“I REALIZED THAT COPS ARE JUST REGULAR PEOPLE”: CHANGING YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLICE THROUGH COMMUNITY POLICING PROGRAMMING

by

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A thesis presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Program of Psychology

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2014

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Abstract

Thesis Title: "I realized that cops are just regular people": Changing youth attitudes toward the police through community policing programming.

Degree and Year of Convocation: Master of Arts, 2014

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Name of Graduate Program: Psychology

Name of University: Ryerson University

Existing literature examining youth-police relations has consistently found that willingness to engage with the police is directly influenced by youth attitudes toward the police. Research findings suggest that increasing positive attitudes toward the police among adolescent populations will result in a subsequent increase in behaviours supportive of the police and law enforcement. The current study was a mixed-method evaluation (including survey data and qualitative interviews) of a community policing pilot program designed to increase positive contact between at-risk youth and police officers. The program was effective in positively changing youth attitudes toward the police. Interview results provide evidence of a direct mechanism for increasing trust and cooperation with the police. Survey results indicate that positive contact with the police can shift general attitudes toward the police and reduce perceptions of police discrimination. Further, survey findings support the program as a remedial intervention for youth with previous negative police contact.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Kelly McShane, for her constant support throughout this project. She has always encouraged me to pursue my interests and passions (even if they don't always work out) and has given me the space to grow into myself as a researcher. I would also like to thank St. Felix Centre for their indispensable contribution to current project, particularly the youth Drop-In staff and volunteers. Without their patience and dedication to the program youth this project would have never succeeded. Finally, I would like to specially thank Police Constables K. Draper, N. Maicantis, D. Nunes and M. Silva. Their commitment and enthusiasm toward the program were instrumental in the study's success, and it was a pleasure to work with such amazing members of the Toronto Police Service.

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Introduction

The majority of studies examining attitudes toward the police have focused on adult populations (Geistman & Smith, 2007). Despite the large body of literature suggesting that adults hold more favorable attitudes toward the police compared to youth, youth continue to be ignored in the research (O'Connor, 2009; Stewart, Morris & Weir, 2014). The constant privileging of adult attitudes has left a gap in our understanding of youth-police relationships especially within the broader community policing context (Geistman & Smith, 2007).

Adolescence is a critical period of attitude formation about policing and the law, and attitudes formed during this stage are likely persist into adulthood and to exert a lasting influence on one's perception of the police (Hinds, 2009; Hurst, 2000). The limited existing research examining youth-police relations has consistently found that youth attitudes toward the police directly influence their willingness to engage with the police; they are less likely to cooperate with the police and to report crime. Youth with negative attitudes toward the police are also more likely to engage in unlawful activities as they generally have less respect for the criminal justice system as a whole (Chow, 2011). Further, negative attitudes toward the police often extend to other establishments of authority, particularly school. A recent study by Chow (2011) found that high school students with negative attitudes toward the police were significantly less positive in their attitudes toward school. Youth with negative attitudes towards school have been found to have less attachment to school, are less likely to participate in extracurricular activities, less likely to establish positive relationships with teachers and experience poorer educational outcomes.

Given the pervasive and long lasting consequences of negative attitudes toward the police, adolescents should be prioritized by law enforcement agencies and targeted for programs

aimed at increasing community support for the police. Doing so would not only strengthen youth-police relationships, but could also lead to increases in youth cooperation helping to maximize police effectiveness within this high-risk group.

Community policing and youth

Community policing is the dominant philosophy across most major North American police agencies (Chow, 2011; O'Connor, 2009). The goal of this approach is to promote collaborative relationships between the police and citizens in order to enhance community safety and crime prevention (Chow, 2012). As community policing has moved to the forefront of policing policy, an increased emphasis on improving police-community relationships has been observed in both Canada and the United States (O'Connor, 2009). Public satisfaction with the police has also become a core focus for many police agencies, since the efficiency and efficacy of their law enforcement efforts largely depend on it (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008).

Individuals who trust the police are more likely to cooperate during involuntary police contacts (i.e., being stopped for speeding), are more likely to call when in need of assistance, and are more willing to provide crime-related information (Chow, 2012). Conversely, the police encounter greater resistance to their authority when viewed negatively and with derision by the public (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008). This phenomena particularly occurs within youth populations. Youth's cooperation with the police is adversely influenced by their negative attitudes (Friedman, Lurigio, Greenleaf & Albertson, 2004). For example, Slocum, Taylor, Brick and Esbensen (2010) found that youth who have less favorable attitudes toward the police are significantly less willing to report crime. Youth also often have information that can be utilized by the police, yet they are unlikely to be forthcoming if they view the police negatively (O'Connor, 2009). This lack of willingness to cooperate with the police as a result of negative

attitudes, especially by not reporting their own and other youth's victimization, seriously undermines police effectiveness and ultimately reduces safety within this high-risk group (Hinds, 2009).

The police are often the only agents of the criminal justice system that youth have contact with (White, 1994). Youth rarely progress beyond this point of contact and into the court system largely because of the inherent flexibility within the youth justice system and also the general discretionary nature of policing (Stewart et al., 2014). Youth attitudes about the police are usually formed as a result of their initial experiences with police officers and it is argued that these attitudes will persist into adulthood (Friedman et al., 2004; Hinds, 2007). Unfortunately, youth comprise a greater proportion of the population subject to negative police contact (Hurst & Frank, 2000). Youth are more likely to engage in behaviour that confronts established structures and challenges agencies of authority (Chow, 2012). As well, their more active lifestyle and congregation in public places attracts considerable proactive police attention which is often considered adversarial in nature (Crawford, 2009; Hinds, 2007).

Adolescents are also disproportionately more likely to be subject to police arrest. For example, in 2012, nearly 125,500 Canadian adolescents aged 12-17 were accused by police of some violation of the criminal code, excluding traffic offences (Perreault, 2012). This translates into a youth crime rate of 5,224 youth accused per 100,000 in this age group. In 2011, law enforcement agencies in the United States made nearly 1.5 million arrests of individuals under the age of 18 years (Puzzanchera, 2013). Approximately 27% of these adolescents were under the age of 15 years (Puzzanchera, 2013). Adolescents are also at greater risk of criminal victimization compared to adults, which contributes to their extensive contact with the police (Watkins & Maume, 2012). In 2003, 20% of all violent crimes reported to police in Canada were

committed against children and youth under the age of 17. Additionally, results from the most recent General Social Survey (2009) found that Canadians aged 15 to 24 are up to 15 times more likely to be a victim of a violent crime compared to other age groups. Considering this extensive contact of the youth population with police, it is critical that they become a priority within policing research.

Youth attitudes toward police

Youth have consistently been found to be more critical of the police and generally hold less favorable attitudes toward the police compared to other age groups (Chow, 2011). For example, a study by Hurst and Frank (2000) found that less than 40% of their sample held favorable attitudes toward the police. Specifically, 39.8% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "In general, I trust the police", and 31.9% of their sample agreed that, "In general, I like the police." In a similar study by Chow (2011) examining Canadian high school students, all students consistently scored low on the general attitudes toward police measure. The relatively low means reported in this study suggest students held only marginally positive attitudes about the police in general. Finally, Friedman et al. (2004) conducted a survey of approximately 900 high school students and found fewer than 10% strongly agreed that they trusted the police.

Considerable research exploring the contextual factors and individual characteristics which shape youth attitudes toward the police has been conducted. Among the socio-demographic variables examined, race and ethnicity have received the most attention (Hinds, 2007). This is because visible minority youth are at higher risk to come in contact with the police. In fact, a recent study by Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) examining youth minority contact with the police in Canada found that high-risk minority youth were three times as likely to come in contact with the police compared to other youth. Overall, visible minorities

(principally Black youth) consistently report holding less favorable attitudes toward the police compared to Caucasian individuals (Hurst & Frank, 2000; O'Connor, 2009). For example, in a study exploring the determinants of attitudes toward the police 57% of the White teenagers surveyed reported trusting the police compared to 30% of non-White teenagers (Hurst, 2007). Similarly, a nationwide study of American high school students found that visible minority youth were significantly less satisfied with the police compared to Caucasian youth (Geistman & Smith, 2007).

Age has also been commonly examined as a factor contributing to youth attitudes toward the police. The majority of studies find that age has a positive correlation with attitudes toward the police and that young people are consistently more critical of the police than older groups (Chow, 2011; Hinds, 2007). For example, in a recent study by Chow (2011) examining students across 14 different high schools older students rated the police more favorably compared to younger students. According to the Canadian General Social Survey, age had the strongest effect on shaping attitudes toward the police with younger people being more likely to report negative views compared to older people (O'Connor, 2009). Specifically, for every one year increase in age, there was a 0.4% increase on the attitudes toward the police scale (O'Connor, 2009).

Other socio-demographic variables including gender and social economic status (SES) have been less consistent in their ability to explain attitudes toward the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Few studies with adolescents have found gender to be a significant predictor of attitudes toward the police. However, based on the limited findings, male youth generally hold less favorable attitudes toward the police compared to female youth (Stewart et al., 2014). For example, Friedman et al. (2004) found that 52% of the girls in their sample felt disrespected by the police compared to 68% of boys. In terms of SES, the adult literature suggests a positive

relationship between SES and police attitudes; however, meaningful connections have not been made among adolescent samples (Hurst, 2007). Although individuals from economically disadvantaged neighborhoods generally report less favorable attitudes toward the police as a result of being over-policed, a review by the Canadian National Research Council only found weak links between neighbourhood and police practices (Geitsman & Smith, 2007; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011).

Youth contact with the police

A recent shift in the youth-police literature has shown that contact with the police is a more critical factor in determining youth attitudes toward police compared to socio-demographic variables. Contact with the police is considered the most influential factor in predicting youth attitudes because adolescent belief systems are shaped more by direct experiences rather than abstract notions (Hinds, 2009). Unfortunately, the adversarial nature of the majority of these contacts often leads to increased hostility between youth and police, decreased respect for the police, and overall negative attitudes toward the police (Hinds, 2007). For example, Chow (2011) found that high school students with no prior police contact expressed significantly more favorable attitudes toward the police compared to those with past police experiences.

In addition to police contact itself, the quality of contact also plays a role in determining youth attitudes toward the police. Hurst (2007) found that rural youth who were negatively treated during a police-initiated interaction had significantly less positive attitudes toward the police compared to those who felt respected by the police. In their survey of 900 high school students living in a diverse urban city, Friedman et al. (2004) also found that being stopped by the police and believing to be treated disrespectfully amplified negative attitudes toward the police. Specifically, 60% of students stopped by the police felt they had been treated

disrespectfully. Of these students, only 11% reported trusting the police and 12% felt the police did their best (Friedman et al., 2004). Similarly, a survey of 14 to 16 year old high school students found that prior negative contact with the police significantly predicted attitudes toward police legitimacy. Youth who rated their most recent police contact as negative viewed the police as having less legitimacy compared to those who had experienced positive contact (Hurst, 2007). Overall, these results demonstrate the impact quality of contact has on youth attitudes toward the police and particularly the negative consequences of negative youth-police interactions.

Interactions with police officers can also occur outside of police-initiated contacts and within the context of criminal victimization. Personal victimization experiences (e.g., being the victim of a property crime or physical assault) often correspond with negative evaluations of the police. In a study by Hurst and Frank (2000) increased number victimizations was associated with less favorable general attitudes toward the police. This is consistent with Geitsman and Smith (2007) who found a direct negative relationship between victimization and attitudes toward the police among their nationally representative sample of American youth. In Canada, results of the General Social Survey found for every additional increase in personal victimization there is a 4.3% decrease on the attitudes toward police scale (O'Connor, 2009). The link between criminal victimization and negative assessment of the police stems largely from a dissatisfaction with the manner, style and often ineffectiveness of the police during victim encounters. This relationship has been well documented within the body of police literature and is a further example of the negative impact of poor youth-police encounters (Chow, 2012; Fitzgerald, Hough, Joseph, & Qureshi, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

The effects of police contact also extend to vicarious contact (i.e. seeing or hearing about police conduct). In fact, Hurst and Frank (2000) found that vicarious contact had the most

significant impact on attitudes toward police; youth who had experienced vicarious contact were consistently less positive in their attitudes compared to those without. Seeing or hearing about police misconduct directed at a third party is generally associated with negative attitudes toward the police (Chow, 2011). For example, youth who had observed disrespectful treatment were twice as likely to distrust the police compared to those who had observed respectful treatment (Friedman et al., 2005). Further, of those who had witnessed disrespectful behaviour 11% believed the police were fair and 30% believed they were considerate compared to those who had witnessed respectful behaviours (34% and 62% respectively; Friedman et al., 2004).

Positive contact with the police

Given the evidence that contact with the police is the strongest predictor of youth attitudes toward the police, it is necessary to reduce the adversarial and negative nature of youth-police interactions and increase positive contacts (Chow, 2011). Intergroup contact research suggests that greater contact and familiarity with members of other groups can enhance liking for those groups and reduce intergroup prejudice (Vorauer, 2013). Gaining notoriety during the de-segregation movement in the United States, intergroup contact theory has since been empirically tested, revisited and reimaged. Several "optimal conditions" have been proposed as necessary for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice including *equal status of groups* and *cooperation between groups.* However, recent studies have demonstrated that what were originally thought of as necessary conditions for the success of intergroup contact, are instead mediating factors which serve simply to accelerate the process (Hodson & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropps, 2006). In fact, in a recent meta-analysis by Pettigre and Tropps (2006) on intergroup contact theory, results indicated that intergroup contact itself, without the inclusion of "optimal conditions", was associated with lower levels of prejudice. Overall, 94% of the samples included showed an

inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice, with greater intergroup contact leading to lower levels of prejudice. This relationship was consistent across a variety of contact settings and across samples involving different target groups. Results also showed that intergroup contact not only increased attitudes toward immediate participants, but that these attitudes extended to the entire outgroup. This emphasizes the potential for intergroup contact to be a practical and applied means of improving intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Within the context of youth attitudes toward the police, Pettigrew & Tropp's (2006) meta-analytic findings provide substantial evidence that intergroup contact between youth and police can successfully contribute to reducing prejudice between these groups. Unfortunately, despite the proliferation of youth-police programs intended to improve youth relations with the police, including youth-police athletic leagues, police mentoring programs and the placement of school resource officers, few studies have assessed whether or not these types of programs effectively reduce police prejudice and increase positive attitudes toward the police (Watkins & Maume, 2012). The studies that do exist are limited and report inconsistent findings. For example, Rabois and Haaga (2007) evaluated a community policing basketball program involving minority youth and police officers. Participants were assigned to teams made up of five youth and five officers who competed in basketball games over the course of six weeks. Although police attitudes toward minority youth significantly improved from pre- to post-program, there was no improvement in youth attitudes toward the police. Youth did report positive attitudes toward their officer team members but there was no overall shift in attitudes toward the police (Rabois & Hagga, 2007). Shuck (2013) also evaluated the impact of youth-police interactions, in the context of a Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program, and found no significant results of the intervention on youth attitudes toward the police.

Longitudinal data measuring the effectiveness of the D.A.R.E. program was used to examine adolescent attitudes toward the police over time. Youth who were exposed to police officers through the program did not have significantly more positive attitudes toward the police compared to those not exposed. The results suggested that exposure to police officers may have delayed the normative decline in favorable attitudes toward the police normally observed at the beginning of adolescence, but not enough to produce any meaningful difference (Schuck, 2013). On the other hand, Hinds (2009) reported improved attitudes toward the police after high school students were exposed to informal police contact through a community policing initiative. Youth who participated in the police activities at school were significantly more willing to assist the police compared to students who were not exposed to informal police contact. This finding was explained by an increase in positive attitudes toward the police officers with whom students had contact with (Hinds, 2009).

The current study

Despite the mixed findings regarding the effectiveness of community policing initiatives, the importance of youth having positive attitudes toward the police cannot be understated. Given the extensive police contact youth encounter and the evidence linking such contact with negative attitudes toward the police, it is of vital importance that efforts be made to positively enhance youth-police relationships. Especially when considering the negative impact poor attitudes toward the police can have on police cooperation and crime prevention. The current study adds to the paucity of literature on youth-police relationships by building upon previous evaluations of community policing initiatives and examining the impact of positive police contact within a sample of at-risk youth. If the project is successful in demonstrating that positive contact with police can shift attitudes and positively shape youth perception of police, this has major

implications for law enforcement policy and procedures. Specifically, it would provide evidence of a direct mechanism for increasing trust and subsequent cooperation with the police. Additionally, program success could have a positive impact at the individual level. This could include increased willingness to report criminal activity or incidents of victimization and a reduction in future criminality.

The current community policing pilot program was designed based on intergroup contact theory which suggests the mere exposure of individuals from differing social groups (i.e., outgroups) can be beneficial and typically produce favorable feelings about outgroups (Hodson, Hewstone & Swart, 2013). The goal of the program was to reduce the anxiety and threat typically experienced during youth-police interactions by providing a safe and positive environment for informal youth-police contact to occur. Reduced anxiety and perception of threat within outgroup interactions has been consistently connected to positive exchanges and outcomes with outgroup members (Hodson et al., 2013). The program was a partnership between a community organization located in the downtown core of a large urban city (Toronto, Canada) and Toronto Police Services. It brought together at-risk youth and police officers who were exposed to each other and interacted over the course of 16 weeks. The capacity of the program to increase positive attitudes toward the police among youth participants was tested using a mixed methods design with multiple informants.

Objectives and hypotheses

Objective 1: Evaluate program effectiveness in improving youth attitudes toward the police.

Hypothesis 1: Program attendance will lead to overall changes in outcomes.

Objective 2: Evaluate the impact of program dosage (i.e., frequency of attendance) on program outcomes.

Hypothesis 2: Participants who attend the program frequently will report more positive outcomes compared to participants who attend infrequently.

Objective 3: Evaluate the impact of previous police contact on program outcomes

Hypothesis 3: Participants with previous negative police contact will report no changes in program outcomes, whereas participants with previous positive contact will report positive program outcomes.

Objective 4: Understand the program theory which explains program effectiveness.

Aim 1: Identify theory components

Aim 2: Identify theory mechanism and overarching framework

Methods

Participants

Youth Participants

A total of 51 youth participated in the study; however, six participants completed the pre-program survey and never attended the drop-in during the 16 week program period and were excluded from all subsequent analyses. Therefore, the final sample used was $N = 45$. Of the youth participants who attended the program and had contact with the police participants, 95% ($n = 43$) completed the post-program survey. Approximately 45% of participants ($n = 19$) completed the full set of questionnaires (pre-, post-, and follow-up surveys).

Youth participant attendance ranged from 1 to 16 program sessions with the police participants, with a mean attendance rate of 8.8 ($SD = 5.1$) sessions. The mean age of the sample was 14.2 years ($SD = 2.9$) and the mean grade level was 9.7 ($SD = 1.44$). The racial make-up of the sample was predominantly African-Canadian (44.4%) and Mixed race (31.1%). The remainder of the sample was made up of Asian-Canadian (8.9%), Caucasian (6.7%) and Hispanic (4.4%) participants. The majority of participants (75.6%) lived in the social housing project adjacent to the program Centre. With respect to family income, 33.3% of participants reported coming from low-income families, 46.7% of participants reported coming from middle-income families and the remainder reported coming from high-income families.

Police Participants

Four Neighbourhood Resource Officers (NRO's) were assigned to participate in the pilot initiative. All police participants were male with varying ethnic backgrounds including Portuguese and Greek descent. The average age was 36.5 years ($SD = 4.4$) and experience as a police officer ranged from 7 to 12 years with a mean of 9.5 years ($SD = 2.1$) working for Toronto

Police Services. All four police participants underwent extensive community training prior to program commencement; however, their previous experience working with youth, either professionally or personally, varied widely. For example, one police participant was previously employed as a youth probation officer compared to another who had no formal or personal experience with children.

Measures

Survey Data

A survey package was compiled to measure youth attitudes toward the police. The package covers a range of constructs and variables that correspond to current research findings on police attitudes and youth-police interactions (Hurst & Frank, 2000; Chow, 2011). It includes a variety of validated measures that have been modified for language simplicity in order to ensure full comprehension by youth participants. The package covers eight broad categories: background information, global police attitudes, perception of police, distributive justice of police, perception of police discrimination, previous police contact, initiated contact with police and perception of police participants.

Background information. Background information items pertain to demographic characteristics, family history, service involvement and perception of neighbourhood context (Appendix A). Personal characteristics include age, gender, ethnicity, education level and socioeconomic status. Alcohol and drug use were also collected, as well as youth participant's current living situation (i.e., who they were living with at the time of the program). The family history domain includes family arrest history and general family criminal history. It also includes any family history of substance abuse.

It is possible that previous contact with members of other establishments of authority (e.g., school principle) may influence current attitudes toward the police. There is also an established link between school engagement, positive attitudes toward school and favorable attitudes toward police (Chow, 2011). The service involvement domain therefore includes any current and/or previous individual or family involvement with police services or child protective services. It also includes youth participant school attendance and involvement in extracurricular activities.

Neighbourhood context is considered an important demographic variable within police attitude research and was included in this study given the evidence suggesting its influence on youth crime reporting (Slocum, Taylor, Brick & Esbensen, 2010). Perception of neighbourhood context was measured using 5 items adapted from a similar survey used to evaluate citizen perceptions of community policing practices (Panetta, 2000). These items include a frequency rating of police sightings in the neighbourhood and perception of neighbourhood safety (Appendix A).

Global police attitudes. The global attitude scale was designed specifically for youth and targets general attitudes about the police. It does not measure attitudes about specific police functions (Hurst & Frank, 2000). The scale is comprised of four items and is measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" (Appendix B). All responses are summed with higher scores representative of more positive attitudes. The scale has good overall internal reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .887$ (Hurst & Frank, 2000).

Perceptions of police. The perception of police scale was developed by Chow (2011) to evaluate specific areas of police service. The scale was adapted from other Canadian surveys examining police-community relations and from Statistics Canada's General Social Survey

(Chow 1991, 1994, 2002; Tufts, 2000). The scale covers four broad domains: police integrity and demeanor, police treatment of minorities, police performance of duties and respondent's expectations of police performance. The scale is made up of 12 statements which are rated using a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" (Appendix C). The 12-item scale has good internal reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .796$. All scores are averaged with higher means reflecting more favorable perceptions of the police (Chow, 2011).

Distributive justice of police. Distributive justice is a measure of police legitimacy; it is the evaluation of how fairly police services are perceived to be distributed across people and communities (Dirikx et al., 2013). Assessment of distributive justice was measured using four statements rated on a five-point scale ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree" (Appendix D). The scale has good internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$ (Dirikx et al., 2013).

Perception of police discrimination. Perception of police discrimination was measured using three dichotomously coded, yes/no questions, adopted from a similar survey administered to high school students: 1) in the past year, I was harassed or mistreated by police officers; 2) in the past year, someone I know has been harassed or mistreated by police officers; and 3) I feel targeted by the police (Chow, 2011). A follow-up question was asked only for those who felt targeted which asked for the primary reasons they feel targeted.

Perception of police discrimination was also measured using an adapted version of the *Everyday Discrimination Scale* (Williams, Yu, Jackson & Anderson, 1997). The original scale was developed to measure chronic and relatively minor experiences of unfair treatment and was reliable, Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$. The modified scale sums nine items, rated on a six-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "strongly agree", that capture the following experiences with police officers: being treated with less courtesy than others; less respect than others; receiving

poorer service than others; police acting as if you are stupid; as if they are better than you; and as if you are criminal or a liar (Appendix E).

Previous police contact. Previous police contact measures any prior contact youth participant's had with police officers. Prior contact was measured by asking the participant to rate their most recent experience with a police officer (Appendix F; Hinds, 2009).

Previous police contact was also assessed using a scale constructed to measure both the initiator (youth or police initiated) of the youth-police interaction and the youth's perception of the police during this interaction (Hurst & Frank, 2000). Each type of interaction experienced by the youth was rated as: very poor, poor, neutral, good or very good. The responses are used to create four categorical variables: 1) positive police initiated contact; 2) positive youth initiated contact; 3) negative police initiated contact; and 4) negative youth initiated contact (Hurst & Frank, 2000).

Voluntary cooperation. Voluntary cooperation measures youth participant willingness to engage in voluntary contacts with the police (Davis & Hendricks, 2007). Assessment of voluntary contact was based on six items including willingness to report a crime and victimization (Appendix G). All items were rated as a percentage likelihood on a five-point scale ranging from 0% = never to 100% = always.

Perception of police participants. Perception of police participants scale measures youth perception of the four program police participants. Youth participants were specifically asked to rate program police participants based on their own experiences on eight adjectives (four positive, four negative; Appendix H). Items were rated on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "always" (Hopkins et al., 1992). This scale was chosen because it has been

previously used to assess perceptions of School Resource Officers and has good reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$ (Hopkins et al., 1992).

Interview Data

Participant interviews were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of program outcomes and to derive a program theory. This was achieved by asking both youth and police participants outcome-related and process-related questions. Outcome related questions were informed by the program logic model (Figure 1) and were specifically designed to overlap with the constructs captured by the survey data in order to triangulate information (Sobh & Perry, 2005).

Interview questions. The police participant interview was developed first after a brief review of the survey data and consultation with community stakeholders and program staff. The interview includes close-ended and open-ended questions related to program experiences, perceived impact of the program at the individual and professional level and perceived impact of the program on youth participants (see Appendix I for the complete questionnaire). The youth participant interview was adapted from the police interview in order to facilitate comparison across samples. It includes similar questions, with modified wording to ensure proper interpretation, related to experiences in the program and perception of police participants (see Appendix J for the complete questionnaire). For example, police participants were asked, "Now that you have spent time in the youth program, do you think your presence had any impact?", and the youth participants were asked, "Now that you have spent time with the police officers, have your ideas about them changed?".

Procedure

Approval for the study was obtained from the study community partner (St. Felix Centre) and from Toronto Police Services (TPS) prior to program commencement. Ethical approval from the institutional Research and Ethics Board was not required as the current study falls within Article 2.5 of the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS) for research involving humans. However, ethical guidelines for research with vulnerable populations were still followed and efforts to prevent any physical, psychological or emotional harm from occurring as a result of program participation were made. These included always having program staff specifically trained to work with at-risk youth on site and extensive community training for the police officers assigned to the study.

The current pilot policing initiative was implemented within an existing community youth drop-in program. The weekly drop-in provides at-risk youth a safe environment to gather on Friday nights and is delivered by two program staff. Program activities include playing video games, watching movies, computer access and homework help. The majority of the youth who attend the program live in the adjacent community housing project, which is located within a TPS designated high priority catchment area. Four TPS Neighbourhood Resource Officers (i.e., police participants) were assigned to participate in the existing drop-in program for 16 consecutive weeks. Although the police participants attended the program in an informal manner they were operating in an officially capacity and had a continued responsibility to work as representatives of TPS. They were explicitly identified as police officers to the youth participants and attended and participated in the program in full uniform. Police participants attended the program on alternating weeks, in shifts of two, and were fully integrated into the program. This meant they followed the non-structured culture of the existing youth drop-in program and

allowed the youth to dictate program activities. Youth participants were not obligated to interact or engage with the police officers; rather, they were encouraged to approach them based on their own comfort level. This resulted in some youth ignoring and/or distancing themselves from the police participants for the duration of the study and other youth engaging with the police participants regularly. Overall, police participants were visible to all youth attending the drop-in and participated in specific activities (e.g., playing basketball and football, playing board games and talking) with some youth.

In addition to their consistent presence in the youth drop-in and engagement with the youth, police participants facilitated other police-oriented activities. These included: bringing members of the TPS Mounted Unit and Canine Unit to the program; allowing youth participants to use police issue equipment (e.g., hand cuffs, body armor, etc.); and allowing youth participants access to official police cruisers, including giving them rides.

Data Collection

Survey data. There were three phases of survey data collection: pre-program, post-program and follow-up. Participants were compensated after each survey; they were given the option of taking their compensation immediately after answering or deferring payment until the end of the study. Pre-program surveys (n = 38) were administered to current youth drop-in participants two weeks before the commencement of the pilot initiative. Participation was voluntary and consent to participate in all aspects of the study was explained and obtained at that time (see Appendix K for youth consent form). The survey took approximately 20 minutes to complete and youth were compensated $10.

Post-program surveys (n = 30) were administered following program completion (16 weeks after arrival of police participants). Participants who had completed the pre-program

survey were contacted to answer the post-program survey. Participation was voluntary and it was explained to the youth that they had the right to withdraw their original consent. Youth were compensated $10 for their participation. In addition, youth who were regular attenders of the program (i.e., attended the drop-in 50% of the time or more since the start of the 16 week program) were recruited to answer post-program surveys (n = 13) as well. All post-program surveys were collected during a two week period after the 16 week initiated finished.

Follow-up surveys (n = 32) were administered 16 weeks after the police initiative ended. This follow-up time period matches the duration of the program. All youth who had completed a pre-survey or post-survey were asked to complete a follow-up questionnaire. Participation was voluntary and youth were explained and given the right to withdraw consent to participate. Youth were compensated $5 since the follow-up survey was shorter than the previous questionnaires and took less time to complete.

Interview data. All four police participants were recruited to answer interview questions. Interviews were conducted while police participants were on duty, during youth drop-in hours. Interviews ranged from 20 minutes to an hour and were audio recorded. Audio recordings were then transcribed and anonymized for data analysis.

A sub-sample of youth participants were also recruited to complete interviews. The sub-sample represented 25% of the total sample (n = 12) and included male (n = 8) and female (n = 4) participants. Interview participants were purposively selected to cover a complete range of program attendance (2-15 sessions), with an average attendance rate of 11 sessions. The youth interview was piloted to ensure simplicity in language and full comprehension of questions by the youth participants. Interviews were conducted on-site during youth drop-in hours and ranged

from 10 to 20 minutes. Interviews were voice recorded, transcribed and then anonymized for data analysis.

Data Analysis Plan

Survey Data

Survey data was analyzed using a combination of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and independent sample t-tests. Repeated measure (or within-subject) MANOVA was chosen as the appropriate statistical test to compare changes in program outcome across time because of the theoretical relationship between the outcome variables. MANOVA also has the advantage of reducing Type I error.

Wilk's lambda was the multivariate test reported because three groups were formed by the independent variable (i.e., pre-, post-, follow-up). It is also fairly robust compared to other multivariate tests such as Hotelling's T-Square or Roy's greatest characteristic root (GCR; Field, 2009). Specific a priori hypotheses were tested using repeated contrasts (i.e., pre-test vs. post-test and post-test vs. follow-up). This type of contrast was chosen to determine if changes observed after the program were maintained throughout the follow-up time period.

Independent sample t-tests were chosen to compare frequent and infrequent participants across program outcomes. They were also chosen to compare participants with previous negative police contact and previous positive police contact across outcomes. Independent sample t-tests were the most appropriate given the independent variable in both cases was made up of only two groups. Further, in instances where violations of homogeneity of variance occurred, the statistical software used automatically corrected for these violations by making adjustments to the degrees of freedom.

Interview Data

Theoretical approach and analysis. Interview data was analyzed using a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory was the most appropriate procedure for the aims of the current study because of its focus on how people interact and its emphasis social processes (Sbaraini, Carter, Evans & Blinkhorn, 2011). The goal of the approach is to produce a theory that both fits the data and can work in the real world (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory is distinguished from other qualitative methods because of the level of development and specificity of the coding procedure (Walker & Myrick, 2006). The complete and well-defined procedure makes it unique compared to other less well defined approaches (Flick, 2009). The current analyses were guided by the Glaserian method of grounded theory which is comprised of two main analysis phases: substantive coding and theoretical coding (Glaser, 1992).

Substantive coding occurred during the first phase of analysis and was primarily concerned with producing categories and defining their properties; categories or codes were defined as units of meaning used to classify expressions (Flick, 2009; Walker & Myrick, 2006). Two types of codes were possible: 1) *constructed* codes, which are simply annotations applied to meaningful units of text; and 2) *in vivo* codes which are direct expressions taken from the text. *In vivo* codes are preferred as they better reflect the actual data (Flick, 2009). In the first part of substantive coding, an open approach to coding (i.e., open coding) was used which involved immersion into the data through line-by-line analysis while simultaneously writing memos about emerging conceptual and theoretical ideas (Walker & Myrick, 2006). Line-by-line coding is a core element of grounded theory as it ensures the grounding of codes in the data, forces the researcher to saturate codes and minimizes the omission of potentially important codes (Holton, 2008). Verification and correction are also inherent in the process (Walker & Myrick, 2006).

Line-by-line immersion also leads to theoretical sensitivity which is required to relate the concepts generated by the data to general theory models (Glaser, 1978; Holton, 2008). Theoretical sensitivity is achieved by creating a balance between thinking theoretically about the data and maintaining a level of sensitivity and understanding about the process. This process encourages the generation of codes that fit the data and work inside the broader theory (Holton, 2008).

Open coding led to the identification of substantive codes emergent from the data and eventually to the identification of core variables. Core variables are any type of theoretical code (e.g., process, condition, consequence) with explanatory power and function to integrate and saturate the developing theory (Holton, 2008). The criteria for identifying core variables are: 1) they account for the majority of variation in observed patterns of behaviour; 2) they relate to as many other codes as possible; and 3) they are central to the theory. Overall, core variables are stable patterns that reoccur frequently across the data and relate meaningfully to other codes (Holton, 2008).

In the current study substantive codes emerged and included both constructed (e.g., non-judgmental) and *in vivo* (e.g., "rude") codes. After multiple iterations of substantive coding and discussion, six core variables were identified and labeled. These included: role of police officers, perception of police officers, perception of police participants, program processes, program outcomes and incompatible police participants. After these six core variables were identified, open coding was complete and the second sub-phase of substantive coding, selective coding, began. Selective coding is the delimitation of the coding process around core variables (Walker & Myrick, 2006). The process involves limiting coding only to data that relates to the core variables in adequately significant ways as to produce a parsimonious theory (Holton, 2008).

Once all interviews were coded, core variables were then knit together using theoretical coding to create a working theory framework.

Theoretical coding is the second phase of Glaserian grounded theory. It occurs at the conceptual level and is the process through which substantive codes are weaved together into a theory (Walker & Myrick, 2006). The researcher is responsible for identifying how the substantive codes relate to each other around central themes (Holton, 2008). These themes are considered hypotheses until they can be fully integrated into a working grounded theory (Holton, 2008).

In the current study, as the substantive codes became connected a linear theoretical framework emerged, eventually solidifying into a linear program model. The initial framework was reworked multiple times as each substantive code was included or excluded from the model depending on its explanatory power and/or relevance. For example, the core variable *role of police officers* was included in the first iteration of the theoretical framework; however, as the theory evolved it was excluded from the final model because it no longer fit with the theoretical conceptualization of the program.

Grounded theories can vary in terms of their ability to explain observed phenomena. The quality of a theory is dependent on the research question itself and the methodological thoroughness of the study (Holton, 2008). In order to ensure the quality and validity of grounded theories, Glaser and Strauss (1967) outlined criteria by which grounded theories should be assessed. The four criteria are: fit, workability, relevance and modifiability. Fit refers to true emergence of conceptual codes from the data itself rather than assigning preconceived codes derived from extant theories. Workability is an assessment of the grounded theory's ability to explain and interpret behaviour as well as predict future behaviour. Relevance refers to the

theory's focus on a core process. However, the theory's conceptual grounding in the data generally ensures adequate relevance. Lastly, modifiability is an assessment of the grounded theory's ability to be continually modified as new data is integrated. This criteria ensures the theory's continued relevance and value (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Overall, the final program theory conforms to the above criteria and is considered to have good fit, workability, relevance and modifiability.

Reliability analysis.

Interview data was analyzed using the above theoretical approach. A codebook was developed by analyzing a sub-set of interview responses (n = 5) with a second independent researcher (see Appendix L for complete codebook). This is a common qualitative research practice as this type of analysis is cyclical and iterative (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). By including a second researcher in the coding process you help ensure verification and correction occurs during each stage of analysis. Further, having a second researcher prevented complete absorption into the data helping to maintain an appropriate level of theoretical sensitivity (Holton, 2008).

Once the theory framework was conceptualized the remainder of the interviews (n = 11) were coded independently by both researchers, using the finalized codebook. This was to ensure maximum validity of the final model. Inter-rater reliability analysis was conducted for all codes using Cohen's kappa (see Table 1). Five codes were either removed or modified in response to low inter-rater reliability. Two outcome codes were removed from the working theory: *know them and like them* ($\kappa = .37$) and *know them and negative experience* ($\kappa = .13$). *Inclusive* ($\kappa = .33$) and *individual connection* ($\kappa = .00$) were combined because they overlap with the same construct and the code was renamed *individual engagement*. Lastly, *scary* ($\kappa = .26$) was also removed because of its low frequency, which likely contributed to its poor reliability. Overall, 21

codes were included in the model; all final codes had moderate to excellent agreement with kappa values ranging from .50 to .86 (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Results

Survey results

Survey data was analyzed to determine program effectiveness, the effect of program dosage (i.e., frequency of attendance) and the impact of previous police contact on program outcomes. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed and all *F*-ratios are reported as Wilk's lambda. Effect sizes are reported using partial eta-squared values (ηp^2). Significant analyses had partial eta-squared values ranging from .16 to .31, indicating large effect sizes (Cohen, 1988).

Program effectiveness

Program effectiveness was evaluated by examining changes in program outcomes across the three data collection points. Although there was no overall significant effect across the three attitude measures, univariate analyses showed a significant difference across time for the perception of police and distributive justice of the police scales (Tables 2 and 3). Contrast results showed a significant increase in scores from pre- to post-program for both perception of police, F (1,18) = 7.59, p = .013, and distributive justice, F (1,18) = 4.4, p = .05. There were no differences between post-program and follow-up scores on either measure indicating that the increase in favorable attitudes toward the police was maintained throughout the follow-up period. In terms of perception of police discrimination, results showed no change across time. Although mean EDS scores decreased, no significant effect was observed, F (2,36) = 1.65, p = .21. Voluntary cooperation with the police was also used to evaluate program effectiveness. There was no significant effect across the three cooperation measures; however, there was a significant change in participant's overall willingness to contact the police (Tables 4 and 5). Despite an increase in overall cooperation from pre- to post-program, contrast results showed a

significant decrease in overall cooperation from post-program to follow-up, F (1,17) = 4.77, p = .042, suggesting the program produced an artificial bump in willingness to voluntarily contact the police.

Program dosage

The effect of program dosage was examined by comparing program outcomes across frequent and infrequent program participants. Frequent participants (n = 18) attended 75% or more program sessions and infrequent participants (n = 14) attended less than 25% of program sessions. Independent sample t-test results are reported in Table 6. Out of the eight program outcomes tested, four were significantly different across groups, showing a dosage response in the predicted direction: general attitudes toward the police, perception of police, perception of police discrimination and perception of police participants. At the end of the program, frequent attenders had more favorable attitudes toward the police and perceived the police to be less discriminatory compared to infrequent attenders. Frequent attenders also had more favorable attitudes toward the police participants who attended the program compared to infrequent attenders suggesting that greater exposure increased positive attitudes.

Previous police contact

Participants with previous negative police contact (n = 13) were compared to those with previous positive contact (n = 14) to test the hypothesis that past negative experiences would inhibit any attitude change toward the police. Individuals with no previous police contact were excluded from these analyses. Attitude, perception of discrimination and police cooperation change scores were calculated by subtracting pre-program scores from post-program scores.

There was a significant multivariate effect across the three police attitude measures change scores (Tables 7 and 8). Univariate analyses showed a significantly greater change in

general attitudes toward the police and perception of the police for individuals with past negative police contact, compared to those with past positive contact. Additional analyses comparing pre-program and follow-up scores between contact groups were also conducted. Prior to the commencement of the program, participants who had experienced negative police contact had significantly lower general attitudes toward the police, t (27) = 3.8, p = .001, perception of police, t (27) = 4.19, p < .001, and perception of distributive justice of police, t (27) = 2.94, p = .007, compared to those with past positive contact. However, at follow-up there was no significant difference in terms of general attitudes toward the police, t (14) = 1.51, p = .15, perception of police, t (14) = 0.27, p = .79, or distributive justice of police, t (14) = 0.08, p = .94, between contact groups. Overall, youth with previous negative police contact showed an increase in attitudes to the same level as reported at follow-up by youth with previous positive police contact.

Tables 9 and 10 reports the changes in police cooperation across contact groups. No significant difference was found for change in overall reporting, crime reporting or victimization reporting. Change in perception of police discrimination also did not significantly differ across contact groups, t (25) = 0.85, p = .40. Additional analyses did show that prior to program commencement, participants with previous negative contact felt the police were more discriminatory compared to participants with past positive contact, t (27) = 2.11, p = .044. This group difference was not maintained at follow-up, t (14) = 1.3, p = .21, suggesting that involvement in the program mitigated the impact of past experiences on perception of police discrimination for youth with previous negative police contact.

Interview results

Two parallel models emerged from the interview data; the primary model confirmed program outcomes and outlined the theoretical mechanism through which they were achieved (see Figure 2). The secondary model was a theoretical explanation for the observed reluctance of youth to establish positive attitudes and relationships with the police in general, outside of the program context (see Figure 3).

Primary model: description of program theory

Program outcomes. The primary program outcome identified was coded as *know them*. *Know them* refers to youth participants getting to know the police participants on a personal level; therefore, no longer viewing them as members of the out-group (i.e., police force in general). Knowing the police participants acted as a gateway outcome which subsequently led to second-order program outcomes which were coded as *contact them* and *trust them*.

Contact them refers to program youth contacting the police participants outside of the program context. Contact includes both formal contact (i.e., crime reporting) and casual contact (i.e., waving to say hello). This type of youth-initiated contact was identified by four youth participants (33%) and all police participants (100%) as a direct consequence of getting to know the police participants throughout the duration of the program. The following example, provided by a youth participant, illustrates how knowing police officers is critical in facilitating contact: "If you see them [police participants] more and hang out with them more you can ask them for help. If you don't know one (an officer) you won't feel comfortable asking for help."

Trust them was also identified as a consequence of getting to know the police participants. Youth participants expressed having trusting relationships with the police participants as a result of interacting together in the program. Trust, as a program outcome, was

reported by nine youth participants (75%) and three police participants (75%). The following is an example of a youth participant discussing how trust stems from knowing the individual: "Like the ones [police officers] that come here I trust them because I got to know them and stuff. But, like, if I just saw a random cop on the street I would not trust them right away."

Program mechanism. The mechanism through which program outcomes were achieved is comprised of two core processes: personal connection and individuation. *Personal connection* is the first stage of the mechanism and includes three codes: (i) *individual engagement;* (ii) *non-judgmental* and (iii) *normalize*. These codes refer to police participant behaviours that were identified as critical to the process of developing personal connections with members of the out-group.

Overall, ten youth participants (83%) and four police participants (100%) discussed at least one of the personal connection codes. *Individual engagement* refers to a genuine interest in understanding and learning about the program youth on the part of the police participants. It includes a willingness to engage with all program youth about their personal circumstances and community. *Individual engagement* was reported by ten youth participants (83%) and three police participants (75%) as important in establishing personal connections. The following is a youth participant's example of feeling an individual connection: "They just acted like they wanted to know you…and get to know you like a real person instead of just trying to get information from you."

Non-judgmental refers to police participants acting in a non-judgmental way toward the program youth. It was reported by four youth participants (33%) and three police participants (75%). The following is an example of how a youth participant experienced the police participants as non-judgmental: "I think they just looked at everybody [program youth] and just

took the bad out of their mind and tried thinking for the best." Finally, despite expectations of being stereotyped by the police participants, the police participants are described as treating program youth like "normal" people. For example, one youth reports: "They [police participants] just act like you're normal." This theme was coded as *normalize* and was reported by two youth participants (17%) and one police participant (25%). The following is an example of one youth participant describing how the police participants normalized the program youth: "They [police participants] didn't treat us bad or anything…they just treated us like every other teenager out in the world."

The second core process of the program mechanism is individuation. *Individuation* is defined as the stage of the mechanism where program youth no longer view the police participants as members of the out-group but rather as individuals. In the absence of individuation, program outcomes cannot be achieved. Individuation includes two codes: (i) *sameness* and (ii) *personalization*. *Sameness* refers to the police participants being viewed as similar individuals to the program youth. It occurs as a result of the police participants establishing a similar foundation between themselves and the youth participants. For example, one youth reports: "They [police participants] were playing with me…and that's what made me get comfortable around them, when they started playing basketball and started talking about sports and stuff." Six youth participants (50%) and one police participant (25%) identified *sameness* as a component of the program mechanism.

Personalization includes any evidence that the program youth viewed the police participants as individuals and not strictly police officers. This is an important component of the individuation process as it facilitates the discrimination of the police participants from the rest of the police force. Nine youth participants (75%) discussed recognizing the police participants as

individuals outside of being police officers. For example, one youth reports: “They [police participants] are kind of like normal people with a uniform.” Three police participants (75%) reported being viewed as individuals by program youth and identified this as important in achieving program outcomes. For instance, a police participant describes this process: “I think us being here…shows them that we’re human. We’re not just the uniform. It shows them that we’re normal…it shows them that they can see us in a different light. I think that’s a big outcome.”

Precursor to Mechanisms. During the coding process *perception of police participants* emerged as the initiating factor for the entire program mechanism. According to the developed program theory, without a positive perception of the police participants the rest of the model could not progress and program outcomes would not be achieved. All youth participants (100%) discussed having a positive perception of the police participants and identified this as the first step in getting to know them.

Final model. The final model suggests program youth achieved anticipated program outcomes by advancing through a linear stepwise model. The initiating step of the model is the formation of a positive perception of the police participants on the part of the program youth. This is the foundation of the entire model because unless there is some positivity within the youth-police participant relationship no incentive exists to engage and the process becomes stalled. Once positive perceptions are formed program youth progress through the following mechanisms: 1) the establishment of personal connections with the police participants; 2) the individuation of the police participants from the entire police force. These mechanisms facilitate the disassociation of the police participants from the negative attitudes related to the entire police out-group. Without these mechanisms program, youth would be unable to create an alternative view of the police participants and program outcomes would be impeded.

Secondary model: negative attitudes toward the police

A secondary model emerged from the data delineating a theoretical explanation of the negative attitudes toward the police in general held by youth. Overall, this model describes the process through which negative attitudes toward the police are generally established outside of program contexts.

The foundational piece of the model is negative perceptions of the police. During the interviews ten of the youth participants (83%) reported having a negative perception of the police in general. Four codes emerged as critical factors for establishing these negative perceptions: (i) *threat to safety; (ii) harassment; (iii) contextual stereotype;* and (iv) *individual stereotype.* Three youth participants (25%) described police officers are representing a threat to their safety. This included feeling scared and unsafe around them. Half of the youth participants (50%) perceived their interactions with police officers as harassment. Participants felt targeted by the police regardless of the officer's behaviour during the interaction because the interaction itself was considered harassment.

Contextual stereotype refers to feeling stereotyped based on contextual factors such as neighbourhood whereas *individual stereotype* refers to feeling stereotyped based on individual characteristics including age and race. Three youth participants (25%) reported feeling stereotyped based on their neighbourhood context and eight youth participants (67%) reported feeling stereotyped based on individual characteristics. The following is an example of one youth describing their experience being stereotyped by police officers: "They [police officers] automatically think we come from a bad childhood or we sell drugs or get into violence…usually they just judge by a look and appearance."

Once youth experience one, or several of these types of police interactions they respond by perceiving individual police officers in a negative way. This perception is then applied to the entire out-group (i.e., police force) in much the same way that generalizations and stereotypes about groups are established. For example, one youth describes their view of the police in general: "They're all the same. I think all police officers are the same. If…you always have a negative experience with them you always have a negative view". When such a process is in place, there can be an unwillingness to engage with the police. Such unwillingness subsequently prevents youth from engaging in attitude changing processes; therefore, propagating the same negative attitudes. For example, a youth participant describes why some program youth did not interact with the police participants: "They [program youth] think the police are racist. That's what they believe. So when the police were here, they didn't really talk to the police…I guess because they feel that way."

In the current project, the first model presents processes which can counteract this phenomena; namely *individuation*, which is considered essential for establishing outcomes. As one police participants suggests: "Some kids think that we are all the same, the exact same person because we all wear that uniform. They need to get to know us as people, as individuals as opposed to a group."

Discussion

The present study provides evidence that community policing initiatives can be effective in improving youth-police relationships. Results support the hypothesis that exposure to positive police contact can improve youth attitudes toward the police. Consistent with predictions, youth who attended the program frequently not only had more positive attitudes toward the police participating in the program but these favorable attitudes extended to the police in general compared to youth who attended infrequently. This is not a function of initial attitudes toward the police because both groups (frequent and infrequent participants) scored similarly on all outcome measures at the beginning on the program, suggesting that all youth entered the program with the same baseline attitudes. The *program theory* that emerged from the interview data provides an explanation for these findings. Essentially, police participants facilitated two attitude changing core processes, *individual engagement* and *individuation*, which promoted program outcomes. Youth who attended the program more frequently had more opportunity to connect with the police participants (*individual engagement)* and view them outside of their traditional role as police officers (*individuation*), thus increasing the likelihood of developing and alternative view of them and the police in general.

The current results build on the findings of Rabois and Haaga's (2002) community policing basketball program evaluation. The youth who participated in this basketball program did report positive attitudes toward police team members; however, there was no significant shift in the youth's attitudes toward the police in general. This is in contrast to the current program which promoted the spread of positive attitudes toward the police as a whole, particularly for those who attended frequently. This is likely because the basketball program evaluated by Rabois and Haaga (2002) limited youth-police interaction to a competitive team context whereas the

current program facilitated one-on-one relationships. Youth-police interaction was also limited to five basketball games over the course of six weeks. It is possible that this did not provide the youth playing basketball enough exposure to members of the police force in order to produce significant attitudinal change toward the entire out-group. By providing the opportunity to establish personal connections and individuation of the police participants over a longer exposure period, the current program accelerated the generalization of positive attitudes toward the police.

The generalization of contact effects observed in the present study also corresponds to Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis findings which showed that as attitudes toward proximal participants become more favorable so do attitudes toward the entire out-group. Study findings, therefore strengthen Pettigrew and Tropp's argument that intergroup contact theory can reduce prejudice outside of racial and ethnic encounters by supporting the validity of intergroup contact as a means of increasing youth-police relations.

Previous police contact

Given the evidence suggesting the importance of police contact in establishing and maintaining attitudes toward the police, special attention was paid to participants who had experienced police contact prior to the commencement of the program (Hinds, 2007). No specific hypotheses were made regarding whether youth with previous negative police contact would enter the program with more negative attitudes toward the police. This is because study hypotheses focused on predictions related to changes in youth attitudes toward the police as a result of the program. Baseline attitudes were therefore measured for the purpose of tracking attitude change across time and not for the purpose of testing pre-existing attitudes. However, consistent with studies by Chow (2011), Friedman et al., (2004), Hinds (2007), Hurst (2007) and Hurst and Frank (2000) who all found negative police contact predictive of negative attitudes,

results show that youth with past negative police contact did enter the program with significantly more negative attitudes toward the police compared to those without. Specifically, youth with negative police experiences started the program with a greater perception of police discrimination and lower scores on all police attitude measures.

Interview results provide insight into the observed relationship between negative police contact and negative youth attitudes by explaining its process of development. The model that emerged from the data outlines how youth who experience a negative interaction with a police officer incorporates this event into their existing schema of the police which is then applied to the police in general. Generated responses also identified specific negative police interactions (i.e., police appearing as a threat to safety, police stereotyping of youth and police harassment) experienced by program youth which act as gateways to anti-police bias.

This model is consistent with other theoretical explanations of youth negative attitudes toward the police. For example, Friedman and colleagues (2004) posit that youth misperceive any police-initiated interactions as harassment; therefore, the negative views held by youth about the police are the consequence of a skewed perspective instead of a reaction to true provocation.

Although youth with past negative experiences with the police already held negative attitudes toward the police, results did not support the hypothesis that previous negative police contact would inhibit attitude change. Instead, contrary to what was predicted, the program is most effective for youth with past negative police contact, compared to youth with past positive police contact. Despite their negative attitudes toward the police in general, youth with previous negative police contact attended the program and experienced the greatest change in attitudes toward the police. This is not a function of program dosage because both groups of youth (those with and without previous negative police contact) attended the program at the same rate.

It is possible that youth with previous positive police contact did not experience attitude change because of a potential ceiling effect when it comes to youth attitudes toward the police. No change in attitudes toward the police was experienced for youth with past positive police contact because their initial scores were already high; as a result, the variability within their scores was limited ultimately producing no effect. Therefore, any program dosage (i.e. exposure to police participants) is likely ineffective in changing attitudes toward the police for this specific group of youth. This is not to say that the program did not have a positive or meaningful impact on youth with past positive police contact. Rather, it is evidence of the stable nature of positive attitudes toward the police resultant from positive police contact and adds further support for the importance of positive youth-police relationships in the context of the real world.

An explanation for the overall findings is that the program has a remedial effect on youth attitudes toward the police. Even though there was a discrepancy between the attitudes of youth with and without negative police contact at the beginning of the program, both groups were equally positive in their assessment of the police at the follow-up time period. Based on these findings it appears as though the program was successful in erasing the attitudinal impact of previous negative police encounters on program participants.

Police cooperation

Results partially support the hypothesis that exposure to positive police contact will increase cooperation with the police. There was an increase in overall willingness to contact the police across all youth participants at the end of the program but this effect was not maintained at the follow-up time period. This finding is consistent with Hinds (2009) who found that increased informal contact between youth and police increased youth willingness to assist the police. There were, however, no changes in the youth participant's willingness to report witnessing a crime or

report their own criminal victimization. There were also no differences in police cooperation between frequent and infrequent program participants, as predicted, suggesting that willingness to contact the police is independent of police exposure.

Although the current program was successful in increasing youth attitudes toward the police, it is limited in its capacity to impact reporting behaviours. This is consistent with a recent study by Kääriäinen & Sirén (2011) who found that increased trust in the police does not translate into increased crime reporting. A possible explanation for the current findings is the rational choice theory (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988). According to this theory, individuals engage in a cost-benefit assessment prior to contacting the police (Goudriaan, Witterbrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2006). If the estimated costs (e.g., fear of revenge) of reporting are assumed larger than the potential benefits (e.g., police protection) then there is a reluctance to report a crime or one's own victimization. Youth are particularly influenced by this type of cost-benefit assessment given their social context. For example, youth are often dissuaded from contacting the police because they fear peer alienation and/or stigmatization. Further, youth often inflate the social risks associated with police reporting given the importance of peer relationships during this stage of development (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011). Therefore, even if youth have positive attitudes toward the police, the social risks associated with contacting the police are perceived much higher compared to the potential benefits.

Youth are also at greater risk for experiencing negative familial consequences as a result of police reporting because a majority of youth are victimized in the home and/or by a family member. For example, in the United States approximately 30% of sexual assaults and 28% of physical assaults against adolescents occur in the home (Kilpatrick, Saunders & Smith, 2003). In Canada, approximately 25% of all violent offences committed against children and youth occur

in the home. Further, 40% of youth victims who sustain physical injuries are assaulted by a family member (Sinha, 2011). Unfortunately, youth are commonly dependent on their perpetrator; therefore, contacting the police is perceived as too high a risk as it can threaten their basic needs. Other familial costs to police reporting may include potential removal from the home. In the current study, approximately 35% of youth participants were involved with child protective services, suggesting they are aware of the potential familial consequences related to police reporting. Consequently, youth may avoid contacting the police in an attempt to protect their family members and maintain their family structure (Felson, Messner, Hoskin & Deane, 2002).

Overall, current police cooperation and domestic violence literature suggest that police reporting practices are separate from attitudes toward the police, especially for youth. Regardless of youth perception of the police, other factors play a more critical role in determining willingness to cooperate with the police. Unless the social risks and potential negative familial consequences of contacting the police are removed as barriers, positive attitudes toward the police are seemingly irrelevant.

Limitations and future directions

One limitation of the current study was a lack of standardization regarding youth contact with police participants. Apart from measuring frequency of program attendance the study failed to measure the quantity or quality of youth contacts with the police. This is largely a result of the program itself, as it was designed to introduce at-risk youth to police officers in a casual and fluid context. Also, following the principles of intergroup contact theory, the primary study hypothesis was that the mere exposure of police officers to youth participants would result in

positive outcomes. As such, individual youth-police interactions were not monitored throughout the program.

Future studies should include measures of perceived quality of youth-police contact. Especially given the evidence suggesting the importance of contact quality in establishing positive youth-police relationships. However, future programs should avoid imposing too much structure on youth-police interactions for the sake of evaluating the quantity and/or quality of contacts. Programs should allow youth the freedom to initiate relationships with police officers on their own time, based on their own comfort level, particular for youth with past negative police experiences. An advantage of the current study was that youth were not obliged to interact with the police participants in order to attend the program. This approach was beneficial for two reasons, both of which helped facilitate program outcomes: 1) police participants encountered less resistance to their presence in the program; and 2) program youth who were not interested in initiating personal relationships with the police still had the opportunity to observe the police in a non-threatening context and observe them positively interacting with their peers. Future studies are encouraged to promote the same type of program conditions in order to foster positive youth-police relationships.

The current study also failed to account for the literacy competency of the youth participants. Youth participants were asked to complete a written survey; considering the educational range of the youth, it is possible that there were discrepancies in survey comprehension. Although participants were given the choice of having the survey read to them, few accepted this option. This is likely because of the perceived embarrassment and/or peer stigmatization associated with requesting reading help (Cortiella, 2011). Future studies should ensure that youth participants fully comprehend all written materials. Particularly programs

targeting at-risk and/or low-income youth because of the high incidence of illiteracy and learning disabilities among this population (Cortiella, 2011). Alternatively, programs can automatically provide reading help to all participants, helping to remove any possible peer stigmatization.

Finally, the current project did not take into account the potential bidirectional impact of the program. The study focused solely on the effect of the police participants on the program youth and did not consider the effect of the youth participants on the police officers involved. Based on the principles of intergroup contact theory, it is anticipated that the exposure of the police participants to the program youth likely produced similar positive attitude change, as was observed in the youth participants. Unfortunately, the structure of the study did not capture the experiences of the police participants. Future studies examining youth-police relationships should aim to include measures of attitudinal change on the part of the police. This information would be useful in better understanding how police perceptions of youth influence their approach and engagement with youth. Deepening our understanding of potential mechanisms for reducing police bias against youth could also help reduce incidences of police violence against youth and increase overall police effectiveness. Further, it would provide invaluable information for police training purposes.

Conclusion

The current study fills a gap in the existing literature on youth attitudes toward the police and provides insight into the nature of youth-police relationships. The findings support the advancement of community policing initiatives targeted at youth. The study demonstrates that positive relationships between youth and police can be achieved through community programming. Further, study findings highlight how much control individual police officers have in terms of influencing youth perception of themselves but also the police force in general. Police

officers must be mindful of the powerful impact their own behaviour has on generating specific attitudes toward the police; they should continuously strive to engage in positive contacts with youth in order to promote trusting and cooperative youth relations with the police.

Table 1.

Inter-rater reliability for the final model interview codes

Code	Kappa	Level of agreement[a]
Reactive response	.862	Excellent
Proactive response	.714	Good
Community work/policing	.862	Excellent
Positive youth perception of police	.500	Moderate
Individual engagement[b]	.818	Excellent
Non-judgmental	.613	Good
Normalized	.600	Good
Sameness	.586	Moderate
Individuation	.714	Good
Know them	.846	Excellent
Know them = contact them	.754	Good
Know them = trust them	.667	Good
Threat to safety[c]	1.00	Excellent
Harassment	.862	Excellent
Stereotype: contextual	.673	Good
Stereotype: individual	.508	Moderate

Note. [a]Based on the Kappa ranges as determined by Landis & Koch (1977).
[b]Individual engagement was included in the final model after combining two previous codes (inclusive and individual connection)
[c]Threat to safety was included in the final model after combining two previous codes (not safe and scary)

Table 2.

Mean scores for measures of attitudes toward the police as a function of time

	Measures of attitudes toward the police		
	GAP	POP	DJ
Time point	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)
Pre	11.16 (3.53)	2.67 (0.59)	9.53 (3.24)
Post	12.11 (2.31)	2.99 (0.52)	11.0 (3.68)
Follow-up	12.16 (3.08)	3.03 (0.67)	11.21 (3.55)

Note.

Table 3.

Multivariate and univariate analyses of measures of attitudes toward the police

				Univariate								
	Multivariate			GAP			POP			DJ		
Variable	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2
Time point	2.41	.087	.53	1.81	.18	.09	5.44	**.009**	.23	3.29	**.048**	.16

Table 4.

Mean scores for measures of voluntary cooperation

	Measures of police reporting		
	Overall reporting	Crime reporting	Victimization reporting
Time point	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)
Pre	1.89 (0.65)	2.0 (1.03)	2.56 (1.24)
Post	1.92 (0.83)	2.11 (1.23)	2.33 (1.53)
Follow-up	1.56 (0.68)	1.67 (1.19)	1.94 (1.35)

Note.

Table 5.

Multivariate and univariate analyses of measures of voluntary cooperation

	Multivariate			Univariate								
				Overall reporting			Crime reporting			Victimization reporting		
	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2
Time point	2.75	.064	.58	4.11	**.025**	.19	1.88	.17	.10	2.1	.14	.11

Table 6.

Group differences for program outcomes between frequent and infrequent program participants

	Frequent	Infrequent		
Variable	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	t (df)	*p*
GAP	13.78 (3.81)	11.42 (2.15)	2.16 (27)	**.04**
POP	3.24 (0.65)	2.84 (0.38)	2.17 (28)	**.039**
DJ	12.06 (4.46)	10.0 (2.73)	1.56 (27)	.13
EDS	12.34 (10.3)	20.75 (5.48)	2.88 (26)	**.008**
Overall reporting	1.96 (0.97)	1.88 (0.76)	0.27 (28)	.79
Crime reporting	1.8 (1.25)	1.5 (1.09)	0.69 (28)	.50
Victim reporting	1.53 (1.24)	1.83 (0.86)	0.74 (28)	.47
Perception of police participants	25.67 (3.07)	22.5 (4.54)	2.12 (17)	**.049**

Note.

Table 7.

Mean change scores for measures attitudes toward the police by previous police contact

	Measures of attitudes toward the police		
	GAP	POP	DJ
Police contact	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)
Negative contact	1.92 (2.6)	0.33 (0.39)	1.08 (2.23)
Positive contact	-1.07 (2.49)	-0.048 (0.48)	-0.64 (3.27)

Note.

Table 8.

Multivariate and univariate analyses of measures of attitudes toward the police change scores by previous police contact

	Multivariate			Univariate								
				GAP change			POP change			DJ change		
	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2
Police contact	3.46	**.033**	.31	9.34	**.005**	.27	5.17	**.032**	.17	2.47	.13	.09

Table 9.

Mean change scores for measures of police cooperation by previous police contact

	Measures of police reporting		
	Overall reporting	Crime reporting	Victimization reporting
Police contact	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)
Negative contact	-0.026 (0.74)	-0.077 (1.26)	-0.15 (1.07)
Positive contact	0.27 (1.01)	0.071 (0.99)	0.29 (1.54)

Table 10.

Multivariate and univariate analyses of measures of police cooperation change scores by previous police contact

	Multivariate			Univariate								
				Overall reporting			Crime reporting			Victimization reporting		
	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2	F	*p*	ηp^2
Police contact	0.26	.85	.03	0.77	.39	.03	0.17	.74	.005	0.73	.40	.03

Figures

Figure 1. Youth Drop-In program logic model

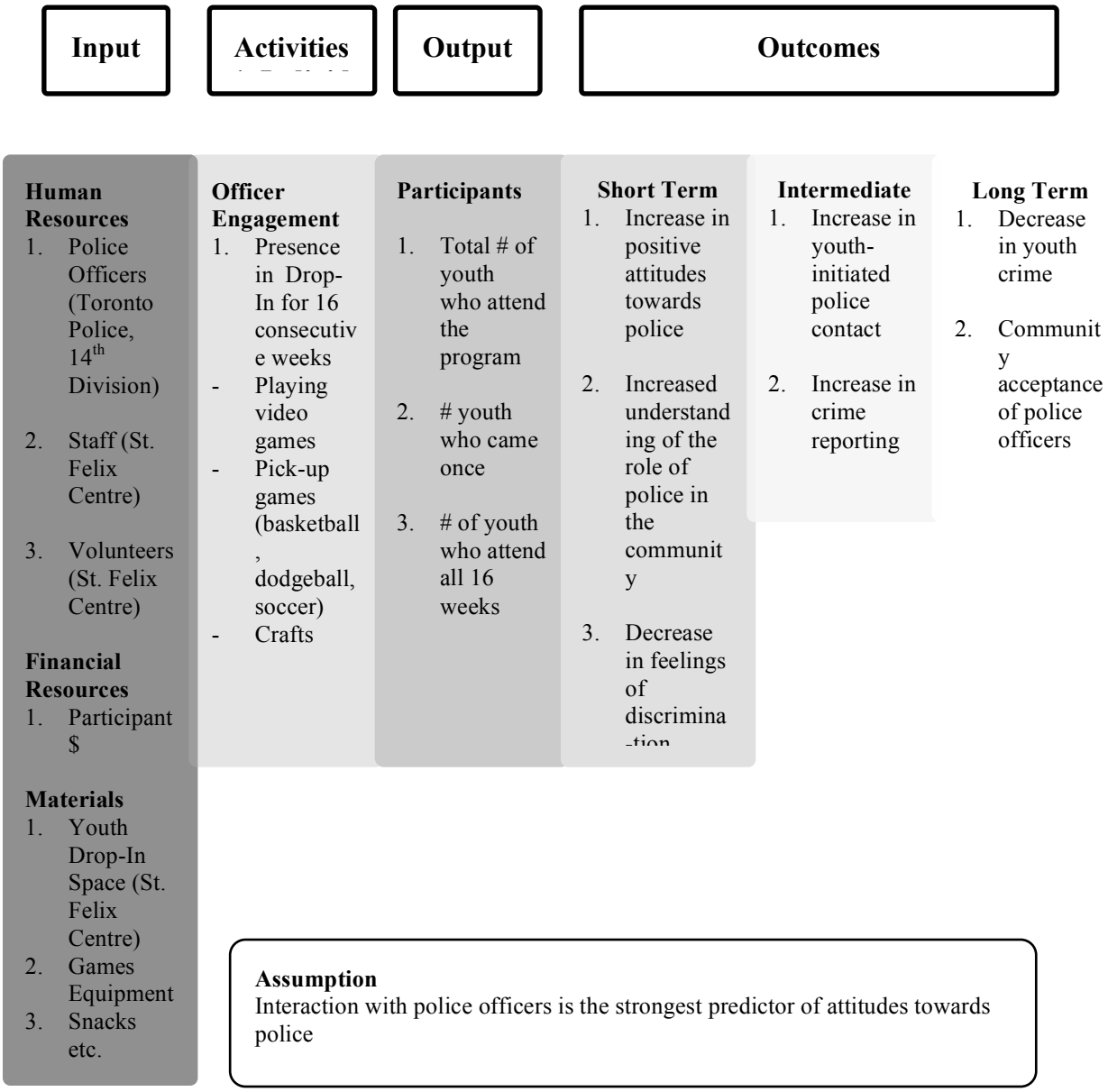

Figure 1. Community policing program logic model. Listed outcomes were used to inform the data collection process; survey data and interviews were designed to overlap with the constructs outlined in the logic model.

Figure 2. Program theory model

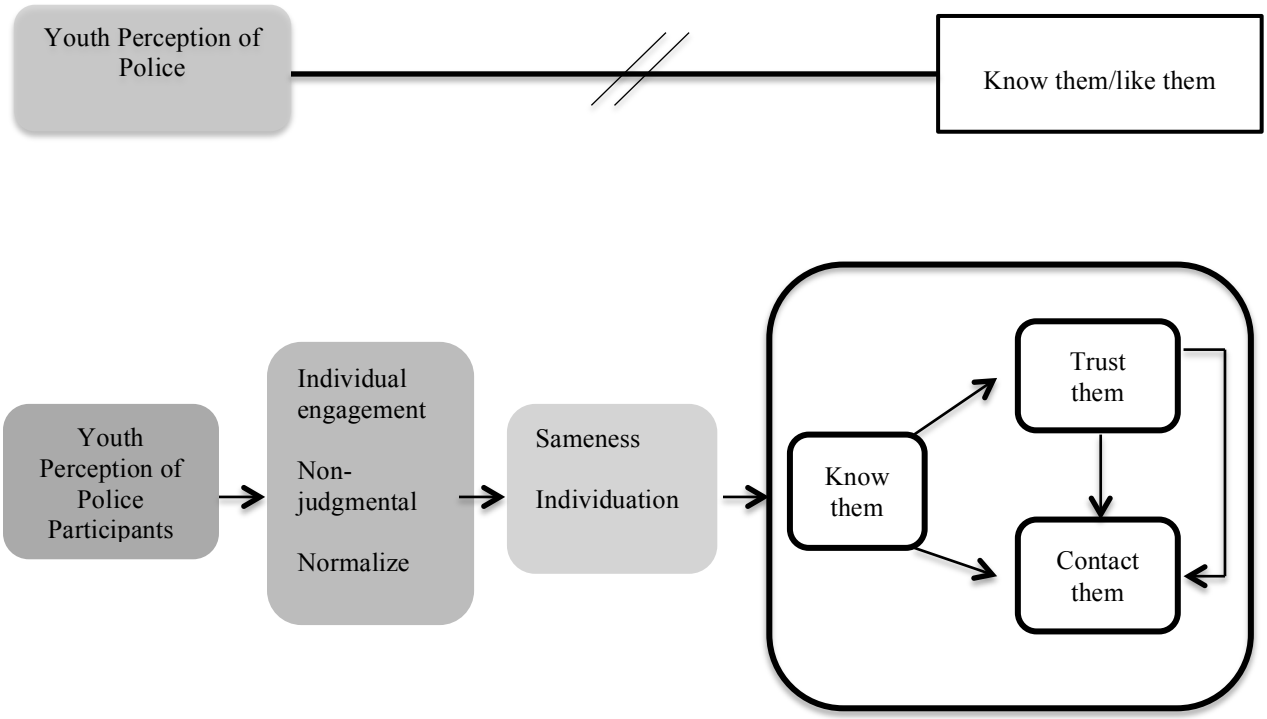

Figure 2. Schematic representation of the program theory that emerged from the interview data. The model outlines how youth develop an unwillingness to establish relationships with the police and the linear progression through which youth achieved intended program outcomes. For a complete explanation of the model please see text under Interview Results

Appendix A

Youth Survey: Background Information.

Demographics

1) I go to the Friday night drop-in YES NO

2) I go to the daytime drop-in YES NO

3) I went to the day-time drop-in last summer YES NO

4) I own a pet YES NO

5) Do you have brothers or sisters living with you? YES NO

5 a.) If yes, do you they go to the Drop-In? YES NO

6) As of today, how old are you? _____

7) What grade are you in? _____

8) Do you live in Alexandra Park Co-op? YES NO

9) How would you describe your racial background; that is, which group describes you best?

a) Caucasian/White ☐
b) African-Canadian/Black ☐
c) Hispanic/Latino ☐
d) Asian-Canadian ☐
e) Mixed Race ☐

f) Other [ ]

10) Which gender do you identify with?

a) Male ☐
b) Female ☐
c) I don't identify with either ☐

11) How would you describe your family's income level?

a) Low-income family ☐
b) Middle-income family ☐
c) High-income family ☐

12) Please choose the answer that best describes you:

a) I have a job and I'm working this summer ☐
b) I have a job but I'm not working this summer ☐
c) I'm not working but I'm looking for a job ☐
d) I don't have a job, but I could work if I wanted to ☐
e) I don't have a job because I can't work ☐

13) Do you cheer for the Maple Leafs? YES NO I DON'T KNOW

14) Have you ever been arrested? YES NO

15) Has a member of your family ever been arrested? YES NO I DON'T KNOW

16) Have the police ever been to your house, when you were home? YES NO

17) Has Children's Aid ever been to your house? YES NO I DON'T KNOW

18) Are you in a gang? YES NO

19) Do you know anyone in a gang? YES NO

20) Do you like chocolate better than vanilla? YES NO

21) Do you participate in any clubs or sports teams at school? YES NO

1 a) If YES – what do you do?

22) Do your parents or siblings ever talk about the police? YES NO

2 a) If YES – what do they say? Do they like them? Do they hate them?

23) Do you drink alcohol?

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

24) Do you use drugs (includes pot)?

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

25) Have you ever dropped out of school?

YES NO

26) Do you get enough to eat at home?

YES NO

27) Does anyone in your family have a substance abuse problem (is addicted to drugs or alcohol)?

YES NO

28) Does anyone in your family have a criminal past (been in jail, has a criminal record)?

YES NO

29) Do you live with both your parents?

YES NO

11 a) If NO – who do you live with? _____

St. Felix Centre Involvement

1) How many years have you been coming to St. Felix? _____

2) The youth drop-in is the only St. Felix program I go to YES NO

3) I went to the afterschool program when I was younger YES NO

4) I have brothers or sisters in the afterschool program now YES NO

5) I used to go to the breakfast club YES NO

6) I go to dinner program YES NO

7) My family also goes to the dinner program YES NO

8) Kittens are cuter than puppies YES NO

Neighbourhood

1) How often do you see the police in your neighbourhood?

Rarely	Sometimes	Every Day	At least once a week	Once a Month	Never

2) Compared to other areas of the city, my neighbourhood is…

a) Safer than most other areas ☐

b) About the same as other areas ☐

c) Worse than most other areas ☐

3) The police should walk around and talk to people in my neighbourhood

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4) The police are needed in my neighbourhood

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5) I hate having the police around my neighbourhood

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Appendix B

Youth Survey: Global Attitudes Toward Police Scale

Global Attitudes Towards the Police

1) In general, I trust the police

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2) In general, I'm satisfied with the police in my neighbourhood

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3)In general, the police do a good job

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4) I like the police

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Appendix C

Youth Survey: Perception of Police Scale

Perceptions of Police

1) The police will only use legal ways to fight crime

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2) The police do a good job of stopping crime

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3) The police spend most of their time going after people who commit petty crimes, like smoking pot, and ignore most of the really bad things that happens[1]

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4) The police are more likely to use physical force against visible minority people than Whites[2]

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5) The police are more likely to use physical force against aboriginal people than Whites[3]

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6) The police do a good job at responding quickly to calls

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

[1] Item is reverse coded
[2] Item is reverse coded
[3] Item is reverse coded

7) The police do a good job at keeping citizens safe

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

8) Police officers are usually fair

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

9) The police do a good job at being approachable

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

10) Police officers are usually polite

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

11) The police should spend more time letting people know about available services

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

12) Police officers spend too much time riding around in their cars[4]

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

[4] Item is reverse coded

Appendix D

Youth Survey: Distributive Justice of Police Scale

Distributive Justice of the Police[1]

1) The police sometimes give people less help than they give others because of their race

1	2	3	4	5
Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely Agree

2) Visible minority groups receive worse service from the police

1	2	3	4	5
Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely Agree

3) The police treat adults better than adolescents

1	2	3	4	5
Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely Agree

4) The police provide better services to the rich

1	2	3	4	5
Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely Agree

[1] All items are reverse coded

Appendix E

Youth Survey: Discrimination Scales

Perception of Police Discrimination

1) In the past year, I was harassed or mistreated by police officers YES NO

2) In the past year, someone I know has been harassed/mistreated by police officers YES NO

3) I feel targeted by the police YES NO

If yes, I am targeted because of…(check all that apply)

a) My gender □
b) My age (being young) □
c) My skin colour □
d) I'm poor □
e) My religion □
f) Where I live □
g) They know my background □
h) They know my family □
i) My clothes □

Everyday Discrimination Scale

1) I feel like the police are less polite to me than they are to other people

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2) I feel like the police respect me less than other people

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3) The police treat me worse compared to other people

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4) The police act like I'm stupid

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5) The police act like I'm a criminal

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6) The police act as if I'm liar

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

7) The police act like they are better than me

0	1	2	3	4	5
The police are always polite to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Appendix F

Youth Survey: Previous Police Contact Scales

Previous Police Contact

1) Thinking about the most recent experience you have had with a police officer, was the experience…

0	1	2	3
I have had no police contact	Negative	Neutral	Positive

This next section is about how much contact you have had with the police in the last year.

*1) In the past year, you have had contact with the police because **you were the victim of a crime***

YES NO

1 a) If yes, please rate your experience

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

*2) In the past year, you have had contact with the police **because you asked them for information***

YES NO

2 a) If yes, please rate your experience

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

3) *In the past year, you have had contact with the police because **you asked for help for something other than a crime***

YES NO

3 a) If yes, please rate your experience

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

*4) In the past year, you have had contact with the police because **you were stopped while standing on the street***

YES NO

4 a) If yes, please rate your experience

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

*5) In the past year, you have had contact with the police because **you were arrested***

YES NO

5 a) If yes, please rate your experience

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

*6) In the past year, you have had contact with the police because you **were talking to them for no reason, anywhere***

YES NO

6 a) If yes, please rate your level of contact

1	2	3	4	5
Very Poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very Good

Appendix G

Youth Survey: Voluntary Cooperation with Police Scale

Initiated Contact

In this next section, we want to know what the chances are of you doing the following:

1) If I see a crime happen, I will report it to the police

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

2) If I am a victim of a crime, I will report it

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

3) If there is an emergency, I will report it

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

4) If I see a suspicious person, I will report it

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

5) If I see gang activity, I will report it

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

6) If there are problems at home, I will report them

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never	Sometimes	About Half	Most	Always

Appendix H

Youth Survey: Perception of Police Participants Scale

Neighbourhood Officers

1) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are helpful

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

2) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are aggressive[1]

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

3) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are trustworthy (you can trust them)

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

4) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are racist[2]

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

5) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are friendly

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

6) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are rude[3]

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

[1] Item is reverse coded
[2] Item is reverse coded
[3] Item is reverse coded

7) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are strict[4]

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

8) The officers who have been coming to the Drop-In (Nick, Kirtsen, Diego, Mercio) are fair

0	1	2	3
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Always

[4] Item is reverse coded

Appendix I

Police Participant Interview Questions

Qualitative Interviews – Officers

1. Before the project started, and before you started attending the Friday night youth drop-in, what were your *expectations* about the impact of the project on the youth? (and query of your presence on the youth)

2. Before the project started, what were your *expectations* on how it might impact you?

3. Now that you have spent time in the youth program, do you think your presence had any impact?

    a. Can you describe why you think that is? Can you give me examples?

4. Now that you have spent time in the youth program, do you think it has impacted you as a police officer?

    a. Can you describe what that impact is? Can you give me examples?

    b. Do you think you are seen differently by the youth? Do these youth interact with you differently than others you might come across?

    c. Has it changed how you feel about the community? Do you feel more or less connected?

5. How is this type of work valuable to you as a police officer?

    a. If you were asked by another police officer, how would convince them that this type of work is valuable? What story would you share that would convince them that this is important?

6. The idea behind the entire project is that the type of interaction a youth has with police officers, will change their attitudes about the police. The goal here, was to increase positive interaction between the kids of St. Felix Centre and police officers, to see if this would then lead to positive attitude changes about the police.

    a. What do you think about that idea?

    b. Do you agree or disagree about this approach?

    c. What else needs to be there for this to work?

7. Oftentimes, a program works best because of the specific people involved. There are sometimes particular traits or characteristics, like a style of working with people, that makes the program what it is.

    a. What do you think made you a good fit for this project?

    b. What types of police officers would not do well in this kind of work? What types would do really well?

    c. What groups of youth do you think this kind of program works best for? What types would this program not work for? (Groups could be based on age, race, family situation, etc)

8. Can you share a highlight you have about participating in the youth program?

Appendix J

Youth Participant Interview Questions

Qualitative Interviews – Youth

I am going to ask you a few questions about the police officers coming to St. Felix Centre.

1. First: Think back to before they were here---
    a. What was the first thing you thought when you saw the police officers at St. Felix Centre?
    b. How did you feel around the police officers?
        i. Do you feel differently around them now that they have been coming to the drop-in?
2. Now that you have spent time with the police officers, have your ideas about them changed?
    a. Do you see the 4 officers who came to St. Felix Centre differently than before?
        i. Can you describe why you think that is? Can you give me examples?
    b. Do you see the police in general, differently than before?
        i. Can you describe why you think that is? Can you give me examples?
3. Did you like having the police officers come to the St. Felix Centre youth drop-in?
    a. How come? Can you give me some examples?
4. The idea behind the entire project is that if you guys (youth) are exposed to police officers then your attitudes about the police might change and you will start to like and trust them more.
    a. What do you think about that idea?
    b. Do you agree or disagree about this approach?
    c. Do you think it is possible for you to ever like and trust (believe in the police, call the police…) the police?

5. We also think that the more the police interact with you guys (youth) that their attitudes about you might change.

    a. What do you think about that idea?

6. Do you think it is important for teenagers to come in contact with the police in this kind of place? Instead of only seeing them when something bad is happening?

    a. Why or why not?

7. There are sometimes particular traits or characteristics, like a style of working with people, that make some people more comfortable to be around. Is there something specific you liked about the police officers who came to St. Felix Centre (Nick, Kirstan, Diogo and Marcio)? You can choose to talk about just one if you like or all of them.

    a. What do you think made them a good fit to come to St. Felix Centre?

    b. What types of police officers would you not like to see coming to the St. Felix Centre youth drop-in?

    c. What types of police officers would you like to see coming to the St. Felix Centre youth drop-in?

8. Can you share a highlight you have about participating in the youth program with the police officers?

Appendix K

Youth Participant Consent Form

ADOLESCENT (Ages 12-17) ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Evaluation of the St. Felix Centre Youth Drop-In Pilot Program

You are being asked to participate in an evaluation conducted by Elisabeth Leroux, from the psychology department of Ryerson University. She is under the supervision of Dr. Kelly McShane, also from the psychology department at Ryerson University. You have been selected as a possible participant because you attend the St. Felix Centre, Friday night Drop-In. Your participation in this evaluation is completely voluntary.

Please feel free to talk to your parents, or another adult, before participating in this evaluation. Even if they say *yes*, you do no have to participate if you do not want to.

Why is this study being done?

We want to know if coming to the Friday night Drop-In will change your attitudes about the police or your neighbourhood.

What will happen if I participate in this evaluation?

If you volunteer to participate in this evaluation, you will be asked to do the following:

a) answer a 10 page survey questionnaire before the program starts

b) sign-in every time you come go to the Friday night youth Drop-In

c) answer a different 10 page survey after the program has finished

How long will this evaluation be?

Each questionnaire takes about half an hour to answer.

Are there any potential risks that I can expect from this evaluation?

No. There are no foreseeable risks, discomforts or inconveniences associated with your participation in this evaluation.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

You will not directly benefit from your participation in this evaluation.

Will I get paid if I participate in this evaluation?

Yes. If you participate in every part of the evaluation you will be given $52.00.

a) $10.00 for the first survey

b) $2.00 for every week you sign in (up to $32.00)

c) $10.00 for the second survey

d) $5.00 for the final survey

Will my information be kept confidential?

All surveys are anonymous; none of the personal information you give can be connected back to you.

What are my rights if I choose to participate?

a) You can choose whether or not you want to be in this evaluation

b) You can withdraw your assent to participate at any time

c) You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still stay in the evaluation

d) You are not waiving any of your legal rights if you choose to be in this evaluation

e) If you volunteer to be in this evaluation, you can leave at any time without consequences

f) If you choose to end your participation, you can still come to the Drop-In

SIGNATURE OF EVALUATION PARTICIPATION

I understand everything written above. My questions have been answered, and I agree to participate in this evaluation. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Participant

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____

Name of Person Obtaining Assent

_____ _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Assent Date

Appendix L

Qualitative Interview Coding Manual

Domain I: Role of Police Officers

1. Reactive response

   Definition: The role of police officers is to respond to negative incidents that have been reported.

   e.g., "maybe they got a complaint"

2. Proactive response

   Definition: The role of police officers is to patrol in order to respond to negative activity currently taking place.

   e.g., "to check out the place"

3. Community work

   Definition: The role of police officers is to serve the community

   e.g., "the police are suppose to help the community"

Domain II: Perception of Police Officers in General

Definition: Youth participant's perceptions of police officers in general. Includes youth's definition of "typical" police officer characteristics and behaviours. This domain does not include any perceptions related to the four police participants.

1. Not safe[1]

   Definition: Police officers are described as unsafe. Youth participants feel insecure around police officers as they are perceived to be a threat to their safety.

   e.g., "I feel more safe around them now"

2. Scary[2]

   Definition: Police officers are described as being scary and intimidating.

   e.g., "I thought they were kind of scary"'

[1] Renamed *Threat to Safety*
[2] Dropped as a code in response to low frequency

3. Engage in Harassment

   Definition: Youth participants perceive interactions with police officers as harassment. Youth participants feel targeted and persecuted regardless of the nature of their own behaviour during the interaction.

   e.g., "still going to try and harass"

4. Stereotype

   a. Contextual stereotype

      Definition: Youth participants perceive police officers as stereotyping them based on contextual factors such as neighbourhood.

      e.g., "they would have treated us different just because of the area we live in"

   b. Individual stereotype

      Definition: Youth participants perceive police officers as stereotyping them based on individual characteristics including race and family background.

      e.g., "thinking that these kids are bad because of their race"

Domain III: Perception of Police Participants

1. Positive characteristics

   Definition: Positive, individual characteristics used to describe the police participants while in the program. Includes the youth perception that the police participants are normal and regular people; not solely and strictly members of the police officer out-group.

   e.g., "really nice"

Domain V: Mechanisms (1)

1. Inclusive[3]

   Definition: Police participants participated in the program in an inclusive way; they acted in a manner as to include all youth participants. This was either directly experienced by the youth participant or directly observed.

   e.g., "I liked how they communicated with everybody"

2. Non-judgmental

   Definition: Police participants acted in a non-judgmental way toward the youth participants. This was either directly experienced or observed by youth participants.

   e.g., "treat everybody the same"

3. "Normalized" youth participants

   Definition: Police participants are described as treating the youth participants like "normal" people. This occurred despite the youth participant's expectation of being stereotyped.

   e.g., "they acted like we were normal people"

4. Individual connection[4]

   Definition: Police participants were genuine in their interest to get to know the youth participant. They displayed an interest in understanding and learning about the youth participant, including their social circumstances, on an individual level.

   e.g., "acted like they wanted to know you, get to know you like a person"

Domain VI: Mechanisms (2)

1. Sameness

   Definition: Youth participants view the police participants as being the same as them. This stems from the police participants establishing and/or exposing a similar foundation between themselves and the youth participants.

   e.g., "they are like a lot of us"

[3] Combined with *Individual connection* because of low inter-rater reliability

[4] Combined with *Inclusive* and renamed *Individual engagement*

2. Individuation

   Definition: Youth participants view the police participants as individual persons apart from the "out group". This stems from the police participants creating an individual connection between the youth and themselves.

   e.g., "I just see them all as one"

Domain VII: Program Outcomes

1. Know them

   Definition: Throughout the process of the program, the youth participants and police participants have gotten to know each other and therefore, no longer view them as belonging to the out-group.

   e.g., "once they get to know us then they'll get used to us and…the same as other people"

2. Know them = like them[5]

   Definition: Youth participant's like the police participants as a result of getting to know them.

   e.g., "I like them more now that I got to know them"

3. Know them = contact them

   Definition: Youth participants initiate contact with the police participants, outside of the program context, as a result of getting to know them. This includes formal contact (i.e. crime reporting,) and informal, casual contact (getting advice and/or help as it relates to crime and victimization or other life issues).

   e.g., "now in the neighbourhood the kids know us by name and have come to say hello to us and flag us down"

4. Know them = trust them

   Definition: Youth participants trust the police participants as a result of getting to know them.

[5] Removed from the final model because of low inter-rater reliability

Domain VIII: Incompatible Police Participants[6]

1) Rigid and stereotypical view of youth

Definition: Police officers who hold stereotypical views of the youth participants and the neighbourhood where the program is located. This includes rigid police officers whose views will not change despite personal experience in the program.

e.g., "think of people differently depending who you are"

2) Rude

Definition: Police officers who are rude.

e.g., "rude police officers"

3) Information seeking

Definition: Police officers who participate in the program solely as means to accomplish their formal responsibilities, particularly seeking information from youth participants.

e.g., "the kind of police officer that just like search for people and search for information"

[6] All codes under this domain were not included in the final models. They were used for the purpose of program recommendations.

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