



THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO

Crime lab

**Guns, mental health, public
safety**

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Roadmap

- Chicago's vantage point on the crime problem
- Guns as a focal point for public safety interventions
 - Bad and good arguments about gun safety
 - Known unknowns
 - Policy opportunities
- Mental health as a focal point for public safety interventions
 - Bad and good arguments for mental health interventions
 - Known unknowns
 - Policy opportunities
- If time, our youth violence prevention trial...

One face of Chicago's Youth Violence problem

- Chicago's 506 homicide led the nation in 2012.
- Hadiya Pendleton shooting right after she performed at President Obama's second inaugural one of many prominent homicides in which the victims and/or perpetrators were Chicago youth.



Plenty of other cases & faces here in Chicago

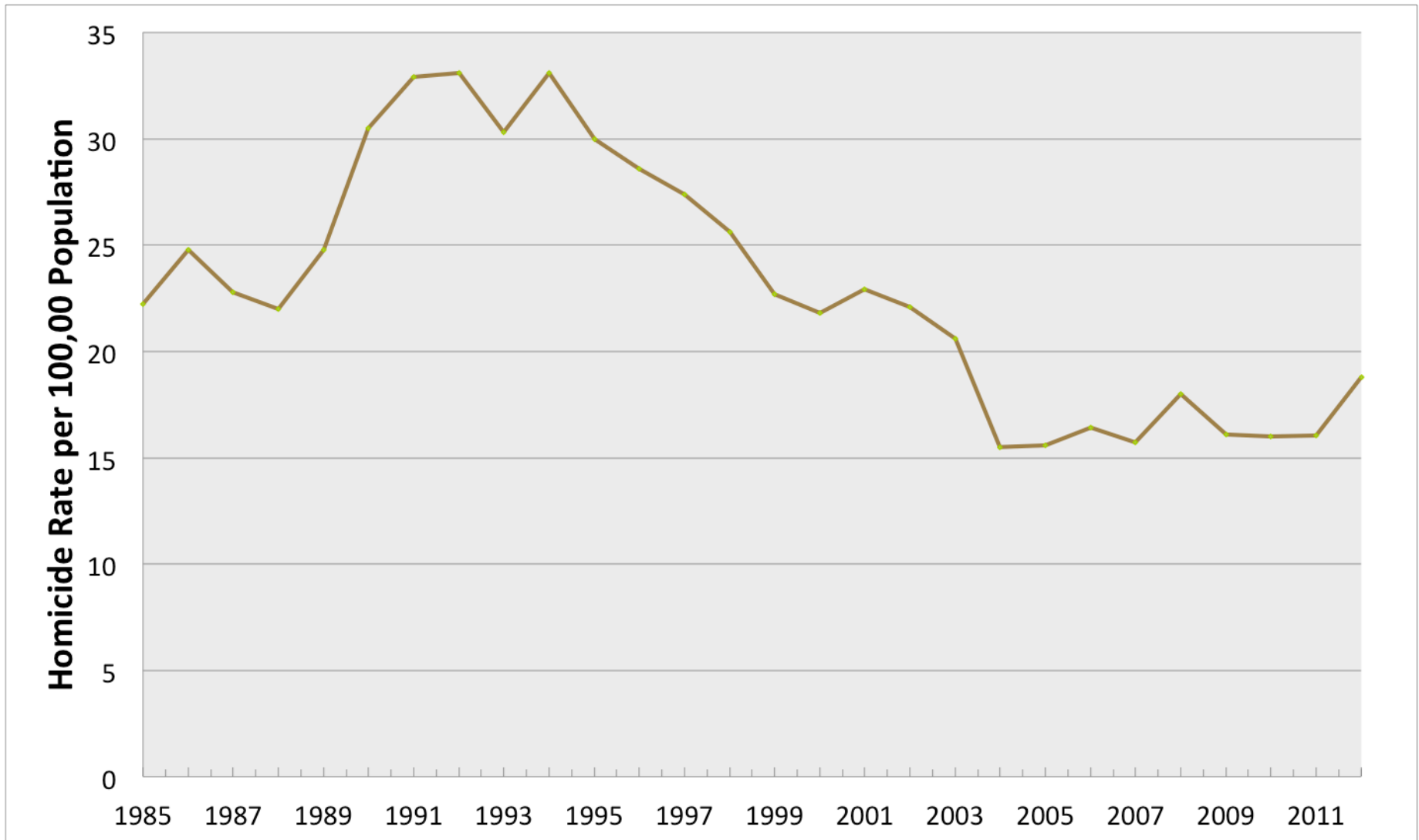
- Chicago had 506 homicides in 2012, the most in the United States, up from 436 in 2011.
 - 10-year-old Nequiel Fowler shot and killed after being hit by stray bullet. She was kneeling to tie the shoe of her blind little sister.
 - January 17, 2013, Tyrone Lawson, 17, was shot and killed after a high school basketball game. The game ended with an altercation between the teams while lining up to shake hands. But tensions spilled out into the parking lot and Lawson was shot and killed for no apparent reason.
 - *Maybe more typical*: Saturday June 2, 2012, two groups of teens arguing in the street about whether someone stole a bike. As two groups start to separate, someone pulls out a handgun and fires into other group, hits Jamal Lockett, age 16, in the chest, who dies at at Northwestern Memorial Hospital.



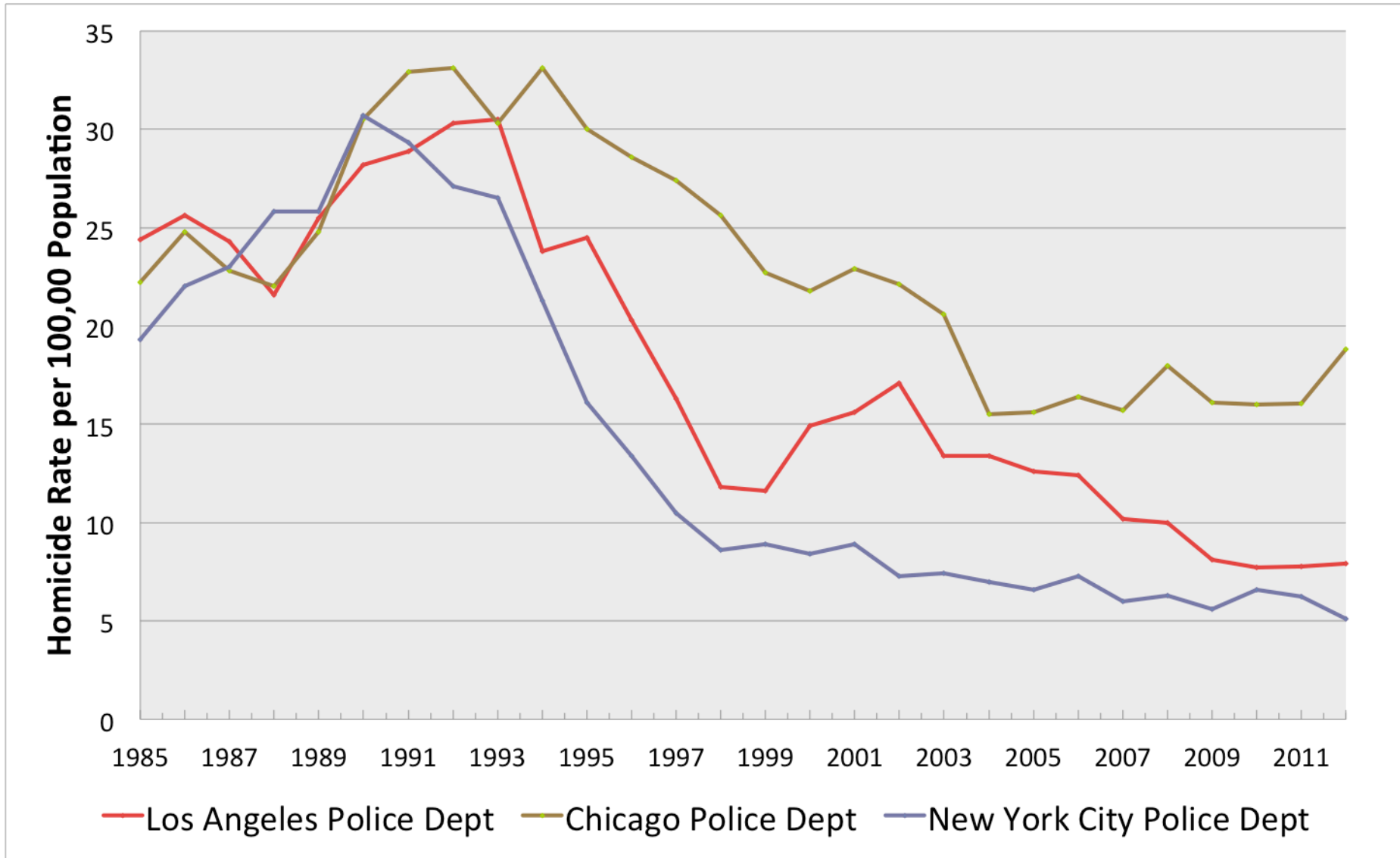
Common features of violence in Chicago (not just Chicago)

- **Male:** 90% of all homicide victims & offenders (2011 CPD)
- **Young:** 53% homicide victims & 57% offenders < age 25
 - 79% victims & 83% offenders < age 35
- **Guns:** 83% of homicide victims shot, almost all with off the shelf handguns.
- **Public:** 77% of homicide victims found outdoors
- **Impulsive:** 73% homicides attributed to “altercation”
 - Only ~10% to gang disputes over narcotics.
 - Jamal Lockett’s older sister Adora Dismukes: “**They just did this for nothing, killed my little brother for nothing. Nothing. It’s just pathetic.**”
- One-third of victims high blood alcohol.

Chicago homicides have also declined since the bad days of late 1980s/early 1990s.



...but not as fast as in two key peer cities.



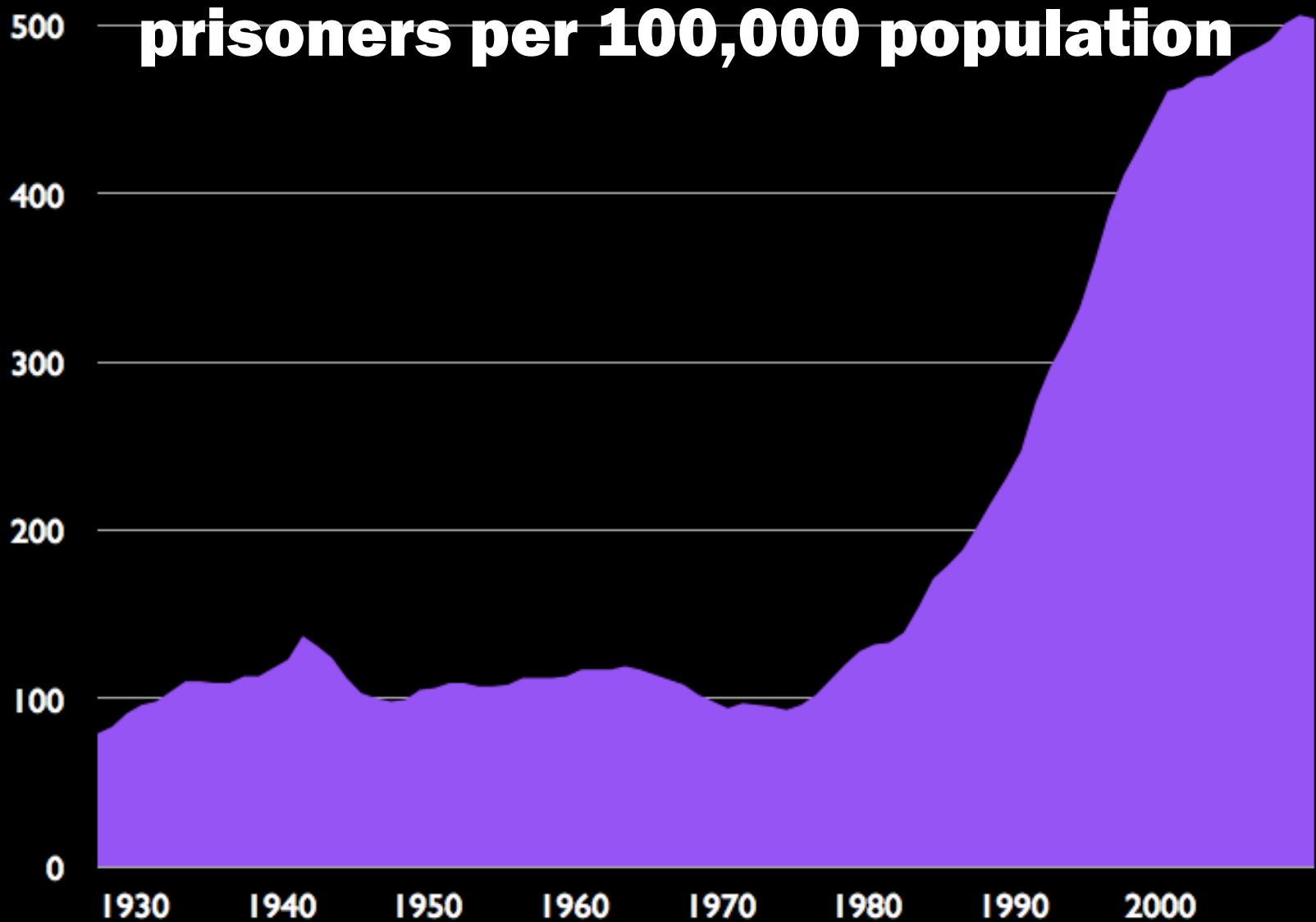
Arguments across political spectrum that violence is very deeply- rooted

- Liberal and conservative arguments for pessimism regarding incremental progress.
 - Liberal argument.
 - Violence fundamental outgrowth of economic inequality, blocked opportunities, segregation, and discrimination.
 - Conservative version.
 - Violence fundamental outgrowth of adverse cultural trends including family breakdown, adverse media messages, and more.
 - Both perspectives have some merit. Both also have serious limitations as either guides to policy or as a lens to predict variation over places and over time.

**Both views suggest that we
produce pretty committed
criminals in America.**

And we know what to do about committed criminals....

prisoners per 100,000 population



One problem with both ideological 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



Fundamental equation of many homicides

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

That “+gun” part is where Chicago really falls behind

- CPD recovers more guns than NYPD and LAPD combined.

Bad arguments about guns

“There’s not much we can do about proliferation of guns, given Second Amendment and fact there are already 250,000,000 guns out there.”

More intervention opportunities than you might suppose...

- Ethnographies suggest it is surprisingly hard for many criminals to get guns/ammunition.
 - Brokers charge high fees linking illegal buyers+sellers. And transactions often fail.
 - Less use of straw purchasers than expected.
 - Thin market with many frictions, unlike (say) market for crack
- Surprising success of background checks.
- Policies can influence gun possession and use in many ways beyond initial sales.
- Milwaukee, Pittsburgh enforcement experiences

Known unknowns:

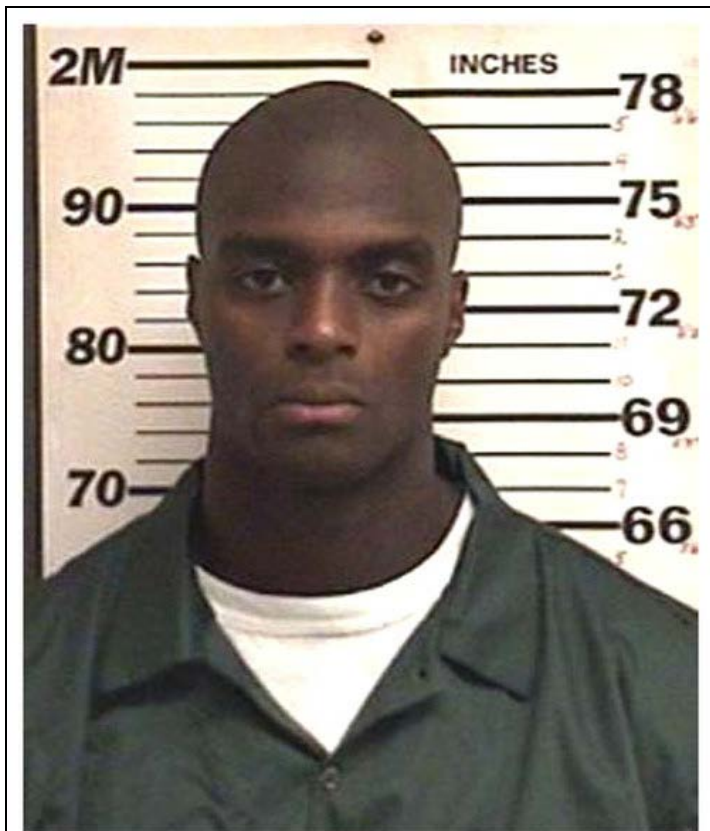
From the Capone gang to the Insane Popes

- Cities such as Chicago appear to have segmented underground gun markets. We hypothesize that gang structures play a key role.
- It's hard to be a celebrity criminal in the city.
 - Demise of vertical, hierarchical gangs
 - But the gangs didn't disappear. They fractionated, creating new opportunities for violence, retaining access to weapons.
- This creates new public safety challenge. "Group accountability" models may be less effective.

Known unknowns:

More effective gun-oriented deterrence

- NY has tougher gun enforcement than Chicago.
- Plaxico Burress vs. Bryon Champ



Known unknowns:

Role of federally-licensed firearms dealers

- One gun shop accounts for about 20% of traced crime guns recovered in Chicago.
- We don't know much about how active/passive/vigilant FFL's are in this market.
- "Crooked dealer" issue different from "inattentive" dealer, or dealer who has no way of knowing what customers will do.

We are studying these issues now

- Analysis of trace data (which we are now doing)
 - Excellent data on point of first legal purchase for firearms for issues such as FFL regulation, straw purchasers.
 - ...But most crime guns illegally transferred after that point.
- Arrestee interviews (which we are now doing)
 - Reach violent gun-involved offenders for many useful questions.
 -But arrestees not in position to know key market details.
- Ethnography in local markets
 - Reach key market actors unlikely to be incarcerated.

Promising ideas

- Gun-specific police enforcement.
 - Variations on stop, question, and frisk worth considering, but shadowed by profiling/drug war.
- Swift and certain punishment models, focused on gun crimes.
 - Mandatory minimum worth considering, but also shadowed by drug war.
- More aggressive undercover activity.
- Stronger background checks.

Shifting gears: mental illness and crime



Bad arguments about mental illness and crime

“We can identify mass shooters ahead of time.”

“A mental health registry could identify dangerous mentally ill people.”

“People with severe mental illness are really dangerous.”

We can't identify most mass shooters

- Many young schizophrenic men who commit violent incident had no prior contact with the mental health system.
- Every perpetrator exhibits some *ex post* “red flag.” But the positive predictive value of every “red flag” is just about zero.
- Almost every successfully thwarted atrocity involved a perpetrator identified by someone in their close social network rather than some feasible surveillance system.

Efforts to identify violent individuals bring massive unintended consequences

- MH registry creates additional barriers to seeking help.
- Systems that create haystacks are ineffective in picking out the needles.

Individuals with uncomplicated SMI are not especially dangerous

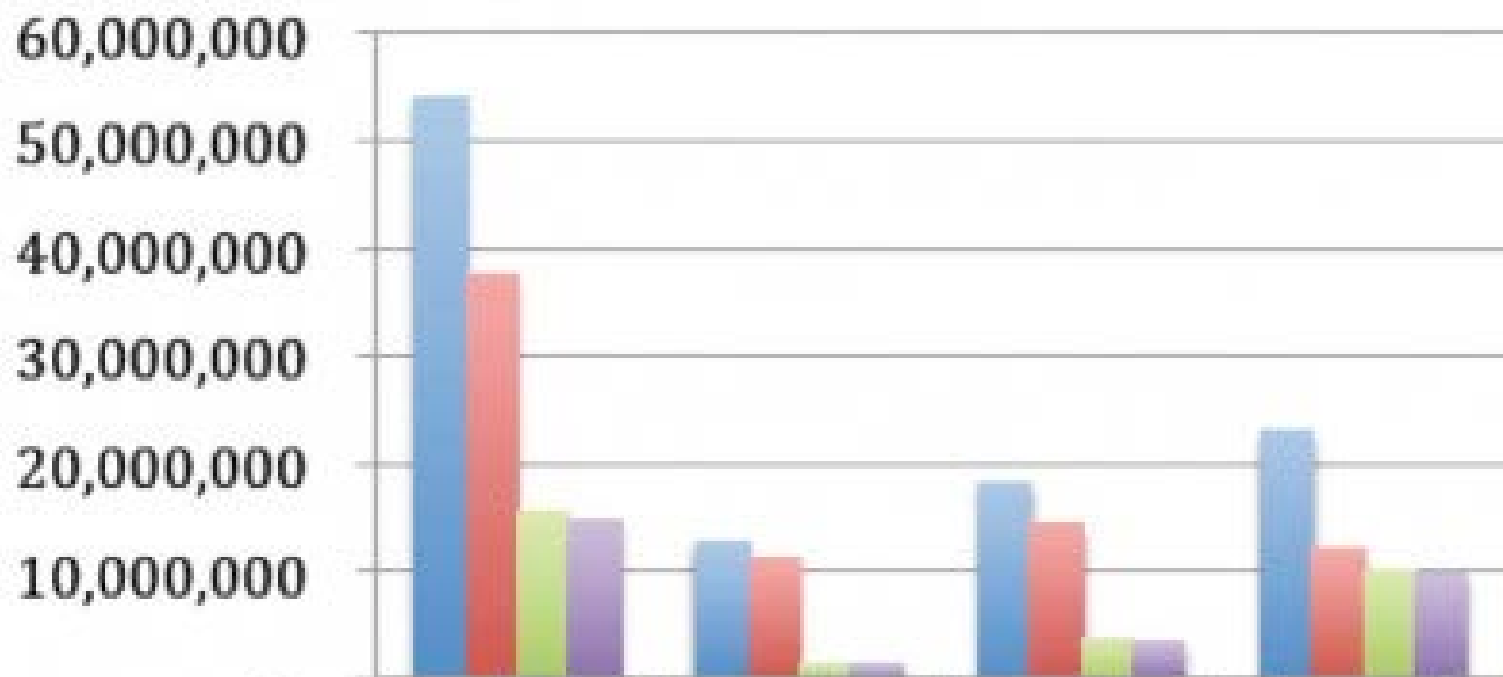
- Young men who misuse alcohol or other substances are more dangerous, on average, than are people with SMI.
- To the extent we are targeting resources, young men with dual diagnosis are the key group.

Better strategies

- Support infrastructures, including nuts and bolts of sensible databases on identified violent people.
- Address deep cuts to non-Medicaid MH treatment infrastructure, which have accelerated during recession.
- To the extent we are targeting resources, young men with dual diagnosis are the key group.
- ...Which brings us to health reform.

WHY IS HEALTH REFORM SO IMPORTANT?

- Data from the 2011 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH)...

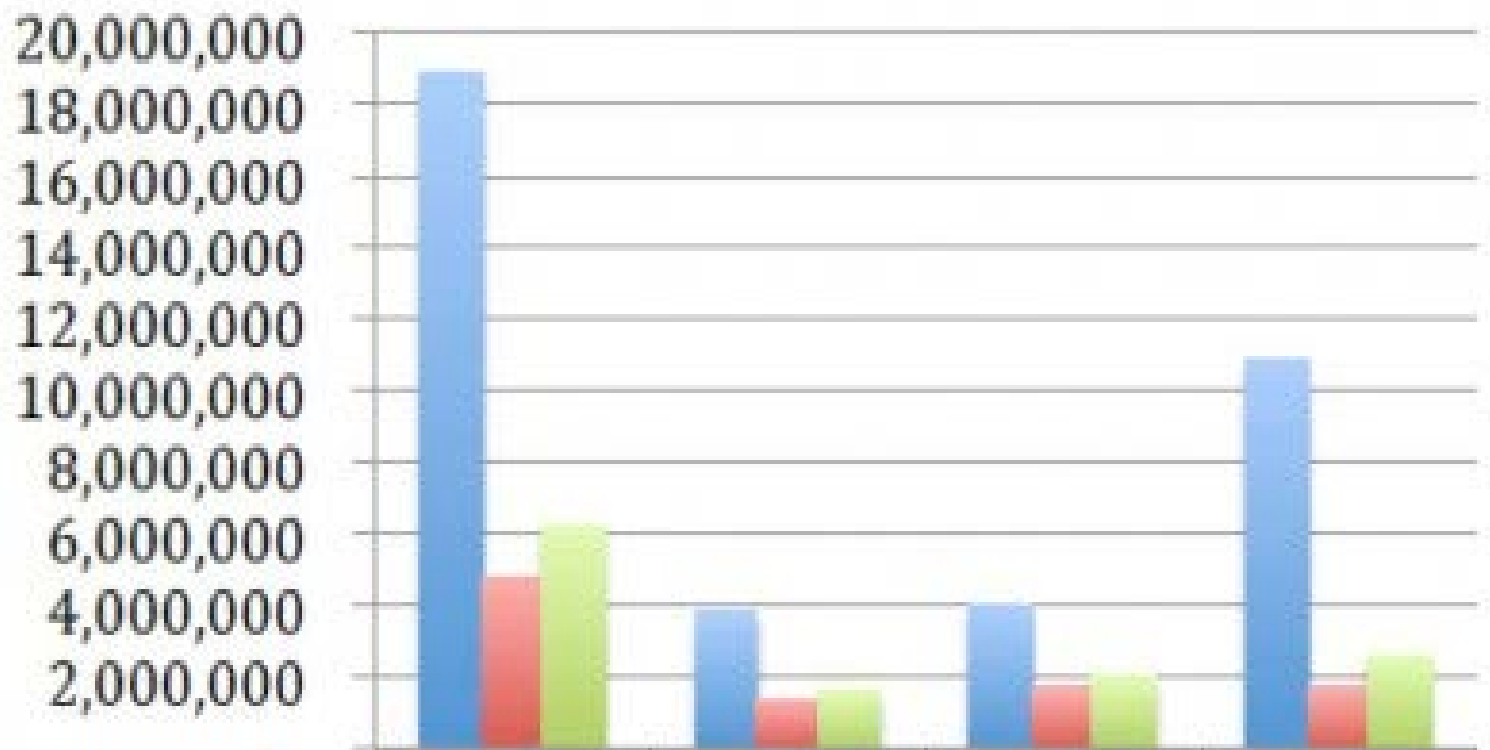


	All Adults 18+	<100% FPL	100-200% FPL	>200% FPL
■ No SUD coverage/ uninsured	54,100,000	12,700,000	18,300,000	23,000,000
■ Uninsured	37,700,000	11,200,000	14,400,000	12,000,000
■ Insured but no coverage for drug treatment	15,500,000	1,391,394	3,770,329	10,200,000
■ Insured, but no coverage for alcohol treatment	14,700,000	1,299,963	3,532,977	9,750,246

MH/SUD Coverage in ACA

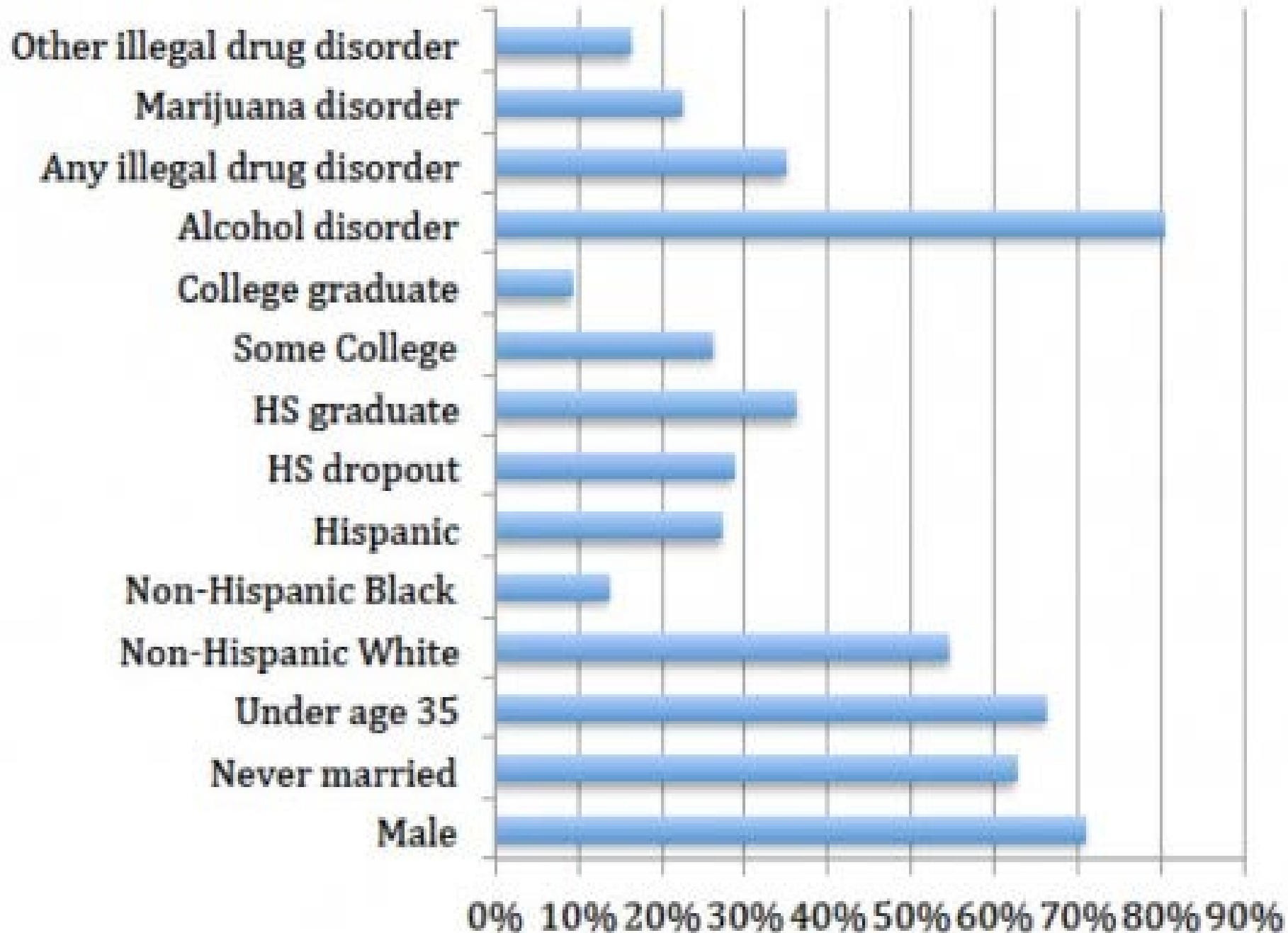
(once states take up Medicaid expansion)

	New Coverage for M/SUD Care	Expanded M/SUD Care Coverage	Total
Individuals Currently Holding Individual Coverage	3.9	7.1	11
Individuals Currently with Coverage under Small Group Plans	1.2	23.3	24.5
Uninsured	27	--	27
Total	32.1	30.7	62.5



	All Adults 18+	<100% FPL	100-200% FPL	>200% FPL
SUD (Abuse/Dependence on alcohol or illicit drug)	18,900,000	3,816,502	4,016,905	10,900,000
SUD and uninsured	4,830,524	1,375,702	1,697,850	1,720,785
Has SUD, either uninsured or disorder not covered	6,257,213	1,621,483	1,989,524	2,572,724

Who are the people who are both uninsured and experiencing substance use disorders?



Why does it matter?

Welcome to Cook County Jail



On any given night at 26th and California

- 2,000 inmates with significant psychiatric disorders.
- Many Medicaid-eligibles moved to inpatient or community-based MH treatment settings w/electronic monitoring.
- Option is rarely feasible for others w/same disorders.
- Change in inmate Medicaid eligibility due to ACA (and an analogous local waiver called County Care)
 - 2012—90% of inmates ineligible, virtually all uninsured.
 - 2014—90% of inmates will be Medicaid-eligible.
- Cook County Sheriff Tom Dart
- *“Medicaid waiver+ ACA have the potential to be game changers--ending the [federal, state, and city budget] cuts that have made the Cook County Jail the provider of first resort in the city of Chicago and Cook County.”*

Where does this leave us?

- Greater evidence-based practice in gun-oriented policing
- Doing health reform right, especially Medicaid expansion
- Efforts such as alcohol taxes to address substance use.
- Helping young people relate more effectively and safely with adult authority figures, and with each other.
- Governor Kasich on expanded Medicaid mental health and substance abuse coverage: “This will save lives.”

THANK YOU

EXTRA SLIDES

“What about that ‘+impulsivity’ part of the equation you mentioned?”

Shifting gears: One successful randomized trial



Improving social-cognitive skills among disadvantaged youth (BAM Sports Edition)

Sara Heller, **Harold Pollack**, Roseanna Ander and
Jens Ludwig

University of Chicago



Our study

- Maybe largest experimental test of social-cognitive skill development. One of very few experiments to examine key outcomes like delinquency & dropout
- The intervention
 - Delivered during course of 2009-10 academic year
 - “Becoming a Man” (BAM), implemented by Youth Guidance and World Sport Chicago
 - Some youth randomized to get non-traditional sports, too, to promote program participation
- Administrative data for outcome evaluation
 - Outcomes for 2009-10 (during intervention) and 2010-11 (post-intervention)

Becoming a Man (B.A.M.)

- Curriculum - application of CBT, mentoring, and positive youth development targeted at urban adolescent males
 - 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
- Focus on 7th-10th grade males
- Built-in (weak) incentives for Participation and engagement

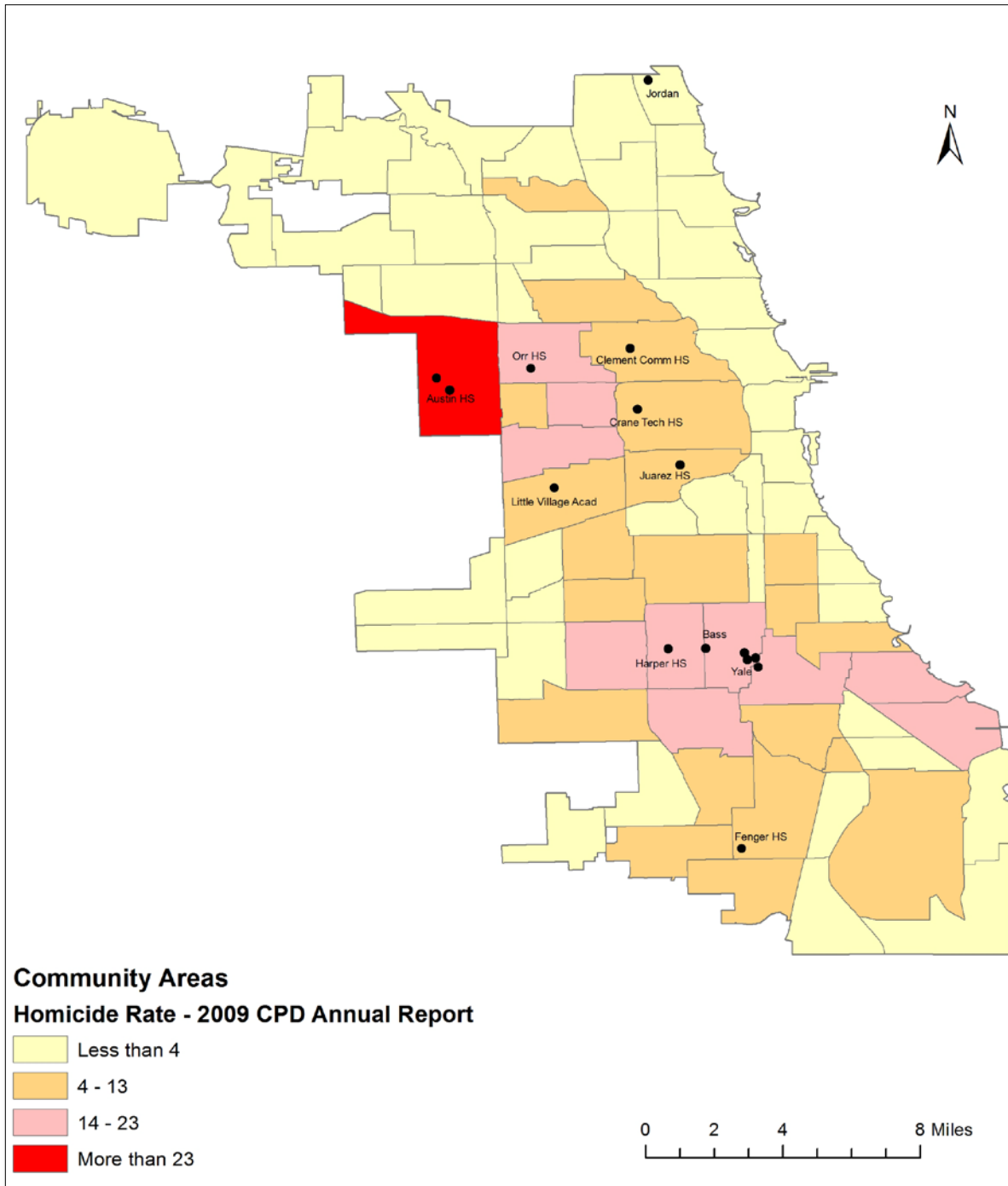


Sports element

- 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

Block-randomized Experimental Design

- 16 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
- 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.



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)

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)

Analysis Strategy

Intent to Treat (ITT)

- Average difference between those assigned to treatment vs control
- We account for student baseline characteristics to more-precisely estimate program effects

Examining impact of interventions on kids who actually participated (Called LATE in subsequent slides).

- Assumes assignment to treatment group only affects outcomes through participation (exclusion restriction)
- Use **control complier mean (CCM)** to assess relative size of impact

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.

Descriptive Statistics

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: $F(19,2559) = 1.01, p = 0.4511$

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

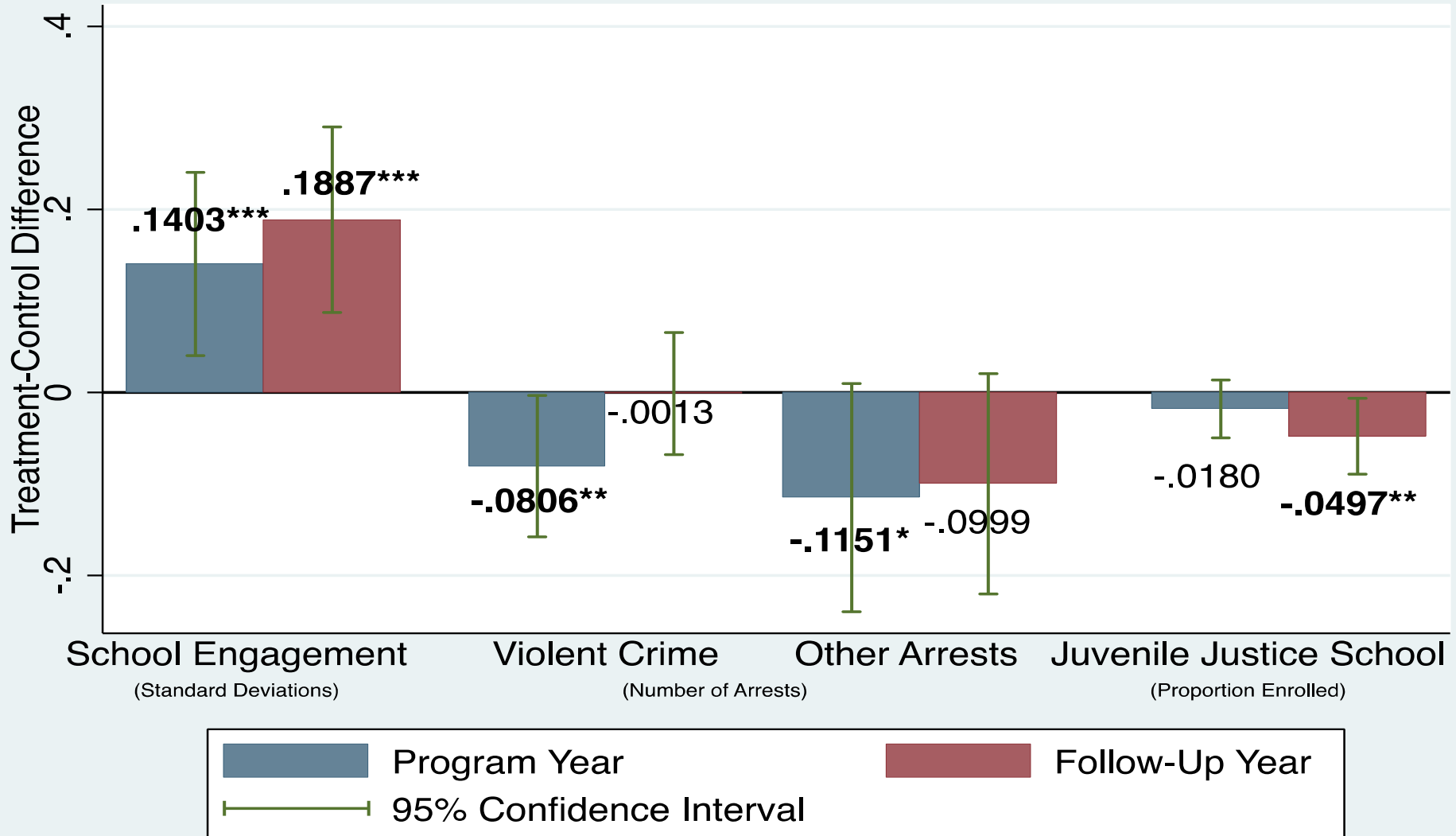
Note: One school excluded from sample due to randomization failure

Recorded Program Participation

	All Treatment	BAM Only	BAM + Sports	Sports Only	Control
Ever Attended	0.49	0.54	0.65	0.21	0.05
Total Sessions Attended	6.64	6.94	9.69	1.94	0.55
Total Sessions Ever Attended	13.47	12.80	14.97	9.26	11.34
25th Percentile of Attenders	4	5	5	2	3
75th Percentile of Attenders	20	15	22	11	18

Summary bottom line slide

Effects of Participation in Social-Cognitive Skill Intervention



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

Arrest results

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

What have we learned?

- Large-scale “effectiveness” of social-cognitive skill development in challenging field conditions
- Using estimates for social cost of crime, benefit/cost ratio between 2 and 9:1 (even ignoring schooling benefits)
 - Despite fade-out, targeting program during a period of high-risk behavior (adolescence) means even temporary effects have high social payoffs
 - Not a panacea—there is no panacea--but a cost-effective component of a portfolio of responses to youth violence.

Another lesson: If you have real evidence, people listen

