

# Delinquent Youth Committed to the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services 2004-2011



Akiva M. Liberman, Ph.D.  
Jennifer Yahner, M.A.  
John K. Roman, Ph.D.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This report explores recent trends in the commitment of delinquent youth to the custody of the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services (DYRS). Commitments to DYRS increased considerably from 2006-07 to 2009-10, due to more youth being committed following adjudication on misdemeanors. In 2011, commitments to DYRS declined, due to fewer youth being committed on felonies. By 2011, most youth committed to DYRS were misdemeanants. Neither a history of prior adjudication nor revocations of probation particularly drove the increased commitments of misdemeanants; these commitments involved youth with and without prior adjudications, and also involved both DYRS commitments as initial dispositions and following revocation of probation. Understanding these shifts in the youth committed to DYRS will require a broad exploration of juvenile justice case processing involving all delinquent youth, using integrated data across juvenile justice agencies.

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# INTRODUCTION

The Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services (DYRS) was established in 2005 with a mandate for broad reform of juvenile justice in the District of Columbia, called for by the District of Columbia Blue Ribbon Commission on Youth Safety and Juvenile Justice Reform (2001). Three elements of this reform addressed placement and programming decision-making processes and tracking, the types of community-based programming available, and the conditions of secure confinement.

These efforts included a reform of the programming for youth in DYRS custody, and reforms of how programming and placement decisions were made. The latter included the development of a structured, objective assessment risk tool to guide placement (the “Structured Decision-Making” tool, developed by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency). Youth-Family Team Meetings were also established, involving youth and family in discussions concerning programming decisions, more along traditional child-welfare and social-work lines than traditional adult corrections lines. In 2008, a new management information system was introduced to allow placement and services to be tracked more effectively. By 2009, after a year of training and implementation, it was used fairly routinely and recorded most placements and services.

The reforms also expanded community-based programming and decreased reliance on incarceration. To improve the coordination of community-based services, Lead Entities were established to manage service referral and case management, with the East of the River Clergy-Police-Community Partnership serving as the Lead Entity for youth living in Wards 7 and 8, and the Progressive Life Center serving as the Lead Entity for youth living in Wards 1 to 6.

A key reform for improving the conditions of secure confinement included replacing the Oak Hill facility with the New Beginnings Youth Development Center, which opened in May 2009. In keeping with the reform’s intent to reduce reliance on secure confinement, and to reserve secure placements for only high-risk delinquents, the new facility was considerably smaller (60 beds as opposed to 120 beds). Procedures and programming for youth in secure confinement were also revamped along the lines of principles of positive youth development (e.g., Butts, Bazemore, and Meroe 2010). These reform efforts have been recently described in a process evaluation conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice (Daly, et al. 2011).

Since 2000, serious crime in the District has been fairly stable at low levels in historical terms and much lower than in the early 1990s (Cahill & Roman, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d; Liberman and Cahill 2011; Markman and Roman 2009). However, the number of youth arrests reported by the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) increased from 2006 to 2009, as did the number of delinquency cases filed and petitioned in Family Court; these have all declined in 2010 and 2011 (see **exhibit 1**).

### **Exhibit 1: Juvenile Arrests**

| <b>YEAR</b> | <b>MPD<br/>Juvenile Arrests</b> | <b>Delinquency<br/>Complaints Filed</b> | <b>Delinquency Cases<br/>Petitioned</b> |
|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 2006        | 3,405                           | 2,761                                   | not available                           |
| 2007        | 3,472                           | 2,984                                   | 1,930                                   |
| 2008        | 3,813                           | 3,163                                   | 2,113                                   |
| 2009        | 4,806                           | 3,428                                   | 2,074                                   |
| 2010        | 3,636                           | 3,038                                   | 1,654                                   |
| 2011        | 3,464                           | 2,891                                   | 1,662                                   |

*Source: MPD Annual Reports; District of Columbia Family Court Annual Reports<sup>1</sup>*

### **The Current Study**

In 2010, the Executive Office of the Mayor asked the District of Columbia Crime Policy Institute (DCPI) to explore commitments to DYRS. The goal of the study was to understand how and why the numbers of commitments were changing.

DCPI hoped to describe the case processing of juvenile delinquents that result in commitments to DYRS, and embed an analysis of commitments to DYRS within a broader portrait of how juvenile delinquents are handled in the District. This would describe all youth who were adjudicated delinquent, both those committed to DYRS and those who received other dispositions. Such a report would require integrating data from the Family Court, where commitment decisions are made, together with commitment data from DYRS, as well as data on those who receive alternative dispositions, most notably juvenile probation through the Superior court's Division of Court Social Services. Such an integrated data set, including commitment and placement data from both DYRS and Court Social Services, would also have allowed DCPI to explore how youth flow back and forth among the court, juvenile probation, and DYRS. No agency currently has the data easily available to conduct such an analysis. Such data can only be obtained with the consent of the Court. In late 2010, DCPI met with the presiding judges of the Superior Court and Family Court to request access to such data, and the Court declined to make such data available.

As a result, data obtained from DYRS<sup>2</sup> on commitments are the sole basis for the current report. Basic commitment data range from FY 2004 to FY 2011. Some additional data on the youth committed are available from FY 2006 to FY 2011, including whether the youth had prior adjudications.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Family Court Annual Reports: 2006, p. 67; 2007, p. 74; 2008, p. 82; 2009, p. 82; 2009, p. 76; 2010, p. 85; 2011, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> All results reported here are based on DCPI's own processing and analysis, and are the sole responsibility of DCPI.

Using these data, the current report describes the youth who have been committed to DYRS custody, and whether and how the characteristics of committed youth have changed over time.

## **A Brief Summary of Juvenile Delinquency Case Processing**

Committing youth to DYRS is one late step in the processing of juvenile delinquency cases. Before examining youth committed, a brief overview of juvenile delinquency case processing is useful for understanding youth commitments. **Exhibit 2** displays a schematic of the stages of juvenile delinquency case processing. In general, juvenile delinquency cases are processed much as indicated. Many juvenile contacts with law enforcement are diverted and do not lead to formal arrests. For those arrested, the prosecutor (Office of the Attorney General) may file charges (known in the District as “papering”) or may decline to do so. Not all cases filed will be adjudicated delinquent (equivalent to being found guilty for adults) by the court (the Family Court of Superior Court). Among those adjudicated delinquent (a.k.a. “found involved”), many youth will be placed on probation (with Court Social Services), while others will be committed to DYRS.

However, there are some specifics of juvenile justice in the District which differ from the generic picture. Jurisdictions differ in the formal relationships between the court, juvenile probation, and the juvenile justice agency that provides secure residential placement. In the District, the juvenile probation agency (Court Social Services) is formally part of Superior Court. In contrast, DYRS, which handles most secure placements, is not an agency of the court.

For current purposes, two features of the juvenile justice process in the District are notable. First, the court does not directly place juveniles into DYRS residential placement or secure confinement, as in many jurisdictions. Rather, in the District, at disposition, the court may commit an adjudicated delinquent to DYRS, but does not have the authority to order the agency to make a particular placement.<sup>4</sup> Once a youth is committed to DYRS custody, DYRS makes placement decisions. DYRS may place a youth in residential placement, which may include secure confinement (primarily at New Beginnings), but it also has the discretion to place youth in community placements with various services and conditions of supervision.

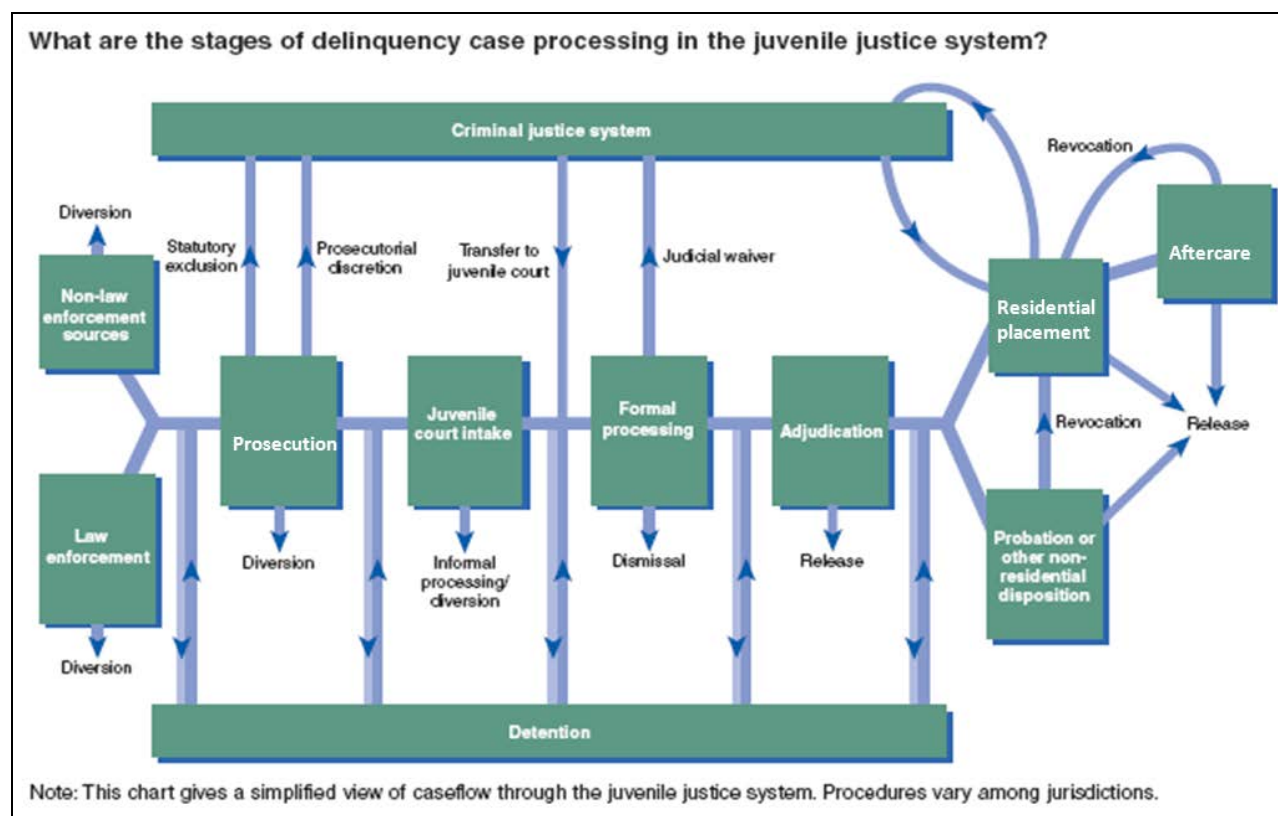
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<sup>3</sup> Because court data are not fed into DYRS systems automatically, the court history data in the DYRS system is possibly incomplete. A routine information exchange would likely improve the accuracy of such DYRS data.

<sup>4</sup> In 2003, in the case *In Re: P.S.*, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals found that, under the D.C. code, the trial court does not have the authority to direct administrative agencies where and how to place juvenile delinquents committed to their custody, although the court does have such authority for abuse and neglect cases.



## Exhibit 2: Stages in Juvenile Justice Case Processing



*Source: 2006 National Report on Juvenile Offenders and Victims, p. 105. OJJDP.*

This means that both the juvenile probation agency and the juvenile justice agency (i.e., DYRS) monitor youth under community supervision. When youth on probation violate requirements of community supervision, they are returned to the court for another disposition. In contrast, when youth in DYRS custody violate requirements of community supervision, rather than being returned to the court, DYRS retains discretion concerning subsequent placements and services.<sup>5</sup>

In combination, these aspects of juvenile justice in DC mean that commitments to DYRS as a disposition are distinct from *placements by* DYRS of some of those committed youth into secure confinement. The present report concerns commitments *to* DYRS only.

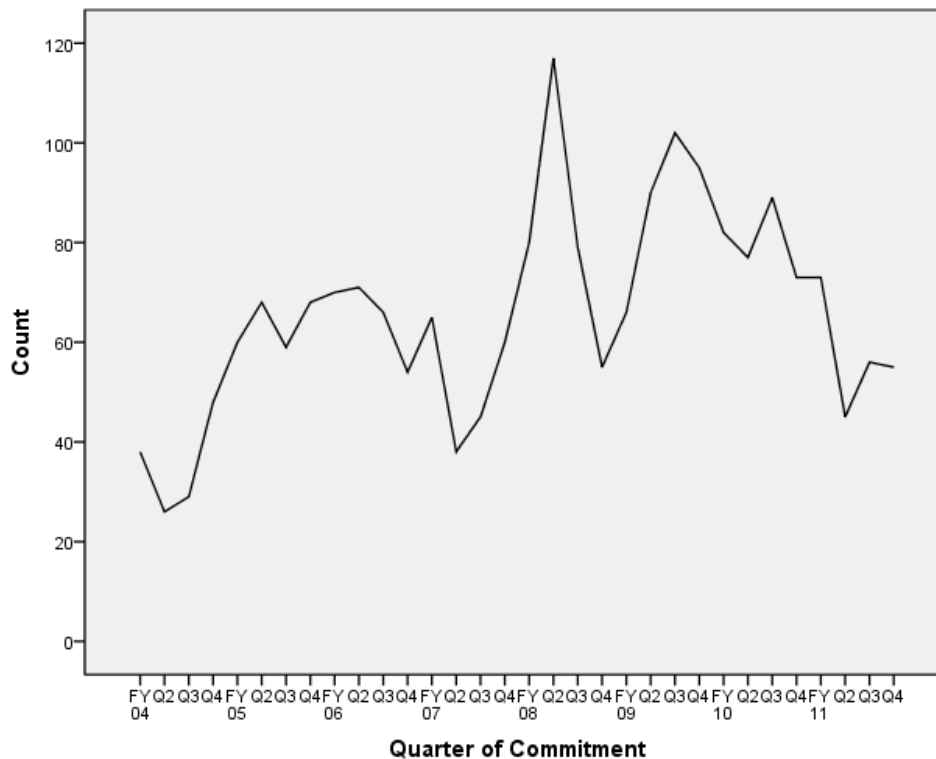
<sup>5</sup> Of course, youth who commit new delinquent acts, which lead to new charges, reappear in Family Court.

## FINDINGS

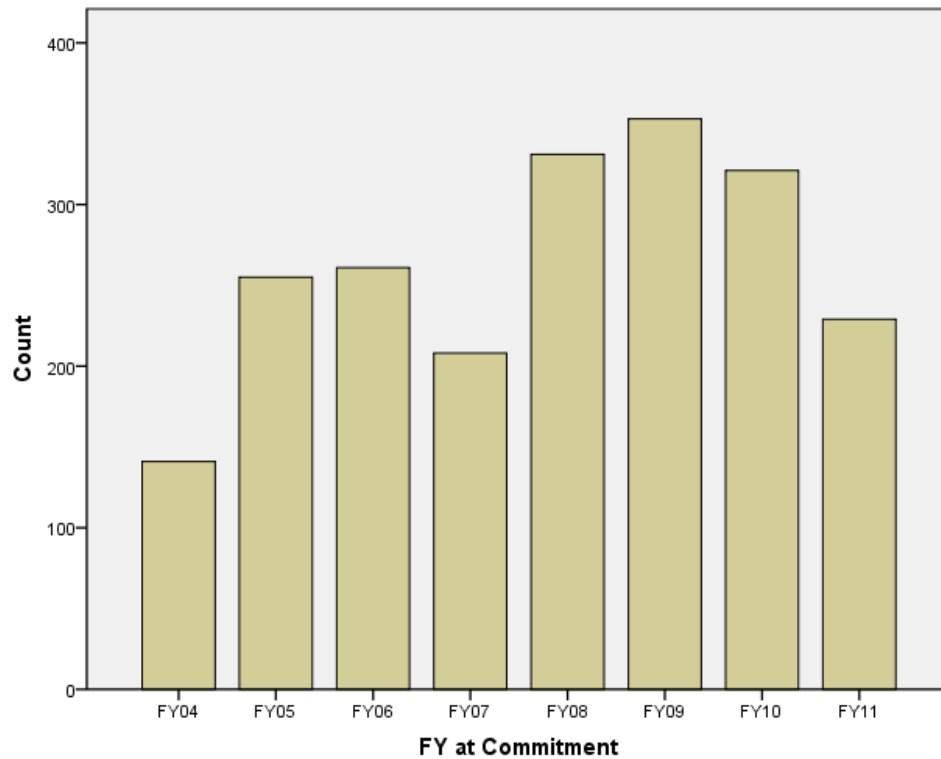
### Commitments Over Time

We begin by examining the pattern of commitment to DYRS over time. **Exhibit 3** shows the number of commitments of delinquent youth to DYRS from FY 2004-11 by quarter, and **exhibit 4** displays commitments by fiscal year. As can be seen, commitment numbers fluctuate considerably. Through those fluctuations, several changes in volume are notable. First, a drop in commitments in early 2007 was followed by a short spike in commitments early in 2008 (specifically in January 2008). Second, considerably more commitments were made in the years 2008-2010, compared to the preceding years. Finally, commitments decreased considerably in 2011.

**Exhibit 3: Quarterly Commitments to DYRS**



#### **Exhibit 4: Annual Commitments to DYRS**



#### **Demographics**

Who was committed to DYRS? Were the increased commitments in 2008-10, and the decline in 2011, driven by commitments in certain types of cases?

**Exhibit 5** shows the demographics of the youth committed from 2004-11. The demographics were consistent over time, and the average age at commitment to DYRS was 16 years old.<sup>6</sup> The vast majority of the youth committed were male (90%) and African-American (96%).

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<sup>6</sup> Age on the date of commitment, reported here, is younger than the average age of the committed population on a given day. For example, if youth remain under commitment to DYRS for a year on average, then the average age of youth under DYRS commitment on any given day would be expected to be half a year older than on the date of commitment.

### **Exhibit 5: Demographics of Youth Committed to DYRS**

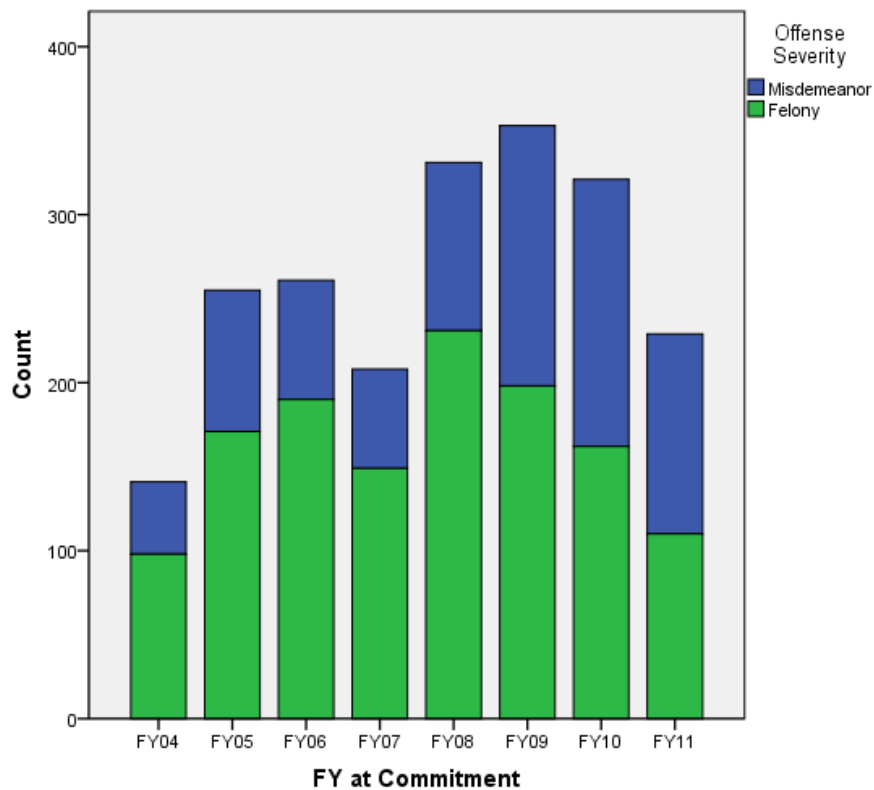
|              | <b>N</b>    | <b>Average Age at<br/>Commitment</b> | <b>% Male</b> | <b>% African<br/>American</b> |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| FY04         | 141         | 16.2                                 | 88%           | 94%                           |
| FY05         | 255         | 16.0                                 | 89%           | 96%                           |
| FY06         | 261         | 16.0                                 | 92%           | 96%                           |
| FY07         | 208         | 16.1                                 | 88%           | 97%                           |
| FY08         | 331         | 15.9                                 | 93%           | 98%                           |
| FY09         | 352         | 16.0                                 | 91%           | 96%                           |
| FY10         | 321         | 16.0                                 | 92%           | 96%                           |
| FY11         | 229         | 15.9                                 | 89%           | 95%                           |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>2098</b> | <b>16.0</b>                          | <b>91%</b>    | <b>96%</b>                    |

### **Charge Severity**

**Exhibit 6** displays the number of commitments per year, distinguishing felonies from misdemeanors in stacked bars; this disaggregates the yearly counts seen in **exhibit 4**. These data are displayed in tabular form in **exhibit 7**.

The number of commitments of youth adjudicated on felonies fluctuated, with a dip in 2007, a rise in 2008 (the January 2008 spike), and then a decrease with each subsequent year. The number of youth committed on felonies in 2009 and 2010 was similar to the number committed in 2005 and 2006. In contrast, the number of commitments for youth adjudicated on misdemeanors approximately doubled between 2005-7 and 2009-11. In the earlier period, the number of commitments on misdemeanors accounted for about 30percent of commitments; by 2009 misdemeanor commitments accounted for 44percent of all commitments. Finally, in 2011, due to a decline in the number of youth committed on felonies, more youth were committed on misdemeanors than on felonies.

**Exhibit 6: Youth Committed Disaggregated by Offense Severity**

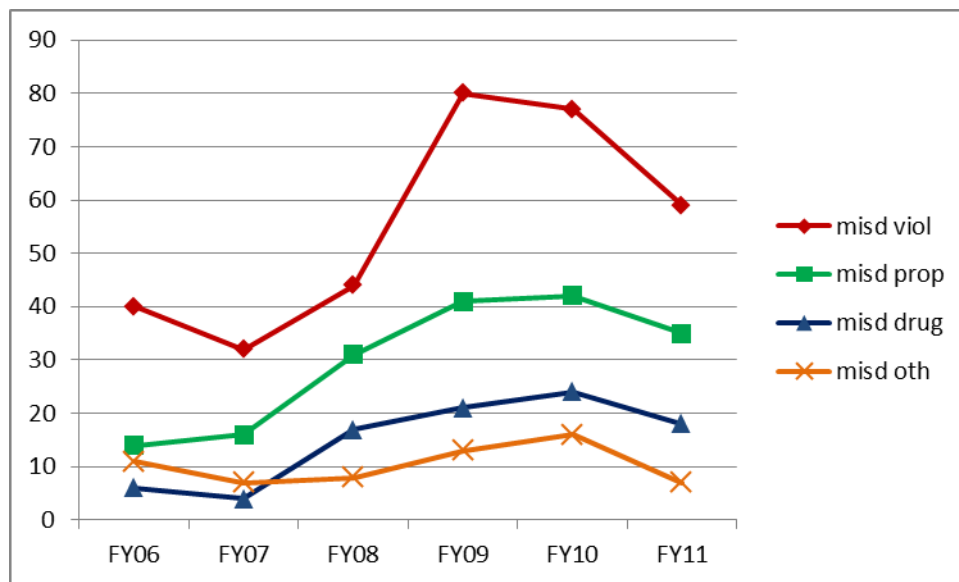


**Exhibit 7: Commitments Per Year FY 04-11, by Offense Severity**

|              | FY 04       | FY 05        | FY 06        | FY 07        | FY 08        | FY 09        | FY 10        | FY 11        |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Misdemeanor  | 43<br>(30%) | 84<br>(33%)  | 71<br>(27%)  | 59<br>(28%)  | 100<br>(30%) | 155<br>(44%) | 159<br>(50%) | 119<br>(52%) |
| Felony       | 98<br>(70%) | 171<br>(67%) | 190<br>(73%) | 149<br>(72%) | 231<br>(70%) | 198<br>(56%) | 162<br>(50%) | 110<br>(48%) |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>141</b>  | <b>255</b>   | <b>261</b>   | <b>208</b>   | <b>331</b>   | <b>353</b>   | <b>321</b>   | <b>229</b>   |

Why were more youth committed on misdemeanors in the last several years? **Exhibit 8** further disaggregates the misdemeanor cases by charge type (violent, property, drug, and other). The increased commitments of youth adjudicated on misdemeanors seems to involve all charge types. In all years, more youth were committed on violent misdemeanors than on other types of misdemeanors. As a result, the increase in violent misdemeanor cases is a large contributor to the absolute increase in the number of commitments. But the increased trend can be seen in all misdemeanor types.

### Exhibit 8: Offense Type for Youth Committed on Misdemeanors



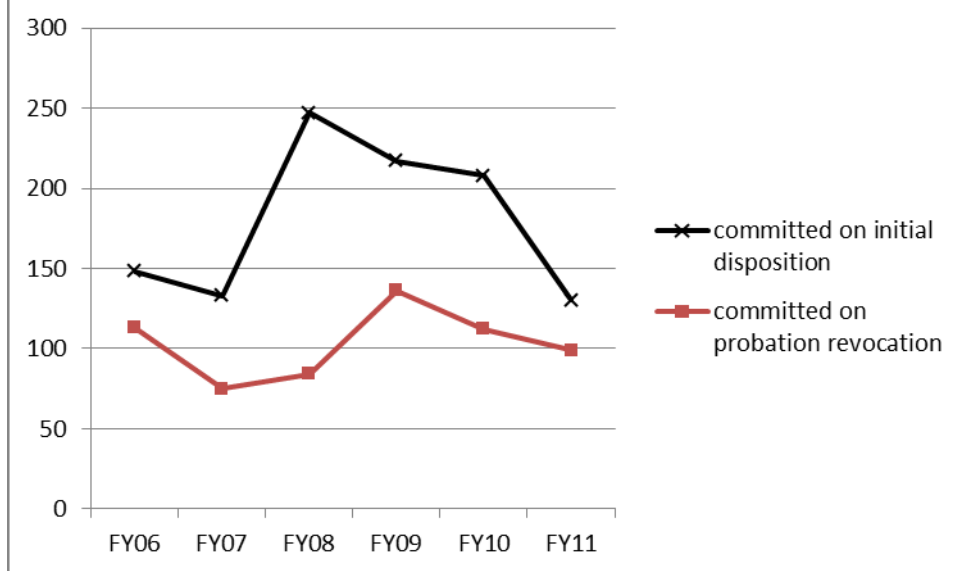
### Court History

Another factor that may drive commitment of a youth to DYRS is the court's prior experience with the youth regarding delinquency. DYRS data contain two basic types of court history—history on the current case and history of prior cases. On the current case, we distinguish cases in which commitment to DYRS was the initial disposition, from cases in which commitment was on a probation revocation after an earlier disposition. Regarding prior cases, we distinguish between youth with and without prior adjudications. Either kind of “court history” indicates some kind of failure of the youth to respond behaviorally to the court's satisfaction, either after earlier court responses to the current case (probation revocation) or after court response to earlier cases (prior adjudications).

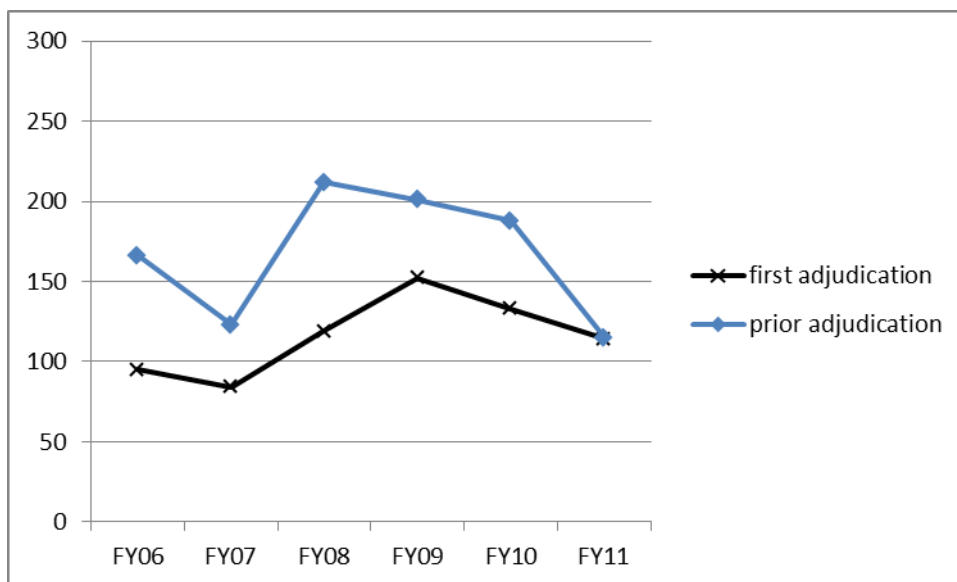
Exhibit 9 disaggregates the numbers of commitments during 2006-11 by whether a youth was committed as the initial disposition or on a probation revocation. Only a minority of commitments were based on revocations of youth originally placed on probation (top panel); most commitments to DYRS were initial dispositions. Similarly, the *changes* in commitments—both increases from 2008 to 2010 and the decrease in 2011—were primarily driven by commitments as initial dispositions, rather than probation revocations on the current case.

Exhibit 10 displays whether the youth had any prior adjudications. Until 2011, most committed youth had prior adjudications. The changes in commitments involve youth with and without prior adjudications.

**Exhibit 9: Probation Revocation on Current Case**

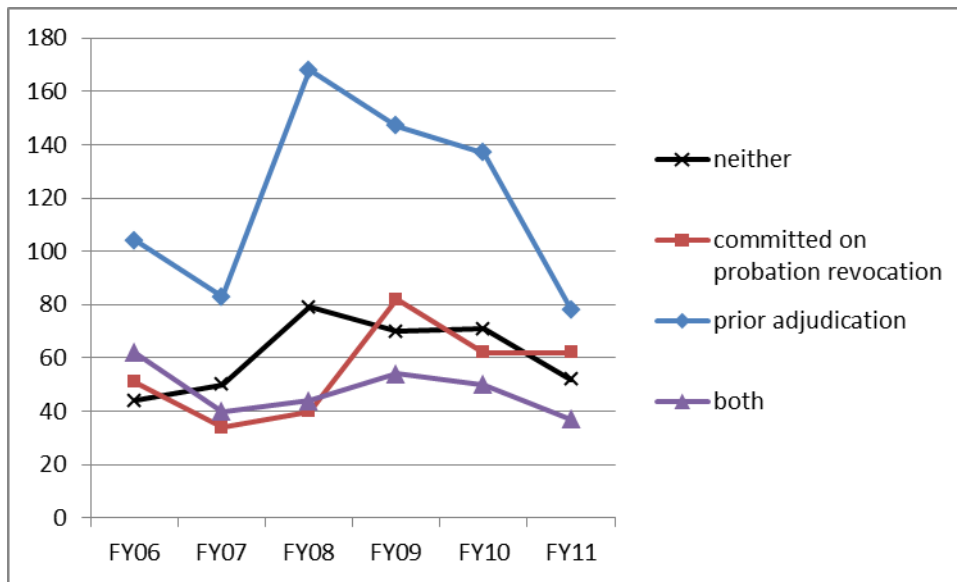


**Exhibit 10: Prior Adjudication of Committed Youth**



Finally, **exhibit 11** examines both court history variables together. The plurality of commitments involve youth with prior adjudications, who on the current case were committed initially, rather than on a probation revocation. Changes over time in the number of these youth committed also account for the largest share of the change in commitments overall, both the increase in 2008-10, and the decrease in 2011. But the changes in commitment over time involved all cases, including youth without a history of prior adjudications, and committed on the initial disposition of the current case.

### Exhibit 11: Court History of Committed Youth



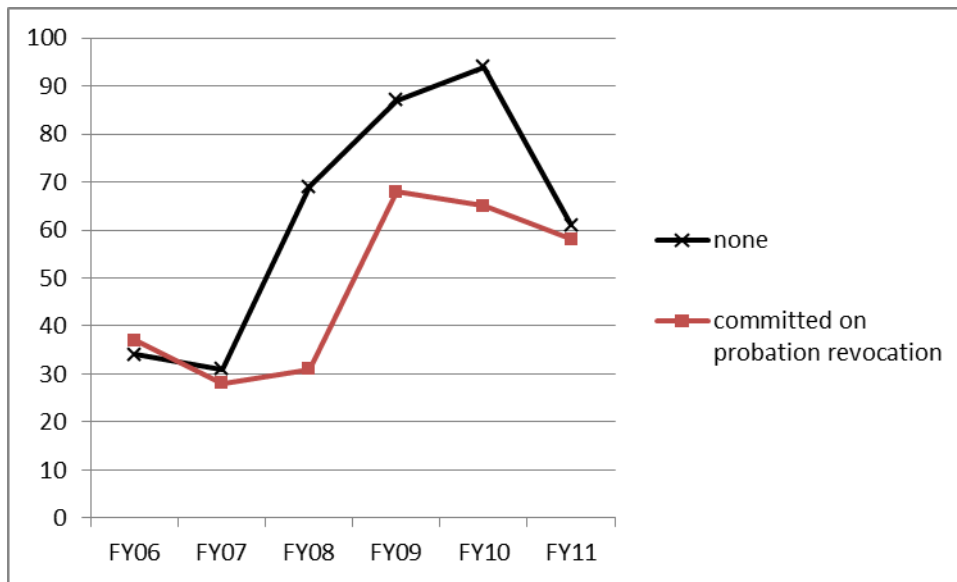
### Court History Among Misdemeanants

In light of our earlier finding that the increased volume of commitments was almost completely accounted for by increased commitments on misdemeanor charges, we turn now to examine the court history of youth committed on misdemeanors. Were they especially likely to be committed on current probation revocation, or to have a history of prior adjudications?

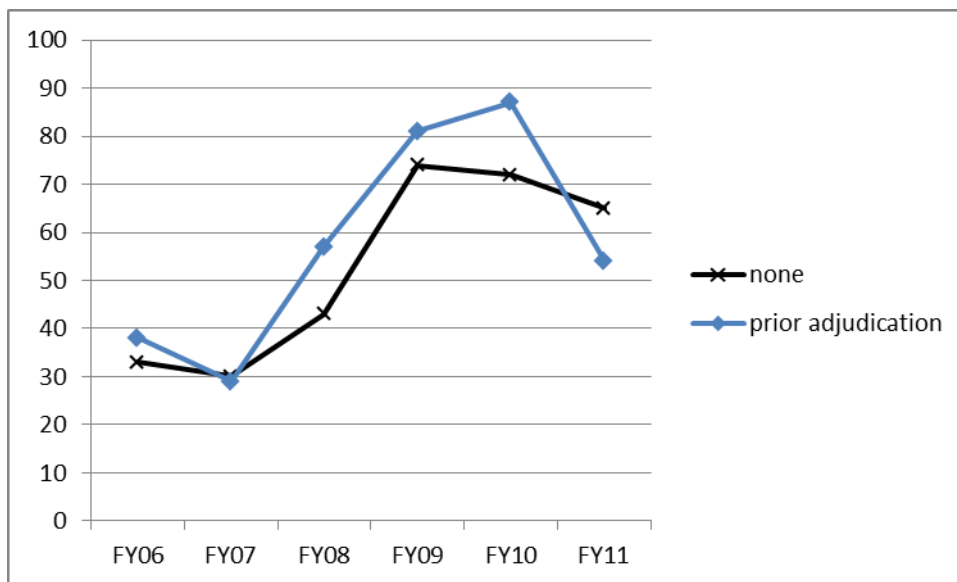
**Exhibit 12** shows that somewhat less than half of the committed on misdemeanors were committed on probation revocations; most were committed at initial dispositions. **Exhibit 13** shows that somewhat more than half had a history of prior adjudications.



**Exhibit 12: Probation Revocation among Youth Committed on Misdemeanors**



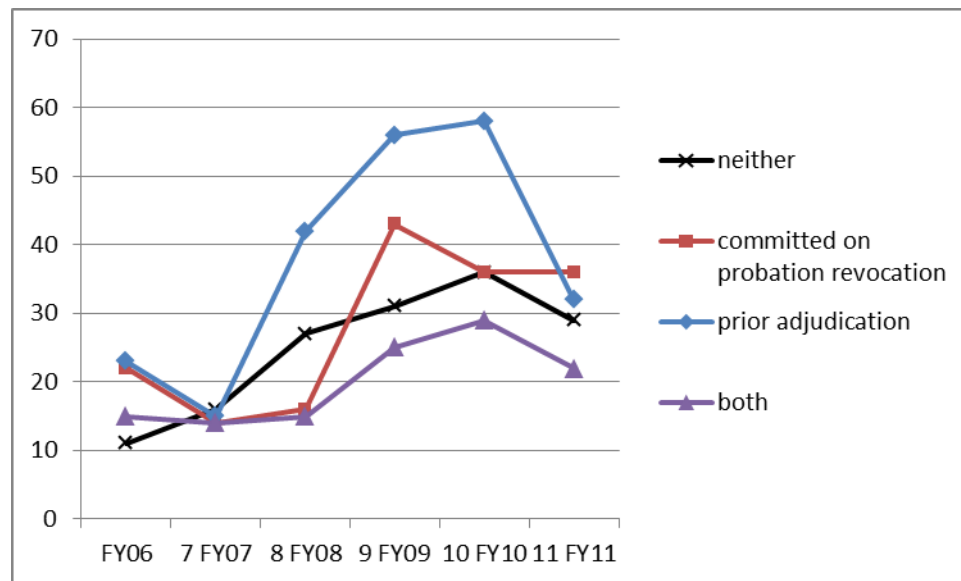
**Exhibit 13: Prior Adjudication Among Youth Committed on Misdemeanors**



Finally, **exhibit 14** examines both variables together for misdemeanants. Youth with a history of prior adjudications who were committed on the first disposition in the current case comprise the plurality of misdemeanor commitments. These youth with prior adjudications also account for the largest share of the increase in misdemeanor commitments from 2008 to 2010 and the decrease in 2011, even as the changes over time in misdemeanor commitments involve other youth as well.

Notably, the number of youth committed as the first disposition in the absence of a prior adjudication more than tripled from 2006 to 2010, and then declines somewhat; 11 were committed in 2006, 36 in 2010, and 29 in 2011. (**Appendix A** presents these in tabular form, and also shows felony commitments.) In 2006 such cases were only 4percent of all DYRS commitments, but had risen to 13percent of commitments in 2011.

#### **Exhibit 14: Court History of Youth Committed on Misdemeanors**



## **DISCUSSION**

### **Summary**

From FY 2006-07 to FY 2009-10, youth commitments to DYRS increased considerably, which was due almost completely to an increase in the number of delinquent youth committed following adjudication on misdemeanors. In 2011, youth commitments to DYRS declined, largely due to a decline in commitments on felonies. From FY 2006-7 to FY 2009-10, the number of youth committed on misdemeanors doubled from about 75 annually to about 150. These increased commitments were primarily after adjudication on violent misdemeanors, but also included those adjudicated on property and, to some degree, drug misdemeanors.

Most of this increase in youth commitments did not involve youth who were committed on probation revocations. About half had prior adjudications on other cases.

Why did the number of youth committed on misdemeanors increase? In principle, an increase in a particular disposition—here, commitment to DYRS—can result either from an increase in the volume of

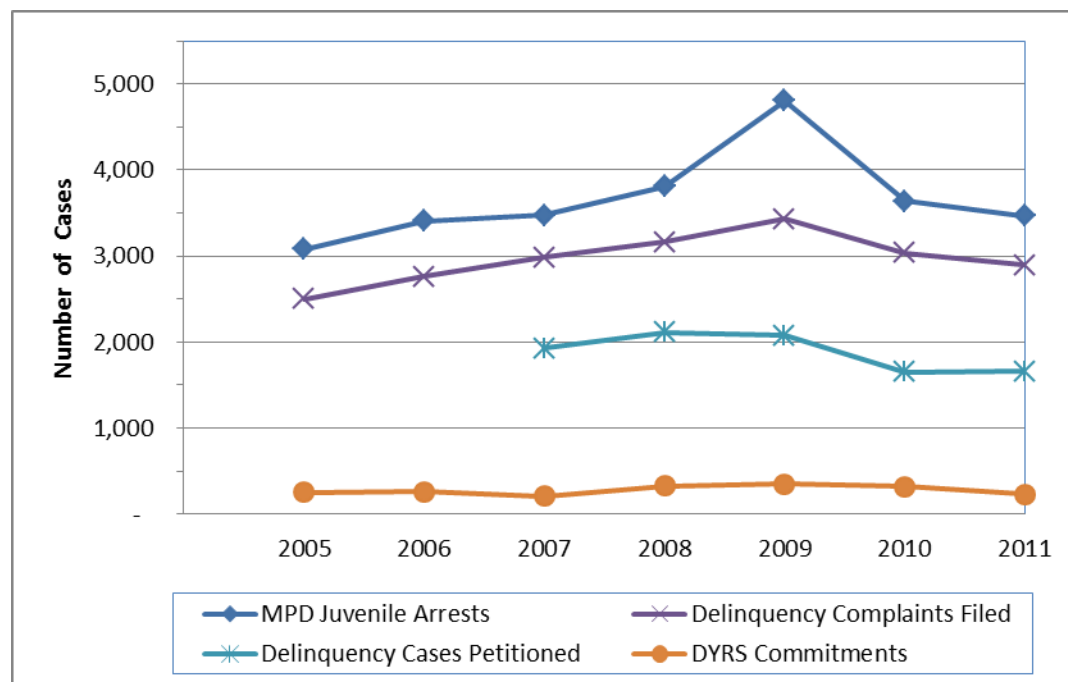
such cases coming to a decision maker (here, the judge), from changes in the criteria for decision-making, or from some combination of the two.

Publicly reported data on arrests of juveniles, and on the number of juvenile delinquency cases filed and petitioned in Family Court, indicate that the Family Court caseload of juvenile cases increased considerably during between 2005 to 2009, and has begun to decrease since (see **exhibit 15**).

This seems somewhat related to the changes in the total number of commitments to DYRS. However, since youth are committed to DYRS in only a small minority of juvenile arrests (less than one in ten) or petitions (between one in five, to one in ten), large changes in the number of commitments can result from even small changes in decision-making applied to an entire set of arrests, complaints, or petitions. Similarly, a small change in the underlying information taken into account by decision-makers could produce large changes in commitment.

It is not apparent why the increase in commitments to DYRS was concentrated so heavily on youth adjudicated on misdemeanors. Most of the misdemeanants who were committed to DYRS were not committed on revocations of probation, and only 40 to 50 percent had a history of prior adjudications. From 2006 through 2011, almost one quarter of youth committed to DYRS on misdemeanors had neither a prior adjudication, nor were being committed on a probation revocation.

**Exhibit 15: Juvenile Justice Caseload 2005-2011**



We can only speculate as to whether there were other factors known to the court that explain why youth have been committed as a first disposition on misdemeanors, sometimes with no delinquency history, or that explain the increased commitments on misdemeanors. Perhaps some youth had histories with Family Court that did not concern delinquency, such as open child welfare cases, that suggested to the court that residential placement was in the best interests of the child. Or perhaps, some community placements available to DYRS were deemed appropriate by the court for some of the misdemeanant youth, so that some commitments to DYRS were not intended to result in secure confinement. Or perhaps declines in the attractiveness of other dispositional options have at times produced increases in the number of youth committed to DYRS.

On the surface, none of these speculations seem adequate to explain the increase in the number of youth committed to DYRS on misdemeanors. To go beyond such inadequate speculation and explore these issues in greater depth will require an examination of court data.

## **Conclusions**

The increased commitment of youth adjudicated delinquent on misdemeanors raises issues that are recurring topics of discussion and controversy in juvenile justice.

One issue concerns the minimal grounds for secure placement. When is removal of a youth from the family to residential placement, and especially to a locked facility, warranted on a delinquency petition for acts that are misdemeanors? Does a history of prior adjudications make secure placement a reasonable response to a current misdemeanor? What history other than prior delinquency might justify secure placement on a misdemeanor? And, what are the alternative responses for youth who repeatedly commit criminal acts, and for whom less restrictive dispositions prove ineffective?

In the District, this issue is complicated by the two-stage decision-making process. Commitments to DYRS do not necessarily result in secure placement. It may seem that the primary reason to commit a delinquent youth to DYRS may be for secure placement. After all, community placement—including residential treatment—can be accomplished through juvenile probation via Court Social Services, and commitment to DYRS is the court's most punitive disposition for a delinquent youth. However, because over-reliance on secure placement was a major problem driving the reform effort, the resulting mandate is for DYRS to place youth in the least restrictive setting consistent with public safety.

The importance of this mandate is thrown into relief by findings that the number of youth committed to DYRS custody on misdemeanors has doubled in recent years, so that commitments on misdemeanors now outnumber commitments on felonies. Many of these youth have no prior adjudications for delinquency, nor are most being committed on a probation revocation. Why youth without adjudication histories are being committed to DYRS as initial disposition on a misdemeanor remains unclear.

Such critical questions about the operations of juvenile justice in the District can only be seriously addressed through a comprehensive study of juvenile case processing, utilizing merged data from multiple agencies, including at least the court, Court Social Services, and DYRS.

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## APPENDIX A.

**Exhibit 16: Commitments Disaggregated by Charge Severity, Probation Revocation on the Current Case, and Prior Adjudication.**

| Charge Severity |                      | Probation Revocation on Current case? |             | Prior Adjudications ? |      | FY   |      |      |      |      |      | Total |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
|                 |                      |                                       |             |                       |      | FY06 | FY07 | FY08 | FY09 | FY10 | FY11 |       |
| Misdemeanors    | 1st disposition      | N                                     | Count       | 11                    | 16   | 27   | 31   | 36   | 29   | 150  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 4%                    | 8%   | 8%   | 9%   | 11%  | 13%  | 9%   |      |       |
|                 |                      | Y                                     | Count       | 23                    | 15   | 42   | 56   | 58   | 32   | 226  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 9%                    | 7%   | 13%  | 16%  | 18%  | 14%  | 13%  |      |       |
|                 | Probation Revocation | N                                     | Count       | 22                    | 14   | 16   | 43   | 36   | 36   | 167  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 8%                    | 7%   | 5%   | 12%  | 11%  | 16%  | 10%  |      |       |
|                 |                      | Y                                     | Count       | 15                    | 14   | 15   | 25   | 29   | 22   | 120  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 6%                    | 7%   | 5%   | 7%   | 9%   | 10%  | 7%   |      |       |
| Felonies        | 1st disposition      | N                                     | Count       | 33                    | 34   | 52   | 39   | 35   | 23   | 216  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 13%                   | 16%  | 16%  | 11%  | 11%  | 10%  | 13%  |      |       |
|                 |                      | Y                                     | Count       | 81                    | 68   | 126  | 91   | 79   | 46   | 491  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 31%                   | 33%  | 38%  | 26%  | 25%  | 20%  | 29%  |      |       |
|                 | Probation Revocation | N                                     | Count       | 29                    | 20   | 24   | 39   | 26   | 26   | 164  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 11%                   | 10%  | 7%   | 11%  | 8%   | 11%  | 10%  |      |       |
|                 |                      | Y                                     | Count       | 47                    | 26   | 29   | 29   | 21   | 15   | 167  |      |       |
|                 |                      |                                       | % within FY | 18%                   | 13%  | 9%   | 8%   | 7%   | 7%   | 10%  |      |       |
| Total           | Count                |                                       |             | 261                   | 207  | 331  | 353  | 320  | 229  | 1701 |      |       |
|                 | % within FY          |                                       |             | 100%                  | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |      |       |

## District of Columbia Crime Policy Institute (DCPI)

John K. Roman, Ph.D., Executive Director

Akiva M. Liberman, Ph.D., Associate Director

Jocelyn Fontaine, Ph. D., Deputy Director

Lindsey Cramer, Policy Area Manager

DCPI is a nonpartisan, public policy research organization focused on crime and justice policy in Washington, D.C. DCPI connects a diverse team of prominent scholars and policy experts. With funding from the Justice Grants Administration (JGA) in the Executive Office of the District of Columbia Mayor (EOM), DCPI was established at the Urban Institute in 2009.

Administered by the Justice Policy Center at the Urban Institute, DCPI's mission involves three tasks: conduct analyses of the costs and benefits of justice policies and programs for the District of Columbia; create a publicly accessible research library of crime and justice research in the District of Columbia; and conduct research and evaluation projects concerning District of Columbia crime and public safety, crime prevention, and crime policy.



### **URBAN INSTITUTE**

Justice Policy Center

2100 M St NW

Washington, DC 20037

<http://www.urban.org>