Connect & Redirect to Respect: Final Report

January 2019

The University of Chicago Crime Lab

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Levels of gun violence in Chicago remain unacceptably high, destroying lives and devastating communities—particularly the most economically disadvantaged and socially marginalized. Gun violence robs Chicago's youth of their childhood and their potential, it drives out the businesses and families that help neighborhoods thrive, and it threatens the very future of the city itself. While our city is not alone in confronting this crisis, Chicago's challenge is uniquely tragic in its concentration among our city's most vulnerable residents—school-aged youth. Compared to other cities, a significantly larger share of Chicago's victims and suspects of gun violence are adolescents.

We founded the University of Chicago Crime Lab in response to this devastating problem of gun violence among school-aged youth. The *Chicago Tribune* had launched a [series](#) about the tragic incidents of gun violence among school-aged youth; soon after, a [University of Chicago student was fatally shot just off-campus](#). Our work for the past decade has focused on using data and evidence to help the city save lives and support youth, in close partnership with city agencies and local non-profits on the frontlines.

In 2014, the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) applied for a grant through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to pilot an innovative new approach to reducing violence and promoting safety among CPS students. NIJ generously awarded CPS this Comprehensive School Safety Initiative grant, enabling the District's Office of Safety and Security (OSS) to implement Connect & Redirect to Respect (CRR). The program aims to support students and keep them safe, by using information gathered via social media to identify students who engage in behaviors that put them at risk—such as instigating conflict, signaling involvement in a gang, or brandishing a weapon—and intervene before any violence has occurred. Identified students meet with a caring CPS adult who seeks to understand their situation, help them navigate it, and connect them with programs and services intended to reduce the risk that the students' behavior will result in violence. Part of this award was also granted to the University of Chicago Crime Lab to partner with CPS to evaluate the effects of this program.

To evaluate the efficacy of CRR, the Crime Lab met with school personnel to better understand the safety challenges that schools face and their connection to social media activity. The research team then compared outcomes for students enrolled in high schools that received the program to outcomes for students enrolled in comparison high schools that did not receive the program. Our analysis focuses on gun violence, criminal justice involvement, and academic outcomes. **We find suggestive evidence that, once the program was fully implemented, students attending participating high schools were at lower risk of being shooting victims; experienced fewer misconduct incidents and out-of-school suspensions; and attended school for several additional days, relative to students in non-participating high schools.**

Teachers and school administrators report that a large share of in-school conflicts originate in social media disputes, and many engage in some type of monitoring themselves. The CRR program demonstrates the potential promise of a different, more

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coordinated approach: dedicating specialized staff to proactively monitor social media disputes in an effort to minimize the resulting threats to student safety and reduce violent victimization among CPS students.

The remainder of this report describes the CRR program, details the analysis conducted by the Crime Lab, and reports our findings.

CONNECT & REDIRECT TO RESPECT

The CRR program aims to monitor potentially dangerous activity in a school before it occurs through random key word searches of public social media profiles, and by proactively responding to potential threats to keep students safe. CRR utilizes social media monitoring to identify students at elevated risk to prioritize remediation and intervention services. Students are referred to interventions which then lead to offers of wrap around services, which may include social-emotional programming within the school or at community-based organizations. If confronted with an identified threat of violence, a non-enforcement intervention is provided through the Chicago Police Department's specialized Gang School Safety Team (GSST) in conjunction with the Chicago Public Schools Network Safety Team. Following an intervention, the OSS team checks in with students to provide ongoing support and encourage adherence to a behavioral plan.

By proactively monitoring social media for threats and for escalating conflicts, CPS's OSS increases the likelihood of successfully intervening with students before a violent incident occurs. In this way, the CRR program augments traditional methods for identifying students in need of supports, such as observations from school staff.

Need for Social Media Monitoring
The research team interviewed a total of 26 principals, assistant principals, Network Safety Managers, deans of students, and deans of school climate representing a total of 18 schools, including some that participated in CRR. These interviews sought to better understand the safety challenges schools face, and how schools try to intervene to prevent future violence.

From these interviews, we learned that social media and school safety often go hand-in-hand. Serious conflicts frequently start and escalate on social media, and require considerable time and manpower to resolve safely. Typically, these conflicts begin as small insults that escalate into more serious accusations and threats, including physical confrontation. As one dean of students explained:

> "Our most common conflict in the building starts off with social media. Then from there …because students will bring it into the building, then it turns into a verbal conflict here…Then it turns into that physical conflict. …The majority of the stuff that we've been dealing with is a result of social media, and how students respond to it."

Because of the central role social media plays in conflicts among school-aged youth, it is perhaps not surprising that three fourths of respondents said their schools monitor social media on their own in an ad hoc manner. Three out of five respondents mentioned having staff look into students' social media pages at night or over the weekend, to allow them to proactively address issues during the school week, should they arise. Facebook was the most commonly cited platform for problematic social media activity, but others, such as Snapchat, Yik Yak (now defunct), and YouTube, were mentioned as well. Due to the

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rapidly evolving nature of social media technology, staff reported that it is a constant struggle to stay apprised of new platforms.

School Selection

During Year 1 of the program, which occurred during the 2015-16 academic year, OSS selected five high schools and four elementary schools that it deemed high-need to participate in CRR.[1] As part of the evaluation of CRR, the Crime Lab identified 23 additional schools that also exhibited a high level of need, from which seven—three high schools, four elementary schools—were randomly chosen to also participate in CRR.[2] This group of 16 schools, evenly divided between high schools and elementary schools, are hereafter referred to as the "treatment group." The remaining 16 schools, also evenly divided and randomly chosen not to participate in CRR, are hereafter referred to as the "comparison group." Students attending comparison group schools did not receive the CRR, though they could still be identified to receive an intervention through traditional referral mechanisms like staff observation.

During Year 2 of the program, which occurred during the 2016-17 academic year, OSS selected eight additional high schools as candidates to participate in CRR. The Crime Lab then randomly chose four of these schools to participate and join the treatment group, while the remaining four schools were not selected to participate and joined the comparison group.

Finally, during Year 3 of the program, which occurred during the 2017-18 academic year, OSS selected seven more high schools as candidates to participate in CRR. The Crime Lab randomly chose four of these schools to participate and join the treatment group, while the remaining three schools joined the comparison group.

Table 1 compares the characteristics of students attending treatment and comparison group schools.[3] Though there are measured differences across a handful of characteristics, only one of these differences is statistically significant at the 90% confidence level (percent of students with a learning disability). Overall, students in these two groups of schools appear to be similar on most dimensions, such as age, prior suspensions, justice system involvement, and academic performance.

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[1] See Appendix 1 for information on participating schools in each year of the study.

[2] Because the CRR program operates at a school-level, with analysts monitoring public social media activity to identify students engaged in risky behavior, entire schools, rather than individual students, were randomized to participate or not participate in the program.

[3] Table 1 reports "baseline" characteristics of students attending treatment and comparison group schools during the first academic year in which they enter the study. For example, this table reports the characteristics of students attending Percy L Julian High School in the 2015-16 academic year, the first year in which this school became part of the treatment group.

Table 1. Baseline Characteristics of Students in Treatment and Comparison Group Schools

	Comparison Group Students	Treatment Group Students
Demographics		
Age	13.9	14.5
Grade	8.7	9.3
% Black	48.6%	47.5%
% Hispanic	43.3%	34.4%
% Free/Reduced Lunch	90.2%	85.1%
% Male	51.3%	50.7%
% Learning Disability	**21.6%**	**19.2%**
Misconduct		
Misconduct Incidents	0.918	0.568
In-School Suspensions	0.290	0.230
Out-of-School Suspensions	0.392	0.357
Prior Arrests		
% Ever Arrested	6.0%	5.9%
# Violent Charge Arrests	0.036	0.042
# Drug Charge Arrests	0.016	0.011
# Property Charge Arrests	0.029	0.027
Academic		
Attendance Days	146.4	143.9
GPA	2.3	2.3
Students	18,586	25,917

Note: Bolding indicates statistical significance at the p<.1 level. Baseline misconduct, arrest, and academic characteristics of students in the academic year prior to the one in which their school entered the study. Misconduct incidents are individual instances where the student violates the CPS code of conduct; violations range from inappropriate behavior (e.g., running and/or making excessive noise) to illegal and seriously disruptive behavior (e.g., assault, possession of a weapon). Arrest data are from the Chicago Police Department. Demographic, misconduct, and academic data are from the Chicago Public Schools.

Participant Selection
Students were selected for interventions as part of the CRR program on the basis of content they post within the public domain on social media platforms such as Facebook,

Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, or Tumblr. OSS analysts search for social media content containing text and images that, in combination, provide the contextual information necessary to identify risk of violence involvement.

Table 2 reports the characteristics of students based on their intervention referral status. Students referred for an intervention by any means—whether via traditional avenues, such as by school staff, or via social media monitoring—have a greater number of prior in-school misconduct incidents and suspensions, as well as more extensive justice system involvement, than students not referred for an intervention. Those students who were identified via social media, however, exhibit an even greater degree of prior misconducts and arrests than those students referred via traditional means, and are much more likely to be male.

Table 2. Characteristics of Students by Intervention Referral Status

	No Intervention	Traditional Referral	Social Media Referral
Demographics			
Age	14.2	14.5	15.3
Grade	9.0	9.2	9.9
% Black	47.1%	77.8%	85.4%
% Hispanic	38.7%	19.0%	13.5%
% Free/Reduced Lunch	87.0%	96.3%	96.6%
% Male	50.6%	56.1%	87.4%
% Learning Disability	20.1%	25.3%	24.1%
Misconduct			
Misconduct Incidents	0.668	2.232	2.957
In-School Suspensions	0.235	0.867	1.398
Out-of-School Suspensions	0.331	1.687	2.436
Prior Arrests			
% Ever Arrested	5.3%	27.0%	42.4%
# Violent Charge Arrests	0.033	0.221	0.378
# Drug Charge Arrests	0.011	0.079	0.112
# Property Charge Arrests	0.023	0.161	0.266
Academic			
Attendance Days	145.0	142.4	140.4
GPA	2.3	1.9	1.7
Students	43,366	788	349

Interventions

Once a student is identified as being at elevated risk for violence involvement, OSS works to engage the student and deliver an intervention. In low level cases, these interventions are conducted by a CPS Network Safety Manager. In cases where there is reason to believe there is an imminent and serious safety risk, or there is a weapon involved, OSS works in concert with the Chicago Police Department to mobilize a Gang School Safety Team (GSST) intervention.

The GSST is dedicated to non-enforcement activity to help students explore alternatives to gang and violence involvement. The GSST meets with students involved in, or at risk of involvement in, violent activity, and works with them and school officials to discourage further participation. During a typical intervention, GSST officers start by telling the student that they are not in trouble, that they did not do anything wrong, and that the GSST is not there to discipline or arrest them. Information discussed with the GSST officers is not used for prosecutorial purposes; if the conversation warrants it, the GSST officers will typically recuse themselves and bring in other officers to investigate. The GSST officers' focus is on expressing concern for the student's well-being, better understanding the nature of the conflict in which they are involved, and stopping any retaliation. Involving the GSST is meant to redirect student behavior in order to preempt and render unnecessary the use of more serious disciplinary actions such as out of school suspensions, expulsions, or involvement in the juvenile justice system.

Upon completion of a CRR intervention, participating students receive referrals to additional school or community-based support services. CPS provides behavioral interventions for participating students. Students may either be referred for Tier 2[4] (group-based) or Tier 3 (individual) interventions. Presented with the information gathered prior to and during the intervention, the duration and intensity of the intervention is then determined.

Following successful completion of the interventions, the OSS team implements follow-up mechanisms, including regular check-ins from the Network Safety Manager, to provide ongoing support and encouragement to help students adhere to their behavioral plans. Each student requires a different combination of services, and the length of service provision may vary greatly.

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[4] Examples of Tier 2 intervention referral programs include Second Step, Becoming a Man, and Working on Womanhood.

EVALUATION STRATEGY

To evaluate the CRR program, we rely on a partially randomized matched school comparison research design. During Year 1 of the program, 16 schools belonged to the treatment group and 16 schools belonged to the comparison group. Among the 16 schools in the treatment group, nine were identified by OSS as being high-need (and thus asked to participate in CRR), while the remaining seven were randomly chosen from a group of 23 high-need schools identified by the Crime Lab. By including the nine OSS-identified treatment group schools in the analysis, we depart from a pure randomized controlled trial research design. However, in the judgment of the research team, because excluding these schools would substantially reduce the size of the analytic sample, and because the characteristics of students in the comparison group schools are very similar, these nine schools remain part of the study.

Our analysis focuses on the outcomes of high school students enrolled in study schools for at least 30 days. Although elementary schools were among the 16 treatment and 16 comparison group schools in Year 1, in the years that followed, OSS only put forward high schools as additional candidates to receive the CRR program. This change in approach reflected the OSS observation that relevant social media activity was much more common among high school aged youth. For example, only 37 elementary school students received an intervention in Year 1, compared to 120 high school students. **As a result, we limit our attention to students enrolled in treatment and comparison group high schools for the remainder of this analysis.**

It is important to note that the comparisons we make in this analysis are between *all* students attending treatment group schools and *all* students attending comparison group schools. We do *not* limit our focus to just those students in treatment group schools who received interventions on the basis of their social media activity. We adopt this approach for two reasons. First, if we were to limit our focus to just those students in treatment group schools identified by social media analysis, then we would need to identify a comparison group of students who are similar but for having been the subject of an intervention. The techniques commonly used to do this, such as propensity score matching, try to find a comparison for each treated student on the basis of observable characteristics, such as school performance and misconduct. However, because social media analysis may identify students who would not be suspected of engaging in gang-related activity on the basis of these characteristics—e.g., students who "fly under the radar"—these techniques can be unreliable. Second, although the interventions that result from social media analysis are delivered to individual students, the cumulative impact of CRR is likely to go beyond just those students. For example, if CRR allows school staff to intervene before incidents of serious violence occur and trigger further retaliation, then the program's effects are likely to be more widespread, making the school, rather than the student, the proper unit of analysis.

Each student in the analysis attended a school either in the year in which it first participated in CRR programming (treatment school) or the year in which it was randomly chosen not to participate in programming (comparison school). For the students in the

analysis, we perform a multivariate regression of our outcome of interest (described in greater detail below), controlling for students' baseline characteristics, such as their demographics, prior academic performance, and prior criminal justice system contact. The covariate of interest is an indicator for whether the student initially attended a treatment group school. The coefficient we estimate for this indicator tells us whether the outcome we are measuring is different among students who attended treatment group schools, controlling for their baseline characteristics, relative to students who attended comparison group schools. To determine whether our estimates are statistically significant, we calculate heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors clustered at the level of the initial school the student attended and use these to conduct inference.

EVALUATION RESULTS

The CRR program primarily aims to reduce violence, particularly gun violence, among CPS students. Therefore, we focus on student shooting victimization as the main outcome of interest in our analysis. In addition, we examine academic performance and indicators of criminal justice system involvement. For each outcome, we compare students who attended treatment and comparison group high schools during the first year that the school entered the study. However, because our outcome data extend through the 2017-18 academic year, while the earliest high schools entered the study during the 2015-16 academic year (Year 1), we measure outcomes up to the third year after CRR programming started for the subset of students who entered the study earlier.[5]

We describe the results of these analyses in detail below.
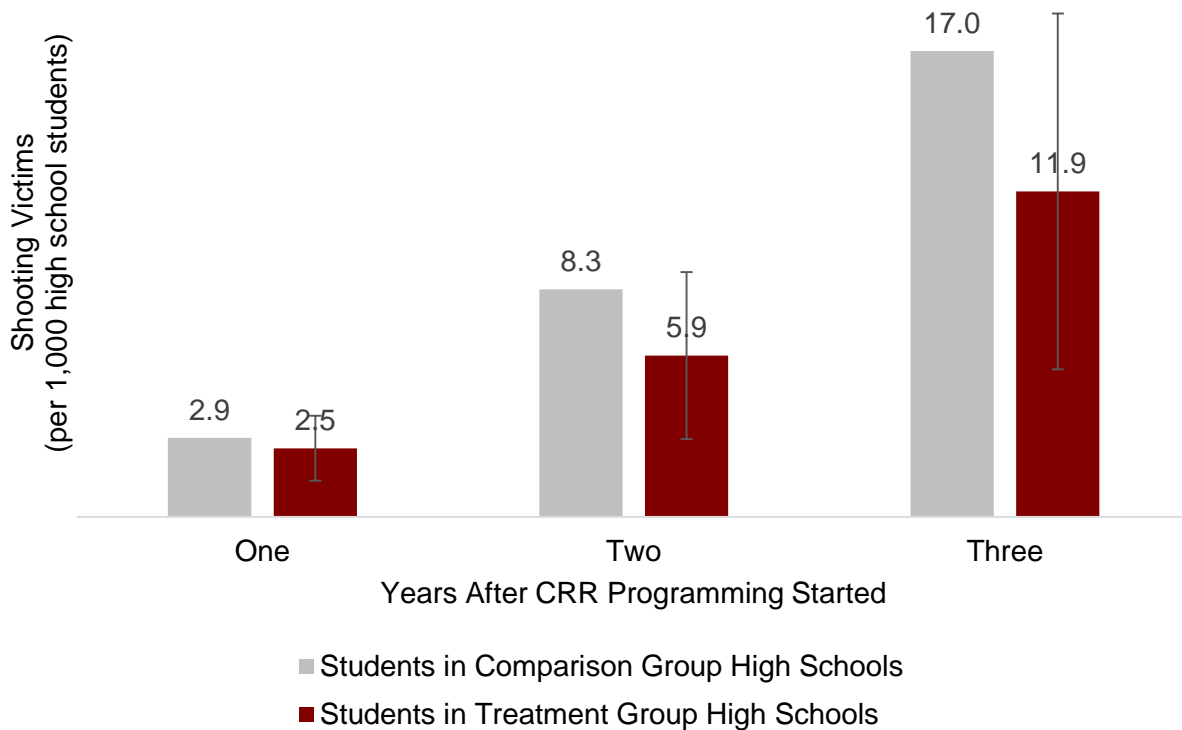
Shooting Victimization

The primary outcome of interest for this study is student shooting victimization: instances in which CPS students were the physical victims of gunfire, both fatal and non-fatal.[6] Relative to more common outcomes, like in-school infractions and even arrest, this outcome, although far more frequent than it should be, is still comparatively rare: there were fewer than 230 instances of students in treatment or comparison group high schools being shooting victims during the 2015-16, 2016-17, and 2017-18 academic years, out of nearly 45,000 students. Nevertheless, because gang activity of the sort that the CRR program is designed to identify is often a precursor to serious violence, including gun violence, we focus on it here.

Figure 1 compares the rates of shooting victimization among treatment and control group high school students, at different intervals after the start of CRR programming. During the first year of CRR programming, there does not appear to be any difference between students in the two school groups. However, it is worth noting that the majority of students in the sample initially attended either the eight treatment group or eight control group high schools that entered the study in Year 1, when funding delays and the significant start-up time required to learn the software used by OSS analysts meant the program did not get underway until the second half of the academic year. In other words, many students in treatment group high schools did not receive a substantial "dose" of treatment during the first year.

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[5] Consider students who attended treatment group high schools in the 2015-16 academic year, when the first schools participated in CRR, and students who attended comparison group high schools the same year. In addition to comparing the outcomes of these students during the 2015-16 academic year, we also compare their outcomes during the 2016-17 and 2017-18 academic years—provided they are still enrolled in CPS—whether they remained at their initial 2015-16 school or moved to a different school.

[6] This is not limited to shootings occurring during school hours or on school grounds. Data are provided by the Chicago Public Schools.

Figure 1. Shooting Victims per 1,000 High School Students

Note: 95% confidence intervals displayed.

In contrast, in the second year after programming started, we find that students who initially attended treatment group high schools experienced almost 30% fewer shooting victimizations relative to students who attended comparison group schools (5.9 vs. 8.3 per 1,000). This result is marginally statistically insignificant at the 90% confidence level (p = 0.13). This difference persisted in the third year after programming started (11.9 vs. 17 per 1,000), measured with approximately the same level of statistical precision (p = 0.14). It is important to note that the sample size decreases with the time since CRR programming started: to measure differences three years after CRR programming started, we are limited to those students who initially attended study high schools in 2015-16. Therefore, the fact that this last difference is of similar magnitude, and is estimated with similar statistical precision despite resulting from a smaller sample, is encouraging.

Misconduct in High School and Arrests
We next extend our analysis to other outcomes related to possible violence or criminal activity: misconduct in high school and arrests. Table 3 reports differences in these outcomes.

Table 3. CRR Effect Estimates on Misconduct in High School and Arrests

	Comparison Group Mean	Treatment Effect Estimate	Percent Change	p-value
One Year After CRR Programming Started				
Out-of-School Suspensions	0.572	-0.156	-27%	0.196
Misconduct Incidents	2.892	-1.394	-48%	0.091
Ever Arrested	0.051	0.001	1%	0.873
Ever Arrested (Violent Charge)	0.022	0.001	3%	0.782
Ever Arrested (Drug Charge)	0.007	-0.001	-19%	0.474
Two Years After CRR Programming Started				
Out-of-School Suspensions	0.516	-0.301	-58%	0.016
Misconduct Incidents	4.563	-2.013	-44%	0.150
Ever Arrested	0.104	0.004	4%	0.674
Ever Arrested (Violent Charge)	0.049	0.000	1%	0.961
Ever Arrested (Drug Charge)	0.017	-0.003	-17%	0.440
Three Years After CRR Programming Started				
Out-of-School Suspensions	0.413	-0.175	-42%	0.078
Misconduct Incidents	4.338	-1.090	-25%	0.171
Ever Arrested	0.177	0.007	4%	0.493
Ever Arrested (Violent Charge)	0.087	-0.004	-4%	0.653
Ever Arrested (Drug Charge)	0.036	-0.003	-8%	0.741

Note: Arrest data from the Chicago Police Department. Misconduct and out-of-school suspension data from the Chicago Public Schools.

Misconduct incidents are individual events where a student violates the CPS code of conduct. These violations can range from inappropriate behavior, such as running and/or making excessive noise, to illegal and seriously disruptive behavior, such as assault or possession of a weapon.

We find that students in treatment group high schools, relative to students attending control group high schools, experience on average 1.4 fewer misconduct incidents over the course of the first year following the start of treatment. This is a reduction of almost 50% and is statistically significant ($p = 0.091$) at the 90% confidence level. We also observe substantial reductions in the number of out-of-school suspensions measured two and three years following the beginning of treatment: students in treatment group high schools received on average 0.3 fewer out-of-school suspensions two years after

programming started, and 0.18 fewer suspensions three years after programming started. These effects represent 58% and 42% reductions, and are statistically significant at the 95% and 90% confidence levels, respectively.

We do not detect any meaningful and statistically significant difference in the likelihood of students being arrested, whether on any charge or specifically on violent and drug charges, in treatment group high schools relative to comparison group high schools, at any duration after programming started.

Academic Outcomes
Lower levels of violence in a school and the surrounding community may improve the learning environment for students. For this reason, we also examine academic outcomes, such as student attendance and performance, for students in our study.

Table 4 reports our estimates of the CRR program's effects on these outcomes. We consistently find that, at any duration after programming started, students in treatment group high schools consistently show a modest attendance increase relative to their peers in comparison group high schools. These estimates grow slightly larger with time, and are statistically significant at the 95% or 90% confidence level. Although we also measure modest improvements in students' GPAs, unlike our estimates for attendance these are not statistically significant, and thus we cannot rule out that they occurred by chance.

Table 4. CRR Effect Estimates on High School Academic Outcomes

	Comparison Group Mean	Treatment Effect Estimate	Percent Change	p-value
One Year After CRR Programming Started				
Days of School Attended	147.5	2.7	2%	0.067
GPA	2.48	0.01	0%	0.788
Two Years After CRR Programming Started				
Days of School Attended	135.5	4.3	3%	0.030
GPA	2.34	0.06	3%	0.267
Three Years After CRR Programming Started				
Days of School Attended	122.7	5.6	5%	0.089
GPA	2.37	0.06	3%	0.361

Note: Academic outcome data from the Chicago Public Schools.

IMPLICATIONS

The CRR program represents an innovative approach to reducing the risk of serious gun violence faced by CPS students. Due to the key role played by social media in escalating small disputes into physical violence, both school administrators and law enforcement are keenly aware of the importance of proactively monitoring this medium in order to respond adequately to threats that may harm students.

In the course of the Crime Lab's work to better understand the CRR program, the research team spoke with school staff, Network Safety Managers, as well as officers from CPD's GSST about the role of social media in student conflicts. Nearly every school staff person with whom we spoke said social media conflicts were the most common conflict they face. Five principals explicitly said social media comprises over 90% of the conflicts they handle. This reality has caused some school staff to monitor students' social media activity on their own, in addition to the monitoring being done by OSS analysts as part of the CRR program and by CPD.

Even despite the fact that some social media monitoring was happening in high schools not participating in CRR, those high schools that received the intervention nevertheless appear to have experienced improvements in certain key outcomes: reduced shooting victimization, misconduct incidents, and out-of-school suspensions, and increased attendance. This suggests that there may be returns to having staff within a school district specialize in the function of social media monitoring, relative to asking teachers and administrators, who have multiple other responsibilities, to take on this task themselves.

CONCLUSION

This report describes CPS's CRR program, which uses information obtained from social media to identify students engaging in high risk behaviors before those behaviors lead to violence, and provides evidence about its effectiveness. By intervening with students engaged in risky, often gang-related behavior on social media, CRR aims to prevent violence involving students, particularly gun violence, from occurring.

Our results suggest that students attending high schools that received the CRR program may have been at subsequently lower risk of becoming victims of shootings. We find stronger evidence that students attending treatment group high schools experienced fewer out-of-school suspensions and engaged in fewer misconduct incidents as well. Finally, we detect modest improvements in school attendance among students in participating high schools.

Although the research design we use departs from a more reliable randomized controlled trial, the estimates we recover, across several distinct measures, suggest that the CRR program is likely meeting its goals of keeping students safe by disrupting activity that would otherwise endanger them. Taken together, our findings point to the promise of this innovative approach.

APPENDIX 1 – PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

Appendix Table 1 reports the schools participating in the study. The five high schools and four elementary schools chosen by OSS to participate in CRR during Year 1 were identified on the basis of being high-need, according to the following criteria: average daily attendance, percentage of students qualifying for free or reduced lunch, number of out-of-school suspensions and expulsions, number of high-level student misconducts, number of student arrests, and school climate scores.

Appendix Table 1. Participating Schools

Year Entered Study	Treatment Group	Comparison Group
Year 1 (2015-16)	Carrie Jacobs Bond Elementary School*	Sir Miles Davis Magnet Elementary Academy
Year 1 (2015-16)	George Manierre Elementary School*	Robert Nathaniel Dett Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Arthur R Ashe Elementary School*	Edward K Ellington Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	George Leland Elementary School*	Scott Joplin Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Charles W Earle Elementary School	Genevieve Melody Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Lenart Elementary Regional Gifted Center	Adam Clayton Powell Paideia Community Academy Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Helen M Hefferan Elementary School	Spencer Technology Academy
Year 1 (2015-16)	Milton Brunson Math & Science Specialty Elementary School	Laura S Ward Elementary School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Manley Career Academy High School*	Bowen High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Roger C Sullivan High School*	Roberto Clemente Community Academy High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Percy L Julian High School*	David G Farragut Career Academy High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	William Howard Taft High School*	Hope College Preparatory High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Christian Fenger Academy High School*	John Marshall Metropolitan High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Paul Robeson High School	Ellen H Richards Career Academy High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Amandla Charter High School**	TEAM Englewood Community Academy High School
Year 1 (2015-16)	Hyde Park Academy High School	Edward Tilden Career Community Academy High School
Year 2 (2016-17)	Morgan Park High School	George Washington High School
Year 2 (2016-17)	Steinmetz College Prep High School	Carl Schurz High School
Year 2 (2016-17)	Wendell Phillips Academy High School	Harlan Community Academy High School
Year 2 (2016-17)	Roosevelt High School	North Lawndale High School
Year 2 (2016-17)	Gage Park High School**	

Year 3 (2017-18)	Chicago Vocational High School	Dunbar High School
Year 3 (2017-18)	Curie High School	Lincoln Park High School
Year 3 (2017-18)	Foreman High School	Prosser High School
Year 3 (2017-18)	Senn High School	

* School determined to be high needs by OSS and required to be chosen to participate in CRR
** Beginning in the 2016-17 academic year, Amandla Charter High School decided it no longer wanted to participate in CRR and was replaced by Gage Park High School.