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## **Proactive Violence Prevention and Public Safety Reform: Ensuring the United Nation’s Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Ryan Lugalia-Hollon, Meg Helder, and Eduardo Bocanegra\*

### I. INTRODUCTION

The United Nation’s Convention on the Rights of the Child (“CRC”) is one of the most widely ratified international rights treaties in the world, providing broad legal protection for children’s rights to safety and security across the globe. Despite these protections, however, myriad threats to children’s lives and well-being still persist, ranging from wars and gangs, to natural disasters and struggles for basic sustenance. Within the United States, one of the gravest threats to children’s well-being is interpersonal violence, with nearly one-half of children and adolescents experiencing some form of assault each year.<sup>1</sup> The problem is especially pronounced in marginalized urban neighborhoods, where decades-long patterns of early death among children and adolescents indicate a clear failure to protect their fundamental rights to life.

Amidst these persistent public safety challenges, this Article argues that the United States and, in particular, high-violence cities like Chicago, should put the CRC at the center of its current efforts for public safety reform. Doing so would require broadening the American conception of public safety beyond the narrow paradigms of law enforcement and mass incarceration. Instead of the United States’ near-total concern with suppression and incapacitation, a public safety system that foregrounded the rights of the child would reduce the current levels of dependence on indiscriminate family

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<sup>1</sup> DAVID FINKELHOR ET AL., U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, CHILDREN’S EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE: A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SURVEY 1 (2009), available at <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/227744.pdf>.

separations and would place proactive violence prevention strategies at the center of efforts, building upon approaches that have lasting positive impacts in the communities where they are applied. Expanded public safety strategies may include reducing trauma and building resiliency, strengthening human capital and positive social identity, and improving cross-organizational impact, all of which have the potential to reduce the community stress levels that now perpetuate cycles of harm and wrongdoing in places like Chicago's high-violence areas.

Part II of this Article introduces the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as a foundation for broadening the United States' vision of its local, state, and federal public safety systems. Part III focuses on the intersection of poverty and trauma, exploring how these forces create cumulative disadvantages and disproportionate levels of community violence that cannot be sufficiently addressed by detainment and incarceration. Part IV draws from three contemporary violence prevention strategies in the City of Chicago ("the City") and discusses how trauma-informed mentorship, human capital creation, and collective impact initiatives can be used to decrease young people's current and future involvement in violent activities. As will be discussed, due to their potential to coordinate efforts across institutions and systems, collective impact strategies can help to ensure the implementation of trauma reduction and human capital strategies both within and across disadvantaged neighborhoods, thereby providing meaningful response to the twin challenge of trauma and poverty. Part V reiterates that the realization of the Rights of the Child framework will require a public safety paradigm that broadly and proactively supports violence prevention measures, prioritizing trauma reduction, human capital creation, and collective impact as guiding principles at every turn.

## II. VIEWING PUBLIC SAFETY THROUGH A HUMAN RIGHTS LENS

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (the "CRC")<sup>2</sup> provides a useful framework for analyzing the obligations of society to better address the City's public safety challenges, as well as the limitations of society's existing responses to those challenges.<sup>3</sup> At present, the United States is a signatory to the CRC, but the treaty is not

<sup>2</sup> *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Nov. 20, 1989, 1577 U.N.T.S. 3 [hereinafter CRC], available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>. "In 1989, world leaders decided that children needed a special convention just for them because people under [eighteen] years old often need special care and protection that adults do not." *About the Convention*, UNICEF, [http://www.unicef.org/rightsite/237\\_202.htm](http://www.unicef.org/rightsite/237_202.htm) (last visited Apr. 18, 2014). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is "the most quickly ratified UN human rights treaty ever." Rebecca M. Stahl, Note, "Don't Forget About Me": *Implementing Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 24 ARIZ. J. INT'L & COMP. L. 803, 803 (2007). Every nation has ratified the treaty aside from the United States and Somalia. *Id.* at 804. This treaty recognizes that the child should be respected as a human being with rights that require special protection based upon his or her unique position in the world. *Id.* at 805-06.

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this Article, "public safety" refers to the general protection of people from harmful, injurious, and dangerous events, as orchestrated by government officials and leaders from within civil society.

binding law until it is ratified by Congress.<sup>4</sup> As a signatory country, the United States is nonetheless “bound not to contravene the object and purpose of the” CRC.<sup>5</sup> American courts are beginning to consider whether the CRC is customary international law, which would bind the United States to the requirements of the CRC despite the fact that it has not been ratified.<sup>6</sup> Locally, however, the City passed a resolution in 2009 adopting the CRC and resolving that “the Mayor and members of the City Council of Chicago will advance policies and practices that are in harmony with the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in all city agencies and organizations that address issues directly affecting the City’s children.”<sup>7</sup> Now in place for five years, Chicago’s CRC resolution offers a guiding light for addressing the City’s responses to ongoing public safety challenges, the large majority of which all have direct implications for children’s wellbeing.

In a summary of children’s rights under the CRC, UNICEF states that all adults, especially those that are responsible for creating budgets, policies, and laws, should do what is best for children and think about how their decisions will affect children.<sup>8</sup> The CRC thereby provides a framework for individuals to advocate for policies and allocations of resources that provide for the advancement of the fifty-four articles set forth in the CRC,<sup>9</sup> including the right to protection from harm.<sup>10</sup> The CRC’s articles that are most relevant to the issues of public safety include:

<sup>4</sup> Stahl, *supra* note 2, at 811–12. Alex: Although the BlueBook no longer requires the hyphen used here to be an en dash (–, which is longer than a -) in page ranges, the BlueBook still uses an en dash for page ranges, year ranges, etc., in examples. I suggest we use the en dash when referring to ranges. I have changed all hyphens to en dashes, but you can simply reject if you disagree.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 811. “The Convention’s objective is to protect children from discrimination, neglect and abuse.” *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, U.N. CYBERSCHOOLBUS, <http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/treaties/child.asp>, (last visited May 11, 2014). The Convention combines provisions aimed at the protection of children with provisions that recognize the child as a holder of specific rights and freedoms. *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> Stahl, *supra* note 2, at 811; Eric Engle, *The Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 29 QUINNIPIAC L. REV. 793, 794 (2011).

<sup>7</sup> City of Chicago Resolution Adopting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Feb. 11, 2009) [hereinafter Chicago Resolution], available at <http://www.law.northwestern.edu/legalclinic/cfjc/documents/ChicagoCityCouncil-Resolution.pdf>. Several other cities, including Austin, TX, Cambridge, MA, Cleveland, OH, Detroit, MI, Grand Rapids, MI, Kansas City, MO, Minneapolis, MN, New York, NY, San Diego, CA, and Savannah, GA, as well as the states of Hawaii, Rhode Island, Vermont, South Carolina, and New York, have also passed resolutions in support of the CRC. See COLUMBIA LAW SCH. HUMAN RIGHTS INST. & INT’L ASS’N OF OFFICIAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES, STATE AND LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADVANCING OPPORTUNITY AND EQUALITY THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK 20 n.53 (2009), available at [http://www.law.columbia.edu/null/download?&exclusive=filemgr.download&file\\_id=153843](http://www.law.columbia.edu/null/download?&exclusive=filemgr.download&file_id=153843).

<sup>8</sup> UNICEF, FACT SHEET: A SUMMARY OF THE RIGHTS UNDER THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD, available at [http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Rights\\_overview.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Rights_overview.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> See CRC, *supra* note 2; COLUMBIA LAW SCH., HUMAN RIGHTS INST., BRINGING HUMAN RIGHTS HOME: HOW STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS CAN USE HUMAN RIGHTS TO ADVANCE LOCAL POLICY 1 (2012) [hereinafter BRINGING HUMAN RIGHTS HOME], available at <http://web.law.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/microsites/human-rights-institute/files/Bringing%20Human%20Rights%20Home.pdf>.

Article 6 (Survival and development): Children have the right to live. Governments should ensure that children survive and develop healthily.<sup>11</sup>

....

Article 19 (Protection from all forms of violence): Children have the right to be protected from harm and mistreatment, physically or mentally. Governments should ensure that children are properly cared for and protect them from violence, abuse, and neglect by their parents or anyone else who looks after them.<sup>12</sup>

....

Article 39 (Rehabilitation of child victims): Children who have been neglected, abused or exploited should receive special help to physically and psychologically recover and reintegrate into society. Particular attention should be paid to restoring the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.<sup>13</sup>

In Chicago, the ongoing violence in many communities, accompanied by society's current inability to address the underlying drivers of that violence,<sup>14</sup> frequently deprives children of the rights to survival and development, protection from all forms of violence, and rehabilitation of child victims. As this Article will discuss, however, emerging population level approaches to violence prevention present opportunities to reframe current models of public safety, which, in turn, would help Chicago achieve a closer alignment with the rights guaranteed to children in the CRC.<sup>15</sup> The CRC's framework can also help to shape efforts to advance and advocate for wider implementation of these preventative population level approaches.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> CRC, *supra* note 2, at art. 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* at art. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* at art. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* at art. 39.

<sup>14</sup> *See infra* Part III.

<sup>15</sup> *See infra* Part III-IV.

<sup>16</sup> *See* BRINGING HUMAN RIGHTS HOME, *supra* note 9, at 10 (discussing how groups in Los Angeles, California have used the legal framework of the CRC and other international human rights treaties to advocate against the death penalty, racism and other forms of discrimination, and raise awareness of the increasing violence against homeless people).

### III. CONCENTRATED DISADVANTAGE AND THE LIMITS OF INCARCERATION<sup>17</sup>

This section describes the growing inequality of violence in Chicago, whereby certain South and West neighborhoods have seen an increase in homicides, even as the City as a whole has undergone substantial declines. These areas of intensified violence are also home to concentrated poverty and, potentially, higher levels of adverse childhood experience. However, with the public safety's system nearly exclusive focus on suppression and incarceration, these underlying forces rarely get addressed in ways that have lasting impacts. The authors submit that creating sustained reductions in violence in these neighborhoods will require broadening our public safety strategies beyond the current paradigm of intensive incarceration.

#### A. The Spatial Concentration of Violence

Violence in Chicago is increasingly concentrated, occurring most frequently in communities with other accumulated economic and social disadvantages.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, due to issues of orientation and design, criminal justice responses to violence<sup>19</sup> typically fail to address the community context in which violence occurs, most notably the toxic stress created by poverty and the traumatic stress created by adverse childhood experiences.<sup>20</sup> Homicide in particular, as a strong indicator of community violence,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> As a technical term, "concentrated disadvantage" serves as a marker of relative poverty across neighborhoods and is taken as a composite variable of "welfare receipt, poverty, unemployment, female-headed households, racial composition . . . and density of children." See ROBERT J. SAMPSON, *GREAT AMERICAN CITY: CHICAGO AND THE ENDURING NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECT* 100 (2012). Relatedly, "[c]umulative disadvantage theory emphasizes how early advantage or disadvantage is critical to how cohorts become differentiated over time. Not only do the early risk factors shape trajectories in the short-term outcomes but in the long-term outcomes as well. The effects of risk factors accumulate over the life course, thereby increasing heterogeneity in later life." Kenneth Ferraro & Jessica Kelley-Moore, *Cumulative Disadvantage and Health: Long-Term Consequences of Obesity?*, 68 AM. SOC. REV. 707, 708 (2003).

<sup>18</sup> See Noah Berlatsky, *How Chicago Points to a Growing Inequality of Urban Violence*, ATLANTIC CITIES (Oct. 3, 2013), <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/neighborhoods/2013/10/how-chicago-points-growing-inequality-urban-violence/7103/>; Richard Florida, *The Enduring Effect of Neighborhoods*, ATLANTIC CITIES (Apr. 5, 2012), <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/neighborhoods/2012/04/enduring-effect-neighborhoods/1368/>.

<sup>19</sup> As coordinated by departments of corrections, probation, and parole, criminal justice responses to violence are focused on individual incapacitation and monitoring, such as detention, imprisonment, probation, and parole. *The Criminal Justice System*, NAT'L CTR. FOR VICTIMS OF CRIME, <http://www.victimsofcrime.org/help-for-crime-victims/get-help-bulletins-for-crime-victims/the-criminal-justice-system> (last visited May 5, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> There are a myriad of individual, school, and community-level factors that shape the context for violence. See PREVENTION INST., *PREVENTING VIOLENCE: A PRIMER* (2009); see generally Robert J. Sampson, *The Place of Context: A Theory and Strategy for Criminology's Hard Problems*, 51 CRIMINOLOGY 1–31 (discussing the role of community context in better understanding crime). Despite these factors, the Juvenile Justice System has failed to address the experiences of trauma in those that they serve. See ROBERT L. LISTENBEE JR. ET AL., U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, *REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON CHILDREN EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE* 171–91 (2012). The criminal justice system would be more effective if it recognized the role that poverty plays in perpetuating crime. Esther Franco-Payne & Paula Wolff, *Overcrowding Our Prisons Is a Failed Policy*, CHI. TRIB. (Jan. 31, 2014),

occurs mainly in communities where unusually high stress levels have accumulated.<sup>22</sup> Compared to twenty years ago, homicides in Chicago today are increasingly clustered in a small number of police districts.<sup>23</sup> As a result, “the inequality of violence in Chicago has skyrocketed,” leading to what researchers have called a public safety gap.<sup>24</sup> Whereas “[i]n the early [19]90s, the most dangerous third of the city had about six times as many murders as the safest third[,] [b]y the late 2000s, the most dangerous parts of the city had nearly *fifteen times more homicides* than the safest third.”<sup>25</sup> Moreover, while the last twenty years have seen a decrease in overall homicides across Chicago, large areas of the City’s South and West sides have experienced a clear *increase* in homicides during these same years.<sup>26</sup> This stark safety contrast indicates the need to rethink the ways that the public sector and civil society<sup>27</sup> are supporting children, youth, and families across Chicago communities.<sup>28</sup>

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[http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2014-01-31/news/ct-perspec-violence-0131-20140131\\_1\\_illinois-prisons-state-youth-prisons-domestic-violence](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2014-01-31/news/ct-perspec-violence-0131-20140131_1_illinois-prisons-state-youth-prisons-domestic-violence). National Research Council, *U.S. Should Significantly Reduce Rate of Incarceration; Unprecedented Rise in Prison Population ‘Not Serving the Country Well,’ Says News Report*, NAT’L RES. COUNS. (Apr. 30, 204), <http://www8.nationalacademies.org/onpinews/newsitem.aspx?RecordID=18613> (discussing how incarceration complicates economic challenges for already poverty stricken communities).

<sup>21</sup> JEFFREY D. ET AL., POPULATION STUDIES CTR., UNIV. OF MICH., NEIGHBORHOOD INEQUALITY, COLLECTIVE EFFICACY, AND THE SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF URBAN VIOLENCE 9 (revised, March 2001) (analyzing “homicide as an indicator of neighborhood violence both because of its indisputable centrality to debates about crime and because it is widely considered to be the most accurately recorded of all crimes”).

<sup>22</sup> See *id.* at 1, 18 (arguing that community disorganization leads to higher rates of violence, and communities with concentrated disadvantages and extremes are “the most consistent predictors of variations in homicide”). For further evidence on the relationship between concentrated disadvantage and youth-on-youth homicide in urban cities, see John M. MacDonald & Angela R. Gover, *Concentrated Disadvantage and Youth-on-Youth Homicide: Assessing the Structural Covariates over Time*, 9 HOMICIDE STUD. 30, 40–44 (2005) (explaining that disadvantage markers include income levels, single-parent households, and educational attainment).

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Hertz, *We’ve Talked About Homicide in Chicago at Least One Million Times But I Don’t Think This Has Come up*, CITY NOTES (Aug. 5, 2013, 7:22 PM), <http://danielhertz.wordpress.com/2013/08/05/weve-talked-about-homicide-in-chicago-at-least-one-million-times-but-i-dont-think-this-has-come-up/>.

<sup>24</sup> The public safety gap refers to the shifting concentration of violence in specific neighborhoods of the City, meaning that while many neighborhoods in the City have become safer in recent years, certain neighborhoods have seen significant increases in violent crimes and homicides. See *generally id.* (comparing maps of homicide rates by district over time).

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*

<sup>26</sup> *Id.*

<sup>27</sup> The “Civil Society,” or private non-profit sector, includes “thousands of private community groups, health clinics, schools, day care centers, environmental organizations, social clubs, development organizations, cultural institutions, professional associations, consumer groups and similar entities.” LESTER M. SALAMON ET AL., JOHNS HOPKINS CTR. FOR CIVIL SOC’Y STUDIES, *GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY: DIMENSIONS OF THE NONPROFIT SECTOR* xvii (1999). These entities are all organizations that operate outside the formal state structure, that do not distribute profits, and that citizens are free to join or not to join. *Id.*

<sup>28</sup> Children and Youth are disproportionately affected by crime. See CDC, *YOUTH VIOLENCE: FACTS AT A GLANCE* (2012), available at <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/YV-DataSheet-a.pdf> (finding that

This research points to a tale of two—if not three or four—cities, where foundational conditions like safety vary widely and people living in these contrasting zones may struggle to understand one another's lived realities. Of course, violence is not the only factor defining the gulf between different areas in the City. There is a clear link between levels of poverty, race and levels of violence in Chicago neighborhoods, whereby the five highest-poverty Chicago neighborhoods have a homicide rate that is eleven times higher than in the City's least poor neighborhoods.<sup>29</sup> While the poorest neighborhoods are predominately African-American with a poverty rate between forty and sixty-one percent, the least poor neighborhoods are predominately Caucasian and have a three to six percent poverty rate.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, strong evidence links neighborhoods' socioeconomic status and rates of child maltreatment,<sup>31</sup> leaving residents in Chicago's highest-violence neighborhoods to face the triple challenges of poverty, heightened exposure to community violence and increased rates of child abuse and neglect. Meanwhile, as will be discussed, arrest, prosecution and incarceration have become the dominant government responses to violence in these areas, positioning the government in a continual mode of reaction and suppression.

#### *B. The Impact of Poverty and Trauma on Child Development*

High rates on poverty<sup>32</sup> and trauma<sup>33</sup> in disadvantaged neighborhoods pose clear obstacles to children's well-being and to the full realization of implementing the CRC in the City. Whereas poverty has been shown to create high levels of stress, impairing phenomena like early linguistic development,<sup>34</sup> trauma also creates dramatically increased stress levels and has been conclusively linked to disruptions in both neuro- and

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“[a]mong [ten] to [twenty-four] year-olds, homicide is the leading cause of death for African-Americans; the second leading cause of death for Hispanics; and the third leading cause of death [sic] American Indians and Alaska Natives”).

<sup>29</sup> Steve Bogira, *Deadly Poverty*, CHI. READER (Aug. 22, 2012), <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/poverty-and-segregation-cause-health-mortality-disparities/Content?oid=7256286> (comparing Clearing, Norwood Park, Beverly, Edison Park, and Mount Greenwood as the least-poor neighborhoods in Chicago and West Garfield Park, East Garfield Park, Englewood, Fuller Park and Riverdale as the poorest neighborhoods in Chicago).

<sup>30</sup> *Id.* An average of 96.6% African-Americans live in the the poorest neighborhoods in Chicago, compared to the least poor, which have an average of 7.6% African-American residents. *Id.*

<sup>31</sup> James Garbarino, & Frank Barry, *The Community Context of Child Abuse and Neglect*, in JAMES GARBARINO & JOHN ECKENRODE, UNDERSTANDING ABUSIVE FAMILIES: AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THEORY AND PRACTICE 57 (1997); James Garbarino & Ann Crouter, *Defining the Community Context for Parent-Child Relations: The Correlates of Child Maltreatment*, 49 CHILD DEV. 604, 605 (1978); James Garbarino, & Kathleen Kostelny, *Child Maltreatment as a Community Problem*, 16 CHILD ABUSE & NEGLECT 455, 456 (1992).

<sup>32</sup> In this Article, poverty is defined as the absence of the resources needed to ensure survival. *See Poverty: What Is It?*, EUR. ANTI-POVERTY NETWORK, <http://www.eapn.eu/en/what-is-poverty/poverty-what-is-it> (last visited Mar. 11, 2014).

<sup>33</sup> This Article defines trauma as the disruption of healthy development through the experience of extreme adverse events. *See* KATHLEEN J. MOROZ, THE EFFECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA ON CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS 17 (2005), available at <http://www.mentalhealth.vermont.gov/report>.

<sup>34</sup> *See* Betty Hart & Todd R. Risley, *The Early Catastrophe: The 30 Million Word Gap by Age 3*, AM. EDUCATOR, Spring 2003, at 4, 7.

social-emotional development.<sup>35</sup> Constant exposure to these extreme levels of stress ultimately places young people in situations that deprive them of the basic human rights enumerated in the CRC.<sup>36</sup>

Poverty elevates human stress levels in a manner that can impact both an individual's normal developmental processes and capacity to create a buffer from major life stressors. In a now well-known study on "the 30 million word gap," socioeconomic status has been linked to linguistic development, where the size of childhood vocabularies is shaped, in part, by parental occupation and income levels.<sup>37</sup> One explanation of this linguistic gap is varying levels of parental stimulation.<sup>38</sup> However, recent neuroscience studies have attributed the linguistic gap to variances in young people's ability to focus and pay attention in addition to variances in parental occupation and income.<sup>39</sup> Not only does poverty influence early developmental pathways, but it also affects adults' ability to navigate life scenarios.<sup>40</sup> Recognizing that cognition is a finite resource, the daily challenges associated with surviving poverty consume high levels of people's available cognitive capacity, leaving minimal space for activities associated with upward mobility, such as continued education.<sup>41</sup> As indicated by both the linguistic gap and differences among spare cognitive capacity, poverty can significantly affect life outcomes in ways that make individuals more vulnerable to adverse experiences like criminal behavior.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> BRUCE D. PERRY & MAIA SZALAVITZ, *THE BOY WHO WAS RAISED AS A DOG AND OTHER STORIES FROM A CHILD PSYCHIATRIST'S NOTEBOOK* 39, 146–47 (2006).

<sup>36</sup> See *infra* Part II.

<sup>37</sup> Hart & Risley, *supra* note 34, at 8. Researchers found a profound difference in the vocabularies of three-year-old children from low-income households and those in high-income households. *Id.* at 7. For example, children from families on welfare had smaller vocabularies and added words more slowly than children from professional families. *Id.*

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* at 8. The initial studies linked this linguistic gap to families in poverty using fewer words with their children and speaking to their children less frequently. *Id.* at 7.

<sup>39</sup> Martha J. Farah, *Mind, Brain, and Education in Socioeconomic Context*, in *THE DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONS AMONG MIND, BRAIN AND EDUCATION*, 243, 245 (Michel Ferarri & Ljiljana Vuletic eds., Springer 2010).

<sup>40</sup> See Anandi Mani et al., *Poverty Impedes Cognitive Function*, 341 *SCI.* 976, 976 (2013) (noting that "[a] variety of studies point to a correlation between poverty and counterproductive behavior. The poor use less preventative healthcare, fail to adhere to drug regimens, are tardier and less likely to keep appointments, are less productive workers, less attentive parents, and worse managers of their finances") (internal citations omitted).

<sup>41</sup> See *id.* (suggesting a "causal, not merely correlational, relationship between poverty and mental function"). "The human cognitive system has limited capacity. Preoccupations with pressing budgetary concerns leave fewer cognitive resources available to guide choice and action." *Id.* (internal citations omitted). Therefore, "the poor, when attending to monetary concerns, lose their capacity to give other problems their full consideration." *Id.*

<sup>42</sup> JULIA SHAW, EUROPEAN ASS'N OF PSYCHOLOGY & THE LAW, *FACT SHEET: FORENSIC RISK ASSESSMENT 1-2* (2011), available at <http://itssimple.ca/forensicgroup/wp-content/uploads/Fact-sheet-Forensic-Risk-Assessment2.pdf>. Low social achievement, low socioeconomic status, and low intellectual functioning are all predictive of re-offending. *Id.*

Importantly, high poverty areas frequently experience a number of other challenges that impede their ability to manage disproportionately high stress loads, including abnormally high rates of unemployment, a disappearing jobs base and faltering commercial corridors.<sup>43</sup> In the wake of these challenges, the illegal narcotics industry has become a staple of Chicago's underground economy, employing an estimated 4000 people in Cook County annually and contributing to a fifteen-fold increase in arrest rates for drug violations between 1964 and 2012.<sup>44</sup> The severity of these numbers imply that high levels of violence in Chicago are linked to broader patterns of marginalization, including weak neighborhood labor markets and struggling human development systems like schools. This marginalization subsequently creates an increased susceptibility to trauma and harm, such as adverse childhood experiences and adolescent exposure to violence.<sup>45</sup>

Similar to the research on poverty, the literature on trauma has grown extensively<sup>46</sup> in recent years and has pointed to serious, sustained impacts on human stress levels.<sup>47</sup> A cornerstone of this research is the landmark Adverse Childhood Experiences ("ACEs") Study by Rob Anda and Vince Felitti.<sup>48</sup> Drawing from a research sample of more than 9500 adults,<sup>49</sup> the ACEs Study found statistically-sound correlations between the number of traumatic events a person faced in his or her childhood and the

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<sup>43</sup> Jamie Peck & Nik Theodore, *Carceral Chicago: Making the Ex-Offender Employability Crisis*, 32 INT'L J. URB. & REGIONAL RES. 251, 255 (2008); Angela Caputo, *Loopholes*, CHI. REP. (Jan. 1, 2011), <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/loopholes#.UIW7WPldVlw>.

<sup>44</sup> In 2012, the Chicago Police Department made 35,088 drug arrests, compared with 2232 drug arrests in 1964. Mick Dumke, *Heroin, LLC*, CHI. READER (Dec. 4, 2013), <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/heroin-arrests-sales-dealers-west-side-economics/Content?oid=11722393>.

<sup>45</sup> See Christina Paxson & Jane Waldfogel, *Work, Welfare and Child Maltreatment*, 20 J. LAB. ECON. 435, 436 (2002) (analyzing the correlation between the socioeconomic status of families and childhood maltreatment). Neglect and abuse are more prevalent among children with working mothers, absent fathers, two non-working parents, or children living in extreme poverty. *Id.* at 448. Extreme poverty is defined as an income under seventy-five percent of the official poverty line. *Id.* at 435, 448.

<sup>46</sup> Between 1991 and 2012, the number of research articles focusing on trauma increased from 1950 to 47,000. Paula P. Schnurr, *Trauma, PTSD, and Physical Health*, PTSD RES. Q. (Nat'l Ctr. for PTSD), Summer 1996, at 8 (noting that the Published International Literature On Traumatic Stress database cited to 1950 papers in 1991); *PTSD: National Center for PTSD, Professional*, U.S. DEP'T VETERANS AFFAIRS, <http://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/pilots-database/purpose-and-scope.asp> (last updated Jan. 3, 2014) (noting that the Published International Literature On Traumatic Stress database contained over 47,000 references as of July 2012).

<sup>47</sup> NATIONAL CHILDHOOD TRAUMATIC STRESS NETWORK BROCHURE 5, 6, available at [http://www.nctsn.org/sites/default/files/assets/pdfs/nctsn\\_brochure\\_final.pdf](http://www.nctsn.org/sites/default/files/assets/pdfs/nctsn_brochure_final.pdf); ATT'Y GEN. NAT'L TASK FORCE ON CHILDREN EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE, DEFENDING CHILDHOOD 41 (2012).

<sup>48</sup> See Vincent J. Felitti et al., *Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study*, 14 AM. J. PREV. MED. 245 (1998).

<sup>49</sup> The researchers mailed a questionnaire to 13,494 adults who completed a medical evaluation at a large HMO, 9508 of whom responded. *Id.* at 245.

number of negative life outcomes experienced later in life.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, the study found that painful childhood experiences, such as verbal abuse, domestic violence, or family and household dysfunction, can lead to negative life outcomes, such as high-risk health behaviors like substance abuse and sexual behaviors that serve as a coping device.<sup>51</sup> These experiences, in turn, can increase the likelihood of early death.<sup>52</sup>

Reacting violently to certain situations is not a natural impulse, but persistent traumas can shape intergenerational patterns of human behavior.<sup>53</sup> This is largely because of the depth of damage that is possible from adverse events accumulated over time.<sup>54</sup> When the underlying stressors in the lives of trauma survivors are never alleviated, there is little opportunity for healing and recovery.<sup>55</sup> As the ACEs research indicates, when persistent unresolved pain reaches a certain threshold in a person's life, unhealthy outlets for that pain emerge.<sup>56</sup> Significantly, not everyone who survives trauma becomes an aggressor;<sup>57</sup> in fact, the majority do not.<sup>58</sup> But among those who experience adverse childhood experiences, violence is one established response.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Id.* at 245, 251. The ACEs study found a strong “relationship between the breadth of exposure to abuse or household dysfunction during childhood and multiple risk factors for several of the leading causes of death in adults.” *Id.* at 251.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.* at 252–53.

<sup>52</sup> *See id.*

<sup>53</sup> *See* MAIA SZALAVITZ & BRUCE D. PERRY, BORN FOR LOVE: WHY EMPATHY IS ESSENTIAL—AND ENDANGERED 198 (2010) (“Studies show that people exposed to extreme threat regularly develop faster reaction times.”). “Extreme stress changes the way we respond to the world” and “frequently experiencing a state of fear can train the brain to react more impulsively.” *Id.* Trauma can also transmit across and among generations. Molly Castelloe, *How Trauma Is Carried Across Generations*, PSYCHOL. TODAY (May 28, 2012), <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-me-in-we/201205/how-trauma-is-carried-across-generations>. Caregivers who have profound experiences of trauma often have difficulty reacting appropriately to children's needs. *Multigenerational Trauma*, RANCH, <http://www.recoveryranch.com/articles/trauma-and-ptsd-articles/multigenerational-trauma/> (last visited May 11, 2014). Their maladaptive and sometimes violent ways of interacting are adopted by children in their care. *Id.*

<sup>54</sup> *See* Alexandra Cook et al., *Complex Trauma in Children and Adolescents*, 35 PSYCHIATRIC ANNALS 390, 390 (2005) (noting that additional trauma and cumulative impairment may result from children's exposure to complex trauma).

<sup>55</sup> Michael Ungar & Bruce D. Perry, *Violence, Trauma, and Resilience*, in CRUEL BUT NOT UNUSUAL: VIOLENCE IN CANADIAN FAMILIES, at 15 (Ramona Alaggia & Cathy Vine eds., 2d ed. 2012), *available at* <http://cctasp.northwestern.edu/wp-content/uploads/Trauma-Violence-and-Resilience.pdf>; Bruce D. Perry, The ChildTrauma Academy, Introduction to the Neurosequential Model of Therapeutics (NMT) (2010) (PowerPoint *available at* <http://cctasp.northwestern.edu/wp-content/uploads/Introduction-to-the-Neurosequential-Model-of-Therapeutics.pdf>) (notes on file with authors).

<sup>56</sup> *See* Felitti et al., *supra* note 48, at 252–54.

<sup>57</sup> SCOTT MENARD, OFF. OF JUVENILE JUSTICE & DELINQUENCY PREVENTION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, SHORT- AND LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF ADOLESCENT VICTIMIZATION 12 (2002). Analysis in the Youth Violence Research Bulletin of the National Youth Survey showed that roughly fifteen percent of youth who were victims in adolescence would be expected to become property offenders and violent offenders as adults. *Id.* The same data predicted that twenty-six percent of adolescent victims would become domestic violence offenders. *Id.* at 5. Inversely, this indicates that eighty-five percent and seventy-four percent, respectively, of adolescent victims are unlikely to offend with respect to those particular crimes. *Id.*

A wide range of experiences can prompt traumatic responses in individuals, including witnessing community violence, witnessing or being in a severe accident, unexpected or violent loss of a loved one, experiencing neglect or physical and sexual abuse, and other unpredictable events where there is concern about an individual's safety.<sup>60</sup> Each of these traumatic events can have profound effects on a survivor's development and functioning due, at least in part, to the changes that stress related to trauma has on the brain.<sup>61</sup> Exposure to trauma while the brain is developing can impact and harm brain structures involved in regulating emotion and affect the ability to use logic and reasoning.<sup>62</sup> The impact of trauma on the brain is similar to the impact of poverty, suggesting that individuals who grow up in communities where both are common face even greater challenges in life.<sup>63</sup>

### C. *The Limits of Incarceration*

Taken together, the cumulative impact of poverty and trauma create environments where children are not afforded the rights to survival and development, protection from violence, and rehabilitation for victims enumerated in the CRC. Addressing the cumulative disadvantage that limits these rights therefore requires proactive interventions at the population level. However, rather than proactive measures, the current public safety paradigm in the United States focuses almost exclusively on arrest, detention, and prosecution, such that less than five percent of the world's total population, yet nearly twenty-five percent of the world's prison population, is in the United States.<sup>64</sup> This globally unparalleled level of incarceration disproportionately impacts a relatively small number of urban areas.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Id.* (indicating that while many youth victims never offend, youth who have been victimized are far more likely to offend than those who were not victimized).

<sup>59</sup> *From Victim to Aggressor*, PSYCHIATRIC TIMES (June 1, 2007), <http://www.psychiatristimes.com/articles/victim-aggressor>.

<sup>60</sup> Judith Cohen et al., *Practice Parameter for the Assessment and Treatment of Children and Adolescents with Posttraumatic Stress Disorder*, 49 J. AM. ACAD. CHILD. & ADOLESCENT PSYCHIATRY 414, 414–16 (2010).

<sup>61</sup> See Cook et al., *supra* note 54, at 393 (indicating that exposure to stress through abuse or neglect causes the disintegration of analytical capacities on children's brains, "leaving them disorganized cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally and prone to react with extreme helplessness, confusion, withdrawal, or rage").

<sup>62</sup> ERICA J. ADAMS, JUSTICE POLICY INST., *HEALING INVISIBLE WOUNDS: WHY INVESTING IN TRAUMA-INFORMED CARE FOR CHILDREN MAKES SENSE 2* (2010). The brain continues developing up until about age twenty-five, with critical periods of growth from zero to two. *Id.*

<sup>63</sup> Ashlee Loughan & Robert Perna, *Neurocognitive Impacts for Children of Poverty and Neglect*, AM. PSYCHOL. ASS'N. (July 2012), <http://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/newsletter/2012/07/neurocognitive-impacts.aspx> (noting that neglect is one form of trauma with adverse impacts on brain development).

<sup>64</sup> *The Prison Crisis*, ACLU, [www.aclu.org/safe-communities-fair-sentences/prison-crisis](http://www.aclu.org/safe-communities-fair-sentences/prison-crisis) (last visited Oct. 4, 2014).

<sup>65</sup> Robert J. Sampson & Charles Loeffler, *Punishment's Place: The Local Concentration of Mass Incarceration*, DAEDALUS, Summer 2010, at 20, 23.

As with patterns of urban violence, high incarceration levels are also increasingly concentrated in a relatively small number of Chicago neighborhoods.<sup>66</sup> Similar to the district-by-district differential in homicide, the rates of incarceration in African-American communities are at an entirely different magnitude than the rates in Caucasian communities.<sup>67</sup> Nationally, if current rates of incarceration hold steady, one in every three African-American men is projected to be imprisoned at some point in his life, compared to one in seventeen for Caucasian men.<sup>68</sup> This disparity can be even higher when analyzed at local levels,<sup>69</sup> a trend that has great bearing on parent-child relationships in the most impacted neighborhoods.

Crucially, despite their overlapping concentration, high neighborhood incarceration rates can only be partially explained by levels of violence and other forms of crime. In *Punishment's Place*, a pioneering article on the place-based expression of mass incarceration, sociologist Robert Sampson<sup>70</sup> found that across Chicago communities, crime is not a simple predictor of incarceration levels, with high-crime, high-disadvantage areas having many more times the incarceration rate than that of high-crime, low-disadvantage areas.<sup>71</sup> These findings led the authors to argue “communities that experienced high disadvantage experienced incarceration rates *more than three times higher* than communities with a similar crime rate,”<sup>72</sup> thereby indicating that incarceration has become a response to social forces beyond crime, including poverty and race.

The United States' globally unparalleled incarceration levels have serious, though often nuanced, implications for children. As can be predicted by the great disparities in incarceration levels across urban areas, there are large inequities in children's daily risk levels for parental incarceration. New estimates show that the risk of paternal imprisonment for African-American children is large and has grown tremendously in recent decades, whereas the risk of paternal imprisonment for Caucasian children remains

<sup>66</sup> For data from 2000 to 2011, see Angela Caputo, *Cell Blocks*, CHI. REP. (Mar. 1, 2013), <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/cell-blocks#.U1WYPfldVlw>. For incarceration data from 1990 to 2005, see Sampson & Loeffler, *supra* note 65 (noting that in Chicago's low-incarceration areas, “the incarceration rate ranges from nearly zero to less than 500 per 100,000 adult residents. By contrast, there is a dense and spatially contiguous cluster of areas in near-west and south-central Chicago that have rates of incarceration some eight times higher (or more)”).

<sup>67</sup> SAMPSON, *supra* note 17, at 113.

<sup>68</sup> THE SENTENCING PROJECT, REPORT OF THE SENTENCING PROJECT TO THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE REGARDING RACIAL DISPARITIES IN THE UNITED STATES CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM I (2013), available at [http://www.sentencingproject.org/detail/publication.cfm?publication\\_id=519&id=120](http://www.sentencingproject.org/detail/publication.cfm?publication_id=519&id=120).

<sup>69</sup> In Chicago, fifty-five percent of African-American men are labeled felons for life. DRUG POLICY ALLIANCE, DRUG COURTS ARE NOT THE ANSWER: TOWARD A HEALTH-CENTERED APPROACH TO DRUG USE 8 (2011).

<sup>70</sup> Robert Sampson is a member of the research team for the project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods. See *About PHDCN*, PROJECT ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS, <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/PHDCN/about.jsp#research> (last visited May 14, 2014).

<sup>71</sup> Sampson & Loeffler, *supra* note 65, at 20, 27.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.* at 27.

modest.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, the removal of a criminally-active parent is neither universally positive or negative in its effects, with the effects of parental imprisonment varying significantly by offense type and level of domestic violence. Leading scholars suggest that changing carceral policies to focus on “nonviolent offenders who have not engaged in domestic violence might diminish the effects of mass imprisonment on childhood well-being” and reduce adverse childhood impacts.<sup>74</sup> These nonviolent offenders are parents who often keep their criminal behaviors hidden from their children, have good parent-child relationships, and contribute economically to the maintenance of the family.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the variable effects on children by offense type, scholars have found that the cumulative effects of parental incarceration have caused mass incarceration to become a vehicle for “the intergenerational transmission of racial inequality,” effecting their children for years even after those sentences are served. Drawing from the longitudinal data of both the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (“PHDCN”) and the Fragile Families and Childhood Wellbeing Study (“FFCW”), scholars estimate the impact of a father going to prison on children’s behavioral and mental health problems, combining this with a study that “provides estimates of the risk of parental imprisonment for [Caucasian]and [African-American] children born in 1978 and 1990.”<sup>76</sup> Based on their findings, the researchers assert, “the prison boom might have long-term consequences for racial inequities even if the imprisonment rate were to return to its 1970s level today.”<sup>77</sup> Out of this conclusion, they call for strengthening the social support structures for the poorest children.<sup>78</sup> Importantly, although the researchers are highly focused on the impact of parental incarceration, they posit that the concentrated nature of mass incarceration “also suggests strong effects within families and high-

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<sup>73</sup> Christopher Wildeman, *Parental Imprisonment, the Prison Boom, and the Concentration of Childhood Disadvantage*, 46 DEMOGRAPHY 265, 270–71 (2009).

<sup>74</sup> Sarah Wakefield & Christopher Wildeman, *Mass Imprisonment and Racial Disparities in Childhood Behavior Problems*, 10 CRIM. & PUB. POL’Y 791, 796 (2011).

<sup>75</sup> *Id.*

<sup>76</sup> Wakefield & Wildeman, *supra* note 74, at 795. The researchers’ analysis is based on massive datasets tracking the individual-level outcomes of children. *Id.* at 796. Drawing from the PHDCN and FFCW study, Wakefield and Wildeman work towards “[t]he average effect of paternal incarceration on children” through a combination of “propensity score, lagged dependent variable, and difference-in-differences (or fixed-effects) models.” *Id.* at 798. Using three waves of data collection from 1994–2002, the PHDCN followed 6000 children, adolescents, and young adults in Chicago neighborhoods. *Id.* at 796. The study used the Child Behavior Checklist, which measures internalizing problems like depression or somatic complaints, externalizing problems such as aggression or delinquency, as well as total behavioral problems. *Id.* at 797. Meanwhile, the FFCW followed 5000 children born between 1998 and 2000 in twenty large cities, conducting interviews in hospitals shortly after parents gave birth and interviewing parents again after twelve, thirty-six, and sixty months. *Id.* at 796. Speaking to the advantages of their non-parallel data sets, Wakefield and Wildeman assert, “the sampling frames, although different across data sources, ensure a large and diverse sample of children of incarcerated fathers and similarly situated peers for comparison.” *Id.* at 797.

<sup>77</sup> *Id.* at 795.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.* at 805–07.

imprisonment rate communities.”<sup>79</sup>

These patterns of intensive punishment do little to reduce community-level stress loads over time.<sup>80</sup> Rather than providing opportunities for healing or support, incarceration magnifies the intertwined challenges of weak social capital, barren opportunity landscapes, and disrupted human development pathways.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, as demonstrated, concentrated incarceration poses significant barriers to the rights of the child, as the removal of each generation's parents reduces the available role models and support systems for children and youth growing up in high crime areas.<sup>82</sup> In the case of parental incarceration, the criminal justice response often intensifies household stress levels, though the effects on the family vary significantly from case to case.<sup>83</sup> In contrast to such an exclusively punitive approach, to ensure the rights of the child it is necessary to build a more robust public safety system that can address the *underlying* parental and household stressors that frequently undermine parents' ability to keep their children safe. Moving forward, the authors assert that we must build a public safety system that proactively works to reduce poverty and to disrupt the cyclical nature of trauma and violence to recognize the rights of the child.

#### IV. INTERVENING AT THE POPULATION LEVEL

One key question for practitioners and policymakers seeking to proactively reduce levels of urban violence is “How do we effectively change the neighborhood context in which violence occurs?” Addressing cumulative disadvantage can at times be an overwhelming task, but policymakers, researchers, and practitioners in the field of violence prevention are making significant advances in creating responses to the toxic stress levels that result from the dual challenge of poverty and trauma.<sup>84</sup> This Part

<sup>79</sup> Wakefield & Wildeman, *supra* note 75, at 796; Joseph Murray & David P. Farrington, *The Effects of Parental Imprisonment on Children*, 37 CRIME & JUST.: A REV. OF RES. 133, 165, 174 (2008).

<sup>80</sup> See generally NAT'L ASS'N FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, MISPLACED PRIORITIES: OVER INCARCERATE, UNDER EDUCATE (2011) [hereinafter MISPLACED PRIORITIES] (discussing how over-incarceration impacts communities, specifically by reducing educational opportunities and incarcerating individuals with treatable mental illness).

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., Bruce Western et al., *Incarceration and Bonds Between Parents in Fragile Families*, in IMPRISONING AMERICA: THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MASS INCARCERATION 41 (Mary Patillo et al. eds., 2006) (discussing how incarceration “exacerbates behavioral problems, limits educational opportunities, and raises the risks of unemployment”); INVISIBLE PUNISHMENT: THE COLLATERAL CONSEQUENCES OF MASS INCARCERATION 27 (Meda Chesney-Lind & Marc Mauer eds. 2003).

<sup>82</sup> See DONALD BRAMAN, DOING TIME ON THE OUTSIDE: INCARCERATION AND FAMILY LIFE IN URBAN AMERICA 89–96 (2004).

<sup>83</sup> See, e.g., JEREMY TRAVIS & MICHELLE WAUL, PRISONERS ONCE REMOVED: THE IMPACT OF INCARCERATION AND REENTRY ON CHILDREN, FAMILIES, AND COMMUNITIES 22–25 (2004) (discussing the “host of challenges” prisoners face upon release from prison and reentry back to their families, including reestablishing relationships and finding stable housing).

<sup>84</sup> According to Harvard's Center on the Developing Child, toxic stress is inclusive of the types of stress that result from both prolonged economic hardship and specific traumatic events. Toxic stress arises when

discusses some of these advances and offers insight for improved intervention design and sharing strategies for population level approaches to violence prevention within Chicago neighborhoods.

The policy approaches highlighted in this Part fall within three essential strategies: (1) emphasizing healing through positive relationships; (2) focusing on human capital and positive identity formation; and (3) committing to collective impact. While there are certainly other types of population level strategies that are a meaningful part of the solution to community violence, such as the CURE Violence approach to shifting social norms,<sup>85</sup> this Article take the three strategies denoted above as vital elements for meaningful, long-term interventions that lead to sustained reductions.

Central to each of the strategies discussed in this Part is a fundamental belief in the ability of young people to make major positive changes in their lives, even those who are already involved in violence. As leading practitioners<sup>86</sup> in the field of youth violence prevention have pointed out, the current societal paradigm for understanding adolescent misbehavior frames young people as “either ‘sick’ or deficient in moral character,” both of which present them as fundamentally defective.<sup>87</sup> In contrast, trauma theory frames the issue as involving injured individuals who are “in need of healing.”<sup>88</sup> Rather than treatment or punishment, trauma theory framework invites other practitioners to use a paradigm of healing and recovery to address the harms that youth have suffered and the resulting misbehaviors.<sup>89</sup> Research indicates that the injuries resulting from trauma and poverty are real, and in the absence of outside support, may grow and even become self-

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[A] child experiences strong, frequent, and/or prolonged adversity—such as physical or emotional abuse, chronic neglect, caregiver substance abuse or mental illness, exposure to violence, and/or the accumulated burdens of family economic hardship—without adequate adult support. This kind of prolonged activation of the stress response systems can disrupt the development of brain architecture and other organ systems, and increase the risk for stress-related disease and cognitive impairment, well into the adult years.

*Toxic Stress: The Facts*, CENTER ON DEVELOPING CHILD, [http://developingchild.harvard.edu/topics/science\\_of\\_early\\_childhood/toxic\\_stress\\_response/](http://developingchild.harvard.edu/topics/science_of_early_childhood/toxic_stress_response/) (last visited May 5, 2014).

<sup>85</sup> CURE Violence is an international violence prevention training organization rooted in an epidemiological framework. See *What We Do*, CURE VIOLENCE, <http://cureviolence.org/what-we-do/> (last visited Mar. 19, 2014). Although CURE Violence is recognized as a leader in this field, its framework does not address underlying trauma or cumulative disadvantage. See *The Model*, CURE VIOLENCE, <http://cureviolence.org/what-we-do/the-model/> (last visited May 5, 2014) (describing the focus of the model as violence and community norms, with no reference to trauma or community disadvantage).

<sup>86</sup> MacArthur Genius awardee John Rich and his colleague Theodore Corbin of the Center for Nonviolence and Social Justice at Drexel University. See JOHN RICH ET AL., DREXEL UNIV. CTR. FOR NONVIOLENCE & SOC. JUSTICE, *HEALING THE HURT: TRAUMA-INFORMED APPROACHES TO THE HEALTH OF BOYS AND YOUNG MEN OF COLOR* (2009). See the MacArthur Foundation website for additional information, <http://www.macfound.org/videos/308/>.

<sup>87</sup> *Id.* at 6.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*

<sup>89</sup> *Id.*

perpetuating.<sup>90</sup> The logic of this approach is further supported by what criminologists refer to as the “victim-offender overlap,” which explains how those who survive other people’s wrongdoing are more likely to become perpetrators of crime.<sup>91</sup> In fact, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency has found that a consequence of previous exposure to violence involves “a greater risk of early and chronic involvement with the juvenile justice system” and identified a correlation between drug use, truancy and early exposure to violence.<sup>92</sup> Because exposure to violence therefore impacts an individual and his or her community, a strategic policy focused on healing through relationships, building human capital, and creating collective impact offers a path out of current cycles of harm.

#### A. Healing Through Relationships

Low-income and minority youth are many times more likely to have witnessed severe violence in the community,<sup>93</sup> making it more likely that these children may be prone to develop posttraumatic stress disorder (“PTSD”) or experience similar symptoms.<sup>94</sup> When these underlying traumas are not addressed, symptoms can become visible through low academic grades, sleep deprivation, depression, anger problems, nightmares, and other maladaptive coping behaviors such as substance abuse.<sup>95</sup> Affected youth, however, may not seek mental health services and may avoid seeking treatment for fear of being perceived as weak.<sup>96</sup> In the absence of such supports, young people with high levels of exposure to personal trauma and community violence commonly move through life in a state of chronic hyper-arousal, so that small everyday frictions are perceived as legitimate threats.<sup>97</sup> From a neuroscience perspective, this is the result of a

<sup>90</sup> MENARD, *supra* note 57, at 8 (indicating that youth who have been victimized have high rates of later life problems); *From Victim to Aggressor*, *supra* note 59 (discussing the strength of the relationship between youth victimization and eventual offending).

<sup>91</sup> Jennifer N. Shaffer, *The Victim-Offender Overlap: Specifying the Role of Peer Groups* 7, 30 (Dec. 2003) (unpublished thesis, Penn. State Univ. Graduate Sch.), *available at* <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/205126.pdf>.

<sup>92</sup> LIHN VUONG ET AL., NAT’L COUNCIL ON CRIME & DELINQUENCY, CHILDREN EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE 2 (2009), *available at* [http://www.nccdglobal.org/sites/default/files/publication\\_pdf/focus-children.pdf](http://www.nccdglobal.org/sites/default/files/publication_pdf/focus-children.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> FINKELHOR ET AL., *supra* note 1, at 9.

<sup>94</sup> *See* Asa Don Brown, *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Childhood*, AM. ACAD. EXPERTS TRAUMATIC STRESS, <http://www.aets.org/article190.htm> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014). PTSD “is the exposure to a trauma or a set of traumatic experiences.” *Id.* Childhood exposure to violence often leads to symptoms of PTSD, although this disorder may be challenging to diagnosis in adults. *Id.*

<sup>95</sup> *Id.*; SUSAN F. COLE ET AL., MASS. ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN, HELPING TRAUMATIZED CHILDREN LEARN 22–24, 31 (2005).

<sup>96</sup> *See* Laverne S. Williams, Director, Promoting Emotional Wellness & Spirituality Program, Presentation: Mental Health Challenges Facing African American Youth in Urban Communities 26, 35 (PowerPoint *available at* <http://www.njmhi.org/presentations/MH%20Challenges%20with%20AA%20Youth%20-%20Laverne%20Williams.pdf>).

<sup>97</sup> *See* Alan Carr, *Interventions for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Children and Adolescents*, 7 PEDIATRIC REHABILITATION 231, 232 (2004) (indicating that with hyper-arousal, children may present with obsessional fears or concerns, be prone to irritable and angry outbursts, and have difficulty maintaining relationships).

constantly-igniting amygdala triggered by a consistent stream of perceived threats.<sup>98</sup> Over-activity of the amygdala causes young people to move through life in a state of alarm, a state that frequently prevents them from using their deeper reasoning and keeps them operating at a largely emotional level.<sup>99</sup>

According to the work of Dr. Bruce Perry, whose research focuses on the neurobiology of relationships, all human beings have a basic need for rhythm and relationships to appropriately regulate their body systems.<sup>100</sup> Building on Dr. Perry's insights, the YMCA of Metro Chicago's Youth Safety and Violence Prevention strategy ("YSVP") targets those youth who have high levels of personal exposure to trauma but are unwilling to seek clinical treatment.<sup>101</sup> Using a trauma-informed, mentorship-based approach to youth development, YSVP aims to support those youth whose levels of toxic stress make self-regulatory behaviors more difficult.<sup>102</sup> By helping these young people process and release their trauma in non-clinical community-based settings, the initiative works to reduce the likelihood and depth of their involvement in dangerous street networks, like gangs, and to increase their ability to create a positive future for themselves.<sup>103</sup> The initiative also works to support the family members of participating young people, using a dual generation approach that seeks to both mitigate past traumas and prevent their future occurrence. At the core of YSVP's design is an understanding that healthy relationships are key to self-regulation and thus an essential component of any individual's capacity for positive change, laying the groundwork for complementary capacity building programs.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> See *The Anatomy of Trauma*, UNIV. MICH. SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION & AWARENESS CTR., <http://sapac.umich.edu/article/anatomy-trauma-0> (last visited Apr. 21, 2014); Carr, *supra* note 97, at 235. The amygdala is part of the brain's limbic system and plays a vital role in expression of emotions triggered by negative experiences.

<sup>99</sup> *The Anatomy of Trauma*, *supra* note 98; Carr, *supra* note 97, at 235.

<sup>100</sup> SZALAVITZ & PERRY, *supra* note 35, at 10. Dr. Perry's work implies that relationships are vital for the regulation and buffering of stress, both when experiencing stressful events and when healing after such events have occurred. *Id.* at 15–16. Our brains are actually organized for interconnectedness. *Id.* Humans are neurobiologically 'wired' to create and maintain bonds with others. *Id.* at 21. These connections help brains effectively integrate their various areas and functions from the cortex, to the limbic system, to the diencephalon, to the brainstem. *Id.* at 338–42. When the brain's connections with others are severed—through violence or other forms of traumatic loss—there are profound and lasting impacts on the ability to direct behavior, an impact that is especially pronounced when this loss occurs in childhood and adolescence. *Id.*

<sup>101</sup> *Youth Safety and Violence Prevention*, YMCA METRO CHI., <http://www.ymcachicago.org/programs/youth-safety-and-violence-prevention> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014)

<sup>102</sup> See *id.* (providing more detail about YSVP).

<sup>103</sup> The YSVP program structures are implemented by staff who do not have clinical training, but the program structures are designed to incorporate opportunities for youth to practice self-regulation and begin to process experiences for trauma. See *id.*

<sup>104</sup> SZALAVITZ & PERRY, *supra* note 35, at 3–6; *Youth Safety and Violence Prevention*, *supra* note 101.

### B. Building Capacity

In stark contrast to a capacity-building approach,<sup>105</sup> juvenile incarceration has been shown to have extremely negative impacts on human capital formation, yielding few to no long-term gains for an approach with such a high price tag.<sup>106</sup> Although punitive strategies succeed at temporarily removing people who pose a legitimate threat to public safety,<sup>107</sup> they also deepen an individual's dependence on a criminal identity.<sup>108</sup> Additionally, punitive strategies drain vital public resources from human development systems such as schools.<sup>109</sup> As a result, punitive strategies do little to improve the infrastructure of neighborhoods or the capacities of the people living within them.<sup>110</sup>

In contrast to traditional punitive approaches, Strengthening Chicago's Youth ("SCY"), a new public health-oriented initiative, has emerged in Chicago with "the goal of educating and raising awareness on effective ways to reduce and prevent youth violence."<sup>111</sup> Based at Lurie Children's Hospital, SCY promotes a "Focus on Five" platform that calls for:

- Sustained investment in children and youth[;]
- Equitable access to high quality mental health services[;]
- Common sense approaches to gun violence prevention[;]
- Juvenile justice system that reflects what we know about adolescent development[;]

<sup>105</sup> See generally MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM, CREATING CAPABILITIES: THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT APPROACH (2011) (asserting that capabilities are essential for people to control and plan their own lives).

<sup>106</sup> Anna Aizer & Joseph J. Doyle, Jr., *Juvenile Incarceration, Human Capital and Future Crime: Evidence from Randomly-Assigned Judges 4* (Nat'l Bureau of Econ. Research, Working Paper No. 19102, 2013), available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w19102>. "Juvenile incarceration is expensive, with expenditures on juvenile corrections totalling [sic] \$6 billion annually in the US, and the average (direct) cost of a incarcerating a juvenile is \$88,000 for a 12 month stay." *Id.* at 28; COOK COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE TASK FORCE, COMMUNITY JUSTICE CONCEPT PAPER, (2012) [hereinafter CONCEPT PAPER], available at <http://nicic.gov/library/027268> (including data about the high cost of juvenile incarceration).

<sup>107</sup> Aizer & Doyle, *supra* note 106, at 28.

<sup>108</sup> See generally MISPLACED PRIORITIES, *supra* note 80 (detailing the United States' continued investment in incarceration at the expense of the education systems).

With most of the money related to these incarcerations going toward the cost of imprisonment, little is left for prevention, treatment, education, and services to help prisoners deal with the challenges that led them to crimes and imprisonment in the first place. Therefore the cycle of addiction, unemployment, and crime continues or worsens upon their release.

*Id.* at 9.

<sup>109</sup> See *id.* at 9 (noting that nearly seventy billion dollars is spent each year in the United States to incarcerate people in prisons and jails).

<sup>110</sup> See generally Todd R. Clear, IMPRISONING COMMUNITIES: HOW MASS INCARCERATION MAKES DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBORHOODS WORSE 88 (2007) (exploring how mass incarceration negatively impacts communities, including adding to lack of positive role models and high levels of unemployment).

<sup>111</sup> *Focus on Five*, STRENGTHENING CHI.'S YOUTH, <http://www.scy-chicago.org/index.php/component/content/article/22-home/44-nyvpw> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014).

- Sustained investment in strong communities.<sup>112</sup>

SCY's approach attempts to fundamentally align youth development and community safety outcomes.<sup>113</sup> Explicitly linking resource availability and violence prevention, SCY's call for sustained investments in children, youth, and communities could have major effects on population level stress reduction.<sup>114</sup> By strengthening the resources available to educational day cares, schools, community centers, and youth mentoring programs, SCY's advocacy efforts could help to change the opportunity structure in neighborhoods where violence-involved identities are now far too common.<sup>115</sup> Similar arguments have also been promoted by the Adler School of Psychology's Institute on Public Safety and Social Justice ("IPSSJ"), which has called for the reinvestment of juvenile detention dollars into community-based restorative justice hubs.<sup>116</sup> If realized, these calls would improve the reach and impact of those institutions dedicated to positive childhood and youth development, thereby shifting the environmental conditions in which adolescent trajectories are forged and social meanings are assigned.<sup>117</sup>

Moreover, any positive shift in the human development resources of high-violence communities will weaken the recruitment capacities of local street gangs.<sup>118</sup> In high-violence communities plagued with chronic disadvantage and social exclusion, gangs provide a sense of security and acceptance to their members.<sup>119</sup> Gangs recruit

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<sup>112</sup> *Id.*

<sup>113</sup> *SCY Concept Paper*, STRENGTHENING CHI.'S YOUTH, <http://www.scy-chicago.org/index.php/about/21-scy-concept-paper> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014).

<sup>114</sup> The lack of many of these resources, particularly investment in youth and communities, equitable access to mental health care, and a developmentally-appropriate juvenile justice system, perpetuates cycles of poverty and trauma in communities. *See supra* Part III.

<sup>115</sup> In many high-violence communities, the most appealing and accessible ways to make money or have status may be to become involved in the drug trade or gangs. *See supra* Part III.A. However, the investments proposed by SCY have the potential to change the opportunities for youth to earn money and gain status in their communities.

<sup>116</sup> CONCEPT PAPER, *supra* note 106, at 2–4.

<sup>117</sup> See Fergus McNeill et al., *Inspiring Desistance? Art Projects and 'What Works?'* 37 JUSTITIELE VERKENNINGEN 80 (2011) (originally published in Dutch), for more on the identity-environment relationship. The authors' "Principle of Agency" concept asserts that individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstance. *Id.* at 4. As the article details, individuals seize opportunities to adopt new identities when they are provided. *Id.* IPSSJ and SCY's approaches both propose shifts in resources that provide broader opportunities and choices for youth. CONCEPT PAPER, *supra* note 106, at 8; *SCY Concept Paper*, *supra* note 113.

<sup>118</sup> See Carl S. Taylor & Pamela R. Smith, *The Attraction of Gangs: How Can We Reduce It?*, in CHANGING COURSE: PREVENTING GANG MEMBERSHIP 19, 23–27 (2013) (discussing the opportunities for positive youth engagement and meaningful employment to decrease gang involvement); Jorja Leap, *What Should Be Done in the Community to Prevent Gang-Joining*, in CHANGING COURSES: PREVENTING GANG MEMBERSHIP 105, 106, 110 (2013) (describing the potential of positive mentoring to replace the foundations of gangs).

<sup>119</sup> Taylor & Smith, *supra* note 118, at 22; *see also* McNeill et al., *supra* note 117 (further exploring the importance of identity and belonging); Adrienne Freng & Terrance Taylor, *Race and Ethnicity: What are*

young men and women to their organizations and help these recruits learn anti-social approaches for adapting to poverty and violence.<sup>120</sup> Very few other people help these youth make sense of circumstances that, all too often, lead to maladaptive coping behaviors.<sup>121</sup> In the absence of compelling local alternatives, however, young people turn to gangs for a sense of identity and belonging, a false sense of protection, a source of material resources, and emotional support in the absence of other role models.<sup>122</sup> By emphasizing community supports such as investment in youth development programs, access to mental health services, and investment in the community, the strategies of SCY and IPSSJ offer opportunities for alternative identity formation, development of positive coping skills, and additional opportunity pathways (e.g., expanded college access, career opportunities).<sup>123</sup>

### C. Collective Impact

No matter how influential or well designed, no single organization has the power needed to shift the community contexts in which violence occurs. Without the government as a fully-invested partner, even multiple effective civil society organizations will struggle to create change at the scale that is needed to better align youth development and community safety outcomes. To advance the strategies named above—reducing the impact and likelihood of trauma and building human capacity—it is therefore necessary to work from a fundamental commitment to collective impact.

As defined by the non-profit firm FSG, a global leader in social impact consulting,<sup>124</sup> collective impact “is the commitment of a group of actors from different sectors to a common agenda for solving a complex social problem.”<sup>125</sup> Compared to a mainstream paradigm of “isolated impact,” collective impact approaches are built on the idea that “no single organization can create large-scale, lasting social change alone.”<sup>126</sup> Though strong organizations and programs are an essential part of effective social

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*Their Roles in Gang Membership*, in CHANGING COURSE: PREVENTING GANG MEMBERSHIP 135, 135–36 (2013) (discussing how gangs meet different needs for youth of different races, but are not limited to any on racial or ethnic group).

<sup>120</sup> Taylor & Smith, *supra* note 118, at 22. Young people in gangs often engage in illicit activity, such as “selling stolen goods or drugs[] to maintain a livelihood.” *Id.* at 24. Additionally, gang affiliation provides a sense of security to gang members, allowing them to believe they are less likely to be victimized by members of the community. *Id.* at 22. Nevertheless, “[r]esearch indicates that the risk of being victimized is greater for gang members” as a result of violent encounters within and across gangs. *Id.*

<sup>121</sup> *Id.* at 21–22.

<sup>122</sup> *Id.* at 20–22.

<sup>123</sup> *Focus on Five*, *supra* note 111. The interventions supported by these organizations are aligned with best practices. McNeill et al., *supra* note 117, at 7 (outlining six key factors in desistance work); Carr, *supra* note 97, at 237–42 (outlining critical factors in treatment of individuals with PTSD).

<sup>124</sup> SHARED VALUE INITIATIVE, <https://www.sharedvalue.org/> (last visited May 5, 2014) (describing FSG’s work with a global network of funders to drive adoption of shared values); *Global Impact*, FSG, <http://www.fsg.org/tabid/226/Default.aspx> (last visited May 14, 2014). FSG provides consulting regarding collective impact strategies on six continents. *Id.*

<sup>125</sup> *What Is Collective Impact?*, FSG, <http://www.fsg.org/OurApproach/WhatIsCollectiveImpact.aspx> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014).

<sup>126</sup> *Id.*

change, such initiatives are not enough to change deeply-entrenched patterns that warrant more complex, multi-dimensional solutions.<sup>127</sup> In particular, FSG calls for ongoing, well-coordinated, and clearly-defined partnerships between government, civil society, and business.<sup>128</sup> FSG outlines the following five layers for a successful collective impact strategy: (1) a common agenda, (2) shared measurement, (3) mutually-reinforcing activities, (4) continuous communication, and (5) a backbone organization.<sup>129</sup> Each of these layers is seen as an essential part of long-term success.<sup>130</sup> Thus, the principle of collective impact illuminates the centrality of healthy inter-organizational relationships, whereby no agency seeks to take on major social challenges in isolation.<sup>131</sup>

In Chicago today, one impressive example of collective impact applied to the field of violence prevention is Testing the Model (“TTM”), “youth development as a vehicle to public safety” in Little Village, coordinated by Enlace Chicago and supported by the Local Initiative Support Corporation and the Macarthur Foundation.<sup>132</sup> By harnessing the respective skills and missions of multiple youth development agencies, Enlace Chicago is coordinating a neighborhood wide effort to improve developmental outcomes for fifth through eighth grade students.<sup>133</sup> To date, the TTM project has successfully organized a diverse set of agencies and stakeholders to use a shared measurement and data platform, thereby enabling the tracking of progress (or lack of progress) among youth and families within the effort’s geographical boundaries.<sup>134</sup> Moving forward, Enlace’s TTM approach should serve as an example for similar initiatives in other neighborhoods, as well as broader citywide efforts.<sup>135</sup> The leadership of TTM shows how inter-organizational collaborations can be leveraged to strengthen interpersonal relationships on the ground, thereby interrupting the cycle of trauma and violence.

## V. SAFETY AND JUSTICE: TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM

With a predominant focus on suppression and incapacitation, the United States’ public safety system is ill-prepared to uphold the rights enumerated in the CRC. As a

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<sup>127</sup> *Id.*

<sup>128</sup> *Id.*

<sup>129</sup> *Id.*; FSG, COLLECTIVE IMPACT CASE STUDY: OPPORTUNITY CHICAGO 3–5 (2013), available at [http://www.fsg.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/PDF/CI\\_Case\\_Study\\_Opportunity\\_Chicago.pdf](http://www.fsg.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/PDF/CI_Case_Study_Opportunity_Chicago.pdf).

<sup>130</sup> *What Is Collective Impact?*, *supra* note 125.

<sup>131</sup> *Id.*

<sup>132</sup> *Testing the Model: Phase Two Action Grant*, ENLACE CHI., <http://enlacechicago.org/testing-the-model-phase-two-action-grant/> (last visited Mar. 7, 2014). The TTM initiative is coordinated by Enlace Chicago and supported by the Local Initiative Support Corporation and the Macarthur Foundation. *Id.*

<sup>133</sup> *Id.*

<sup>134</sup> This information is based off the authors’ conversations with Enlace Chicago’s Violence Prevention Director.

<sup>135</sup> This information is based off the authors’ conversations with Enlace Chicago’s Violence Prevention Director. See also *Testing the Model Phase Two Action Grant*, *supra* note 132 (discussing the second phase of TTM to “build upon successes of the first phase as well as to integrate new partners into the network”).

result, this Article argues that it is nearly impossible for Chicago to uphold its 2009 resolution to “advance policies and practices that are in harmony with the principles of the [CRC] in all city agencies and organizations that address issues directly affecting the City’s children.”<sup>136</sup> The current public safety system is oriented toward punishment, yet the goal of punishment does not align with community-based organizations’ efforts to ensure development, safety, and rehabilitation of children.

Currently, Chicago’s response to crime and violence fails to build any real human capital or to address the underlying traumas of individuals and groups involved in violent activities.<sup>137</sup> Most notably, the public safety system’s punitive policies have largely failed to address underlying neighborhood stressors in those areas with the highest levels of poverty, violence, and rates of incarceration.<sup>138</sup>

To close the public safety gap between high-violence neighborhoods and more affluent areas, it is necessary to first close the gap between Chicago’s stated desire to uphold the Rights of the Child and its actual capacity to do so.<sup>139</sup> In particular, service providers, community coalitions, and governmental entities must build our public safety system’s capacity to uphold children’s rights to survival and development, protection from all forms of violence, and rehabilitation following victimization. Because previous victimization is strongly correlated with future offending,<sup>140</sup> the full realization of any one of these rights has the potential to transform the lived realities for thousands of children in Chicago’s highest-stress communities. Recognizing and ensuring these rights, however, should not be isolated to one or two of the City’s public systems, as Chicago’s children are directly affected by a wide spectrum of city agencies.<sup>141</sup> Cook County and the State of Illinois must therefore be held to the same standards of excellence whenever such an agency applies its authority in ways that impact children and youth in Chicago neighborhoods. Only with a standardized approach can we hope to comprehensively address the underlying drivers of violence affecting the survival and development of youth and communities that disproportionately affects Chicago’s South and West neighborhoods.

In place of a near-total concern with punishment, this Article calls for a public safety system that places proactive violence prevention in a manner that protects the

<sup>136</sup> Chicago Resolution, *supra* note 7.

<sup>137</sup> See *supra* Part III.

<sup>138</sup> See *supra* Part III.

<sup>139</sup> See *supra* Part II and III for a description of the gap between the ideals of the CRC and the realities of cumulative disadvantage impacting many of Chicago’s youth.

<sup>140</sup> See MENARD, *supra* note 57, at 2.

<sup>141</sup> Agencies providing services of funding to Chicago’s youth include the Department of Family Support Services, Department of Public Health, and the Public Safety Consortium, consisting of the Fire, Police, Aviation and Public Health departments as well as the Office of Emergency Management and Communications (“OEMC”) and Chicago Transit Authority (“CTA”). *Department of Family Support Services*, CITY OF CHI., <http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/fss.html> (last visited May 5, 2014); *Department of Public Health*, CITY OF CHI., <http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/cdph.html> (last visited May 5, 2014); *Safety Programs and Initiatives*, CITY OF CHI., <http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/progs/safety.html> (last visited May 5, 2014).

Rights of the Child at the very center of its efforts, moving from failed retributive policies to strategies that can positively transform households and blocks. As discussed in the cases of YSVP, SCY, IPSSJ, and Enlace, promising emerging strategies include strengthening human capital and positive social identity, reducing trauma and building resiliency, and improving cross-organizational impact. All of these approaches have the potential to reduce the toxic stress that now perpetuate cycles of patterns of harm and wrongdoing in Chicago's high-violence areas. Only by addressing these underlying stressors can we hope to successfully protect children's full rights to life.