

Youth Data & Intervention Initiative

Identifying and Intervening With Youth at Risk for Future Gun Violence

NCJR
National Institute for
Criminal Justice Reform

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Executive Summary

In 2022, the National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (NICJR) launched the Youth Data and Intervention Initiative (YDII), an intensive research and data analysis project designed to help jurisdictions proactively identify, engage, and support young people at elevated risk of future involvement in gun violence. YDII is part of NICJR's broader effort to develop effective processes for identifying and supporting high-risk and hard-to-reach (HR²) youth—young people who engage in serious delinquency and violence but are not being effectively engaged by traditional youth-serving systems. Drawing on NICJR's extensive experience working with very high-risk youth and adults across the country, YDII applies data-driven approaches to: 1) help jurisdictions better identify children and early adolescents who have the series of risk factors that give them an elevated risk of being involved in gun violence as young adults, and 2) connect these youth and their families with intensive interventions and supports before their involvement in violence escalates.

While the vast majority of individuals involved in gun violence, particularly those involved in shootings and homicides, are over the age of 18, NICJR's work has made it clear that most adults who go on to be involved in shootings demonstrate warning signs far in advance. Even as policymakers and practitioners increasingly recognize the importance of intervening with those currently involved in violence, it is also essential to prevent others from progressing along this trajectory. To do so, we must better understand how to proactively identify these young people, while also being careful to distinguish these risk factors from more typical adolescent boundary-pushing and misbehavior.

To this end, NICJR conducted a multi-year, multi-site analysis of the lives, experiences, and trajectories of youth and young adults involved in serious and violent crime—specifically homicides, attempted homicides, aggravated assaults, and other firearm-related offenses. Because risk factors associated with serious violence often emerge years before a crime occurs, this study identifies these factors to help jurisdictions recognize and intervene with high-risk young people earlier through focused, holistic support.

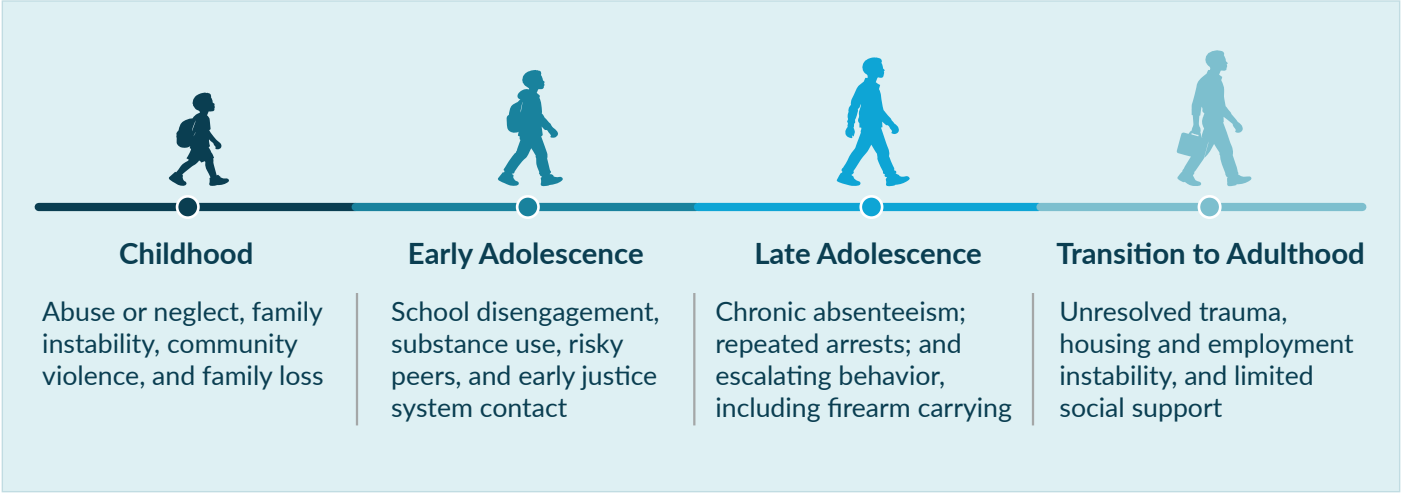
This report builds on two prior YDII reports. The first synthesized existing evidence on risk factors for gun violence, and the second presented preliminary findings from primary data collection to understand the characteristics and experiences of youth and young adults involved in shootings.[1]

Existing research shows that individuals who perpetrate shootings often experience several known risk factors, such as adverse childhood experiences, school disengagement, and extensive involvement in the criminal or juvenile justice systems.[2,3,4] Although a substantial body of life-course research exists regarding the development of violent behavior, far less research has focused specifically on the childhood and adolescent trajectories of adults who become involved in shootings.

To address this gap, the NICJR conducted a mixed-methods, multi-site study across Washington, DC; Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; the state of Maryland; and the cities of Oakland and Los Angeles, California. YDII initially aimed to identify a specific set of risk factors that jurisdictions could use to recognize young people at high risk of future involvement in gun violence and provide intervention services. The research ultimately pointed to a more complex finding: Particular risk factors matter, but so do both the sequence in which young people experience them and the ways those experiences interact over time. This finding led NICJR to adopt a life-course framework for the analysis and organize the findings around four formative phases of development: childhood, early adolescence, late adolescence, and the transition to adulthood.

During childhood, many study participants experienced abuse or neglect, family instability, neighborhood violence, and the loss or incarceration of family members. In early adolescence, those experiences began to affect their school engagement, substance use, peer relationships, and contact with the juvenile justice

system. By late adolescence, many were chronically absent from school, repeatedly arrested or incarcerated, and engaged in more serious conduct, including firearm carrying. During the transition to adulthood, unresolved trauma and limited access to employment, housing, and supportive relationships left many participants with few sources of stability before a serious, violent incident occurred.



Across these five jurisdictions, the findings show that serious violence rarely resulted from a single event; rather, it was the outcome of interconnected experiences that accumulated over time. Chronic absenteeism, age at first substantiated incidence of abuse, and juvenile arrests for violent offenses all emerged as important markers of later involvement in serious violence. The findings in this report suggest that many of the experiences associated with later gun violence emerge years before the most serious incident occurs. Through YDII, NICJR aims to help jurisdictions apply a life-course approach to identify these risks earlier, coordinate information across systems, and connect high-risk youth and their families to timely, intensive support before serious violence occurs.

Through a four-step process, jurisdictions can leverage the lessons of this report to identify and intervene with young people who may be on a path toward engaging in violence. Although implementing each of these steps can be politically and bureaucratically difficult, it is nonetheless very important.

1. Analyze two to five years of recent local gun violence, examining the risk factors, experiences, and characteristics, particularly during childhood and adolescence (ages 11–14), of individuals who later perpetrated gun violence.
2. Based on this analysis, establish the set of risk factors and a locally defined risk threshold for intervention when youth are considered to be at very elevated risk for involvement in future gun violence.
3. Create a system or process by which youth aged 11–14 can be screened for the risk factors identified, and when a youth reaches the threshold number (i.e., 10), enroll them in the intensive engagement discussed in number 4 below.
4. Engage identified youth and families with intensive, relationship-based support, including all of the following: life coaching, basic needs assistance, therapeutic services, education and employment support, and system navigation.



Introduction

The National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (NICJR) launched the Youth Data and Intervention Initiative (YDII), an intensive research and data analysis project designed to help jurisdictions proactively identify, engage, and support young people who are at elevated risk of future involvement in gun violence. YDII is part of NICJR's broader effort to develop effective processes for identifying and supporting high-risk and hard-to-reach (HR^2) youth—young people who engage in high-risk behavior but are not being effectively reached or engaged by traditional youth-serving systems. Drawing on NICJR's extensive experience working with high-risk youth and adults across the country, YDII applies data-driven approaches to help jurisdictions better identify HR^2 youth and connect them with appropriate interventions and supports before their involvement in violence escalates.

While the vast majority of individuals involved in gun violence—particularly those involved in shootings and homicides—are over the age of 18, NICJR's work has made it clear that most adults who go on to be involved in shootings demonstrate warning signs far in advance. Even as policymakers and practitioners increasingly recognize the importance of intervening with those currently involved in violence, it is also essential to prevent others from progressing along this trajectory. To do so, we must better understand how to proactively identify these young people, while also being careful to distinguish these risk factors from more typical adolescent boundary-pushing and misbehavior.

This report begins with a brief review of prior research on risk for involvement in gun violence before moving into a more detailed discussion of data and methodology, including data limitations. This is followed by findings, which are organized around the four life-course phases the research team identified as particularly influential on outcomes: childhood, defined as birth to age 9; early adolescence, which includes ages 10–14; late adolescence, ages 15–17; and the transition to adulthood, ages 18–24. The report concludes with a proposed framework for how jurisdictions can use the findings detailed here to identify youth at high risk and connect them to intensive support.

To investigate the characteristics and experiences associated with involvement in gun violence, NICJR drew on quantitative and qualitative research conducted across five jurisdictions. The initial goal was to collect both qualitative and quantitative data in each jurisdiction; however, barriers to accessing delinquency system data or system-involved individuals limited NICJR's ability to do so. (See "Data and Methodology" for a detailed discussion of data access challenges.) The quantitative data collected include law enforcement, juvenile justice, education, and child welfare records from agencies in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; Washington, DC; and the state of Maryland. The qualitative components include case reviews of youth participants in NICJR's Neighborhood Opportunity and Accountability Board (NOAB) in Oakland, California; case reviews of youth under the supervision of the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services (DJS); and focus groups with currently and formerly incarcerated men in Los Angeles, California. Together, these sources provide a fuller picture of the experiences of people involved in gun violence and help identify ways jurisdictions can strengthen early intervention and support.

Relevant Research: Summary of Predominant Risk Factors for Involvement in Gun Violence

There is no single risk factor that is overwhelmingly predictive of later gun violence involvement for youth or young adults. However, having a combination of predictive risk factors and adverse life experiences can distinguish youth who are at heightened risk of being involved in gun violence. Research on the following risk factors is summarized below:

Figure 1: Childhood Risk Factors Associated with Future Gun Violence



Poverty and Neighborhood Disorganization

Family poverty and community-level socioeconomic disadvantage can both influence youth gun violence.[5] A multitude of studies have shown the relationship between extreme poverty and adolescent and adult involvement in violent conduct, with people who grow up in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty being more likely to become victims and perpetrators of violent crime.[6] Associated issues such as neighborhood disorganization and concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage can contribute to school conduct issues and increase exposure to antisocial peers, both of which also increase the likelihood of firearm violence.[7] Further, lack of informal social control and neighborhood-level collective efficacy also increase the likelihood of youth violence.[8]

The degree of neighborhood social cohesion, defined as the "network of relationships as well as the shared values and norms of residents in a neighborhood," is also associated with the prevalence of violence in a community.[9] A longitudinal study examining Chicago neighborhoods and youth delinquency found that among neighborhoods with low levels of social cohesion and trust between residents, members of the community were less inclined to intervene and stop events such as truancy involving children in the neighborhood.[10] Conversely, strong social ties and high social cohesion may offer protection against community violence.[11]

Residents in areas known as "hot blocks," blocks with the highest rates of gun violence in a community, have a risk of involvement in gun violence that is 1.44 times greater than that of residents living outside of hot blocks.[12] Hot blocks are usually geographically associated with low-income areas, high rates of crime and violence, and communities of color.[13]

Childhood Abuse and Neglect

Childhood abuse and neglect are associated with increased delinquent behavior and increased involvement in the justice system.[14] Serious family dysfunction, particularly violence, increases the likelihood of delinquent behavior.[15] A longitudinal study known as the Lehigh Study, which tracked 450 children from early childhood to adulthood, found that "childhood abuse increased the risk of adulthood crime by promoting antisocial behavior during childhood and adolescence, followed by the formation of relationships with antisocial romantic partners and peers in adulthood."[16] Neglect and/or abuse can also lead to a range of other negative outcomes, including homelessness, mental health issues, substance use, and complex trauma,[17] all of which are associated with increased risk for violence involvement.

Involvement in the child welfare system carries similar risks. One study found that youth who had been removed from their homes and placed in child welfare group homes were 2.5 times more likely than other youth to become involved in the delinquency system, even controlling for other relevant factors.[18] Another study found that by age 17, more than half of youth in foster care had experienced an arrest, conviction, or overnight stay in a correctional facility.[19]

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Adverse Childhood Experiences and Trauma

Many risk factors are related to events known as adverse childhood experiences, which can often affect an individual's future involvement in violence as either a victim or perpetrator. ACEs are characterized by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention as "potentially traumatic events that occur in childhood (0–17 years) such as experiencing violence, abuse, neglect, substance use problems, and mental health problems."[20]

Exposure to violence (one of the traumatic experiences identified as an ACE) has been identified by the National Institute of Justice as particularly harmful for future well-being.[21] It is linked to negative health outcomes and a lack of opportunities later in life. Notably, violence exposure is far more common among Black children than White children, undoubtedly affecting the

demographic variation in delinquency and violence.[22] In a study of more than 17,000 Kaiser Permanente members, individuals who had experienced more than four ACEs were found to be at an 800% increased risk for alcoholism, drug abuse, and depression.[23] Many of these health-related factors, in turn, affect the likelihood of future violence involvement.

Research also shows that ACEs have a significant and direct impact on the brain development of adolescents: Decision-making, executive functioning, and executive processing are all impaired by ACEs.[24] ACE-related issues can lead to risky behavior and, thus, violence involvement. In a meta-analysis conducted by the Columbia Mailman School of Public Health, ACEs were directly correlated with a significantly increased risk of involvement in the juvenile justice system as well as an increased likelihood of reoffending.[25]

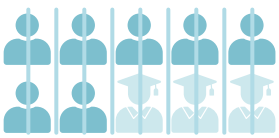
School Absenteeism and Dropout

The US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights reported that approximately seven million students were chronically absent during the 2015–2016 school year.[26] Chronic absenteeism is generally defined as missing 10% or more of mandatory schooling and is associated with a host of negative impacts, including but not limited to poor academic performance, substance use, poverty, repeating a grade, dropping out of high school, and criminal justice system involvement.[27]

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency also found that school absenteeism or truancy may predict later violent offenses.[28] Conversely, a longitudinal study on school attendance found that "the strength of the relation between lack of control and criminal outcomes was moderated by school attendance."[29]

Nearly

70%



of men in state and federal prison did not complete high school.

Dropping out of high school is also strongly correlated with the likelihood of incarceration in prison. Approximately 70% of men in state and federal prison did not graduate from high school.[30] Black men born between 1975 and 1979 who dropped out of high school had a 70% likelihood of imprisonment between the ages of 30 and 34.[31]

Mental Health Disorders

Though causality is difficult to ascertain, mental health disorders in youth are correlated with justice system involvement.[32] Approximately 65%–70% of adolescents involved in the juvenile justice system have some mental health disorder, while the prevalence among the general population is approximately 14%–22%.[33] Youth in juvenile detention centers also have consistently higher rates of mental health disorders when compared to the general youth population,[34] though the true disparity may be greater than studies show, as youth in detention centers tend to underreport symptoms and potentially problematic behavior. The most frequent disorders occurring in system-involved youth are substance use, conduct disorders, major depressive disorder, and attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder.[35]

Additionally, characteristics such as hyperactivity, aggressiveness, concentration issues, antisocial behavior, restlessness, and risk-taking behaviors in youth are correlated with future violence among males.[36]

Substance Use

Substance use at the individual, family, and community levels during adolescence has been found to be a significant risk factor for gun violence. A Cities United meta-analysis found that for children aged 6–11, substance abuse is a strong predictor of violence perpetrated after 15 years of age.[37] This increased risk may be the result of cognitive impairment as well as a lack of capacity to recognize risky circumstances.

Being present in an environment where alcohol or drugs are accessible, even if there is no individual consumption, also increases an adolescent's risk for gun violence involvement.[38] Caregiver or parental

substance use is related to poor life outcomes for youth, such as experiencing violence or childhood maltreatment,[39] and to substance use in adolescence.[40] Parental substance use can affect adolescent violence due to decreased supervision and an unstable home environment.[41]

Finally, on a community level, a study encompassing 1,050 adolescents found that the increased density of liquor stores was strongly associated with violent behavior in adolescents.[42]

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Homelessness and Housing Instability

Adolescents experiencing homelessness are at an elevated risk for involvement in the criminal justice system.[43] According to a study conducted by the Coalition for Juvenile Justice, approximately one in ten young adults ages 18–25 in the United States experience some form of homelessness over the course of a year. Of those, close to 50% have been incarcerated.[44]

Youth experiencing homelessness are also more likely to have been involved with the justice system.[45] Often, a juvenile record is a major roadblock to housing and can contribute to cyclical issues of homelessness and delinquency. Inadequate housing also results in school absenteeism and increased mental health issues, both of which are associated with violence.[46]

Weak Social Ties

Longitudinal studies have found that adolescents who engage in antisocial behavior and endure antisocial behavior from peers are more likely to engage in gun violence in the future.[47] Among youth aged 12–14, research has found weak social connections and antisocial peers to be among the strongest predictors of gun violence.[48] Delinquent peer relations are also associated with other factors that can increase the risk of future gun violence, such as substance use and firearm carrying.[49]

A report on youth violence published by the Office of the Surgeon General explains, "Peer groups are all-important in adolescence. Adolescents who have weak social ties–that is, who are not involved in conventional social activities … are at high risk of becoming violent, as are adolescents with antisocial, delinquent peers."[50]



Demographic Factors

Gun homicide victims and perpetrators are primarily in the 18–34 age group.[51] Black males between the ages of 18 and 24 have the highest homicide victimization rate and homicide offending rate.[52] They are 14 times more likely than their White peers to be the victim of a gun homicide.[53] Notably, gun homicides are the primary cause of death for Black youth.[54]

A Bureau of Justice Statistics analysis of homicide trends in the United States over a 28-year period (1980–2008) found that a large majority of both gun violence perpetrators (92.1%) and gun violence victims (82.6%) were male. The study also identified major racial disparities in its analysis; however, it is important to note that the study failed to differentiate Latinos from White individuals, a common flaw in justice system data reporting. The study found that 56.9% of perpetrators and 51.4% of victims were reported as Black, and 41.2% of perpetrators and 46.5% of victims were categorized as White.[55]

Gang and Group Membership

Adolescent gang membership has a significant effect on future violence involvement.[56] Youth involved with gangs are more likely to commit nonviolent and violent offenses when compared with non-gang-involved youth.[57] Gang membership also increases the risk of victimization.[58] Moreover, gang influence can persist even after an adolescent leaves a gang, and research has found that previously gang-involved youth often have sustained involvement in criminal activities, including robbery and drug-related offenses.[59]

Characteristics that influence gang involvement during youth include socioeconomic status, substance use, and problems at school.[60] Additionally, adolescent boys who carry guns are five times as likely to be in gangs.[61]

Juvenile Justice System Involvement

Juvenile justice system involvement increases the likelihood of risk factors that lead to violence, including dropping out of school and entering the adult criminal justice system.[62]

A study conducted by Cities United reported that for children aged 6–11, the strongest predictor of perpetrating violence after 15 years of age is having a prior youth offense.[63]

Carrying a gun is also linked to gun violence involvement, and recent research has found that a majority of juvenile justice-involved males report carrying guns.[64] A longitudinal cohort study examining firearm use in youth in a temporary juvenile detention center over a 16-year period found that 85% of males and 63% of females had previous firearm involvement, defined as having access to, being injured or threatened by, or using a firearm.[65]

A prior history of gun violence, including nonfatal injury shootings, also predicts future gun violence. In a longitudinal study examining justice-involved youth, 25% of participants self-reported a history of gun violence, and 16.3% self-reported additional gun violence involvement over a period of seven years following the initial assessment.[66]



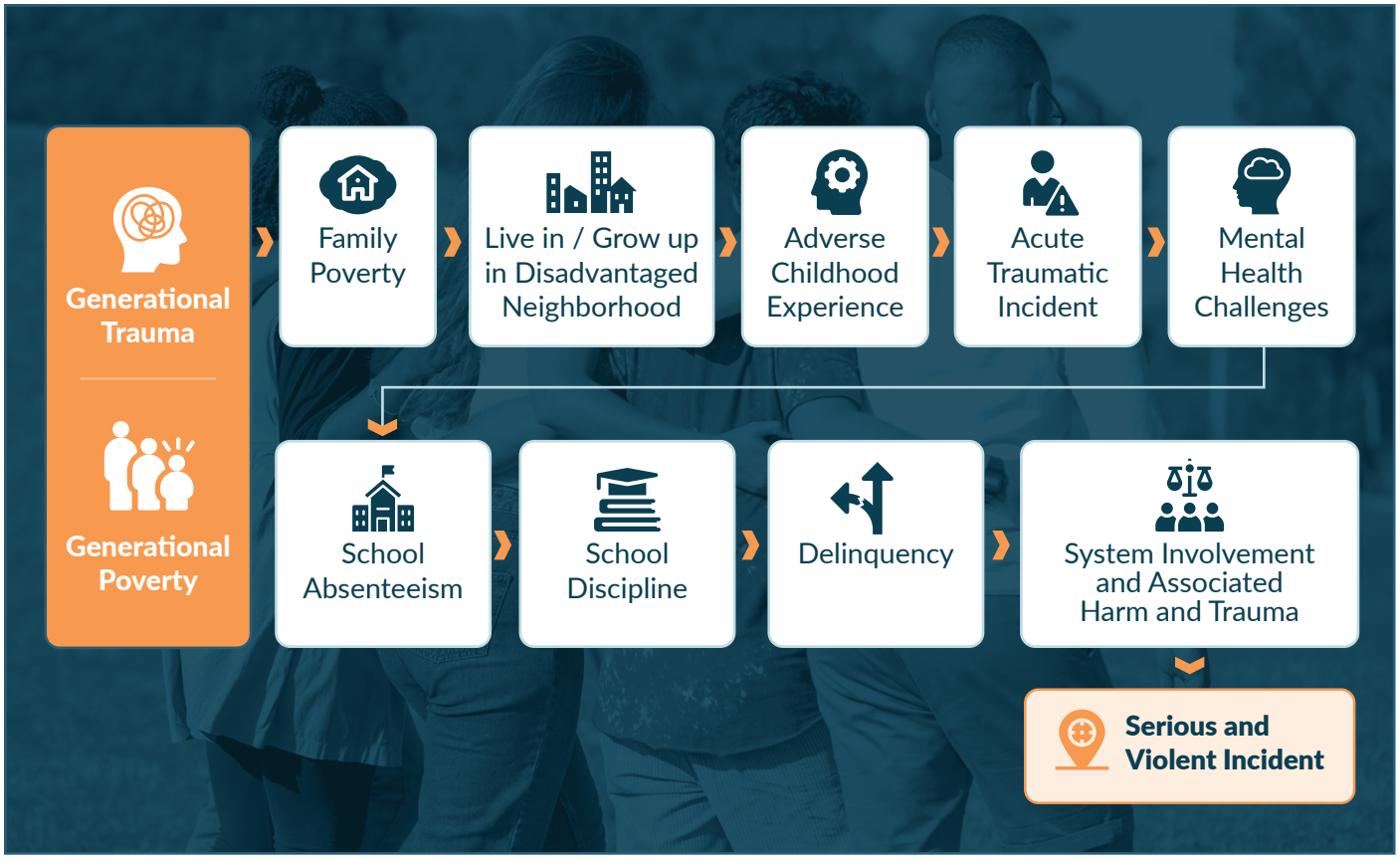
Life-Course Theory

The life-course theory in criminology examines how patterns of crime and violence develop and change over time in response to factors that arise at different stages in a person's life.[67] Life-course theory highlights the importance of related life events and the accumulation of risk, recognizing that their impact depends on both timing and how experiences intersect over time. The theory suggests that early access to factors like stable family support and strong educational opportunities can create later advantages, while early hardship like abuse or neglect can contribute to later difficulties.

A landmark study in life-course theory in criminology was published by Robert Sampson and John Laub in 1993. The researchers analyzed longitudinal data among two groups: 500 boys who had been adjudicated for delinquency, and 500 boys without recorded delinquency. Based on this analysis, Sampson and Laub developed an age-graded theory of informal social control. They found that strong bonds to family and school were associated with less delinquency during childhood and adolescence. Factors like stable employment and supportive marriages were associated with reductions in criminal activity during adulthood. Their findings showed that early involvement in crime can continue over time, and that later social bonds and turning points can change a person's trajectory.[68] Since then, life-course research has continued to expand, focusing on the role of social bonds, turning points, and changes in different types of crime over time.

YDII was not originally designed as a life-course study. That framework emerged during the analysis, as the findings showed that the experiences associated with gun violence often unfolded over time rather than appearing as isolated risk factors. For many young people, poverty overlaps with other challenges, such as exposure to violence, justice system contact, or housing instability. Over time, the accumulation of harmful experiences combined with increasing disengagement from positive social institutions and norms puts young people on a dangerous trajectory.

Figure 2: From Generational Trauma and Poverty to Violence



Overview of Data and Methodology[69]

This report draws on YDII research conducted in five jurisdictions: Washington, DC; Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; the state of Maryland; and the cities of Oakland and Los Angeles, California. This mixed-methods approach integrates quantitative analyses of administrative data from a variety of public systems and qualitative data collected via interviews, focus groups, and case studies to identify life-course patterns associated with involvement in violence.

In Mecklenburg County, the quantitative analysis includes descriptive and inferential analyses of young adults convicted of a homicide or aggravated assault with a firearm, compared to young adults convicted of either robbery or a nonviolent offense. Drawing on administrative data from multiple public agencies in Mecklenburg County, the goal of this analysis was to determine what, if any, characteristics and life-course experiences differentiate individuals who perpetrate shootings from those involved in other, less serious criminal conduct.

In Washington, DC, NICJR conducted two discrete but related research activities to better understand the dynamics around and characteristics of young people involved in shootings. First, NICJR worked with the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) to design a quantitative analysis using a retrospective longitudinal design to assess childhood risk factors that may have increased the likelihood of being convicted of homicide or attempted homicide at ages 18 to 24. NICJR supplemented this quantitative analysis with case reviews from the District's Child Fatality Review Committee.

In Maryland, NICJR worked with the Department of Juvenile Services (DJS) and the Maryland Department of State Police to collect data on all shootings between January 1, 2019, and June 30, 2023, that involved minors as victims or as suspects. Using these data, NICJR conducted a series of nested analyses of the characteristics of youth involved in shootings, including a mixed-methods analysis of youth who were involved in shootings while under DJS supervision that included both quantitative analyses and case file reviews.

In California, NICJR collected qualitative data via two credible messenger life coaching programs, one in Oakland and one in Los Angeles. In Oakland, NICJR conducted case studies of youth involved in the Neighborhood Opportunity and Accountability Board diversion program, which provides intensive services to youth who are at high risk for involvement in violence. In Los Angeles, NICJR partnered with the nonprofit Healing Dialogue and Action (HDA) to conduct focus groups with individuals currently and formerly incarcerated for violent felonies. One circle included HDA staff members who had received life sentences for homicides but were later released from prison due to legal changes. A second circle was held at the Richard J. Donovan Correctional Facility with 15 men serving life sentences.



Pathways to Violence

Consistent with life-course theory, the qualitative and quantitative data collected for this project demonstrated how adverse experiences accumulated over time. The findings follow four stages: childhood (birth to age 9), early adolescence (ages 10–14), late adolescence (ages 15–17), and the transition to adulthood (ages 18–24). Across these stages, family instability, exposure to violence, school disengagement, substance use, peer influence, and justice system contact often build on one another. The following sections examine how these experiences emerged and changed across each stage.

Childhood

Several traumatic childhood experiences appear to shape future involvement in violence, as reflected in both the quantitative and qualitative data. Childhood, for many participants, was a period of multiple, overlapping exposures to instability, violence, and loss. In particular, experiencing abuse and/or neglect, violence, loss of a family member or friend, or the incarceration of a parent or guardian as a young child was a turning point for many participants. These early experiences affected their emotional and environmental conditions as they grew older.

Administrative records from Mecklenburg County indicate that individuals later convicted of homicide or aggravated assault were more likely than those in comparison groups to have experienced substantiated child maltreatment and multiple child welfare investigations, especially at earlier ages. As shown in Table 1, substantiated maltreatment was present for fewer than 15% of people convicted of homicide or aggravated assault. However, the analysis found that the timing of maltreatment was particularly important. The analysis found that the younger a child was at the time of the first substantiated abuse case, the greater their likelihood of later being convicted of homicide or aggravated assault rather than a nonviolent offense. Each year younger was associated with roughly 16% higher odds of later serious violence involvement.



Table 1: Frequency Distributions of Risk Factors by Group[70]

	People Convicted of Homicide or Aggravated Assault (N=444)		People Convicted of Robbery (N=44)		People Convicted of Nonviolent Offenses (N=1,046)	
Risk Factor	N	%	N	%	N	%
Substantiated Abuse	47	10.59%	<10	–	76	7.27%
Out-of-Home Placement	22	4.95%	<10	–	33	3.15%
Homeless	55	12.39%	10	20.83%	100	9.56%
≥1 School Risk Factors	352	79.28%	36	75.00%	705	67.40%

Focus group participants consistently described childhood home environments marked by volatility, unpredictability, and fear. Many recalled growing up in households where conflict was frequent and emotional safety was limited. These conditions created chronic stress when participants were still too young to understand or respond to what was happening.

This instability affected their coping mechanisms and behavior, contributing to **later school difficulties, a greater reliance on peers, and initial contact with the justice system during adolescence.**



One participant reflected on the emotional impact of his upbringing, explaining, "I endured a traumatic upbringing and relationship with my mom, which was the catalyst for most of my anger and fear." Another participant explained, "... everything around me was very toxic. I went through any and every kind of abuse you could think of. I despised my mom because of the life that she put me through." Others described constant instability tied to substance use and incarceration within the household. One participant shared, "I grew up in a household full of domestic violence. And I had a stepfather who was a heroin addict, who was really violent, so he was in and out of jail and prison."

Data from Maryland show similar patterns of family adversity from an early age. Many youth involved in shootings came from single-parent households or homes where extended family members were helping care for them because parents needed additional support. Some youth had extensive child welfare involvement, including foster care guardianship.

In addition to household adversity, participants in the California focus groups expressed that growing up in neighborhoods with high levels of community violence had shaped their sense of normalcy from a very young age. For many, exposure to shootings was routine, normalizing violence as a part of life. One participant recalled, "... there would always be drive-by shootings. Or somebody would always want to shoot up the apartment. It just became normal to the point ... that I would go to school and brag about all that: 'They shot up my apartment last night.' I grew up around violence and just thinking it was normal."

Several participants described direct exposure to physical or sexual violence during childhood, experiences often compounded by caregiver denial or blame. This impacted their trust in adults and authority figures. One participant recounted being sexually assaulted as a child; when he disclosed it, family members told him it was his fault. He connected this trauma, and the subsequent lack of support, to his later involvement in substance abuse, gangs, and violence.

For many participants, a parent's or sibling's incarceration first disrupted family life during childhood. They described the imprisonment of parents, siblings, or loved ones as incredibly destabilizing events that indelibly altered family dynamics and caregiving arrangements. One participant explained how his brother's imprisonment fractured their home: "My brother got life in prison when I was nine years old ... losing him felt like the end of our family."

The loss of a family member due to incarceration was often linked with reduced supervision by adults and increased reliance on peers or other networks for support. For the individual quoted above, that loss was immediately replaced by exposure to older peers steeped in street life: "I got 10 big brothers ... they [were all] part of a gang in the streets, so that influenced a lot." Among participants, early exposure to incarceration and gang-involved role models shaped norms around loyalty, masculinity, and violence long before adolescence.

Most participants faced multiple concurrent challenges, such as neglect, family incarceration, and neighborhood violence. This instability affected their coping mechanisms and behavior, contributing to later school difficulties, a greater reliance on peers, and initial contact with the justice system during adolescence.

Early Adolescence

During early adolescence, the effects of childhood trauma and instability often began to appear outside the home. Participants began struggling at school, using substances, relying more heavily on peers, and coming into contact with the justice system. These problems often grew out of conditions that began in childhood.

Although quantitative data indicate that earlier maltreatment (ages 0–9) is more predictive of later violent convictions, early adolescence is also a period when a large proportion of substantiated maltreatment cases occur, reflecting continuing instability during a critical developmental window. In the Mecklenburg County data, approximately 39% of substantiated maltreatment cases among individuals later convicted of homicide or aggravated assault occurred between the ages of 13 and 15 (Table 2). Across the homicide/aggravated assault, robbery, and nonviolent offense groups, the largest share of first abuse or neglect investigations occurred between the ages of 10 and 15, suggesting that early adolescence is a common period for initial child welfare contact among individuals who subsequently become involved in the criminal justice system.

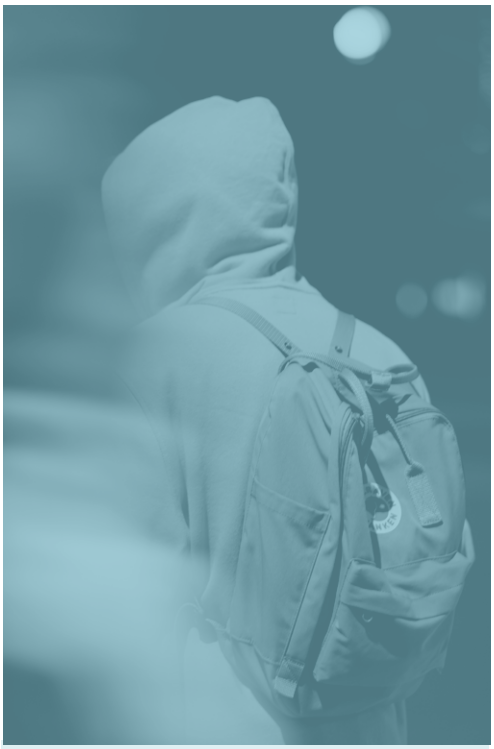
Table 2: Age at First Substantiated Abuse/Neglect Case for People Convicted of Different Types of Crimes in Mecklenburg County, NC[71]

	People Convicted of Homicide or Aggravated Assault		People Convicted of Nonviolent Offenses	
Age When Abuse/Neglect Case Opened	N	%	N	%
0–3	<10	–	–	–
4–6	<10	–	<10	–
7–9	10	14.49%	12	11.54%
10–12	11	15.94%	21	20.19%
13–15	27	39.13%	43	41.35%
16–17	10	14.49%	26	25.00%
Total	69	100.00%	104	100.00%

The experiences of young people killed by firearms in Washington, DC, also show how severe and cumulative childhood adversity can put youth on dangerous trajectories. Among the five young people whose deaths were reviewed in great depth by the Child Fatality Review Committee and examined by NICJR, all had Child and Family Services Agency (CFSA) involvement, with allegations that included educational neglect, food insecurity, physical or sexual abuse, and in-home violence. Across those five cases, 54 CFSA reports were documented, 19 of which were substantiated. In these cases, maltreatment and instability continued from childhood into adolescence. One youth had 24 different child abuse or neglect investigations along with 15 arrests by the time he was 17.

One youth had **24** different child abuse or neglect investigations, along with **15** arrests

all by age 17



Substance Use Disorders Among Young Adults

Later convicted of homicide or attempted homicide		Convicted of nonviolent offenses
48.89%	vs	**29.73%**

During childhood, most participants had little control over the instability, violence, and trauma around them. By early adolescence, many began responding to those experiences through their own behavior. Problems at home were followed by fighting, school disengagement, substance use, and conduct that brought youth into contact with the juvenile justice system. Focus group participants similarly described early adolescence as a period when the instability and trauma they had experienced in childhood increasingly influenced their own behavior, including disengaging from school, beginning to commit crimes, and spending more time with peers who were doing the same.

Participants connected home instability and trauma with behavioral problems and school expulsion. These issues often led to placement in alternative schools, where they were surrounded by older, justice-involved peers and gang members. One participant described school expulsion at age 11 as a turning point that escalated his involvement with the juvenile justice system. "At the age of 11, I was expelled from middle school. … And from there, I went to probation school. Things started to escalate for me."

Substance use was another way these earlier experiences began to appear in participants' own behavior. Exposure to drugs and alcohol through family and community environments emerged as a theme in both the DC data and the California focus groups. Quantitative data from DC showed that substance use disorders were much more common among young adults who were later convicted of homicide or attempted homicide than among those convicted of nonviolent offenses (48.89% vs. 29.73%). Participants' accounts suggest that early exposure to drugs and alcohol sometimes occurred alongside limited adult supervision and growing disengagement from school.

Initial justice system involvement created further risk. Detention and probation brought participants into contact with older youth involved in more serious delinquent conduct. Participants noted that these relationships often served as a bridge to ongoing gang involvement as they transitioned into late adolescence. One focus group participant reflected, "I was starting to be exposed to other things, different gangs … now I was exposed to different groups of people."

As participants became disconnected from the school system, peer relationships became more influential during early adolescence. One participant described feeling pressure to demonstrate toughness and be accepted: "Unless I proved myself, I wasn't going to be accepted." He explained that fighting became routine in middle school because "it was normal … everybody around me was doing it." In peer environments where fighting was common, violence became both normalized and tied to belonging. This dynamic increased the pressure on some participants to engage in risky behavior in order to gain acceptance or protect their standing within the group.

For many, early adolescence served as a turning point where they began responding to instability through their own behavior. Childhood challenges often continued, but these were now joined by school disengagement and justice system contact, further disconnecting the adolescents from supportive institutions and adults.

NOAB Profile: Marcus[72]

Marcus was referred to the NOAB youth development and diversion program at age 12 because of issues with school behavior, anger outbursts, and substance use. Marcus was (and still is) living with his mother and grandmother in a West Oakland neighborhood with high levels of crime and violence. His mother works long hours to support their family, which often leaves him without adult supervision for lengthy periods of time.

Safety is an everyday concern in his neighborhood. He worries about being robbed when he walks to the corner store and avoids clothes or shoes that might draw attention. Some of his close friends are connected to groups in the area. Although Marcus has started trying to distance himself from those people, doing so has been difficult. These concerns affect the choices he makes about where he goes, what he wears, and who he spends time with.

Marcus has also been exposed to violence and drugs in his home since childhood. His father verbally and physically abused his mother, and other family members have struggled with addiction, including his grandmother who helped provide childcare. Marcus later began smoking marijuana himself, sometimes with his father. His mother worries about his substance use and does not want him to become dependent on anything, but her work schedule limits her ability to supervise him.

At school, Marcus has struggled with impulsivity and anger management, getting into fights with other students. After one fight in which he seriously injured another student, he was placed on a 45-day out-of-school suspension. He transferred schools in the hope of finding a new environment, but struggled academically when the new school overlooked his Individualized Educational Plan and did not provide legally-mandated special education services. The loss of special education services and supports, coming in the wake of an extended suspension and enrollment in a new school, further weakened his connection to school at a time when he was already struggling.

Despite these challenges, Marcus's initial engagement in NOAB has been promising. His Life Coach is working with an educational psychologist to get him reevaluated for learning differences and ensure appropriate educational services are provided. She also connected him to mental health support, including a psychiatrist who prescribed medication and a therapist who is helping him address his trauma and anger. Since Marcus's enrollment in NOAB, his mother has reported seeing clear changes in his attitude and behavior, including less impulsivity and a greater willingness to talk about his problems.

Late Adolescence

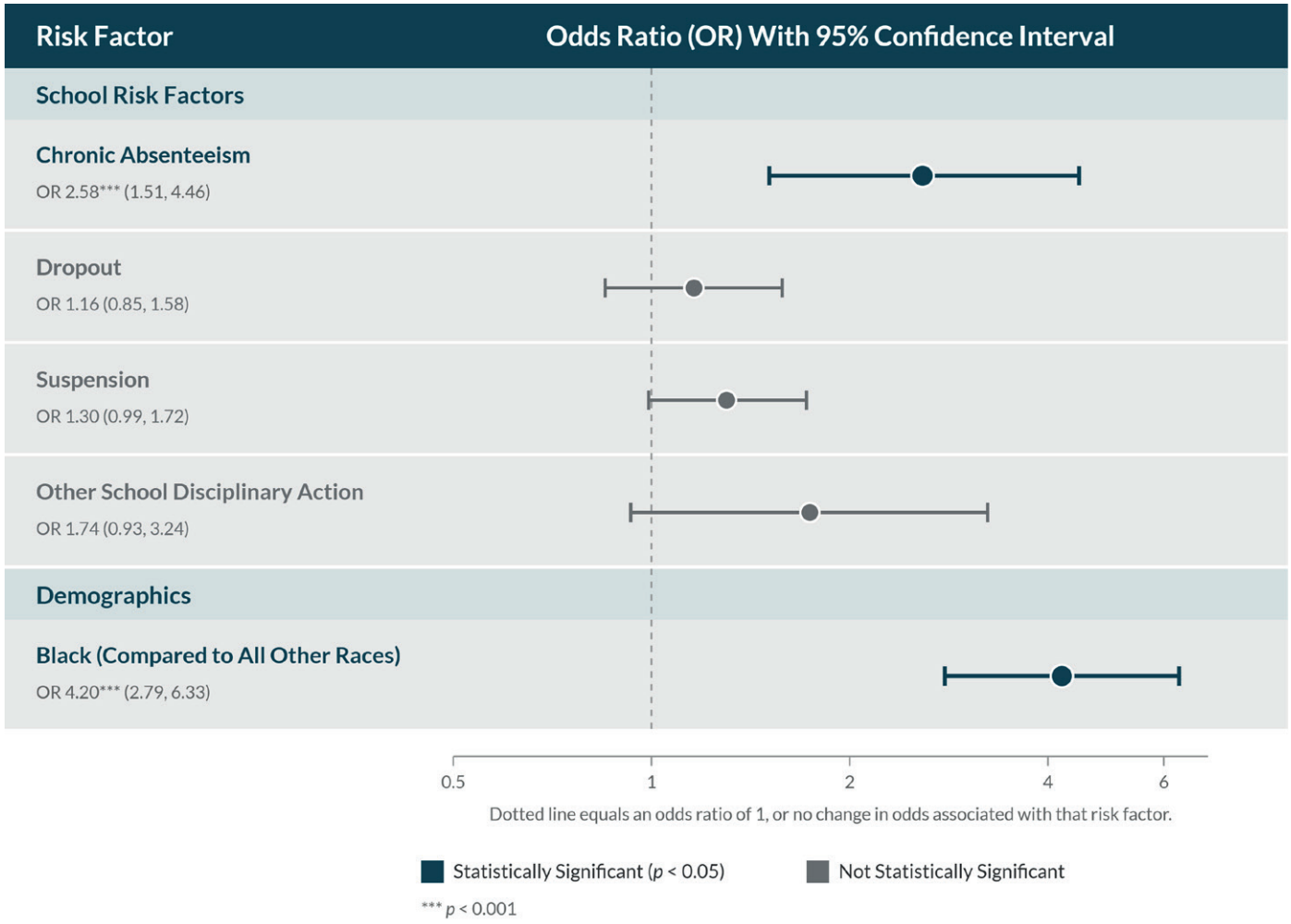
By late adolescence, many individuals in this study faced continued home instability and community violence. Their behavior became increasingly risky, characterized by chronic absenteeism, involvement in increasingly serious delinquent activities, and repeated contact with the juvenile justice system.

Quantitative data show substantial school disengagement during this period, particularly chronic absenteeism (missing at least 10% of school days). Chronic absenteeism was the most significant school-related difference between those convicted of violent versus nonviolent crimes (Figure 2). Suspensions were common across all groups, but the sustained pattern of disconnection reflected in chronic absenteeism is a critical indicator of risk for future violence.[73]

Chronic absenteeism was the most significant school-related difference between **those convicted of violent versus nonviolent crimes.**



Figure 3: School-Based Childhood Risk Factors (Homicide / Aggravated Assault Group vs. Nonviolent Group)



Data from Maryland also show substantial educational difficulties among youth before their involvement in shootings. The majority of youth included in the case file review were enrolled in nontraditional school settings, including alternative schools, online schools, or evening curriculum academies. In addition, most had truancy issues and were performing poorly academically. In some cases, youth were moved to different schools by parents or DJS case management specialists because of safety concerns at their prior schools.

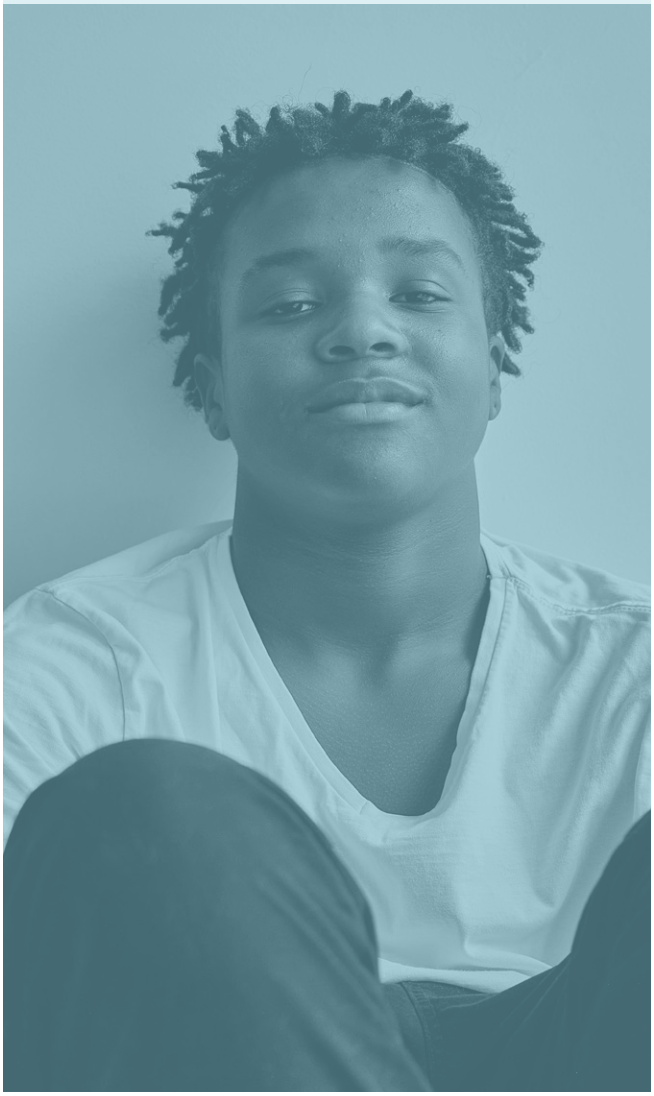
Participants in focus groups also described how disengagement from school was tied to greater involvement in criminal activity. Several participants said that by late adolescence, dropping out or repeated suspensions had occurred alongside growing instability and deeper involvement in violence. One participant explained, "I eventually dropped out of school … and next thing you know, I found myself joining a gang."

Focus group participants also described how their involvement with the juvenile justice system became more frequent and consequential by late adolescence. Several described repeated arrests, placements, and periods of confinement during this stage, often due to conduct involving weapons and other serious offenses. Many participants framed these experiences not as isolated incidents, but as the continuation of patterns that had started earlier in adolescence. One participant reflected on the extent of his system involvement: "I was in and out of juvenile hall six, seven times … going to camp [and] placements."

The DC quantitative analysis found greater juvenile justice system involvement among young adults later convicted of homicide or attempted homicide than among people convicted of less serious offenses. Young adults who went on to be convicted of homicide or attempted homicide were almost twice as likely to have been arrested for a violent offense when they were juveniles than those later convicted of nonviolent offenses (48.89% vs. 25.68%). When the risk factors were examined together, a juvenile arrest for a violent offense was the strongest predictor of later conviction for homicide or attempted homicide. Those who had been arrested for a violent offense as juveniles had 2.27 times greater odds of later being convicted of homicide or attempted homicide rather than a nonviolent offense.

Those who had been arrested for a violent offense as juveniles had **2.27 times greater odds** of later being convicted of homicide or attempted homicide rather than a nonviolent offense.





Focus group participants said that their conduct and juvenile justice system involvement affected each other. More serious conduct led to repeated confinement. In confinement, participants learned different behavioral norms and expectations. Early incarceration, in particular, emerged as a formative experience that shaped people's sense of self. As one young man explained, "Prison from age 16 told me what a man was. … It defined it for me. … having to discern what your masculinity is and how it differs from prison bravado is a real daunting challenge to go through in the world." Another participant explained, "I was in defense mode the whole time I was in there. I came home, and all my friends, minus one, turned their back on me."

> *"Prison from age 16 told me what a man was. … It defined it for me. … having to discern what your masculinity is and how it differs from prison bravado is a real daunting challenge to go through in the world."*

Some participants remained focused on protecting themselves and responding to perceived threats after they returned home. In addition, incarceration had disrupted important relationships, leaving some participants with less support when they returned home. For many participants, incarceration had replaced school, family, and community as the setting where they learned how to respond to conflict and relate to other people.

By late adolescence, many participants were substantially disconnected from school and deeply involved in the justice system. Repeated absences and arrests reduced contact with stabilizing institutions while increasing time spent in risky peer and carceral settings.

NOAB Profile: Isaiah

Isaiah was referred to NOAB at age 13 following an arrest for drug sales, robbery, and assault. By that point, he had already experienced significant instability, violence, and exposure to substance abuse at home and in the community. His father was incarcerated when Isaiah was young and had struggled with addiction throughout his son's life. Isaiah had grown up in a public housing development in a neighborhood with high rates of violent crime, where older people pulled him into unsafe situations. At one point, an older man used Isaiah to sell drugs, and he threatened and assaulted him when he later refused to continue. At school, Isaiah had struggled with attendance and engagement for years. By early adolescence, when he was referred to NOAB, Isaiah had begun to engage in increasingly risky behavior, including stealing a large sum of money from his mother.

These challenges have continued throughout Isaiah's engagement with NOAB. His father was released from prison and has since exposed Isaiah to drug activity and domestic violence, taking him to drug sales and abusing his mother. Isaiah stole another large sum of money from his mother and used the funds to purchase guns. After posting pictures of the guns on social media, he was robbed. Isaiah was involved in violence against school staff and made threats toward teachers. While his behavioral issues escalated at school, he also became more involved in gang activity in his neighborhood.

Isaiah's experience shows how trauma and instability during childhood can carry into early adolescence, when school disengagement, unsafe relationships with older people, firearm access, and involvement in serious violence begin to overlap.

This all came to a head in March 2026 when Isaiah was involved in a shootout. Isaiah's mother called his Life Coach when the incident occurred and the Life Coach worked with the family during the crisis. Isaiah continues to work with his Life Coach and engage in the NOAB process. Because Isaiah has not yet reached late adolescence, NOAB has an opportunity to intervene before these experiences become more established and continue into adulthood. The program is thus focused on building Isaiah's relationships with his Life Coach and other supportive adults, helping his family respond to crises, and connecting him to services and supports that fit his needs.



Transition to Adulthood

While the administrative data primarily cover individuals' experiences through childhood and late adolescence, focus groups with currently and formerly incarcerated people provided critical insight into the transition to adulthood. Many participants said that years of exposure to violence, unresolved trauma, and involvement in delinquent conduct had fundamentally shaped their own behaviors by the time they entered adulthood. Some directly connected their early childhood and adolescent experiences to the homicide or other serious violence for which they were later incarcerated. They described these incidents as the culmination of years of violence, loss, and instability.

One young man explained that repeated exposure to violence had changed his response to it by his late teens: "I got so used to [the violence] … it wasn't even a thought anymore."

Participants also described entering adulthood and carrying grief, anger, shame, and fear that they had not had the support to address. For some, those emotions eventually became overwhelming. One individual described this moment: "All that pain I carried … by the time I was 19, it came out in the worst way."

Many participants entered adulthood without stable connections to school, employment, housing, or supportive adults. Without those sources of stability, some said they relied on the responses they had learned in violent or unsafe environments. A participant described how he responded to conflict after years without consistent support: "I was numb … and when the situation came, I reacted the only way I knew."

Many participants also continued to move through the justice system as they entered adulthood. Juvenile arrests and confinement led to contact with the adult criminal justice system. They described how repeated incarceration further separated them from family, employment, and community support and kept them in settings where violence and self-protection were treated as routine.

By the time they entered adulthood, many participants had already experienced years of trauma, school disengagement, instability, and justice system involvement without consistent support. They described their most serious acts of violence as the outcome of what had built up over time. As one participant reflected, "It wasn't one thing—it was everything that came before it."

> ***"It wasn't one thing—it was everything that came before it."***



Implementing the Lessons of the Youth Data and Intervention Initiative

As the data collected through YDII make clear, the majority of youth and young adults involved in the commission of serious violence exhibit warning signs far in advance. While the specific warning signs change as young people age, they also tend to multiply. Fortunately, as NICJR's larger HR² initiative has shown, an increasing number of jurisdictions are applying the YDII framework to identify and intervene with young people who are at heightened risk for involvement in violence.

To use the findings of this report and prevent the behavior of high-risk youth from escalating into gun violence, jurisdictions should implement local YDII systems in four phases:

1. Analyze two to five years of recent local gun violence, examining the risk factors, experiences, and characteristics, particularly during childhood and adolescence (ages 11–14), of individuals who later perpetrated gun violence.

2. Based on this analysis, establish the set of risk factors and a locally defined risk threshold for intervention for when youth are considered to be at very elevated risk for involvement in future gun violence.

3. Create a system or process by which youth aged 11–14 can be screened for the risk factors identified, and when a youth reaches the threshold number (i.e.,10), enroll them in the intensive engagement discussed in number 4 below.

4. Engage identified youth and families with intensive, relationship-based support, including all of the following: life coaching, basic needs assistance, therapeutic services, education and employment support, and system navigation.

As this report has shown, some of the information necessary for understanding young people's risk factors for violence lives outside of traditional case management systems, including information about neighborhood poverty and disorganization and exposure to family or community violence during childhood. It is thus essential that processes for analyzing local youth violence dynamics and establishing risk factors include an approach for collecting these types of data. Subsequent processes for identifying and intervening with at-risk youth must also account for these data. These processes may vary by jurisdiction, and they may include qualitative data collection (i.e., interviews with youth and families or reviews of case notes from youth-serving public systems) as well as the convening of multidisciplinary teams where local youth-serving agencies share information and identify youth who meet established local criteria.

For instance, if a jurisdiction determines that the risk factors described in this report are also the most predictive in their city, they could create a school-based youth monitoring system to identify and track when a student has any of these risk factors:

- Poverty and neighborhood disorganization
- Abuse or neglect (child welfare investigation)
- Adverse childhood experiences and trauma (may need to be a specific list to monitor)
- Has had more than 10 unexcused absences in a semester
- Substance use
- Homelessness and housing instability
- Weak social ties
- Mental health diagnosis
- Black and Latino males (for community violence)
- Gang and group membership
- Arrest
- Juvenile incarceration/detention

When a young person reaches an established threshold of risk factors, an intensive array of interventions should be implemented, including, as appropriate, some or all of these services:[74]

- In-home family counseling (i.e., multisystemic therapy)
- Intensive life coaching for the youth and primary caregiver, with separate Life Coaches for each
- Mental health services
- Tutoring
- Employment readiness and placement
- Financial incentives
- Housing support, including possible relocation

Each of the steps necessary to understand, identify, and intervene with youth is difficult. It is hard to overcome the bureaucratic and data confidentiality hurdles necessary to conduct the analysis. Setting up a process for monitoring youth requires both staff and technological resources and will likely face opposition, in addition to facing the same challenges as the data collection. Even after implementing these processes, establishing the right array of interventions can be difficult and expensive, especially given the multiple overlapping challenges many youth face. Nonetheless, as discussed in greater detail in NICJR's analysis of effective services and supports for HR² youth, there is early evidence that these approaches can work. Given the potential for these processes to save lives and, in so doing, also save millions of dollars, it is more than worth the challenge to try.

Conclusion

Across these five jurisdictions, serious violence rarely resulted from a single event; rather, it was the outcome of interconnected experiences. Findings show how the impact of adverse childhood experiences—such as neglect, family instability, and violence exposure—accumulate over time. By adolescence, these often manifest in school disengagement, substance use, and delinquency. As these patterns persist, young people become more involved in serious conduct and less connected to stabilizing institutions.

The quantitative findings show when patterns of adversity and disengagement began to distinguish young people later involved in serious violence. Chronic absenteeism, age at first substantiated abuse, and juvenile arrests for violent offenses all emerged as important markers of this involvement. These findings trace a progression from early instability to school disengagement and more serious justice system contact as young people moved through early and late adolescence.

The qualitative findings show how that progression unfolded in participants' lives. Trauma, family disruption, school exclusion, substance use, peer relationships, incarceration, and repeated exposure to violence were all highlighted as important points in a person's trajectory toward being involved in violence. These experiences do not occur in a vacuum, and they shape a person's later choices, relationships, and responses to conflict. As participants moved through adolescence and into adulthood, the effects of earlier adversity became tied to their own behavior, increasing the likelihood of serious involvement in violence and the justice system.

A life-course approach helps jurisdictions identify where support is most effective. Because a young person's history is often fragmented across multiple agencies, including child welfare, education, health, and law enforcement, no single agency sees the full picture. Jurisdictions should build systems that recognize patterns across these agencies to identify emerging issues. Connecting families to sustained, healing-centered support before a violent incident occurs is vital for prevention.

Implementing a YDII system could significantly reduce the number of young people who grow up to be involved in gun violence. A YDII system includes conducting local analysis to verify the findings in this report for that jurisdiction; developing a data system that captures the multiple risk factors of each youth and the point at which a young person has accumulated the threshold level of risk factors; and implementing an intensive, multipronged intervention with the youth and family.

Methodological Appendix

As noted above, this report draws on YDII research conducted in five jurisdictions: Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; Washington, DC; the state of Maryland; and the cities of Oakland and Los Angeles, California. Below, greater detail is provided on the data collected and analytic approaches used.

Mecklenburg County, NC

In Mecklenburg County, NICJR partnered with the Charlotte Regional Data Trust at the University of North Carolina (UNC) Charlotte, a community-university partnership that links data from multiple public systems, to obtain administrative records from the Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, and Mecklenburg County Department Social Services. These records, provided in deidentified .CSV files, provided detailed information about young adults ages 18-25 who had been convicted of crimes in Mecklenburg County between 2018-2023. Individuals were organized into three groups, based on the type of crimes for which they had been convicted: 1) nonviolent crime; 2) armed robbery; or 3) homicide or aggravated assault with a firearm. NICJR then conducted a series of descriptive and inferential analyses to examine differences in childhood and adolescent experiences among each group. Descriptive analyses showed the prevalence of experiences such as school disciplinary infractions and child welfare system involvement in each group, while bivariate and multivariate logistic regression models were used to estimate whether these childhood experiences increased the odds of subsequent involvement in different types of crime.[75]

Washington, DC

The quantitative analysis conducted in partnership with the Washington DC CJCC largely mirrored the Mecklenburg County analysis. CJCC obtained and linked administrative data from various youth-serving public agencies, including Child and Family Services, the Department of Youth Rehabilitative Services, the Office of the State Superintendent of Education, and other agencies. Individuals were organized into three groups: 1) young adults convicted of homicide or attempted homicide, 2) young adults convicted of robbery, and 3) young adults convicted of nonviolent offenses. Using these data, CJCC conducted both descriptive and inferential analyses to compare the characteristics and prior life experiences of young adults convicted of homicide or attempted homicide with those of young adults with less serious criminal conduct. NICJR supplemented this quantitative analysis with case reviews of five young people who were killed by gun violence in the District in 2020. These profiles, which were collected as part of the District's Child Fatality Review Committee, included detailed documentation on each young person's educational and medical history, as well as any prior involvement with the child welfare or juvenile justice systems, thus providing a uniquely thorough picture of the circumstances preceding their deaths.

State of Maryland

Using administrative records the from the Maryland Department of State Police matched to CMS data from the Department of Juvenile Services, NICJR conducted a series of nested analyses of the characteristics of youth involved in shootings in the state between January 1, 2019, and June 30, 2023. These descriptive analyses included a quantitative analysis of all youth who had been involved in a shooting during the study period, regardless of delinquency-system involvement; a quantitative analysis comparing delinquency-system-involved youth who experienced shooting involvement with comparable system-involved youth who were not involved in a shooting; and a mixed-methods analysis of youth involved in shootings while under DJS supervision that included both quantitative analyses and case file reviews. Data from case files were coded and analyzed deductively and inductively, with deductive coding used to examine life circumstances identified in the research literature and quantitative data from Mecklenburg County and Washington, DC, and inductive coding allowing for the identification of themes and patterns not previously identified.

Oakland, CA

Case studies of youth involved in the NOAB youth diversion program were based on semi-structured interviews with a NOAB Life Coach. The interviews followed a protocol covering each youth's background and family, school experiences, and juvenile justice system involvement. Interviews also discussed each youth's referral to NOAB and their progress and challenges since joining the program.

Los Angeles, CA

Focus groups were conducted with individuals currently and formerly incarcerated for violent felonies. These focus groups were conducted via healing circles. Both circles began with grounding exercises, introductions, and agreements around confidentiality and safety. Facilitators invited participants to reflect on key life stages and experiences, including early family environments, exposure to violence, trauma, school engagement, initiation into the justice system, and reflections on what they now identify as critical turning points. The circles were audio recorded and transcribed, and NICJR coded the transcripts thematically using an inductive-deductive approach. A specific focus was placed on how narratives clustered around four distinct life course phases: childhood, early adolescence, late adolescence, and the transition to adulthood.

Data Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, variations in administrative data collection across jurisdictions, combined with differences in data access policies, limited the research team's ability to obtain comparable records across all sites.

In addition, despite NICJR's extensive efforts to collect both qualitative and quantitative data across all sites, in many circumstances, it was difficult or impossible to obtain permission to conduct interviews or focus groups with people involved in the criminal or juvenile justice systems. These challenges and data limitations meant that for several sites, the research team collected only qualitative or only quantitative data, limiting opportunities to triangulate these data within a given jurisdiction.



Endnotes

1. The second of these reports is available on NICJR's website, here.

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69. See the Methodological Appendix for a more detailed discussion of this project's methodology and data limitations.

70. The Charlotte Regional Data Trust requires suppression of values of n less than 10.

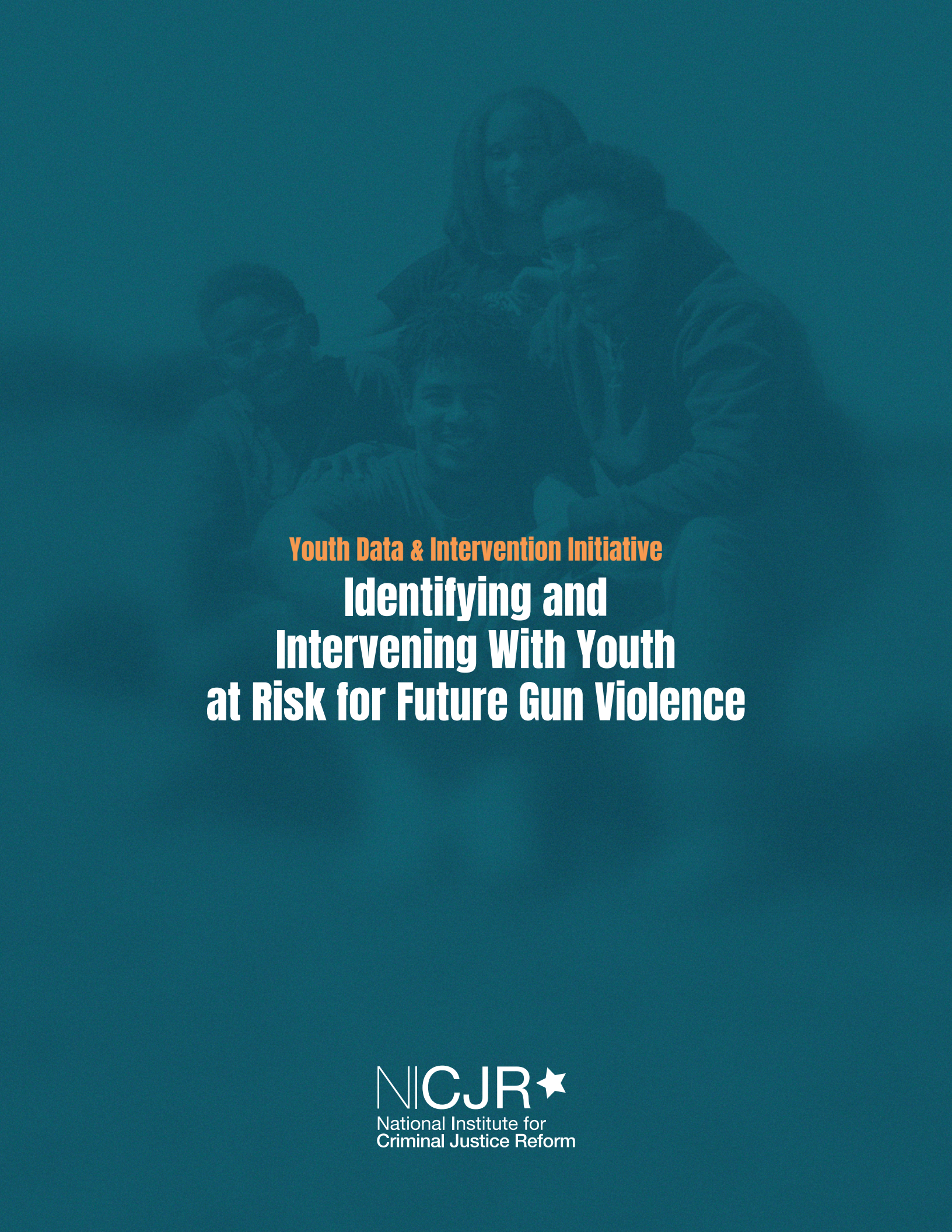
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75. The findings do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Charlotte Regional Data Trust, UNC Charlotte, or any of the organizations contributing data.



Youth Data & Intervention Initiative

Identifying and Intervening With Youth at Risk for Future Gun Violence

NICJR
National Institute for
Criminal Justice Reform