind that...where they sit..., 'I don't want to get no more letters from no more parents. I talk to the lawyers and that's all I talk to.'

"I know the penitentiary not heping him. He said, 'Mama, they don't rehabilitate you down there.' He said, 'They larn you how to get out on the street and do it and get by with it.' Now, he said, 'That's what I've larned since I've been down there.'

"He can't cope with the outside world sober. He's got to be an alkiholic or a drug addict or something. You ought to see him turn a bottle of beer up and drink it...

"I cain't say 'no' to him fer nothin'...It just about drives me up the wall thinking about him being up there in that hot jail. They don't feed him fit fer nothin'...Being up there so hongry and hot. Then my husband, he'll say, 'He don't have to be up there. He could be right here with us at the house.' But that's another story, too.

"There's something wrong with him. Sending him back up to the penitentiary, he'll just do the same thing over again, if anything, it will make him worse. He told me, 'I'm takin' my boots back.'

I said, 'Lord, what you takin' those boots back fer?' 'Them's my stompin' boots. I ain't taking nothin' off of no son of a bitch. When I go back, they better not talk to me.' That's just the attitude, 'Now I'm gonna kill 'em all, if they bother me.' But that ain't going to do nothin' but get him into more trouble. I don't know if he's just give up or what. I don't know...if somebody don't hep him...I cain't hep him and that's not going to hep him down there. If he don't get some kind of psychiatric treatment for a while and see if that don't help him...My God, one little boy...looks like somebody would reach out and hep him."

* * *

Lloyd was seven when his brother was killed in 1971. The story is that his body was thrown out of a car in front of their house on Halloween night. In an interview at the county jail where he is awaiting trial for burglary and escape, Lloyd said his parents spoiled him after his brother's death.

"They said they kind'a felt sorry for me, 'cause my brother, when he got killed, I'd go off huntin' for him. Go up and down the road lookin' ...Said they wanted me to have what I could have. They told me they let me get away with a lot," he said.

The juvenile officers in the area say the Long Creek area has a "gang-type" atmosphere. One opened a desk drawer and pulled out a handful of bullets which he said he "dug out of the walls" at Lloyd's house.

"I have to hand it to him," the juvenile officer said, "When he first came home," after being committed the first time, "he was trying.

But while he was gone the boys he run with split up into two clans and one decided they were after (Lloyd). He stood it as long as he could."

Lloyd's court records start with a breaking and entering conviction in 1979 when he was 12, and when he was 15, a breaking and entering and arson charge, for which he was committed to a juvenile institution. The juvenile court judge said, "He burned up a \$30,000 home to cover up a \$30 burglary."

In between commitments, court personnel said he and his friends picked up a girl in town and brought her back to a field near their homes where they raped her, five of them. They were arrested and charged, but the girl later changed her mind about prosecuting.

Two years later, he was convicted of threatening a woman's life with a shotgun, and last year he was bound over to the adult system for cutting a man's throat in an argument in town. The night of the transfer hearing he left the court with a group of friends to "go a'drinkin'," his mother said.

That night he wrecked a car and his passenger was severely injured, suffering permanent brain damage, court personnel said. For that, the juvenile judge committed him to a juvenile institution until he could be tried for the aggravated assault.

While serving a three-year sentence for the assault, he escaped from a work release program and came home, Lloyd said, committing a burglary while he was out. He says all his crimes are committed while he is intoxicated and "I can't go without it."

He just turned 18 this summer.

The Jackson Family

Raymond was 17 and had a good job. He had moved away from home and was living with his girlfriend. On a Sunday night when he and his friend went for a ride, there was an argument at a service station, his mother says, and Raymond stabbed a boy with a long kitchen knife. The boy died.

The officer who investigated the crime said at one of the court hearings that Raymond said there was no argument and that he did it because "I like to stab people."

Raymond's family juvenile court record begins when he was four. A petition was filed with the court charging Raymond's mother, Effie, with neglect. Her eight children, aged eight months to eight years, were taken away from her for "leaving them unattended and without food and other necessities from 2/31/66 until officers came 2/23/66."

The social worker's report said Raymond's father, who has two previous murder convictions for killings in juvenile and adult institutions, was serving a ten-year prison term for attempted rape and armed robbery and that "it is this worker's opinion that (Mrs. Jackson) is prostituting herself during her absence from home...although it must be hard for this woman to raise her eight children alone."

When Raymond was eight, his parents divorced. According to court records, Effie got a divorce because her husband was physically abusing her.

In this urban juvenile court, records are filed by family. The file is fat. Nine of Effie's ten children have juvenile court records,

with one notation saying, "The history of this family is one long list of violence and death."

Raymond's record was compiled when he was charged with murder three years ago. It started in 1971 when he was ten. Between then and November, 1979, it reads, "Throwing bottles; attacking petitioner's son; truancy; beyond control; shoplifting; possession of marijuana; accessory to auto theft; breaking and entering auto; under the influence and assault with threat to kill."

At the hearing to transfer the murder case to adult court, the head juvenile court probation counselor said Raymond had been sent to the Department of Corrections four times. He wrote, "Nothing we've tried has worked to turn him around."

His psychological evaluations filed with the court say Raymond is "borderline mentally retarded...immature, inadequate, aggressive individual who perceives himself unconsciously as damaged and as isolated and alone in the world...an impulsive individual, whose tolerance for frustration is very low...he may perceive more danger than in fact exists and he may overreact to a situation, lashing out violently..."

In the report of Raymond's results from standard psychological testing, the psychologist wrote, "If he could change his family, he would get them a better place to live. If he could change himself, he would like to turn his life around. He was asked to list three wishes, but he replied that his only wish, made many times over, is not to be locked up."

When he was found guilty in February, 1980 of second-degree murder in county criminal court, he was sentenced to serve 60 years in prison.

Six months later, his 13-year-old brother, Leroy, was convicted of felonious assault.

The boys in the Jackson family were fond of their father, "when he was around," Effie said.

The oldest boy in the family, Lawrence, was probably the closest to his father, Ace Jackson. When Lawrence was in the hospital in 1977, for injuries which proved later to be fatal, he kept asking for his father to visit, but Effie said Ace did not want to see him "like that."

Lawrence died at the age of 17 from injuries received when he jumped off a building running from the police in connection with breaking and entering a tire store. The court records say he had been paralyzed and brain-damaged for some three months before his death.

Lawrence's court records were even more extensive than Raymond's, although mostly for stealing. Effie said of his premature death, "Something had to stop him."

When Lawrence was 12, his juvenile records show a conviction for perjury in connection with his testimony before the county grand jury on a murder charge against his father, who was charged with shooting an eight-year-old girl.

Although Lawrence had told a grand jury the gun went off in his father's hand right before the little girl dropped to the floor dead, when he was called to testify in criminal court, Lawrence took the blame for the shooting. His father was acquitted of the charges.

In a later psychological workup for the juvenile court, the psychologist said Lawrence was a witness as "his father accidentally shot a little girl in his home...and stated that it bothered him a little. He related 'the little girl still had a piece of cake in her hand.'"

The Evans Family

Donnie's mother says he has been "real restless and nervous" since he came home to Mountain View Road in rural Upper East Tennessee.

A handsome, dark-haired boy who will be 18 this fall, Donnie won't talk about what it was like at the juvenile institution where he was sent for a year for armed robbery and purse-snatching, his mother says.

He tells her he would "rather put it behind him" and the most he has explained was that some of the "older boys" demanded things of him, she said.

He always had trouble in groups anyway, she said, since he is hard of hearing. She said he has always loved sports, but never played on a team because it "bothers" him that he "couldn't hear too good."

Donnie was 16 when his older brother was killed in an armed robbery staged by his uncle. His mother said, "He took it real hard." A year later Donnie was convicted of committing an armed robbery with a shotgun, followed quickly by the purse-snatching committed while he was in a group home.

Donnie didn't go back to school when he came home, he decided to go to work with his father in construction, she said. "They're getting along better now" since his father stopped drinking three years ago.

The Evans family lives on the edge of a rough community in rural East Tennessee known for its moonshine, gambling and violence, and all three boys in the family have been involved in armed robbery charges. The other brother also has an armed robbery charge pending.

Betty Evans sounds bitter that her other son has been charged in an armed robbery, she says her boys are always "suspects, 'till proven different." She cries when she says, "I always raised my kids right."

The Davis Family

Otis has been working "hard since he was 12 years old," Ethel Price says in her resounding, musical voice. She raises her large frame straight in the chair as she talks about her son in her clean, nicely furnished home in a neat inner-city neighborhood.

"Otis is a big boy, always has been...(he)'s always been a very smart child," she says, her voice rising and falling in gospel cadence. "Now, he wasn't charged in that, you know. No. No, they didn't charge him...His sister is charged."

The head counselor at the urban juvenile court in the area said Otis was visiting his married sister when his brother-in-law came at her with his fists. Otis put one of his strong forearms around the raging man's neck while his sister held a pillow over his face until he slumped to the floor.

The counselor said, "I don't think they meant to kill him," and said the charges were dismissed against Otis, whose only juvenile record was a petty theft charge at age 14, because it was a "crime of passion."

Ethel refused to discuss the incident since her daughter's murder charge is pending before the criminal court. Otis said he learned a lesson from it, "to stay out of things."

Otis is 17, the youngest son in a family of eight children who were raised most of their lives by their mother alone. Ethel, who recently married her third husband, said since her own mother divorced when Ethel was five, she learned to be "independent."

In explaining her three marriages she adds, "Maybe too independent." She said when the children were small she "had to get help" through welfare checks and admits that she would "slip and work" doing "every kind of work" from "washing dishes to short orders" while she was collecting the checks.

She explained, "The money they give you...\$180 is not going to take care of a family of six."

She spoke of another of her sons who had a juvenile court record. "He was a good child...never sassy...just weak-minded." She said he died nine years ago at the age of 28, although she refused to discuss his death.

When asked if his death was accidental, Ethel looked away with tears in her large eyes and said slowly and emphatically, "I don't think so...I don't never like to talk about it."

The Daniel Family

The screen door swings open and cracks closed again, letting another legion of flies into the grey project Stevie calls home. He looks even younger than 15 with the blond curls that frame his face and poke haphazardly around the red ball cap tilted backward on his head.

When he speaks he talks with a slight lisp, and it's hard to hear with the TV and the noise of the children playing, indoors and out. Of the nine Daniel children, four are now living at home, since Stevie got back.

Stevie and two of his older brothers were sent away last January when they were convicted for their part in a robbery in which a man was stabbed. Stevie was charged with sniffing paint, damaging county property, robbery and attempted escape.

The other two brothers, Billy and Bobby, have not returned yet from the juvenile institutions where they were committed for an indeterminate sentence. For Stevie and Billy it was their first commitment, but Bobby was committed once before when he was 15, for murder.

Bobby was small for his age when he stabbed the neighborhood bully with a butcher knife. He said four boys, led by the bully, jumped him outside the corner grocery store, threatening to force him to perform oral sex on them. He ran home crying, but slipped out the back door with the knife in his jeans, while his parents called the police to report the attack.

His mother said when he returned he told her calmly that he didn't have to worry about that boy any more.

When Bobby went to court in January for the robbery and stabbing incident, his father told the court, "He ain't been right" since the killing. "He beats his head against the wall."

After he was sent to Corrections for the murder, the facility sent the juvenile court an evaluation which said Bobby was "extremely sensitive to any kind of criticism...he may tend to let things build up to the 'exploding point' periodically and when this occurs, he may become aggressive, hostile and threatening."

Bobby requested to be put in the "'Control Room' on one occasion because he felt he could not control himself." Less than six weeks after he returned from his commitment for murder he was involved in the robbery/stabbing incident.

From the facility where he is now housed, the report says Bobby has "inflicted several wounds" upon himself.

Meanwhile at another juvenile facility, Bobby's 17-year-old brother, Billy, showed several cigarette burns on his arm, explaining, "Got burned there, playing a stupid game called 'chicken.' Shouldn't have played it. They can con me into anything, I guess."

He hid his face behind his shoulder-length, tallow-colored hair, when he was asked why he doesn't call home to talk to his family when it is allowed every two weeks.

He finally admitted, "It makes me want to go home faster. I really don't want to think about home while I'm here, so my time will go faster...If you think about home when you're here your time will go slower."

This is not the first time the family was separated. Court records show Stevie's mother, Annie, abandoned her five oldest children when the youngest was two and the oldest was eight years old. They spent three years in foster care before custody was returned to the parents.

Custody was restored by the court in 1973 when the parents were reunited in Chicago, Ill. The social worker's report said they "have written to their children every week for over a year. They remember them on birthdays and holidays..."

However, when asked this year whether the family had lived apart before, Annie said "no" except for one year when Bobby's father, Ned, moved away to allow her to collect welfare. They were separated when Bobby was charged.

Unemployed for two years from back trouble and surgery, Ned moved so she could collect \$599 a month in welfare and food stamps to support the eight children who were living at home. She explained, "We had to live."

Annie's childhood was no easier than those of her children. Herself from a family of ten, she too was abandoned at an early age and spent a number of years as a ward of the state. Her brothers' and sisters' records bulge at this urban juvenile court.

Annie's youngest brother will soon be 19. The last psychological evaluation filed with the juvenile court said he "reportedly thinks of suicide everyday...He reported frequent homicidal thoughts, saying that he thinks about killing everybody but 'I don't want to do it.'"

One of Annie's younger sisters was before the court many times for running away. She was put into the state mental hospital by her

mother after "she chased some kids down the street threatening to kill them with a knife," according to court records.

She is described in the court's psychological evaluation as suffering from "latent schizophrenia" having attempted suicide three times, "once by overdose, once by choking herself with a belt and once by cutting her wrists."

Annie said her sister is now a "prostitute," and her court records say she ran away from the mental hospital in 1978. Her last probation report says, "Her whereabouts have been unknown since that time..."

The Collins Family

Frankie is five-foot-one, weighs 125 pounds, has a stragglng goatee and the emotionless eyes of a dead man.

His voice, too, is emotionless as he talks about his criminal career. The only show of feeling sparks when he talks about his adopted sister, his 18-year-old first cousin, the daughter of the man he is charged with murdering.

When you argue, do you get physical, Frankie?

"Yeah, it don't take much," he says in the stark confines of the visiting booth at the county jail where he awaiting trial.

Now 20 years old, Frankie talks about his teenage years, a good portion of which were spent at juvenile institutions for crimes committed in several rural counties, and when he organized the riot at the maximum security facility for juveniles.

"I started it," he said. "I thought I had been mistreated" by the guards who had been brought in from the state penitentiary to replace the juvenile guards who had gone out on strike.

"They started telling us about the big house," he said, "so I got sheets and clothes and matches...and I gave the signal."

Frankie was 17 then and he was transferred to the adult system for trial for inciting and participating in the three-day riot. By the time he was tried on the charges, he had racked up five jail-breaking charges, he says.

The first time "I broke jail," Frankie said, was when he found out his mother had been shot. He said, "She died three times on the way to the hospital," after being shot with a 12-gauge shotgun by a man who shot into a "crowd of 100 people" at a drunken party.

He said his parents didn't tell him "until she got better...she and Dad came to visit me and told me about it...I said 'I'm breaking out tonight.'"

Frankie's court records show his father is a carpenter and his mother is a housewife. There were nine children in the family, but Frankie's older brother was killed when he was hit by a car while riding a bike on the county road in front of his rural home.

Juvenile court records show Frankie's mother said, "After his brother's death, he stopped going to church...wouldn't have nothing more to do with it." There was a year between their ages.

The juvenile court officer said "all of them" in Frankie's family drink heavily, but that his mother is an alcoholic. His father has been arrested several times for public drunkenness, according to records.

Frankie said he was "always fighting in school" since the fourth grade, "fighting with teachers, fighting with other individuals" and later assaulting police officers. He said, "I never liked anybody telling me what to do."

He said he had counseling when he was 14. "I went there two years...while I was going, I was okay," he said. Telling why he stopped going, "One day they said, 'You ain't crazy.'"

Afterwards, he said, "I started messing up again...I liked going down there."

One time when he was in a juvenile institution, he wrote a letter to the juvenile judge in his home county. He was 16 and wanted to be transferred to another institution which reportedly has a good vocational program and less security.

He wrote, "...because I need a job and like I said before, I am not worried about the time I spend at any place because all I want is for once in my life I want to make something of my life and I mean I want to be somebody. I am sorry for what I have done in the past..."

He says the courts have been "more than fair" to him, the jails "good, like home" and he has been given many breaks. But, even without the breaks, he said, he still would have gotten into trouble.

When asked what advice he'd give to keep other children out of trouble he said, "I'd tell their mama and daddy to pick up a belt and bust 'em."

PART TWO

Violent Juvenile Crime
in
East Tennessee

Incarcerating Tennessee's Children

"It is the deprivation of liberty that causes us concern. The incarceration of a child deprives him or her of the happy pursuits and unforgettable joys of childhood's all too brief hour.... All too often reform schools do not reform; rehabilitation centers do not rehabilitate; happiness does not seem to flourish in foster homes; and confinement seems to afford an opportunity to hone criminal technique..."

From a 1980 Tennessee Supreme Court Decision.

Tennessee locks up more of their children than the majority of states nationwide.

According to 1979 federal figures, only ten states have higher short-term detention rates for juveniles and only 13 states commit more of their children to long-term corrections facilities than Tennessee.

And the numbers do not correspond to high juvenile crime rates, according to a study prepared for the Hubert Humphrey Institute by the former director of the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

The study found after looking at the correlation between incarceration rates in different states and a number of variables--juvenile arrest rates, unemployment and available beds--that the single most powerful predictor of high detention was the availability of beds.

The statistical analysis done by Barry Krisberg and Ira Schwartz, two highly regarded experts in the field of juvenile justice, also showed that, although none of the variables explained high long-term commitment rates, that bed availability predicted high rates more often than the others.

Many states have increasing incarceration rates, according to the study, but the majority are reducing the numbers of confined juveniles, including Tennessee. Still in the top 15, Tennessee did reduce the number of juveniles in corrections facilities from 1974 to 1979 by 16.6 percent, to 1,633 or 262 per 100,000 youth population.

The annual cost per child for Tennessee's most secure facility, Taft Youth Center, was approximately \$18,700 in 1980 and that cost is increasing at an alarming rate. In 1979, the total cost for juvenile institutionalization in Tennessee was \$13.3 million.

Meanwhile, one state has deinstitutionalized almost all its children and later studies show that the predicted rise in violent crime has not taken place.

Ten years ago, all the reform schools in Massachusetts were closed down. The man credited with the effort, Jerome Miller, suggests that the money spent for incarceration buys "considerable supervision, rehabilitation, etc...in a variety of non-incarcerative settings...with less likelihood of making matters worse."

Taft Youth Center

The youth stands motionless, leaning his spare body against the smudged window glass. Head tilted slightly, he stares into the guard station with the unmoving, unseeing gaze of a dead man.

Several minutes later, he turns slowly and moves away.

In another building in the confine, a guard grabs a boy's tattooed arm to illustrate a point.

"You never know what they're going to do," he said, turning the boy's arm to show six angry red slash scars against the pale skin.

While the boy hid his face, the guard said it is difficult to know whether the self-mutilations are actual suicide attempts or moves for placement in the smaller dorm unit reserved for those boys with serious emotional problems.

Called murderers, rapists, armed robbers--"the bad ones"--by many, these boys are inmates at Taft Youth Center in Bledsoe County, the most secure corrections facility for convicted juveniles in Tennessee.

That is where the serious violent offenders are sent. Some say for retribution, others say for rehabilitation, but no one says it works.

"If we help one out of 50 or 100, we're lucky," Taft counselor Jackie Ellis said. "They just keep coming back...or if we don't see them again it's because they have gone on to the adult system."

No large percentage of juveniles in Tennessee stands convicted of serious violent crime. In East Tennessee, there were 91 convictions for murder, rape, assault and armed robbery since January, 1981 over

a 33-county area. In fact, the numbers are small nationwide. But that does not mean juvenile violence is not a serious, frightening problem in the United States.

Juveniles are arrested in 25 percent of all violent crimes committed in the United States, and the cost is an estimated \$5 billion a year, according to recent federal studies. But the majority of these crimes is committed by a small group, 5 to 6 percent of the delinquent population--a group about which little is known.

Contrary to popular belief, the numbers are not increasing. There is no juvenile crime wave nationally. The arrest rate for most juvenile crime--including violent crime--has leveled off since the mid-70s, after increasing significantly during the preceding decade.

In 1980, Congress passed an amendment to the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act which emphasized comprehensive research and programs set up to deal with those juveniles involved in serious violent crime.

Right now, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)--a division of the U.S. Department of Justice--is involved in a number of long-term research projects and four model programs to learn more about these children.

What they know is that the way these children are handled now is not working. What is not known is whether anything will work.

Jerome Miller, with the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives in Washington, D.C., suggested to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice last year, "Why, for example, would a 13-year-old Charles Manson enter a juvenile correction system as a runaway and emerge from San Quentin 19 years later to be involved in unspeakable violence?"

"Could his being raped as a 13-year-old in one of our child treatment facilities in any way be of relevance? It is a possibility."

There are 185 boys enrolled at Taft at present. When visiting the facility in August, 1982, three youths were in the lock-up unit awaiting trial on homosexual rape charges in connection with incidents at Taft.

In the six months prior, an estimated 10 inmates were brought to Bledsoe County Criminal Court for crimes committed within the institution.

The most dangerous "student" there is pointed out by one of the guards, "I guarantee it. I could shake him down right now and make sure he didn't have anything on him and as soon as I turned around and checked him again, he'd have a (home-made) weapon on him," he said.

Six months ago, six Taft employees, including the director, were fired after the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation released the results of a long-term investigation in which agents said physical force was being abused at the facility.

Even those youths said to be rehabilitated after completing the nine-month vocational program at Taft have little chance of success because, researchers say, they return to the same environment--often marked by family neglect and abuse, peer pressure, extreme poverty and community crime.

Considerable emphasis is now directed toward studying the family situations of these offenders and some of the fledgling programs across the country are pushing family participation.

A task much easier said than done.

A Frightened Public

Americans are frightened of violent juvenile crime and their fears seem to be reflected in the growing trend toward "get tough" legislation in juvenile law.

"A 15-year-old can kill you just as dead and cut your head off just as swiftly as a 25-year-old," Sullivan County Juvenile Judge George Garrett says, in what is becoming an echo from across the country.

And although most violent crimes are committed by young adults in the 18- to 25-year-old range, violent crimes committed by those under 18 may tend to grab more publicity and, recently, more legislative attention.

For instance, some states, including Tennessee, have recently lowered the age at which a juvenile can be tried in adult court, to as low as 10 years old.

Tennessee now allows a 14-year-old to be tried as an adult for such major crimes as rape, murder, armed robbery or kidnapping. Previously, the age was 15. Unchanged was the provision that any child over the age of 16 can be transferred for any offense, if certain criteria are met.

In response to a request for statistics on juveniles who were remanded to the adult system, the Tennessee Department of Corrections supplied figures covering a 19-month period beginning January, 1981 through July 1982.

Knox County sent more juveniles to the adult system than any other county in the 33-county region of East Tennessee--sending 5 youths to the adult system in that period. Knox County also had the highest number of juveniles convicted for violent crimes during that same period--39.

A total of 24 juveniles were sent to the adult court system in East Tennessee in that time period. The statistics for the region's other urban-population counties showed Chattanooga (Hamilton County) with one juvenile transfer and Kingsport/Bristol (Sullivan County) with four transfers.

And although statistics, both nationally and locally, are notoriously poor in the field of juvenile justice because of broad variance in record-keeping and reporting standards, researchers estimate these numbers are increasing nationwide.

Judge Garrett, who handles juvenile cases in Kingsport in Upper East Tennessee, said he leans toward transfer to adult court in any serious crime.

"Because I have to live with my decision..." Garrett said, although he said he has only had 10 or 15 violent cases in the ten years he has been on the bench.

His attitude reflects the high emotional level of a scared public.

"If I've got some child that has committed some act of violence... has tried to cut his mother's head off...tried to cut his sister's breast off or sexually mutilated some child in the neighborhood, if I let that child back out in the community I have to live with that."

When asked if he has had those types of cases before him he said, "No, I haven't, thank God. I haven't had any," and expressed surprise at national statistics showing no increase in violent juvenile crime.

Interviews with representatives from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) in Washington reveal concern that this trend is a reaction to an erroneous perception that serious crime among juveniles is increasing.

And particularly since the trend depends on the theory that the adult system will be more effective in handling these problems. An assumption which is questionable at best, they say.

Ironically, preliminary studies show that juveniles tried in adult court generally receive lesser sentences than those tried in juvenile court. The common explanation is that judges, juries and prosecutors used to handling hardened adult criminals tend to be more lenient with juveniles in their courts.

Garrett prefers transfer to adult court because the Tennessee juvenile system loses jurisdiction after the age of 19. If a 16-year-old commits murder and is sent to corrections he would be released automatically at age 19, he explained. If sent to adult prison, after his time is served he would stay under probationary supervision.

"I don't think you are doing society a favor or that child a favor--if he has serious problems--by giving him a free ride for two years or so and putting him back out on the street," he said.

One of the cases which Garrett has sent to adult court for trial is a case of a 16-year-old boy who stole a car, tried to run a roadblock, and killed a police officer.

"The car hit the air and hit a deputy and cut him into three pieces. He was a sergeant, with a wife and children," he said. "Now is that a violent crime?"

"Some people may say he was just a misguided 16-year-old youth who was trying to run a roadblock..." the judge said. "Our society has become so liberal...somebody is going to have to say sometime, 'You are going to have to be accountable, regardless.'"

An East Tennessee Program
For Violent Juvenile Offenders

A former teacher whose own father was an alcoholic, Nancy McCrary says a successful prognosis for helping violent teenagers is dependent on changing the family environment.

The director of the Oak Hill Center in Knoxville said sending the offender to a juvenile facility is based on the philosophy of "out of sight, out of mind," she says, and "they're just going to come back and commit more crimes..."

McCrary's fledgling program is based on changing family dynamics in helping juvenile offenders. McCrary, the director of the program at St. Mary's Hospital, talks about the program she began to help troubled adolescents.

Her program, begun a year and three months ago, is a highly structured, out-patient program based on family participation and teaching teenagers to deal with stress.

She says most of the 200 teenagers who have been through her 12-week program were referred by the court, and approximately 10 percent of those were convicted of violent crime. She says "the vast majority" of the troubled children come from either alcoholic or abusive families.

And she believes that, except in rare instances, the child should remain with the family to work out the problems.

"Unless the kid is actually physically in danger," she says, "that family is going to continue to be that kid's family whether they live with them or not. Take the case of father abusing daughter sexually.

We see that a lot. If you take the child away, dad's still got the problem. Daughter's still got the problem. Removing them stops it from happening for that period of time, but it does not change the relationship."

The abused child will defend the abusing parent "to the hilt," she said, because that is the only way he or she has received "positive support and affection and you'd better believe that I'm going to support that parent. I'll lie for him and fight all the authorities for him because I need that more than I need food."

McCrary says the solution is to build up enough trust in family therapy so that the daughter can confront the father with, "I know what you are doing to me, and I know it is wrong and I don't want you to do that to me anymore."

McCrary says that in a 12-week program you "don't solve the problem. You open it up." In the case of incestuous relationships, for example, once every family member stops "keeping it a secret...it makes it nearly impossible for it to happen again."

Once family dynamics are changed, she said, group pressure is going to be exerted if one member "tries to flip back."

Oak Hill Center is a private program. East Tennessee does not have any publicly funded programs for the violent juvenile offender.

A number of the families of youths ordered to Oak Hill by the Knox County Juvenile Court cannot afford to pay. In those cases, McCrary says, Medicaid pays for 30 days, but after that, "If the kid needs two more weeks of treatment, I can't ethically send the kid home. We keep them...and write it off." For those cases, McCrary says she is looking into a scholarship program funded by donations from community groups.

She says, "My biggest frustration is with the community. I see a lot of money going to a lot of different things...but if we want a viable, workable, safe community 10 years from now, we had better put some money toward treating these teenagers..."

VIOLENT JUVENILE CRIME IN EAST TENNESSEE

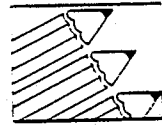
County	Murder	Rape*	Armed Robbery	Serious Assault**	Totals
Pickett	0	0	0	0	0
Fentress	0	0	0	0	0
Cumberland	0	0	0	0	0
Hamilton	0	3	3	1	7
Rhea	0	0	0	0	0
Meigs	0	0	0	0	0
McMinn	0	0	1	0	1
Bradley	0	0	2	2	4
Polk	0	0	0	0	0
Scott	0	0	0	0	0
Morgan	0	0	0	0	0
Roane	0	0	0	3	3
Loudon	0	1	2	1	4
Monroe	0	0	1	1	2
Blount	0	1	1	8	10
Sevier	0	0	0	2	2
Cocke	0	0	1	0	1
Jefferson	0	0	0	2	2
Hamblen	0	0	3	5	8
Grainger	0	0	0	0	0
Claiborne	0	0	0	0	0
Campbell	1	0	0	2	3
Anderson	0	0	2	2	4
Union	0	0	1	0	1
Knox	2	2	21	14	39
Hancock	0	0	0	0	0
Hawkins	0	0	0	0	0
Greene	0	0	0	0	0
Washington	0	0	0	0	0
Sullivan	0	0	0	0	0
Carter	0	0	0	0	0
Unicoi	0	0	0	0	0
Johnson	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>91</u>

Table 1: Number of Juveniles Convicted in East Tennessee Juvenile Courts of Serious Violent Crimes from January 1, 1981 through July 30, 1982. (From Tennessee Department of Corrections Statistics.) *Includes sexual battery and aiding and abetting in serious sexual offenses. **Includes 18 assault and batteries, but according to the Department of Corrections' sources, the assaults in this listing are the most serious ones. (These figures do not include those juveniles whose cases were transferred and tried in the adult court system. See Table 2.)

JUVENILES TRANSFERRED FOR TRIAL IN ADULT COURT

County	Totals
Pickett	0
Fentress	0
Cumberland	0
Hamilton	1
Rhea	0
Meigs	0
McMinn	1
Bradley	2
Polk	0
Sevier	1
Knox	5
Claiborne	1
Anderson	1
Jefferson	1
Blount	0
Campbell	0
Cocke	0
Grainger	0
Hamblen	0
Loudon	0
Monroe	0
Morgan	0
Scott	0
Union	0
Roane	0
Sullivan - Kingsport	3
Hawkins	3
Washington	1
Carter	3
Sullivan - Bristol	1
Unicoi	0
Johnson	0
Hancock	0
Greene	0
Total for East Tennessee	<u>24</u>

Table 2: Number of Juveniles Transferred for Trial in Adult Court from January 1, 1981 through July 30, 1982. (From Tennessee Department of Corrections Statistics.) Note: Corrections figures only reflect those persons who were under active supervision at the time of the offense.



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 & 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

1978

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?"

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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

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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 PETKOFISKY	<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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