

A whirlwind tour of crime, violence, and inequality: Some lessons from Chicago

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Coda for today

- Please ask questions/challenge/engage.
- Commitment to rigorous evaluation of realistic interventions.
- Playing the long-game with partners seeking to address crime and violence.
- Right balance of attention to reforming structural inequalities and opportunities to improve the here-and-now--where many of these inequalities are present and influence situations that might produce or escalate violence.
- Right balance of patience, urgency, and evidence-based optimism that realistic measures can help.

Many slides coming...



Roadmap

- Pompous introduction

Roadmap

- Elaborate mathematical model vaguely related to the introduction.

Roadmap

- Elaborate econometric model vaguely related to the math.

Roadmap

- Sweeping policy conclusions allegedly emerging from the math and the statistics.

Roadmap

- Time limits preclude any discussion of study limitations.

Roadmap

- University of Chicago Urban Labs
- What's happening in Chicago now
- Youth violence prevention
 - BAM
 - Summer jobs
- Chicago's underground gun market
- Interacting more effectively with individuals in behavioral crisis.
 - CIT and related interventions to manage specific incidents
 - MHEART and related interventions to address problems proactively

I will focus on Chicago, since that's what I know



I'm the Joe Biden of the Urban Labs

- I will be presenting the work of many people associated with the University of Chicago Crime Lab, Education Lab, and Health Lab—noted as I proceed.

Shirtless Biden Washes Trans Am In White House Driveway

MAY 5, 2009 | ISSUE 45-19 [MORE NEWS](#)

WASHINGTON—Taking advantage of the warm spring weather Monday, Vice President Joe Biden parked his 1981 Trans Am in the White House driveway, removed his undershirt, and spent a leisurely afternoon washing the muscle car and drinking beer.

[Enlarge Image](#)



Vice President Biden ditched a day of presiding over the Senate to "give the twin cannons some sun."

"This baby just needs a little scrub down," said Biden, addressing a tour group as he tucked the sweat-covered top into the belt loop of his cutoff jean shorts. "Gotta get her looking good so I can impress the chicks when I'm cruising down Pennsylvania [Avenue]."

White House aides said that Biden pulled into the driveway shortly

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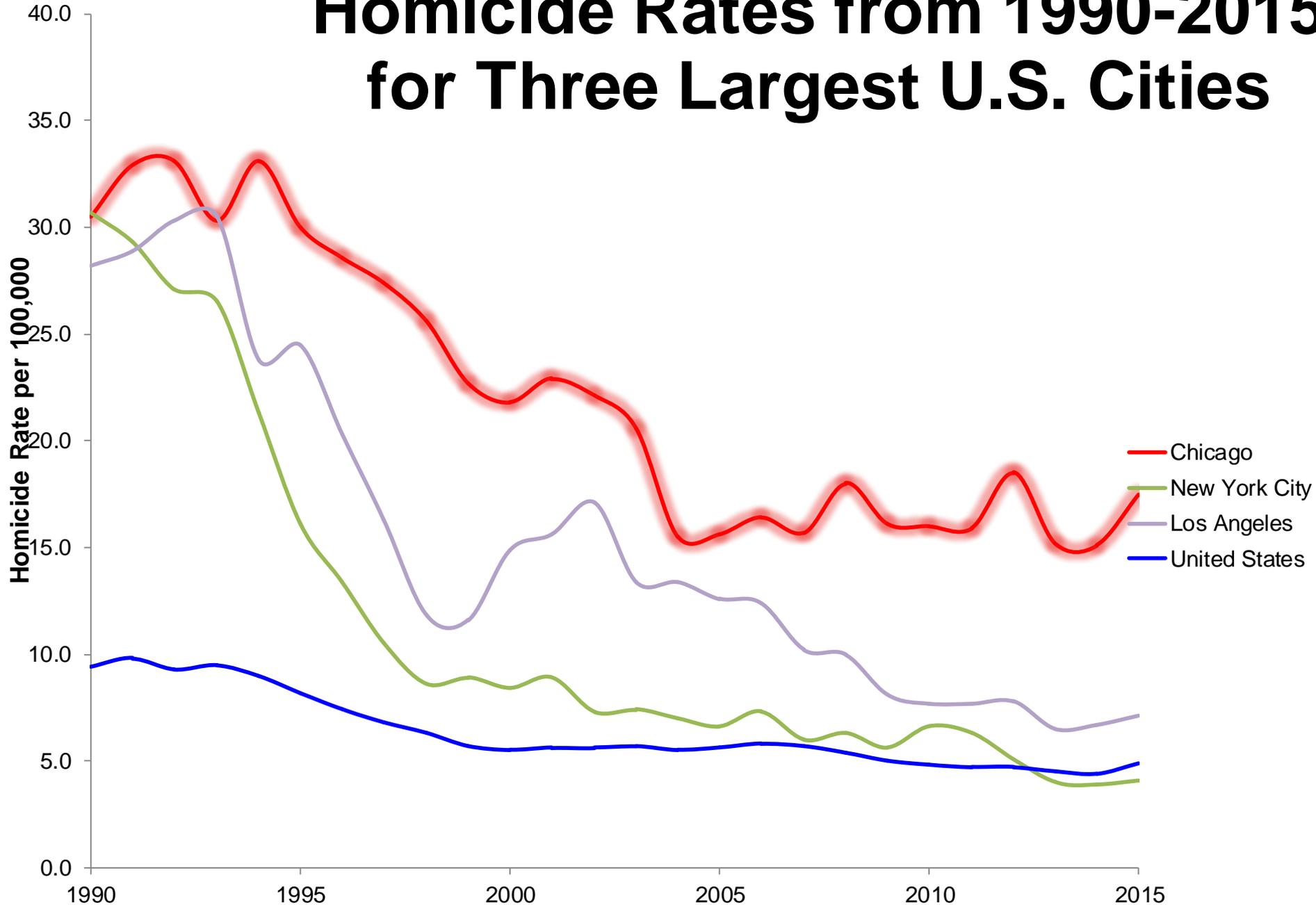
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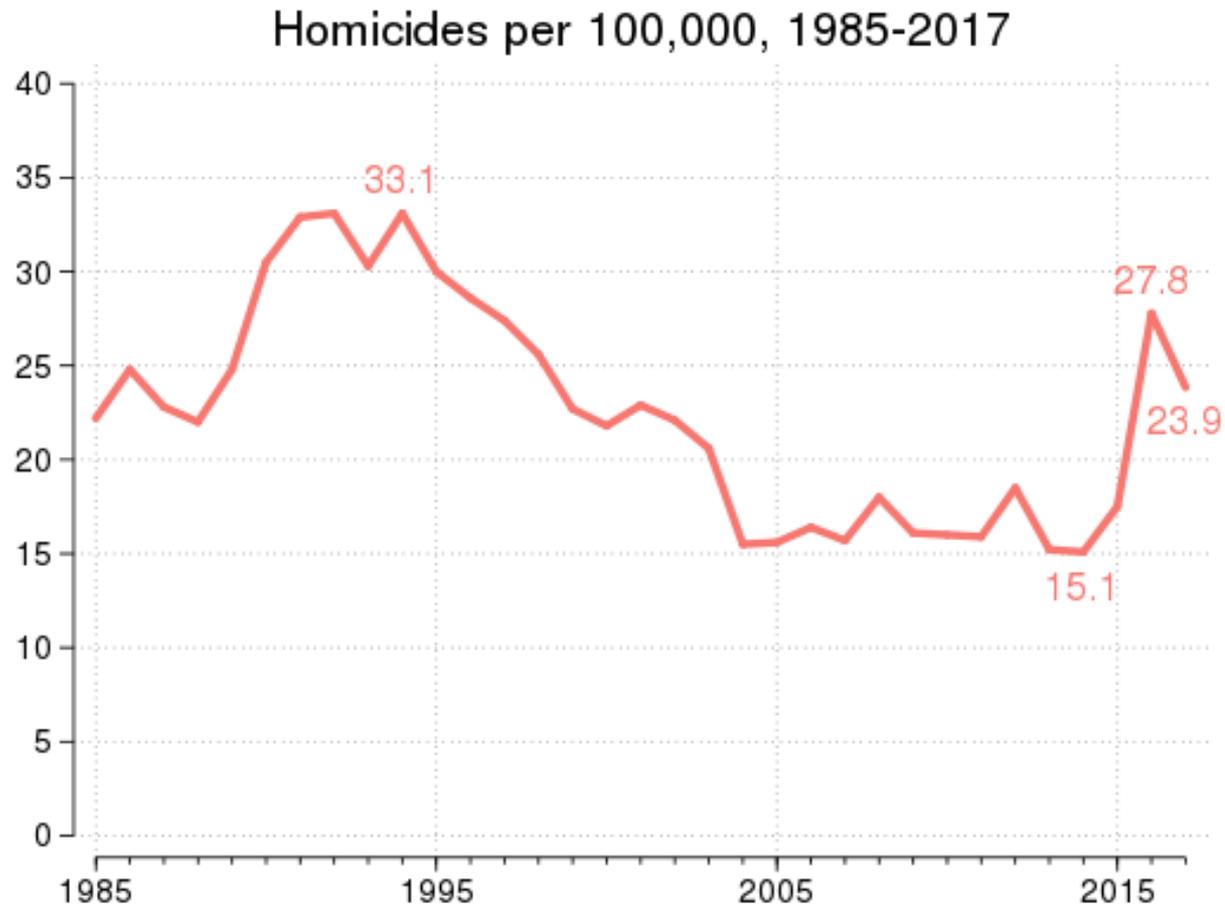
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Homicide Rates from 1990-2015 for Three Largest U.S. Cities

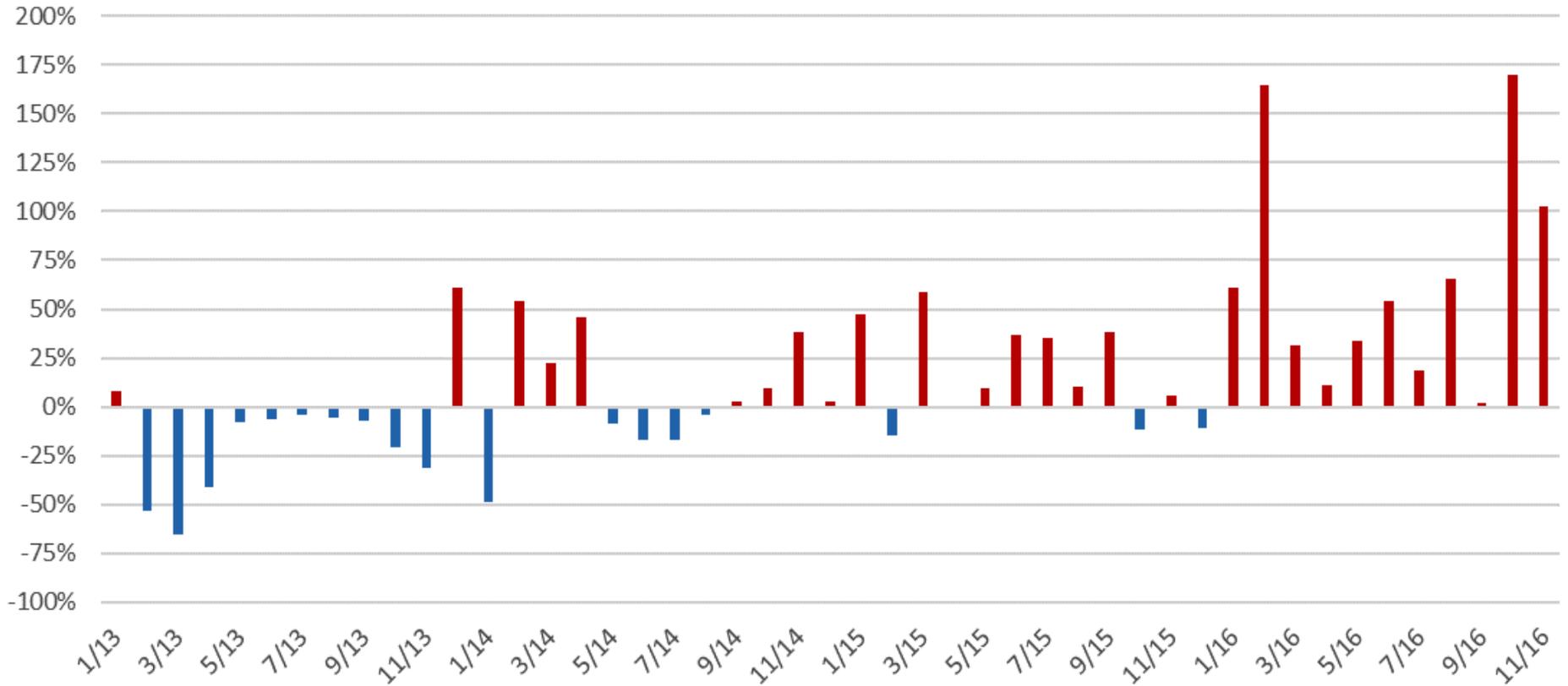


Chicago faces a genuine challenge, though still below rates of 25 years ago



Chicago saw a sharp genuine increase beginning 1/2016

Homicide Victims: Percent Change Compared to Prior Year



Violent Crime Rates Major U.S. Cities, 2016 (tabulation)

CHICAGO'S HOMICIDE SURGE IN CONTEXT

The 762 murders recorded by the city in 2016 place it eighth among large cities when adjusted for population.

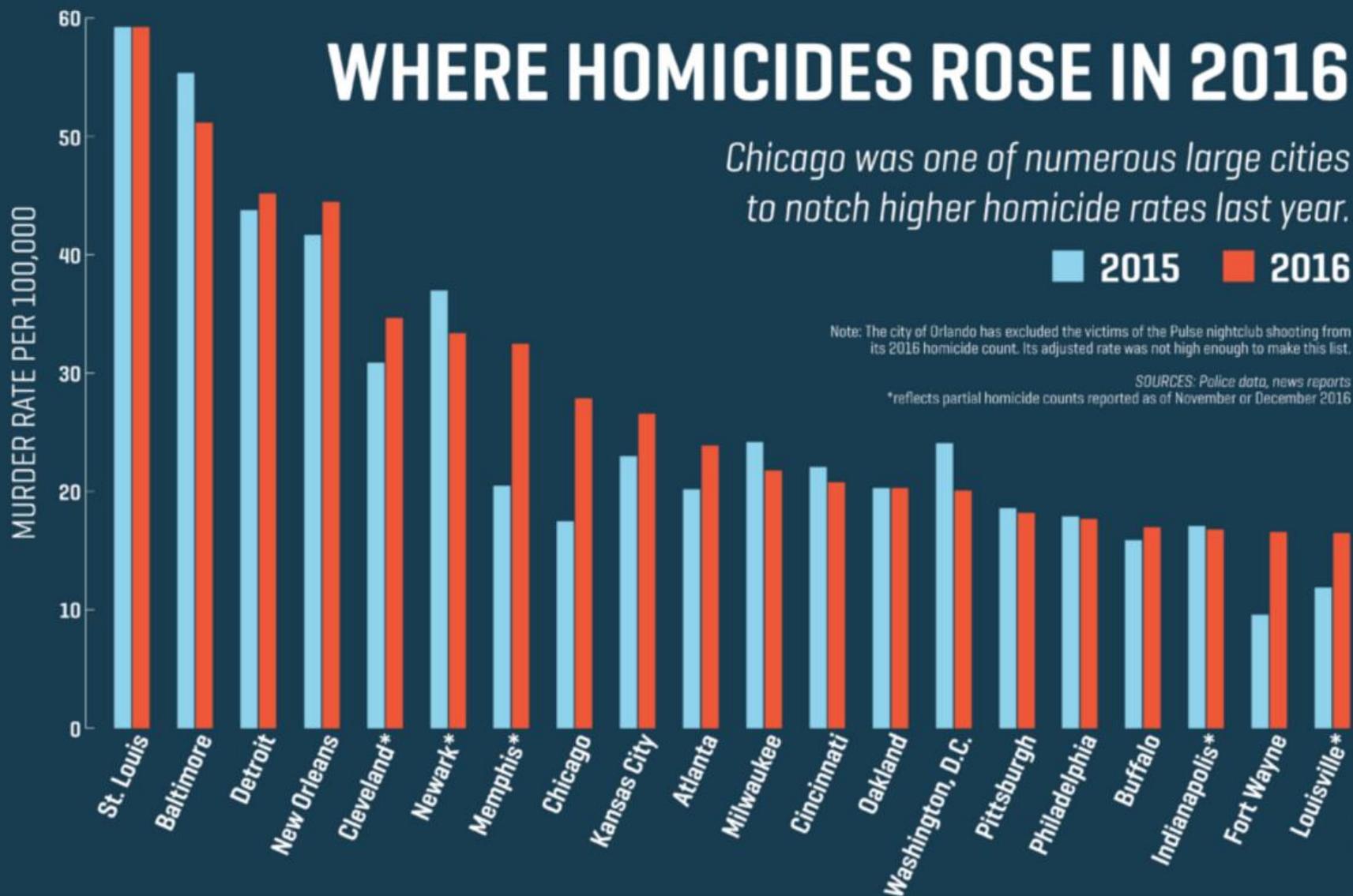


Note: The city of Orlando has excluded the victims of the Pulse nightclub shooting from its 2016 homicide count. Its adjusted rate was not high enough to make this list.

SOURCES: Police data, news reports

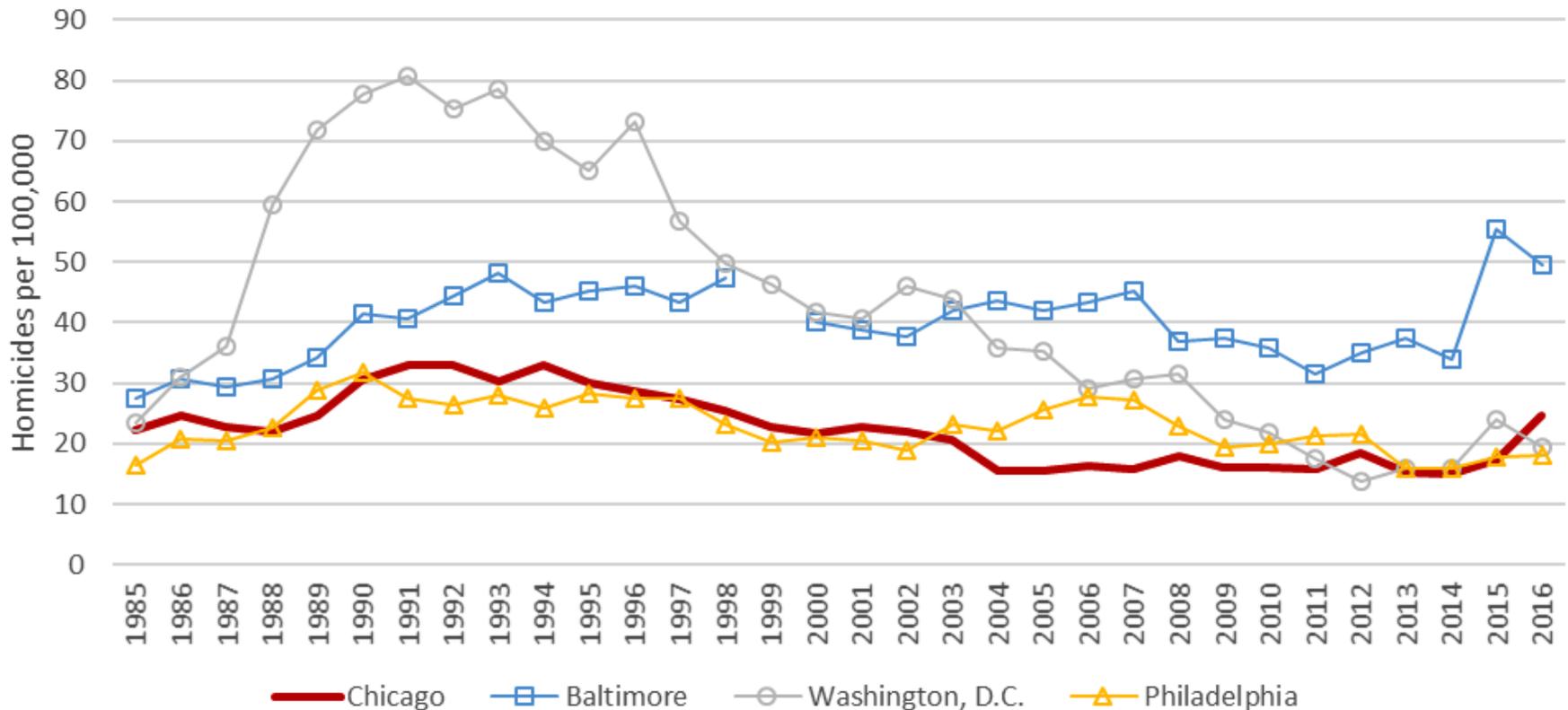
*reflects partial homicide counts reported as of November or December 2016

Violent Crime Rates Major U.S. Cities, 2016

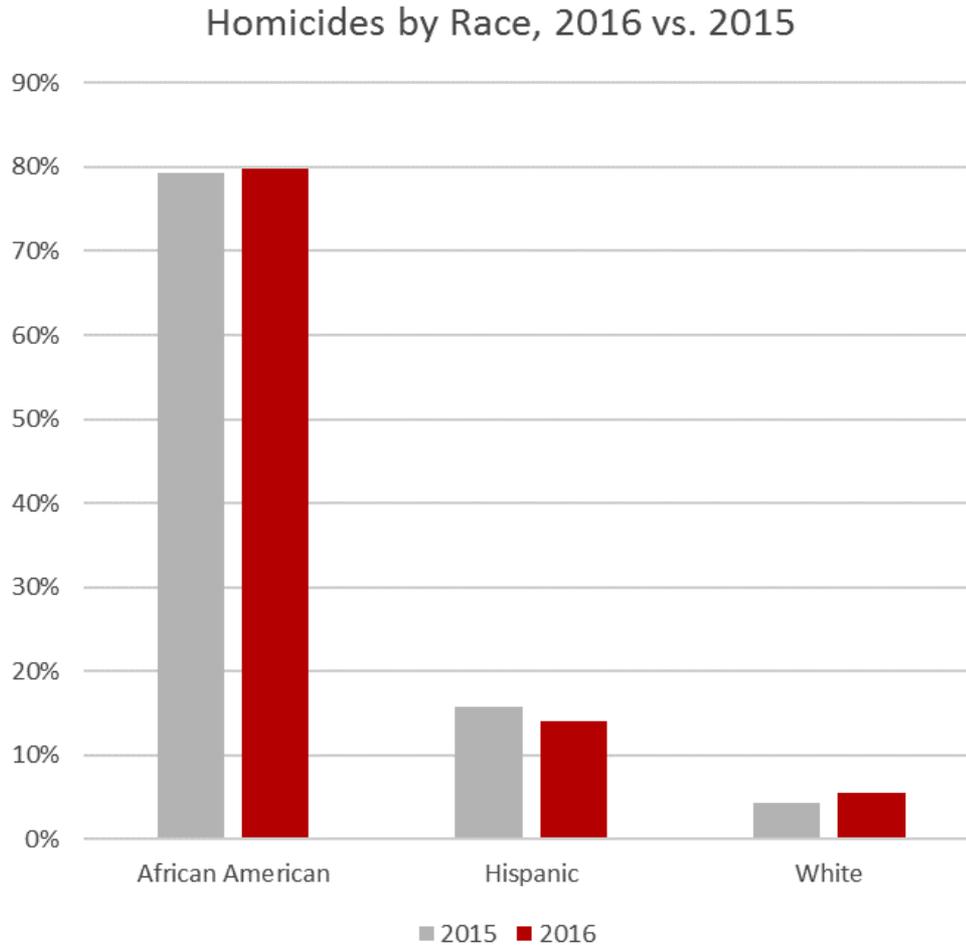


Chicago not an outlier in its difficulties

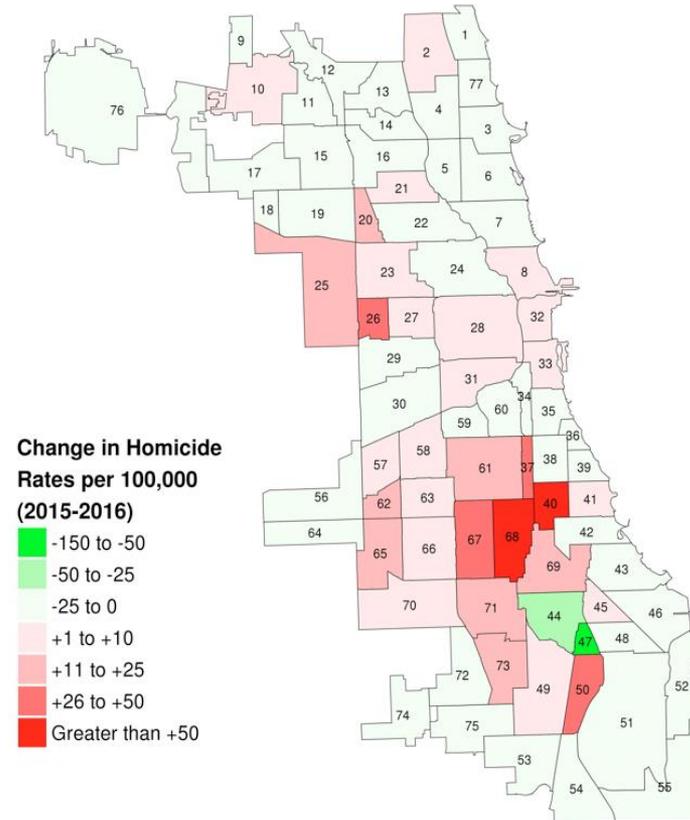
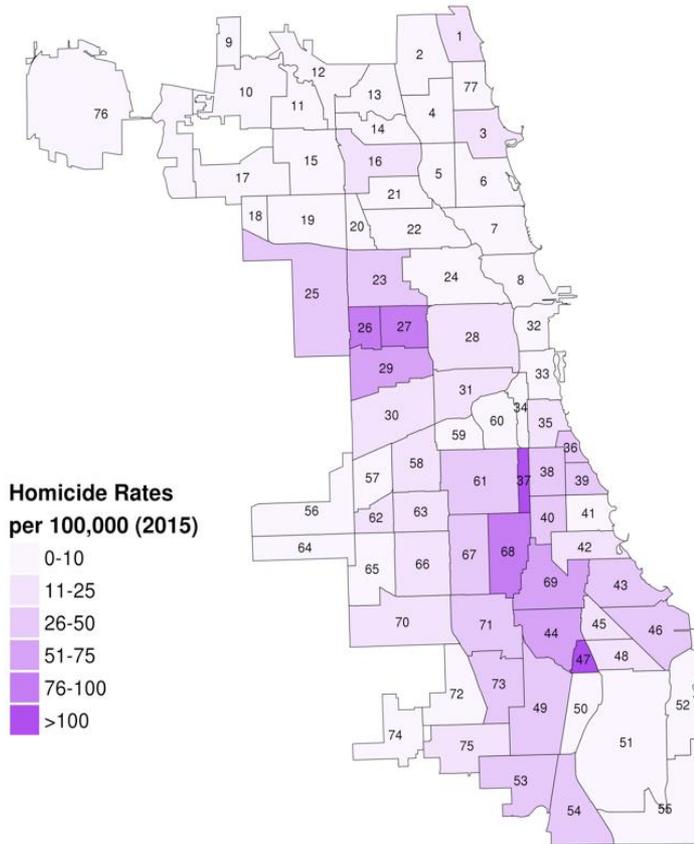
Homicide Rates, Chicago and East Coast Cities, 1985-2016



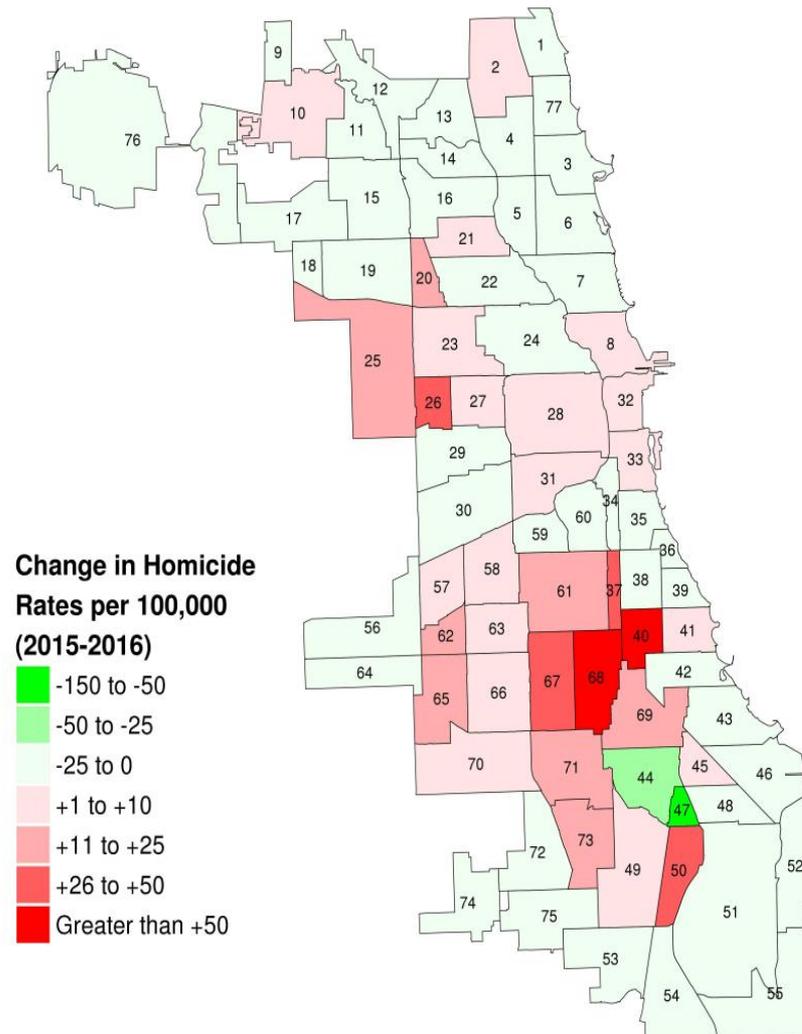
Chicago race/ethnic disparities are huge



Five neighborhoods account for 34% of Chicago homicides and much of the 2016 increase



Five neighborhoods account for 34% of Chicago homicides and much of the 2016 increase



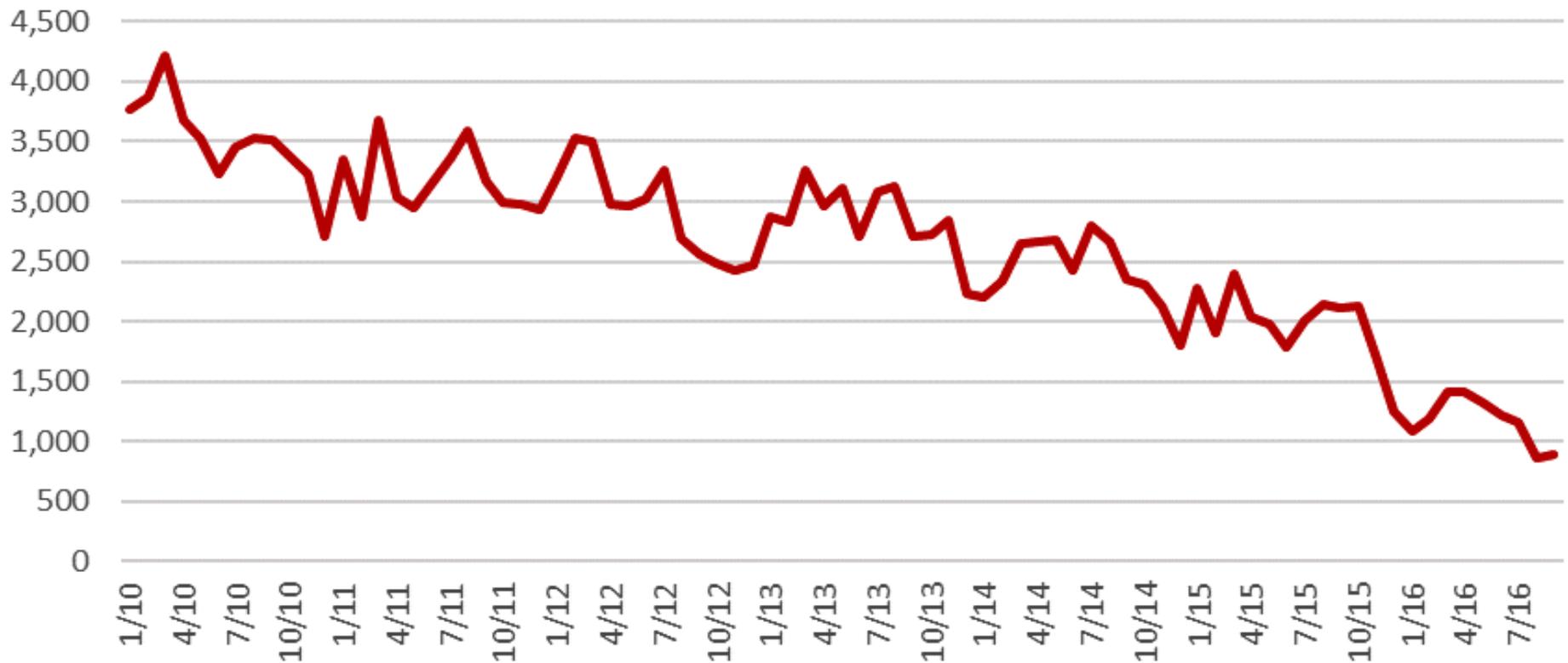
Declining overall arrests, but only in some categories

Monthly Total Arrests, 2010-2016



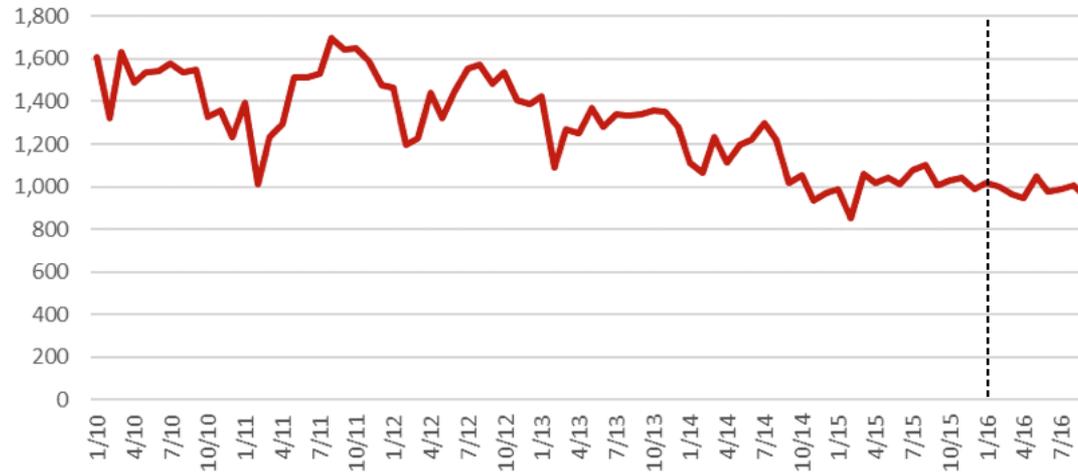
The decline is in narcotics arrests...

Monthly Narcotics Arrests, 2010-2016



Smaller/no decline in other arrests

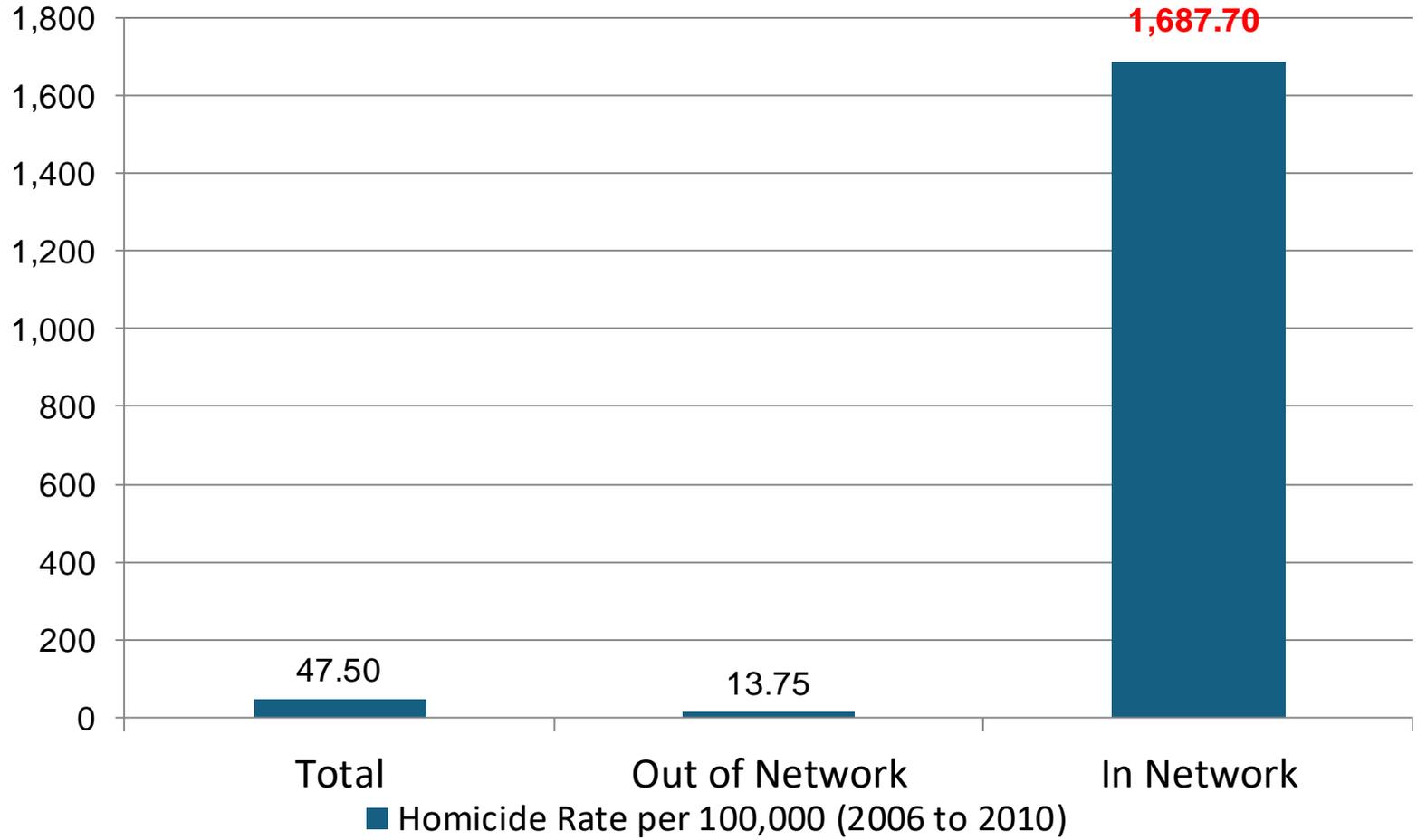
Monthly Property Crime Arrests, 2010-2016



Monthly Violent Crime Arrests, 2010-2016



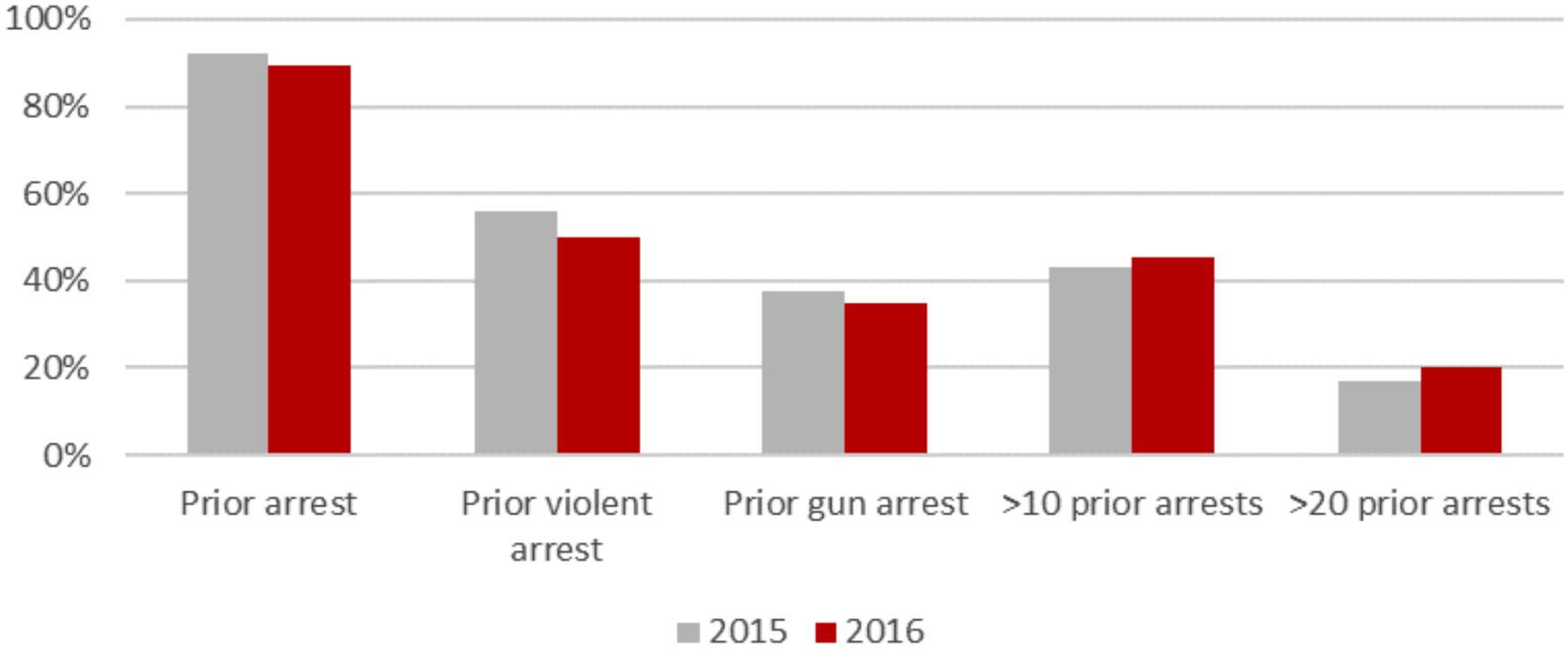
Chicago Homicide Offending and Victimization is Rather Concentrated



Source: Andrew Papachristos – *Networks & Homicide*

Chicago Homicide Offending and Victimization is Rather Concentrated

Homicide and Shooting Arrestees: Prior Arrests, 2016 vs. 2015





Many reasons to believe violence reduction requires fundamental social reforms

- Liberal and conservative arguments for pessimism regarding incremental progress.

Liberal argument

- Violence is a fundamental outgrowth of economic inequality, blocked opportunities, segregation, and discrimination.

Conservative argument

- Violence is a fundamental outgrowth of adverse cultural trends including family breakdown, adverse media messages, and more.

Neither argument is stupid....

- But both can be disempowering, leading us to be passive and thus pessimistic about opportunities to make incremental progress in the here-and-now with realistic interventions.
- Both perspectives suggest that violent behavior and crime reflects deeply-rooted personal characteristics and environmental challenges requiring pretty fundamental environmental interventions.
 - Or to some pretty fundamental and coercive interventions to protect us from some pretty committed criminals. And we know where this leads.

Policy response to all this

- One fundamental challenge:
 - You are a good-hearted but impulsive 19-year-old surrounded by your friends
 - You are susceptible to **sensation seeking** & **peer influences** (brain changes starting in early adolescence), **myopic decision-making**, “**catastrophizing**” (make negative events even more negative), **low impulse control / self-regulation**, & my favorite: “**hostile attribution bias**”
- How do we respond to this challenge?
 - What do you think?

Fundamental equation behind many homicides

**Young men + disagreement + gun
= dead body**

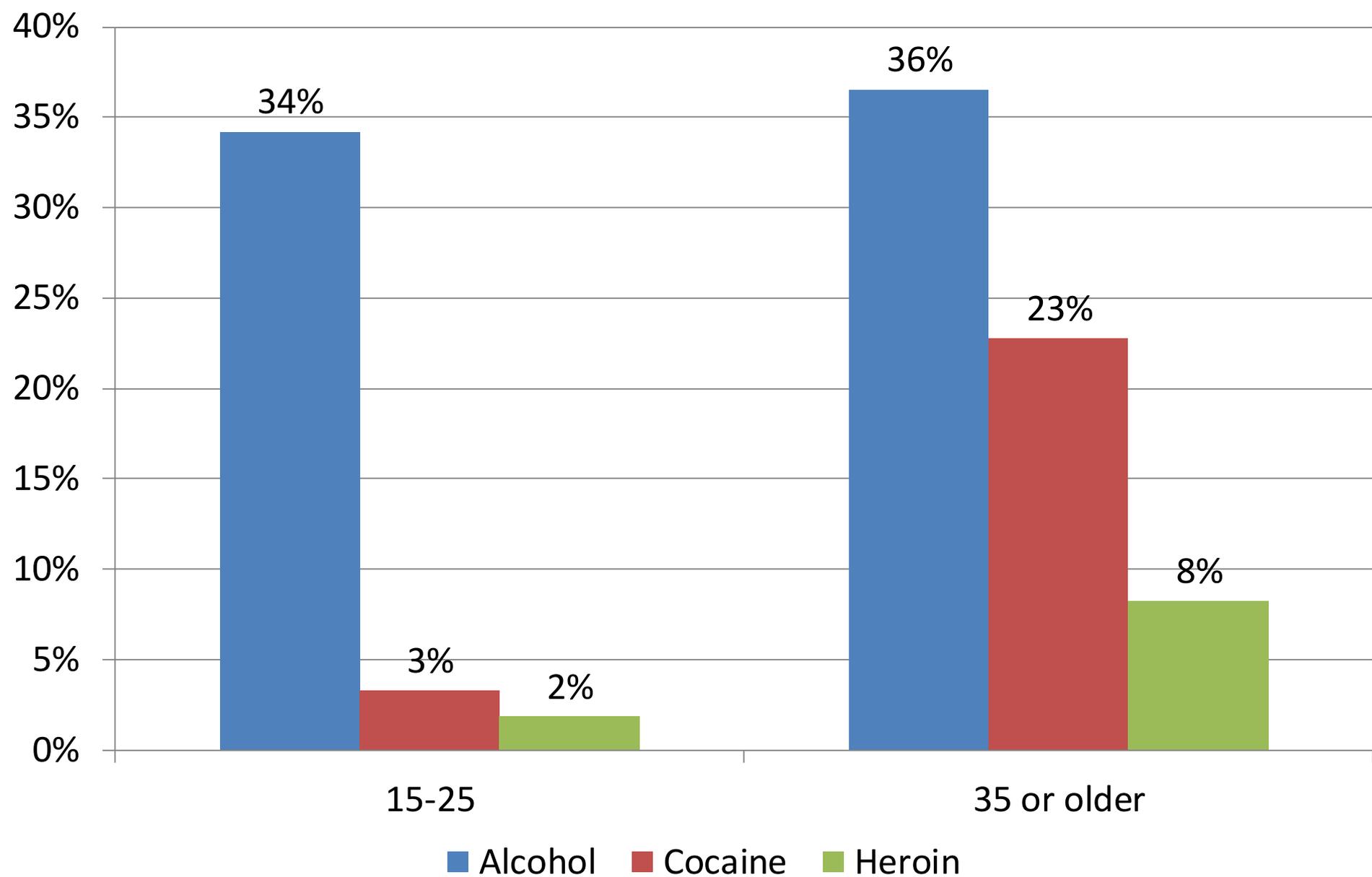
More elaborate equation of many homicides

**Young men + disagreement + (maladaptive,
fairly automatic behaviors) + gun
= dead body**

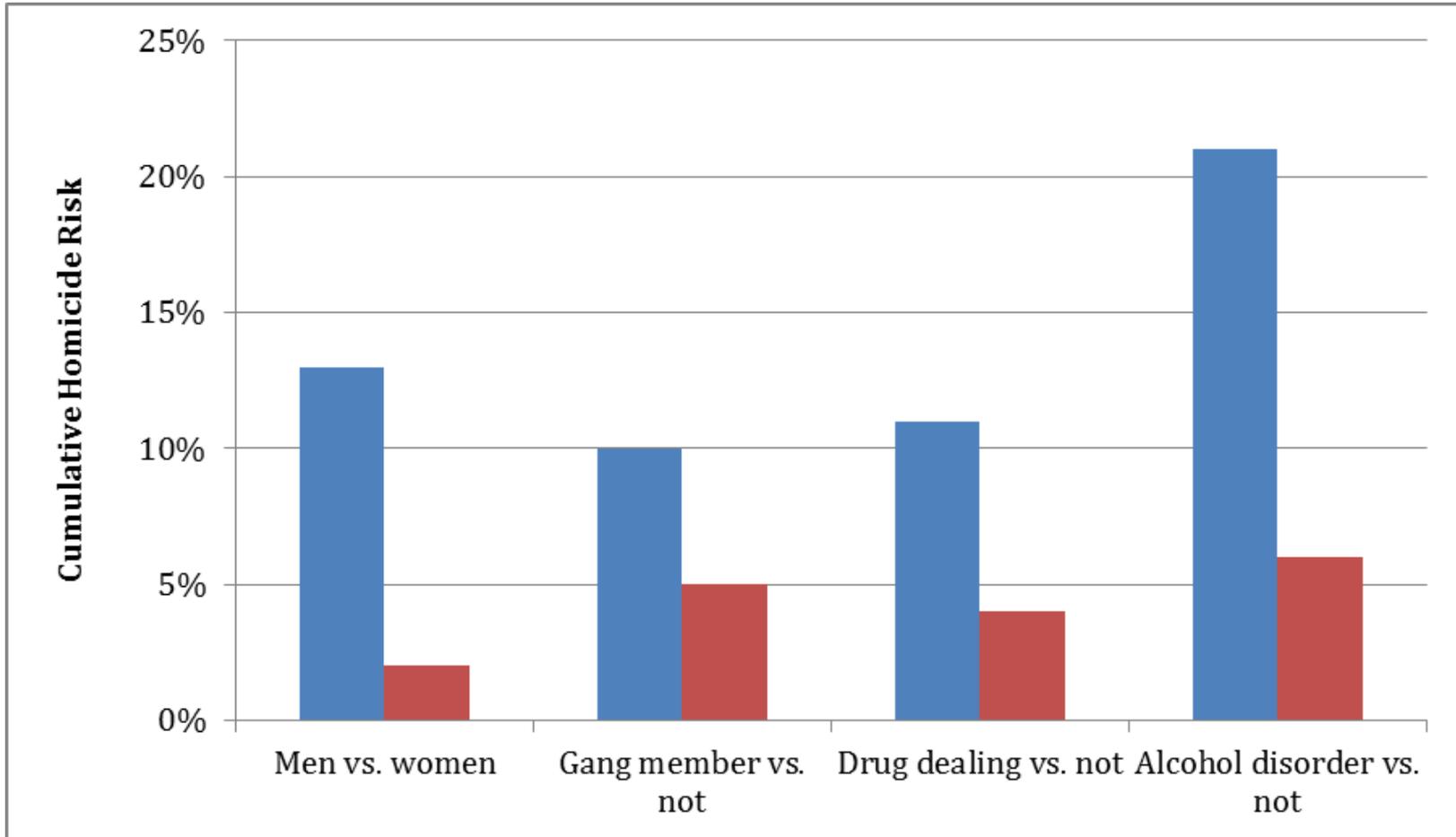
Elaborate appendix equation of many homicides

Young men + disagreement + (maladaptive, fairly automatic behaviors) + (often alcohol) + gun = dead body

Alcohol a key issue for another day: Northern Illinois Homicide Victims, 2005-09



Among Detained Juvenile Offenders, Alcohol Misuse Striking Risk Factor



Results from Teplin and collaborators (2014)



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Let's focus on behavioral responses:

Rich kids in Hyde Park

- Walking to school
 - Situation: Much bigger kid says “Hey kid, give me your phone”
 - Response: “Sure” (then run tell teacher or UCPD cop)
- In school, milling about before math class:
 - Situation: Teacher says “Hey kid, sit down so we can start class”
 - Response: “Sure”

Let's focus on behavioral responses:

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- In school, milling about before math class:
 - Situation: Teacher says “Hey kid, sit down so we can start class”
 - Response: “Sure”
- In the school hallway.
 - Situation: Kid steps on your sneaker in the hallway.
 - Response: “He’s such a doofus. Hey what’s for lunch?”

Automatic responses: *Poor kids in Englewood*

- Walking to school
 - Situation: Much bigger kid says “Hey kid, give me your phone”
 - Response:

Automatic responses: *Poor kids in Englewood*

- Walking to school
 - Situation: Much bigger kid says “Hey kid, give me your phone”
 - Response: “Fuck you”

Automatic responses: *Poor kids in Englewood*

- Walking to school
 - Situation: Much bigger kid says “Hey kid, give me your phone/jacket/whatever”
 - Response: “Fuck you”
- In school, milling about before math class:
 - Situation: Teacher says “Hey kid, sit down so we can start class”
 - Response: ????????????

Automatic responses: *Poor kids in Englewood*

- Walking to school
 - Situation: Much bigger kid says “Hey kid, give me your phone/jacket/whatever”
 - Response: “Fuck you”
- In school, milling about before math class:
 - Situation: Teacher says “Hey kid, sit down so we can start class”
 - Response: ????????????
- In the school hallway.
 - Situation: Another kid steps on your sneaker in the hallway.
 - Response: What would you do?

Low social control leads to need for retaliation (deterrence)

- Retaliate
 - (Ex) Papachristos, *AJS* (2009), “face” important to minimize future victimization in places where formal social control is weak
- But don’t instigate (ex: Elijah Anderson 1998, p. 77-78)
 - *“Further down the block a woman simply stops her car in the middle of the street, waiting for her husband or boyfriend to emerge from a barbershop. She waits for about ten minutes, holding up traffic. No one complains, no one honks his horn; they simply go around her, for they know that to complain is to risk an altercation, or at least heated words. They prefer not to incur this woman’s wrath, which could escalate to warfare.”*
- Geoffrey Canada’s jacket: *Fist, Stick, Knife, Gun*.
- Some *suggestive* evidence that this happens
 - *Black kids report more fighting, less school bullying, than white kids do.*

Notice what this alternative perspective implies

- Context in poor areas creates variable situations
 - Kids in poor areas *need* to be able to be *less automatic* than rich kids, distinguish situation 1 (out of school) from 2 (in school)
- Put differently – poverty creates need for less automaticity

Implication for Intervention

- If automaticity is a problem, intervention needs to help kids be less reflexive, more reflective
 - Slow down (be less automatic / reflexive)
 - Think (be more reflective)

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)

- CBT: short-duration intervention (25-30 hrs) developed in 60s/70s as alternative to psychotherapy (treat symptoms, not root cause)
- Core ideas
 - *Recognize problematic situations, slow down (deep breathing / mindfulness)*
 - *Recognize and de-bias biased automatic beliefs (more reflective)*
 - *Will sound familiar to people who have read, say, Kahneman (2011), “system 1” vs. “system 2” judgments and decision-making*
 - Existing CBT evidence
 - *Pretty good evidence for beneficial effects on mental health disorders (depression, anxiety, substance abuse, eating disorders)*
 - *Growing practitioner interest in use for social policy as well – but not much good evidence for outcomes of policy interest*

Becoming a Man (BAM) curriculum: Standard CBT elements adapted for Chicago youth

- Concrete examples:
 - *Camera view (rational self analysis)*
 - *“Did you need to fight in that circumstance?”*
 - *Notice program does NOT ever tell kids blanket statement “never fight”*
 - *“If I had \$1M to make a movie about you, what is that movie going to be about?”*
 - *The Fist exercise*
- Not the only ingredient or theory
 - Intervention staff model positive aspirational masculinity. I think this really matters, too.
 - “Becoming a man” is not a random name

Analysis Plan

Intent to Treat

$$Y_{is} = \alpha + \beta T_{is} + \pi X_{is} + \theta_s + \varepsilon_{is}$$

- Avg diff between those assigned to treatment vs control
- Control for baseline covariates to increase precision; use school fixed effects as “blocking” variable

Effect of Participation

- Use treatment group assignment as instrument for program participation
 - Assumes assignment to treatment group only affects outcomes through participation (exclusion restriction)
 - Small amount of control crossover → so this is technically a LATE not TOT
 - Without covariates, just scales up ITT on outcomes by ITT on participation
- Use control complier mean to assess relative size of impact

Analysis Plan

Intent to Treat

$$Y_{is} = \alpha + \beta T_{is} + \pi X_{is} + \theta_s + \varepsilon_{is}$$

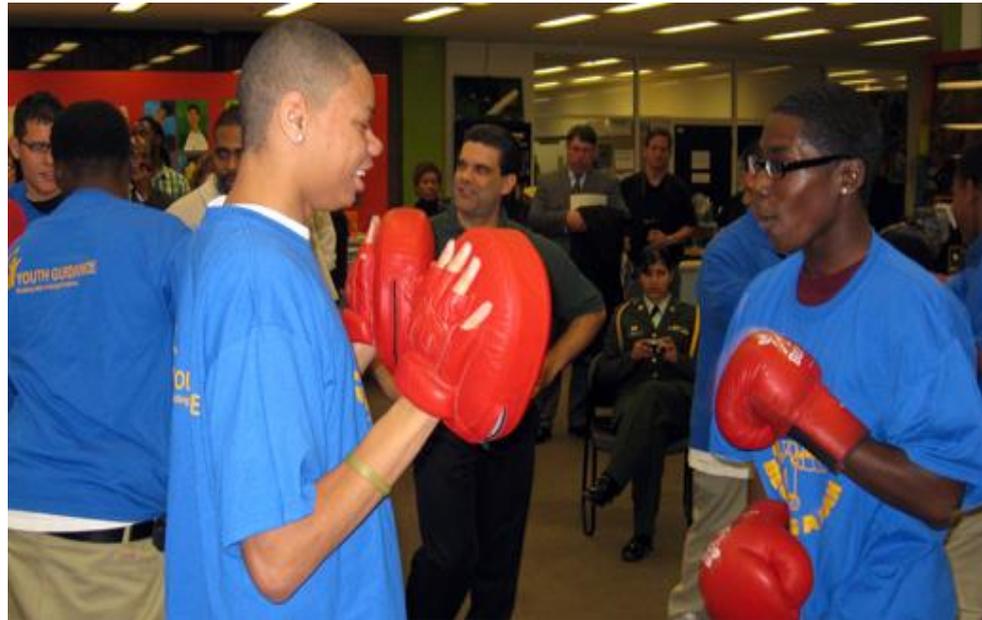
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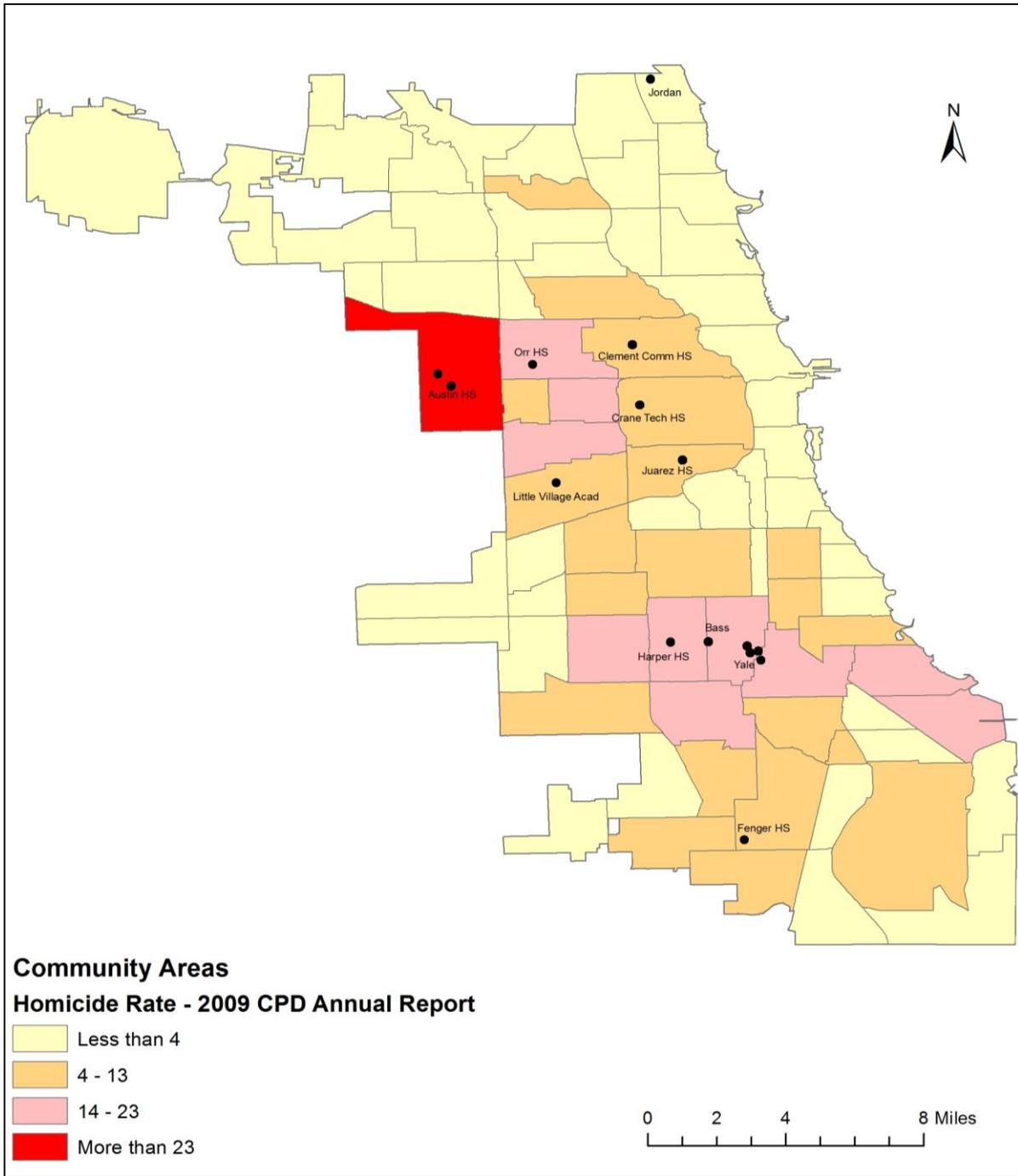
Effect of Participation

- Incidentally, the group offered participation but who did not participate did markedly worse than either participators or those assigned to the control group.

Becoming a Man (B.A.M.) Sports Edition

- Application of CBT, mentoring, and positive youth development sports intervention, late middle school/early HS.
 - 27 week curriculum of group sessions (1 session per week) with 10-15 students per group
 - Sessions occur during the school day
 - Focus on five values: integrity, accountability, self-determination, positive anger expression and visionary goal setting
 - Weekly check-ins, self-regulation activities, clinical assessments
 - e.g., The Fist exercise
 - Individual counseling and mentoring as needed
 - Weekly consultation with teachers





Intervention Schools

- Austin Polytech (High School)
- Banneker (Elementary)
- Bass (Elementary)
- Clemente (High School)
- Crane (High School)
- Douglass (High School)
- Fenger (High School)
- Harper (High School)
- Jordan (Elementary)
- Juarez (High School)
- Little Village (Elementary)
- Orr (High School)
- Parker (Elementary)
- Robeson (High School)
- Yale (Elementary)

Becoming a Man (BAM I study)

- Added to reinforce BAM curriculum (and also increase participation rates)
- Focus on non-traditional (often combat) sports to provide a level playing field for youth
 - Archery, boxing, judo, karate, team handball, weightlifting, wrestling
- Coaches selected based upon commitment to core values of positive coaching techniques
 - 36 head coaches and 14 assistant coaches involved, including 4 Olympians or Olympic coaches
- Coaches trained in BAM curriculum and social-cognitive learning principles
- 18 CPS schools in low-income Chicago neighborhoods affected by youth violence (“blocks”)
- Select N=2740 students based on prior year (2008-9) CPS student-level outcomes for RCT

Outcome Measures

- Form unweighted averages of components in z-score form, standardized on control group (following Kling et al. 2007)
- Academic composite
 - GPA, # days present, indicator for “still in school”
 - In following year, we examine school transfers, attendance in juvenile justice schools, as well.
- Arrests
 - Look at violent, property, drug, and other crime arrests separately (may be affected differentially). We also show aggregate social costs as summary measure.

Block-randomized Experimental Design

- Individually randomize youth into one of four arms
 - BAM (social-cognitive skill development), N=531
 - BAM plus sports, N=550
 - Sports only, N=392
 - Control group, N=1267
- Results today pool treatment arms.

Administrative data used for all outcomes

- Student-level Chicago Public School (CPS) records
 - Enrollment / dropout status, grade of enrollment, course grades, achievement test scores (ISAT up through 8th grade; but lots of missing values), absences
 - CPS staff matched data from within internal administrative records
 - 2008-9 AY (baseline controls), 2009-10AY (outcomes)
 - Just added 2010-11 longer-term outcomes
- Illinois State Police (ISP) arrest records
 - Complete census of all arrests made in IL, now has good coverage of juvenile as well as adult arrests
 - Linked together with biometrics (fingerprints)
 - Date of arrest, criminal charge(s) filed (we divide up into violent, property, drug, motor vehicle, and other crimes)

Served fairly typical boy in many tough schools

Some Baseline Characteristics for 2008-09 School Year

	Control Group N = 1267	Treatment Group N = 1473
	Mean	Mean
Grade	9.36	9.34
Age	15.61	15.59
Old for Grade	0.53	0.52
Total Days Present	131.36	132.45
Ever Arrested	0.30	0.30
Black	0.71	0.70
Hispanic	0.29	0.30
GPA	1.71	1.71

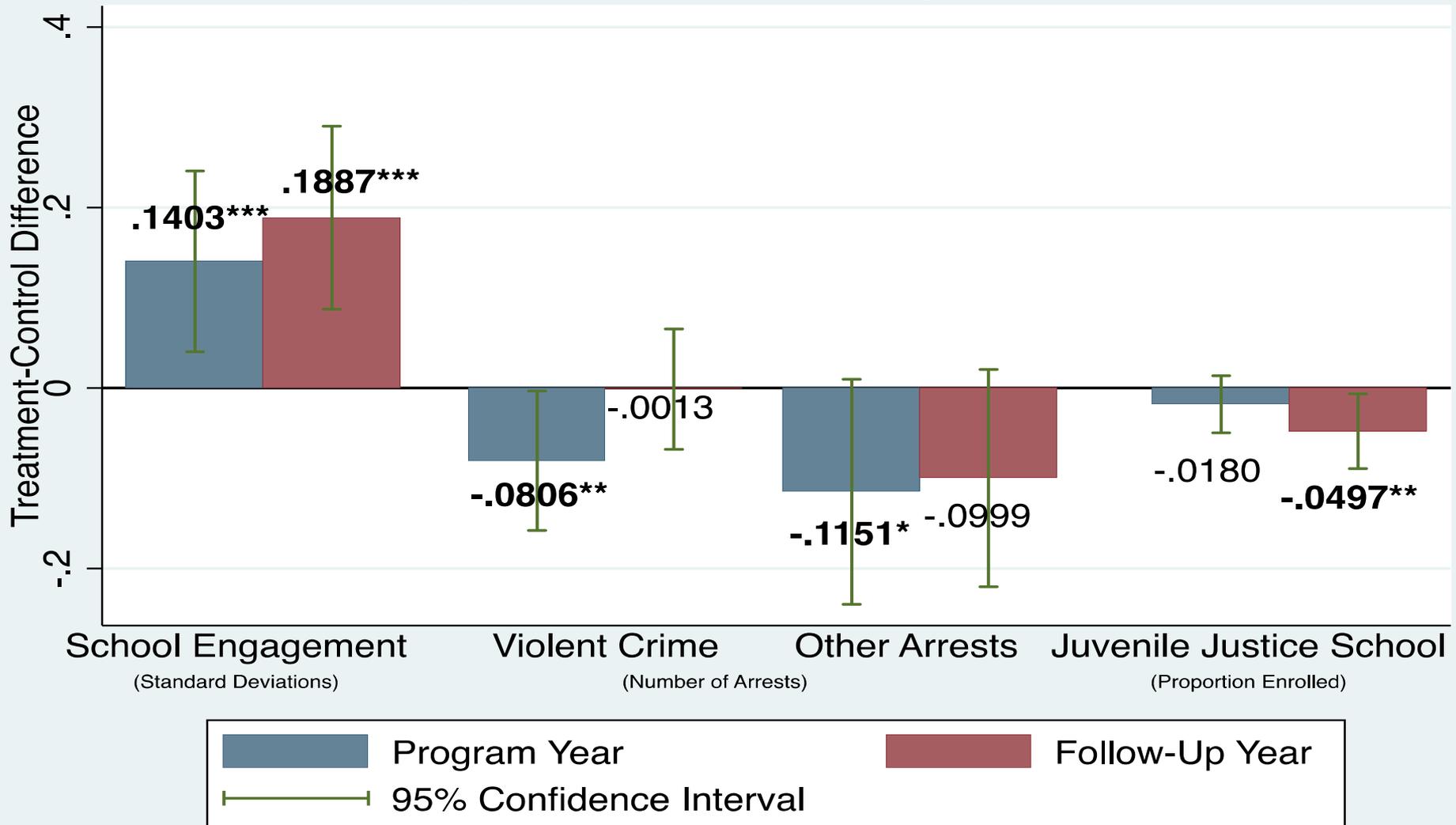
Test of joint significance: $F(19,2559) = 1.01, p = 0.4511$

* = $p < 0.1$, ** = $p < 0.05$

Note: One school excluded from sample due to randomization failure

Summary bottom line slide

Effects of Participation in Social-Cognitive Skill Intervention



Arrest results (note the fade-out)

Table A7

Effect of Treatment on Arrests in Years 1 and 2

Arrest Type	Main Results: Year 1				Follow-Up: Year 2			
	CM	ITT	LATE	CCM	CM	ITT	LATE	CCM
Violent	0.167	-0.0336** (0.0165)	-0.0806** (0.0394)	0.184	0.110	-0.0005 (0.0143)	-0.0013 (0.0340)	0.095
Property	0.077	0.0050 (0.0128)	0.0120 (0.0303)	0.066	0.057	-0.0032 (0.0103)	-0.0076 (0.0245)	0.052
Drug	0.151	0.0026 (0.0178)	0.0062 (0.0424)	0.094	0.164	-0.0181 (0.0192)	-0.0435 (0.0457)	0.170
Other	0.305	-0.0480* (0.0267)	-0.1151* (0.0636)	0.320	0.264	-0.0417 (0.0258)	-0.0999 (0.0614)	0.288

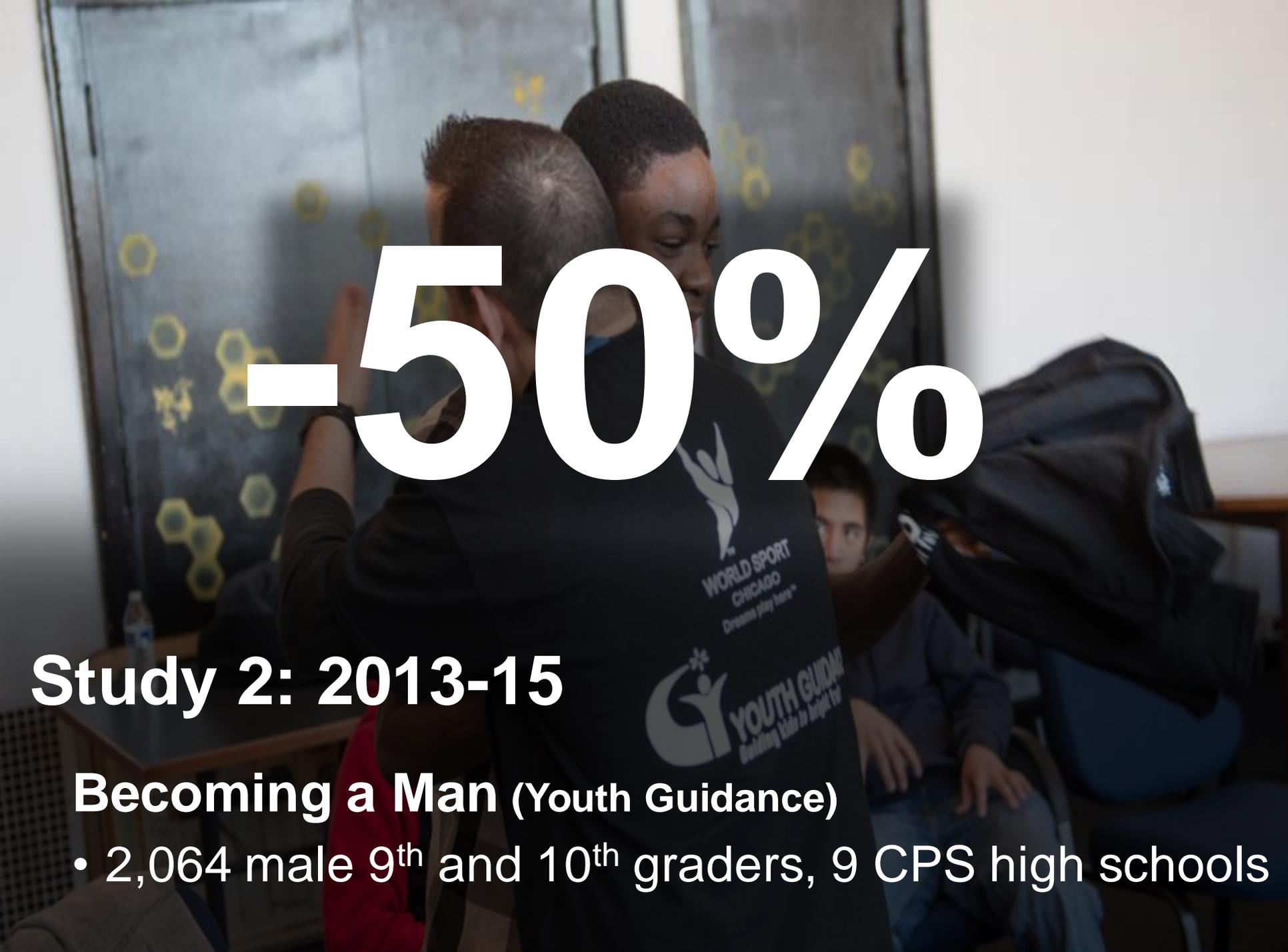
Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Baseline covariates included in all regressions. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Changes in which school attended

Table A5
School Enrollment Outcomes

	CM	ITT	LATE	CCM
	Year 1			
Switch schools (within CPS) (n=2660)	0.129	-0.0269** (0.0119)	-0.0631** (0.0276)	0.119
Ever in juvenile justice school	0.043	-0.0076 (0.0067)	-0.0182 (0.0161)	0.030
	Year 2			
Switch schools (within CPS) (n=2264)	0.125	-0.0083 (0.0133)	-0.0180 (0.0284)	0.120
Ever in juvenile justice school	0.075	-0.0200** (0.0089)	-0.0479** (0.0211)	0.090

Notes: Coefficients from linear probability models; results from probit analysis are almost identical. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Baseline covariates included in all regressions. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

A group of young men are gathered in a classroom. One man in the foreground is wearing a dark t-shirt with the text 'WORLD SPORT CHICAGO' and 'Dreams play here' along with a logo. Another man is wearing a t-shirt with the 'YOUTH GUIDANCE' logo and the slogan 'Adding life to hope'. The background shows a chalkboard with some faint yellow markings.

-50%

Study 2: 2013-15

Becoming a Man (Youth Guidance)

- 2,064 male 9th and 10th graders, 9 CPS high schools

A photograph of the Cook County Juvenile Center building, a large multi-story structure with many windows. In the foreground, there is a red sign that reads "Cook County Juvenile Center". A large white percentage "-21%" is overlaid on the image, centered over the building. An American flag is visible on a pole to the right of the building.

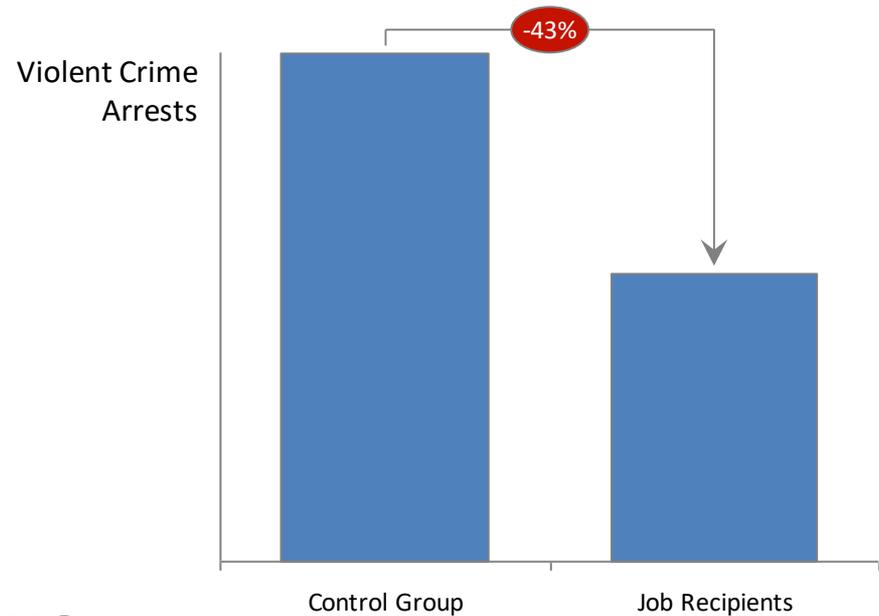
-21%

Study 3: 2009-11

Stop, Look, and Listen in the JTDC

- Randomized 5,728 male admissions to the facility

Summer Jobs



One Summer Chicago Plus

(Chicago Department of Family & Support Services)

- Offer of a summer job **decreased violent-crime arrests by 43% over 16 months**
- A private \$10M investment doubled the program in 2015 and tripled it in 2016



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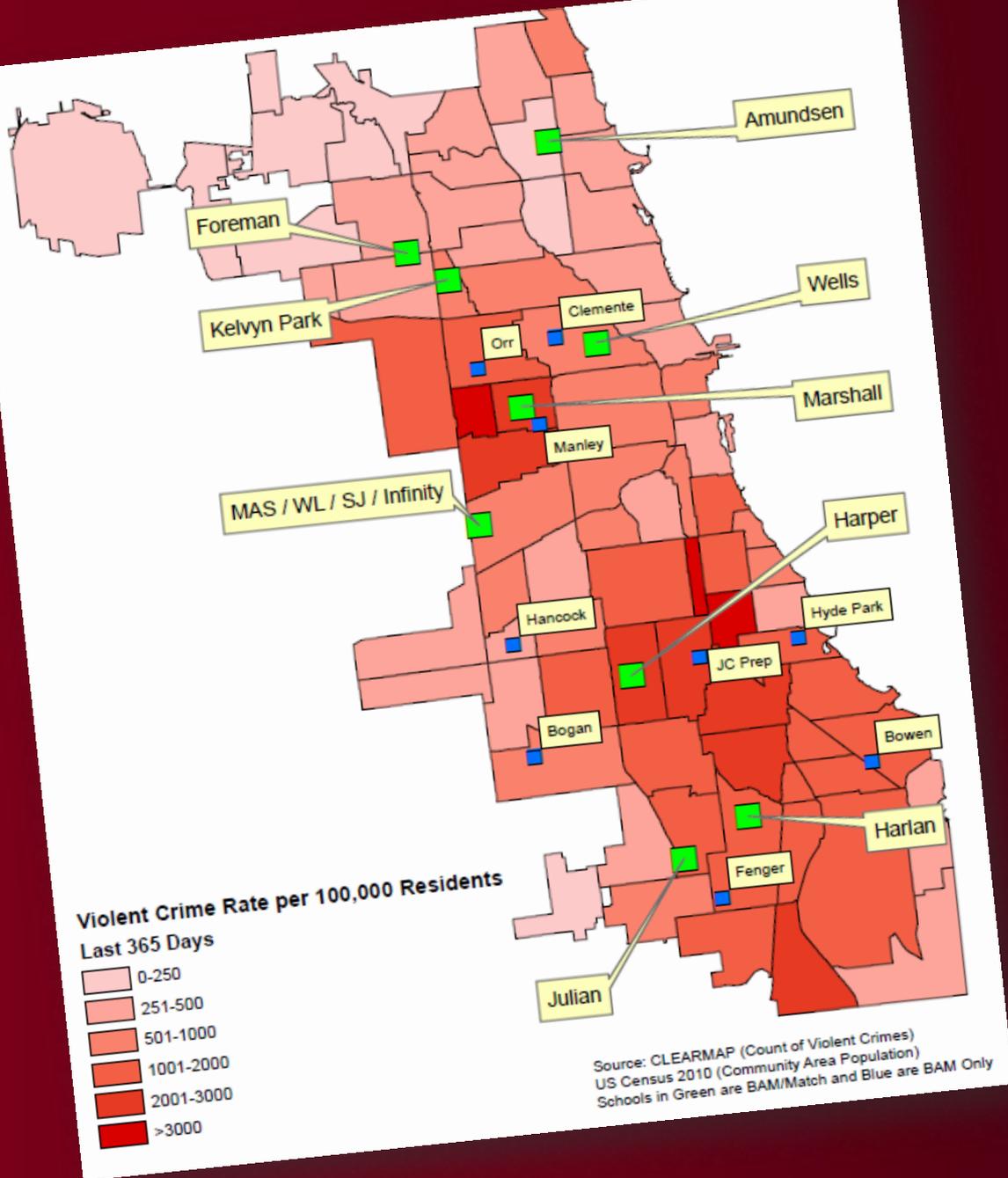
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Employment-crime connection

- **Stable employment for many reasons a protective factor against violence**
- **“Nothing Stops a Bullet Like a Job.”**

4,500

9th and 10th
graders
randomly
assigned to
program vs.
control
(Heller, 2014)

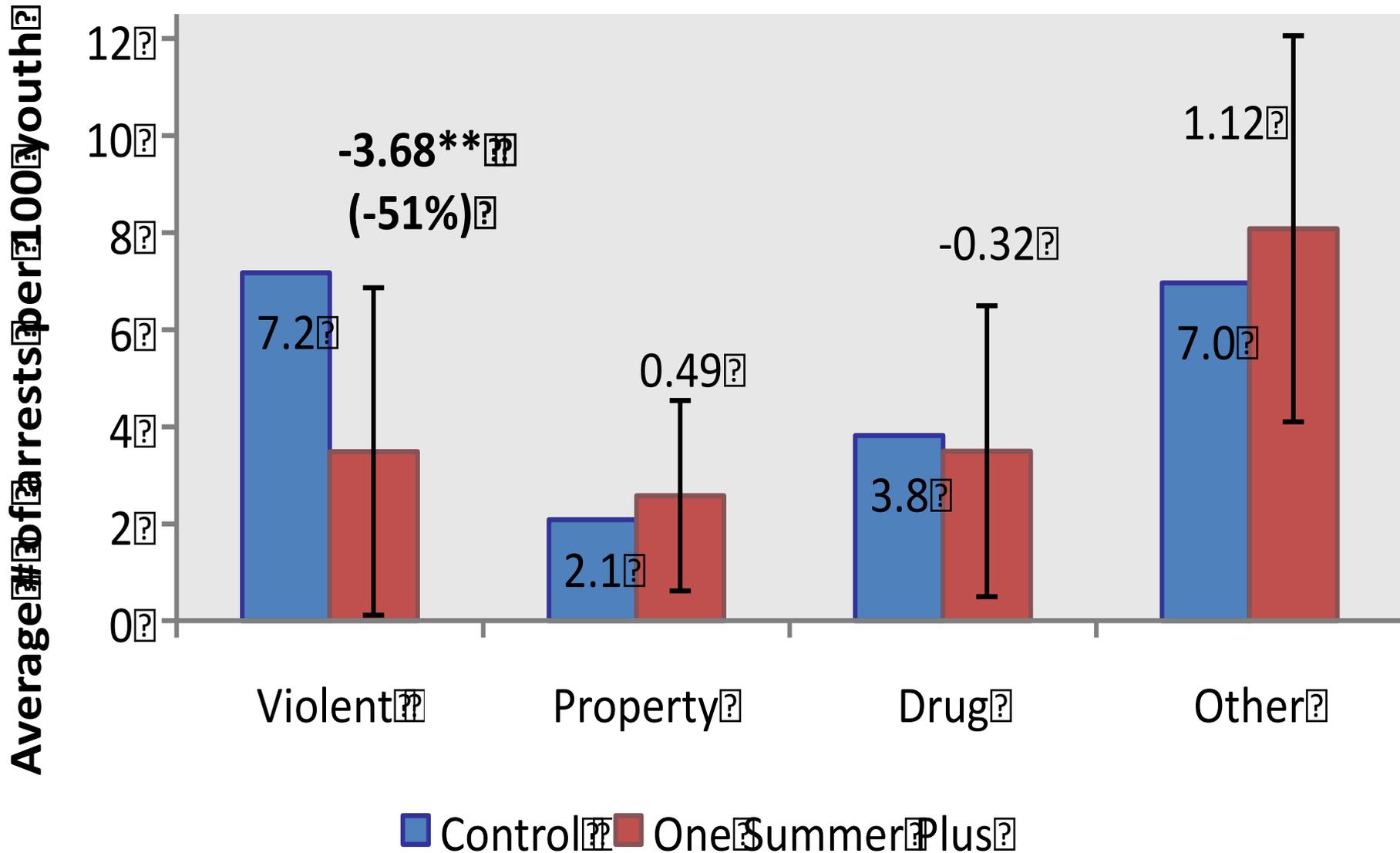


“Nothing Stops a Bullet Like a Job”

- 75% of youth offered the program participated in 2012
- 90% of participating youth completed
- Average participant worked 171 hours, earned over \$1,400



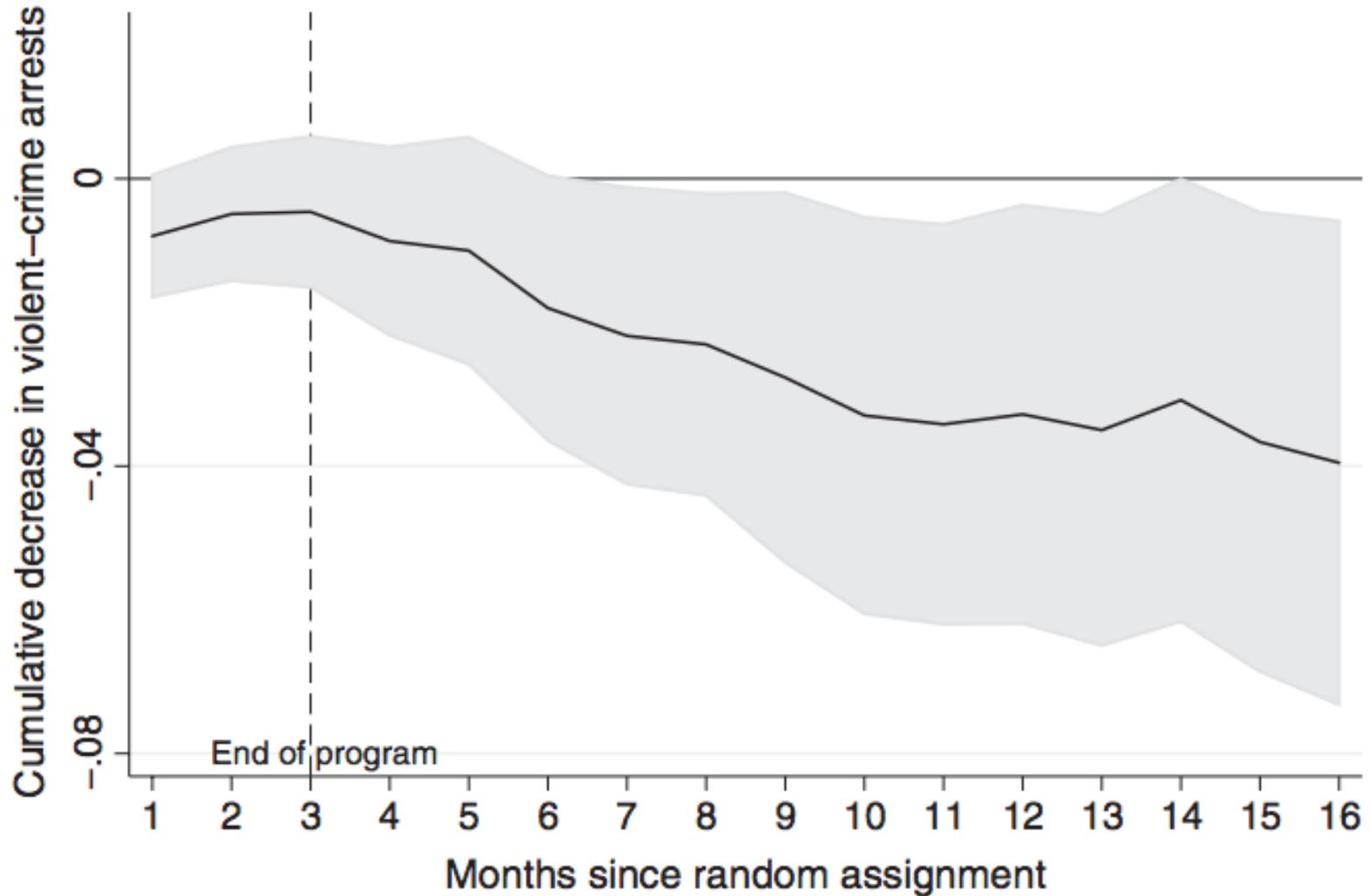
Effect of Participation after 7 Post-Program Months



* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Effect of Summer Jobs on violent arrests (Heller 2014)

(surprisingly little fade-out)



— Intent-to-treat program effect 95% confidence interval

We have learned some things

- Everyone is sad about violence issues. Sense of efficacy often lacking.
- A package of rigorously-evaluated interventions are becoming available.
- No one intervention will suffice, but a portfolio of interventions can help.

We have learned some things

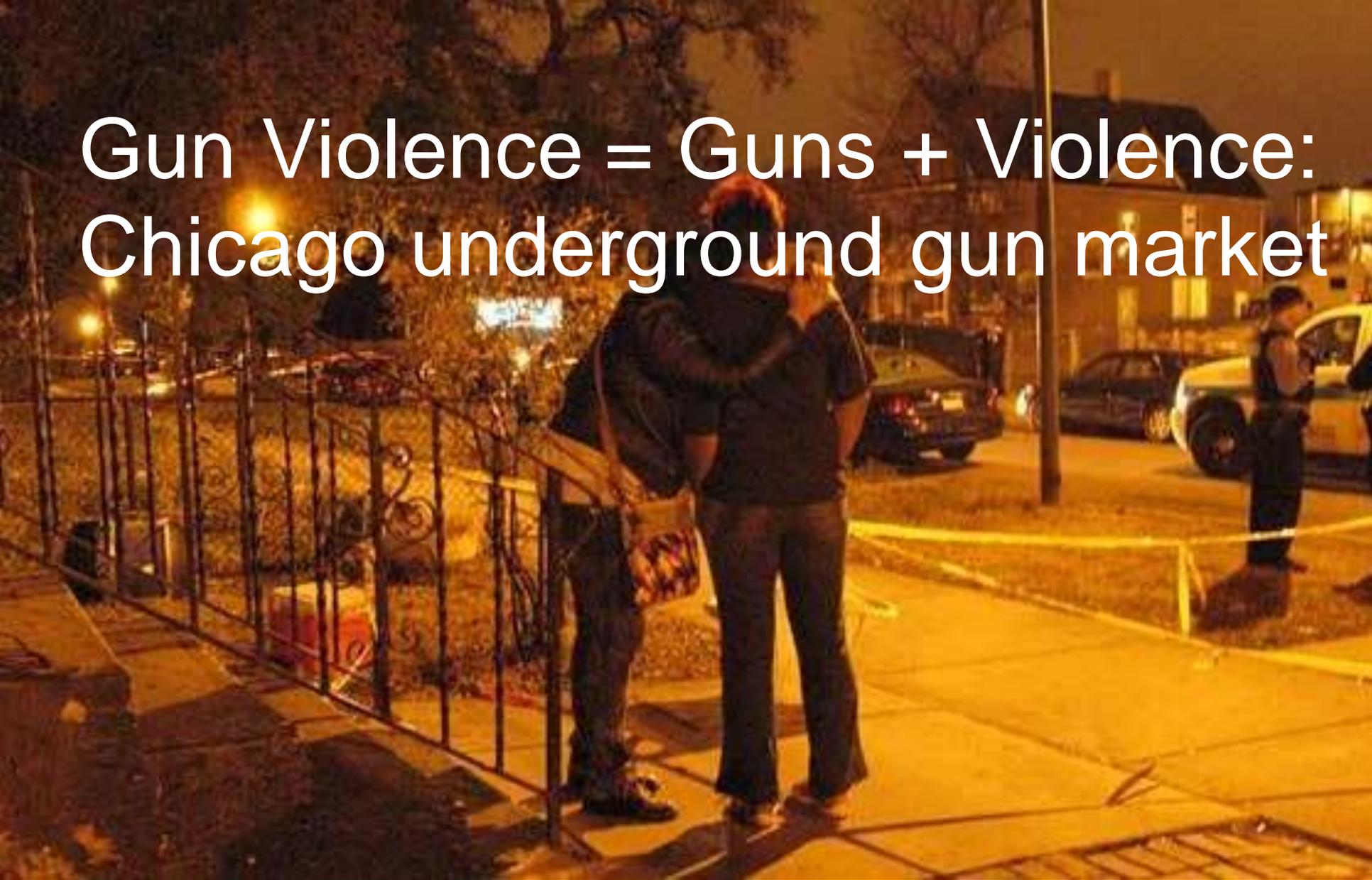
- Creating a public infrastructure of available educational, health, and criminal justice data quite important.
- The power of randomized trials to engage stakeholders across the political spectrum.
- Building long-term partnerships.
- Attention to quality, administrative feasibility, and economy in real-world interventions.

We have learned some things

- Drawing the best insights from across the political spectrum in a spirit of good-will and pragmatic problem-solving.
 - Police legitimacy/accountability, attention to social determinants, and community concern regarding over-incarceration are critical issues to which attention must be paid.
 - Need for more specific deterrence and enforcement around gun acquisition, possession, and use is also essential to address ecosystem of violence.



Gun Violence = Guns + Violence: Chicago underground gun market



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One problem with both views: U.S. is strikingly...average in most crimes

Nation	Car Theft	Burglary	Robbery	Sexual Incident	Assault or Threat	11 Crimes**
United States	0.5	1.8	0.6	1.5	3.4	21.1
17 Industrialized Nations*	1.0	1.8	0.8	1.7	3.5	21.3

*Australia, Belgium, Canada, Catalonia (Spain), Denmark, England & Wales, Finland, France, Japan, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, USA

**Additional crimes: theft from car, car vandalism, motorcycle theft, bike theft, attempted burglary, personal theft



Except gun homicides (rates per 100,000)

Nation	Firearm Homicide Rate	Non-Firearm Homicide Rate	Total Homicide Rate	Percentage of Households with Guns
United States	3.1	1.5	4.6	35%
United Kingdom	0.1	1.3	1.4	7%
Canada	0.6	1.2	1.8	24%
Australia	0.1	1.3	1.4	15%
New Zealand	0.2	0.9	1.1	23%

Sources: UK: UCR 2009, norc.org (2006)

UK: UNODC 2008; Small Arms Survey 2007

Canada: Beattie 2009, Royal Canadian mounted Police 2010

Australia: AU Bureau of Statistics 2009; Small Arms Survey 2007

New Zealand: UNODC 2008; Small Arms survey 2007



A Key Challenge

Everyone agrees that *using* a gun as part of a violent crime is a priority for incarceration

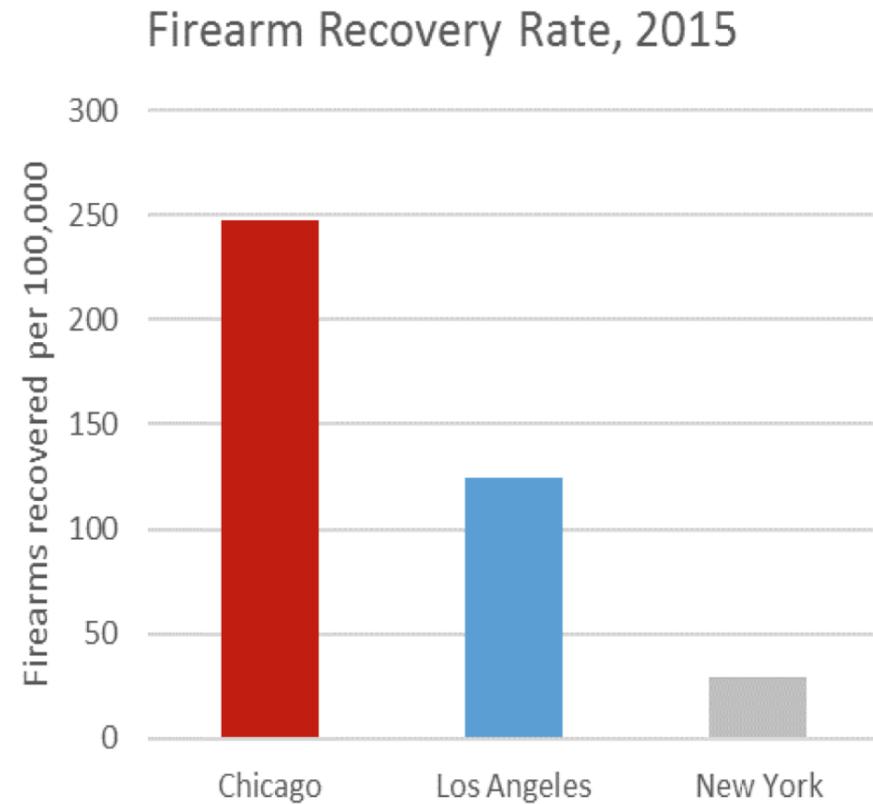
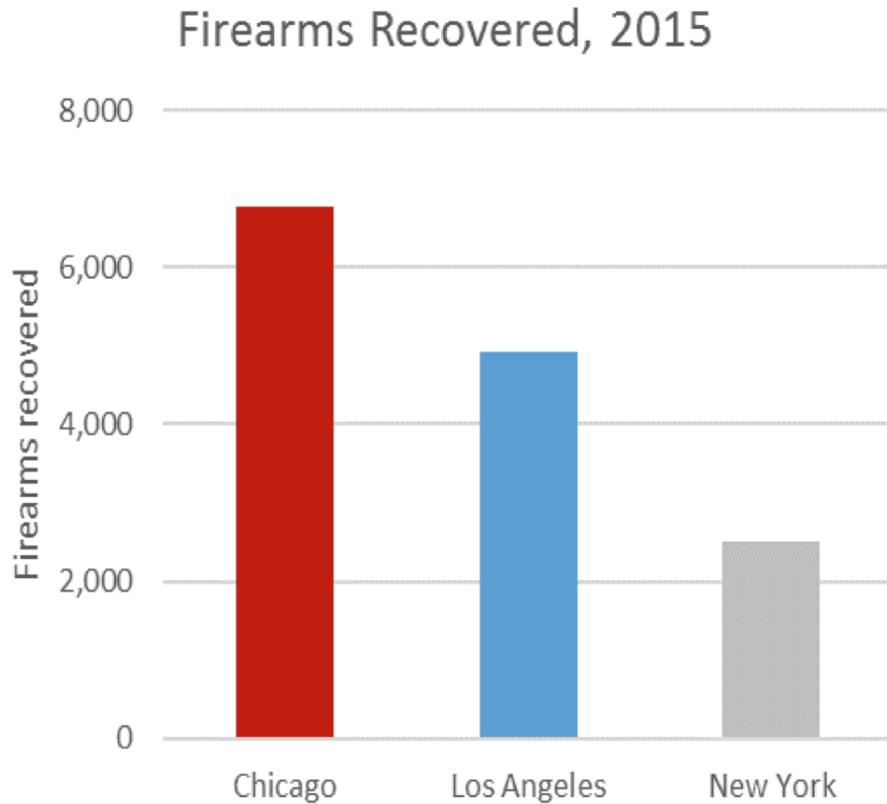
More complicated are people caught “just” carrying an illegal gun, as young people arm up because they fear each other.

- Common explanation: “I need to carry a gun for protection in my dangerous neighborhood”
- What’s tricky: That is *not* an implausible explanation or motive

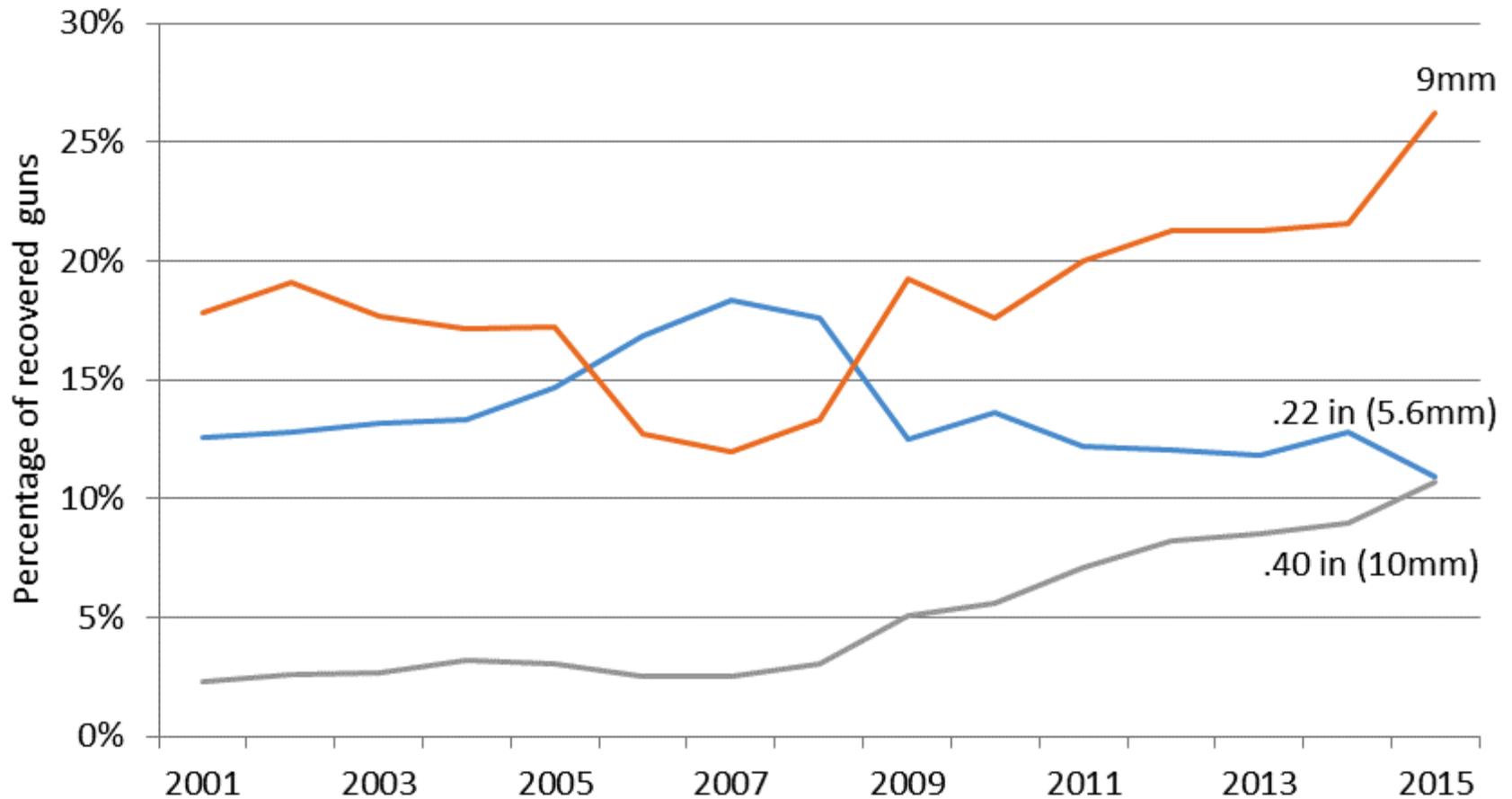
➤ **Can we unravel this arms race?**



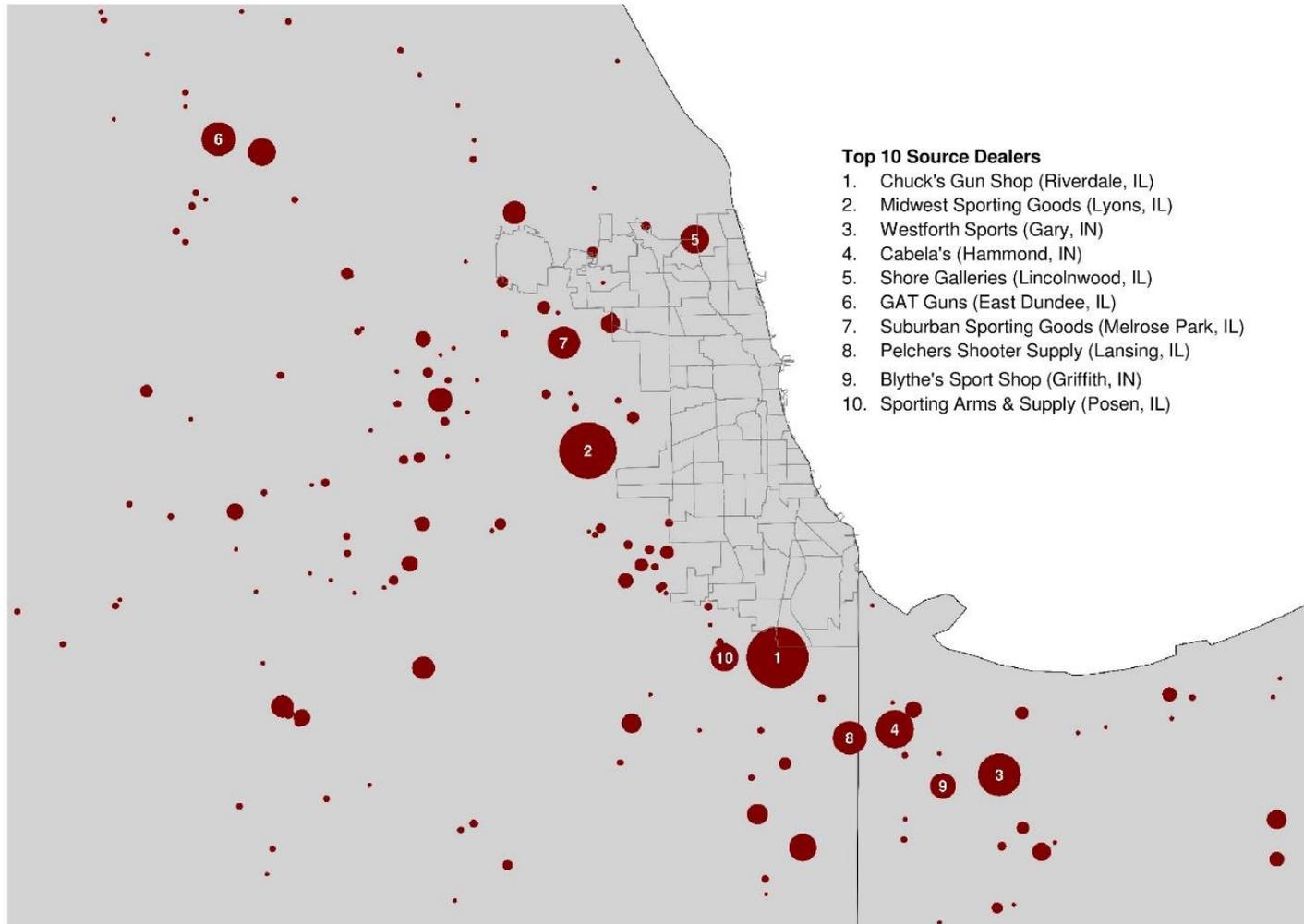
Chicago has more guns than low-crime peers



Some shift towards higher caliber guns, as well



Then there is the other problem



Addresses puzzle in Chicago underground gun market

- Ethnographies indicate that guns are surprisingly hard to obtain for many individuals in Chicago (Braga et al, 2007).
 - High transactions costs and markups, for example.
 - Brokers, delays, legal and physical risks.
 - Only 40% of Chicago robberies involve guns, though over 80% of murders, higher than national average.
- Yet a group of offenders seem to have ready access to weapons.
- 5% of nonfatal shootings result in an arrest, underscoring the challenge. Increased resources in investigation would obviously be welcome, despite constrained resources.
- 25% clearance rate in fatal shootings, presumably reflecting greater resources and better witness cooperation in some combination.
- Balancing proactive strategies with investigative strategies in the allocation of law enforcement resources.

In Chicago, 11% of gun offenders directly acquire their firearms from a gun store.

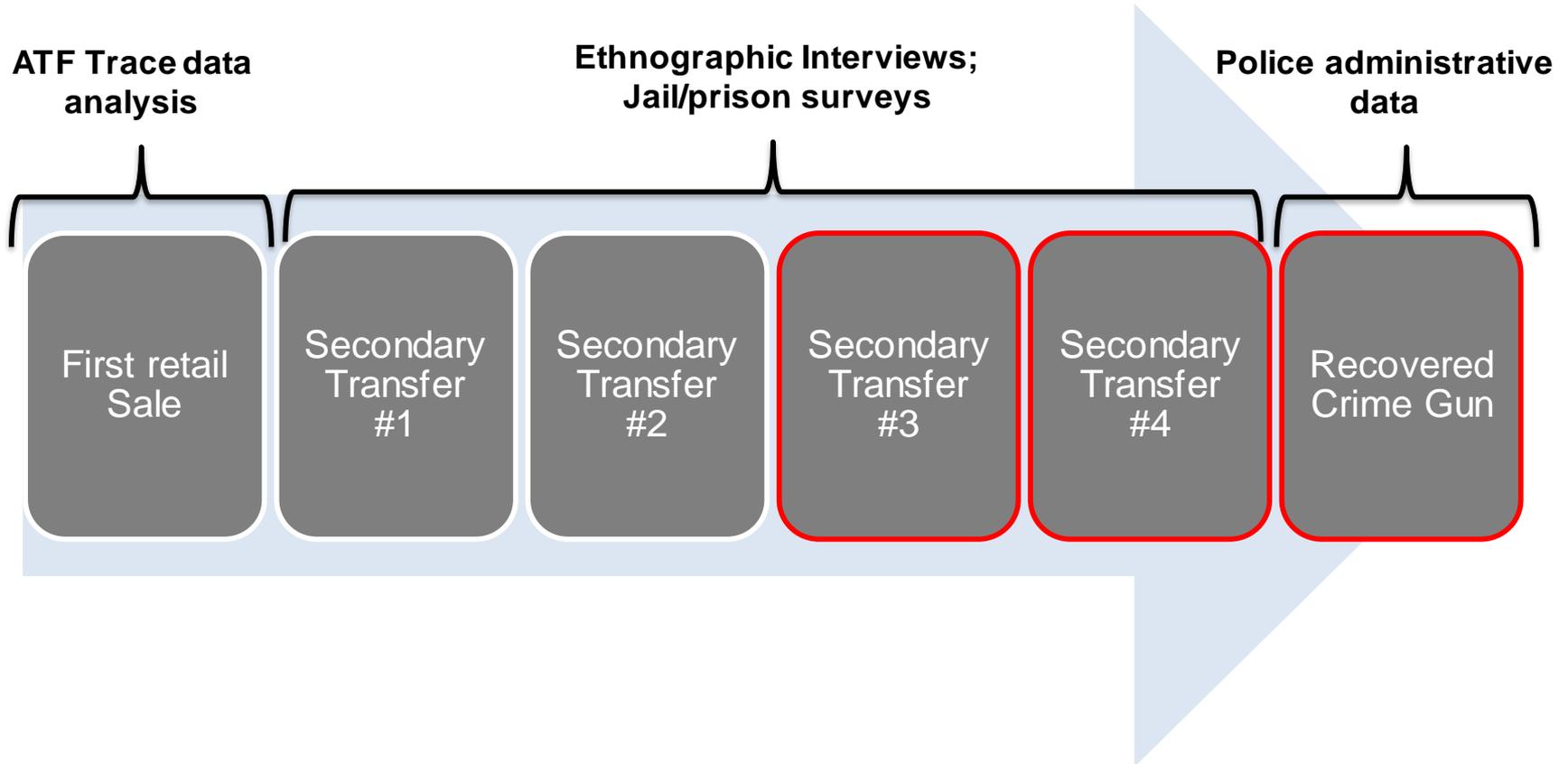
Source: ATF Trace Data, supplied by Chicago Police Department; January 1, 2009 – September 17, 2013 for individuals aged 22-40



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We know too little about the remaining 89% of transactions.



Insights from Trace Data

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SOME SOURCES OF CRIME GUNS IN CHICAGO: DIRTY DEALERS, STRAW PURCHASERS, AND TRAFFICKERS

PHILIP J. COOK*
RICHARD J. HARRIS**
JENS LUDWIG* &**
HAROLD A. POLLACK****

In this Article, we seek to help guide law enforcement activities targeting gun acquisition by high-risk people by examining two potentially important sources of crime guns: licensed retail dealers and traffickers. Limited data availability is a key reason more is not currently known about



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Gang guns more likely to have been trafficked from Indiana

Table 9
Geographic Sources of Traced Guns

	Gang/new gun	Gang/ all guns	Non-gang/new	Non-gang/all
Cook County	30.3%	22.5%	52.7%	35.0%
Rest of Illinois	9.8%	12.0%	15.6%	13.9%
Indiana	31.8%	23.9%	13.2%	17.2%
Other states	28.2%	41.7%	18.4%	33.9%
Total percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total #	714	5,374	537	1,968

Sample: All successfully traced guns confiscated from people under the age of forty who were arrested (Group 5, Table 3).

Insights from Arrestees Themselves



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Preventive Medicine

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ypmed



Sources of guns to dangerous people: What we learn by asking them

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ABSTRACT

Gun violence exacts a lethal toll on public health. This paper focuses on reducing access to firearms by dangerous offenders, contributing original empirical data on the gun transactions that arm offenders in Chicago. Conducted in the fall of 2013, analysis of an open-ended survey of 99 inmates of Cook County Jail focuses on a subset of violence-prone individuals with the goal of improving law enforcement actions.

Among our principal findings:

*Our respondents (adult offenders living in Chicago or nearby) obtain most of their guns from their social network of personal connections. Rarely is the proximate source either direct purchase from a gun store, or theft.

*Only about 60% of guns in the possession of respondents were obtained by purchase or trade. Other common arrangements include sharing guns and holding guns for others.

*About one in seven respondents report selling guns, but in only a few cases as a regular source of income.

*Gangs continue to play some role in Chicago in organizing gun buys and in distributing guns to members as needed.

*The Chicago Police Department has a considerable effect on the workings of the underground gun market through deterrence. Transactions with strangers and less-trusted associates are limited by concerns over arrest risk (if the buyer should happen to be an undercover officer or a snitch), and about being caught with a “dirty” gun (one that has been fired in a crime).

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Cook County Jail Survey

- Open-ended survey of 99 CCJ inmates, conducted in fall, 2013.
 - Male between the ages of 18 and 40
 - Detained in CCJ at survey implementation, and arrested in Cook County
 - Individuals charged with firearm possession at the time of arrest, or whose criminal history indicated gun involvement.
- Face-to-face interviews over several months at Cook County Jail.
- Anonymous interviews to minimize respondent risks
 - The interviewer was face to face with the respondent but neither she nor the rest of the research team knew his name or was able to match records to individual interviews.
- The sole benefit to the study participants was a \$10 phone card, identical to those that they receive in payment for work undertaken in the jail.
- 137 male detainees were invited to participate. 99 gave (verbal) consent.

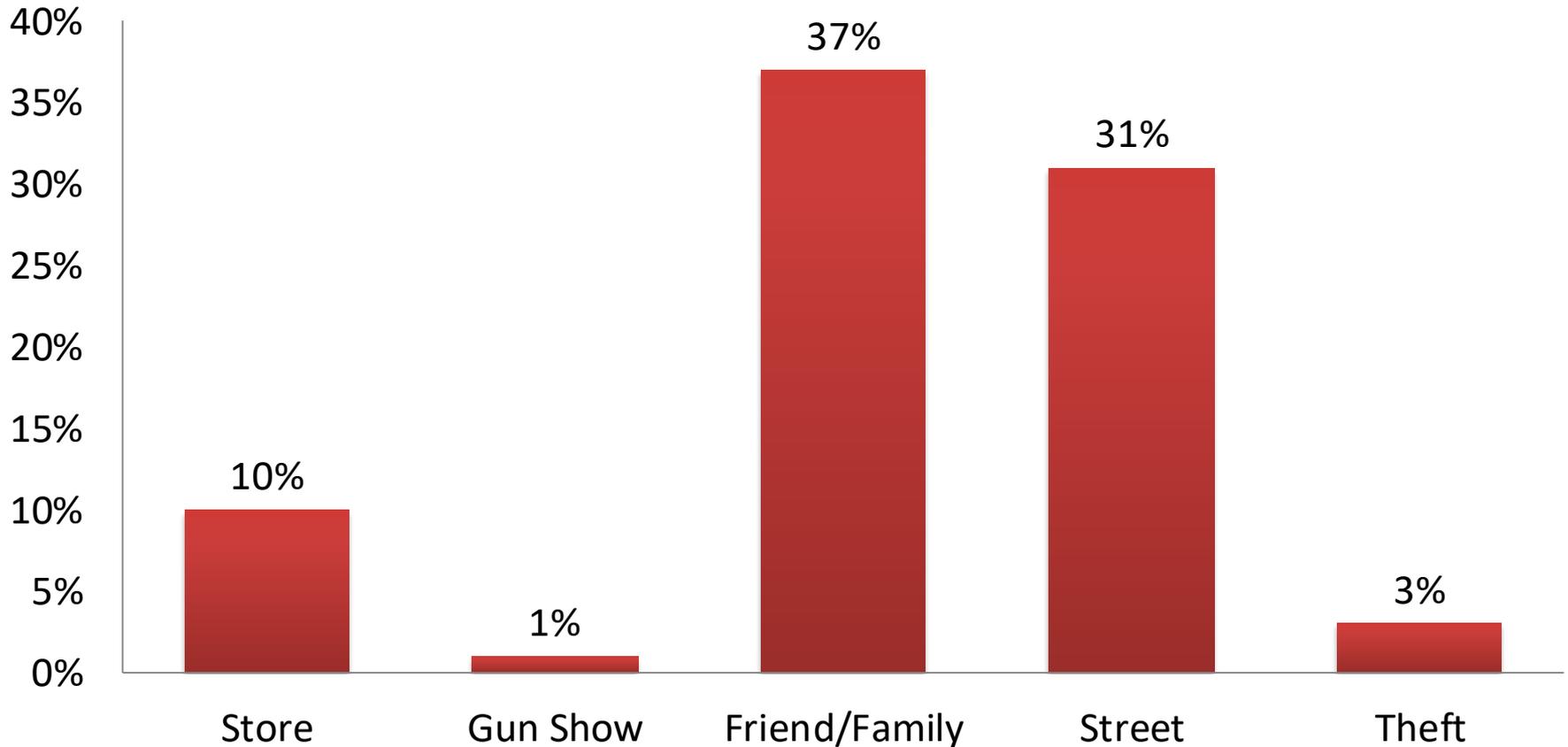


Characteristics of full sample (n=138)

- On average, arrested 13 times, 2.5 convictions.
- 83% African-American, 11% Hispanic/Latino
- 57% ages 18-25.
- 88% identified current/former gang affiliated in Chicago Police Department records.



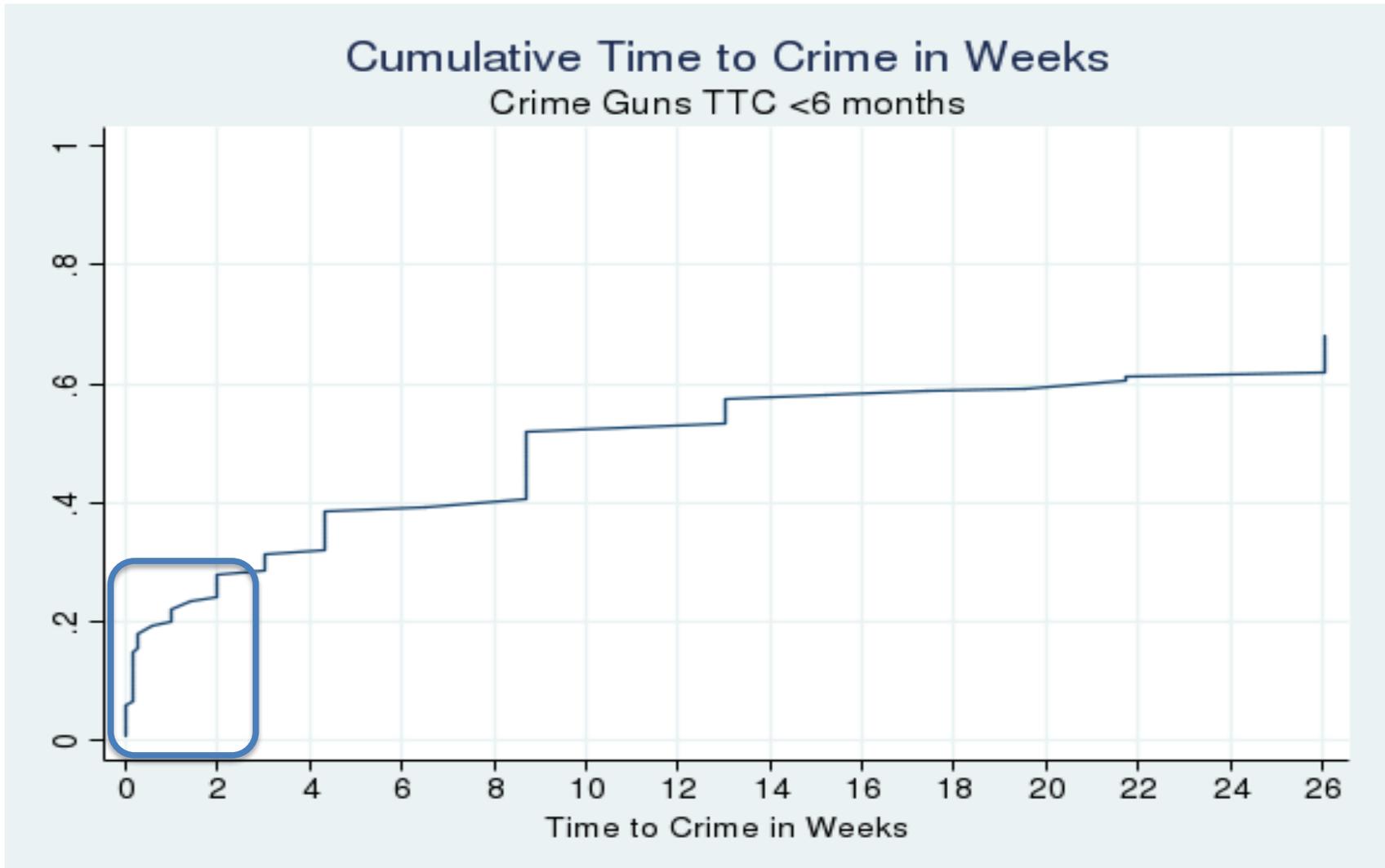
Where do offenders get their guns?



Note: only half of transactions are purchases

Source: US DOJ Survey of State Prisoners
(2004 Recently-Incarcerated male inmates age 18-40)

About 1/3 of offenders have gun time to crime < 2 weeks (2016 IDOC survey)



Source: Crime Lab IDOC survey 2016—tabulation by Kailey White

Chicago crime guns are bought/sold/bartered with trusted associates

- Direct theft rather small factor in Chicago
 - Roughly 2% of Cook County jail respondents report directly procuring stolen gun.
 - Roughly 10% of our prison gun offender sample..
- Theft more important in low-regulation settings.
 - Busch stadium.
- Since guns durable goods, theft might be important earlier in the supply chain.



Self-defense is powerful motive for gun ownership and possession

- 40% of respondents report **having been shot** in lifetime. Many showed wounds in intvw.
- “I’d rather be judged by twelve than carried by six” common statement.
- Many stated concern that there are too many guns on street, and lamented the situation.



How Do Cook County Jail Arrestees Acquire Guns?

Gun Shows?

Not so much in our data

Internet?

Not so much in our data

Direct Theft?

Not so much in our data



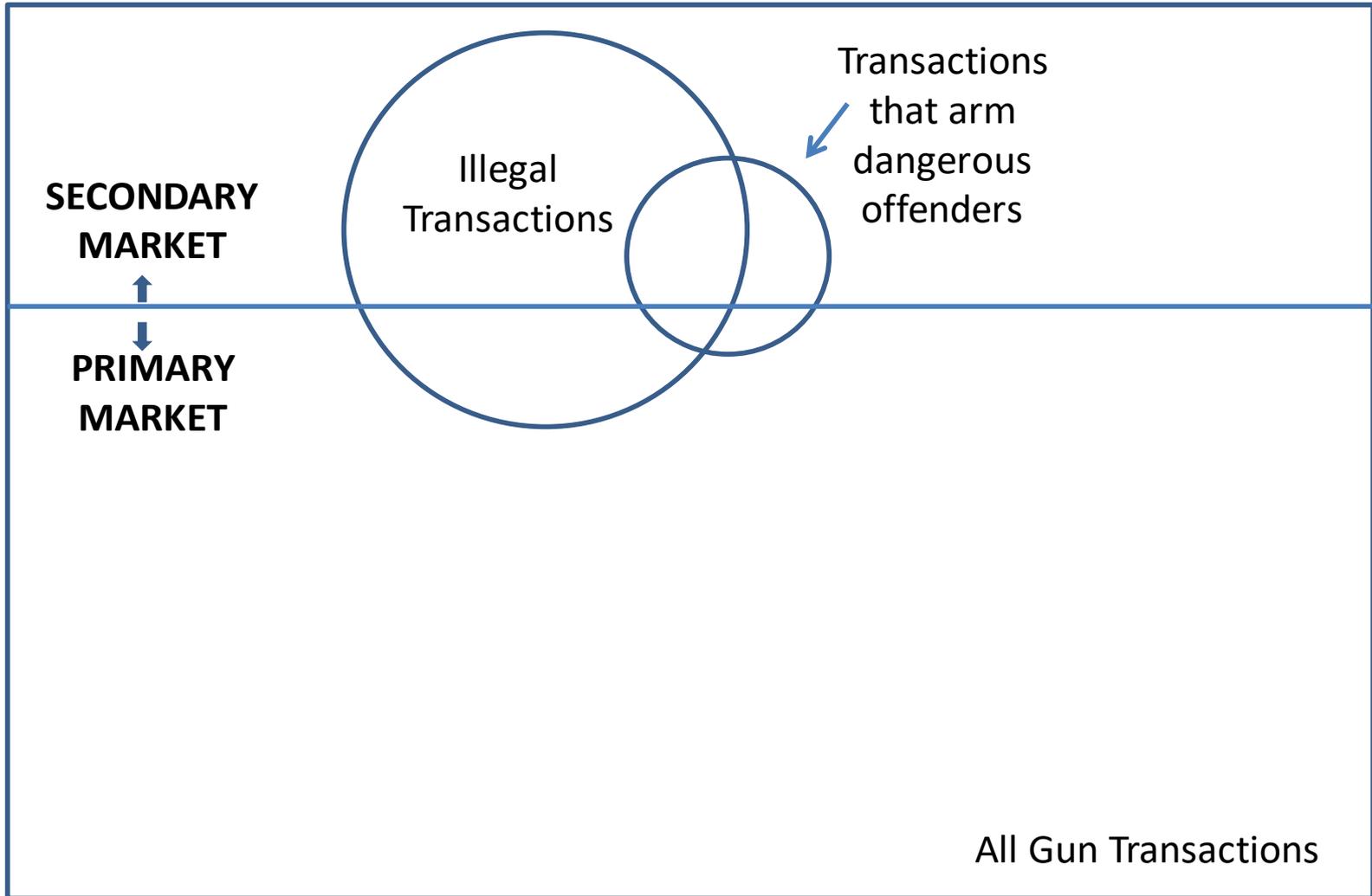
**Focusing on transactions rather than the
number of guns out there**



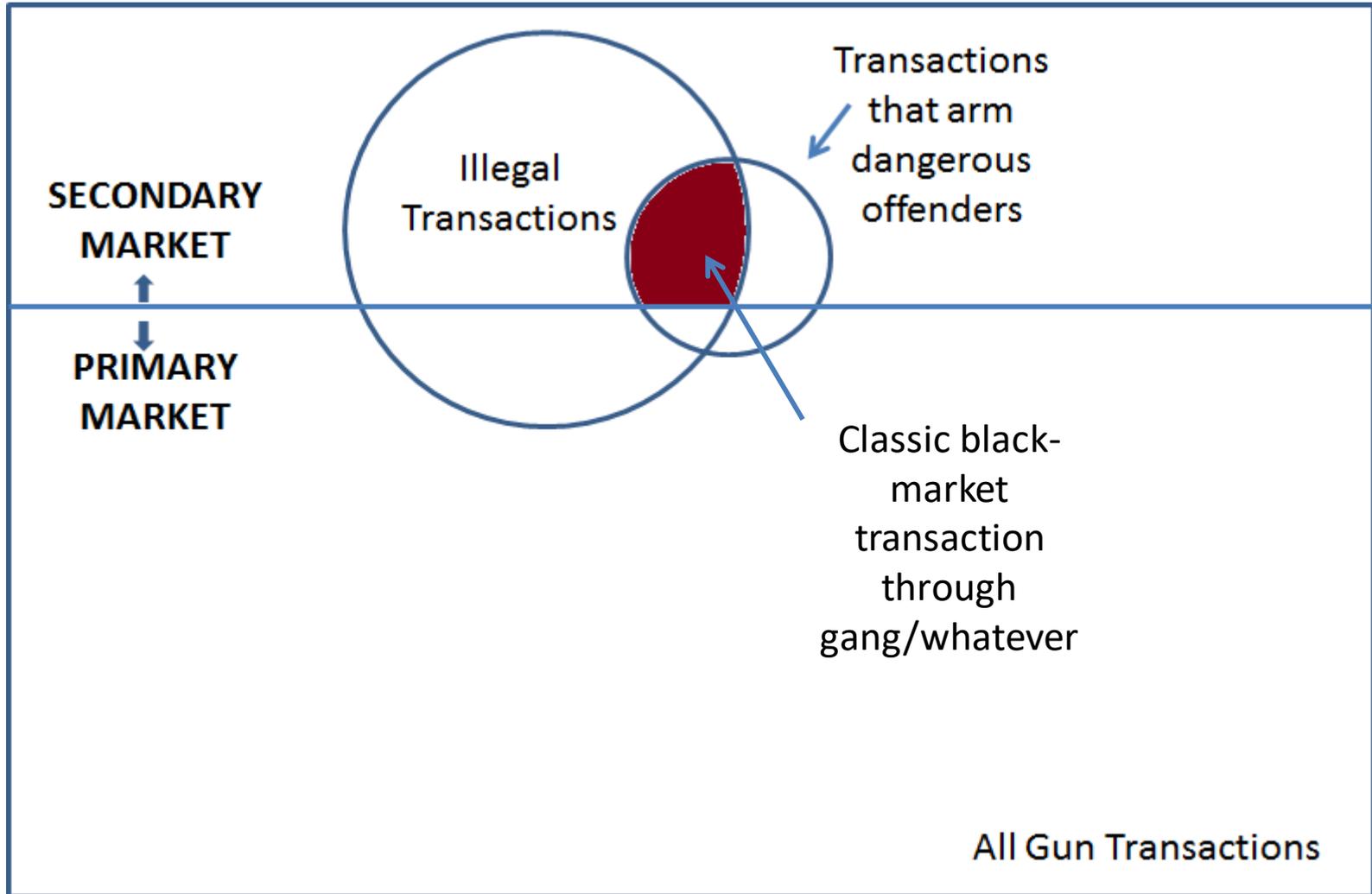
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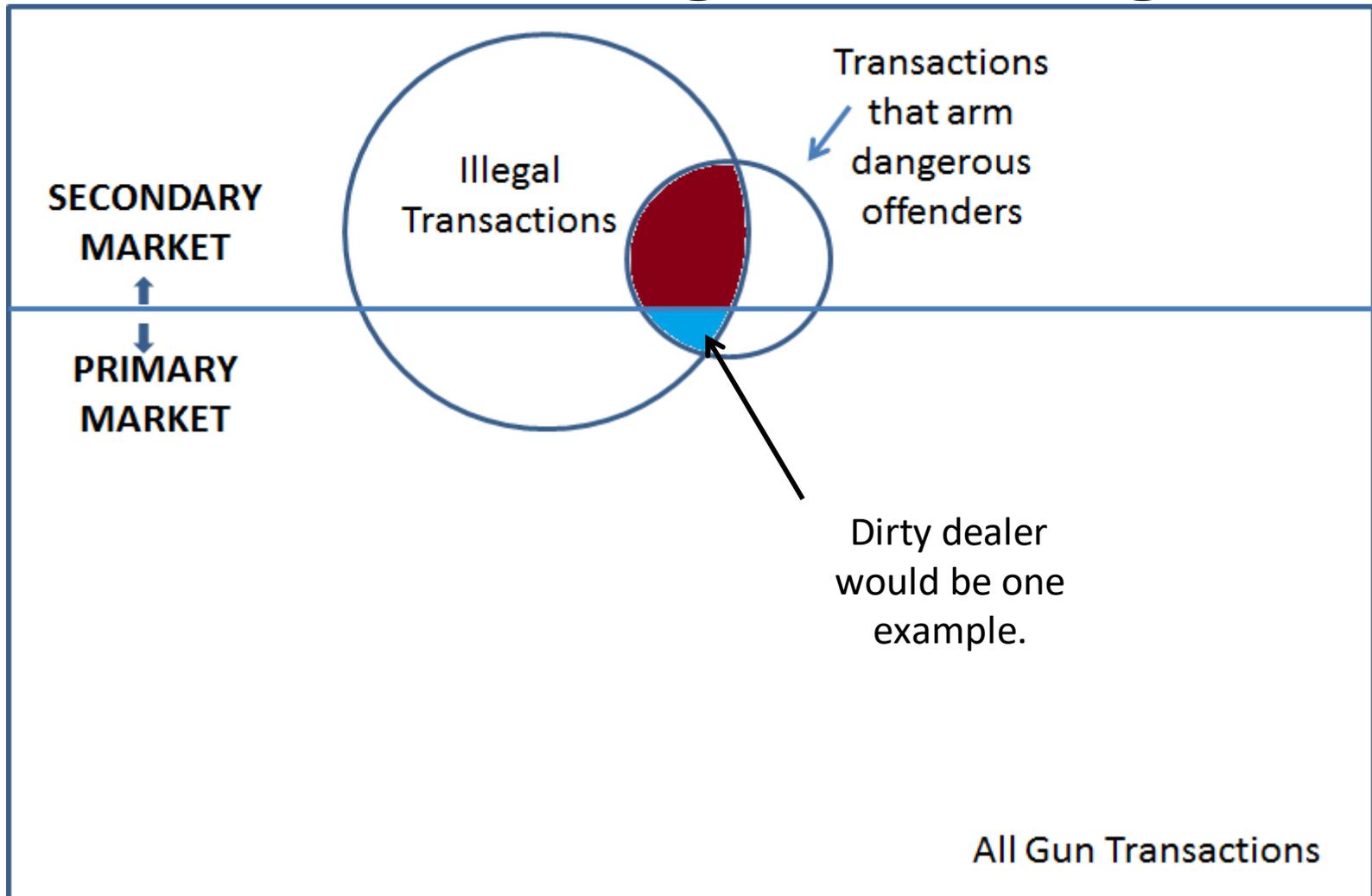
Transactions: Illegal & Dangerous



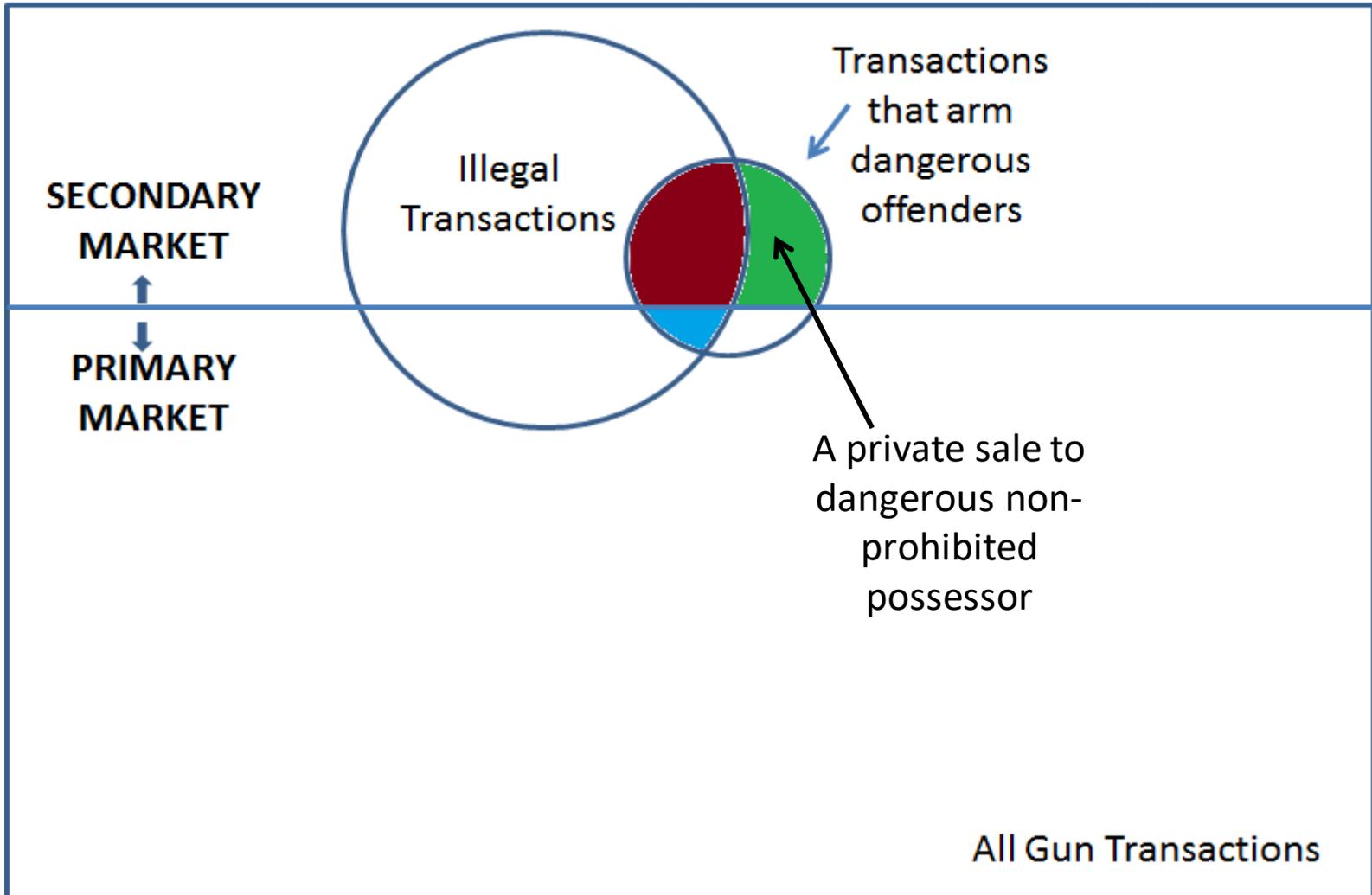
Transactions: Illegal vs. Dangerous



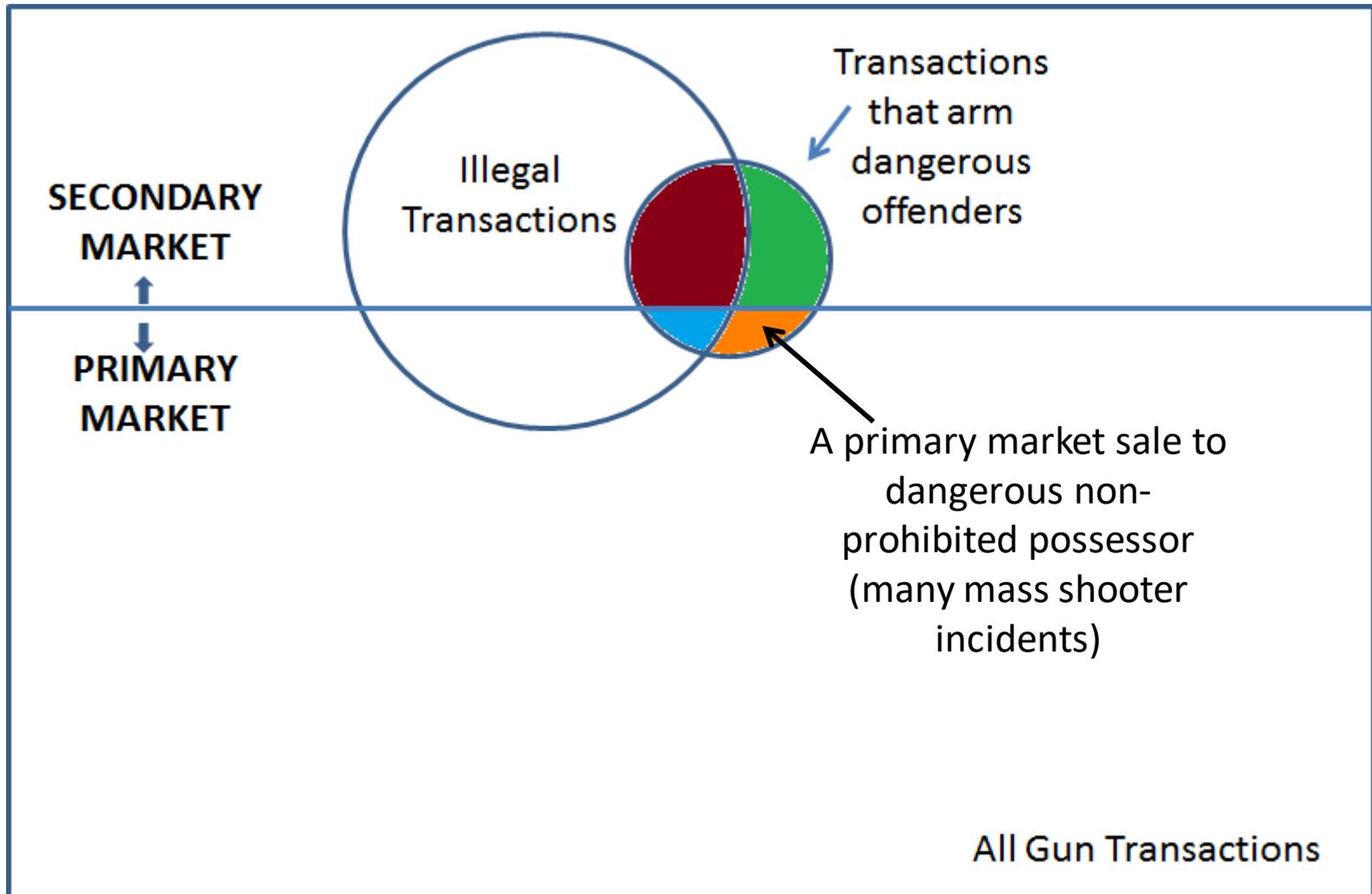
Transactions: Illegal vs. Dangerous



Transactions: Illegal vs. Dangerous



Transactions: Illegal vs. Dangerous



Sources to Underground Market

Trafficking

- **Interstate** flow from less regulated to more
 - I-95 iron pipeline
- **Many small operators** – but hints that large operators may account for large % (like FFLs)
- **Intermediaries** include “girlfriends,” retailers, hustlers, FFLs

Partial success of gun laws in hindering underground market

- Offenders gain access to guns within their social networks, because trusted associate helps secure one.
- The good news:
 - Most gun offenders are unsophisticated consumers. Many won't gain access to a weapon if no one in their network helps them procure one.
 - Deterred by undercover efforts—including those that are very rare (e.g. police undercover buying and selling).
 - Low-tech barriers and strengthened deterrence at multiple links in the supply chain could stop/ slow many dangerous offenders from gaining access to lethal weapons.



Market analogy: Oxycodone/underage drinking, not cocaine

- Gangs/large criminal organizations not central to selling guns at volume to outsiders.
 - Guns not particularly lucrative
 - Major law enforcement risks to illegal dealing at volume
 - You don't need complex organization to move guns.
- Market somewhat resembles prescription opiates or underage drinking: a myriad of diversion points of a legal product into an illegal market.



Market analogy: Oxycodone/underage drinking not cocaine

- Few offenders/intermediaries make living just by servicing the gun market.
 - Supplying guns tends to be a sideline.
 - More commercialized than someone's gf or whatever, but less commercialized than the illicit drug market.
 - Because underground market has small suppliers and little structure, unappealing target if CJ system seeks big cases and highly dangerous individuals, rather than small cases in dangerous market.
 - Still, some tactics have leverage in reducing supply to dangerous people.



Market analogy: Underage drinking

- Potential sources of beer include relatives and friends, tens of thousands of gas stations and grocery stores, whose owners and employees may or may not exercise vigilance.
- Modest, cost-effective deterrent policies reduce under-age drinking, even though these policies can be defeated.
- Media campaigns and penalties aimed at adult facilitators reinforce deterrence of specific policies and general norms.
- Measures to supervise retail stores, including audit tests, video security, and improved policies to limit false identification are helpful. More granular approaches, such as required identification for the purchasers of beer kegs address specific channels.



Market analogy: Prescription opiates

- Enhanced training assist providers to avoid prescribing patterns associated with opiate dependence and misuse.
- Prescription Drug Monitoring Programs (PDMP) allow clinicians to identify patients who engage in provider-shopping and other practices associated with substance use disorders.
- Same systems allow authorities to identify problem prescribers and to close “pill mills” which serve underground market.
- PDMPs provide a low-cost infrastructure for both clinicians and authorities that allows proper regulation of multi-billion-dollar market while imposing minimal burdens on legitimate patients.



Promoting salient deterrence

- CJ efforts could focus on promoting salient deterrence messages to disrupt ecology of underground gun markets and gun carrying, rather than identifying specific bad actors.
 - E.g. disrupting sense of impunity among gun & ammunition straw purchasers.
 - Swift, certain, non-draconian penalties for gun-carrying even if accompanied by no other crimes.
 - More efficient CJ vehicles to address gun crimes.



Promoting salient deterrence

**Buy a gun
for someone
who can't,
buy yourself
10 YEARS
IN JAIL.**



dontlie.org

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Responses to Individuals who Experience Behavioral Crisis

Harold Pollack

Helen Ross Professor of Social Service Administration

Co-Director, University of Chicago Crime Lab

Co-Director, University of Chicago Health Lab

(Not the smartest person in the room on this one)

Urban Labs Team

Harold Pollack

Tonie Sadler

Amy Spellman

Andrea Tentner

Cameron Day

Ruth Coffman



Science in Service
of Cities.

Roadmap

- Street-level and systemic barriers, opportunities with big data
- Unusual beginning—individuals in behavioral crisis with IDD
 - Robert Saylor, and its larger lessons
- Qualitative study of Chicago's emergency response
- Can we use administrative data to do better?
- Some data and results

The challenge facing first-responders

- Chicago Police Department has faced enormous criticism after several well-publicized tragedies involving individuals in “behavioral crises”
- These crises can be the result of severe mental illness, but also acute intoxication, intellectual or developmental disabilities, and other causes that lead people to behave in unexpected ways, to be non-compliant with instructions, verbally aggressive, or worse.

Source: Chicago Police Department



3 Officers Indicted, Accused Of Cover Up In Laquan McDonald Shooting



6:01 61°

Chicago Oversight Board Finds Fatal Police Shooting of Quintonio LeGrier, Bettie Jones Unjustified



Breanna Edwards

12/29/17 9:40am • Filed to: QUINTONIO LEGRIER

6.1K 11 5



Bettie Jones; Quintonio LeGrier (family photos)

POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY TASK FORCE

Recommendations

The City should create a crisis response system to support multi layer co-responder units where behavioral health providers are working with OEMC and CPD to link individuals with mental health issues to treatment, 24 hours a day.

The City and the MHCPU should identify frequent, high-use and high-need individuals and help them get mental health treatment.

To help frequent, high-use and high-need individuals receive treatment, the City should fully fund Assertive Community Treatment ("ACT") teams and Mobile Crisis Prevention to provide relentless engagement. ACT is an evidence-based program that is less expensive than hospitalization or jail and significantly reduces recidivism and re-admittance.



Investigation of the Chicago Police Department

4. **Implement policies and develop training to improve interactions with people who are in crisis.**
 - a. Devote appropriate resources to improve CPD's existing CIT program. Develop and implement policy and training to better identify and respond to individuals with known or suspected mental health conditions, including persons in mental health crisis and those with intellectual or developmental disabilities ("I/DD") or other disabilities;

City's Response to Mental Health Emergencies

**THE CHICAGO
REPORTER**

Investigating Race & Poverty Since 1972

**Police face choice of handcuffs or
helping hand for mentally ill**

April 30, 2015

Chicago Tribune February 25, 2017

All Chicago police dispatchers now
trained in mental health awareness

 **NBC NEWS**

January 12, 2016

**Emanuel Mandates Chicago Police
to Receive Training on Mental
Illnesses**

A nonstandard example:

IDD

- Minimal investment in training police on how engage with people with IDD
- Notable examples in the media
 - Freddie Grey
 - Laquan McDonald
 - Mental health worker

Charles Kinsey

#DisabledLivesMatter



Dashcam video shows the shooting of Laquan McDonald by a Chicago police officer in October 2014. @ Chicago Police Department

Why no talk of Gray's disabilities?

SHARE THIS



Might Freddie Gray's fateful encounter with police gone differently if not for his developmental disability?

MAY 4, 2015, 2:16 PM

According to what I've read, Freddie Gray was exposed to lead in early childhood. This resulted in neurological damage, developmental impacts and learning disabilities. Yet, I have seen no discussion of how disability issues factored into the tragic events surrounding Freddie Gray's death ("Six officers charged in death of Freddie Gray," May 1).



Robert Saylor



Such issues are widespread in IDD community.
Example Feinstein and Pollack (2016) caregiver
interviews for individuals with Fragile X syndrome

- During 2014 and 2015, Rebecca Feinstein and I conducted two focus groups (N=11) and a series of 45-60 minute open-ended, phone interviews (n=29).

Safety issues widespread in IDD community. E.G. Feinstein and Pollack (2016) caregiver interviews for individuals with Fragile X syndrome.

- In national survey, one-third of parents caring for adolescent/adult sons living with FXS reported being injured by their child in the past year, usually multiple times. In our survey:
- R306:
 - *He's not aggressive or violent just for the sake of it... I know what triggers it. I spend the vast majority of my days working around knowing how to prevent something like that from happening.*
- R326 pushed down the stairs accidentally, breaking a rib, and puncturing her lung.
 - *Though she admits that her son is a safety risk, she remains wary of sending him to residential placement with other young men with similar behavioral challenges. Moreover more limited placement options for young men with problem behaviors.*
- Many of these incidents involve police, such as when a subject's son threw a coffee mug into his dad's face at the breakfast table.
- Many caregivers—including my wife and I—are ambivalent about whether to call police when such episodes arise.

Policy Implications and Suggestions--1

- *Some specific IDD training of the officers would have helped. I'll come back to that.*
- *In fact a well-trained officer who didn't know anything about IDD should have been able to handle this incident fairly well.*

Policy Implications and Suggestions--1

- ***Increase and Improve IDD and de-escalation training***
 - **Less focus on recognizing specific conditions, more on applying time and distance principles to broad situations.**
 - **Time, distance, cover matter more than any specific diagnosis or tactical insight in real-world situations,**
 - **Particular insights such as dangers of prone restraints.**
- ***Greater institutional and cultural supports for CIT and de-escalation principles on the ground.***
 - **Staffing and implementation supports beyond training.**

Chicago Case Study Findings (Tonie Sadler leading)

- 50 minutes of the 40 hour Chicago CIT training is devoted to IDD awareness.
 - Officers often focused on diagnosis and how to tell if someone is feigning disability.
- Chicago police officers will sometimes use “short cuts” to cope with resource and time constraints. This makes the time and distance paradigm of de-escalation difficult for officers to implement.
- Not only are first-responders familiar with “high users” of emergency response systems, they also employ personalized interventions to reduce police encounters.
- But what happens when the officers do everything right....? What comes next for that individual?



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Crisis Intervention Team (CIT)

CIT and other interventions were developed to train voluntary officers to safely respond and to connect these individuals to mental health services when appropriate.

	Monday 24 SEPT 2012	Tuesday 25 SEPT 2012	Wednesday 26 SEPT 2012	Thursday 27 SEPT 2012	Friday 28 SEPT 2012
0745 - 0800	Roll Call	Roll Call	Roll Call	Roll Call	Roll Call
0800 - 0850	Introduction, History & Overview	Risk Assessment & Crisis Intervention Skills	Child & Adolescent Disorders	Community Resource Panel/ Mental Health Court Project Hearing Voices Simulation	Crisis Intervention Role Play & Virtual Hallucinations Machine
0900 - 0950	Mental Illness: Signs & Symptoms				
1000 - 1050			Department Procedures	Open Discussion	
1100 - 1150					Lunch
1200 - 1300	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
1300 - 1350	Developmental Disabilities	Family Perspectives & Consumer Panel	Psychotropic Medications	Crisis Intervention Role Play	Summary & Evaluation
1400 - 1450	Substance Abuse & Co-Occurring Disorders		Legal Issues		Written Examination
1500 - 1600					Superintendent's Ceremony

Methods

- Methods of evaluation included 1:1 interviews, focus groups of 2-6 respondents, and observation of CIT training.
- Thirty-three respondents participated in the CIPP evaluation. Procedures for selecting the sample included purposeful sampling to select cases that are information rich and pertinent to the questions asked.

Stakeholder Group	Number of Respondents	Focus Group/Interview	Sex	CIT Trained
Mental Health Providers	2	2 interviews	2 females	N/A
Chicago Police Officers	15	5 Interviews 3 focus groups	5 females 10 males	10 CIT trained 5 not CIT trained
Chicago Fire Department – EMT & Paramedic	8	2 Interviews 2 focus groups	1 female 1 male	N/A
Call Takers and Dispatchers	4	2 interviews 1 focus group	4 females	4 CIT trained
Emergency Room Professionals	4	1 focus group	2 males 2 females	N/A

Preemptive surrender limitations slide

- Qualitative study provide a more granular narrative of the experiences of Chicago police officers, mental health professionals, EMTs, and paramedics when they respond to a mental health crisis call, rather than to provide a representative analysis of all professionals who interact with individuals experiencing mental illness and involved with the criminal justice system.
- The data and conclusions presented are to be perceived as an interpretive and anecdotal account of the experiences of some professional stakeholders.

Linking Policy to Practice

The tactics to handle a behavioral crisis vary by institution, person, profession, and departmental policies, with challenging need for coordination across organizations in fluid situations.

- In describing the tactical differences between police work and hospitals, John, a CIT trained officer explained “...it’s like a M.A.S.H. Unit...It’s like trying to stop the bleeding but not fixing any of the broken bones...It’s very dirty and primitive when we are out in the streets trying to get people to calm down. Conversely, in the emergency room, it’s not as dirty. The person may be more calm, the environment is sterile...”

Linking Policy to Practice (Cont.)

Resource and time constraints undermine efforts to follow CIT principles as taught and (ideally) practiced.

Man on a couch, but it's Englewood Saturday night....

- Mary, a CIT trained officer explains how officers sometimes "doop" the call to CFD. That is, officers call for an ambulance rather than taking an individual to the hospital themselves. This practice allows officers to move on to tasks deemed more urgent.
- Ben, another CIT-trained officer, reports that he often "doops" the call. In his view, it just makes more sense so that officers can get back on the streets and not have to wait around at the hospital.

Communication challenges between MH providers, OEMC, CPD, CFD

- Leonard, a CIT trained officer describes a “fractured response” when it comes to CPD and CFD responding to a call involving a behavioral crisis. He attributes this fracture to policy confusion between departments.
- Smith describes the dispatch response: “It’s like kindergarten telephone.” He continues that when somebody calls 911 it comes up totally different at CFD than it does at CPD. He provides an example of being dispatched to someone who is experiencing “suicidal ideation” but when he arrived, “it’s just someone who wants to go to the hospital to get their meds...there is a lack of communication in how the initial call comes in.”

Lack of resources undermine follow-up

There are not enough mental health resources in Chicago. Consequently, emergency departments act as a "revolving door" for people with acute mental illness and related challenges.

“What frustrates officers more than anything is taking this person to the hospital on Monday and then picking them up again on Wednesday and taking them back to the hospital on Wednesday then picking them up over the weekend and taking them back to the hospital on the weekend. That frustrates them.” Jared – CIT trained officer

Resources and culture

There are not enough resources within the CIT unit to successfully meet the needs of community outreach, officer training, and managing the Crisis Response Unit calls.

Rachel states that CIT is considered the “ugly stepsister of the department” or the “warm and fuzzy” special unit. These perceptions have left CIT under-funded and ignored for several years. She perceives that a major challenge is “getting that...street-level respect for the unit...”

“Hot Spot” Addresses and “Friendly Faces”

Multiple service calls to the same address or to serve the same individual—often at a public or nonprofit facility or venue—reflect chronic need. But also represents an opportunity. [More later.]

Ava, an OEMC call taker refers to repeat 911 callers as “regulars.” She indicates that she knows the addresses of her “regulars” and that their calls are predictable. “It makes you think, why isn’t this problem solved?” Ava adds that “we do have callers living with mental illness who call us and they just want to talk... that’s just their habit to call.”

A pause for some policy recommendations

	Policy Implications	Recommendations
Policy to Practice and Communication	The contradictory policies between different departments along with practicing “policy shortcuts” indicate the need to streamline written policies with the day-to-day realities of practice.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Use administrative data to streamline interorganizational response.- Institute collaborative training to address conflicting policies and problematic communication concerns.
Resources	Resources and departmental supports are needed for the CIT special unit to reduce barriers for officers to use time and distance de-escalation tactics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Advocate to create cultural and operational support to develop departmental changes toward de-escalation interventions.
“Hot Spots” and “High Users”	Opportunity for site-specific and individual-specific interventions and coordination to better identify and serve individuals with chronic mental health concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Conduct site-specific coordination to better identify and serve individuals with chronic behavioral health concerns.



mHEART

**Can we proactively help people by using
administrative data?**

**Mental Health Emergencies Alternative Response
and Treatment**

Purpose

1

Can linked City administrative data be used to identify people who frequently encounter emergency services while in behavioral crises? Original goal—assist with 911 response in the moment to ensure that a MH-trained officer is assigned to high-risk calls.

2

Can we identify an appropriate subgroup who come into frequent contact with emergency services, and who might benefit from ACT or related interventions?

3

Can we build tools to predict the individuals who are at highest risk of re-exposure to emergency services because of a behavioral health crises?

911 Analytics

Goal

reduce numbers and improve outcomes of high risk interactions between police and individuals experiencing mental health issues or behavioral health crises

Approach

use administrative data to identify high risk interactions and to inform design of interventions on high risk interactions complemented by stakeholder interviews and consultation

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911 Analytics

- **Person-based identification:** identify a population of high use individuals that account for a disproportionate share of MH-involved emergencies
- **Place-based strategies:** identify high use locations and location-types at which a disproportionate share of MH-involved emergencies occur
- **Overlap:** investigate the identification-overlap resulting from these two strategies.

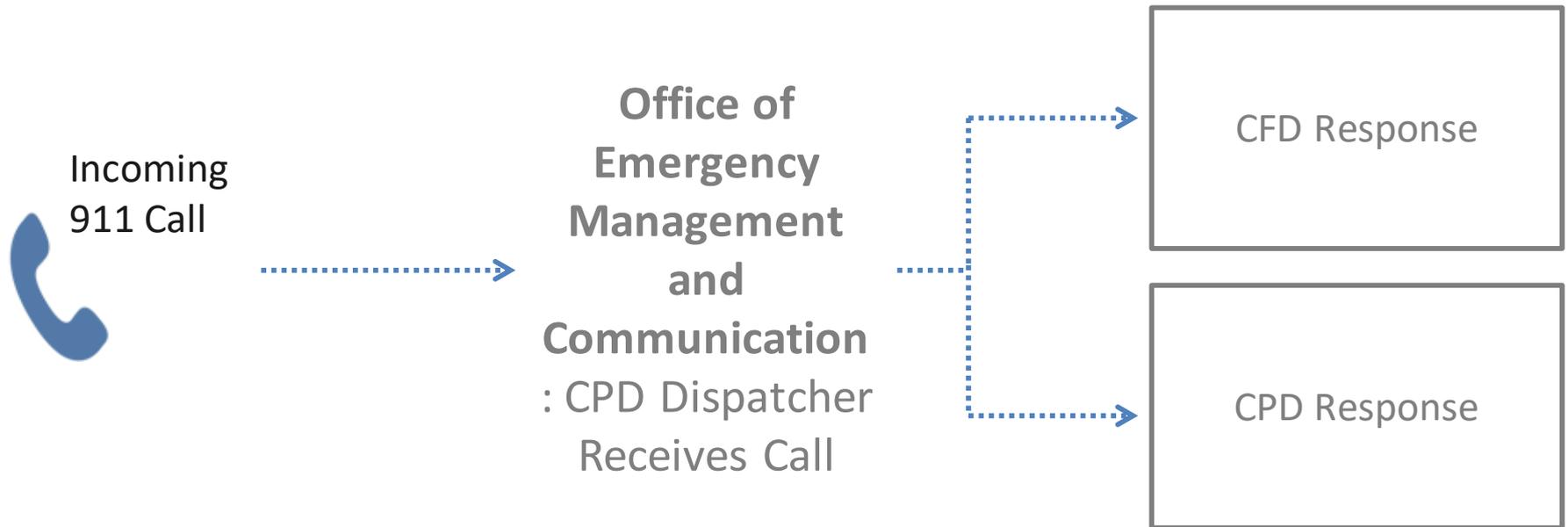
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Emergency Services Data Flow and Administrative Data Collection Sources



Synergy of CFD event & CPD arrest data

CFD response

&

CPD response

Who encounters paramedics with MH involvement / behavioral crises?

Who of these also have a history of encounter with police?

Identifies individuals with a history of:

Emergency services events with MH involvement

Encounter with police

Cross-agency emergency services usage

Overlap analysis of person- and place-based identification

Identify individuals with highest cross-agency utilization

Time period: May 2016 – April 2017

CFD Data
MH events data

CPD Data
Arrest data

Identify individuals with at least 1 CFD MH Event

Identify individuals with at least 1 CPD Arrest

Identify locations with highest rate of MH Event

URBAN LABS

What is the overlap in individuals, locations, and MH events identified using person- and place-based identification?



Name
Age
Address

Identify individuals with at least 1 CFD MH Event AND at least 1 CPD Arrest **AND highest cross-agency utilization patterns**

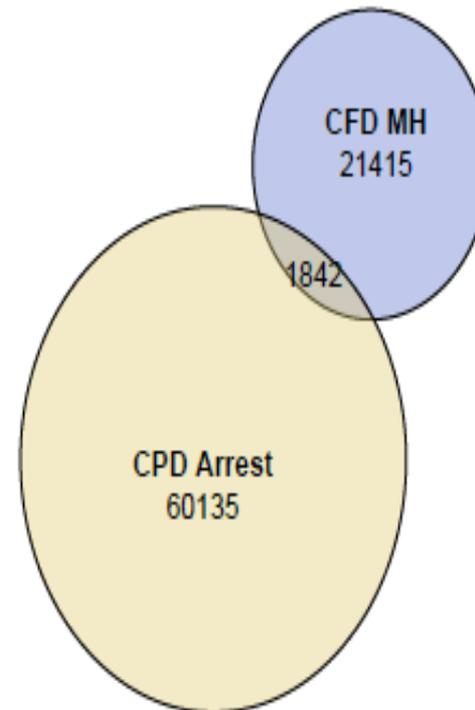
Person-based Identification: 'At Risk' population

'At Risk' individuals have accrued at least:

- 1 or more CFD behavioral health event during the 12-month observation period
- 1 or more arrest during the 12-month observation period.

Total At Risk population = 1,842

CFD MH and CPD Arrest Pop Overlap

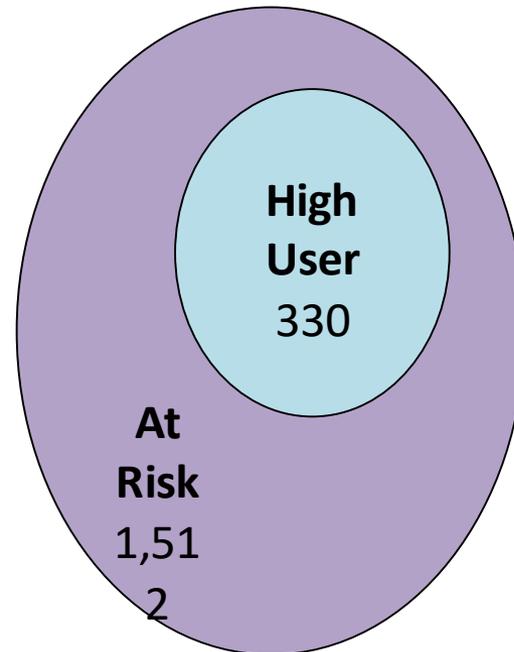


Person-based Identification: 'High Use' population

'High Use' individuals are a subset of the 'At Risk' group, who:

- Have 1 or more CFD behavioral health event during the preceding 12-month observation period
- Have 1 or more CPD arrest during the 12-month observation period
- Have their first event of any kind 5 months or earlier into the 12-month observation period
- Have accrued at least *four* emergency events of any kind during the 12-month observation period
- Have accrued at least *one* emergency event of any kind in at least four of the 12 months in the observation period

At Risk and High User Pop Overlap





35.1 Years
Old

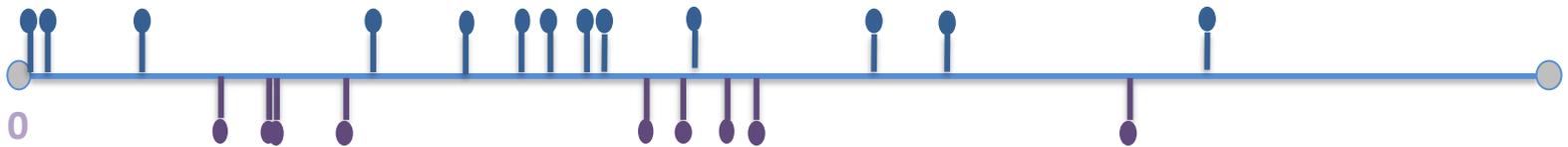
Male
78% male

7.4
Emergencies

27%
homeless

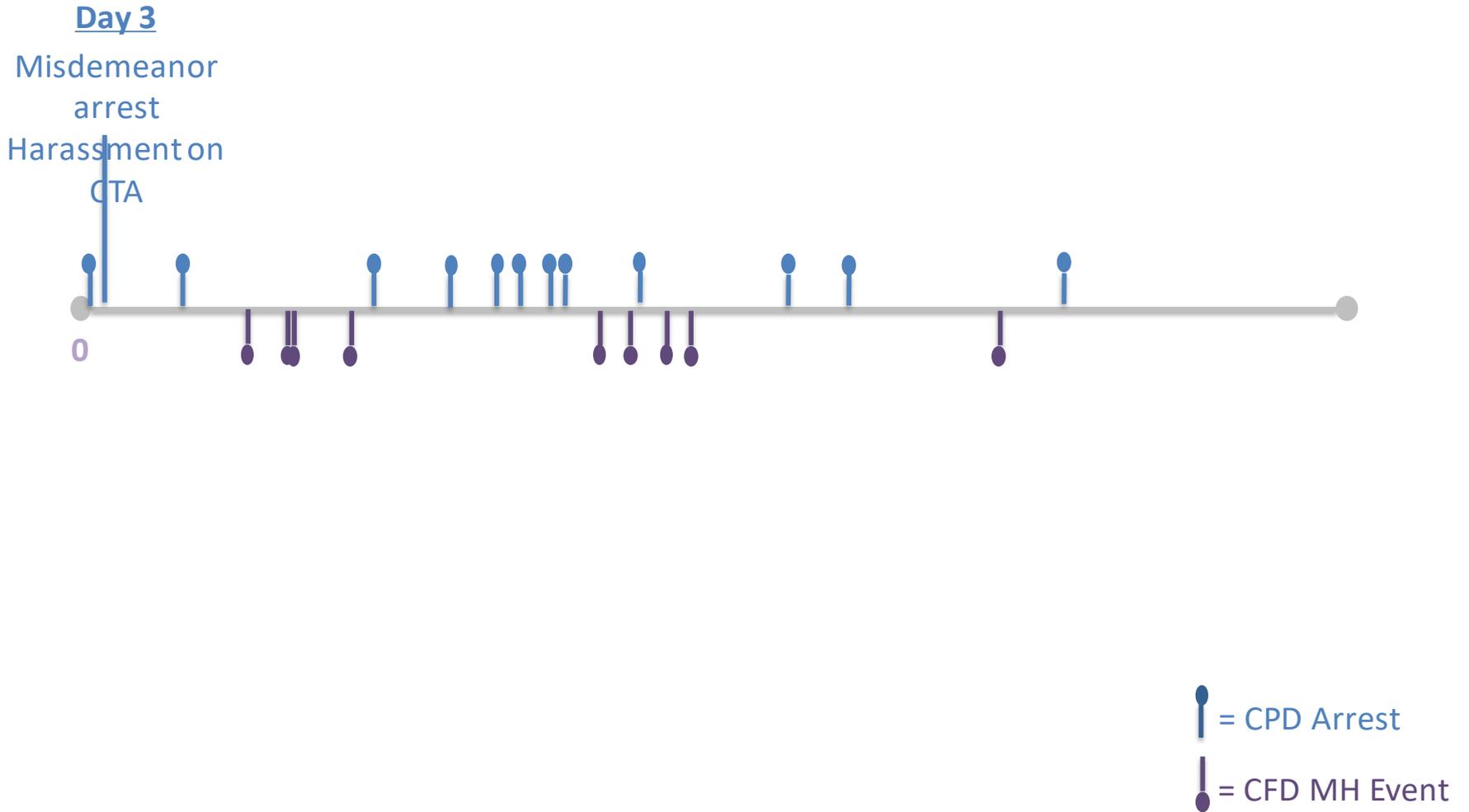
3.6
Arrests

Case #1

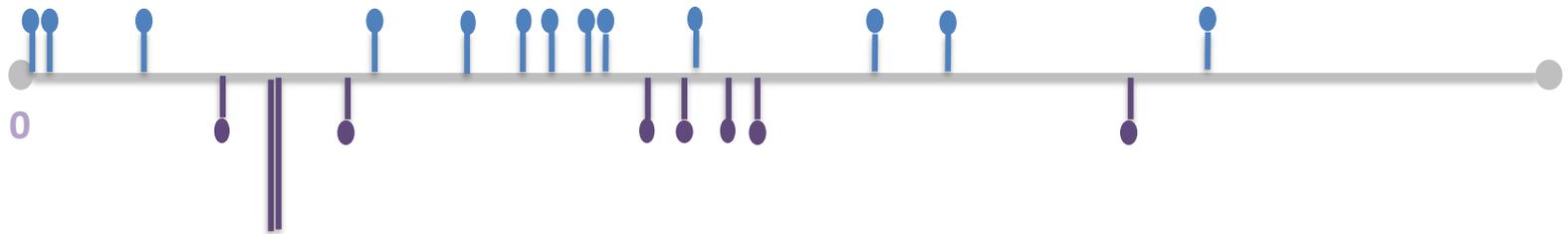


⌋ = CPD Arrest
⌋ = CFD MH Event

Case #1



Case #1

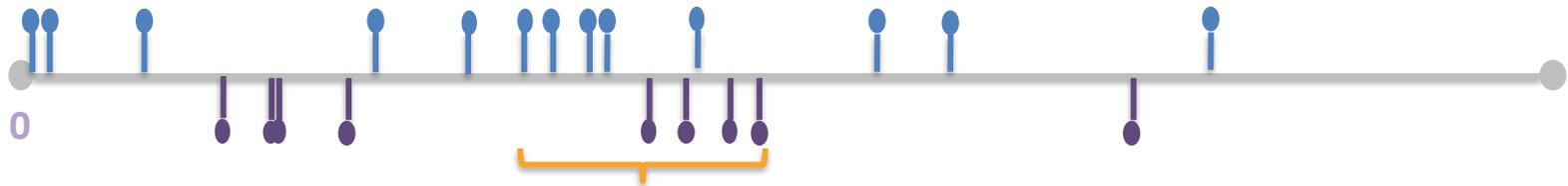


Day 63

CFD called 2x within hours;
Psychiatric episode
involving alcohol
Transported to ER 2x on
Day 63

● = CPD Arrest
● = CFD MH Event

Case #1



Days 122 – 164

5 arrests including 1 felony

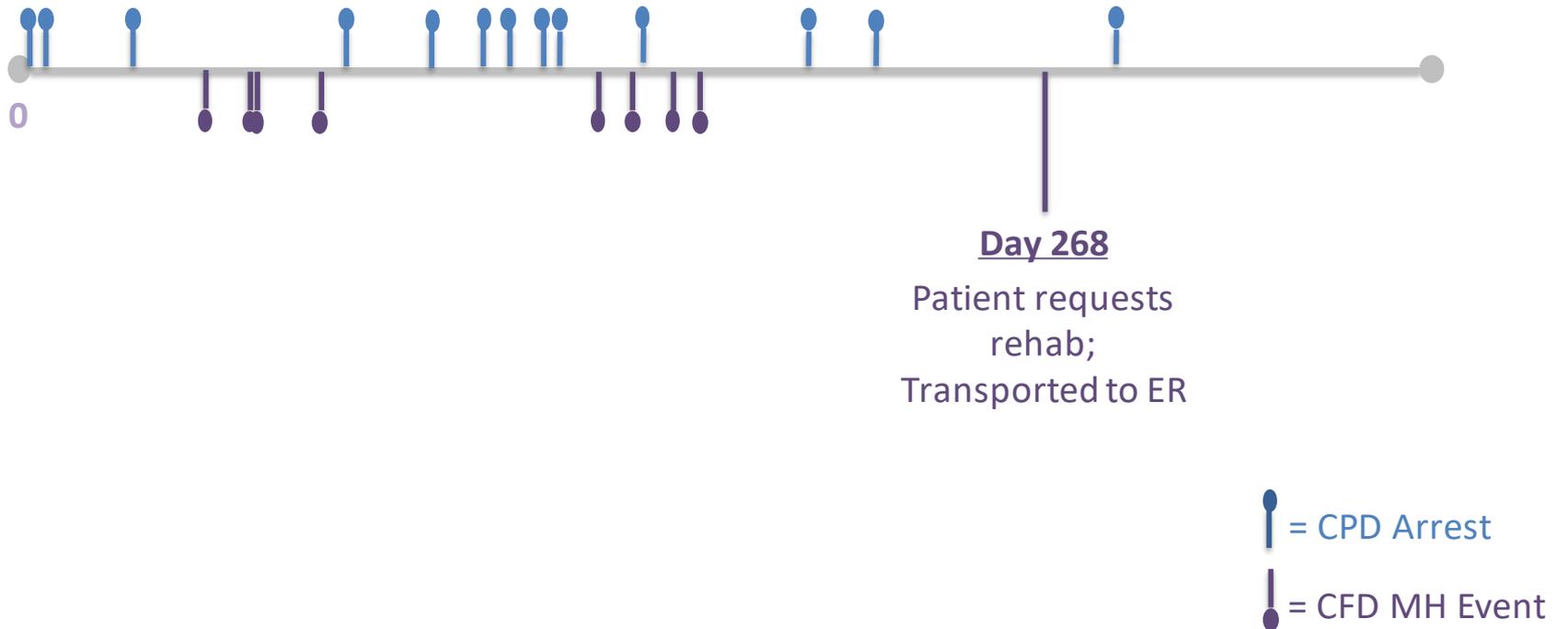
+ 4 CFD events

Indication of BH crises?

● = CPD Arrest

● = CFD MH Event

Case #1



Place-based Identification: Top High Use Location Demographics

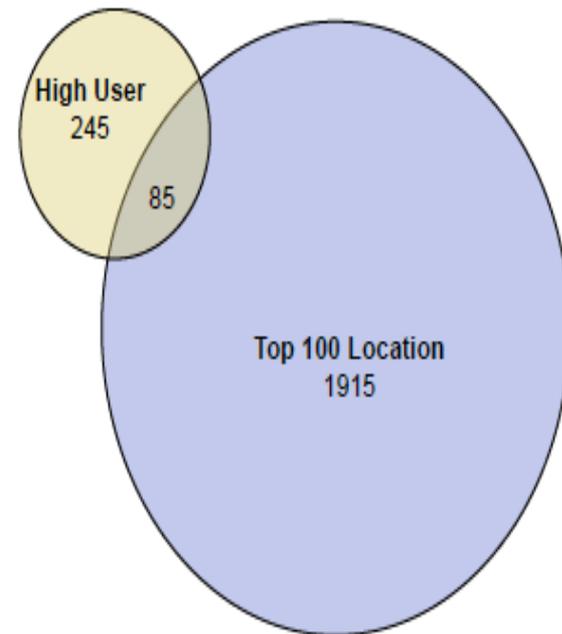
	Total CFD MH	Top 1000 Location	Top 100 Location	Top 10 Location
unique people	23257	5484	2000	658
unique people + ever cfd mh event w police	6131	1584	582	113
unique 'At Risk' people	1842	617	271	54
unique 'High User' people	330	177	85	34
unique cfd mh events	30651	8078	2740	767
unique cfd mh events w police	7068	1897	673	117
unique locations	19122	1000	100	10

Top 10 Non-Residential High Use Locations

Location	Incidents at Location	Distinct Individuals at location
(Homeless shelter)	260	208
(Mental health facility)	85	74
Midway Airport	69	69
CTA Redline - Howard Station	67	56
CTA Redline - 95th Station	54	46
O'Hare Airport - Terminal 5	51	51
(Academic medical center)	49	41
O'Hare Airport - Terminal 2	45	44
O'Hare Airport - Terminal 3	43	43
Greyhound Station	42	38

Overlap Between Person- and Place-based Identification

Top 100 Location and High User Pop Overlap



- High Use persons and persons involved in MH events at High Use locations are largely separate pools of individuals
- High Use persons have many CFD events (average 3.8 CFD events/person) but not always at the same location
- Many events occur at High Use Locations, but individuals who have a CFD MH event at these location do not accumulate many events (average 1.4 CFD events/person)

Policy Implications and Suggestions--2

- *Person-specific interventions*
 - Officer knowledge and linking CFD and CPD administrative event data provides opportunities within Individual Service Plan/behavioral support plans.
- *Place-specific interventions*
 - Family caregivers/program staff can proactively coordinate., informing police of a person's specific disabilities and behavioral challenges and formulating a crisis plan.
 - First-responders can be proactive, contacting facilities at which prior service calls have been made, using administrative and other data.

What did we learn about “High Utilizers?”

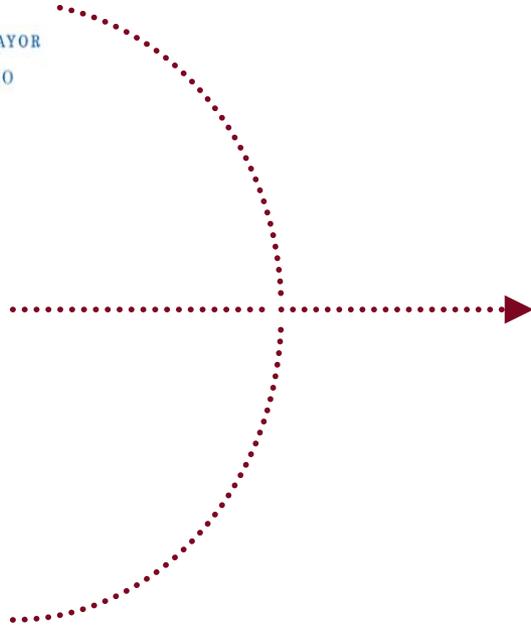
They exist in Chicago.

Can we engage them?



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY OF CHICAGO

THRESHOLDS



mHEART



ACT Treatment

Assertive Community Treatment

- ❖ Evidence-based, comprehensive community treatment model
- ❖ Designed to prevent hospitalization and homelessness.
- ❖ **Comprehensive + flexible**
- ❖ Treatment is **individualized**
- ❖ Staff to client ratio – 1:10



THANK YOU