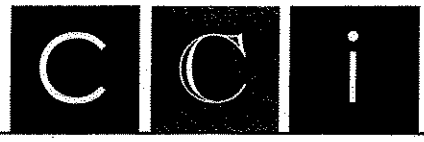
PREVENTING CRIME, SAVING CHILDREN:
MONITORING,
MENTORING,
& MINISTERING

February 1997

Second Report of

THE COUNCIL ON CRIME IN AMERICA



CENTER FOR CIVIC INNOVATION
at the Manhattan Institute

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A Program of

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The Council on Crime in America was established in November 1995 to examine violent crime, crime prevention and law enforcement. It seeks to provide rigorous, factual information on the scope of violent crime to individuals, citizen-based groups, and officials who wish to develop effective, community-based anti-crime strategies. The bipartisan council is comprised of leading experts on fighting crime at the federal, state and local levels. The views expressed in the Council's publications do not necessarily reflect the official views of the members of the Council.

The Council on Crime in America

Co-Chairs:

Griffin B. Bell, Senior Partner, King & Spalding; former Attorney General of the United States; former Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit
William J. Bennett, Co-Director, Empower America; John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow, The Heritage Foundation; former Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy; former Secretary, U.S. Department of Education

Council Members:

Lynne M. Abraham, District Attorney of Philadelphia
William P. Barr, Senior Vice President and General Counsel, GTE Corporation; former Attorney General of the United States
William Bratton, President, First Security Consulting Company; former Commissioner, New York Police Department
Robert A. Butterworth, Attorney General, State of Florida
John J. DiIulio, Jr., Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton University
John W. Gillis, Commissioner, Board of Prison Terms, State of California
Stephen Goldsmith, Mayor, City of Indianapolis
Gale A. Norton, Attorney General, State of Colorado
John P. Walters, President, The Philanthropy Roundtable; former Deputy Director for Supply Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy

The Council on Crime in America is a program of The Center for Civic Innovation at The Manhattan Institute. For further information on the Council on Crime in America, or The Center for Civic Innovation, please contact:

The Manhattan Institute
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York, New York 10017
Phone: (212) 599-7000 Fax: (212) 599-3494
e-mail: mi@manhattan-institute.org

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I. MEETING AMERICA'S CRIME PREVENTION CHALLENGE

Early on, you focus on kids, and you can make the difference...[but] it is important that it either be a program with known results or a program with promising results because good will, in my opinion, is not enough.

—Kent Alexander, U.S. Attorney,
Northern District of Georgia[1]

The Council's first report, *The State of Violent Crime in America*, was released a year ago, in January 1996. It highlighted the twin challenges of *protecting* Americans from victimization at the hands of adult and juvenile criminals, and *restraining* convicted but community-based adult and juvenile criminals so that they cannot commit additional crimes against persons or property.

But, as the Council clearly stated on page one of *The State of Violent Crime in America*, the Nation's first crime challenge is *preventing* at-risk children from becoming juveniles or adults who criminally violate the life, liberty, or property of others. That, in turn, "means focusing our attention on the earliest stages of youth development":

> As every study shows, after all is said and done, the most serious criminals are males who begin committing crimes at a very early age. Many crime-prone boys, including the most violent ones, embark on their criminal careers well before they reach puberty; few wait until they are old enough to vote or legally take a drink before committing their first serious crimes. In thinking about the root causes of crime, conservatives stress such factors as fatherlessness and extreme moral poverty, while liberals stress such factors as hopelessness and extreme economic poverty. But nearly everyone now agrees that society's best anti-crime insurance policy would be to produce children who are born to loving, responsible parents or guardians, and raised in homes, schools, and neighborhoods where their life prospects--becoming literate, graduating from high school, escaping abuse and neglect, avoiding serious criminal victimization, landing a decent job--increase rather than diminish from birth into their 20's.[2]

Over the last year, the Council has conducted research and related activities, including field hearings conducted in several big cities, featuring both local officials and community activists. These hearings and research have reinforced our concerns about youth crime, and bolstered our belief that America's crime prevention challenge--at core, a challenge of at-risk children in need of adults--must be met, and soon.

The month after our first report was released, for example, the federal government released a report of its own indicating that in 1994, there were over 2.7 million arrests of persons under age 18 (a third of them under age 15), up from about 1.7 million juvenile arrests in 1991. Some 150,000 of these 2.7 million arrests were for violent crimes. In all, juveniles were responsible for an estimated 14 percent

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[1]Council on Crime in America, transcript of field hearing, Atlanta, Georgia, March 11, 1996, pp. 30-31.

[2]*The State of Violent Crime in America* (Council on Crime in America, January 1996), p. 1.

of all violent crimes and a quarter of all property crimes known to the police. Nationally, juveniles perpetrated 137,000 more violent crimes in 1994 than in 1985, and were responsible for 26 percent of the growth in violent crime over that period, including 50 percent of the increase in robberies, 48 percent of the increase in rapes, and 35 percent of the increase in murders.[3]

According to several widely-used measures, certain categories of juvenile crime and criminal victimization have fallen over the last few years, most dramatically in New York City. As we stated in our first report, demographics (in particular, the size, geographic concentration, and rate of growth in at-risk populations of young males) play a role in determining crime rates. But demographics "do *not* even begin to explain these drops" in crime. This is especially true in the Big Apple, where the drops have occurred "even as the population of at-risk youth has been growing." Rather, behind the drops in violent crime in New York City and elsewhere we found imprisonment policies targeted against violent and repeat offenders, and the effects of outstanding police work.[4] The best empirical studies published over the last year suggest that we were right, and hold out hope for further crime reductions via community-based policing strategies that attack crime by attacking "quality of life" disorders, and via sentencing policies that keep career criminal predators behind bars.[5]

No one, however, should feel certain that recent declines in crime will necessarily continue into the next century. Practically speaking, even if crime rates continued to decline--indeed, even if rates of violence were cut in half--most Americans and their children, especially the residents of our nation's inner cities, would still face more serious and life-threatening crime and disorder than their parents and grandparents faced. Morally speaking, the picture is not much better. Even if, for example, we succeeded in depriving tomorrow's would-be juvenile felons of access to high-tech weapons and thereby averted many shootings and murders, we would still be left with the tragedy of youngsters whose social and spiritual conditions were such that they would use guns to commit crimes if they could get them.

Serious juvenile violence continues to be heavily concentrated in the urban minority neighborhoods of fewer than a dozen states. In our view, this remains a cause for heightened concern, not complacency. It means that America's most truly disadvantaged children still figure disproportionately in the statistics on murder, rape, robbery, assault, and other serious crimes.

For Americans, the great democratic people of a pluralistic society nearing the dawn of the twenty-first century, this persistent concentration of crime among the minority young of our inner cities should be simply and totally unacceptable. Morally, every American should feel troubled by it. All of us should stand ready to support changes that will save our most at-risk children.

Under no circumstances, therefore, should we ignore or trivialize our nation's present and future

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[3]*Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1996 Update on Violence* (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, February 1996), pp. 10, 12, 13, and 20.

[4]*The State*, op. cit., p. 57.

[5]On policing, for example, see George L. Kelling and Catherine M. Coles, *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities* (The Free Press, 1996); on imprisonment, see Steven D. Levitt, "The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence from Prison Over-Crowding Litigation," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 111, May 1996, pp. 319-352.

youth crime dilemmas. In the words of Chief of Police David Walchak, president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, we must continue to focus on youth violence, and to search in earnest for solutions that "run the gamut from early intervention to swift and sure punishment for chronic/violent offenders."[6]

1. More Child Neglect and Maltreatment Equals More Youth Crime and Delinquency

Professor James Alan Fox of Northeastern University, editor of the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, has repeatedly warned of an "impending youth crime wave." Dr. Fox notes that "as many as 57 percent of children in America do not have full-time parental supervision, either living with a single parent who works full-time or in a two-parent household with both parents working full-time. While some children do enjoy suitable, substitute supervision provided by friends and relatives or in day-care, far too many do not."[7]

Likewise, the country's leading authority on child abuse and neglect, Douglas S. Besharov of the American Enterprise Institute, has reported that the number of reported instances of child maltreatment more than quadrupled between 1976 and 1993, rising to nearly 3 million cases. Part of the increase is explained by the fact that "professionals and lay persons have become more likely to report apparently abusive and neglectful situations." Even so, tens of thousands of cases still go unreported each year, and child maltreatment is now the sixth leading cause of death for children under age fourteen.[8]

Sadly, as J. Tom Morgan has summarized, in 1995 homicide for children under the age of four had "reached a forty-year high. It is now the leading cause of death among this age group. . . . Most of these deaths were perpetrated by parents or caretakers. . . . It is estimated that about 22 percent of children with learning disabilities acquired their disability as a result of severe child abuse and neglect."[9]

Not surprisingly, numerous empirical studies, both statistical and ethnographic, have found that being abused or neglected as a child substantially increases the likelihood of future crime and delinquency. For example, a statistical study by the National Institute of Justice found that child maltreatment increased the probability of arrest as a juvenile by more than 50 percent, as an adult by nearly 40 percent, and for a violent crime by nearly 40 percent.[10]

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[6]Chief David Walchak, *Youth Violence in America: Recommendations from the IACP Summit,* Final Draft (International Association of Chiefs of Police, August 27, 1996), p. 3.

[7]James Alan Fox, "The Impending Crime Wave Can Be Averted," unpublished paper, Northeastern University, July 18, 1996, p. 2, and "The Calm Before the Juvenile Crime Storm?," *Population Today*, September 1996, p. 5.

[8]Douglas S. Besharov, "Child Abuse Reporting," in Irwin Garfinkel et al., eds., *Social Policies for Children* (Brookings Institution, 1996), p. 259.

[9]J. Tom Morgan, Memorandum, Metropolitan District Attorneys, May 16, 1995, summarizing data from the 1995 report of the U.S. Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect.

[10]*Cycle of Violence* (National Institute of Justice, 1992).

In a compelling ethnography of urban street criminals, Professor Mark S. Fleisher, an anthropologist and former prison official, draws this inescapable conclusion: "An abundance of scholarly research shows that anti-social and delinquent tendencies emerge early in the lives of neglected, abused, and unloved youngsters, often by age nine;" and "once these youngsters leave home and go on the street, they are at best difficult to extricate from street culture"--a "culture" defined by the twin evils of substance abuse (both alcohol and illegal drugs) and crime.[11]

2. More Caring Non-Parental Adults Equals More "Resilient Youth"

Juvenile criminals commit a frightening array of crimes, yet crime prevention studies offer real hope that it is possible to get through to young people who have not decisively embarked on a life of crime. As Professor Carolyn Smith and other analysts have found, a wealth of research "in both criminology and child development suggests that family deviance, including criminality and substance abuse of family members, affects developing children because such parents are likely to tolerate and model deviance for children."[12] But while child maltreatment is clearly associated with delinquency, crime, and other negative life outcomes for children, research also indicates that about half of even the most severely at-risk children do not fall prey to delinquency, crime, or substance abuse.

Researchers have termed these at-risk survivors "resilient youth." Among academics, there is no shortage of divergent theories about why some highly at-risk children make it to age eighteen alive, literate, sober, civil, and job-ready, while others are lost to themselves and to society. Based on both the best available data and the common sense of the subject, the Council strongly believes that the key to producing more resilient youth is to get more caring non-parental adults into the lives of the at-risk children who so desperately, and so obviously, need them.

This is hardly a new position for the Council. Although *The State of Violent Crime in America* focused on protection and restraint, its first footnote referred to a scientific evaluation of the effects of the well-known Big Brothers/Big Sisters (BB/BS) program. Most of the BB/BS children in the study were low-income children from single-parent homes, including many who had witnessed or experienced violence. As we briefly summarized it, the study found that the simple addition of a Big Brother or Big Sister to an at-risk youngster's life "cut first-time drug use by 46 percent (and reduced alcohol use as well), lowered school absenteeism by 52 percent (and improved school performance), and, perhaps best of all, reduced violent behavior (assaults) by 32 percent." We then asked rhetorically:

> Does anyone truly doubt that in at least some cases such prevention programs might succeed in diverting at least some youth away from crime, or that additional human and financial resources devoted to BB/BS or kindred programs would constitute a wise anti-crime investment?[13]

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[11]Mark S. Fleisher, *Beggars and Thieves: Lives of Urban Street Criminals* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), pp. 103-104.

[12]Carolyn Smith et al., "Resilient Youth: Identifying Factors That Prevent High-Risk Youth from Engaging in Delinquency and Drug Use," *Current Perspectives on Aging and the Life Cycle*, 1995, p. 221.

[13]*The State*, op. cit., p. 3.

The BB/BS study was done by Public/Private Ventures (P/PV), a nonprofit social policy and demonstration research organization that focuses on youth and young adults. The purpose of this second report of the Council on Crime in America, prepared with assistance from Gary Walker, president of P/PV, is to outline, illustrate, and publicize crime prevention strategies that succeed in getting caring, responsible adults into the lives of at-risk children.

Section two of this report identifies several interlocking crime prevention strategies. Sections three through five summarize the data and arguments in support of these strategies and present key examples of each. Section six concludes the report with a brief but pointed discussion of the social and moral implications of a failure to meet the challenge of crime prevention as Americans enter the next century.

II. THE 3 M's OF CRIME PREVENTION

Through the 1950s and into early 1960s, leading researchers and commentators promoted the concept of "delinquent youth." The concept referred to the least serious, low-level juvenile offenders who could (or so it was hoped) be easily rehabilitated or diverted from a criminal career. In the 1990s, several analysts, journalists, and others have promoted the concept of "juvenile super-predators." The concept refers to the most violent youthful criminals and street gangsters who cannot (or so many believe) be rehabilitated or diverted from a criminal path. Each concept has its utility as a way of referring to the extremes of the crime-prone youth population. At one extreme are the delicate delinquents, at the other extreme are the remorseless super-predators.

But just as it proved a serious mistake to think of and treat all juvenile offenders as if they were excellent candidates for quick and easy rehabilitation ("delinquents"), so it is a serious mistake to think of and treat all juvenile offenders as if they are clearly candidates for long-term incarceration ("super-predators").

Even today, the vast majority of juvenile offenders exist somewhere between these two extremes. The population of serious and violent youth criminals has grown, and, where necessary, chronic juvenile offenders must be convicted and confined. But in the apt metaphor of former New Jersey Superior Court Judge Daniel R. Coburn, most youth offenders are neither minnows nor sharks. In Coburn's view, and in ours as well, a major part of America's crime prevention challenge is to reengineer the juvenile justice system, and to reconnect it to responsible adult citizens in the communities most affected by juvenile crime, in ways that keep minnows from becoming sharks.

We focus on improving the connections between responsible adults and young people as the core element of effective crime prevention for several reasons. First, as noted earlier, evidence supports it, and supports it consistently. Although there have been numerous calls over the past several decades for a wide variety of intervention approaches to prevent youthful crime—and a few well-conducted demonstrations testing those approaches, such as the National Supported Work Demonstration, which provided employment and skills training to young people who had "brushes" with the law—no approach that does not build connections between responsible adults and young people has worked.[14]

Second, there are *in existence* models of how to improve these adult/youth connections. In the following chapters we outline several of these already working models, which only need replication and expansion to take their effectiveness to scale. Other approaches not only have little evidence of effectiveness, but for many—such as those calling for "comprehensive" or "integrated" services—there are not even solid examples of implementation.

Third, basic research on healthy human development, and common sense and personal experience, indicate that strong relationships with caring adults are the bedrock of a young person's civil behavior toward others, as well as the primary avenue for securing other services and opportunities (such as jobs) that are key to a civil and self-sufficient life.[15] Thus we do not doubt that growing up in neigh-

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[14]Robinson G. Hollister, Peter Kemper and Rebecca A. Maynard, eds., *National Supported Work Demonstration* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[15]Emmy Werner and Ruth Smith, *Overcoming the Odds: High-Risk Children from Birth to Adulthood* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

borhoods with few opportunities for healthy play and employment is a breeding ground for youthful crime; but we also conclude that improving those opportunities, *without first ensuring that there is adequate adult caring, supervision, guidance and support*, is unlikely to make much difference in youthful behavior.

In short: the human factor is the linchpin to effective youth crime prevention. We believe that a concerted and focused effort to establish the human factor in youths' lives is our country's best, and most enduring hope for reducing juvenile crime in this generation, and the generations that will follow.

In particular, there are three specific strategies that can make a significant difference: monitoring, mentoring, and ministering.

1. Monitoring

By "monitoring" we mean community-based adult supervision of juveniles who have been in trouble with the law--both formal or official monitoring by probation officers, and informal or voluntary monitoring by responsible, neighborhood-level adults.

To understand the great importance and untapped potential of improved formal and voluntary monitoring of less serious juvenile offenders, it is crucial to understand at least four basic sets of facts:

- First, there are relatively few juveniles actually in custody in the U.S. Despite the recent passage in many states of so-called get-tough laws affecting juveniles who commit crimes, nationally, between 1991 and 1993, the number of juveniles in public juvenile detention, correctional, and shelter facilities increased by only 5 percent to 60,000. There were 1,025 facilities with a median population capacity of 24 and a mean capacity of 57--clearly not the huge, 500-plus bed facilities or "reform schools" of old.[16]

- Second, it is probation authorities, not custodial institutions or prisons, that remain the "workhorses" of the juvenile justice system. In 1993, for example, 520,600 cases disposed of by juvenile courts resulted in probation--a 21 percent increase over the number of cases handled via probation in 1989. Probation is still the *most* severe sanction received by juveniles in over half of adjudicated delinquency cases. In 1993, the number of juvenile cases placed on formal probation rose by 17 percent to nearly 255,000--4.25 times the number of juveniles in public facilities on any given day.[17]

- Third, these probation officers are handling increasingly serious offenses. Between 1989 and 1993, the number of juvenile probation cases involving a "person offense" such as homicide, rape, robbery, assault, or kidnapping soared by 45 percent to nearly 54,000. One survey found

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[16] *Juveniles in Public Facilities 1993* (Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention, May 1995), p. 1, and *Juveniles in Public Facilities 1991* (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, September 1993), p. 1.

[17] *Juvenile Probation: Workhorse of the Juvenile Justice System* (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, March 1996).

that urban juvenile probation caseloads were 34 percent higher than the street-level probation officers themselves thought were optimal.[18]

- Fourth, the more time probation officers must devote to monitoring the near-sharks, the less time they can devote to monitoring the still-minnows. Thus, delinquent youth and low-level juvenile felons who arguably might benefit the most from being closely monitored, held accountable, and taught a lesson, get less attention and oversight than they need.

The Council believes that local juvenile probation authorities, especially those in urban areas, need to be given more financial resources, better pre- and in-service training, and smaller caseloads. We also believe that more justice system authorities with authority over juvenile offenders should attempt to involve responsible adult volunteers in the administration of juvenile justice, cultivate stronger community ties, and capitalize on the invaluable but largely untapped neighborhood resource of citizens who care.

There are many worthwhile and creative monitoring programs. In a field hearing held by the Council last year in Philadelphia, we learned of the city's Youth Aid Panel (YAP) program, an innovative, decade-old, community-rooted juvenile monitoring program that we believe captures the best of what is happening in the field today. The YAP program should be studied and experimented with by other jurisdictions, urban, suburban, and rural. Section three of this report profiles YAP.

2. Mentoring

If there is one thing that we have learned both from listening to the leaders of programs like YAP and from reviewing the relevant research literatures on youth development, it is that, while monitoring is enough to divert some at-risk children from crime and set them on the right path, it is not nearly enough to save others.

Many at-risk children, especially those who do not have many adults in their lives, or have already been truants, committed petty thefts, or had other non-violent run-ins with their peers, neighbors, and the law, need more than a dedicated probation officer or a caring adult volunteer looking over their shoulder. They need a responsible non-parental adult in their lives on a deeper, more intensive level, helping them with their personal problems, offering them a sympathetic ear, and lending them a guiding hand. They need more than monitoring; they need mentoring.

The term "mentor" is derived from the Greek tale of Mentor, the friend of Odysseus who was entrusted with the education of Odysseus' son Telemachus. Today, we use the term as a synonym for a trusted and trustworthy non-parental counselor, guide, tutor, or coach.

Big Brothers/Big Sisters (BB/BS) of America is the most well-known--and the most extensively evaluated--mentoring program in America. But it is not the only one: literally hundreds of mentoring programs have been initiated over the past decade, and currently there are in several major urban areas local initiatives to expand mentoring to a significant scale over the next few years.[19] Thus mentoring not

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[18]Ibid.

[19]Marc Freedman, *The Kindness of Strangers: Reflections on the Mentoring Movement* (Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures, 1991).

only has been shown to be effective, but also has the widespread appeal necessary for a social intervention to become broadly implemented.

Section four of this report offers a summary of Public/Private Ventures' research on mentoring over the past decade, highlighting what works and what doesn't.

3. Ministering

In relation to the nation's most severely at-risk children, even the most successful monitoring and mentoring programs are bound to bump up against at least three basic limitations:

- First, both monitoring and mentoring programs presuppose precisely what many juveniles who are highly dysfunctional, incorrigible, or have already committed serious or violent crimes lack, namely, at least one parent or other in-home adult who is ready, willing, and able to link the child, and to keep him or her linked, to whatever appropriate monitoring and mentoring programs may be available. For example, as we shall see, even the model YAP monitoring program presupposes a legally empowered in-home adult who signs the necessary paperwork, shows up with the child at hearings held at the local police precinct, and takes some pains to work with their son's or daughter's community monitors, probation officers, and social service providers. Likewise, the BB/BS mentoring program requires that there be at least one parent or other legally empowered in-home adult to seek an "active match" for their son or daughter, and to participate cooperatively to help sustain the mentoring relationship.

- Second, even the best monitoring and mentoring programs are not, by their very nature, intensive enough to help youth already in serious trouble. BB/BS mentors, for example, spend on average 3.5 hours a week, three weeks a month, for a year, with their youth. Although that is a significant commitment of adult time—equaling about three 40 hour work weeks out of a year!—it is still much too sporadic to address the needs and crises of our most troubled youth.

  Monitoring and mentoring programs support and nurture on an occasional basis, but they do not shoulder responsibility for the child's everyday needs for adult involvement and guidance.

- Third, the single most consistent and powerful finding in the evaluation literature on youth development interventions is that positive effects accrue while at-risk children are in the programs, and sometimes for a few years thereafter--but diminish and often dwindle to nothing by the time the child reaches adulthood. Thus, a preschool program like Head Start works wonders for many low-income children while they are in it, and yields some non-trivial educational benefits for some years thereafter. Over time, however, Head Start children are no more likely to avoid serious life problems ranging from crime and substance abuse to joblessness than are otherwise comparable children who did not participate in Head Start.

  Likewise, at-risk teenagers who participate in well-structured summer education and training programs are helped while they are in the programs, but are no less likely to suffer many types of serious problems in the future than are otherwise comparable teenagers who did not participate in any such summer programs. It would be fanciful at best, and socially irresponsible at worst, to pretend that even the finest monitoring and mentoring programs could succeed over the long haul where so many other programs for at-risk youth have had limited success or simply failed.

To prevent crime and save some of our nation's most severely at-risk children, therefore, we must go beyond monitoring and mentoring to ministering. By "ministering" we mean mobilizing and empowering caring adults to assume responsibility for the well being of the worst-off children of their own neighborhoods.

The religious connotation is intentional, not incidental. In the words of Boston's Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, III, in many blighted inner-city neighborhoods, churches are literally the only community-rooted institutions still standing. It falls to churches to "anchor real, sustainable, and effective community-level efforts aimed at getting responsible, with-it adults to minister to the needs of our own poorly parented, abused, neglected, arrested, homeless, illiterate, uncivil, drug addicted, disorderly, and dangerous children." It falls to churches to "give even would-be juvenile super-predators a chance to become whole, productive members of society by living in a community where adults whom they know, for real, discipline and love them even if the world hates them, and even if they hate themselves." Ministering programs are "full faith and service" programs in which non-parental adults come together to "live a total commitment to the neighborhood's severely at-risk children all day, every day."

III. MONITORING: PHILADELPHIA'S YOUTH AID PANEL (YAP)

Michael J. Cleary is an Assistant District Attorney in the City of Philadelphia. Cleary is a lifelong Philadelphian, but he is not a career prosecutor. Instead, for most of his professional career, he was a juvenile probation officer. For years, he worked some of the city's toughest streets, and monitored some of the town's most violent juveniles.

Then, in the mid-1980s, Mike Cleary noticed something that more and more juvenile probation officers who deal with urban America's heaviest and most challenging caseloads have since come to acknowledge, namely, that the "worst" juvenile probation cases get the most attention, the "easiest" cases get little or none. At one level, that makes sense. After all, public safety concerns dictate that the most dangerous community-based youth offenders get monitored more closely than the least threatening ones. On another level, however, the system is backwards. For as Cleary and almost every other veteran big-city juvenile probation official knows, today's "least threatening" case is often tomorrow's most threatening one. This is true at least in part because of the institutionalized failure to monitor the minnows, hold them accountable, and divert the most easily diverted youth offenders from further criminal mischief.

Cleary, however, did not just complain or wait for retirement. Instead, together with other city officials, he helped to pioneer a city-wide alternative to formal juvenile probation or incarceration, one that relies on a small army of caring adult volunteers from the very neighborhoods in which the arrested juveniles got into trouble in the first place. Begun in the late 1980s, today the program, known as the Youth Aid Panel (YAP), handles about 800 cases each year. Under Pennsylvania's toughened juvenile penal laws, for many of these juveniles, the only alternative to seeing Cleary is seeing the inside of a cell, and having a permanent criminal record.

What Cleary and his colleagues have done, however, is to create a no-nonsense, community-based program that gives certain categories of youth offenders a second (and often a final) chance. Doing this has required an extraordinary effort. It has required a relaxation of conventional criminal justice turf considerations (in most places, juvenile probation and district attorneys don't mix much). And it has required a slow, careful, phased-in, precinct-by-precinct process of attracting, training, staffing, and managing teams of adult volunteers.

Early data suggests that the vast majority of juveniles who participate in YAP--perhaps as high as 80 percent--never commit a serious crime or see the inside of a prison. YAP is a model community-oriented juvenile monitoring program worth emulating and testing widely. What follows in this section is a brief description of YAP's operations, record, and promise.

1. YAP's Operations

In the YAP program, a first-time non-felony offender arrested in Philadelphia may avoid criminal prosecution and the risk of a criminal record by appearing before a panel of citizens to answer for his or her crimes and accepting the punishments meted out by the panel. The goals of the YAP are two-fold: to unclog the city's courts by diverting these cases away from the courts, and to reduce recidivism, especially the recidivism among youthful offenders that may lead to chronic criminality in the absence of some intervention.

At least one YAP sits in each of the City's police districts. Each comprises about ten adult residents of the district who have volunteered to spend two evenings per month, at least two hours per evening, hearing two cases per session. These adults have been trained by the Assistant District Attorneys in charge of the YAPs and by staff of Good Shepherd Neighborhood House, a church-based mediation and crisis resolution program. The panel meets at the district Police Department headquarters. One panelist serves for a time as the chair, another as the secretary. A police liaison officer works with each panel.

Each day, the Assistant DA in charge of the YAP program reviews the case of every juvenile offender arrested in the city the previous day to determine if the case and the youth are appropriate for YAP disposition. In order to qualify, the youth must have committed his first misdemeanor offense[20]; must admit his guilt; must be able to appear with a parent or other connected, supervising adult; and must be enrolled in school. The Assistant DA consults with a Probation Officer, a School District representative and a Police Department representative before deciding to make the YAP offer to the offender.

An offender who has agreed to be diverted from Family Court appears before the YAP in the Police District of his residence, accompanied by his parent or other adult. Victims are encouraged to attend and many do. Lawyers may attend, but they are not permitted to participate, as the proceedings are non-adversarial and non-evidentiary. Panel members review the charges, then interview the offender, and they may interview his parents, the victims or others as they see fit. After a brief private discussion, the panelists inform the offender of his punishment, which typically includes a combination of community service, restitution, curfew, essay-writing, counseling, letters of apology, a research project, or other tasks. The terms of the punishment are written up in contract form and signed by the offender and a monitor selected from among the panelists. The offender has three months to complete the contract, during which time the assigned panelist monitors his progress. If he completes the contract, the file is closed and the record cleared. If he does not, or if during the process he recants his guilty plea, he returns to Family Court for adjudication.

2. YAP's Record

The Assistant District Attorneys who run the YAP program in Philadelphia make inspiring claims about its record. Among them:

- Fully 90% of offenders who are offered the YAP opportunity take it, and most of those complete their contracts.

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[20]Until recently, felony arrests were not considered for YAP disposition. In a recent departure from that practice, the DA has begun to include low-level felonies (no drug- or gun-related crimes, for instance) among those cases sent to YAPS. By the start of 1997, an estimated 40 percent of YAP juveniles had been arrested for felonies.

- The YAPs work because the adult volunteers live in the offender's neighborhood; know the neighborhood norms and standards; know also who commits crime in the area and where; and can act as the community's eyes and ears. So the YAP is true "community policing."

- Most of those who complete do not get arrested again in Philadelphia. The overall recidivism rate among all offenders who have appeared before YAPs since 1987 is about 20%, far lower than the recidivism rate among young people who are adjudicated in a traditional, court setting for first-time offenses.

- The YAP program costs significantly less than traditional Family Court proceedings because it relies entirely on volunteers.

- Young people who complete their contracts are discharged from the program without ceremony or congratulation. The YAPs, say the Assistant DAs in charge, provide "monitoring, not mentoring," and maintaining that distinction is essential to the success of the program.

- The program attracts intense loyalty from panelists. Some have served since the program's inception and about 40 have served for four or more years. The ADA's concede, though, that the program does not attract many black male volunteers, a distinct problem in the many districts where offenders are almost all young black men.

- The DA's Office has consulted with more than 40 other localities about undertaking a YAP-like effort, but few have gone forward. The most prominent reason is that other jurisdictions cannot count on the kind of backing that the DA's Office in Philadelphia gives to the YAPs, and which is essential to their success.

3. YAP's Promise

Only more rigorous evaluation will show the actual effectiveness of YAP or YAP-like monitoring programs. To some extent, however, the promise of YAP as a community-oriented juvenile justice program has already been realized. At a recent YAP training session conducted in a West Philadelphia neighborhood police precinct, Assistant DA Cleary stood before a crowd of fifty or so new YAP volunteers. A member of the Council was present. After the intensive session, one of the long-time YAP chairmen who had assisted Cleary confided to the Council member, "You know, those stats on recidivism are real, and so is the money and heartache YAP saves. But the good this program does for our neighborhood's children, and for we ourselves, is even more real." Kudos to Cleary and company.

IV. MENTORING: BIG BROTHERS AND BIG SISTERS (BB/BS) OF AMERICA

For decades, analysts and advocates have asserted that mentoring programs could succeed in addressing the needs and problems of at-risk youth. But as even the most passionate boosters of mentoring had to concede, there was in fact no firm evidence that mentoring programs produced such positive results. There was even less understanding of the key features of successful mentoring efforts. Then, in 1995, Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) published scientifically reliable findings, based on a three year control group study, that the mentoring done by Big Brothers/Big Sisters (BB/BS) positively affects at-risk youngsters.

1. The Findings

P/PV conducted its comparative study on 10- to 16-year-olds who applied to BB/BS programs in eight cities during 1992 and 1993. Half of these youth were randomly assigned to a treatment group, for which BB/BS mentoring matches were made or attempted; the other half were assigned to BB/BS waiting lists.

Table 1 summarizes key characteristics of the sample youth. These youngsters were between 10 and 16 years old (with 93% between 10 and 14) when they became eligible for the BB/BS program. Just over 60 percent were boys, and more than half were minority group members (of those, about 70 percent were African American). Almost all lived with one parent (the mother, in most cases). The rest lived with a guardian or relatives. The vast majority were from low-income households, and a significant share—about a third—came from households with a prior history of either family violence or substance abuse.

Once youth were found eligible for the program, baseline interviews were conducted, and then youth were randomly assigned either to the treatment group, who were immediately eligible to be matched with adult volunteers, or to the control group, who remained on a waiting list for 18 months--a not-uncommon waiting period among BB/BS applicants. Both groups were re-interviewed 18 months later.

Table 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BIG BROTHERS/BIG SISTERS STUDY SAMPLE

Race/Gender	**Percentage**
Minority Girls	22.7
White Girls	14.9
Minority Boys	34.1
White Boys	28.3
Age At Baseline	
10	10.4
11	24.4
12	23.9
13	20.7
14	14.1
15	5.4
16	1.2
Household Characteristics	
Living with One Parent or Stepparent	90.2
Living in Households Receiving Public Assistance	43.3
Living in Households with Income Below $25,000	82.7
Living in Households with History of Substance Abuse	40.3
Living in Households with History of Domestic Violence	28.3

Note: The number of sample youth (treatments and controls) is 959.

The results were positive—and in several instances startlingly so. Table 2 summarizes the findings; the most notable are:

- Little Brothers and Little Sisters were 46 percent less likely than controls to initiate drug use during the 18 month study period. In practical terms, this means that for every 100 youths in this age group who start to use drugs, only 54 similar youths who have a Big Brother or Big Sister will start using drugs. An even stronger effect was found for minority Little Brothers and Little Sisters, who were *70 percent less likely to initiate drug use* than other similar minority youth.

  Given the national focus on drug use among adolescents, this finding alone would merit intensive efforts by the private and public sectors both to increase mentoring, and to integrate it wherever possible into youth-serving programs and institutions.

- Little Brothers and Little Sisters were 27 percent less likely than controls to initiate alcohol use during the study period; minority Little Sisters were only about one-half as likely to initiate alcohol use.

- Little Brothers and Little Sisters were almost one-third less likely than controls to hit someone.

- Little Brothers and Little Sisters skipped half as many days of school as did control youth, felt more competent about doing schoolwork, skipped one-third fewer classes and showed modest gains in their grade point averages—all in an 18 month period. These gains were strongest among Little Sisters, particularly minority Little Sisters.

- The quality of relationships with parents was better for Little Brothers and Little Sisters than for controls at the end of the study period; lying to parents was about one-third less among youth who had Big Brothers or Sisters. This effect was strongest for white Little Brothers.

Table 2

HOW YOUTH BENEFIT FROM BIG BROTHERS/BIG SISTERS RELATIVE TO SIMILAR NON-PROGRAM YOUTH 18 MONTHS AFTER APPLYING

OUTCOME	CHANGE
Antisocial Activities	
Initiating Drug Use	-45.8%
Initiating Alcohol Use	-27.4%
Number of Times Hit Someone	-31.7%
Academic Outcomes	
Grades	3.0%
Scholastic Competence	4.3%
Skipped Class	-36.7%
Skipped Day of School	-52.2%
Family Relationships	
Summary Measure of Quality of the Relationship	2.1%
Trust	2.7%
Lying to Parent	-36.6%
Peer Relationships	
Emotional Support	2.3%

Note: All impacts in this table are statistically significant at a minimum of a 90 percent level of confidence.

P/PV did not find statistically significant improvements in self-concept, nor in the number of social and cultural activities in which Little Brothers and Little Sisters participated. In short, it was the *relationship* that mattered.

The most encouraging aspect of these findings from the perspective of cost, replicability and scale is the lack of focus of the BB/BS program on the specific outcomes that were achieved. Big Brothers and Big Sisters are instructed to gain the trust of and become friends with the youth with whom they are matched. These volunteers are not trained in drug prevention, remedial tutoring, antiviolence counseling or family therapy. And yet, by becoming a friend and providing support to these youth, these mentors positively influenced young lives in many ways.

2. Effective Practice

The Council in this report emphasizes the importance of mentoring not only because it has proven results but also because the research to date has also revealed vital operational information about how to practice effective mentoring.

The research indicates that the key to creating effective mentoring relationships lies in the development of trust between two strangers of different ages. The research also suggests that the initial approach of the mentor largely determines whether such trust develops. Mentors who understand that trust-building is a gradual process, and who focus their attention on becoming a friend to their youth, find that the types of support and guidance they can offer, and that will be accepted, broaden considerably over time.[21] These "effective" mentors were likely to involve youth in decisions about what to do; were consistent and dependable in their calls and visits, even when, as was often the case initially, the youth was unresponsive; and paid great attention to their youths' need for "fun," rather than focus quickly on problems or issues in the youths' lives.

Less effective mentors, on the other hand, tended to:

- Attempt to transform or reform the youth by setting goals and tasks early on, and adopting an authoritative role in their interactions with youth.

- Emphasize changes in behavior more than the development of mutual trust and respect in the relationship.

- Have difficulty meeting with youth on a regular and consistent basis, often demanding that youth play an equal role in initiating contact.

In P/PV's study of BB/BS relationships, nearly 70 percent of the relationships where the mentor attempted to establish authority rather than trust ended within nine months. In contrast, for matches whose volunteers adopted the effective approaches described previously, only nine percent ended within nine months.

3. Program Structure

One of the strongest conclusions reached in P/PV's research is the importance of providing mentors with support in their efforts to build trust and develop positive relationships with youth.[22] Most volunteers and youths cannot be simply matched and then left to their own devices; programs need to provide some infrastructure that fosters and supports the development of the effective mentoring practices noted above.

Three areas appear to be vitally important to the success of any mentoring program: screening; orientation and training; and support and supervision.

The screening process provides programs with an opportunity to select those adults who are most likely to be successful as mentors; that is, individuals who already understand that a mentor's primary

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[21]Kristine V. Morrow and Melanie B. Styles, *Building Relationships With Youth in Program Settings: A Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters* (Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures, May 1995).

[22]Joseph P. Tierney and Jean Baldwin Grossman, with Nancy L. Resch, *Making a Difference: An Impact Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters* (Philadelphia, Pa: Public/Private Ventures, November 1995).

role is to develop a friendship with these youth, and who are able to make and keep the regular commitments to be together that are the practical foundation of good mentoring.

Orientation and pre-match training provide important opportunities to ensure that mentors have the information and discussions about effective practices that they need, and to help mentors develop realistic expectations of what they can accomplish. Ongoing supervision and support of matches by staff is critical for ensuring that pairs meet regularly over a substantial period of time, and to assist mentors in the frustrations and unfamiliar situations that often arise in their relationships with the youth.

4. The Challenges Ahead

Of the three types of prevention initiatives the Council on Crime in America calls for in this report, mentoring for at-risk adolescents has the most substantial evidence behind it in terms of effectiveness and good practice. Thus it should be the easiest for both the public and private sectors to get behind and expand to its full potential for effectiveness.

Given the scientific evidence and common sense to support the notion that supportive and guiding relationships with caring adults are the cornerstone of preventing youthful crimes and criminal careers, we also recommend that substantial efforts—similar to that of the BB/BS study—be undertaken to test the utility and content of mentoring for older adolescents, and to explore how best to integrate mentoring and/or its practices into public youth-serving institutions such as schools and juvenile detention centers. It may be that mentoring's usefulness can be expanded well beyond the limits of the current evidence.

The challenge of growing up safely and successfully will not be permanently resolved for most youth—especially those growing up in the most disadvantageous conditions—by any single social intervention. It will most likely take a succession of effective interventions—some, hopefully, carried out in school, at work or at home—to accomplish that task. However, when we do find an intervention that plays an important and effective role in youths' development; that has important implications for many if not all of our existing youth-serving institutions; that is operationally feasible under varying conditions; and that has an appeal that crosses political, social and economic lines—we should mine its possibilities to the limit. That is our obligation to our children.

V. MINISTERING: CHURCHMEN SAVING CHILDREN

(T)he most successful programs that we have that are part of our network of service providers are those providers that are religious-based, that are part of some faith group...they provide a level of commitment and service that you just don't see in regular, everyday, run-of-the-mill non-profit organizations.

—John Street, President,
Philadelphia City Council.[23]

A decade ago, Reverend Eugene Rivers, III left his studies at Harvard University to establish a youth outreach ministry in inner-city Boston. At an earlier moment of his life, Rivers, now age 47, was himself a member of a Philadelphia street gang. He was not naive, therefore, about the ways of the streets, nor was he bashful about confronting local drug dealers. Twice they shot into his house, endangering (and in one case nearly wounding) his wife and children. But he and his family stayed, joined by a dedicated cadre of young black co-religionists and others.

Rivers did more than confront drug dealers. He got them to listen to him, and he listened to them in turn. Indeed, the ten-point plan that he devised for "saving our children" and "mobilizing churches to combat youth violence and despair among minority youngsters," was shaped in part by his conversations with one of the neighborhood's most notorious drug merchants. At the end of a long and complicated discussion of why so many of the community's children had fallen prey to drugs and crime and violence, the drug dealer cast a cold eye on Rivers and his fellow ministers and declared plainly, "I'm there, you're not." That revelation, combined with an incident in which Boston street gangsters brought violence to the inside of a local church during the funeral of a murdered child, galvanized Rivers and company into an even greater concentration of street-level effort dedicated, in Rivers's words, "to resurrect the civil society of inner-city America and save our children."

Reverend Rivers's summary of the ten-point plan appears below. As analysts and journalists who have seen the operation up close are quick to observe, the bald summary hardly captures the all-out, help-every-child, round-the-clock, "fall asleep in their clothes" character of what Reverend Rivers and his team actually do, and gives only a vague idea of how what they may have already accomplished goes beyond what even the most ambitious monitoring and mentoring programs could ever achieve. Below we reprint part of nationally-syndicated columnist George F. Will's reflections on the work of Reverend Rivers, and Rivers's mentor, Pastor Benjamin Smith of Philadelphia.[24]

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[23]Council on Crime in America, transcript of field hearing, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1996, p. 60.

[24]George Will, "Restoring A Sense of the Sacred," *Washington Post*, September 5, 1996, p. A23.

Reverend Eugene F. Rivers III

A 10 Point Plan to Mobilize the Churches

1. Establish 4-5 church cluster-collaborations which sponsor "Adopt-a-Gang" programs to organize and evangelize youth in gangs. Inner-city churches would serve as drop-in centers providing sanctuary for troubled youth.

2. Commission missionaries to serve as advocates and ombudsmen for black and Latino juveniles in the courts. Such missionaries would work closely with probation officers, law enforcement officials, and youth streetworkers to assist at-risk youth and their families. They would also convene summit meetings between school superintendents, principals of public middle and high schools, and black and Latino pastors to develop partnerships that will focus on the youth most at-risk. We propose to do pastoral work with the most violent and troubled young people and their families. In our judgement this is a rational alternative to ill-conceived proposals to substitute incarceration for education.

3. Commission youth evangelists to do street-level one-on-one evangelism with youth involved in drug trafficking. These evangelists would also work to prepare these youth for participation in the economic life of the nation. Such work might include preparation for college, the development of legal revenue-generating enterprises, and acquisition of trade skills and union membership.

4. Establish accountable, community-based economic development projects that go beyond "market and state" visions of revenue generation. Such an economic development initiative will include community land trusts, microenterprise projects, worker cooperatives, and democratically run community development corporations.

5. Establish links between suburban and downtown churches and front-line ministries to provide spiritual, human resource, and material support.

6. Initiate and support neighborhood crime-watch programs within local church neighborhoods. If, for example, 200 churches covered the four corners surrounding their sites, 800 blocks would be safer.

7. Establish working relationships between local churches and community-based health centers to provide pastoral counseling for families during times of crisis. We also propose the initiation of drug abuse prevention programs and abstinence-oriented educational programs focusing on the prevention of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases.

8. Convene a working summit meeting for Christian black and Latino men and women in order to discuss the development of Christian brotherhoods and sisterhoods that would provide rational alternatives to violent gang life. Such groups would also be charged with fostering responsibility to family and protecting houses of worship.

9. Establish rape crisis drop-in centers and services for battered women in churches. Counseling programs must be established for abusive men, particularly teenagers and young adults.

10. Develop an aggressive black and Latino curriculum, with an additional focus on the struggles of women and poor people. Such a curriculum could be taught in churches as a means of helping our youth understand that the God of history has been and remains active in the lives of all people.

Pastor Benjamin Smith Battling Youth Violence and Despair

The Washington Post, September 5, 1996, p. A23.

There used to be a ballpark here, at the corner of Lehigh Avenue and 22nd Street. It was an agreeable little bandbox called Shibe Park and then called Connie Mack Stadium, and in it the Athletics and Phillies set records for futility.

In time the Athletics left town, and the Phillies left the neighborhood for a new stadium. A few years ago, the Rev. Ben Smith, who is now 82, tore down the old one. Relying on prayer and an alarming amount of borrowing, he built the Deliverance Evangelistic Church complex. The church itself seats 5,000, which is more than the Phillies and Athletics often attracted to the old ballpark. And there is no more futility at the corner of Lehigh and 22nd, where Smith's achievements are remarkable, if unremarked.

When God gave Smith a barrel chest and a big voice, He must have had a minister in mind. On a recent Tuesday morning, Smith's place was rocking with the joyous noise of worshipers and the bustle of staff attending to the 32 classrooms and an even larger number of different departments—adult literacy, youth literacy, prison fellowship, one-on-one attention to drug addicts and much more—of this good-works conglomerate.

Churches from Georgia to Michigan, with combined memberships of 84,000 and rising, have been spun off from Deliverance, which is one of the three largest churches on the East Coast....

In a menacing neighborhood, Deliverance is an oasis of...well, a large sign in the basketball gym says, "Absolutely No Slam Dunking." Deliverance aims to deliver order based on absolutes in an age of chaos arising from relativism....

The data are hardly counterintuitive. Just as the density of liquor outlets in a neighborhood correlates with negative phenomena, the density of churches correlates with positive ones. Indeed, individuals who may not themselves go to church but who live on a block where people go to church are less likely to commit crimes or wind up on welfare....

A familiar, facile question is, "Can the nation save the inner-city African American community?" That question may be backward. There are 65,000 black churches with 23 million adherents, most of them in inner cities....

[O]ne of America's best kept secrets is that "Ben Smith exists." Another is that African American churches may be saving more than their communities souls. By preaching—and demonstrating—that the solutions of most social problems begin with spiritual rather than material betterment, they may be saving the nation's soul as well.

Reverend Rivers and Pastor Smith have a kindred spirit in Dr. William Howard, Jr., president of New York Theological Seminary (NYTS). NYTS, says Dr. Howard, is *not* the place to go if one wants to become a suburban preacher with a middle- or upper-class congregation. Instead, NYTS provides theology training for people whose communities are in crisis, teaching them to become, in Howard's words, "agents for community empowerment and community transformation."

Over 2,000 NYTS-graduated community change agents are at work today in the New York metropolitan region. One of them is Reverend Hillary Gaston (M. Div. '86), a former Baltimore police officer who went on to serve as the pastor of Parkchester Baptist Church in the Bronx. A brief summary of his story, and a glimpse into Dr. Howard's inspiring philosophy as captured by Ingrid Sturgis of *Emerge* magazine, appear below.[25]

In conjunction with the Partnership for Research on Religion and At-Risk Youth (PRRAY), directed by Council on Crime member Professor John DiIulio and based at Public/Private Ventures in Philadelphia, the Manhattan Institute, the Brookings Institution, a number of major research universities, several major foundations, and other national organizations have begun to coordinate their efforts around the need to support and strengthen the street-level, children-saving, and community-building work of churchmen like Reverend Rivers, Pastor Smith, and Reverend Gaston, and to help institutions like NYTS fulfill their vital mission.

[25]Ingrid Sturgis, "Living the Gospel," *Emergence*, February 1995, pp. 57-59.

Reverend Hillary Gaston

A "Latch-Key" Ministry in the Bronx

"As a Baltimore police officer for 10 years, I saw what happened to kids on the street," says Rev. Hillary Gaston, pastor of Parchester Baptist Church in the Bronx, N.Y. He is explaining why he started his "Latch-key Ministry," an after-school program that provides help with homework, a nutritious meal and recreation for three dozen children every weekday afternoon.

Gaston estimates that three-quarters of the children, who range in age from 5 to 12, would be unsupervised without the program. Parents, most of whom are single mothers, donate whatever they wish toward the cost, with most contributing about $5 a week. Because Gaston has inspired an outpouring of volunteer help and donations, this amount pays for the program.

Besides the Latch-key Ministry, Gaston also has a counseling Ministry. Three clinical social workers in his congregation volunteer their time three evenings a week to counsel recovering drug addicts and alcoholics, many of whom are teenagers. He explains that when he came to the church just three years ago, he set out to offer services not provided by other community organizations.

Since Gaston's arrival, the church has grown from fewer than 100 members to about 350, and the Sunday school has grown from fewer than 40 children to more than 100. He says, however, the church provides services to those in need without respect to church membership. "I learned at NYTS that as a church we must be nurturing not only of our own family but of the wider community," he says.

Excerpted from *Bringing the City to Light*, NYTS.

Dr. William Howard, Jr.

A Special Kind of Ministry Training

Heeding Jeremiah, the New York Theological Seminary (NYTS) has placed this scripture at the core of its mission and its curriculum. This Protestant, interdenominational, multi-ethnic seminary on a bustling side street in Manhattan specializes in training the working clergy from inner-city churches in and around New York.

"We look to provide the theology for people whose communities are in economic and social crises—with the high unemployment, drugs, violence, poor housing. We teach them to be agents for community empowerment and community transformation," explains the Rev. M. William Howard, Jr., who was installed in 1992 as the seminary's first African-American president.

One of the most ethnically diverse seminaries in the city, the NYTS student population is predominantly minority—40 percent are African-American, 20 percent Korean and other Asian-Americans, 25 percent Hispanic and 15 percent White.

In addition to certificate programs for lay preachers and ordained ministers, master's and doctoral degree programs, the seminary offers a 42-credit master's degree of professional studies to long-term inmates at the Sing Sing Correctional Facility at Ossining, NY. They graduate to serve as assistant chaplains or counselors within the penitentiary....

Under Howard's direction, the seminary raised an unprecedented $1 million last year, earned accreditation for its doctoral degree programs and graduated its largest class—161 students. In addition, the school has its largest enrollment with 509 students in its 1994-95 school year and became modernized by establishing an in-house computer system.

Today, the New York Theological Seminary is still looking to further its mission by offering a place for graduates to retool their skills, a way for lay preachers to sharpen their talents and a way to bring communities together.

"If the Black church is to play a role, it will need clergy who have the skills to rise to the occasion, lay leaders skilled in counseling, making referrals, computer technology. We can provide that kind of training," Howard says.

"I see this being central to our mission in the future. My mission is to demonstrate that the church as a community-based organization can be a major player in the liberation and advancement of the people who live around it. The seminary is the meeting point for people who are playing those roles."

Excerpted from Ingrid Sturgis, "Living the Gospel," *Emerge*, February 1995.

VI. A FOURTH M OF CRIME PREVENTION--MORALITY, NOT MONEY

(T)he consequences of crime absolutely can't be measured—can't be measured in dollars and cents.

—Edward G. Rendell, Mayor
City of Philadelphia[26]

In the Council's first report, we cited a fine National Institute of Justice study by Professor Mark Cohen of Vanderbilt University. Professor Cohen, an economist, and other analysts had carefully estimated that the lifetime costs to victims and society of the violent crimes committed in America each year is over $400 billion.[27] As Cohen has reported in another careful study, there is a socially positive and empirically demonstrable monetary value to saving a high-risk youth.[28]

But we wish to conclude by expressing our shared belief that the duty to meet America's crime prevention challenge, and to promote monitoring, mentoring, and ministering strategies targeted on at-risk youth, can never be reduced simply to a matter of dollars and cents.

In our view, the fourth M of crime prevention is not money, but morality. This is true on at least two distinct levels.

First, our willingness to spend money, time, and effort on the problem should not be conditioned simply or solely by monetary, or, for that matter, any unalloyed considerations of enlightened social self-interest. We should invest more money, both public and private, in combating the problem. But our willingness to do so should express not only a desire to protect ourselves from crime and disorder, or a calculation that we cannot "wall ourselves off" from the dilemma--for, in fact, many citizens can, and quite literally have. Rather, it should rest on a sense of moral obligation to the at-risk children who we call our fellow citizens.

Second, investing more money will not make much positive difference unless more adults are willing to volunteer, to walk among troubled inner-city youth, and to help propel the monitoring, mentoring, and ministering initiatives that can spell the difference between life and death for so many of America's young.

Hours, not just dollars, and hands on, not just hand outs, are what is most desperately needed--and what civic morality demands of all of us, busy and bothered by our own individual life dramas though we surely are.

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[26]Council on Crime in America, transcript of field hearing, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1996, pp. 22.

[27]Ted R. Miller, Mark Cohen, and others, *Crime in the United States: Victim Costs and Consequences* (Final Report to the National Institute of Justice, May 1995), p. 1.

[28]Mark Cohen, "The Monetary Value of Having a High-Risk Youth," unpublished paper, Vanderbilt University, November 1995.

The work of crime prevention and saving at-risk children is God's work, meaning that, in this world and in this blessed nation, it must be truly our own work, too.

> *But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare.*
>
> Jeremiah 29:7

NOTES