

MEMORANDUM

To: Alder Matt Phair
Alder Maurice Cheeks
Mike May, City Attorney
From: Heather Allen, Legislative Analyst
Jenna Roberg, Common Council Policy Intern
Date: May 17, 2016
RE: Youth Gun Violence Reduction Strategies

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

You asked whether Madison could do more to prevent and address gun violence committed by young people. You also asked whether gun violence is on the rise in the City of Madison among young people. The short answer to the first question is yes, there are several models from other communities that Madison could employ to enhance both prevention and response to youth gun violence.

The second question does not have a short answer. Arrest data indicate there has been some increase in arrests involving guns among young people between 2000 and 2015 in the City of Madison. Additionally there is evidence of an increased number of stolen firearms and assaults with guns for all age groups between 1998 and 2015. Incidents of reckless endangerment and felons in possession of a gun have increased during that same time period. On the other hand during the same time period the data show a decrease in homicide with guns in the City of Madison. Armed robbery with a gun is by far the most frequent event of all the gun crime data reviewed for this report, though the number of armed robberies has remained relatively constant from 1998 - 2015. Together the data show that several gun crimes have been increasing in the City of Madison over the last 15+ years.

Gun violence has a detrimental impact on individuals, families, neighborhoods and communities. National statistics show that young people are often victims of gun violence and black male teens are more likely to be killed by a gun than any other cause. Therefore the goal of this paper is to offer a list of recommendations ranging from simple to complex investments the City may employ to prevent and address youth gun violence.

The first section of this memo examines recent trends in gun violence among young people in Madison as well as citywide trends for all age groups. The second part of this memo provides recommended actions to reduce youth gun violence. The recommended actions include a section detailing the highest rated evidence-based family and individual intervention models to prevent and reduce gun violence. The appendix of this paper includes sections exploring the causes and consequences of youth violence as well as the costs to individuals, families and communities.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	1
YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE IN MADISON	3
Gun Violence Among All Age Groups in the City of Madison	6
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	12
Madison Peace Project: a proposed Madison program	13
Youth Employment Expansion	14
Youth Mentoring Programs.....	15
Communities Against Violence.....	17
Partnerships with Dane County & Criminal Justice Work Group Recommendations.....	18
Investigating Direct Interventions to Reduce Youth Gun Violence.....	20
Restoration Center Model.....	20
Family and Youth Interventions	22
Functional Family Therapy.....	23
Multi-systemic Therapy	24
Parent Management Training.....	24
CONCLUSION	25
APPENDIX: REASEARCH ON YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE.....	27
The Complex Causes of Youth Violence and the Need for a Comprehensive Response	27
The Costs of Violence	30

YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE IN MADISON

Recent incidents of gun violence in the City of Madison have raised concerns about community safety. In the spring of 2015 over 35 reports of gunfire were recorded in less than two months¹ and a shooting at East Towne Mall at the height of the holiday shopping season frightened residents later that same year.² In April and May of 2016, three people were killed with firearms in a series of related homicides.³ These events contribute to a perception that gun violence is on the rise in the City of Madison; especially among young people. These high profile events raise concerns about an increase in gun violence.

In an evaluation of records provided by the Madison Police Department of young people arrested for incidents involving a firearm, we find that annual arrests have increased between 2000-2015. The increase is partially explained by population growth of the City of Madison over the same period; approximately 15%. The remainder of the increase may be explained through intensified policing, an increase in gun violence, or other factors.

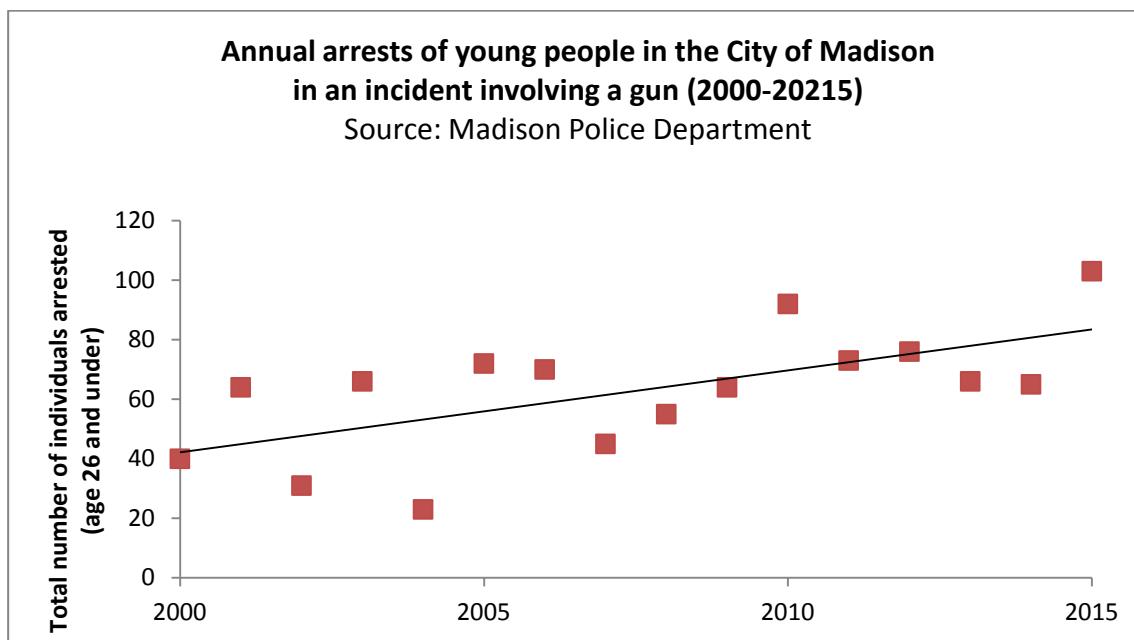


Figure 1. Total arrests of individuals age 26 and under in the City of Madison from 2000-2015. The trend line indicates there has been some growth in arrests over time. Source: Madison Police Department.

¹ Savidge, Nico. Gunfire across Madison has police, residents concerned. Madison.com

http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/crime_and_courts/gunfire-across-madison-has-police-residents-concerned/article_e298790f-981f-5fb1-a0c2-eea02e78c96c.html

² Finn, Amanda, Adams, Barry. Shoppers Panic as 19-year-old shot during dispute among teens inside East Towne Mall. Wisconsin State Journal December 20, 2015. http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/crime-and-courts/shoppers-panic-as-year-old-shot-during-dispute-among/article_e739a252-b79b-535b-afc0-1de3d61f04ff.html

³ Rivedal, Karen and Novak, Bill. With 3 linked homicides, retaliatory crime spree raises threat to new level. Wisconsin State Journal May 13, 2015. http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/crime-and-courts/three-homicides-are-linked-madison-police-say/article_93eefe59-74d9-5a2d-8a4d-86a8ded1bb2d.html

Total arrests involving a gun by age (2000-2015)

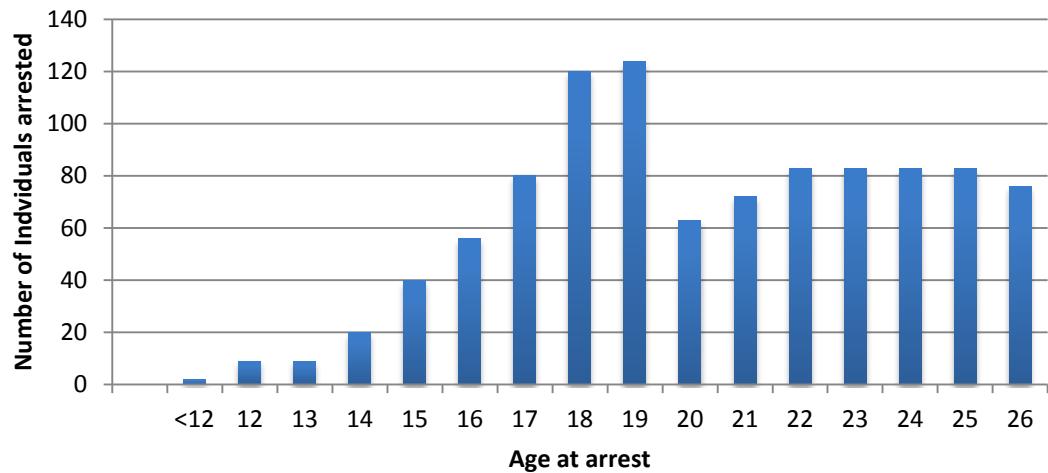


Figure 2. Between 2000-2015 young people arrested for incidents involving a gun were frequently eighteen years and older. Source: Madison Police Department.

Percentage of arrests involving a gun ages 26 and younger by race (2000-2015)

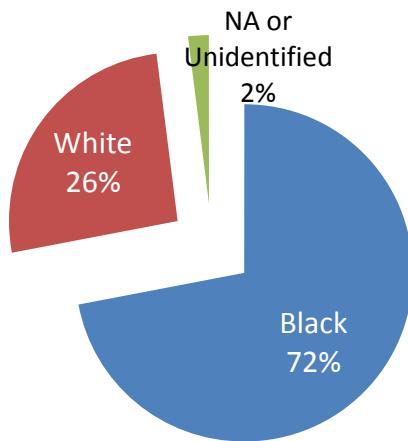


Figure 3. Arrests of individuals ages 26 and under for incidents involving a gun were predominately people of color. Source: Madison Police Department.

Given the racial composition of the young people arrested for incidents involving firearms in the City of Madison, special concern must be paid to the racial impacts of any and all efforts to reduce gun violence among youth. Further evidence of the disparities in race in the criminal justice system is found in incarceration of young people. In Dane County, 771 youth were referred to

juvenile justice services in 2014. Of those 771 individuals, 225 were placed in secure custody with 80% of those placed identifying as non-white.⁴

Finally, the map below illustrates the home address of arrests of young people. These young people were arrested at major retailers, shopping malls and the metro transfer stations. The following map may evoke recent mapping efforts which explored income, poverty, segregation and education levels and other opportunity measures. As we consider recommendations to reduce gun violence among young people it will be important to reflect on the correlations with other socio-economic influences.

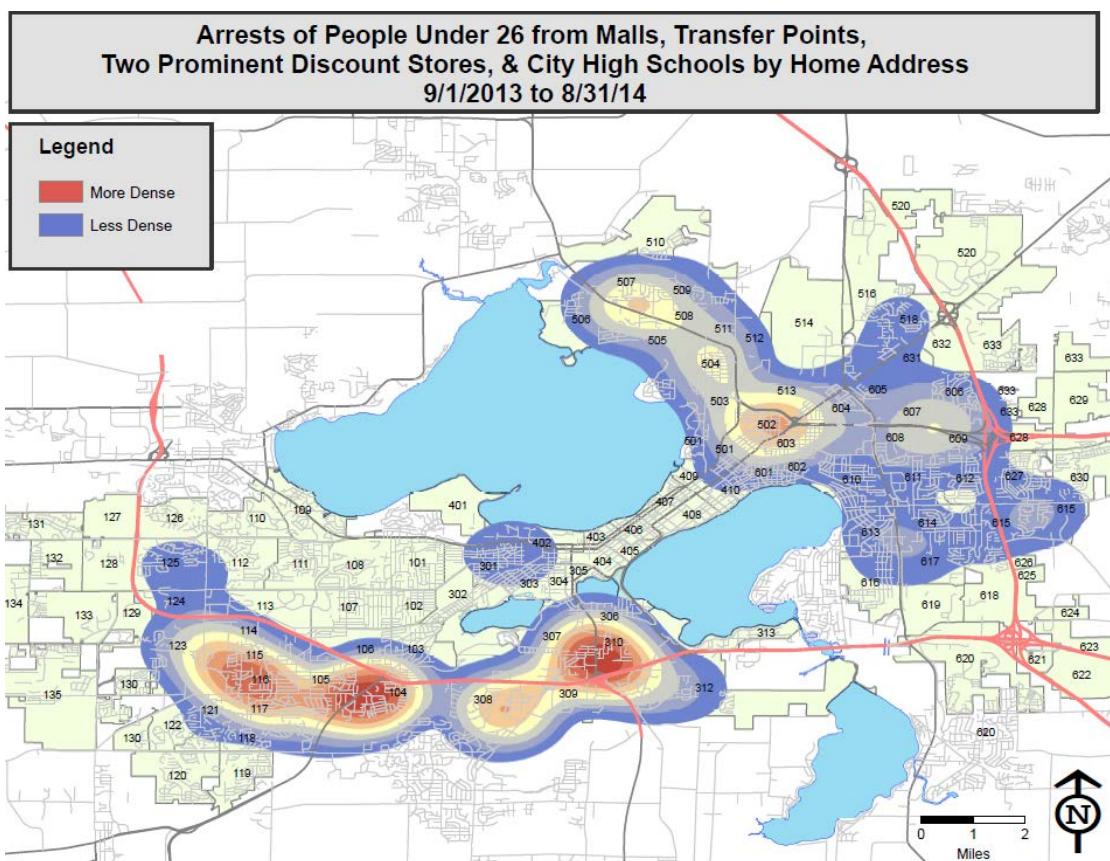


Figure 4. The map illustrates the home addresses of young people arrested at major retail and transportation hubs.

⁴ Source: Dane County Jail Officials.

Gun Violence Among All Age Groups in the City of Madison

When examining gun crime by type of incident multiple trends emerge. Incidents of armed robbery with firearms and stolen firearms have both grown significantly between 1998 and 2015.

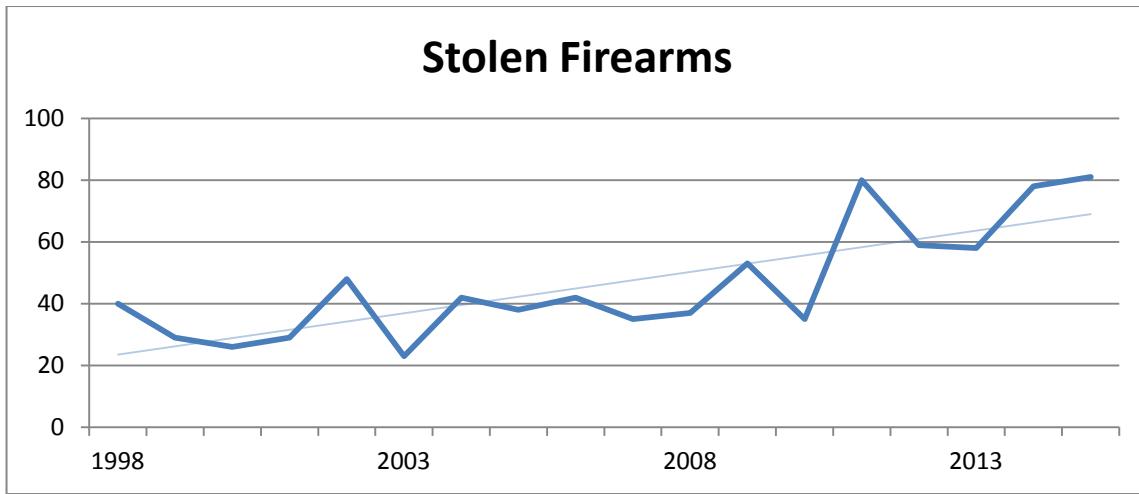


Figure 5. Stolen firearms have increased significantly ($R^2 = 0.6062$) between 1998 and 2015. In 2015 there were 81 reports of stolen firearms, double the amount in 1998.

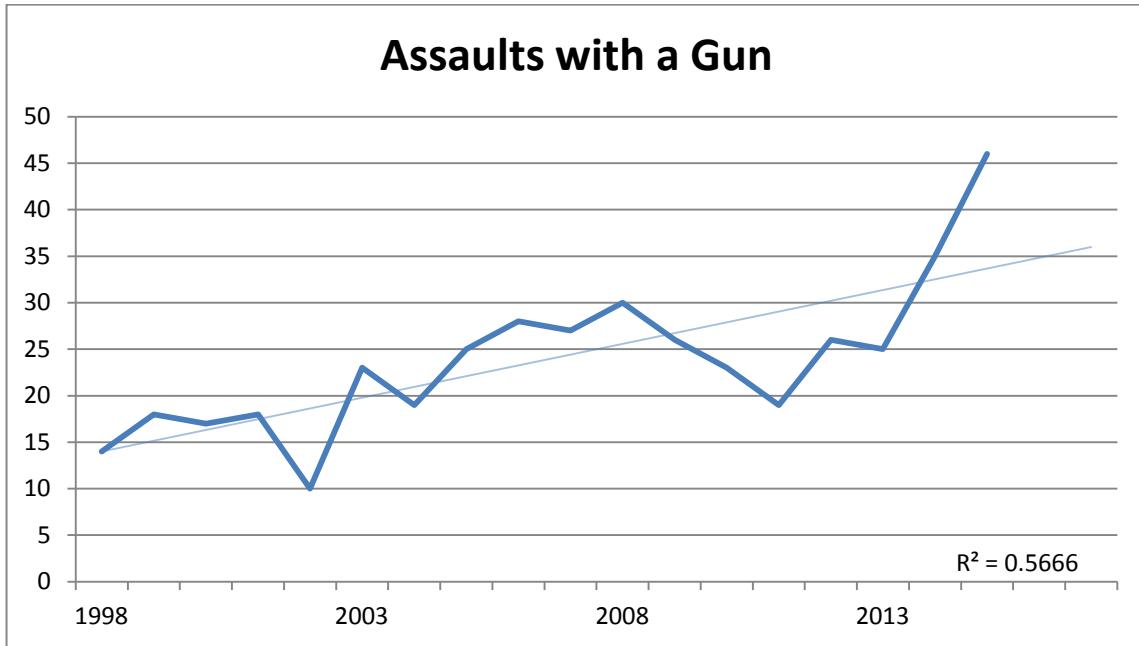


Figure 6. Assaults with a gun increased significantly ($R^2 = 0.5666$) in the City of Madison between 1998 and 2015. There were 46 assaults with a gun in 2015 compared to 14 assaults with a gun in 1998, representing a threefold increase.

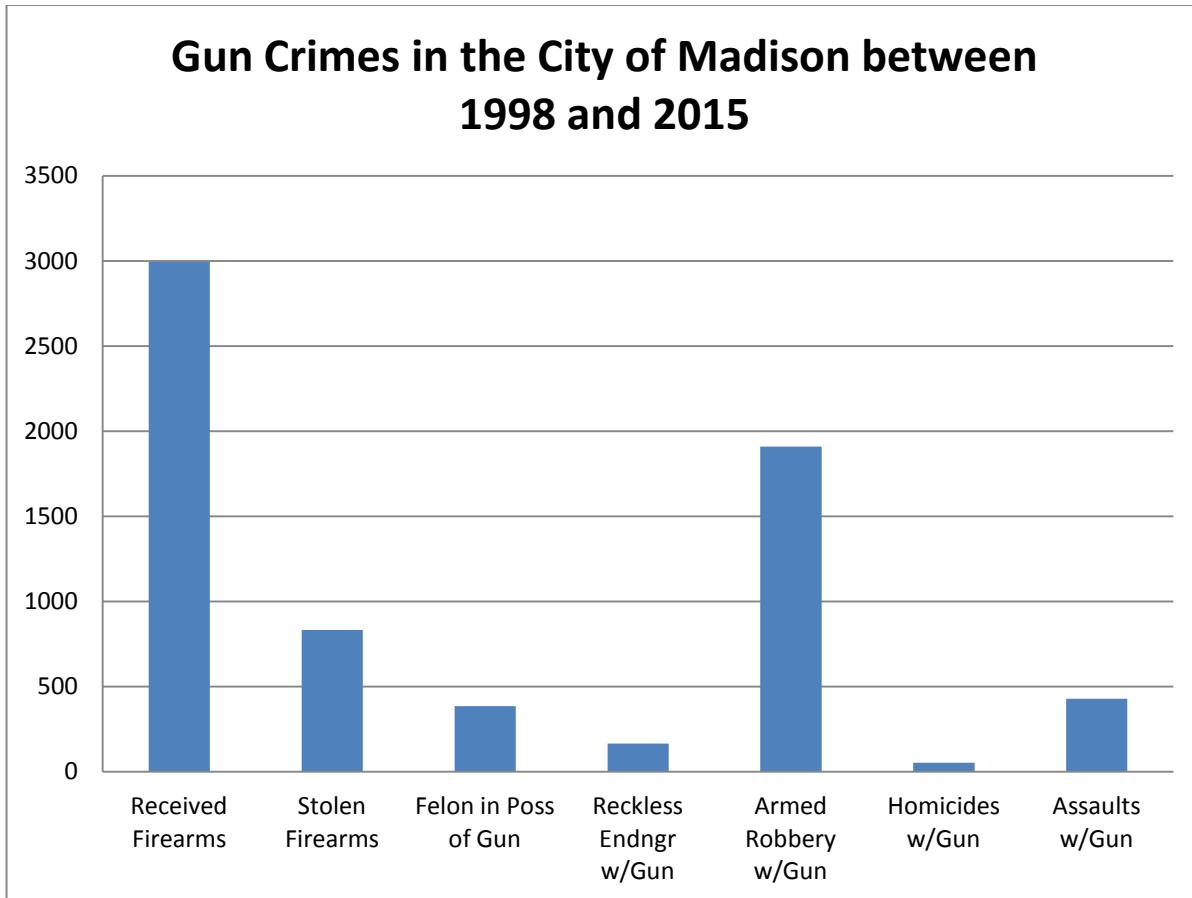


Figure 7. The City of Madison Police Department data show that between 1998 and 2015 the most frequent gun crime is armed robbery. The table below provides the data. Home invasions are not included in the chart because the data was not collected prior to 2008.

	Received Firearms	Stolen Firearms	Felon in Possession	Reckless Endangerment	Armed Robbery w/Gun	Home Invasions w/Gun	Homicides w/Gun	Assaults w/Gun
1998	149	40	9	9	86	-	6	14
1999	177	29	18	6	85	-	5	18
2000	103	26	13	5	104	-	3	17
2001	121	29	16	10	107	-	3	18
2002	170	48	12	4	75	-	1	10
2003	150	23	16	9	115	-	7	23
2004	123	42	20	9	89	-	1	19
2005	132	38	28	5	144	-	4	25
2006	123	42	24	13	141	-	1	28
2007	135	35	21	5	119	-	3	27
2008	150	37	21	5	155	15	3	30
2009	145	53	22	6	132	5	1	26
2010	148	35	21	8	136	37	2	23
2011	224	80	14	9	83	26	3	19
2012	235	59	18	14	74	21	1	26
2013	264	58	21	10	88	34	2	25
2014	227	78	27	21	105	27	3	35
2015	218	81	37	18	72	17	4	46
Total	2994	833	358	166	1910	182	53	429

TABLE 1. City of Madison Police Department records for crimes involving firearms from 1998 - 2015. This data does not include suicide with guns.

Table 1 provides selected gun crime data for all ages in the City of Madison between the years of 1998 – 2015. This table does provide information for 2016. This table does not include some data sets such as records of gunfire or data pertaining to suicide. Analysis of gunfire or shots fired is challenging.

According to MPD crime analyst Dan Hauer, the lack of a shots fired record does not mean the incident did not occur. It just means that when the officer was dispatched, they could not find any evidence that it did occur, or any injured person or property. MPD is trying to identify solutions to provide accurate shots fired data.⁵

⁵ Madison Police Department Crime Analyst, Dan Hauer personal communication May 16, 2016.
May 17, 2016

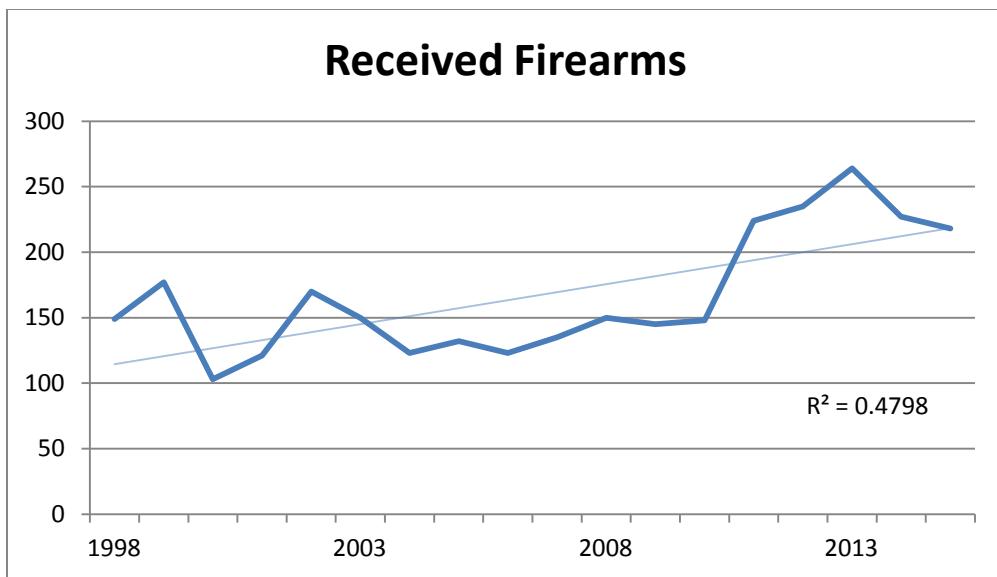


Figure 8. City of Madison received firearms between 1998-2015. The number of firearms received increased over time. Source: Madison Police Department The number of received firearms has increased since 1998. According to the Madison Police Department received firearms include guns considered evidence, found property, recovered, held for safekeeping, or seized. Over 200 weapons were received in 2015, up from 149 in 1998.

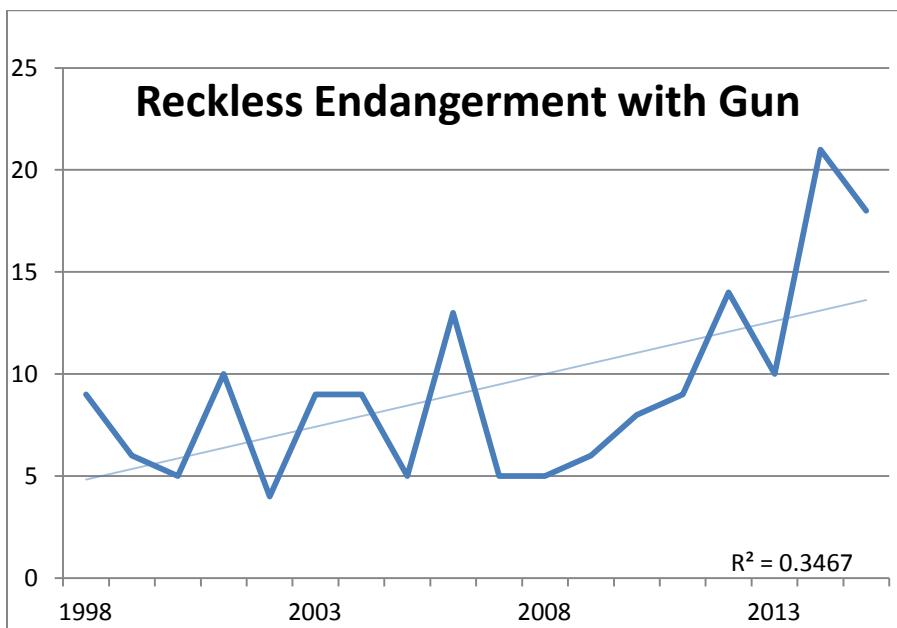


Figure 9. Incidents of reckless endangerment with a gun increased between 1998 and 2013 in the City of Madison. Source Madison Police Department The number of incidents of reckless endangerment with a gun increased from 9 to 18 between 1998 and 2015.

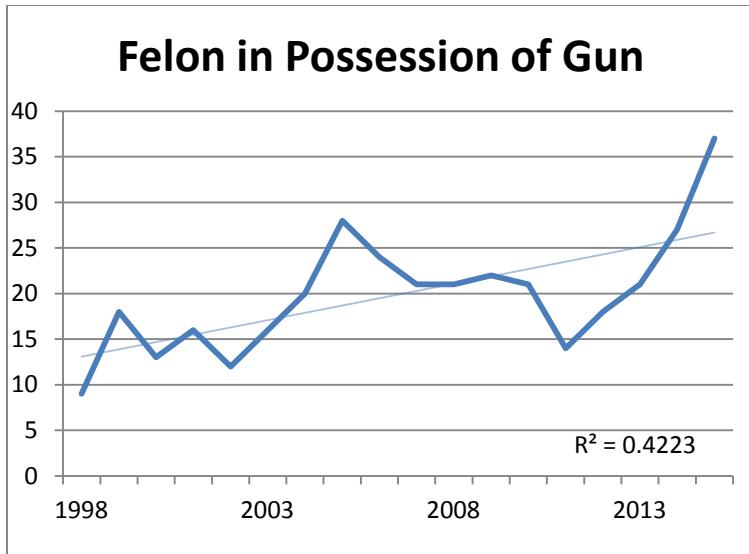


Figure 10. Felons found to be in possession of a gun increased between 1998 and 2015. Source: Madison Police Department Felons found to be in possession of a gun increased from 9 to 37 between the years of 1998 and 2015, representing a fourfold increase.

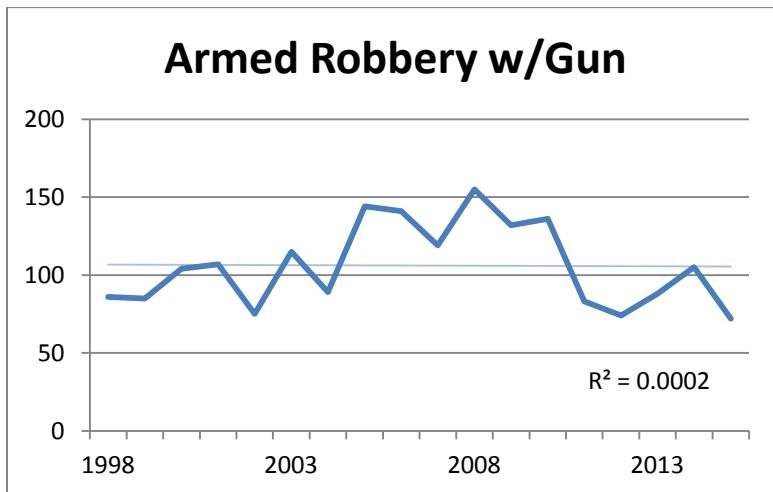


Figure 11. Armed robbery with a gun in the City of Madison between the years 1998 and 2015 ranged from 72 to 155 occurrences annually between the years of 1998 and 2015. Source: City of Madison Police Department Armed robbery with a gun is the most consistently frequent gun crime, with 72 to 155 occurrences annually between the years of 1998-2015. The incidence of armed robbery peaked in 2008, but 2015 had the fewest occurrences of armed robbery.

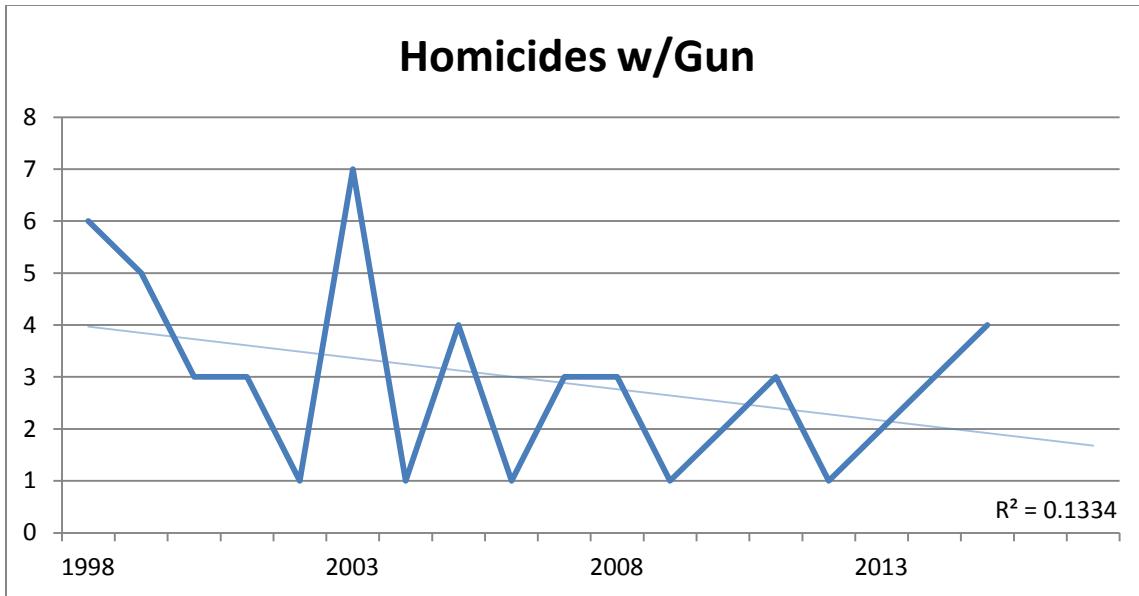


Figure 12. Homicides in the City of Madison ranged from seven to one between 1998 and 2015. Source: Madison Police Department

Between 1998 and 2015 at least one homicide with a gun and up to seven such crimes have occurred annually. Because of such a small number of occurrences it is difficult to discern any trends in the homicide with gun data for the City of Madison. This chart does not include homicides committed in 2016. As of this writing three homicides with guns have occurred in 2016.⁶

Several trends for various gun crimes in the City of Madison between the years of 1998 and 2015 have been increasing, though the degree of change is different for each category. In addition, evidence shows that there have been an increasing number of arrests of young people in the City of Madison between 2000 and 2015 for incidents involving guns. These statistics demonstrate a need for increased efforts to prevent and address gun violence in the City of Madison.

⁶ MPD, Dan Hauter, Personal Communication May 17, 2016.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The City of Madison and its partners have numerous long-standing programs intended to reduce gun violence especially among young people. In recent years, as a result of the national Black Lives Matter movement, the Race to Equity Report, local efforts of community members, law enforcement, and elected officials there are a suite of initiatives, programs and task forces charged with addressing racial disparities in the criminal justice system and improving police and community relations.

It is not the intent of this paper to provide a comprehensive review of those laudable efforts. Rather the tools and approaches listed in this paper are intended to complement many of those efforts and build on the work, sometimes decades of work, already conducted by community members. Moreover, these recommendations are intended to focus on gun violence reduction among young people with a spotlight on the need for a comprehensive prevention approach as well as robust reentry services.

The recommended actions detailed in this section of the paper have varying levels of cost and complexity. Figure 5 is a schematic that demonstrates the expense and difficulty level of the recommendations. Each project is identified by a short acronym for clarity. The following pages detail each recommendation fully and provide specific next steps. The first five recommendations (MPP, CAV, YMP, YEE and CJWG) are relatively low cost and simple to implement. These first five recommendations include broad based preventative strategies to reduce violence in communities and to address racial disparities in criminal justice, employment and increase opportunities and support young people. These types of strategies help to build a supportive community less vulnerable to violence.

The last four recommendations (RCM, PMT, FFT and MST) are higher cost direct interventions to reach families and individuals affected by violence. These interventions involve therapy, training, and direct services to families. All four of these interventions will require further investigation and exploration to determine which approaches might be appropriate for the Madison community.

Tools and Approaches to Address Youth Gun Violence

Low cost and easy to implement

MPP – Madison Peace Project
 CAV – Communities Against Violence
 CJWG – Criminal Justice Work Groups
 YEE – Youth Employment Expansion
 YMP – Youth Mentoring Programs

Higher cost direct interventions

MST – Multisystemic Therapy
 FFT – Functional Family Therapy
 RCM – Restoration Center Model
 PMT – Parent Management Training

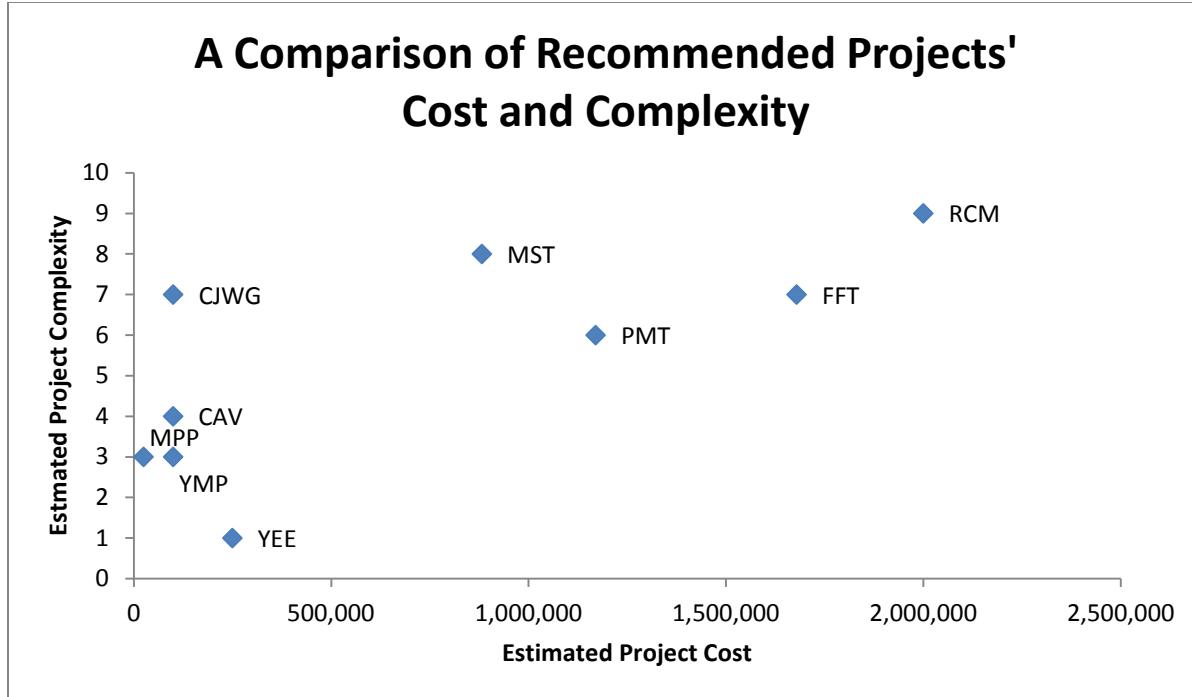


Figure 13. Rough estimates of project cost and project complexity are displayed in this schematic chart. The chart illustrates that some projects such as the Madison Peace Project and Youth Employment Expansion are relatively low cost and easy to implement.

Madison Peace Project: a proposed Madison program

The Madison Peace Project is a proposed program intended to raise awareness of youth gun violence, engage the young people most affected by gun violence in developing solutions and develop leadership skills and confidence in students. The Madison Peace Project would invite young people ages 8-18 to develop ideas to reduce youth gun violence and other youth crime and to submit those proposals to the City of Madison.⁷ City officials would review each proposal for cost, impact, feasibility, innovation and more. The winning proposals would be implemented by the city and the young people whose proposals are selected would be rewarded with high visibility prizes. This program proposal is based on the Milwaukee Peace Project first implemented in 2015 by Milwaukee City Council President Mike Murphy and his staff.⁸

The Madison Peace Project objectives are based on a prevention model to reduce youth gun violence. The three objectives of the Peace Project are to 1) raise awareness of youth gun violence, 2) engage young people and challenge them to find solutions, and 3) provide a new opportunity for leadership skills development among the students most affected by gun violence.

⁷ Milwaukee sought entries from young people in neighborhoods affected by violence (as mapped by the Milwaukee Police Department) and students in schools most affected by violence. Madison could use similar data to determine which young people would be eligible to submit proposals.

⁸ MKE Peace Project. City of Milwaukee Common Council. Final Report October 2015. More information at <\\fps4\data4\Fndocs\ATTY\CCL>

Evidence shows that when communities are asked what they need and are provided the resources to implement the solution, the results exceed the direct benefit of the program or infrastructure. The community and individuals benefit from increased civic engagement and cooperation. The young people afforded an opportunity to explore solutions and benefit from their proposals will build confidence, and increase commitment to improving the community. Additionally, if the young people receive highly visible accolades they may inspire friends and family to become more involved in similar efforts. And finally the Peace Project will raise awareness across the city of youth gun violence, building a shared vision of a peaceful, safe and healthy community and enabling local officials and community partners to focus more resources on combating youth gun violence.

As noted earlier, the Madison Peace Project is based on the Milwaukee Peace Project. The 2015 winners of the Milwaukee Peace Project proposed the following ideas:

- 1) Increase afterschool activities for youth and parent engagement;
- 2) Clean up litter and abandoned homes through youth led volunteer clean-ups;
- 3) Establish a home visitation program through a partnership of local non-profits to meet urgent needs of residents of high-crime neighborhoods;
- 4) Promote trust building with youth and police by promoting police volunteering at youth activities.

Selected MKE Peace Project winners have had their projects funded in 2016 and the other projects will be considered for funding in future budget cycles. Milwaukee will implement the community garden idea in the summer of 2016. While the details are not yet finalized, but the plan is to have summer youth interns place flowerbeds on the front yard of private properties within a targeted area. "The goal is to have youth themselves work on this project within a small focus area, bringing a sense of beautification and unification to a neighborhood."⁹

Recommendation:

The City of Madison could develop and implement a Madison Peace Project based on the Milwaukee model with a significant investment of Council staff time, or staff time supported by other departments. The Madison Peace Project should leverage partnerships and primarily serve as a cost-effective awareness building activity.

Youth Employment Expansion

A job is an important step in completing the transition to adulthood, a milestone towards independence and self-reliance. In addition, youth employment serves as one approach in addressing racial and economic disparities, juvenile delinquency and neighborhood violence. Youth employment also has a positive impact on the community. A recent study examined One Summer Plus, a summer-jobs program open to students in high-violence Chicago public high schools. Participants were 16 -17 years old, with a C average, and had missed an average 29 days of school. In this randomized controlled trial, assignment to a summer jobs program reduced arrests for violent crime by 43% amongst program participants over 16 months. The decline

⁹ Personal Communication. Sarah Zarate, Office of the Common Council President, Milwaukee, WI.
3/7/2016.

occurred largely after the 8-week intervention. The results suggest the promise of using low-cost, well-targeted programs to generate meaningful behavioral change.

The City of Madison is seeking proposals from qualified entities to recruit, train, hire or place, and support a total of approximately 100 additional City of Madison residents ages 14-18 in summer, school year or year round employment or paid internships. This expansion is focused on youth who face barriers to employment and higher education due to economic or racial inequity, with a preference to youth involved in the juvenile justice system or restorative justice programs. The City of Madison's 2016 adopted operating budget allocates at least \$200,000 for this Youth Employment Expansion.¹⁰

Recommendation:

The Youth Employment Expansion is a praiseworthy endeavor, designed to support young people and reduce their likelihood to engage in violence or become a victim of violence. The City of Madison should explore opportunities to track the impact of the Youth Employment Expansion program, especially as it relates to the reduction of youth gun violence.

Youth employment strategies in Madison would be more powerful if the partners coordinated youth employment programs and formed a collaborative network of youth employment service providers. The City has set forth a vision of the youth employment expansion 'a continuum of care' which would ensure young people are supported before, during and after the employment experience. "The City is moving toward a structure that would create shared intake procedures, common and more detailed self-assessment and career exploration tools, aligned outcome measures, stronger links to the Madison Metropolitan School District's Personalized Pathways and academic standards, and creation of a cross referral and continuum of care that takes advantage of the strengths of each organization."¹¹ The City, working with partners should develop an implementation plan for the youth employment continuum of care and identify immediate next steps to realize its vision.

Youth Mentoring Programs

Youth mentoring programs can be an effective tool to prevent youth gun violence and other problematic behaviors. "Research has shown that the presence of a positive adult role model to supervise and guide a child's behavior is a key protective factor against violence."¹² According to the National Resource Center for Safe Schools "a trusting bond with a nurturing adult outside the family"¹³ is a resiliency factor that reduces the likelihood for a child to engage in or become a victim of violence.

¹⁰ Request for Proposals 2016 City of Madison Youth Employment Expansion.

<http://www.cityofmadison.com/dpced/communitydevelopment/funding/other-funding-opportunities/477/>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Thornton, Timothy N. et. Al. Best Practices of Youth Violence Prevention: A Sourcebook for Community Action. Center for Disease Control and Prevention. September 2000.

¹³ National Resource Center for Safe Schools. Early Warning Signs and Resiliency Factors for School Violence. 1999. NCJ 177725. Retrieved from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=177725>

Mentoring programs can take many forms and may be offered to young people in a variety of settings. Businesses, faith communities, sports organizations, clubs and other extracurricular activities provide rich opportunities for mentoring. Academic and career mentors may also provide structured one-on-one advising and support.

Embedded mentoring or mentoring that happens as a part of afterschool programs or other activities must meet six evidence-based standards to be effective.¹⁴

1. Recruitment
2. Screening
3. Training
4. Matching
5. Monitoring and support
6. Closure

With respect to these six evidence-based standards in both formal and informal mentoring relationships, the duration of the relationship and flexibility contribute to relationship quality. Grossman and Rhodes found significant benefits in mentoring relationships when the relationships were at least 12 months in duration.¹⁵ To encourage embedded mentor program models, research has found it more valuable to offer flexible, youth-centered mentoring focused on the needs of the child rather than having a heavy focus on academics.¹⁶

Recommendation:

Opportunities abound to support and ensure the effectiveness of existing mentoring programs and other programs that may embed mentoring in their other activities. The City of Madison should undertake the following actions to enhance access to mentoring in the City of Madison and ensure that mentoring services are high-quality.

1. Ask the Community Development Division to consider the benefits of mentoring in its priority funding areas.
2. Partner with the Madison Out of School Time initiative to provide training and tools to youth programs with embedded mentoring.
3. Ask major employers to join with the City of Madison in providing employees time away from the office to serve as mentors.¹⁷

¹⁴ Elements of Effective Practice for Mentoring: 3rd Edition. Mentor. <http://www.mentoring.org/program-resources/elements-of-effective-practice-for-mentoring/>

¹⁵ Grossman, J. B., & Rhodes, J. E. (2002). The Test of Time: Predictors and Effects of Duration in Youth Mentoring Relationships. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 30(2), 199-219.

¹⁶ Grossman, J. B., Chan, C. S., Schwartz, S. E., & Rhodes, J. E. (2011). The Test of Time in School-Based Mentoring: The Role of Relationship Duration and Re-Matching on Academic Outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(1-2), 43-54.

¹⁷ The City of Austin Mentor and Tutor Program allows city employees to participate in the program by allowing up to two hours of administrative leave during the workday. Learn more at www.austintexas.gov/mentor

Communities Against Violence

Gun violence begets gun violence. Reducing gun violence committed by adults helps to end the vicious cycle. When interviewed over a number of years about their exposure to violence, teens that had been exposed to gun violence reported committing more serious acts of violence during their life than teens that had not been exposed.¹⁸ Youth living in dangerous and disadvantaged neighborhoods with more exposure to violence were also found to be more likely to carry concealed firearms.¹⁹ This implies that communities already facing high levels of gun violence will likely continue to experience violence until policymakers take action.

The City of Madison funds the Communities Against Violence (CAV) initiative as a cooperative effort with the Madison Police Department/Special Investigative Unit (SIU) and non-profit agencies managed by the Community Development Division. The goal of the initiative is to notify and communicate to the selected individual that future crimes and violence will not be tolerated. Once individuals have been identified and notified, community providers connect with the notified individuals. City staff and agencies communicate to the individual that future crimes and violence will not be tolerated and consequences will be serious. The individual is also to be provided a basic needs assessment a connection to wraparound services to ensure that they have the support they need to build a life free from crime and violence. However due to the number of clients served by these agencies sometimes it is difficult to provide or advocate for services.

Focused Deterrence

The Madison Police Department's Focused Deterrence Program began in November of 2011. The Focused Deterrence program consist of a two pronged approach when dealing with the City's most violent offenders. The first prong is the law enforcement collaboration organized by the Madison police Department's Special Investigative Unit (SIU). The second prong is the the collaboration between community providers who provide services to the reentry population. This collaboration is called Communities Against Violence (CAV), and is organized by Madison Area Urban Ministries. The CAV group serves as the "moral voice" of the community as well as a support and referral system for those individuals who *choose* to change their behavior within the focus deterrence framework.

*-Scope of Services Spring 2015
Emerging Opportunities Fund Program Description*

Employees of the Madison Police Department, the Community Development Division and the Office of the Mayor have all expressed concern regarding insufficient funding to provide services and support to individuals in the Communities Against Violence program. The Scope of Services document describing the project bears this conclusion out. In 2014, CAV was intended to serve

¹⁸ Liberman, A., (September 2007). "Adolescents, Neighborhoods, and Violence: Recent Findings From the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods." *National Institute of Justice*. 1-24.

¹⁹ Ibid.

50 of the 88 identified violent offenders. Staff allocated to provide these services include Mentor (0.25 FTE) and Case Manager positions (0.25 FTE). There would not be enough time to serve these clients even if we assume mentor and case manager devoted all of their time to clients, an unworkable assumption since the staff are also responsible for organizing coalition meetings and administrative responsibilities. If all of the staff time (20 hours per week) is devoted to connecting with clients, then at best there are 24 minutes per week per client to talk with each of the 50 clients or provide case management services. This provision is inadequate to meet the needs of the clients or follow-up on referrals and other supports. In addition, as noted in the third quarterly report from MUM, “clients are in need of financial assistance but funds to assist them are very limited.”²⁰

In 2016, MUM has been awarded \$15,000 to provide case management. To date there have been 110 notified offenders.

Recommendation:

Full funding of the Communities Against Violence Program is needed immediately. Recommendation for full funding includes one full-time employee for case management services and 0.3 FTE staff member for administration and organization of coalition meetings, which would allow improved coordination with emergency services and other resource providers. In addition, staff have expressed a need for funding for individuals to support clients' urgent needs. There should be an amount set aside to directly pay for urgent needs of the individual clients as appropriate.

Partnerships with Dane County & Criminal Justice Work Group Recommendations

Dane County is similarly concerned with the risk of gun violence in the community, and the impact of the criminal justice system on health and well being. Spurred by citizen action Dane County released a report on Criminal Justice Workgroup Recommendations in September 2015 focusing on three areas of the criminal justice system: Alternatives to Incarceration, Length of Stay, and Mental Health, Solitary Confinement and Incarceration. Each workgroup included members of the community as well as County staff, together creating ten actionable recommendations in their respective issue areas. The workgroup recommendations were developed after 3 months of substantive community participation as well as input from technical experts and staff specialists. The recommendations offer roadmap for potential cooperation with local governments to reduce youth gun violence.

The recommendations from the Criminal Justice Work Group address youth gun violence in several ways:

1. Dane County working towards reducing the likelihood of criminal acts and recidivism by supporting recently incarcerated individuals through reentry programs. A reduction in recidivism keeps vulnerable children and neighborhoods safer and interrupts the cycle of

²⁰ Madison Urban Ministries, Emerging Opportunities Program, Report dated 1/14/2015

- crime and arrests. In safer communities children are less likely to become a victim of or perpetrate a violent crime.
2. Dane County is addressing racial inequities in the criminal justice system. Youth of color are more vulnerable to violent crime across the nation. In the City of Madison, nearly three quarters of the arrests involving firearms are of black males ages 26 (see section 1). The work to address racial disparities will target the majority of young people in our community impacted by violent crime and the criminal justice system. According to the Brennan Center “Over incarceration and racially disparate law enforcement is counterproductive to the goal of improving public safety.”²¹ Addressing racial disparities will help to rebuild community trust ultimately increasing the effectiveness of law enforcement.
 3. Restorative justice programs promoted by the City of Madison and Dane County can prevent a young person from resorting to violence by providing an alternative resolution to less serious incidents, building personal efficacy, restoring community trust, and providing supports to young people and their families. These intensive interventions can help get gets back on the right track and avoid becoming a victim or a perpetrator of violence.

Criminal Justice Work Group Recommendations Underway

From the thirty total recommendations, several have moved to implementation status. Funding is a necessity in order to make progress on many action items. To this end, Dane County has been awarded a \$27,000 grant to provide re-entry case management services, and Genesis is the contract provider. Additionally, a \$450,000 grant has been awarded by the Department of Labor to facilitate re-entry and job placement in coordination with the Dane County Sheriff's Office. A \$55,000 grant received from the Department of Justice will allow the expansion of restorative justice programs for youth ages 12-16 in Dane County. The County has been able to pursue these grants in part thanks to a work of the Equity Coordinator in the Office of the County Board.

In terms of hiring staff as recommended both in the Workgroup Recommendations report and the GARE analysis, Dane County has begun the search for a Data Analyst and a Diversity Recruitment Specialist to address equity. Both positions are sought to be filled by Spring 2016. Budget allocation for the Data Analyst position has been secured for 2016 by County Board Amendment. The Diversity Recruitment Specialist will be housed in the Dane County Sheriff's office.

Focus on training areas of racial equity and implicit bias have been a Dane County priority. Grant funding allowed for a joint racial equity and implicit bias training in Fall 2015 with the Small City Consortium in which all sworn officers from Sun Prairie, Middleton, and Fitchburg participated. In October 2015, The Perception Institute held implicit bias training for Dane County law enforcement and other county employees in which approximately 70 individuals participated. All

²¹ Jessica Eaglin, Danyelle Solomon. Reducing Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Jails: Recommendations for Local Practice. June 25, 2015. Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University Law School.

<https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/reducing-racial-and-ethnic-disparities-jails-recommendations-local-practice>

Dane County judges and prosecutors will attend implicit bias training in Spring 2016, and the Sheriff's office will host a training on implicit bias too.

Finally, from the \$2 million expansion of the affordable housing development fund, 20% of these funds have been earmarked specifically for re-entry housing. More implementation of the recommendations will be forthcoming, and the creation of a new Office for Equity and Inclusion will likely influence these efforts.

Recommendation:

The City of Madison and Dane County have a unique relationship which can offer great value to residents when sharing funding and expertise. The wealth of knowledge and resources offered by staff of each agency can be better utilized when efforts are combined rather than duplicated. The stated areas for potential collaboration are starting points, and can be approached as pilot programs to test the overall effectiveness of joint efforts. Opportunities to begin City-County collaboration to reduce youth gun violence include:

- Offer more opportunities for implicit bias and racial equity trainings for city and county staff involved in law enforcement and prosecution. Offering trainings across local levels of government can provide a greater depth of understanding for participants and a shared cost for host agencies.
- Assemble a roster of qualified trainers including county and city staff in order to increase capacity and reach more departments.
- Expand financial support for the Community Restorative Court in order to reach more areas of the City and County for these services.

Investigating Direct Interventions to Reduce Youth Gun Violence

Restoration Center Model

The Dane County Criminal Justice Work Groups also recommended the creation of a community based crisis center, a place of respite for people experiencing a mental health or substance abuse emergency. In October 2015, the Dane County Board of Supervisors invited the public to review and prioritize all of the proposals. This proposal was the most highly rated recommendation.

The resource center will provide a powerful tool to deescalate violent situations in the community, and thereby reduce gun violence. According to Harvard Public Health Magazine, far more people kill themselves with guns than are killed by someone else. "In 2010 in the U.S., 19,392 people committed suicide with guns, compared with 11,078 who were killed by others."²² The statistics are particularly stark for American Indians/Alaska Natives and Hispanic teens. According to the Centers for Disease Control, "Among Hispanic Students in Grades 9-12, the prevalence of ... having attempted suicide (11.3%), and having made a suicide attempt that

²² David Marshall Guns & Suicide: The Hidden Toll. Harvard Public Health Magazine.
<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/magazine-features/guns-and-suicide-the-hidden-toll/>

resulted in an injury, poisoning, or overdose that required medical attention (4.1%) was consistently higher than white and black students.” The suicide rate among American Indian/Alaskan Native adolescents and young adults ages 15-34 (19.5 per 100,000) is 1.5 times higher than the national average for that group (12.9 per 100,000).²³ In Dane County “1,508 youth (5.8%) said they have attempted suicide in the past 12 months. This too is an increase over 2012 which was 1,179 youth and 4.6%.”²⁴

The CJWG recommendation specifically called on the county to “develop a culturally relevant community-based crisis assessment and resource center focused on supporting individuals in the community and diverting individuals with mental health, substance abuse, or developmental disability issues from being booked and admitted to the jail. Such a facility/program should include:

- The capacity to serve as jail diversion by accepting and safely managing referrals of individuals taken into custody by law enforcement who believe (or based on prior contacts know) that the individual has mental health issues; and
- The capacity to assess and address the immediate mental health need(s) of the individual referred by law enforcement or at subsequent points of the justice/custody process and link the individual with on-going services and supports; and
- The capacity to house individuals for a time period as determined by medical or health professionals; and
- The capacity to serve as a non-crisis resource center for individuals and families seeking assistance in dealing with mental health issues;”²⁵

The resource center idea is based on the San Antonio Restoration Center²⁶ which is an alternative for individuals who would otherwise be arrested or taken to the hospital because of behavior, intoxication and/or mental health issues. It has been built piece by piece over 15 years to include a sobering center, detoxification, medical screening, transitional housing and more. As reported by Jenny Gold of NPR, more than 18,000 people pass through San Antonio’s Restoration Center each year, and officials say the coordinated approach has saved the city more than \$10 million annually.²⁷ San Antonio is home to approximately 1.5 million residents. The City of San Antonio’s Budget allocates \$1 million per year to the Restoration Center²⁸ but there are over 100 additional revenue streams including Medicaid, health insurers, private sponsorships and more.

²³ Centers for Disease Control. Suicide: Facts at a Glance 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/suicide-datasheet-a.pdf>

²⁴ Dane County Youth Assessment. Dane County Youth Commission September 2015.

²⁵ Dane County Board of Supervisors. Investigating Solutions to Racial Disparities and Mental Health Challenges in the Dane County Jail and throughout Dane County’s Criminal Justice System. Workgroup Recommendations. September 2015.

<https://dane.legistar.com/View.ashx?M=F&ID=4025726&GUID=60AF8B1E-5B9B-43DD-B011-41F3427B96A0>

²⁶ The Center for Health Care Services. Restoration Center – Substance Abuse Treatment Programs. More information at <http://chcsbc.org/innovation/restoration-center/>

²⁷ Jenny Gold. Mental Health Cops Help Reweave Social Safety Net in San Antonio. August 19, 2014. Wisconsin Public Radio Ideas Network <http://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2014/08/19/33889526/mental-health-cops-help-reweave-social-safety-net-in-san-antonio>

²⁸ City of San Antonio Texas. Proposed Annual Operating and Capital Budget. FY 2015. <http://www.sanantonio.gov/Portals/0/Files/budget/FY2015/FY2015FullDoc.pdf>

The resource center model may also address police shootings involving people with untreated mental illness. The Washington Post reported in April 2016 that a quarter of the recent national shootings by police officers involved a mental health crisis.

Since January 2015, The Post has tracked more than 1,100 fatal shootings by on-duty police officers, with one in four involving someone who has either in the midst of a mental health crisis or was explicitly suicidal. A Post analysis has found that in half of those cases, the officers involved were not properly trained to deal with the mentally ill – and in many cases officers responded with tactics that quickly made a volatile situation even more dangerous.²⁹

The Madison Police Department has recently launched a new mental health unit intended to address exactly these types of scenarios. The resource center would complement the mental health unit by offering a safe solution to house and treat individuals in the midst mental health crisis.

Recommendation:

The City is poised to build on the research and community input process for the restoration center proposal. Now that the proposal has become more widely understood, the City could work together with County officials and the community to develop an implementation strategy. This project will require public and private partnerships, cooperation between social services, health care and the criminal justice system, as well as community members and neighborhoods. The City should invite the County to jointly develop a community engagement process with the express purpose of exploring how best to create a community-based crisis resource center here.

Family and Youth Interventions

This section of the paper reviews direct interventions designed to reduce youth violence. These approaches target specific young people and families. These interventions have been proven to be effective and require significant financial investments. The recommendation for all three of these evidence-based practices is to establish a committee to investigate the potential to implement these approaches in the City of Madison.

Each evidence-based practice was researched in the social sciences literature and was consistently found to be effective. The practices were all ranked highly by several ranking organizations including Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development. Blueprints is a research project within the Institute of Behavioral Science at the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado Boulder.³⁰ Blueprints provides a registry of evidence-

²⁹ Lindsey Bever and Wesley Lowery. "Parents call 911 to help suicidal daughter – and 'police end up putting a bullet in her'". April 6, 2016. Washington Post https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/04/06/parents-called-911-to-help-suicidal-daughter-and-police-ended-up-putting-a-bullet-in-her/?hpid=hp_no-name_hp-in-the-news%3Apage%2Fin-the-news

³⁰ Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development – A Research Projected within the Institute of Behavioral Science at the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence. University of Colorado Boulder. Learn more at <http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints/>

based positive youth development programs designed to promote the health and well-being of children and teens. Blueprints programs are family, school, and community-based and target all levels of need — from broad prevention programs that promote positive behaviors while decreasing negative behaviors, to highly-targeted programs for at-risk children and troubled teens that get them back on track.

The programs discussed here are either ranked Model programs or Model Plus programs; the two categories are the highest ranking programs reviewed by Blueprints. Model programs must have evidence from two high-quality experimental or one experimental and one quasi-experimental design of high quality, and in addition to criteria on positive impact, defined goals, and dissemination capacity; have a sustained impact at least 12 months after the intervention ends. Model programs which have conducted a high-quality "independent" replication have been labeled as Model Plus.

Highest Ranked Evidence Based Practices for Reducing Youth Violence

		Age Range					
	Rating	Early Childhood (3-4 yrs)	Late Childhood (5-11 yrs)	Early Adolescence (12-14 yrs)	Late Adolescence (15-18 yrs)	Total One Cost	Yearly Benefits per Individual
Functional Family Therapy	Model			×	×	\$1,679,000	\$26,973
Multi-systemic Therapy	Model Plus			×	×	\$881,900	\$15,507
Parent Training	Model	×	×	×	×	\$1,170,000	N/A

Table 2. Evidence based practices for reducing gun violence are described in the table. Blueprints evaluation system ratings, age of intervention, costs and benefits are provided for each program.

Functional Family Therapy

Functional Family Therapy is a short-term (30 hours) family therapy intervention and juvenile diversion program helping at-risk children and delinquent youth to overcome adolescent behavior problems, conduct disorder, substance abuse and delinquency. Therapists work with families to assess family behaviors that maintain delinquent behavior, modify dysfunctional family communication, train family members to negotiate effectively, set clear rules about privileges and responsibilities, and generalize changes to community contexts and relationships.

Results:

- In a Utah study, FFT families showed significant improvement compared to no treatment and alternative treatment groups in rates of re-offense (26% versus 47%-73%), juvenile court records of siblings of targeted youth (20% versus 40%-63%), and recidivism among serious delinquent youth (60% versus 89%-93%).
- In an Ohio study, FFT families showed significant improvement compared to usual services in recidivism after 28 months (11% versus 67%) and after 60 months (9% versus 41%).
- In a Swedish study with a 2-year follow-up, FFT families showed improvement compared to a usual-treatment group in recidivism (41% versus 82%) and in youth and parent reports of externalizing and internalizing symptoms.

Total Year One Cost: \$1,679,000 (program includes two units with eight therapists and two supervisors per unit)

Benefits Minus Cost per Individual: \$26,973 With therapist caseloads of 12 and supervisors seeing 5 youth/families and an average service length of 12 weeks, the program could serve approximately 600 youth/families. Average youth/family cost in this example would be \$2,800.

Multi-systemic Therapy

Multi-systemic Therapy® (MST®) is an intensive family and community-based treatment that addresses the multiple causes of serious antisocial behavior in juvenile offenders. The MST program seeks to improve the real-world functioning of youth by changing their natural settings - home, school, and neighborhood - in ways that promote prosocial behavior while decreasing antisocial behavior. Therapists work with youth and their families to address the known causes of delinquency on an individualized, yet comprehensive basis. Therapists generally spend more time with families in the initial weeks (daily if needed) and gradually taper their time over (to as infrequently as once a week) over the 3-to-5 month course of treatment.

Results

- In a Charleston study, MST showed a 75% reduction in convictions for aggressive crimes at the 4-year follow-up.
- In a study of juvenile sex offenders the MST youth had fewer arrests and lower recidivism rates for both sexual and non sexual crimes, significant reductions in sexual behavior problems, delinquency, substance use and externalizing symptoms, and out of home placements.
- In a London study the MST group produced a significant decrease in non-violent offenses at the 12 month follow-up assessment, and a decrease in aggression, delinquency, and psychopathic traits at post test.

Total Year One Cost: \$881,900 (program includes four therapists and one half-time supervisor to serve 64 families)

Benefits Minus Cost per Individual: \$15,611

Parent Management Training

Parent Management Training - Oregon Model™ (PMTO™) is a group of theory-based parent training interventions that can be implemented in a variety of family contexts. The program aims to teach effective family management skills in order to reduce antisocial and problematic behavior in children who range in age from 3-16 years. PMTO is delivered in group and individual family formats, in diverse settings (e.g., clinics, homes, schools, community centers, homeless shelters), over varied lengths of time depending on the family's needs. The central role of the PMTO therapist is to teach and coach parents in the use of effective parenting strategies, namely skill encouragement, setting limits or effective discipline, monitoring, problem solving, and positive involvement. In addition to the core parenting practices, PMTO incorporates the supporting parenting components of identifying and regulating emotions, enhancing communication, giving clear directions, and tracking behavior. Promoting school success is a factor that is woven into the program.

Results:

- In a nine year study with divorced parents, parent training participants compared to controls experienced lower rates of arrest and delayed age at first arrest at nine year follow-up, and reduction in poverty and greater rise out of poverty at 30 months follow-up.
- Parent training participants had faster decreases in rates and prevalence of juvenile arrests than community controls.
- Significant reductions in deviant behavior among treatment children, compared to control group children (63% vs. 19%).

Total Year One Cost: \$1,170,000 (Program costs decrease significantly in following years, In year 4 program costs are \$175,000 for a program supporting 16 clinicians)

Benefits Minus Cost per Individual: N/A. As therapists are trained and certified over a period of 18-24 months, it is not possible to estimate a cost per individual served in the first year because communities focus on building staff capacity and they don't fully implement the intervention during that year.

Recommendation:

The City of Madison, together with the community and young people at risk of violence, should together explore the possibilities to implement one or more of these evidenced based practices. The next step towards pursuing this strategy should include the creation of a taskforce or committee to explore these strategies.

CONCLUSION

Youth gun violence can have a devastating impact on our neighborhoods and communities, but there are proven tools that we can implement to reduce the likelihood and the impact of such violence. Gun violence among young people has increased slightly since 2000 which may be explained by population growth, policing strategies or other factors. However, we do know that the practices we have implemented to date have not resulted in a significant decrease in gun violence among young people. Therefore these results can be interpreted as a timely reminder that we must do more to protect children and youth in our community, especially young people of color.

The research appendix details the devastating effect and the cyclical nature of gun violence leading to the conclusion that it is imperative to act decisively. The evidence shows that prevention activities (employment, mentoring, social activities, access to nature, and a supportive environment) are proven methods to reduce the likelihood that a young person will experience violence. The first five recommendations of this report are relatively low cost opportunities to promote violence prevention and awareness.

We also know that for each individual and family vulnerable to violence, more intensive directed supports are necessary. The final four recommendations in this report focus on creating a community-based crisis center and developing tailored therapeutic and training strategies for families and individuals. These interventions often require a higher financial investment and

collaboration between agencies. But these approaches have proven effective at redirecting people and families at risk or in crisis to the supports needed avert violence.

Finally, we received valuable input from staff and experts who work directly with children and young people. The experts on the ground reminded us that the projects and programs that are successful are those projects that are developed around the ideas and suggestions from young people themselves. Successful gun violence reduction efforts will be shaped around the needs of the community and be created with full community participation.

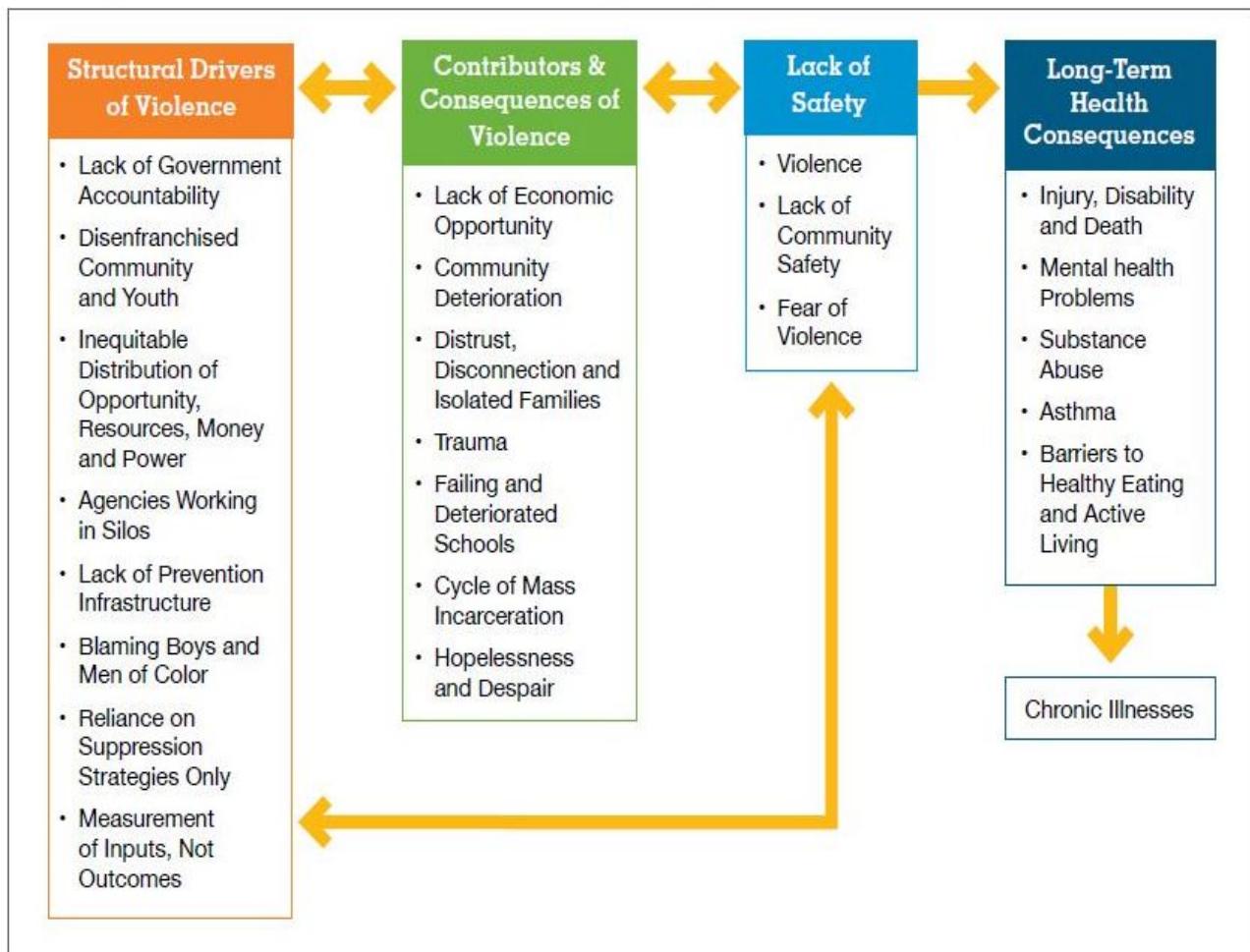
APPENDIX: REASEARCH ON YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE

The Complex Causes of Youth Violence and the Need for a Comprehensive Response

Public health and policy experts have found that a young person's daily environment, access to basic resources, community norms, exposure to violence, stressors experienced in childhood and opportunities for personal growth and wellness are all factors that contribute to the likelihood of committing violent acts or becoming a victim of violence.

The concept map below shows the complexity and interconnectedness of factors that contribute to youth involvement in violence. Power dynamics and perception of opportunity in local neighborhoods, community systems, and within a family can deeply impact a child throughout development and result in long-term consequences for well-being and health.

CONCEPT MAP: FACTORS AFFECTING YOUTH VIOLENCE



Vulnerability to Violence

Discussions around youth violence often focus on young people committing crimes, however, young people ages 12-24 are the victims of more violent crime than any other age group.³¹ Firearms killed 5,914 young people aged 15-24 in 2013—over 16 deaths every day. Of these, 3,704 were murdered, and 2,210 committed suicide.³² When compared to their White peers, Black youth are three times more likely to be victims of child abuse or neglect,³³ three times more likely to be victims of robbery,³⁴ and five times as likely to be homicide victims as their white peers.³⁵ Homicide is the leading cause of death among Black youth ages 15-24.³⁶

Gun violence is a vicious cycle

When interviewed over a number of years about their exposure to violence teens that had been exposed to gun violence reported committing more serious acts of violence during their life than teens that had not been exposed.³⁷ Youth living in dangerous and disadvantaged neighborhoods with more exposure to violence were also found to be more likely to carry concealed firearms.³⁸ This implies that communities already facing high levels of gun violence will likely continue to experience violence until policymakers take action.

Protective Factors

Although there are many causes for youth violence, there are protective factors that can deter and prevent youth from engaging in and being exposed to violence. These factors include: academic support and success, connection with family and the community, and promotion of healthy beliefs among one's peer group. For youth that lack a number of individual and family protective factors, community and school-based programs can provide programs and supports that protect youth from violence. Mentoring, out-of-school-time activities, access to nature and strong relationships with supportive adults are proven strategies to reduce a young person's vulnerability to violence.

- ✓ In a meta-analysis of youth mentoring programs, on average, youth participating in mentoring programs had benefited significantly in each of five outcome domains: emotional well-being, risk-taking behavior, social competence, educational access and success, and opportunities for employment.³⁹

³¹ Rand, M. "Criminal Victimization, 2008," (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2009), 4.

³² Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2013. "10 Leading Causes of Injury Deaths by Age Group Highlighting Unintentional Injury Deaths, United States – 2013. http://www.cdc.gov/injury/images/lc-charts/leading_causes_of_injury_deaths_highlighting_unintentional_injury_2013-a.gif

³³ Protecting Children and Youth: Action Kit for Municipal Leaders. National League of Cities. Issue #1. Instituted for Youth Education and Families.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Baum, K. "Juvenile Victimization and Offending, 1993-2003," (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005), 1.

³⁶ Prevention Institute, 2011. "UNITY Fact Sheet: Violence and Health Equity"

³⁷ Liberman, A., (September 2007). "Adolescents, Neighborhoods, and Violence: Recent Findings From the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods." *National Institute of Justice*. 1-24.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Dubois, D., Portillo, N., Rhodes, J., Silverthorn, N., Valentine, J. (2011). How Effective Are Mentoring Programs for Youth? A Systematic Assessment of the Evidence. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 12(2), 57-91.

- ✓ Comparing ten housing projects with and without Boys and Girls Club programs over time, the five housing projects without a clubhouse program had 50 percent more vandalism and scored 37 percent worse on a combined measure of drug activity.⁴⁰
- ✓ Living in a household with stable parental employment, and personally having access to employment opportunities with appropriate training are factors that lessen the likelihood of criminal involvement.⁴¹ The odds of violence among youth whose parents did not work is 56% higher than that among students whose parents were employed full time.⁴²
- ✓ The skills and social networks built through participation in organized activities have been shown to enhance educational achievement and promote well-being, healthy choices, and pro-social behavior.⁴³

PROTECTIVE FACTORS AGAINST YOUTH VIOLENCE

Individual and Family Protective Factors	Peer/Social/Community Protective Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High IQ or grade point average • Positive social orientation • Emotional attachment to family, ability to discuss problems • Perceived parental expectations about school performance are high • Frequent, shared activities with parents • A consistent presence of a parent when awakening, when returning from school, at evening mealtime, or going to bed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commitment to school • Positive, sustained attachments with an adult • Schools, families, and peer groups that promote healthy beliefs and set clear standards • Sense of belonging and connection to community • Structured out-of-school activities • Accessible healthy leisure activities⁴⁴ • Employment⁴⁵ • Sense of opportunity post-graduation • Access to nature

Source: Excerpt from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2015)⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Fight Crime: Invest in Kids. (n.d.) From America's Frontline Against Crime: Proven Investments in Kids Will Prevent Crime and Violence. 1-4.

⁴¹ Lösel, F., and Farrington, D. (2012). Direct Protective and Buffering Protective Factors in the Development of Youth Violence. *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, S8-23.

⁴² Bui, H. (2015). Economic Opportunities and Immigrant Youth Violence. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 13(4), 391-408.

⁴³ Snellman, K., Silva, J., Frederick, C., and Putnam, R. (2015). The Engagement Gap: Social Mobility and Extracurricular Participation among American Youth. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 657(1), 194-207.

⁴⁴ Unruh, D., Povenmire-Kirk, T., and Yamamoto, S. (2009) Perceived Barriers and Protective Factors of Juvenile Offenders on their Developmental Pathway to Adulthood. *Journal of Correctional Education*. 60(3), 201-224.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

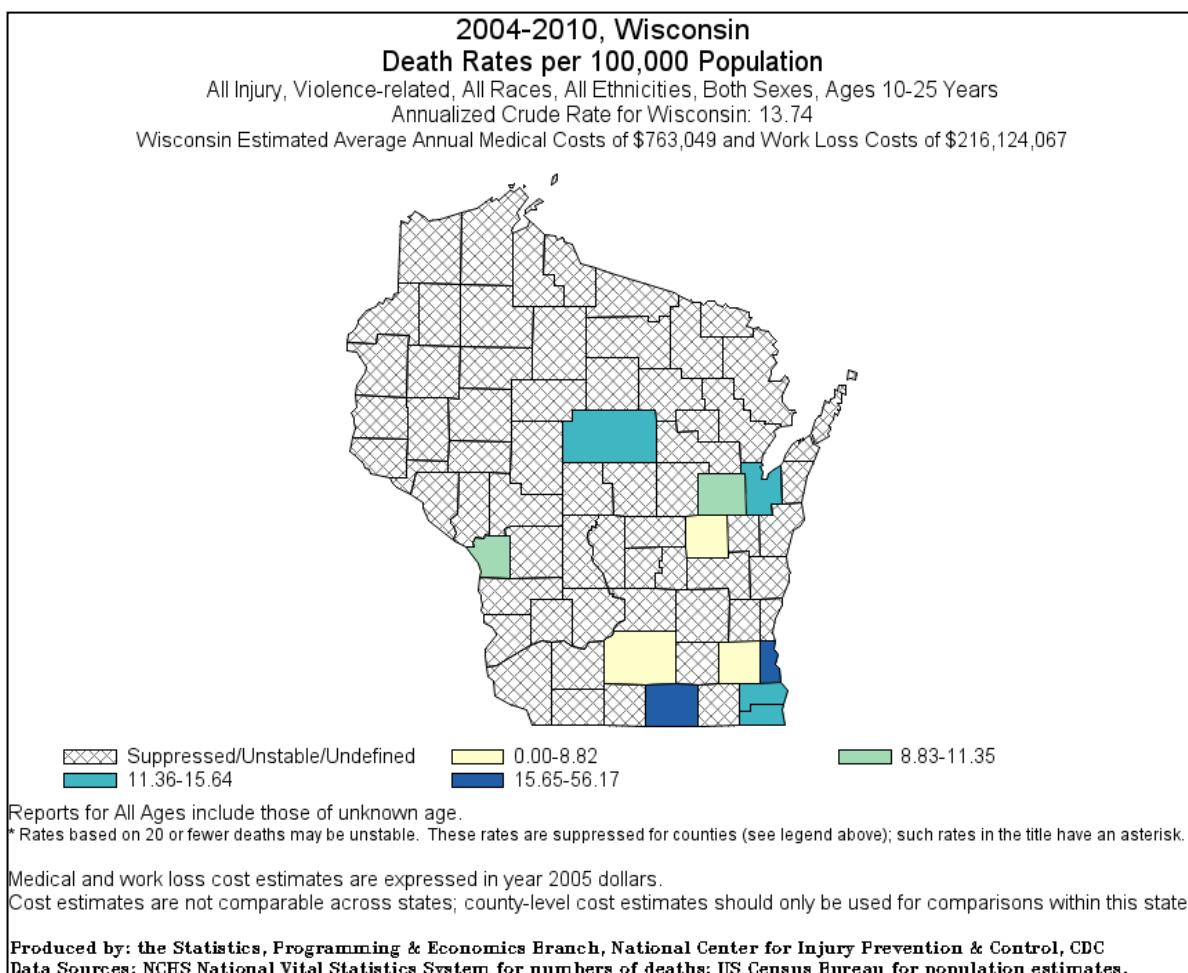
⁴⁶ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2015). Youth Violence: Risk and Protective Factors.

Comprehensive Strategies Are Essential

Moving forward, it is important to recognize the complexity of youth violence. In order to benefit youth, individuals, families, and communities; solutions and interventions should be tailored to work at each of these scales. Cultural and institutional changes are essential for long-term results. Focus should be placed around the area of prevention, including further expansion and access to out-of-school-time programs such as mentoring, employment, and other structured activities. Additionally, the causes of the racial disparity that exists within the context of youth violence will need to be further explored to significantly impact in the reduction of juvenile violence.

The Costs of Violence

The costs of violence include the medical costs for the injured or killed, the lost work and wages and education of those affected, the costs to emergency responders and the criminal justice system and the indirect costs of broken social ties, personal tragedy and sadness.



CDC data provides us a view of the costs of all violence resulting in the deaths of youth in Wisconsin. The map shows the rates of violence related deaths among youths ages 10-24 per 100,000 individuals. The map shows concentrations in the urban counties in Wisconsin (Dane Rock, Milwaukee, Racine, Waukesha, Kenosha, Brown, Outagamie, Winnebago, La Crosse and Rock), as well as the more northern Marathon County. The estimated annual medical costs for

these deaths in Wisconsin average \$763,049 per year in 2005 dollars and work loss costs over \$200 million annually⁴⁷

The average value of preventing a baby from growing up to become a youth who drops out of school, uses drugs, and goes on to become a career criminal is a societal cost of \$2.6 to \$4.4 million per individual.⁴⁸ In 2008, 70 percent of youth were held in state-funded, post adjudication, residential facilities, at an average cost of \$241 per day per person or \$87,965 a year.⁴⁹ On a local level, the per diem rate for juveniles to be detained ranges from \$160 to \$260 per day. These costs are comparable with Saturday night prices at the Hilton, The Inn on The Park and Concourse Hotel in Madison, WI.⁵⁰

Each year, the U.S. incurs an estimated \$8-\$21 billion in long-term costs for the confinement of young people.

	Low end of range	High end of range
	<i>Billions of 2011 Dollars</i>	
Cost of recidivism	\$0	\$7.03
Lost future earnings of confined youth	\$4.07	\$7.60
Lost future government tax revenue	\$2.07	\$3.87
Additional Medicare and Medicaid spending	\$0.86	\$1.50
Cost of sexual assault on confined youth	\$0.90	\$1.37
Total, all costs	\$7.90	\$21.47

Source: Justice Policy Institute

In Dane County alone, 771 youth were referred to juvenile justice services in 2014. Of those 771, 225 were placed in secure custody with 80% of those placed identifying as non-white. The significant cost of involving youth in the justice system needs to be considered as a factor in all aspects of community well-being.

Health Impacts of Violence

No matter where violence is experienced whether in the community or at home, there is a negative health impact on those exposed to violence.⁵¹ These impacts can include asthma, diabetes, epilepsy, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and intellectual and learning disabilities in youth.⁵² Later in life, exposure to violence can lead to heart disease, hypertension,

⁴⁷ Center for Disease Control. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS). Fatal Injury Mapping. Map created 4/4/2016 and retrieved from <https://wisqars.cdc.gov:8443/cdcMapFramework/mapModuleInterface.jsp>

⁴⁸ Cohen, M., and Piquero, A. (2009) New Evidence on the Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 25(1), 25-49.

⁴⁹ American Correctional Association, 2008 *Directory: Adult and Juvenile Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies, and Probation and Parole Authorities* (Alexandria, VA: American Correctional Association, 2008).

⁵⁰ Comparison based on search for hotels in downtown Madison October 11-12 2015 on the website hotels.com

⁵¹ Prevention Institute (May 2011). Making the Case Fact Sheet Links Between Violence and Chronic Illness, 1-6.

⁵² Ibid.

chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), diabetes, ulcers, arthritis, and gastrointestinal disorders. These negative health impacts impose additional challenges and costs on families with children and teens and later in life can hamper the ability to be a productive adult with a full life.⁵³

Guns cause the deaths of thousands of teens each year. In 2008 and 2009, gun homicide was the leading cause of death among black teens, and the rates of gun-related deaths are highest for black male teens.⁵⁴ For black families, the chance of a male child dying from a gunshot wound is 62 percent higher than the chance of him dying in a motor-vehicle crash.⁵⁵

To translate these threats into more meaningful terms, consider a black family with two boys. What is the chance (given the firearm death rates that prevailed in 1998) that the parents will lose one of their sons to gunfire by age 20? The answer is about 1 in 115, or close to 1%, with almost all of that risk coming from homicide. For whites, the answer is about 1 in 512, with most of the risk stemming from suicide. Hispanics are in between, at about 1 in 260, mostly from homicide. These statistics are for fatalities; for every gun homicide victim, there are five or six gunshot victims who survive, some with permanent disabilities. For unintentional shootings, the ratio of nonfatal to fatal injuries is roughly 13 to 1. Thus, the hypothetical black family faces at least a 1-in-20 chance that one of their sons will be shot while growing up. That is a national average: The risk is many times higher if they live in an Atlanta housing project than in a Boston suburb. However, even the national averages are high enough to highlight the importance of gun violence as a threat to children's safety.⁵⁶

Stress proliferates through both one-time exposure and in continued exposure to violence over time. Pynoos and Nader have concluded that the effects of repeated exposures to violence are additive, with each exposure tending to exacerbate or renew symptoms caused by earlier exposures.⁵⁷ Living in a persistently violent neighborhood causes youth to exist in a state of constant and persistent stress and arousal which lends itself to further negative health implications.

Children with exposure to violence are characterized by persisting hyperarousal and hyperactivity. They typically have increased muscle tone, a low grade increase in temperature, an increased startle response, profound sleep disturbances, affect regulation problems and generalized (or specific) anxiety. In addition, studies indicate that a significant portion of these children have abnormalities in cardiovascular regulation. Using continuous heart rate monitoring during clinical interviews, male, pre-adolescent children exposed to violence exhibited a mild

⁵³ Kramer, R., (2000), Poverty, Inequality, and Youth Violence. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 567(1), 123-139.

⁵⁴ Children's Defense Fund. *Protect Children Not Guns 2012*.

<http://www.childrensdefense.org/library/data/protect-children-not-guns-2012.pdf>

⁵⁵ Philip J. Cook and Jens Ludwig. The Cost of Gun Violence Against Children. *Children, Youth and Gun Violence*. Volume 12 Number 2 Summer/Fall 2002.

<http://futureofchildren.org/publications/journals/article/index.xml?journalid=42&articleid=167§ionid=1077>

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Duncan, D. F. (1996). Growing Up Under the Gun: Children and Adolescents Coping with Violent Neighborhoods. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 16(4), 343-356.

tachycardia during non-intrusive interview and a marked tachycardia during interviews about specific exposure to trauma ($n = 83$; resting heart rate = 104; interview heart rate = 122). In comparison, females exposed to traumatic events tended to have normal or mild tachycardia that, during interviews about the traumatic event decreased ($n = 24$; resting heart rate = 98; interview heart rate = 82). This gender difference was associated by differences in emotional and behavioral symptoms, with males exhibiting more 'externalizing' and females more 'internalizing' symptoms.⁵⁸

The costs associated with elevated stress and anxiety include decreased educational attainment, increased healthcare costs, and increased costs to schools and communities to develop programs and procedures to support youth experiencing violence. When educational attainment falls, access to opportunities and lifetime earning potential follow along. The cost of violence to individuals, families, and communities remain high, and require dedicated resources to develop evidence-based solutions.

⁵⁸ Perry, Bruce. "Violence and Childhood Trauma." *PsycEXTRA Dataset* (2004): 1-19. 2004. Web. 5 Jan. 2016. http://www.lfcc.on.ca/Perry_Core_Concepts_Violence_and_Childhood.pdf