



The First 10

A DECADE OF IMPACT AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CRIME LAB AND EDUCATION LAB

The Becoming A Man program supports young men through in-school group counseling sessions.



Working On Womanhood, an Education Lab partner, engages girls in trauma-informed therapy.

The Choose to Change program brings evidence-informed interventions to youth at elevated risk of being victimized by violence.

PHOTO CREDIT: JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



A participant in the Rapid Employment and Development Initiative at work beautifying the city.



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The Crime Lab and Education Lab are grateful
to Ted Alcorn for authoring this report.

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The Crime Lab was born out of tragedy. In the fall of 2007, a University of Chicago doctoral student in chemistry named Amadou Cisse was coming home to his apartment near campus at 1:30am from an ice cream social, a few weeks after successfully defending his doctoral dissertation, when he was murdered as part of a robbery.

This led to some soul searching at the University. We have a long, distinguished history of winning Nobel Prizes for pushing the scientific frontier; our history as a neighbor to our surrounding communities and larger host city is somewhat less distinguished. How could it be that the University's world-class scholarship was having so little impact literally in our backyard? How could we be more helpful to the city of Chicago, and ideally to cities everywhere?



In 2005, the National Academies of Science released a blue-ribbon report summarizing everything that the scientific enterprise had learned about how to effectively reduce gun violence in America. The answer was essentially: Not much.

This lack of understanding about effective, humane solutions to gun violence and its related social problems seemed like something that a great research university like UChicago was uniquely positioned to help address.

By working closely with government, non-profits, and philanthropy to develop and test innovative solutions to Chicago's long-standing problems, the hope was to use the power of "big data" and data science to increase the social good that results from the billions of dollars currently being spent in these areas. The fields that take R&D seriously — fields like medicine, or the technology sector — are the ones making major advances over time. We think that is no coincidence, and that something similar is possible for social problems. And, as we know that serious violence has an adverse effect on cities — making them poorer, less populated, and less resilient — our work has come to be, at its core, about the future of cities themselves. Since the problems confronting Chicago are, unfortunately, not unique to Chicago, lessons learned here might also be helpful to other cities like Baltimore, Detroit, Oakland, Philadelphia, or St. Louis — or perhaps even places like Bogotá, Mexico City, or Rio de Janeiro.

Enclosed, we summarize some examples of social progress over the last 10 years. We are grateful to our partners for having let us play a part in this work. But of course, innovation is by its nature uncertain; the backdrop to these encouraging successes is a series of failures or re-starts, as well as new challenges we are beginning to confront with taking successful pilot efforts to scale. Our core mission is to generate knowledge that will help solve pressing social challenges; we are always trying to learn not just about how to solve them, but how we ourselves might be most useful for that enterprise. This report is intended as a thank you to our partners for their collaboration during our first 10 years and for their vote of confidence in our capacity to be part of even greater social progress over the next 10.



JENS LUDWIG

FACULTY DIRECTOR, CRIME LAB AND EDUCATION LAB

EDWIN A. AND BETTY L. BERGMAN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE PROFESSOR
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Abundant Effort, but Little Evidence

The United States is among the world's most affluent countries, yet for all our wealth, we don't meet millions of residents' need for physical safety and desire for opportunity. Homicide rates in America's cities are many times higher than their international counterparts,¹ and nearly half of students in the country's largest cities do not graduate from high school on time.² These societal failings disproportionately afflict communities of color, particularly those in the poorest and most segregated neighborhoods. Moreover, these disparities in safety and opportunity have persisted for the last fifty years, despite substantial increases in government spending on education and anti-poverty measures over that time.

Our lack of progress in addressing these social problems stands in stark contrast to leaps made in technology and medicine over the same period, where revolutions in computing and genetics have transformed daily life and made many dire illnesses preventable or treatable. How have we made such advances in the realm of the cell and the microchip, and so little progress in our classrooms and neighborhoods?

The difference lies, at least in part, in how we combine research and practice to learn from our successes and missteps. In technology and medicine, both government and private companies are accustomed to investing heavily in research in addition to providing services: in 2016 alone, the U.S. business sector spent \$375 billion on research and development.³ Yet when it comes to unsafe streets and failing schools, the public sector and philanthropic sector have typically focused on trying to meet existing needs without considering how to learn what works, for whom, and why. Increases in social sector spending have not been matched by an equivalent investment in research to drive further innovation and long-term progress.

It was this gap — in rigorous, applied research to propel relentless progress addressing society's most urgent challenges — that the University of Chicago Crime Lab and Education Lab set out to fill.

Science in Service of Cities

The Crime Lab was born out of tragedy, the kind that is far too common in Chicago and other cities across the country. Amadou Cisse, a University of Chicago doctoral chemistry student, was near campus on the early morning of November 19, 2007 when two men approached and tried to take his bookbag. In the ensuing struggle, one of them shot Cisse in the chest, killing him.⁴

For urban policy researchers like Jens Ludwig and Harold Pollack, Cisse's death demanded new thinking about how the University could help its home city prevent gun violence and its terrible consequences. "It led to a lot of soul-searching," Ludwig recalled. "How can it be that we've won more Nobel prizes at the University of Chicago than any other university in the world, and yet somehow we're not having an impact — literally in our home city?"

Residents and policymakers of Chicago had long made efforts to address gun violence, observed Roseanna Ander, then a Program Officer at the Joyce Foundation. But for all this initiative and innovation, there had not been a proportional effort to measure impact and to generate evidence that would inform bigger and better investments.

Ander, Ludwig, and Pollack reasoned that social scientists could add something crucial. In partnership with community members, local organizations, and public agencies, they could identify promising approaches to the city's challenges, rigorously evaluate these efforts, and generate evidence that would focus future investments on the most effective strategies.

This also held potential to leverage incremental progress into outsize public impact. Typically, philanthropic spending to address violence and education is dwarfed by the government's much larger expenditures in these sectors. But private funders who supported promising interventions that yielded tangible evidence could thereby inform the public sector's much larger investments. "One million dollars of philanthropy can in turn steer tens of millions of public dollars, year after year, if the philanthropic dollars are being used to focus on promising programs and generate evidence about what actually works," said Ander.

Seeking to make this vision a reality, Ludwig, Pollack, and Ander launched the Crime Lab in 2007.⁵ "The idea was to play to the University's core capacity of doing world-class research," Ander explained, "but doing it in a way that was focused on solving real-world problems in close partnership with our home city, starting with the most socially costly and harmful problem — violence." In 2011, they joined with Jonathan Guryan, then at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business, to launch the Education Lab, which would focus on improving graduation rates — a citywide goal in and of itself, as well as a pathway to reducing violence.

The approach taken by the Crime Lab and Education Lab was new to many nonprofits and government agencies, and early on it would be a struggle to convince them that academic researchers had something to contribute to their work. "We got a lot of blank stares — maybe blank stares at best and deeply skeptical looks at worst," Ludwig recalled. The model also required a new orientation for the academics, who are traditionally incentivized to publish their research in journals, not to impact

actual social conditions. This paradigm shift has become central to the Crime Lab and Education Labs' mission. "In some ways, this is also about helping change people's understanding of the role that social science can play in improving social conditions," said Ludwig.

The Crime Lab and Education Lab have expanded how the University of Chicago thinks about helping the most vulnerable in our society.



Urgent Problems, Unique Partnerships

The important and urgent challenges targeted by the Crime Lab and Education Lab are areas that government has unique scale and a vital obligation to address. Key to the Labs' efforts are the partnerships they have built with public agencies tasked with keeping Chicago safe, educating the city's youth, and providing social services to meet the needs of Chicagoans.

Through these collaborations, the Crime Lab and Education Lab have been able to focus on the innovations with greatest potential to improve the city's wellbeing, and then to channel their findings into practical applications. "Instead of having an academic come up with an interesting puzzle, we go directly to the policymakers who have to make high-stakes decisions all the time and ask them what problems they are most focused on solving — and then generate an R&D agenda around trying to solve these problems," said Ander. "That has the benefit of increasing the likelihood that the findings actually get applied in the real world."

The Labs' in-house social science and analytic expertise has been invaluable for government agencies that are sometimes stretched just keeping the city running. The Crime Lab has helped the Chicago Police Department address the city's pressing gun violence problem, build trust with the community, provide better support and training to police officers, and incorporate data and analysis into daily operations. "The phenomenal leap that we've made through the Crime Lab's work is just amazing," said Chief Barbara West, who heads the Chicago Police Department's Bureau of Organizational Development.

While continuing to face daunting challenges, the city's public schools are leveraging data to better support students and improve academic outcomes, with ample assistance from the Education Lab. The district recently embarked on a major initiative with the Lab to strengthen the services it delivers to students in its Options schools. "Access to robust and high-quality research is one of the most important ingredients in that," said Chicago Public Schools CEO Dr. Janice K. Jackson, "and the partnership with the Education Lab is paramount."

The research does not occur in a vacuum, and the Crime Lab and Education Lab must deliver timely findings so nonprofit partners and public agencies can adjust their decision-making in real-time while fulfilling ongoing obligations. "They are unique among researchers because they match the pace of a policymaker," said Evelyn Diaz, Commissioner of Chicago's Department of Family and Support Services from 2009–15. The necessary trust has taken time to build. "That doesn't come with one conversation," said Ander. "It's years of working together, listening, and trying to understand as best as we can what the needs of the agencies and the nonprofits are."

Measuring Impact in Lives Saved

The Crime Lab and Education Lab have scores of ongoing projects, some still in their infancy and others that have been fully integrated into Chicago's agencies and even spread to other major U.S. cities. The Labs define success differently from typical academic centers. Whereas papers published or grant dollars raised might be meaningful measuring sticks in some settings, the Labs are focused on impact in the real world: how many fewer people drop out of high school, are shot, or are needlessly incarcerated.

The numbers speak for themselves, and it is impact that reaches people of all ages and backgrounds:

- » The Education Lab's evaluation of a high-intensity math tutoring program, Saga Education, showed it more than **doubled the speed at which high-school students advance in math**. This spurred policymakers to bring the intervention to thousands of students across Chicago and New York City, and provided compelling evidence that investments in adolescence are a critically important complement to those made in early-childhood. [\[See page 14.\]](#)
- » The Crime Lab's evaluation of Youth Guidance's Becoming A Man (BAM) program found that it **cut arrests for violent crimes by up to 50 percent and increased on-time high school graduation rates by 19 percent**. On the strength of these findings, Chicago redirected tens of millions of dollars to build on the strategy — including investments in 57 nonprofits through the Mayor's Mentoring Initiative — and behavioral science approaches have become a cornerstone of the city's violence reduction efforts. [\[See page 16.\]](#)
- » A Strategic Decision Support Center (SDSC) that the Crime Lab helped the Chicago Police Department establish in Englewood — a neighborhood that has historically experienced one of the city's highest homicide rates — **reduced shootings by 26 percent in 2017**, without any detectable increase in arrests. SDSCs have since been established in nearly every police district in Chicago.⁶ [\[See page 28.\]](#)
- » In partnership with law enforcement and drug treatment providers, the Crime Lab helped establish a process in which people caught in possession of heroin can access drug treatment in lieu of arrest. This represents a **fundamental shift in the police department's approach to heroin possession** and could ultimately help thousands of people avoid criminal records and instead get access to services and supports. [\[See page 32.\]](#)



These innovations require calculated risk-taking, and not every pilot project has been successful. But forgoing change out of fear of failing would be truly reckless. “Literally, lives are at stake,” Ander said. “We need to be willing to try new things and take risks, because the status quo is entirely unacceptable.”

With this approach, the Crime Lab and Education Lab are charting a new course for how academic institutions can work in partnership with their home cities. The Labs continue to publish work in top-tier academic journals like *The Quarterly Journal of Economics and Science* — peer-review and publications play an important role in establishing the credibility of results and diffusing ideas — but the Labs put equal emphasis on outreach to community organizations, media, and policymakers to bring their findings to an ever-widening audience.

For University of Chicago President Robert J. Zimmer, who has made it a priority to ensure the University engages in field-defining work that benefits the whole city and not just its most fortunate residents, the Crime Lab and Education Lab have provided a model for how the institution as a whole can address social problems. “Ten years ago it was clear that there was a need for more rigorous research to help address crime and other related social problems that confront our city and cities around the globe,” said Zimmer. “We believed that the Crime Lab would offer a fresh approach and contribute in a distinct way by actively combining research and policy, with our faculty working in direct partnership with city agencies. The results of that approach have been remarkable, and we look forward to the next ten years.”

SELECTED INITIATIVES

The Crime Lab and Education Lab have focused on working closely with local government, non-profit, and community partners to make progress on the most important problems facing the city of Chicago:



IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Ensuring all youth are positioned to succeed in school and thrive beyond it



ENHANCING PUBLIC SAFETY

Preventing gun violence, the most socially costly — and uniquely American — facet of our country's crime problem



ADVANCING JUSTICE

Reducing the harms of the criminal justice system, which detains and incarcerates far too many people, including those who pose little risk to public safety

This work has attracted broad interest from both academic channels and among policymakers and is informing efforts far beyond the city's borders. The following pages summarize just a few of these initiatives.

IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Ensuring all youth are positioned to succeed
in school and thrive beyond it



FEBRUARY 15, 2013

President Obama participates in a Becoming a Man session at the Hyde Park Career Academy in Chicago.

PETE SOUZA/THE WHITE HOUSE

A High-Intensity Math Tutoring Program to Accelerate Learning

In the classroom at the Multicultural Academy of Scholarship (MAS) High School in South Lawndale, ninth-grade students were spread among a grid of tables in groups of two or three, working out algebra problems on small white-boards. But in a striking departure from a conventional math class, where one teacher might face thirty or more students, an instructor sat at each table.

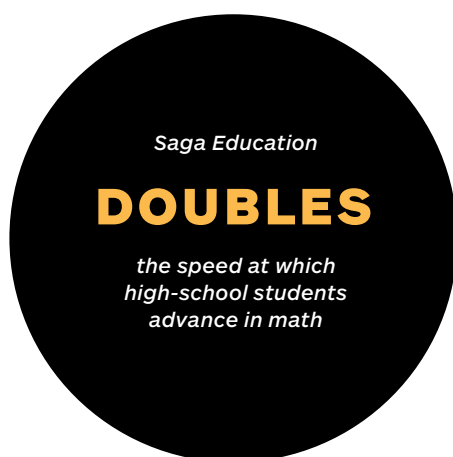
This is “Math Lab,” a high-intensity tutoring program developed by Saga Education, a nonprofit that the Chicago Public Schools and the Education Lab have been partnering with since the fall of 2012.

And these algebra problems may hold one important key to improving the high school graduation rate, which has been a priority for Chicago and cities across the country for decades.

In Chicago, conversations with school leaders revealed that ninth-grade math was a key gatekeeper for high school graduation. This echoed survey findings from the U.S. Department of Education: 80 percent of high school dropouts cited their inability to pass Algebra I as the primary reason for leaving school.⁷ Given the increasing importance of a high school diploma for success in the labor market, and the protective influence of graduation for future violence involvement, better supporting students at this critical juncture became a Chicago Public Schools priority.

To help realize this goal, the Education Lab first piloted the Saga approach to individualized instruction in 2012 at Harper High School, where the impact of this single class-period of individualized math instruction — fifty minutes a day, every school day — inspired hope that this approach might hold promise for moving the needle citywide.

The benefits of reducing the student-teacher ratio may seem obvious. Educators have long known that personalized instruction is an effective way to teach, but it is costly to hire more teachers. So the main obstacle to adopting it is not pedagogical — it is economic. How, then, can a public-school system individualize instruction at a price that is affordable at scale?



Saga Education’s insight was that tutoring requires a very different set of skills than traditional classroom teaching, and can be delivered effectively by recent college graduates or retirees at a more modest cost. After a promising pilot, the Education Lab evaluated Saga with a randomized controlled trial from 2013-15 and found that Chicago students who participated for a single year gained one to two-and-a-half years of additional learning, compared to students who did not.

“You work faster and better because you’re next to the teacher,” said Viviana Garcia, 15, who contrasted it with a regular class where “other people are talking and not paying attention and distracting you.” Though she loves math, Viviana acknowledged that last year in pre-algebra she struggled to grasp some concepts. Now, thanks to her tutor, she had the chance to return to them and gain a solid understanding.

The impact goes beyond math. Since the tutoring environment doesn’t allow students to hide behind their peers, they have to put their critical thinking skills on display. “I really think we build confidence in the kids,” said Betty Anthony, who oversees the lab at MAS High School. She observed how students who began the year whispering their answers are now at ease talking about their work, even explaining concepts to other students.

The program is now operating in 18 Chicago schools. “Findings from the Education Lab’s evaluation have been critical for building support within the school system,” said Anthony. “Having those statistics behind us and having a name like the University of Chicago behind us — people will listen.”

MAS High School’s principal Maria Amador has been an educator for two decades, and she sees the one-on-one interaction as the program’s core value. “Nothing beats that personal touch of having that person sitting down, saying: ‘Let’s think through this problem. How did you solve it?’” Math lab has been well received by other teachers in her school, she said, and she hopes to ultimately have the resources to enroll all the students.



Personalizing instruction is at the heart of Saga Education.

*In the 2019-20
academic year,
Saga Education
serves nearly*

**3,000
STUDENTS**

The strength of this evidence motivated Chicago Public Schools to expand the program with their own dollars, and New York City is bringing the model to its students. By the end of 2019, Saga Education was serving roughly 3,000 students in three districts across the country, and a recent partnership with AmeriCorps will help expand their reach in Chicago, New York, and Washington D.C. To help Chicago and other school districts think about how to reach even more youth, the Education Lab is currently evaluating whether pairing tutors with a technology platform can further reduce the per-pupil price without cutting into the benefits.

How Evidence Turned a Classroom-Based Program into a National Movement

Many homicides in Chicago stem from altercations that quickly escalate into tragedies. Frequently these tragedies involve youth who are navigating complicated environments and are forced to make split-second, high-stakes decisions. But insights from behavioral science can be used to help people improve their decision-making — so what if something similar could help youth in Chicago slow down and successfully navigate the complex, sometimes life-or-death situations they are too often forced to face?

Ten years ago, Anthony Ramirez Di Vittorio was sitting in a circle of young men in the Humboldt Park neighborhood of Chicago, pushing them to talk about their experiences and emotions. This was the essence of the program he had developed called “Becoming A Man,” which is informed by behavioral science and incorporates elements of clinical counseling and mentorship. BAM engages high-school boys in weekly, hour-long sessions during the school day, where they discuss the challenges they face and ways to cope with them — thinking about their thinking.

Di Vittorio (who goes by Tony D) had been honing his approach for nearly a decade, offering it as a program of the organization Youth Guidance, and felt like it was making a difference for the roomful of kids participating. Looking back now, it is hard to believe that just a few short years later, in 2014, Mayor Rahm Emanuel would be sitting in the circle with them and then announcing \$2 million in the first public funding to expand the program across the city⁸ — and the following week, President Barack Obama would be there, about to launch his My Brother’s Keeper initiative to support similar programs nationwide. “I could see myself in these young men,” Obama said afterwards, “And the only difference is that I grew up in an environment that was a little bit more forgiving, so when I made a mistake the consequences were not as severe.”⁹

What made this leap possible — from a well-intentioned program for a roomful of students to a national movement affecting tens of thousands — was evidence.

The conventional wisdom at that time was that to change a young person’s trajectory you had to intervene in early childhood. Yet anyone who joined teenage BAM participants in a circle sensed that something powerful was going on. So in 2009, the Crime Lab partnered with Youth Guidance to formally evaluate BAM using a randomized controlled trial. This would yield a measure of the program’s impact and also compel Di Vittorio to identify BAM’s essential elements and devise ways to deliver them consistently, without infringing on the individual authenticity of each facilitator.

Jarvis Buchanan

Jarvis Buchanan grew up on the South Side of Chicago in a house with over a dozen family members — but without his parents. Both his mother and father struggled with addiction, and he was still a child in 2000 when his mom was murdered. It filled him with an anger that he barely knew how to name, let alone express. “I remember one kid in a lunch room — we weren’t even having a conversation but I heard the phrase ‘your mom’ and I got up, ran over to him, and just start throwing punches.” He found an outlet in sports — cross country, boxing, football — but the real breakthrough came not on the field but in a high school hallway, where a counselor for Becoming A Man (BAM) introduced himself and eventually gave Buchanan a safe space to talk. “It felt good,” he recalled. “It felt good after, to sit there, and just let it go.”

Buchanan graduated and went on to college but his heart remained in Chicago, with young people who shared similar struggles, so he eventually returned and became a BAM counselor himself. Known as “Mister B” to his 55 charges, he can’t change the reality that they are at real risk: one day last summer, he was summoned to an intensive care unit because one of them had been shot. Buchanan was deeply moved by the scene but after he departed he received a text from the young person invoking a routine from their BAM class — a physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual check-in, known by the acronym “PIES” — to ensure he was doing OK. “That lit me up,” Buchanan said. “That makes me hopeful.”



The results of that evaluation and a subsequent one conducted several years later were astounding. Participants had around 50 percent fewer arrests for violent crimes during the program year, compared to a control group of students receiving status quo school and community supports, and their academic performance improved, ultimately increasing on-time high school graduation by 19 percent.¹⁰ Based on the reductions in arrests alone, each \$1 invested in BAM generates up to \$30 in societal gains. Without the data yielded from the evaluations, it would be hard to imagine that just an hour together per week could change young men's lives this much.



In the years since, the program has expanded, now enrolling some 8,000 students in Chicago each year across 120 schools, and 450 youth at nine schools in Boston. Most importantly, the program has demonstrated that behavioral science can help reduce violence, influencing other investments in programs and research to better serve youth far beyond BAM. In Chicago, this work inspired the Mayor's Mentoring Initiative, which supports 57 youth-serving organizations. Nationally, it helped inspire the My Brother's Keeper initiative. And globally, it has attracted interest from Rio de Janeiro to Mexico City, from London to Tokyo, which have all sent delegations to Chicago to learn about this work.

BAM isn't only changing the lives of young people who participate; it has given society a new sense of possibility about reaching teens, who some may have written off. "This work has moved the field," said AJ Watson, BAM's national director. "Adolescence is not too late — it's actually a really great time to intervene in the lives of young people. And having this evidence allows us to make that case in a very strong way."

Reducing Disparities in Graduation Rates

Chicago's public schools have made a lot of progress in the past decade. In 2011, barely half of students in the district graduated within five years, but since then the district-wide five-year graduation rate has risen more than 21 percent. Observers attribute the improvement to efforts that have empowered principals to be more autonomous, offered staff more professional development, and doubled the number of spots in Options Schools for students that are struggling.¹¹

Faced with these results, some leaders would give themselves a pat on the back and move on — but not Chicago Public Schools CEO Dr. Janice K. Jackson. "We could just celebrate that fewer students are dropping out and more kids are graduating," she said at an October 2019 event, "but we're actually choosing to go deeper."¹² In particular, she was motivated to address persistent racial disparities in graduation rates. "All tides were rising, but not at a fast-enough rate, in particular for our African American students and our Latino students," she explained.

Beginning in 2016, the Education Lab partnered with Chicago Public Schools to better assess who was attending the city's 39 Options Schools and how those students fared. What they found surprised many. First, this alternative school system touched one in nine public high school students in the 2016-17 school year, a higher share than many had realized.

Second, although the students were ostensibly attending Options Schools because they were behind in credits or at risk of dropping out, they also faced other significant challenges in their lives. "A lot of the expansion of seats for Options students after 2011 focused on catching them up on credits," said Education Lab Senior Research Director Monica Bhatt. "But the needs of kids, at least today, extend far beyond credit-recovery." Twenty-two percent of Options School students experienced homelessness or housing instability and almost 40 percent reported being a victim of crime, which are substantially elevated rates when compared to non-Options School students. And because they serve the most vulnerable students, Options Schools have poorer outcomes: While the district-wide graduation rate has climbed to almost 80 percent, the Options Schools' is less than half that, hovering at around 35 percent.

Dr. Jackson, who was once a teacher and principal herself, sees this as a matter of equity. The majority of Options School students are black or Latino, so leveraging data to better understand and meet the needs of these students will help close district-wide racial disparities in graduation rates. "This was the first time we've ever clearly articulated that students in our Options Schools were a priority, and articulated our strategy to support them, and that was due to the partnership that we have with the Education Lab," she said.

To accomplish this, the Education Lab launched the Chicago Student Success Initiative. Supported by an unprecedented multi-million-dollar donation from pharmaceutical giant AbbVie, the project is in its pilot phase in 2019-2020, operating in six Options Schools and in three neighborhood schools where students also face significant challenges. The schools vary, as do the students within them. "So the solution that we're designing with Chicago Public Schools is going to need to account for: how do you take in all of that heterogeneity and then figure out what kids need and match them to the right intervention and services," said Bhatt. While planning is still underway, she envisions a system for dynamically monitoring students' needs and a management system for connecting them with appropriate services.

Dar'tavous Dorsey, a senior implementation manager at the Education Lab, is helping the schools prepare for the initiative. He previously spent five years working in the classroom, as a counselor for the Becoming A Man program, and now he's helping set up a student advisory council to ensure students have a voice in the research process. "Because we owe these young people that," he said. "We owe them a pathway to success."



*Chicago Public Schools CEO
Dr. Janice K. Jackson.*

ENHANCING PUBLIC SAFETY

Preventing gun violence, the most socially costly — and uniquely American — facet of our country's crime problem



**Strengthening public trust in law enforcement
goes hand in hand with improving safety.**

Harnessing the Benefits Of Therapy and the Power of Mentoring to Change Lives

Chicago's public schools are an important venue for delivering social services because hundreds of thousands of kids can be reliably found there each day. But those with the greatest needs may attend unreliably, if at all, and a program delivered entirely through the schools cannot be as effective for them. That's part of what elevated the Choose to Change (C2C) program to the top of the Crime Lab's 2015 design competition: the program set out to fill this gap by bringing evidence-informed interventions to youth at greatest risk of being victimized by violence.

The program is jointly run by a pair of organizations — Children's Home and Aid and Youth Advocate Programs (YAP), Inc. — that came together to develop a new program with two elements they felt were equally critical. First, small groups of participants are matched with 'super' YAP advocate-mentors — themselves credible messengers with similar life experiences. Over a six-month period, the mentor spends considerable time with the group, particularly outside school hours and on weekends, and is available 24/7 to help troubleshoot in moments of crisis.

Second, clinically-trained therapists from Children's Home and Aid engage kids in cognitive behavioral therapy, which is informed by behavioral science, to help them navigate past trauma and develop a new set of decision-making tools. The intention is that in the face of future challenges, they slow down and think through alternatives before reacting. Mentors also attend the group therapy sessions and help reinforce these skills developed outside of group. The program can't change the difficult circumstances the participants face, but it can help them cope with those challenges and give them tools to achieve their goals.

The program is enrolling cohorts of about 100 young people between the ages of 13 and 18, and the Crime Lab is running a randomized controlled trial to assess its impact. Preliminary results from programming in greater Englewood indicate it cut participants' arrests for violent crimes by half during the program period, consistent with the impacts achieved in other cognitive behavioral therapy interventions. These early findings from C2C also suggest the program's impact is enduring, reducing violent arrests long after youth have completed and exited the program.



It caught the attention of an opinion writer for the New York Times, whose article about C2C concluded: "The evidence from Chicago suggests that connecting adolescents who live in high-crime, high-poverty communities with stable, caring mentors and showing them how to reassess what are literally life-or-death decisions can turn their lives around."¹³

C2C Director Chris Sutton said that on the ground, familiarity with the program has spread by word-of-mouth. "There is a huge demand. Sometimes the neighbors of kids that are in C2C, their parents say 'Hey, I see what you guys are doing for him. How can my son get in?'"

The program recently expanded to the city's West Side, thanks to continued support by the Chicago Sports Alliance, the Pritzker Pucker Family Foundation, and the City of Chicago itself, but many more young people could potentially benefit from these supports.¹⁴

How Research Helped Expand Job Opportunities for Youth

Chicago's violence peaks in the hot summer months: there are about two times as many shootings on days over 85 degrees Fahrenheit as there are on days under 50 degrees.¹⁵ This striking difference, and the fact that youth are on vacation from school, has led policymakers to seek to create special preventive supports during that season, including jobs programs for young people. But does temporary summer employment for youth actually reduce violence, or should the city be investing its resources in other strategies?

This was the question Evelyn Diaz sought to answer a few years ago in her role as Commissioner of Chicago's Department for Family & Support Services. "2012 ended up being a high-water mark in terms of gun violence homicides," she recalled, "and the city government — the mayor, the police department, all of us — were feeling it."

The year before, her department had begun administering a program called One Summer Chicago, which offered 8th through 12th grade students eight weeks of part-time summer employment at Illinois's minimum wage at the time (\$8.25/hour), which would amount to total summer earnings of \$1,600.

With violence surging in 2012 and more young people seeking employment than the city had capacity to enroll, the Crime Lab offered to carry out a rigorous evaluation. There was reason to think that, by helping participants learn to be more successful employees, connecting them to potential long-term employers, and providing them work experience, the program might be having a bigger benefit than other job assistance programs targeting already disconnected youth — but there was surprisingly little research on similar interventions. "Despite the tens or hundreds of millions of dollars that cities spend on summer employment, there was no evidence yet about what impact it had specifically on violence," said Ander. So in the summer of 2012, Diaz agreed to reorganize part of the existing program so it could be evaluated with a randomized controlled trial.

Because poverty and violence are disproportionately concentrated in some Chicago neighborhoods, the study focused on students from 13 high schools that had particularly high rates of violent crime arrests and victimization. Applicants were randomly assigned to the limited number of spots: the 730 who got in were paired with a job mentor, and some participants also received cognitive behavioral therapy to help them manage the aspects of their emotions and behavior that might interfere with employment. The program itself only lasted eight weeks, but the Crime Lab tracked outcomes for all eligible students for another thirteen months, tapping into administrative data from the Chicago Public Schools and Chicago Police Department.



One Summer Chicago has grown to offer tens of thousands of summer jobs.

“As a result
of the research
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can benefit.”

MARK WALTER

Philanthropist

The results were dramatic: young people who were offered jobs were 43 percent less likely to be arrested for violent crimes, which amounted to four fewer violent-crime arrests per 100 youth. And the impact was largest during the months following employment, which suggested the program may have helped youth develop more positive ways of interacting with others in the longer-term.¹⁶

The evaluation paved the way for a major expansion of the program. Because of its strong study design and the lack of prior evidence about the impacts of this strategy, the prestigious journal *Science* accepted it for publication. Diaz said, “That really got a lot of new investments coming our way, and it allowed us to expand that program and keep thousands more kids safe.”

Most notably, philanthropists Earvin “Magic” Johnson and Mark and Kimbra Walter made a two-year, \$10 million investment to expand the program¹⁷ — and Diaz explained that it hinged on the evidence. “The mayor was able to point to the *Science* article and say ‘fund this program, it works, and here’s the proof.’ And that investor took the evaluation seriously and then funded it in a way that allowed us to expand the program, to quadruple the program’s reach.” Discussing the investment with *Philanthropy News*, Mark Walter echoed this: “As a result of the research findings, we felt compelled to help bring this opportunity to a greater number of kids who can benefit.”¹⁸

When the program was first launched there were spots for 2,800 kids.¹⁹ By 2019 that number had climbed ten-fold, with 32,000 jobs and internships available for Chicago’s youth.²⁰

Supporting the Men at the Center of Chicago’s Gun Violence Crisis

On a warm spring day, by the side of the road in Englewood, a dozen men were hard at work. A row of garbage bags bulging with clippings and debris were evidence that they had been busy all afternoon. Men in the group are among the Chicagoans at highest risk for being involved in gun violence — as victims or as perpetrators. They are also participants in the Rapid Employment and Development Initiative (READI) Chicago, the first initiative of its scale and scope ever implemented in the U.S.

Gun violence affects whole communities across Chicago, but as in any U.S. city or neighborhood, a relatively small group of people are disproportionately involved. Often disconnected from school, having witnessed or experienced a high number of traumatic events themselves, and with precarious housing and tenuous access to jobs, these resilient men are among the most difficult for social services to reach — but they are crucial for unlocking a lasting peace.

Following Chicago’s surge in gun violence in 2016 — and at the behest of the owners of the five largest Chicago professional sports teams and other members of Chicago’s philanthropic community, which formed the Partnership for Safe and Peaceful Communities — the Crime Lab helped design a concept for a new intervention focusing on the city’s most at-risk people. The Crime Lab brought the idea to Heartland Alliance, an international human rights and anti-poverty organization, which turned this concept into the initiative it is today — READI Chicago — and partnered with seven local community-based organizations to implement and evaluate this ambitious new approach. (The ‘Chicago Sports Alliance’ and corporations and foundations, including members of the Partnership for Safe and Peaceful Communities, would ultimately help fund the endeavor. Read more about them on page 36).

READI focuses on men at the most elevated risk for gun violence involvement, including many who have been involved in shootings and may be again. Men are either referred by community organizations; are on parole or returning from incarceration; or are identified through a machine-learning tool that uses administrative data. Participants and programming are currently equally divided among the Englewood/West Englewood, North Lawndale, and Austin/West Garfield Park neighborhoods. READI provides the men a full-time schedule, with 25 hours of paid work per week and 7.5 hours of individual and group coaching and services, including a cognitive behavioral therapy-based curriculum to help improve decision-making on and off the job site. Depending on individual needs, READI may also connect participants with housing, legal services, substance abuse treatment, and individual therapy.

Few programs offering this level of intensive support to this highly underserved population exist in Chicago or other cities, and none aim to reach such a large number of participants. READI also stands out in its use of evidence (and commitment to generating more of its own), and in the strong partnerships between community organizations, non-profits, city agencies, and funders that made it possible. The initiative is a story of true citywide collaboration. Even so, needs far outstrip current capacity.

Eddie Bocanegra, the inspirational figure who leads this initiative, understands where the participants are coming from. Bocanegra served 14 years in prison, emerging with a commitment to turn his life around and help others avoid his past mistakes. Having since earned both college and graduate degrees, he knows that people who did wrong in the past still have something to offer. “I am a living testimony of that,” he said.

Above all, what distinguishes READI is its commitment to relentless outreach: the program lasts for 18 months, including six months of follow-up support, and sticks with participants even when they suffer setbacks. “Whatever it takes,” said Jose Wilson, the director of Workforce Programs & Clinical Services at the North Lawndale Employment Network, one of READI’s providers. “We’re going to be here, so that we know that we’ve given them the best chance to succeed long-term.”

During a visit to READI Chicago in North Lawndale, Chicago Bears Chairman George McCaskey and running back Tarik Cohen joined participants to discuss the program and understand how their partnership could better support the work. “You see how the program seems to have given them a foothold, something to hold on to,” said McCaskey.

In partnership with the Poverty Lab, also housed at the University of Chicago’s Harris School of Public Policy, the Crime Lab is evaluating READI through a randomized controlled trial. The goal is to understand whether the initiative reduces participants’ involvement in shootings and keeps them out of the criminal justice system. The evaluation also required READI to codify its practices. “It helps the staff become more intentional about what is said, how it’s said, when it’s said, why it’s said,” said Wilson. “It gives us a method of delivering the service in a way that’s measurable.”

The evaluation is years from being complete but is already generating important lessons for the field. Preliminary measures indicate that READI is reaching the population it set out to serve: on average, new participants have been arrested 18 times and three-quarters report having been victim of a violent crime. The program’s relentless outreach is also working: as of June 2019, 52 percent ultimately took up a supported job, and the majority were still working after one year.

READI’s staff wants to improve the lives of participants, but they recognize they are also part of a bigger push to change our society’s orientation to these hardest-to-reach people. Bocanegra points out that the vast majority of READI’s staff comes from the same communities as the participants and share similar lived experiences. “Sometimes we don’t see the assets that they bring,” he said. “Justice is about how we hold people accountable, but also how we make sure that, upon their release, they have an opportunity to reconcile those mistakes.”

Scottie, Crew Chief



Just a couple of years ago, Scottie's situation was precarious. He had lost multiple friends and family to gun violence, and his criminal record made it hard for him to find a job. But recruited into the first class of READI Chicago, he quickly gained work skills and financial resources through subsidized employment, and regular sessions of cognitive behavioral therapy helped him address some of the frustration and interpersonal conflict in his life.

When his cousin was shot and killed, Scottie says he relied on skills he'd learned in the program in order to cope. "I was in that mode of wanting to go back to the streets and retaliate, but I knew that would only be hurting me more."

Such was his commitment to READI Chicago that when he completed the program, he was offered a full-time position as a crew chief. In that role he now supervises a small group of participants on a daily basis, working alongside them and helping them practice the same skills that had so assisted him.

"I don't want my kids to grow up how I grew up," Scottie said. "The program helped me a lot to step up for them, and I want other people to see that for themselves. I'm doing this because I want to show other participants trying to change their lives that anything is possible when they finish READI."

Precision Policing to Reduce Gun Violence and Build Community Trust

Gun violence has long been a challenge in Chicago, but even so, 2016 stood out. Murders skyrocketed 58 percent over the year prior, erasing gains made during the gradual, 20-year decline that preceded it.²¹

But in the years since, Chicago has reversed the trend. It took a deep partnership and a new way of thinking about how data and management practices could support law enforcement in their service of communities and violence reduction.

Beginning in February 2017, with help from the Crime Lab and former Los Angeles Police Department Chief Sean Malinowski, the city's police department established its first Strategic Decision Support Centers (SDSCs) in Englewood and Garfield Park. Each center is a room dedicated to changing management and accountability practices in a police district, where analysts pore over data on local crime patterns to inform deployments in the short term, and build a feedback loop to encourage precision policing and positive community engagement in the longer-term. By starting the first SDSCs with embedded data analysts from the Crime Lab, the police department was able to establish them in just a month, "lightning speed for a major city project," per the *Chicago Sun-Times*.²²

"I view the SDSC room as a lens that helps focus resources and the power of the district," said Zachary Maher, one of the Chicago Police Department's civilian analysts in the 15th District in Austin. The technology and data are integrated into a daily briefing for the district's commander to inform operational decisions and enable precision policing. When the sound of a shooting registers on the city's ShotSpotter gunfire detection system, officers can focus nearby cameras on the area in an attempt to capture footage of a suspect or fleeing vehicle. This information is shared with responding officers in real-time to enhance their ability to focus activities only on the individuals driving the most serious violence.

Even more important than influencing the police department's reaction to ongoing crime, the system is enabling commanders to take preventive measures based on deeper analyses. Police in the 7th District in Englewood had long observed how people used stolen cars as a platform for committing drive-by shootings before abandoning the vehicles. The commander asked Terrence Neumann, the Crime Lab's analyst assigned to the district at that time, to look into the problem.

Reviewing five months of data — a greater duration than the department would usually examine — Neumann uncovered a pattern: 18 cars had been stolen from a neighboring district before being ditched within a block of one another in the 7th District. The department was able to focus its resources on that area and apprehend a suspect who turned out to be connected to a triple homicide.

Over the coming year, violence in the neighborhood would fall to a 30-year low. Contributions like this have earned further buy-in from the police department. "I think that before that, it wasn't clear how someone who didn't have a policing background could bring value to the team," Neumann said.



A Crime Lab evaluation found that the SDSC was responsible for reducing shootings in Englewood by 26 percent in 2017 relative to what would have been expected had the SDSC not been introduced, without any statistically significant increase in overall arrests. That suggested police weren't arresting their way to fewer shootings; instead, they were using the SDSC to better focus enforcement on the most serious violence. And a recent independent evaluation by the RAND Corporation found the SDSCs were associated with statistically significant declines in crime, particularly violent crime.²³ The impact on law enforcement's relationship with the community can't be fully captured in the data, either. That same year, hundreds of kids came to the 7th District police station for Halloween, trick or treating alongside officers for an evening that would have been unimaginable in years past.

As of early 2020, SDSCs are up and operating in all but two of the city's 22 districts, and the police department is staffing them with permanent analysts. The Crime Lab remains involved, working to automate analysis and train civilian analysts as well as to bring the lessons from this work to other areas of the Department and to other cities across the country.

The SDSC in Englewood

**REDUCED
SHOOTINGS
BY 26%**

ADVANCING JUSTICE

Reducing the harms of the criminal justice system, which detains and incarcerates far too many people, including those who pose little risk to public safety

COURT HOUSE

Research suggests that with the right tools, lightening the touch of the criminal justice system can enhance — rather than detract from — public safety.

A Public Health Approach to Substance Use

The scale of harm caused by substance use is staggering. In 2017, an estimated 20 million Americans had a substance use disorder²⁴ and over 70,000 people died of overdoses nationwide, driven by a dramatic rise in fatal opioid overdoses.²⁵ That included nearly 800 people in Chicago who died of opioid overdoses, more than the number who died by gun homicide or in traffic accidents that year.²⁶ At the treatment provider Thresholds, Associate Vice President Tim Devitt faces this problem every day. “Over the last five to seven years, as we look at the incline of overdoses, it’s just been a straight line up,” he said.

With hundreds of thousands of lives on the line, it’s glaringly obvious to Devitt and others that the traditional response — addressing substance use as a crime and arresting and jailing people with addictions — is not working. This approach needlessly ensnares people in the criminal justice system, fails to treat the disease of addiction, and shatters families. On Chicago’s Westside, law enforcement officers are testing a new approach: instead of arresting low-level, non-violent illicit drug users, Chicago police are moving people directly into clinical treatment.

The Westside has among the highest rate of drug arrests in the region, in part because proximity to the Eisenhower Expressway and the city’s elevated mass transit system make it convenient to move illegal substances through the area. The federal government designated it a high-intensity drug trafficking area, and in 2015 former Chicago Police Department commander Nicholas Roti took leadership of a task force assisting Chicago’s narcotics division to dismantle drug trafficking organizations operating there. But Roti knew their investigations necessarily caught up many people who are essentially victims of those organizations, too: those buying drugs in small quantities to feed their own addictions.

Roti wondered if instead of arresting these individuals and taking them to court, officers could offer them an entry-point to drug treatment, where they could get evidence-based therapies instead. To accomplish it, the police would need a partnership with treatment providers, resources to support the project, and a means of evaluating it. That’s where the Crime Lab and other research partners — like the Health Lab, also housed at the University of Chicago’s Harris School of Public Policy — came in.

Already a familiar presence in the police department’s 11th District on the Westside, where they had established a Strategic Support Decision Center (page 28), the Crime Lab was well-positioned to help advance this radical new approach. Some law enforcement officers were skeptical at first. Roti said without the Crime Lab, the initiative might not have happened. “I knew that the Crime Lab’s reputation, reach, and expertise would bring credibility to the project right away. And it has.”

The Crime Lab and Health Lab’s involvement also helped the police build trust with organizations like Thresholds that had long advocated for addressing addiction through harm-reduction. “When we first approached some of the treatment providers,” Roti recalled, “they were a little surprised this was a law enforcement-generated idea.”

In an initiative begun in early 2016, eligible people apprehended in possession of heroin in the 11th District are offered the opportunity to go straight to a clinic where they can access treatment — deflecting them before arrest. While programs exist to divert such cases out of the court system, such as a Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program in King County, WA, which cut recidivism among participants by as much as 60 percent, Chicago’s initiative is unique in bypassing arrest entirely.²⁷ A number of cities have followed since, but Devitt said Chicago’s effort is unprecedented. “As far as I know, it’s the only place where this big of a city is involved in a deflection effort embedded in a police department.”



“As far as I know, it’s the only place where this big of a city is involved in a deflection effort embedded in a police department.”

TIM DEVITT

Associate Vice President,
Thresholds

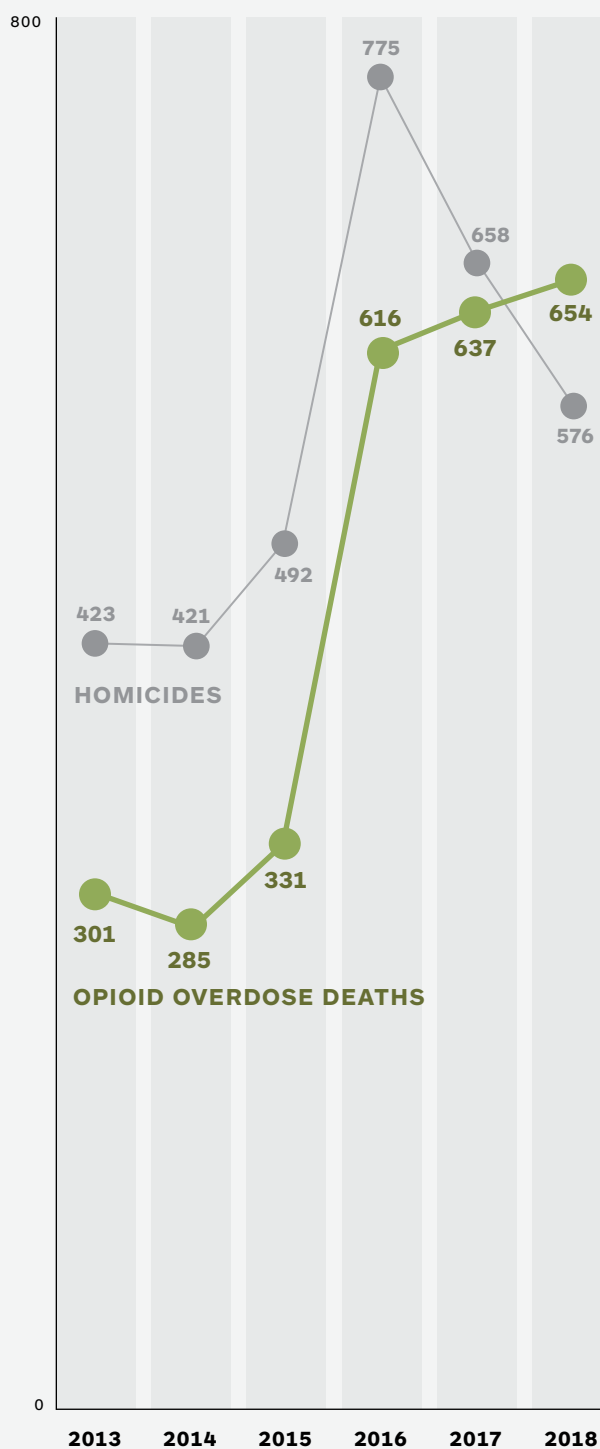
This partnership also spawned a new effort to support community members struggling with addiction, by making walk-in treatment available in the 11th District itself. Individuals can walk in and speak with a service provider, undergo screening for treatment, and get a free ride directly to an intake appointment.

The Westside Initiative is currently funded, but will have to continue to prove its worth. The Crime Lab's Alex Heaton is optimistic. He points out that it has already been life-changing for the 333 people who have entered the program as of December 2019, gaining support to address their addiction and avoiding a criminal record that could hurt their chances of long-term employment. "Those are people getting into treatment often for the first time, people who are able to get jobs or maintain the ones they already have, without the added barrier of a new felony arrest to overcome."

Using Machine Learning and Behavioral Science to Reduce the Unnecessary Use of Jail

In a historic vote in October of 2019, New York's City Council approved a plan to close the notorious Rikers Island jail complex.²⁸ To do so, the city must substantially reduce the number of people detained on Rikers — the majority of whom are held pending trial.²⁹ The size of that population is largely in the hands of the city's judges who make hundreds of decisions each day about whether to release defendants on the promise they will return for trial, to request cash bail, or to remand them to jail in order to ensure they do return for trial. What if there were a way to improve judges' decision-making, so they detain fewer people without harming public safety or increasing the number of people who fail to show up to court?

In Chicago, opioid overdose deaths are on par with — and have recently exceeded — the number of citywide homicides.

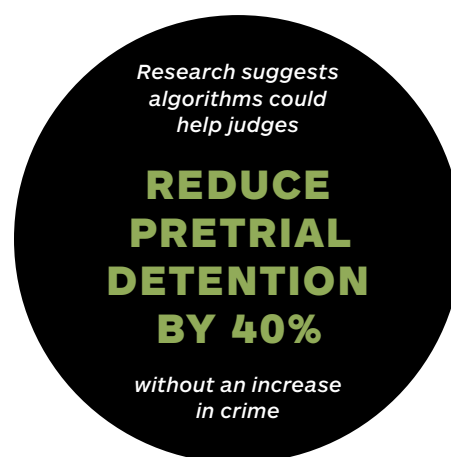


Data on overdose deaths: Illinois Department of Health. (Aug 1, 2019.) "Drug Overdose Deaths by Sex, Age Group, Race/Ethnicity, and County, Illinois Residents, 2013-18." Available at: <http://bit.ly/30wpZ7i>.
Data on homicides: Chicago Police Department.

The importance of ensuring that defendants return for trial is understandable: both the efficient operation of the justice system and its long-term credibility hinge on parties being present. But holding defendants in jail introduces enormous social costs of its own: it disrupts defendants' lives, sometimes jeopardizing employment, family relationships, or medical treatment, while exposing them to the unique risks of jail, and it reduces their chances of mounting an effective legal defense. Not to mention that detaining someone is costly to taxpayers.

Judges face a difficult problem when they try to forecast which defendants will return to court. In New York City, judges already detain a much smaller share of defendants than many other jurisdictions,³⁰ but even they overuse jail: in a 2017 article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Crime Lab Director Jens Ludwig and co-authors showed that jailing could be reduced by more than 40 percent without increasing crime rates or the share who fail to appear in court.³¹ "Prediction is just not something human beings are good at," said Hays Golden, the Crime Lab's Senior Director for Science and Strategy.

This finding helped inspire a partnership between Crime Lab, New York City's Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice and its Criminal Justice Agency, and the organization Luminosity, Inc., to develop a predictive tool that helps judges better assess defendants' likelihood of returning to court. The team used advanced machine learning techniques to identify which characteristics of defendants best predicted their likelihood of returning to court — and then created a tool that uses those variables to yield a straightforward and transparent recommendation for judges, who always have the final say. According to Aubrey Fox, Executive Director of the Criminal Justice Agency, "New York City is incredibly fortunate to have had two leading data science groups help update the pretrial release assessment used in criminal court. At every step in the process, Crime Lab and Luminosity, Inc worked hand in hand with project planners. It was a true collaboration and we couldn't have done it without Crime Lab's support."



Reducing disparities in detention is one of the project's primary goals, and throughout the design process, a diverse advisory council of academics helped the Crime Lab and its partners identify red-flags and areas for improvement. Judges, prosecutors, defenders, advocates, and impacted communities were extensively consulted as well. Much attention was given to concerns about how carelessly designed algorithms can perpetuate existing biases in the criminal justice system (if they are designed from data that is biased by past discrimination)³², and care was taken to ensure the tool promotes equity.

By the end of 2019, the final tool had been rolled out in all the city's court rooms, and Crime Lab and its partners were carefully monitoring the implementation process. If judges adopt the tool's recommendations, they will release defendants far more often than is their current practice. It thus has the potential to prevent thousands of jail admissions in New York City each year — and demonstrates an approach for reducing unnecessary and harmful pretrial detention all over the country.

Making the Work Possible

The Crime Lab and Education Lab have attracted support from diverse sources that range from individuals to foundations to federal agencies, and they have even brought together the competing teams of five of Chicago's professional sports franchises, seeking opportunities to make a lasting difference for their city.

In the Crime Lab's early days, with a bold new model for improving social conditions but little track record to prove itself, the newborn organization reached out to Chicago's foundations and they answered the call. Along with support from the Provost's Office of the University of Chicago, grants from the Joyce Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the McCormick Foundation got the Crime Lab and then the Education Lab up and running. "The Crime Lab's model of bringing rigorous research to bear on some of our toughest societal challenges — but doing so in a time frame to contribute to real-world solutions — really appealed to us," said David Hiller, President and CEO of the McCormick Foundation.

Beginning in 2013, the John and Laura Arnold Foundation became a regular supporter, investing over \$10 million in a variety of the Crime Lab and Education Lab's projects and providing support to launch Crime Lab New York. The Crime Lab and Education Lab have also successfully competed for federal funding, including a \$6 million grant received from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) in 2014 to evaluate several education programs.³³ In 2018, local philanthropist Ken Griffin donated \$10 million to strengthen violence prevention efforts in the city by supporting development and evaluation of the Strategic Decision Support Centers and other police reform efforts,³⁴ and AbbVie, the biopharmaceutical giant headquartered in northern Chicago, made a \$15 million donation to tackle barriers to education including through the Chicago Schools Success Initiative.³⁵

The Crime Lab and Education Lab have also been supported by an important partnership, the Chicago Sports Alliance, which originated in 2017 when the owners of five of Chicago's professional sports teams — the Bears, Blackhawks, Bulls, Cubs, and White Sox — resolved to jointly address a citywide spike in homicides. Bears' chairman George H. McCaskey recalled how Bulls and White Sox owner Jerry Reinsdorf reached out: "Jerry got us all together and said, 'We gotta do what we can — we gotta do something.'"³⁶

The group consulted with the Crime Lab about how to make the biggest impact and, with each owner contributing an equal share, they provided a total of \$1 million to fund a variety of innovative projects to promote public safety, renewing the contribution in each subsequent year. In addition to this financial support, the sports teams play an invaluable role raising awareness with their fan base, in a demonstration of civic leadership by organizations not typically associated with social science. Michael Reinsdorf, president of the Chicago Bulls, said the Crime Lab's approach was part of the appeal: "When you are trying to put your money behind different causes, you want to know it's going to be used the right way. And they have a definitive way of showing here's the difference these programs are making."³⁷

A second partnership that is crucial for the Crime Lab and Education Lab is the Investors' Council, a small group of local philanthropists and foundations who gather for consultation regularly and are both funders and thought-partners. Deeply rooted in the city, they look on the Crime Lab and Education Lab as core civic institutions and provide flexible, ongoing support for day-to-day operations which can otherwise be challenging to fundraise for. "The goal is to ensure these essential organizations continue to thrive, as they are building knowledge that will help Chicago and other cities address poverty and violence long into the future," said Gillian Darlow, CEO of the Polk Bros. Foundation. But donations of any size make a difference, and the organization is grateful to the individual, foundation, and corporate donors who continue to support and sustain this critical work.

Now in its second decade, the Crime Lab and Education Lab are doing work at a citywide scale that could hardly have been envisioned at their origin.

FOOTNOTES

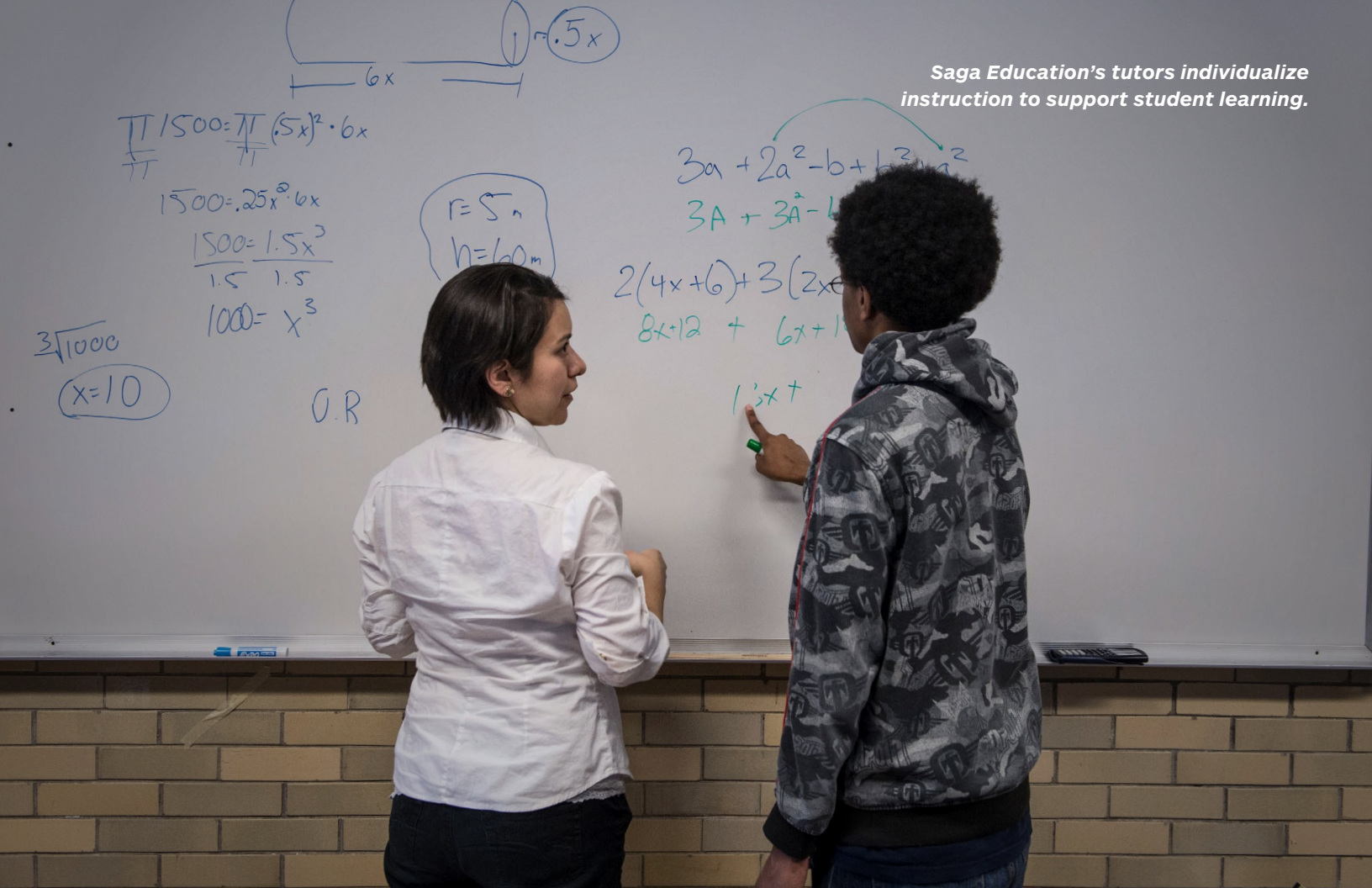
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The mentor-participant relationship is a crucial element of Becoming A Man.



Participants in the Rapid Employment And Development Initiative participate in cognitive-behavioral therapy.



Saga Education's tutors individualize instruction to support student learning.



Girls in Working on Womanhood, an Education Lab partner, attend a session.



THANK YOU TO OUR PARTNERS FOR
YOUR TIRELESS COMMITMENT TO
THE MOST MARGINALIZED AMONG US
AND TO THE DEDICATED, TALENTED
STAFF OF THE CRIME LAB AND
EDUCATION LAB, WITHOUT WHOM
THIS WORK WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE.



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