Assessing the Effectiveness of the Toronto Police Services Board's Youth Initiatives

Submitted to:

Toronto Police Services Board

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The organizations who agreed to be part of this research gave freely of their time and spoke openly about their thoughts, opinions, and needs. We want to acknowledge Native Child and Family Services, Tropicana Community Services, and the Youth Association for Academics, Athletics, and Character Education. The organizers and staff at these organizations work tirelessly to provide opportunities and support to youth, and they accommodated our intrusions not only with grace, but with a degree of enthusiasm given the opportunity to demonstrate the important work they do to enhance the lives of others. We can only hope we have done justice to their conversations and wish we were able to include even more about the amount and type of work they do every day.

A researcher's dream is to be allowed the types of exposure and interactions that make it feel as if they are actually participants, and this was very much the case with the Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI). We want to acknowledge all of the assistance the coordinators and staff at YIPI gave us in order to produce this report. Melva Radway and Joanne Gooding went out of their way to make us feel welcome and to explain to us what was happening at each stage of the program. Ms. Radway also brought researchers along for the site visits and her ability to deal with busloads of energetic youth demonstrated her wonderful and caring personality. We are also greatly indebted to Meera Goocool, whose support far exceeded anything that could have been expected. Ms. Goocool quickly and efficiently sent us data from the program, provided us with contact information for police officers, printed and distributed our surveys, and coordinated our focus groups with YIPI participants. Finally, the passion and devotion demonstrated by Danielle Dowdy towards both YIPI and to providing a meaningful opportunity for youth from marginalized areas was inspiring.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project investigates four programs that received financial support from the Toronto Police Services Board (TPSB): the Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI); Native Child and Family Services of Toronto's Youth Action; Tropicana Community Services' Success through Aggression Replacement Training (START); and the Youth Association of Academics, Athletics and Character Education (YAAACE). We sought to examine the effectiveness of these initiatives with the goal of understanding:

1. the responsiveness of the initiatives to the needs of youth and the extent to which the stated goals have been achieved;

2. the youths perceptions, experiences, and attitudes towards the police, noting in the case of YIPI, the initial and subsequent perceptions after taking part in this initiative;

3. the level of access and interactions marginalized youth have had with these initiatives, and to police through the initiatives;

4. the impact that these initiatives have had on individuals and communities, as well as on police-community relations within Toronto.

The TPSB's work with communities is, in part, a response to the findings and recommendations set out in a number of reports about youth in Toronto. Indeed, these reports serve as important references, not only for the ongoing activities of the TPSB, but for this report as well.

Recent reports reveal that the lack of social, educational, cultural and economic supports experienced by alienated Toronto youth, particularly those in "priority identified areas," contribute to their sense of hopelessness and despair. Hence the need for programs and initiatives that address their needs, interests and ambitions in order to restore their hope and opportunities (McMurtry & Curling, 2008; Falconer, Edwards & MacKinnon, 2008; City of Toronto and United Way, 2005; United Way, 2004).

Given these reports, it is appropriate and timely to ascertain the effectiveness of TPSB-supported initiatives, particularly examining the approaches and strategies, in programs such as YIPI and initiatives in three other agencies, that prove most effective in addressing the needs of marginalized youth. We explored the perceptions that youth and police have of each other, and the extent to which the TPSB's involvement in these programs have helped to establish or enhance rapport among police, youth, and communities. In this report, we assess the extent to which current and past programs supported by the TPSB have been responsive to the needs of youth, as well as the effects these programs might have had on police-community relations.

Part A of the report focuses on the Youth in Policing initiative (YIPI) and Part B on the experiences of youth in the three TPSB-funded initiatives. YIPI is unique in that it is the only program in our study that operates within and is administered by the Toronto Police Services.

Methodology

With YIPI, our research employed a mixed-methods approach which combined observations, interviews with police officers, YIPI staff, and civilian service members, focus groups with YIPI participants, YIPI participants' journal entries, and a survey which we administered at both the beginning and end of the summer program. Our research was conducted during the spring and summer of 2010. This enabled us to participate in all stages of the program. We were able to attend the information sessions, the interviews, orientation week, site-visits, and graduation. Thus, we were able to develop relationships with both participants and members of the Toronto Police Service to get a fulsome sense of how, and how well, the program worked.

We conducted interviews with YIPI staff members, police officers, and civilian members of the Toronto Police Service and two focus group interviews with YIPI participants. The interviews were guided by two main themes: 1) the placement tasks and experiences in the program and 2) the youth and police of each other and the changes that might have resulted because of their experiences in the YIPI program. In these conversations, participants also talked about their past experiences with police, and the reactions they received from people who knew about their summer employment with Toronto Police Service. Also, we administered a survey to the YIPI participants both at the beginning of the program and at its conclusion. The surveys allowed us ascertain YIPI participants' attitudes towards the police and to note any changes resulting from their participation in the program.

With the community-based programs, our research was combination of focus groups with participating youth, parents, and youth workers, and individual interviews with youth workers. As with YIPI, we spent time at the respective programs observing the youth in their activities. Program leaders told us about their programs' history, their experiences with youth, and about police involvement in the youth programs, noting the successes, challenges and areas for improvement. Focus groups interviews with program participants (youth and parents) yielded information about their experiences in the programs, their perceptions of police, and encounters, if any, they might have had with police in the programs or their community.

Part A: YIPI

The Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI) started in 2006 through a partnership between the Toronto Police Service, the Toronto Police Services Board, and the Ministry of Children and Youth Services. Initially a three-year pilot program, its early success prompted the government of Ontario to permanently fund its continuation. YIPI aims to promote youth participation in and exposure to the Toronto Police Service. The guiding premise was that, by providing a meaningful employment opportunity for young people from priority areas, the initiative would enhance the relationship between police and youth, and by extension, police and the communities they serve. The program seeks to promote the Toronto Police Service, and more generally law enforcement, as a potential career choice for marginalized/racialized

young people. The program also operates under the assumption that the experiences the youth gain will result in them creating and maintaining relationships with members of the Toronto Police Service, and that they will, in turn, act as ambassadors for the service in their communities. Our research sought to examine the extent to which YIPI has been effective at accomplishing these goals and to ascertain the impact the program has had on the perceptions, experiences, and attitudes of participating youth.

YIPI participants come from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds that characterize their neighbourhoods, and most chose to apply for the program either to gain meaningful work experience or because they had some degree of interest in policing. Having heard about the program from friends, family members, teachers, guidance counselors, and school resource officers, they believed it was a good opportunity to gain and develop the skills and connections that would help them plan their future careers. For the most part, these youth – from often stigmatized priority areas – were motivated to make the most of every opportunity they either sought or that was made available to them.

The results of our survey at the beginning of the program demonstrated that most YIPI participants had fairly positive views of policing and police officers. Even so, the initial survey and the focus group interviews indicated that many of the youth had very little direct encounters with police and were often intimidated and apprehensive around them. Participants also perceived other youth in their communities as having negative opinions of police and this, combined with some of their own misgivings, led a few of them to go as far as to misrepresent their peers about the nature of their summer employment. By the end of the summer, however, both their familiarity with police and policing, as well as their personal levels of comfort with individual police officers, contributed to a significant change in their perceptions, attitudes, and opinions about the police.

Further, by the end of the program, the youth in our focus groups spoke enthusiastically about the personal relationships they had established with members of the Toronto Police Service and how they have came to realize that police officers are in many ways "nice" people, similar to the other people they encountered in their lives. They repeatedly emphasized the significance of learning that police were like "regular people". Additionally, YIPI greatly increased the participating youths knowledge of policing and the work in which both officers and civilian members of the Toronto Police Service engage. Despite still believing by the end of the summer that youth in their neighbourhoods had a negative view of policing, these youth revealed an ability and, in many cases, a willingness to act as ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service. They were able to provide friends and family members with information about both YIPI and about policing more broadly. The participating youth reflected positively on their 8-week YIPI experiences and considered even the more mundane aspects of their employment (e.g. filing, cleaning) to have given them both job-specific and life skills.

The officers and civilian members who were in charge of supervising YIPI participants at the various divisions and detachments in Toronto recognized the importance of the program and took very seriously the task of providing the participants with meaningful work experiences. Some officers also displayed a great deal of investment in the success of the program and a

strong desire for it to continue improving. These key informants had many opinions about the program and were very forthcoming both in their praise and criticisms. Many of the informants worried that it was difficult to find enough meaningful work for the participants, and the effort to do so created a lot of additional work for them. There were also varying concerns about the selection of youth in terms of job-readiness, and there were some ambiguous feelings about the requirement that the youth selected must reside or attend school in one of Toronto's priority identified areas. Some of the key informants believed that the program should be open to all youth, and others felt that the focus on priority areas risked stigmatizing certain youth and communities. This was consistent with respondents' assessments that, despite some minor disciplinary issues, the YIPI participants were "good kids".

It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which exposure to YIPI participants changed police attitudes about these youth and youth living in particular communities. The officers and civilian service members, however, spoke of the relationships they formed with many of the YIPI participants. Those who had been involved in the program for a number of years revealed that these relationships, formed over the summer, often become ones that are quite meaningful and lasting. Because they cared about both the youth and the program, most of these service members expressed a desire to have a greater amount of input into the operational aspects of the program. They also suggested that the efforts of those who put a significant amount of time and effort into ensuring a positive experience for the youth should receive appropriate recognition.

In sum, YIPI seems to have been successful in fulfilling its objectives. The youth who participate each summer have gained valuable work experience, improved attitudes towards police and policing, and feel positive and confident about their experiences – something they were able to take back to their communities. Youth were able to recognize, develop and pursue some of the career aspirations that attracted them to the program initially. Additionally, the program has facilitated positive and sustained personal relationships between the youth and members of the Toronto Police Service. For a program which was initially met with a great deal of skepticism and resistance from some Toronto Police Service members and some members of the public, this is a remarkable achievement.

Part B: The Community Organizations

Our research with Native Child and Family Services, Tropicana Community Services, and the Youth Association of Academics, Athletics and Character Education similarly set out to examine the degree to which all three of these community-based programs, that received some funding from the Toronto Police Service Board, were successful at providing educational, cultural, and recreational programs for young people. In the process, we also examined how they worked to address or reverse the poor relations between youth and police. Information gathered through individual and focus group interviews with youth workers, agency staff, parents, and the youth in the programs, provided information about the kinds of police involvement in these programs, and the experiences and views of respondents about the police and their involvement.

Our research revealed that many of the youth in these programs tended to be distrustful of the police and viewed them negatively. A number of the youth identified perceived differences among police officers based on gender and race. Women were seen as more friendly and racial minority officers as having to prove their impartiality to their fellow officers by being unfriendly towards youth. Many of the youth expressed concern that they were stereotyped and discriminated against by police because of where they lived or how they dressed. A few youth discussed the distress and frustration they feel when police 'assume the worst' of them and expect delinquent behaviour from them. In general, male youth reported having more personal negative experiences with the police, and female youth showed more hesitation in speaking disparagingly of the police. The youth also expressed concern over the media's mostly negative coverage of their communities, which they hypothesize played a significant role in influencing police attitudes towards them.

Youth workers and parents were very concerned about the poor perceptions that youth and police have of each other, and they were very keen to find ways to facilitate building better relations, mutual understanding, and respect among them. Many of the adult respondents saw misinformation and misperceptions on both sides as responsible for sustaining the problem of young people – especially young men of colour – being regularly stopped and questioned by police. They pointed to the influence of peer group, family, and community members on youth's poor perceptions of the police, but they noted that it is difficult to improve relations when the only interactions that youth have with police is when they see, or are involved in, law-enforcement encounters between community members and the police.

What was clear from the beginning of the research is that community workers, parents, and youth all care deeply about the issue of poor relations between youth and police. Many believed that social and recreational and other exemplary initiatives have the potential to build trust and mutual respect between youth and police insofar as they provide opportunities for cooperative encounters. Everyone we spoke with agreed that the programs that were the best at improving police-youth relations must be long-term, consistent and take place in a youth-friendly setting where police and youth learn to see each other as individuals, rather than as undifferentiated members of an oppositional group.

Rather than sharing in the youths' generally avoidant strategies for dealing with police, the youth workers and parents expressed the desire to have police officers become more involved in community programs with youth, and all said they would welcome police officers into their programs and community centres. Many spoke of successful efforts they had made in working with individual police officers, but in most cases they felt that the lack of long-term and consistent programs meant that what has materialized so far has had a limited impact on a small number of police officers and youth. Several of the program staff members said that when they received the program funding from the TPSB, they expected that this would create a relationship between their programs and the Toronto Police Service, or their community and a number of police officers. Nevertheless, despite the challenges and the fact that they have been unable to establish the kind of relationship they wished to have with the police, respondents remained optimistic about the potential for more programs to improve youth-police relations in their communities, and they were eager to work in partnership with law enforcement members to ensure that more positive relationships develop.

Recommendations

The following recommendations surfaced from our research findings with both YIPI and the other community organizations, and include suggestions made by youth, parents, members of the Toronto Police Service (Toronto Police Service), and community workers. Often, despite their varied and at times contrasting experiences, these key informants' reflected comparable ideas about how their programs could be supported, modified, and improved.

Youth in Policing Initiative recommendations:

The Youth in Policing Initiative demonstrates how young people's views of the police can change when programs facilitate sustained exchanges that work towards the development of personal relationships among police and youth, especially those from marginalized communities. These exchanges and relationships among youth and police need to be encouraged. Our research has shown that both YIPI staff and the supervisors of YIPI participants play a pivotal role in achieving this goal; hence, through their collective efforts, supportive mentorship, and suggestions about the program, YIPI can continue to be a rewarding experience for youth, members of the police service, and by extension, Toronto communities. In this regard, the following recommendations are offered for consideration:

- The leadership of TPS should continue to demonstrate and affirm its support of YIPI and its staff, in order to encourage and build widespread support among members of the police service.
- Building on the support among members of the Toronto Police Service, efforts should be made to increase the voluntary participation of officers as well as the satisfaction of those who take on the role of supervising YIPI participants.
- YIPI supervisors should be provided with more opportunities to give input into the operational aspects of the program, and be invited to participate in the development of the program.
- Members of the Toronto Police Service who display an extraordinary degree of commitment to the program and its youth should be formally recognized for their efforts, in order to encourage ongoing participation.

Community Organizations Recommendations:

The funding provided by Toronto Police Services Board to community organizations for programs is highly valued by the organizations. These organizations are ready and willing to build more formal relationships with Toronto police officers. Enhancing the relationship between youth, community and police is one of the many significant goals of TPSB funding. Parents and youth workers have expressed their wish to work more closely with members of the Toronto police, stating that this could perhaps be facilitated if only 1) they would know

who to contact, and 2) more opportunities for connections between police and youth were possible. Given these interests, we following recommendations are offered for consideration:

- The Toronto Police Service should establish more opportunities for cooperative encounters between police and youth. As much as possible, a dedicated liaison person should be made available to facilitate these connections.
- Efforts should be made to facilitate long-term and consistent relationships with officers who can work with youth in building police-youth-community communications.
- The TPSB should improve and facilitate communication between members of the Toronto Police Service and those community programs that receive funding from TPSB by encouraging organizations to report regularly on their activities.
- The intimidating factor of uniforms was noted in most of the interviews, indicating that this is a practice that is worth looking into, especially in terms of facilitating the interactions between police, youth and communities.

Moving Forward:

This research presents an overview of the Youth in Policing Initiative and of three community programs partially funded by the Toronto Police Services Board. YIPI serves as an important initiative that opens up other possibilities for understanding youth-police-school relations. For example, we heard from YIPI participants about the significant role that School Resource Officers (SROs) played in introducing the initiative to students. Unlike with YIPI, where we were able to observe the program in progress and thus note its effectiveness, we were unable to do the same with all of the community programs given that two had been completed years earlier. More and continuing research needs to be undertaken to assess the impact of programs that attempt to enhance the relationships between police and community, and particularly between police and youth.

- Future research on programs that receive funding from the TPSB should, as much as possible, commence with the program in order to fully appraise participants' perceptions, attitudes, and program effectiveness throughout.
- There needs to be research that assesses the long-term impact of YIPI on past participants, their peers, and their communities.
- Insofar as School Resource Officers (SROs) occupy a pivotal position – often as a youth's first sustained police contact – research should be undertaken to document their contributions to building youth-police-school relationships.
- In addition to hearing from youth about their encounters with police, more research is needed with police officers that provide officers' perspectives of their role and interactions with youth.

PART A

Chapter One
The Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI)

This project investigates the Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI) and other project initiatives carried out by three community agencies and supported by the Toronto Police Services Board (TPSB). We sought to examine the effectiveness of these initiatives with the goal of understanding:

1. the responsive of the initiatives to needs of youth needs and the extent to which the stated goals have been achieved;
2. the youths perceptions, experiences, and attitudes towards the police both before and after taking part in these program initiatives;
3. the impact that these initiatives have had on individuals and communities, as well as on police-community relations within Toronto;
4. the level of access and interactions marginalized youth have had to these initiatives and the police through the initiatives.

Part A of the report focuses on the Youth in Policing initiative (YIPI), and Part B on the experiences of youth in the other TPSB-funded initiatives. YIPI is unique in that it is the only program in our study that operates within and administered by the Toronto Police Services.

i. The Youth in Policing Initiative

The Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI) was started in 2006 through a partnership between the Toronto Police Service, the Toronto Police Services Board, and the Ministry of Children and Youth Services. Then Minister of Children and Youth Services, Mary Anne Chambers, announced the initiative as part of the provincial government's Youth Opportunities Strategy. YIPI started as a 3-year pilot project in 2006, but in 2009, based on its success, the government of Ontario decided to permanently fund its continuation. The four stated goals of YIPI are:

1. to promote youth participation in and exposure to the work environment through diverse, educational and productive work assignments;
2. to enhance the link between the police and the neighbourhoods they serve by selecting youth who represent our culturally diverse city;
3. to provide a safe and positive employment opportunity over the summer months for youth;
4. to promote the Toronto Police Service as an employer of choice (*Youth and Policing Initiative Final Report*, 2008, p. 1).

It is expected that through their participation, youth will develop and maintain relationships with members of the Toronto Police services and hopefully become ambassadors for the police force.

To qualify for the program, youth must be between 14 and 17 years of age and returning to school the following September. They must also either live or attend school in one of Toronto's priority identified areas, be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident, and successfully pass the Toronto Police Service's security clearance process. This final requirement necessitates that applicants fill out a 21 page application form and provide three non-family character references and personal history. The form also requires the youth to list all addresses since the age of 12, all previous employment, and the names and details of all immediate family members and cohabitants. Youth are also expected to reside or attend school in one of the following neighbourhoods:

1. Crescent Town
2. Dorset Park
3. Eglinton East – Kennedy Park
4. Flemingdon Park–Victoria Village
5. Jamestown
6. Jane-Finch
7. Kingston – Galloway
8. Lawrence Heights
9. Malvern
10. Regent Park
11. Scarborough Village
12. South Parkdale
13. Steeles – L'Amoreaux
14. Weston – Mount Dennis
15. Westminster – Branson

Over the course of the program, YIPI has averaged between 600 to1000 applications per year for 100 to 150 positions. Each year approximately 300 to 450 of the applicants are interviewed by YIPI staff and other members of the Toronto Police Services. Applications for the program are received in February, interviews are held in mid-March, and those selected received their offers of summer employment in early June. The program begins with a paid week-long orientation session designed to introduce youth to the Toronto Police Services and to hear the expectations of the program. After the orientation week, the participants are placed in one of 45 different divisions where they work 35 hours a week for six weeks of the summer. Participants are paid $10.90 an hour.

ii. Context

YIPI was initially conceived by Deputy Chief of Police, Keith Ford in an attempt to respond to the social and employment needs (among others) of youth, particularly marginalized youth, residing in Toronto's "priority areas." The initiative was occasioned, in part, by the concerns of 2005 – the so-called "summer of the gun" – when some 52 homicides involving guns occurred in Toronto. With the support of Chief Bill Blair, Deputy Chief Ford approached the then Minister of Children and Youth Services, Honorable Mary Anne Chambers requesting funds for a pilot program. The Minister enthusiastically supported the initiative, and established a program partnership which involves the Ministry of Children and Youth Services, the Toronto Police Service, and the Toronto Police Services Board.

As will be elaborated in Part B, the TPSB maintains an involvement in numerous programs aimed at engaging youth in a range of activities aimed at addressing violence and crime in Toronto communities. To this end, the TPSB maintains its support for partnerships with youth, community, and government agencies in an effort to address problems in neighbourhoods with higher levels of crimes and to assist in the development and implementation of initiatives aimed at decreasing youth involvement in criminal activities. In this regard, TPSB seeks to increase community awareness while participating in neighbourhood problem-solving activities.

YIPI and the Toronto Police Services Board's work with community organizations might be said to anticipate, or considered to be putting in place, the recommendations set out in a number of reports on youth and youth violence in Toronto. *Poverty by Postal Code* (United Way, 2004), *Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action* (City of Toronto and United Way, 2005), *The Road to Health: A Final Report on School Safety* (Falconer, Edwards & MacKinnon, 2008), and the *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence* report (McMurtry & Curling, 2008). Indeed, these reports serve as important references, not only for the ongoing activities of the TPSB, but for this report as well.

The reports *Poverty by Postal Code* and *Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action* identified an increasing concentration of poverty in specific Toronto neighbourhoods (United Way, 2004, p. 16), noting that this situation, in part, was a product of public investment in services and facilities that were not keeping pace with these demographic shifts that were taking part in the city (City of Toronto & United Way, 2005, pp. 18-21). Calling for a placed-based approach to services, both reports suggested that government agencies, ministries, and departments need to invest in strategies aimed at strengthening, what they identified as "priority" areas of the city.

Commissioned to investigate school safety following the shooting inside of a Toronto school, Falconer, Edwards & MacKinnon (2008), in their report to the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), *The Road to Health: A Final Report on School Safety* stressed that the focus on discipline and zero tolerance was failing to decrease concerns of violence in schools and communities, and "hope needs to be restored through programs and initiatives that create prospects for success for youth who are currently on the outside looking in (p. 6)."

Following their "review of the roots of youth violence" in Toronto, McMurtry and Curling (2008) (commissioned by the Ontario provincial government) called for a move towards strengthening neighbourhoods and community agencies and an engagement of youth by providing them with hope and opportunities through positive and constructive community initiatives. The report demonstrated that while Ontario is a relatively safe province, there is an increasing concentration of violence and hopelessness found among youth, often from minority backgrounds, living in disadvantaged communities (p. 102). Commissioners McMurtry and Curling emphasized that these trends are most evident in particular neighbourhoods characterized by higher concentrations of poverty, structural manifestations of racism, family breakdown, and the lack of both adequate transportation and public space for gathering and recreation (p. 141). They asserted that "limited resources must be put where they will have the biggest impact on the roots of violence involving youth" (p. 144).

Given these reports, it is appropriate and timely to ascertain the effectiveness of TPSB-supported initiatives, particularly in terms of examining the approaches or strategies that prove most effective in addressing the needs of marginalized youth – in this case, YIPI and initiatives in three other agencies. We explore the perceptions that youth and police have of each other, and the extent to which the TPSB's involvement in these programs have helped to establish or enhance rapport among police, youth, and community members. Specifically, in this report, we assess the extent to which current and past programs supported by the TPSB have been successful at decreasing concerns surrounding youth alienation and have operated to encourage more successful or improved interactions and relationships among young people and members of Toronto Police Services. As already mentioned, this section of the report, Part A, focuses on the Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI), which is internally organized and administered by the Toronto Police Services. The focus here is on the extent to which YIPI has been able to influence young people's impressions of Toronto police and policing in general. Our investigation of YIPI also serves to identify and highlight strategies, practices, and/or principles that might have contributed to more successful engagements among youth, their communities and police.

iii. Methodology

We employed a mixed-methods approach in this research. This approach involves utilizing a variety of research gathering strategies at different stages of the research project (Truscott et al, 2010, p. 318). The various research methods have the advantage of making the data gathering process more flexible and richer. Furthermore, mixed methods approaches "provide more nuanced, layered, and complicated answers to policy questions while also providing insights into basic research questions" (Jenness, 2010, p. 521). Our approach to the research with YIPI included conducting interviews, focus groups, and a survey questionnaire, as well as an analysis of YIPI participants' journal entries.

The interviews we conducted were semi-structured with open-ended questions. This kind of qualitative research was intended to generate relevant data without forcing the conversation in any particular direction, and allowing participants to bring up topics that are important to them, but may not have been our planned list of questions. This corresponds to an orientation towards interview research which holds that interview data "represent[s] situated accountings on a particular research topic and do not provide a means of accessing interior or exterior states of affairs of speakers or access to 'authentic selves'" (Roulston, 2007, p. 18). Interview data are treated as accounts and participants are engaged in processes of meaning or "sense-making work" surrounding a particular topic. Rather than proceeding with the idea that the people we interviewed held information that it was our task to access, interviews were a means of jointly exploring and making sense of specific issues.

In a way, focus groups which operate like a combination of individual interviews and participant observation (Hughes & DuMont, 1993, p. 777) allowed us to "explore the nuances of attitudes and experiences [and] observe the dynamic nature of the social interactions between participants" (Hughes & DuMont, 1993, pp. 776-777). Focus group interviews, particularly with youth, are a productive way of tapping into public knowledge about

particular subject matters or common experiences (Michell, 1999, p. 36), and through their interactions prompt participants to elaborate on stories and themes (Hughes & DuMont, 1993, p. 776). While semi-structured, focus group interviews enabled us, as researchers to ask the participants to speak about certain subjects, and observe how the participants' experiences and thoughts are structured and represented in a social setting. This was particularly valuable for this project insofar as it allowed us to examine the experiences of the youth in terms of their interactions with police and their representation of those experiences among their peers. Importantly, given group dynamics, focus group participants act as checks and balance "on undue exaggeration by any member" (Saint-Germain, Bassford & Montano, 1993, p. 349).

The two focus group interviews with YIPI students took place at Police Headquarters in late August 2010. Each group consisted of 8 participants with a facilitator/interviewer. One group was made up of all female participants, while the other group was primarily male participants with two females who elected to be interviewed with the males. The discussions with the participants were guided by two broad topics. First, participants were asked to describe their YIPI placements, reflect on the tasks they performed, identify what they have learned at their placements, and talk about their experiences in the program. From their responses, it was clear that they enjoyed their YIPI experiences immensely and saw great value in the opportunities and experiences that the program had provided them. This might explain why they had no suggestions for changes to the program when invited to do so. The second topic for the focus groups had to do with police and youth perceptions of one another. Participants were asked to consider whether their own perceptions of police officers had changed because of their experiences in the YIPI program. The overwhelming response was that participation in YIPI had changed their perceptions of the police, and as some added, had given them a much better understanding of the wide range of duties, roles, activities and programs in which the police are involved. In these conversations, participants also talked about their own past experiences with police, and the reactions they received from wearing their YIPI staff shirts (which say "Toronto Police Services") in public. Participants were also asked to tell us of the difference, if any, their involvement in YIPI might have made in the perceptions their community peers had of the police; and how their comments about the police to their peers might have contributed to their peers' perceptions.

With YIPI, we were fortunate to have the opportunity to work with a program that was currently in progress, and we were therefore able to be involved at all stages of the process: recruitment, applications, interviews, employment, and graduation. We were also able to attend the YIPI site visits in the capacity of participant observers. We attended five information sessions that were held in different communities to inform youth and their parents of the program and provide assistance with the application. We attended the orientation week which allowed us to learn more about the program, meet the youths and staff, and learn of the expectations and roles of the youth during their employment. We accompanied the youth on site visits to the Mounted Unit, the Emergency Task Force, the Police College, Mimico Correctional Facility, and the Marine Unit. We also spent time at police headquarters speaking to staff and youth and we attended the YIPI graduation which brought together all the youth, their parents and families, and the members of the Toronto Police Services who worked with them during the summer.

In addition to the two focus groups we held with a total of 16 YIPI participants (approximately 10% of the total program participants), we also conducted interviews with three YIPI staff members and twelve interviews (nine police officers and three civilian members) with members of the Toronto Police Service. The members of the Toronto Police Services we interviewed were drawn from a list of the primary and secondary supervisors from the 45 different units and divisions where YIPI students were placed. We were provided this list by YIPI staff and we made attempts to arrange interviews with as many of the members on the given list as possible. Overall, we contacted approximately 80 individuals and were able to arrange interviews with 12. We assured the officers anonymity so they could feel free to give us their honest assessments of the YIPI program. In cases where the officers did not wish to be recorded, researchers took detailed notes. When the interviews were recorded, they were transcribed by the project researchers.

We administered a survey to the youths both at the beginning of the program – during orientation week – and at its conclusion. The initial questionnaire was administered to the youths when they were all together during orientation and was completed by 139 youth. The post-employment questionnaire was sent through YIPI staff to the various divisions where youth were posted with instructions that they were to complete and return them to headquarters. Eighty nine (89) were returned. This represented 64% of those who had completed the original survey. YIPI staff also sent out questionnaires to approximately 450 students who had participated in the program from 2006-2009. The completed surveys were placed in the self-addressed stamped envelopes that were provided and returned directly to the YCEC office. Using this method we received only 54 completed surveys, a response rate of 12%.

The survey questions for this investigation were drawn loosely from Brandt and Markus' (2000) study on adolescent attitudes towards police. Brandt and Markus sampled 161 students between the ages of 11 and 14 years from inner city middle schools in New York City. Based on self-identification, the study participants were African Americans (30%), Hispanics (39%), Other (21%); Caucasians (3%); and Asians (1%). The authors explained that the survey targeted largely minority youth as they were most often perceived to have negative attitudes and experiences with the police. The survey conducted by Brandt and Markus bears some similarity to ours, not only in terms of the number of youth who participated, but also in terms of racial identification and residency in marginalized neighbourhoods. We also noted some similarities in our findings and those of Brandt and Markus. In both cases, youth attitudes towards police were generally positive. What was particularly striking, however, was the differences in attitudes, and as we were able to investigate more fully through our focus groups, the complexity of youth perceptions of policing.

iv. Conclusion

In general, the research team was able to participate in the YIPI program and directly observe how the program progressed, which was of invaluable assistance for constructing and conducting subsequent interviews and focus groups. All of the interviews – focus groups and individual – were transcribed by the researchers and coded for key themes. These themes form the basis of organizing the report. Overall, our research methods provided a wealth of information from which to draw our analyses and conclusions, enabling to manage and accommodate the challenges involved in working with different levels of access and commitment to the research. The mixed-methods approach was not only the most pragmatic way to conduct the research (Truscott et el., 2010, p. 318), but it also allowed for a "more nuanced sociological understanding[s] of social organization [which] ultimately provide answers to policy questions that might otherwise go unaddressed empirically" (p. 546).

Chapter Two
The YIPI Participants of 2010

To the question of how participants heard about the YIPI program, as expected, participants' answers were varied and wide-ranging. For the most part, participants admitted to first learning of the program through: family members, school, their involvement in other programs, their own search for summer jobs, and at the YIPI information sessions to which they were invited or encouraged to attend by different acquaintances and individuals. Participants who were introduced to the program by family members explained that it was, "*my dad's friend"* or, "*from a family friend"* who got them to apply. One female participant explained that her brother had previously applied to YIPI. As she said:

> *I heard about this job from my brother who applied last year but he couldn't do it because he was at some summer camp job. This year I applied to see if I could get it because I heard a lot about it from people.*

This participant went on to say that she had also heard about the program from friends at her school and in her community (Scarborough). This is noteworthy because one of the goals of the program is to create ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service and among youth. With approximately 450 YIPI alumni, many of the current ones had friends or had known of youth who had participated in the program previously and their enthusiastic endorsement seemed to have inspired others from their various schools and communities to take part in it.

For some youth, their parent's familiarity with the program came through their parents' friends or co-workers. In the case of one participant, her parent's information about YIPI came through her work in the courts where she heard about the program from her co-workers. Another participant recalled:

> *I found this job because my mom's friend has contacts with the police service and he wanted his son to go for this job. But his son didn't want it so he offered it to me and I took it*.

These participants' comments tell of the personal relationships that underlie most of the participants' introduction to YIPI which also likely served to make them apply to the program. While a number of the participants had attended the information sessions held by the Toronto Police Services, the real motivator seemed to have come from their exposure to the initiative and from the endorsement by people with whom they are familiar and trust.

Many of the participants we interviewed had had either intermittent or continuing involvement in other programs within their schools and through different community groups. Their connections with these programs facilitated the recruitment process. One student explained:

> *I found out about this program because I do mentoring and then the YMCA came and spoke to all the mentors and then we joined this email thing that for summer jobs they'll send us all the summer jobs that are available and then we'll apply for it.*

Like many others, this student took advantage of the employment opportunity that YIPI offered.

One high-school student who had immigrated to Canada only two years earlier found YIPI through his own job search activities. He said:

> *I was searching* [online] *for a summer job. I searched first the government sights and then I found the Toronto Police Website…. I was thinking either this or the Ministry of Environment because they also have a youth and something program.*

While he was able to find all of the information he needed to apply through searching the website, his experience was uncommon. By far, most of the students who participated in our focus groups found out about YIPI in various ways through their schools.

Some schools had information about YIPI in their morning announcements. The announcement interested them enough that they went to get more information from the school's office or guidance counselor. "*I heard about the program through school. It was on the announcements and then I went down and got the program and applied for it"*, said one female student. Another female student also mentioned: "*I first heard this job in grade 10 through the announcements. I applied for it and didn't get it and then I applied again in grade 12 and got in."* Two participants from the same school mentioned that they received information about YIPI from their guidance counselor who received her information through her connections with police:

> Female participant: *We heard if from our school because our guidance counselor…*
>
> Male participant: *She's friends with the police.*
>
> Female participant: *Yeah, and she always encourages students every year to do it so this year we got it.*
>
> Interviewer: *Did a lot of people from your school apply?*
>
> Female participant: *Yup, and only four of us from our school go it.*
>
> Male participant: *Five.*
>
> Female participant: *Five, yeah. She has like a lot of close friends here* [Toronto Police] *so she kind of gets all the info about that kind of stuff.*
>
> Interviewer: *So she has information not only for YIPI but for all kinds of police stuff?*
>
> Male participant: *Yeah. We get a lot of presentations* [from police officers].

This is significant because it demonstrates the effect police officers personal relationships with people learning, living and working in communities can have with respect to providing opportunities to young people who may otherwise lack the social capital to gain meaningful jobs and opportunities. These two students were from the specific priority area from where, we were told, the program receives most of its applications. This particular school was one of four identified in our survey that had five or more students participating in YIPI.

Less common, but significant to the goals and aims of the program, were the students who heard about YIPI through school but did not take it upon themselves to apply. They were students who had either problems at school or negative attitudes towards police, and were encouraged to apply, despite some reluctance, by some in their schools who thought it would be a positive experience. Two of these students were among those who would typically be described as "at-risk" due to their negative attitudes related and behaviour toward school. One male student explained:

> Male participant: *My vice-principal told me it would be a good thing for me to do, so I did it.*
>
> Interviewer: *Why did he say it would be a good thing for you to do?*
>
> Male participant: *Because I was getting in trouble at school and he's like, 'You need something like this.'*
>
> Interviewer: *What were you getting in trouble for?*
>
> Male participant: *I was fighting in class* [and doing other] *stupid things.*

The other student talked about how she had very negative feelings towards the police based on experiences in her community, but was encouraged to apply by her school resource officer:

> Female participant: *An officer filled out everything for me. She said, 'I'm signing you up for this.' And then I got a call at home.*
>
> Interviewer: *How did you know the officer? Is she a school resource officer?*
>
> Female participant: *Yeah, she's really down to earth.*

While representative of their communities in many ways, the youth who participated in YIPI were ones who, by and large, were comfortable enough with the police that they will apply for a summer job. Participants' attitudes towards police are complex, and this complexity is something that is most likely more characteristic of young people in general and not merely that of those residing in priority areas. Still, stories like those of the two participants demonstrate that it is not only already accomplished youth who already have positive opinions of the police who are likely to gain something from working with police. This notion is consistent with what we heard from one of our key informants regarding the youth

who were selected to take part in the program. Responding to the question about criticisms of YIPI only taking the "cream of the crop," one key informant explained:

> *The funny thing is that we're not picking the best of the best. Given the opportunity, these kids are making the best of it and people are confusing it with, 'Oh these kids are the cream of the crop' and it's not. Give a kid an opportunity, encourage them, give them a healthy positive environment and then you see what happens.*

When the interviewer mentioned that this was supported by his observation during orientation week in terms of the efforts devoted to "policing" the youths who were often restless and talkative when they should have been listening, the respondent agreed, stating, "*as you could see, we were having issues with them. Lots of issues. And that's okay."*

The direct and indirect connections to people knowledgeable about the program enabled participants to access summer employment. The information sessions held in different priority areas played a crucial role in providing information – accurate information – about the program. Besides, as one student admitted, it was not until hearing announcements about the Initiative in school that it became clear that it was a program to which anyone could apply. Before then, as he said, "e*veryone thought it was for Aboriginal students because that's how they heard it put."* At the information sessions students were assisted in filling out application forms. In fact, most of the attendees at the information sessions – specifically those held at Lawrence Heights, Steeles L'Amoreaux, Jamestown, Kingston-Galloway, and the Police Headquarters where the researchers attended – had heard of the program but were unsure exactly what it was. Capitalizing on existing social networks, these information sessions were frequently organized in conjunction with community organizations and attracted a large turnout of both parents and youth (two of these sessions exceeded fifty youth).

The flexible way in which some of the information sessions were organized – for example, flexible start time – allowed those interested individuals to drop-in at their convenience. At these sessions, YIPI staff would present information about the program and would include pictures of the activities of previous YIPI participants. Each session also had a number of former YIPI students who volunteered to talk about their experiences. They all spoke highly of the program and this resonated particularly with the parents in attendance. Perhaps most importantly, however, YIPI staff stayed as late as was necessary to assist youth in filling out as much of the application form as was possible and many applications were completed and submitted at the sessions.

The remarkable interest that YIPI has generated over the years from young people and their parents contradicts the view that tended to be held at the beginning of the Initiative – that is, that young people from marginalized communities would not be interested or willing to work with the police. In fact, in public presentations about the Initiative Chief Blair, former Deputy Chief Ford, and former Minister of Children and Youth Services Chambers have mentioned that this skepticism held by many community members when the program was first conceived sought to discourage the project. But starting in the first year and in subsequent

years, well over 1000 applications have been received each year, and that enthusiastic response to the Initiative has not diminished.

Why are young people from these priority areas interested in applying for a summer job with the police?

Table 2.1 - Interest in applying to YIPI	
Reason	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**
Good work experience	39.6% (55)
Police Officer	23.0% (32)
Career in Law Enforcement	13.7% (19)
Other reason	8.6% (12)
Parents	7.9% (11)
Multiple reasons	3.6% (5)
Pay	2.9% (4)
Community Liaison Officer	0.7% (1)
TOTAL	**100% (139)**

As the above Table indicates, our survey of the 139 participants in the 2010 YIPI program, the most common reason for applying was to gain good work experience (39.6%) followed closely by their interest in law enforcement in terms of their aspiration to become a police officer (23%) or work in another area of law enforcement (13.7%).

However, according to one key informant, "*it's the money"* that motivated the youth to apply to YIPI. Actually, some of the youth in the focus groups echoed this sentiment. "*The money's good"*, said one male participant. "*The money is really good"*, agreed another. One participant went on to say: *"I want to get paid, yo! I don't want to work in no crappy-ass job at McDonald's"*. While the money seemed important to the youth with whom we spoke, they might not have listed it in the survey as their primary reason for applying because they believed that they would have been able to earn the same pay in another summer job given that the hourly wage at YIPI was not significant substantially about minimum wage.

Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that interest in YIPI was more than simply wages. For instance, one participant explained that deciding between offers from YIPI and a telemarketer job to which she had been referred by a friend was difficult.

> *I really wanted this job* [YIPI] *but I got another job…. The money was good because it was a commission and I asked my sister which one was better…. It's just the money was so good.*

This participant went on to say that she took the YIPI offer because she realized that it provided a far better opportunity for her whereas telemarketing jobs, as she put it, "*come any day."* Another participant said that she had been offered a job at a summer camp but then got

the call from YIPI; and after consulting with people close to her, she decided on the YIPI job. Her words were,

> *I started freaking out because I didn't know what to do so I called the adults that were near me, like my teachers and my parents and they said that although a camp job is really hard to get and it's a really good experience, a police job thing is a once in a lifetime opportunity.*

Repeatedly, the participants we spoke to talked about YIPI as a good opportunity to improve their résumés and gain valuable work experience.

> *I applied for this program to get experience. Working with the police is related to what I want to go into which is criminology.*

Another participant echoed this sentiment:

> *I thought it would be a good opportunity and I also wanted to get the work experience and I was told it would look good on a résumé so that was a bonus and I just needed some money.*

Others mentioned that the job seemed interesting: "*I thought it would be cool working with the police…. I thought it would be overall just fun and interesting."* One participant specifically mentioned wanting to see for herself what the police were like: "*Some people have different perceptions of the police and I wanted to see for myself what it would be like."*

Based on the focus groups and the questionnaires, we concede that the youth involved with YIPI came to the program through various means and for numerous reasons. There have been lots of discussions about who participates in the Initiative – discussions about whether these youth are the "cream of the crop," or whether they are, as a key informant proffered, "thug kids." From our time spent at the information sessions, at the interviews for the program, and at the orientation week, neither of these submissions is entirely accurate. Clearly, the program attracts youth who are willing to work with the police and who pass a fairly rigorous background check and, as we discuss in the next chapter, their attitudes towards the police are generally quite positive.

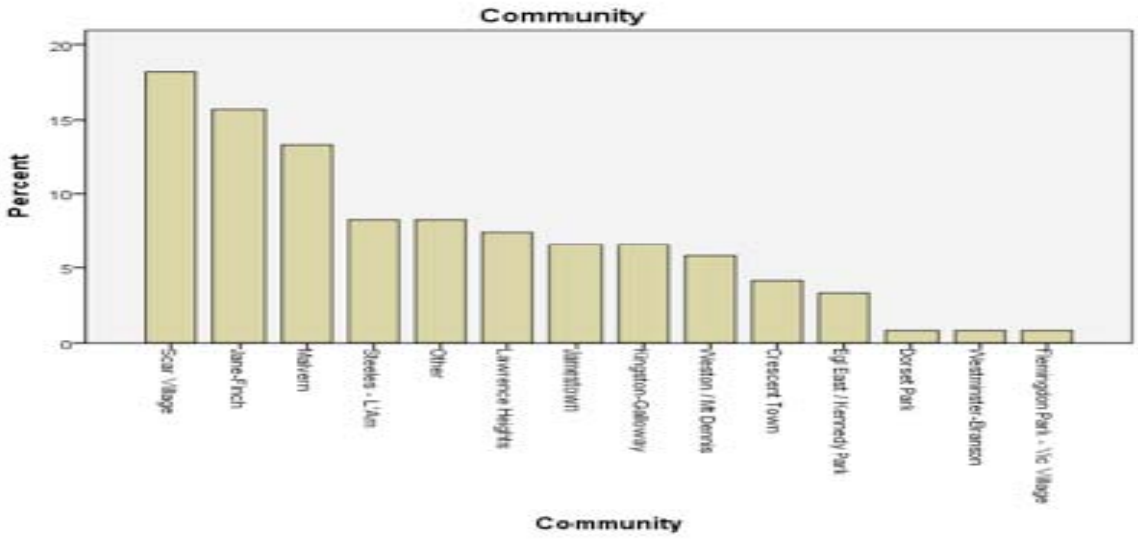
i. A demographic profile of participants

As previously mentioned, YIPI participants must be between the ages of 14 and 17. The majority of the 2010 participants, 107 (or 78%) were aged 16 years or older, and male outnumbered female participants by about 10. There were significantly more 17 year old males (64 compared to 36%), but it was the exact reverse for males and females who were 16 years old. While there was roughly the same amount of 18 year old males (13) and females (11); males were more predominant in the 15 year old age group. Only one female reported being 14 years old. So while overall, the male-female proportion was fairly close (74 youths compared to 65 youths), it is unclear what might have contributed to the differences, particularly at particular age levels. The differences could be a product of the recruitment process, who gets access to the information about the program, occupational aspirations of participants and when they make their decisions about their aspirations.

Table 2.2 - Age of YIPI Participants			
		AGE BY GENDER	
		MALE	**FEMALE**
Age	**Total Number of Students**	**Percentage of *Total Number of Students* (Number of Students)**	**Percentage of *Total Number of Students* (Number of Students)**
18	24	9.5% (13)	8.0% (11)
17	45	21.2% (29)	11.7% (16)
16	38	10.2% (14)	17.5% (24)
15	29	13.1% (18)	8.0% (11)
14	1	0% (0)	0.7% (1)
TOTAL	**137**	**54% (74)**	**46% (63)**

The four communities where most of the participants lived were Scarborough Village, Jane-Finch, Malvern and Steeles L'Amoureux. More than half of the 121 participants who responded to the question of residency indicated that they resided in these four areas. Five participants indicated that they lived in Regent Park, and others indicated Parkdale (1), Keele and Eglinton (1), and Scarborough (1).

Figure 2.1



It is worth noting that 18 participants did not answer the question about their place of residency in terms of the "priority area" in which they lived, and many of those who did not answer the question also declined to say whether or not they lived in buildings operated by the Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC). Actually, only 3 of the 18 participants indicated that they lived in Community Housing. It is possible that those who did

not answer the residency questions did not wish to be linked to the area. Overall, 23 of 111 individuals (21%) indicated that they lived in a TCHC building.

Participants attended many different public and Catholic schools inside and outside of their neighbourhoods. The following Table indicates that schools which three of more participants attended, but it should be noted that in most cases only one or two participants attended their identified schools. Fourteen participants did not identify the schools that they were "currently attending" and some instead identified either a college or university (e.g. George Brown College, York University, Queen's University) probably suggesting that these are the institutions they planned to attend in the coming September and hence with which they preferred to be identified.

Table 2.3 - Schools Attended By YIPI Participants	
School	**Number of Students**
Senator O'Connor Collegiate Institute	6
Birchmount Collegiate Institute	5
Pope John Paul Catholic Secondary School	5
Lester B. Pearson Collegiate Institute	5
Emery Collegiate Institute	3
James Cardinal McGuigan Catholic Secondary School	3
Monsignor Percy Johnson Catholic Secondary School	3
R.H. King Collegiate Institute	3
St. Joseph's College School	3
Westview Secondary School	3
TOTAL	**39**

The grades that participants had completed seemed to be consistent with their ages. As to be expected, then, the majority (34%) indicated that they had just completed Grade 11, and the smallest proportion had just finished Grade 12 (14%). Only one person indicated having just completed Grade 8.

Table 2.4 - Highest Grade Completed By YIPI Participants	
Grade	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**
Grade **8**	0.7% (1)
Grade **9**	21.9% (30)
Grade **10**	28.5% (39)
Grade **11**	34.3% (47)
Grade **12**	13.9% (19)
Other Response(s)	0.7% (1)
TOTAL	**100% (137)**

The majority (86 or 67%) of the participants reported that they were born in Canada, while about one-third (42 or 33%) reported that they were born outside of Canada. (10 respondents

did not answer this survey question). The 42 participants who indicated that they were not born in Canada indicated about 21 different countries of birth. The most common areas of birth were the Caribbean, East and Southeast Asia, and Africa (8 participants each), and South Asia (11 participants). India, Jamaica and the Philippines were the countries most identified as the birthplaces of participants (in each case 5, 5 and 4 participants).

Table 2.5 - Birthplace of YIPI Participants	
Region	Number of Students
South Asia	11
Middle East / Northern Africa	3
East And Southeast Asia	8
Central And South America	1
Caribbean	8
Africa	8
Europe/USA	3
TOTAL	**42**

In terms of racial identification, almost half (66 or 48%) of YIPI participants self-identified as Black, 20 (or 14%) as East and Southeast Asian, including Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and the same number as South Asian, including Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan. Nine (7%) participants identified as White, and one participant indicated that being Aboriginal.

Table 2.6 - Racial Identification of YIPI Participants	
Race	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**
Aboriginal	0.7% (1)
Black	47.5% (66)
E/SE Asian	14.4% (20)
South Asian	14.4% (20)
Middle East	3.6% (5)
Latin/South America	2.9% (4)
Other Racial Minority	9.4% (13)
White	6.5% (9)
TOTAL	**100% (139)**

While the majority of the participants lived with their parents – 94 participants (or 64%) with two parents (including step-parent), and 44 (or 32%) with one parent. Only one respondent reported living with grandparents, without the presence of parents. For the most part, their parents had completed high school and some had postsecondary education.

While 21% of the respondents reported that they did not know the highest level of education their mother had completed; 11% those who did know revealed that their mothers had completed high school, 32% had mothers who had completed some college or a had a college

diploma, and 26% had mothers who had completed some university or had a university degree.

Interestingly, a significant number of participants, more than one-third (37%), claimed not to know the highest level of education their father had completed. This is some 15% difference between those who claimed to know their mother's level of education and that of their fathers. Of those who did know, 9% revealed that their fathers had completed high school, 15% had fathers who completed some college or a had a college diploma, and 27% had fathers who had completed some university or had a university degree.

Taken together, 25 respondents claimed not to know the highest level of education that either of their parents had completed. It is possible that the lack of knowledge has to do with the fact that many of the participants were living with their mothers. However, of the 111 respondents who answered this question, 46% (51 participants) reported that at least one of their parents had at least some university, while 19% (21 participants) reported that both parents had at least some college or university. Only 10% (11 people) reported that both parents had not completed high school or had only a high school diploma.

Table 2.7 - Parents' Education

	Mother's Education	**Father's Education**
Level of Education	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**
No High School	9.6% (13)	7.5% (10)
High School	11.0% (15)	9.8% (13)
Some College	8.1% (11)	7.5% (10)
College	24.3% (33)	8.3% (11)
Some University	5.1% (7)	3.0% (4)
University	20.6% (28)	24.8% (33)
Don't know	21.3% (29)	39.1% (52)
TOTAL	**100% (136)**	**100% (133)**

The majority or about two-third of the participants who responded to the question pertaining to the employment status of their parents indicated that their parents were employed full-time. More of them (14%) reported having mothers who were employed part-time while very few (3%) said that their fathers were employed part-time. Their responses also indicated that their mothers were twice as likely as their fathers to be unemployed (17:8). The reported employment status of both parents suggests that 69% (91 participants) had at least one parent employed full-time, while 47% (61 participants) had both parents employed full-time, and only 5% of respondents (6 participants) had both parents unemployed. And as with their knowledge of their parents' education, nearly 4 times as many participants claimed not to know their fathers employment status. It is likely this, in part, is a result of living with only their mothers.

Table 2.8 - Parents' Employment		
	Mother's Employment	**Father's Employment**
Employment Status	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**	**Percentage of Students (Number of Students)**
Employed F-T	63.0% (87)	66.4% (87)
Employed P-T	13.8% (19)	3.1% (4)
Not employed	17.4% (24)	8.4% (11)
Don't Know	5.8% (8)	22.1% (29)
TOTAL	**100% (138)**	**100% (131)**

ii. Conclusion

The YIPI participants come from a variety of social and cultural backgrounds in terms of ethnicity, race, and birthplace. The majority of them were born in Canada and about one-third in one of 21 different countries. As might be expected, most of those who knew the highest level of their parents' education reported that their parents had at least some postsecondary education. The majority (about 70%) of the participants had at least one parent who was employed full-time, and almost half had both parents in full-time employment. About 2 in 3 live in dual parents households, and 1 in 5 lived in Toronto Community Housing. Participants chose to apply to the program for various reasons – mostly to gain meaningful work experience and/or to satisfy their interest in becoming a police officer.

The participants acknowledged that YIPI was generally a useful opportunity to gain work experience that would assist them in their future career plans. They indicated that they had heard about the program from their friends and family members, as well as from school personnel, specifically, teachers, guidance counselors, and school resource officers. The YIPI information sessions were crucial for providing potential applicants with information about the program, and helping them to complete the application forms. The participants' discussions pertaining to the opportunities provided them demonstrated the extent to which, as youth considered to be marginalized neighbourhoods, made attempts and took agency to access the skills and knowledge required their future endeavours. Given the profile of the youth who participated in the 2010 YIPI program, it is reasonable to conclude that neither were they all the "best of the best" nor "at-risk youth" as has been variously portrayed or often inferred because they are from "priority areas." More appropriately, the participants of 2010 can be said to be representative of the diversity of the neighbourhoods in which they lived, and of youth in general at this stage of their lives. For the most part, they presented as motivated by their needs, interests, and aspirations, and as having a willingness to negotiate the social and institutional structures in order to realize their ambitions. Further, they had a sense of their potential, and an understanding of the opportunity structures which they seemingly used to frame their actions.

Chapter Three
Attitudes towards police at the beginning of YIPI

During orientation week at police headquarters, we surveyed the YIPI participants on 19 different questions pertaining to their attitudes towards the police. We also asked 5 questions about their attitudes towards teachers to provide a comparison. This survey was repeated at the end of the summer to ascertain any changes in attitudes as a result of their participation in the program. The full list of responses at both the beginning and end of the program is contained in the Appendices, but in this chapter we will look at some of the responses **prior to their participation**.

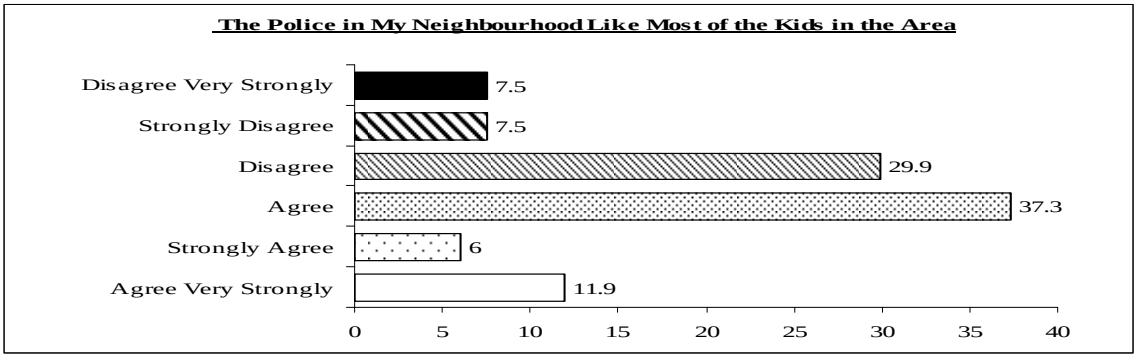
By and large, the youth expressed positive attitudes towards the police. This is not surprising, given that all of them willingly applied for a job working with the police. But, as expected, there were those participants who held negative views of policing and the police officers which, for some of them, changed as their participation in YIPI evolved. There was a great deal of variation in the number of youths who chose to express a viewpoint for certain statements. In other words, there was an interesting pattern to their answers to some of the statements on the survey. Upon close examination, their 'don't know' responses were to those statements that required them to speculate on the attitudes and motivations of others.

For example, the statement that received the fewest number of responses was the one which asked the participants about the predisposition of police officers towards their peers. In this case, 52% of the 139 youth selected 'Don't know' to the statement: "The police in my neighbourhood like most of the kids in the area". Similarly, 47% marked 'Don't know' for the statement: "Police in my neighbourhood are not racist". In contrast, only 9% of the youth marked 'Don't know' on the statement: "If I were in trouble, I would feel comfortable asking a police officer for help". Here we observe that participants were willing to report their views, but hesitant to attribute attitudes and motivations to others, especially in cases where there is significant social distance between the others (i.e. police officers) and themselves. While large numbers responded 'Don't know' to questions that asked them to speculate on the attitudes of police officers, a greater proportion (78%) were okay responding to the statement: "In my community, other kids my age trust the police". It might be because they interact with other youth in their communities that participants were more willing to give their opinion here. **We want to remind readers to bear in mind that the results that we provide here are from the initial survey given in the first week of the YIPI program.**

i. Police and the community

The youth were asked if the police in their neighbourhood liked most of the kids in the area (Figure 3.1). Of the 48% of the youths who gave an opinion to this question, only 11.9% agreed very strongly with the statement. An additional 6% strongly agreed with this statement and 37.3% simply agreed. Of those participants who disagreed with the statement, 29.9% indicated disagree, 7.5% indicated strongly disagree and 7.5% indicated disagree very strongly.

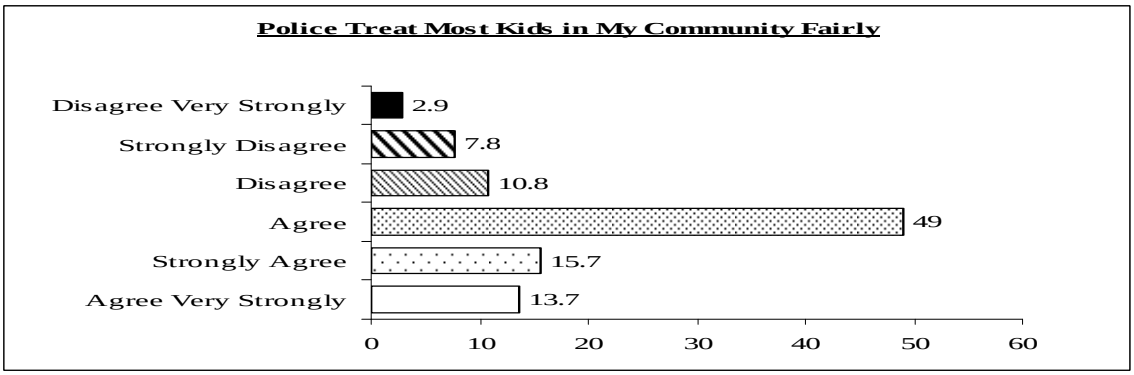
Figure 3.1



N=67

In terms of police fair treatment of youth in their communities (Figure 3.2), about half (49%) simply agreed that this was the case, while about another 15% either strongly agreed or very strongly agreed with the statement.

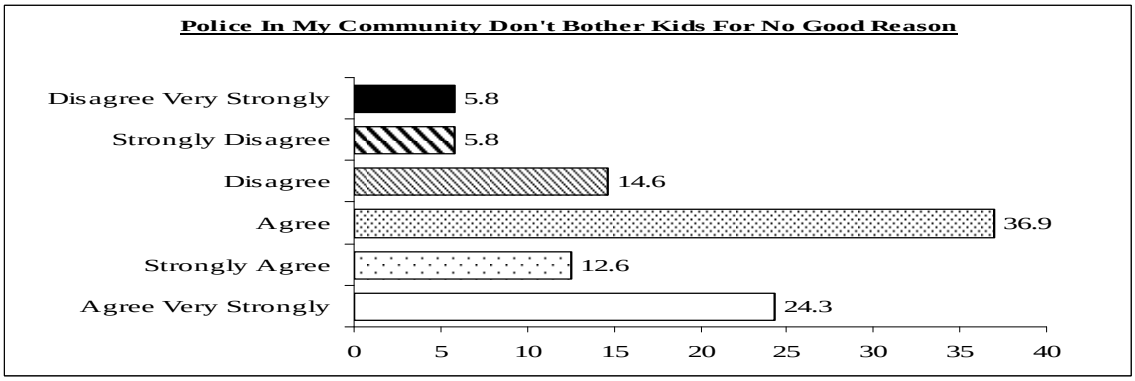
Figure 3.2



N=102

Almost three-quarters (73.8%) of the participants who expressed an opinion on whether they believed the police bothered kids for no good reason in their communities (Figure 3.3) believed that they did not.

Figure 3.3

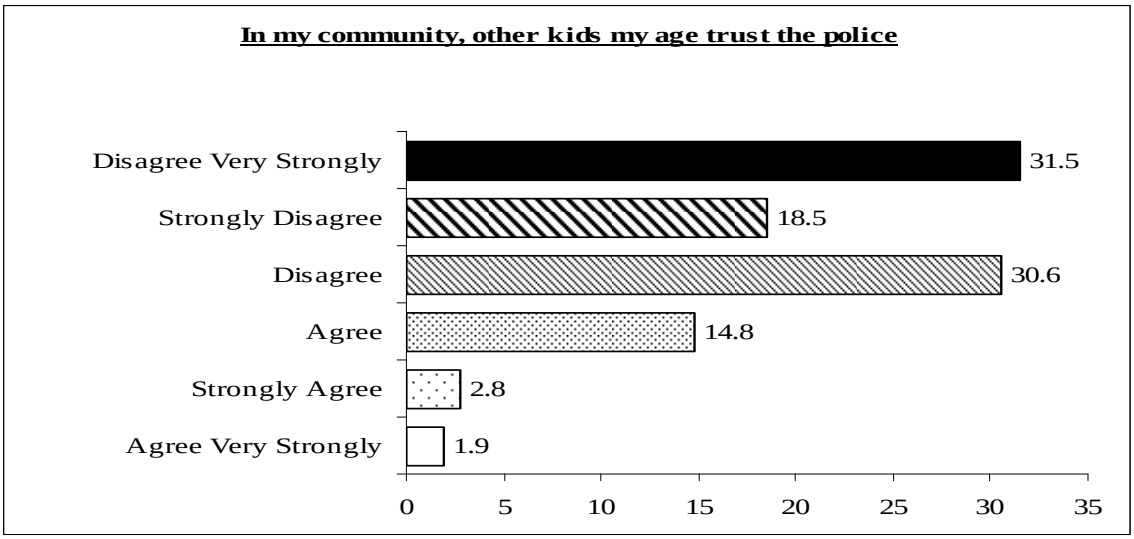


N=103

ii. Trust in police

When we asked participants about the attitudes of their peers towards police (Figure 3.4), it was clear that they believed that other kids their age did not trust the police. Actually, 81% of the participants who answered this question indicated that in their communities, other youth their age do not trust the police.

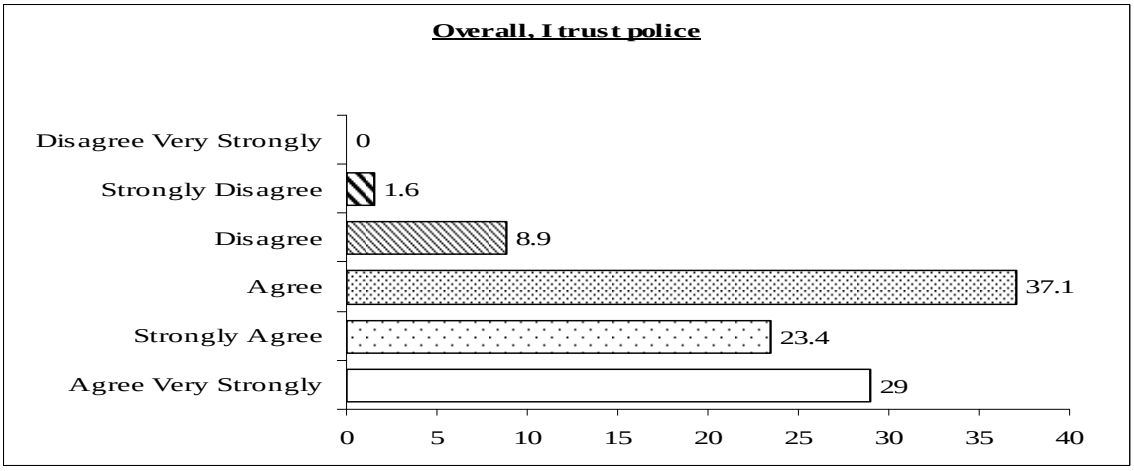
Figure 3.4



N=108

Their peers' distrust of police is in sharp contrast to participants' claims of trust for police (Figure 3.5). Almost 90% of the participants who responded to the statement "Overall, I trust police" agreed with the sentiment, with only 11% disagreeing.

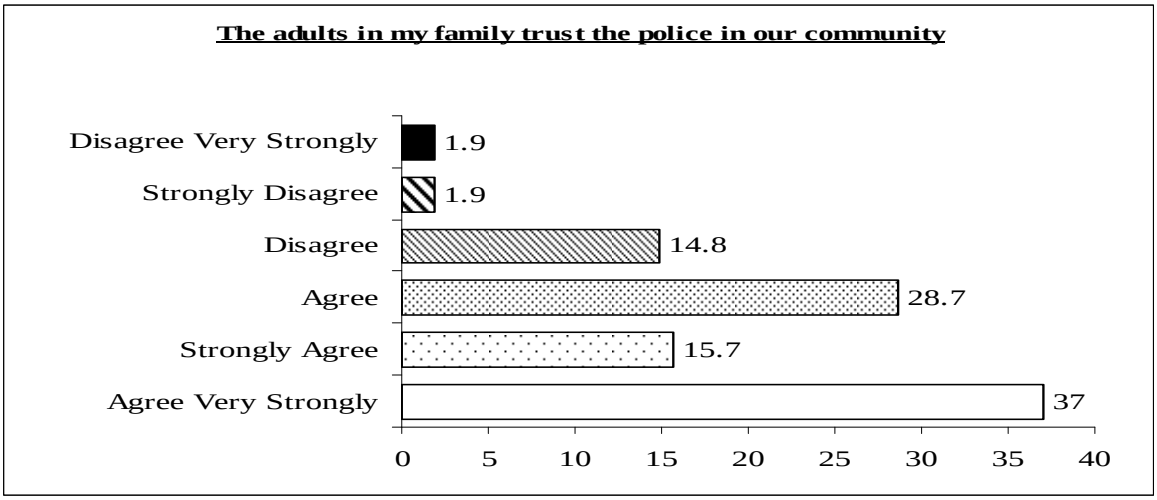
Figure 3.5



N=124

YIPI participants also indicated that they believed their adult family members were just as likely (82%) to trust the police in their community (Figure 3.6). Interestingly, while 29% indicated very strong agreement of their trust for police, 37% indicated the same very strong agreement as to the level of trust their adult family members had for police. Participants also indicated that approximately 20% (compared to 11% of them) of their family members do not trust the police.

Figure 3.6

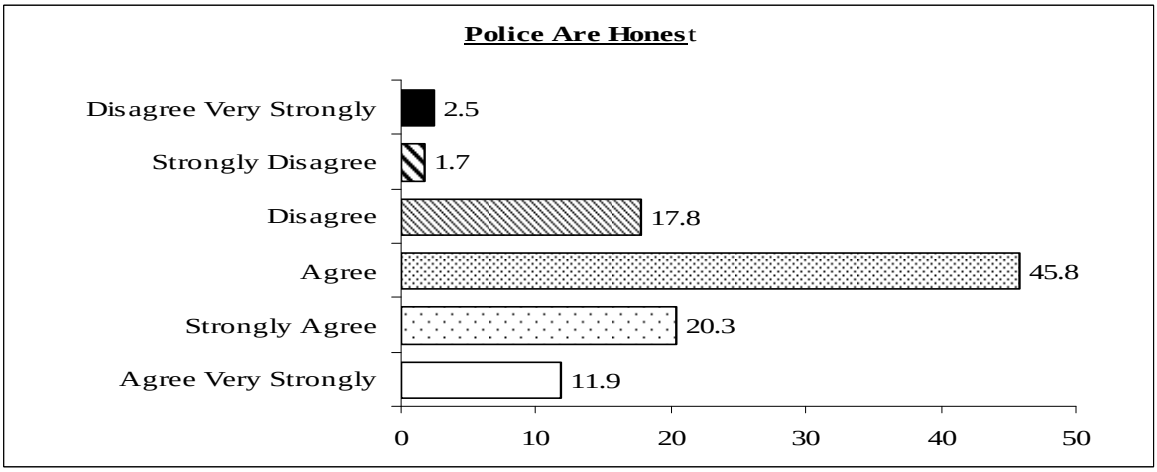


N=108

iii. Opinions on the character of police

When it came to questions about their own feelings on police officers (Figure 3.7), the YIPI participants were generally positive. We asked the participants if they believed police were honest – 78% of them agreed, with 12% agreeing very strongly.

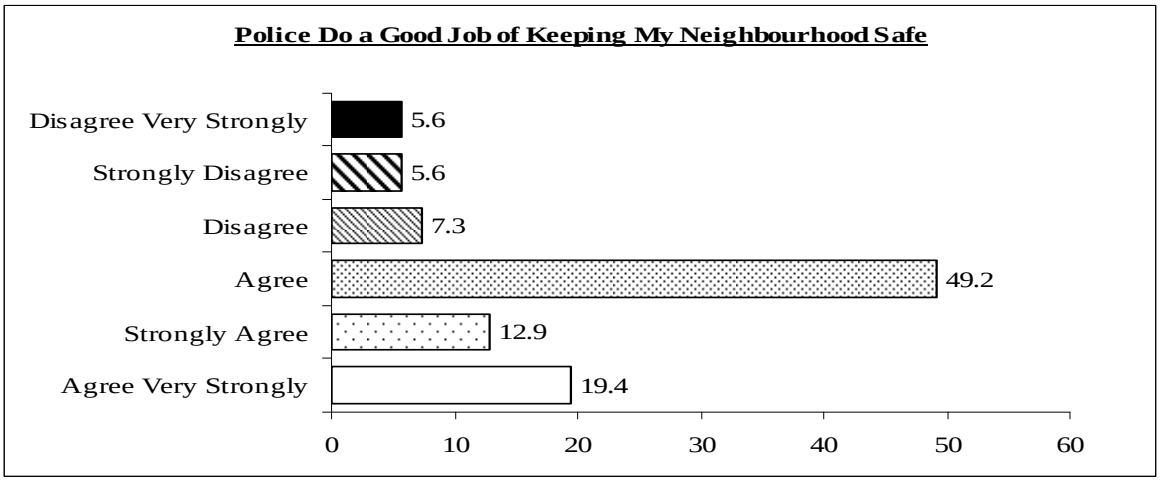
Figure 3.7



N=118

Similarly, about half (49.2%) simply agreed that police do a good job of keeping their neighbourhood safe and another one-third strongly to very strongly agreed (Figure 3.8).

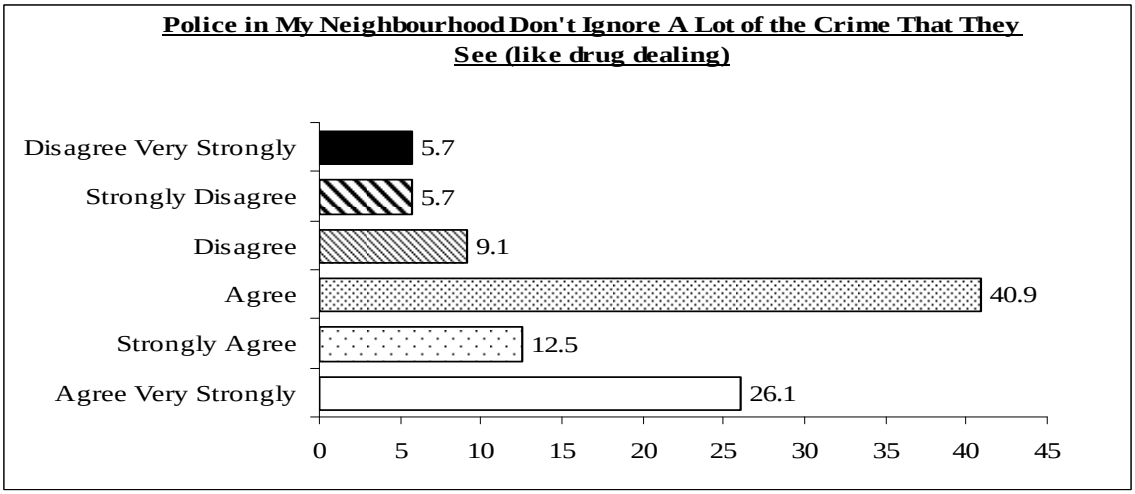
Figure 3.8



N=124

Although one-third of the participants indicated that they did not know whether police ignored a lot of the crime that they saw in their neighbourhood (Figure 3.9), those who did express an opinion were largely supportive of the police. Almost 80% of the participants believed that the police did not ignore crime in their neighbourhoods.

Figure 3.9

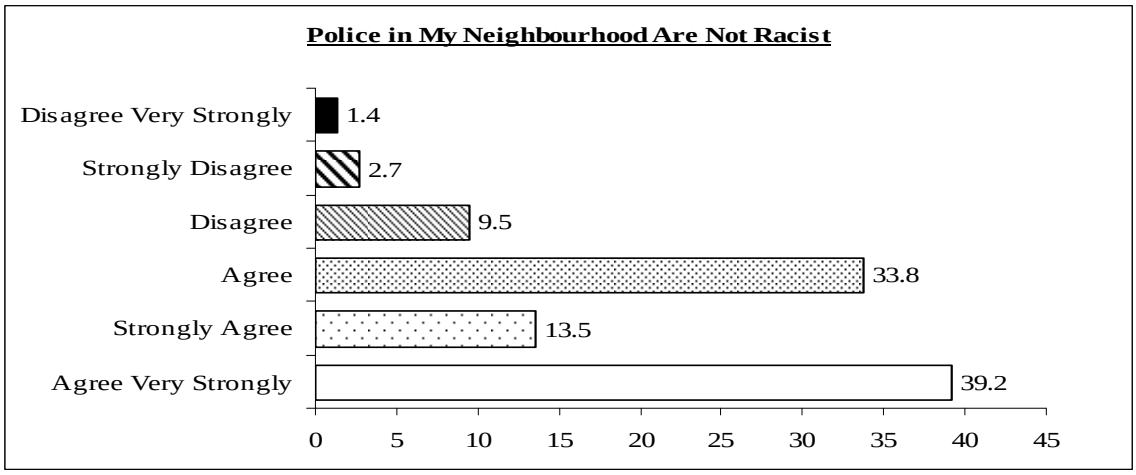


N=88

Only 53% of the youth said whether or not they believed the police in their neighbourhood were racist (Figure 3.10), but of those who did, 86.5% believed they were not racist with 2 in 5 strongly agreeing that they are not racist. By comparison approximately 75% of the participants agreed that their teachers were not racist (Figure 3.11). It is not clear, however,

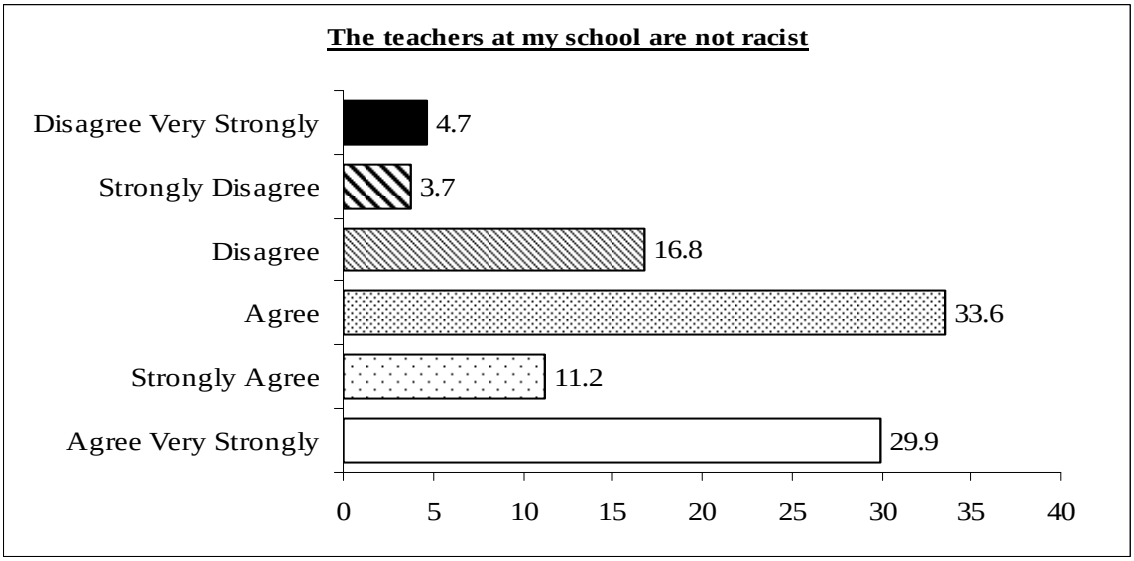
that the YIPI participants necessarily had a more positive assessment of police officers than their teachers. The difference in their perceptions of racism between teachers and police, might be due to the fact that, at least in the initial week of the program, the youth are more familiar with their teachers; hence, they more willingly provide their assessment of teachers.

Figure 3.10



N=74

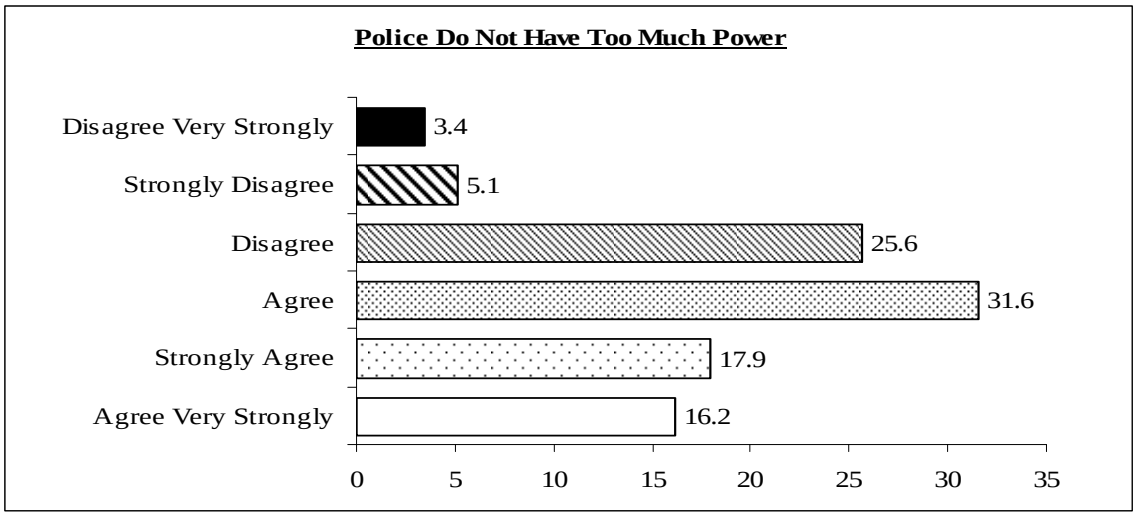
Figure 3.11



N=107

When we asked the participants if they thought that the police had too much power (Figure 3.12) 66% of them indicated that they believed the police do not have too much power. Of those who answered this question, most participants (31.6%) simply agreed. On the other hand, over one-third indicated that the police have too much power with most simply disagreeing. This is interesting, considering they had accepted a job with the Toronto Police.

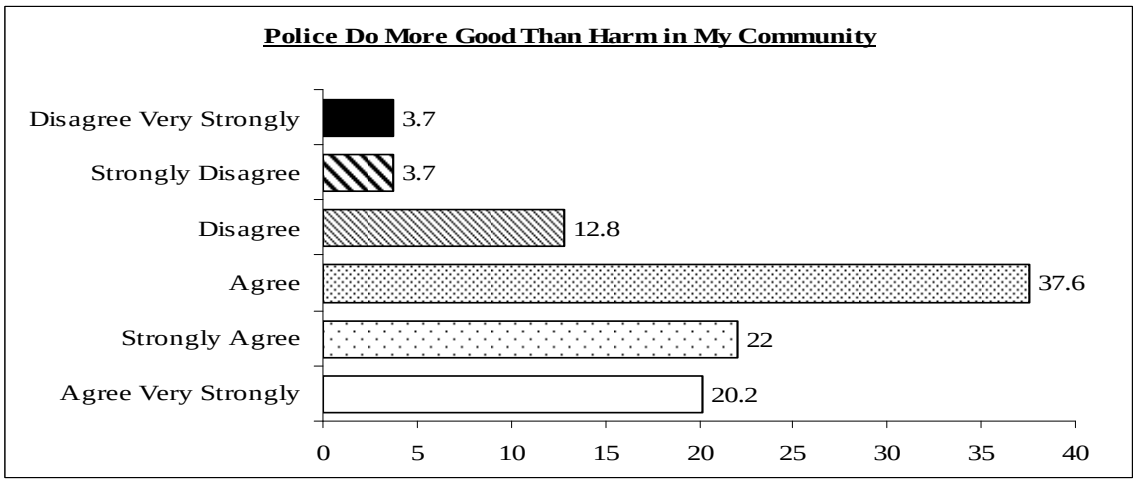
Figure 3.12



N=117

The program participants generally agreed that the police do more good than harm in their communities (Figure 3.13). Almost 80% agreed with this statement with 20% (22) indicating that this was not the case.

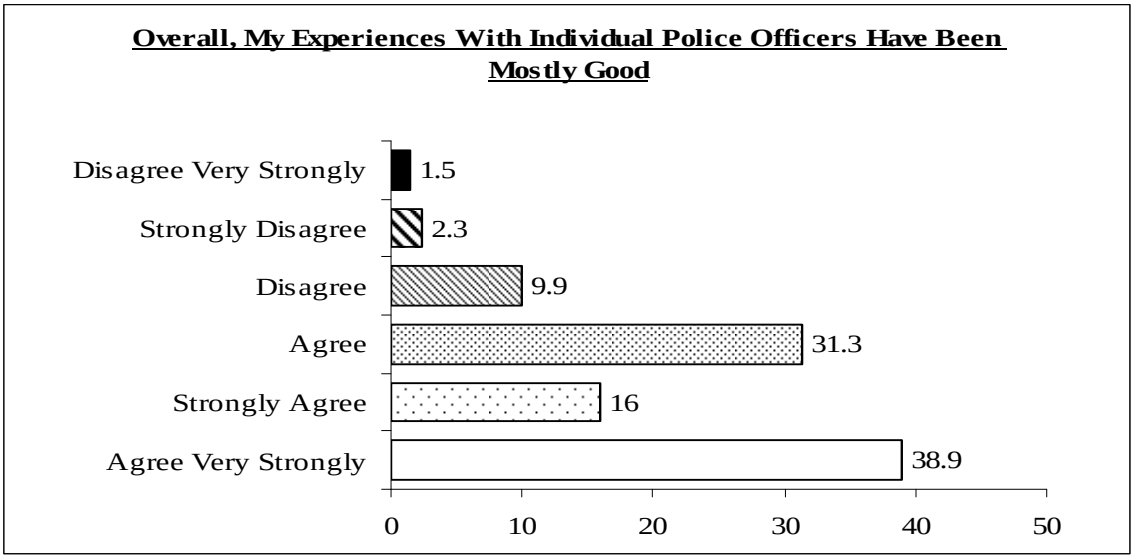
Figure 3.13



N=109

The majority of the participants (86.2%) in the survey conducted at the beginning of the program, indicated that their individual experiences with police officers had been good (Figure 3.14) – the majority (38.9%) indicating very strongly agree. Almost all the youth (94%) gave a response to this statement and only 18 participants indicated that their experiences had not been good.

Figure 3.14

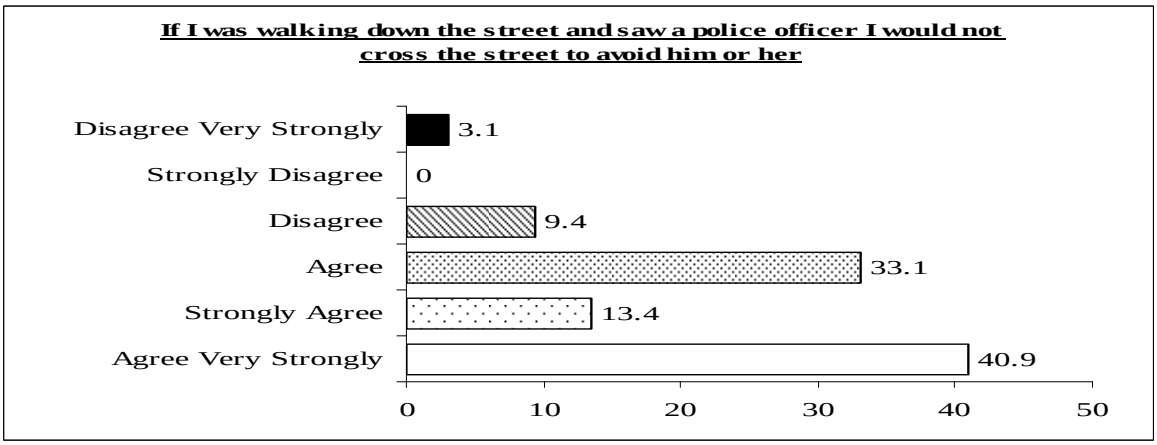


N=131

iv. Police and social distance

To assess the level of social distance or comfort that participants had with police officers, we asked if they would cross the street to avoid an officer (Figure 3.15). A vast majority of participants indicated that they would not, but 12.5% of the respondents indicated that they would. This was a small proportion of the total number of participants, but it is noteworthy considering these were youth who applied and have accepted to spend the summer working with police officers.

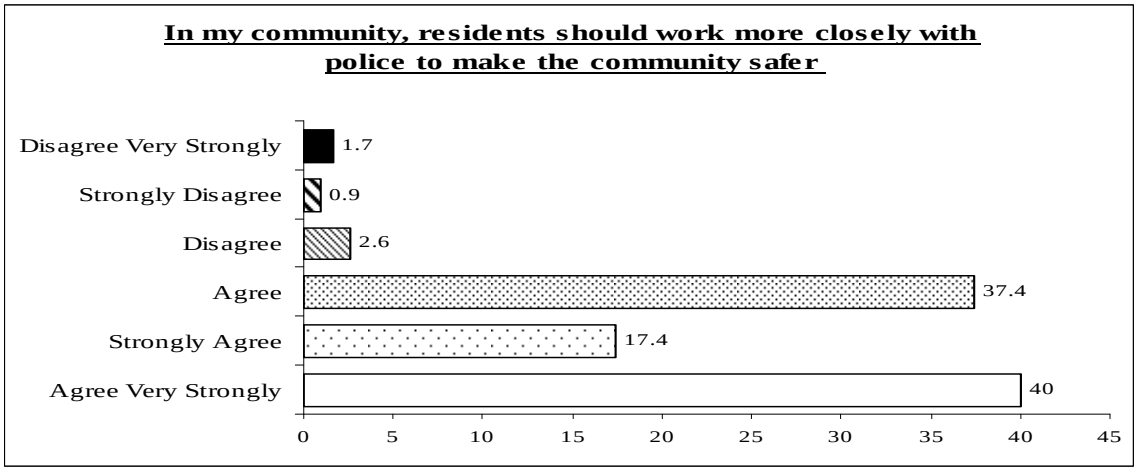
Figure 3.15



N=127

Generally, the YIPI participants saw police as a positive presence in their communities (Figure 3.16). They expressed a very strong (40.9%) desire for residents in their communities to work more closely with the police for safer communities. Overall, 94.8% of the participants agreed that residents should work more closely with the police.

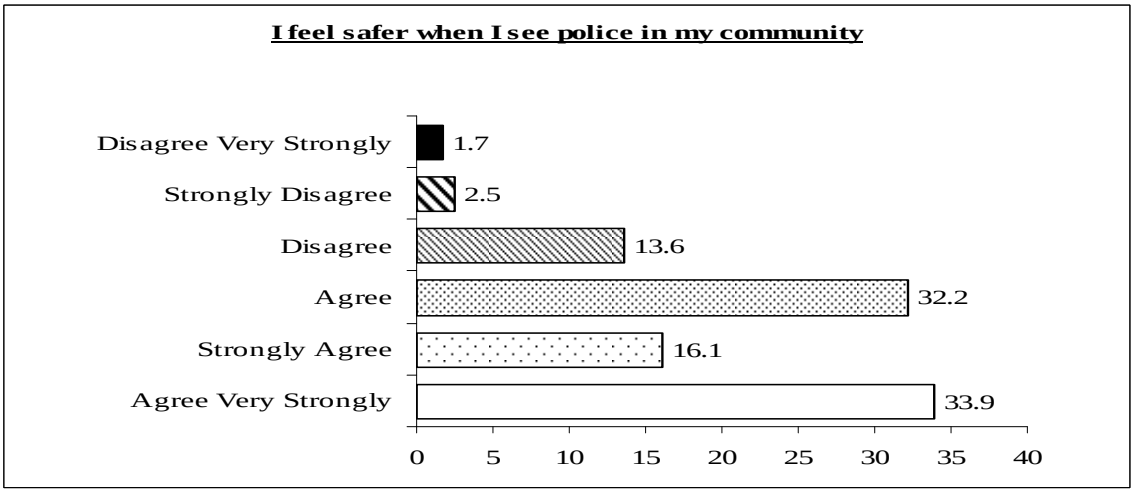
Figure 3.16



N=115

To the statement about safety, 82.2% of the YIPI participants who answered this question indicated that they do feel safer when they see police in their communities (Figure 3.17). On the other hand, it is noteworthy that almost 20% of the youth beginning their summer employment with the Toronto Police Service indicated that they did not feel safer when they saw police in their community.

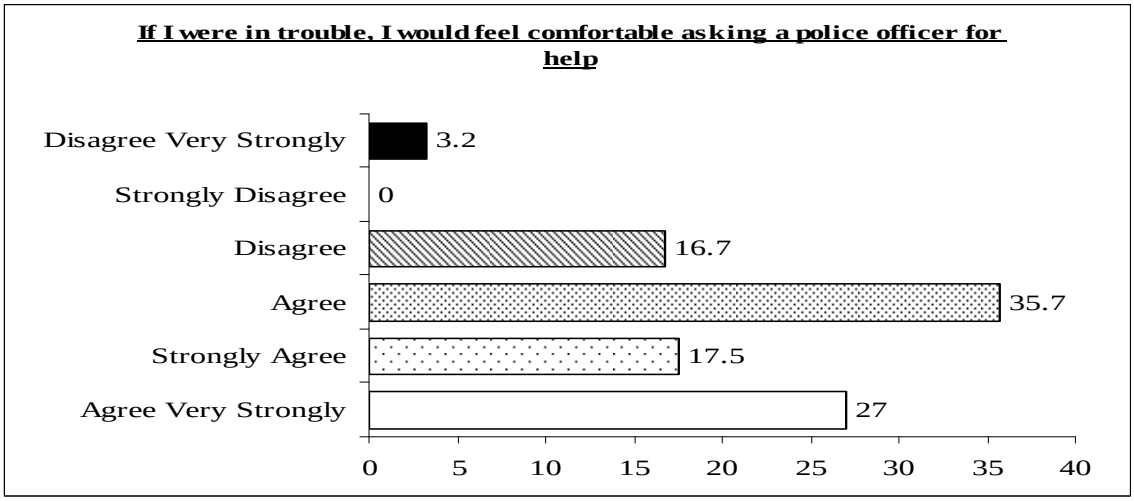
Figure 3.17



N=118

Approximately 80% of the 126 YIPI participants indicated that they would feel comfortable asking a police officer for help (Figure 3.18).

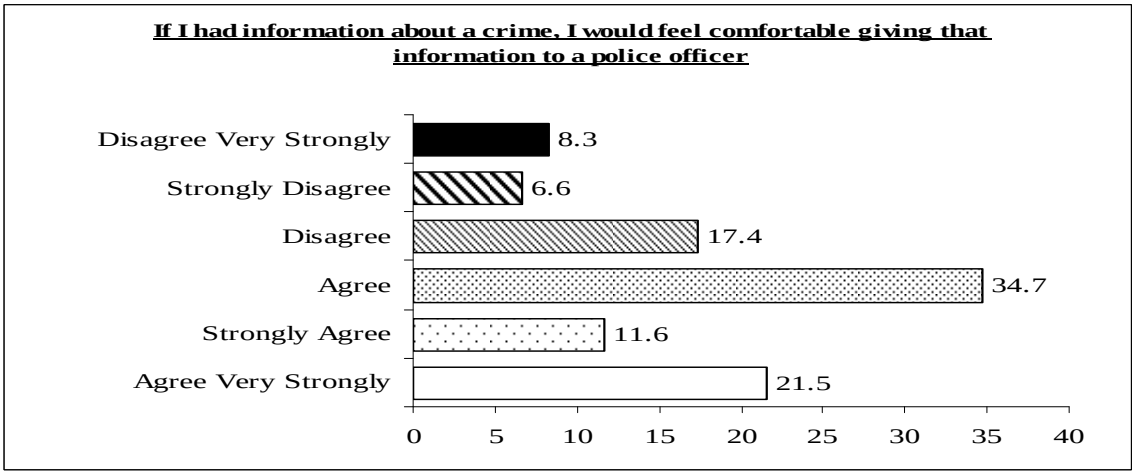
Figure 3.18



N=126

While overall the majority of YIPI participants felt comfortable asking a police officer for help if they were in trouble, only a few of them indicated that they would feel comfortable giving information they had about a crime to a police officer (Figure 3.19). Almost a third of the participants who expressed an opinion on this question disagreed with this statement, with a somewhat significant 15% disagreeing either strongly or very strongly. This deviates from their otherwise generally positive feelings towards police and is probably representative of their assessments of other youths' negative attitudes towards police and the bothersome issue of not 'snitching'.

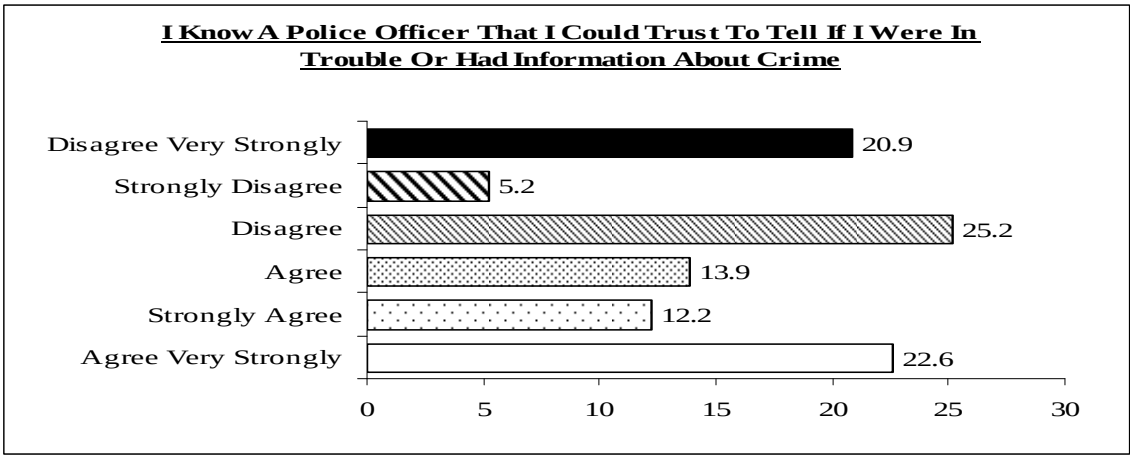
Figure 3.19



N=121

At the beginning of the summer, the majority (51.3%) of the YIPI participants indicated that they did not know an officer they trusted to help them if they were in trouble or if they had information about a crime (Figure 3.20). It is to this statement that we see the most variation in responses: 22.6% of the participants agreed very strongly with the statement, indicating that there was definitely an individual police officer they knew they could approach, but a very similar 20.9% of them indicated the opposite, disagreeing very strongly. These responses indicate that despite their generally positive attitudes towards police, most of the participants in YIPI did not have any significant personal relationships with any police officers. This finding was confirmed when we spoke to the participants in the focus group interviews.

Figure 3.20



N=115

v. What participants had to say about their attitudes towards police

In the focus group interviews, the youth spoke of their attitudes towards police before taking part in the YIPI program. As with the survey, their opinions varied and ranged from those who expressed an outright dislike for the police, to those who claimed they had never paid much attention to policing in their neighbourhood. One theme was consistent, however – most of them had very little direct contact with police officers or knowledge of policing.

A few of the youth mentioned that they had some dislike for police before coming to the program. In the case of a female participant, the dislike was related to an encounter with the police. As she explained:

> Female Participant: *I hated them.*
>
> Interviewer: *That's changed?*
>
> Female Participant: (nods indicating yes)
>
> Interviewer: *Why did you hate them before?*
>
> Female Participant: *I just didn't really like them based on experiences.*

Later on in the focus group, she expanded on where this attitude originated. She had been outside her building, she said, when there was a drug raid which she claimed to be unnecessary:

> Female Participant: *[They] arrest[ed] everybody and lined them up. It didn't matter who you were. As long as you were there, they arrested you and lined you up against the wall. It was like this big drug bust and it was so unnecessary because I was just walking.*
>
> Interviewer: *You got arrested?*
>
> Female Participant: *Yeah, for no apparent reason. I didn't do anything*
>
> Interviewer: *They arrested you and let you go?*
>
> Female Participant: *Yeah, two hours later.*
>
> Interviewer: *So this is why you said you hated the police?*
>
> Female Participant: *There's more reasons, but yeah.*
>
> Interviewer: *So what led you from that to applying to this program?*
>
> Female Participant: *I didn't apply, the lady did it for me.*

The "lady" she was referring to was her school resource officer. Another participant had a similarly negative evaluation of the police, saying: "*I thought the police were assholes.*" These views were exceptions, for most of the YIPI participants with whom we spoke were not so vehement.

One female participant claimed:

> *I've had bad experiences but like I haven't done anything bad. Okay, maybe, but I've had not all good experiences with police. Some of them are really rude even if they just see you walking down the street.*

The impression that police are rude was shared by a number of the participants, one of whom mentioned: "*Some of them are rude for no reason.*" What she considered rude was the perception that police treat youth with suspicion, to which she advised: "*Don't label every youth the same.*" Another participant echoed this sentiment:

> *You know if you're in a crowd of people and you have police drive by and they turn around and you're like, 'We're just chilling' and you're like you guys can go and do something else. Go and fight crime."*

A male added: "*Just don't stop youth randomly."* When asked if this was something that happened to him, he elaborated, claiming to be bothered when, "*you're walking home and they follow you in the cop car."* Another concurred: "*I didn't like the police. Since I was a kid they always used to harass people and put them in jail."*

YIPI participants spoke most frequently of being intimidated or scared of the police and claimed that they were nervous when starting YIPI. As one female participant said: "*I was scared of the police. I was."* Another claimed to be scared about going to work in a police station and in agreeing, her friend commented: "*I thought they were going to be like strict, kind of like: 'This is what we're going to do, this is the way we're going to do it, be quiet'."* One male participant in a different focus group commented: "*I thought they'd be all like don't talk to me,"* and another male added, "*I thought the police were going to be really tough people."* While most of the youth agreed with these sentiments, they emphasized that these impressions came from things they had heard from friends and acquaintances and not based on direct experiences. One male participant claimed:

> *Before this I never had to deal with no cops or anything. When I was a little kid I did some things but that was minor. It was just based on whatever my friends told me that cops are bad people.*

Another male participant explained that his impressions of police were based on, *stories*, emphasizing the plural.

vi. Conclusion

In both the initial survey and the focus group interviews, the YIPI participants' attitudes toward the police were for the most part positive, but not completely nor uniformly so. Many seemed to have kept police at a social distance because of the level of comfort interacting with police. Their expressed views and feelings towards the police has to do with the fact that prior to their participation in YIPI, participants had very little contact with police and even fewer encounters with individual police officers. Those who did know individual police officers – and these tended to be their school resource officers – did not think of them as necessarily representative of police. For example, the female student who claimed she hated the police, but had been convinced to apply for the program by her school resource officer, was asked about the contradiction between her claiming to hate the police and her relationship with this officer. She explained that before participating in YIPI, she had thought of this officer as an exception, stating: "*She's really cool*." The survey responses taken during the first week of the program and the discussions we had with the participants in the focus groups about their attitudes towards policing and police officers provide an interesting base with which to compare their evolving attitudes and opinions by the conclusion of YIPI. We discuss their ideas and attitudes after 6 weeks working with police in the next chapter.

Chapter Four
Attitudes towards police and policing six weeks later

Our findings indicate that, by the end of the summer, many of the YIPI participants' attitudes towards the police were significantly changed. The participants we spoke with emphasized two things: the relationships they had formed with police officers that brought them to the realization that police were friendly, nice, and "normal," and the increased knowledge and understanding they had for policing as an occupation.

i. Coming to know police as "nice" people

The participants who had previously spoken of being intimidated by the police all claimed that their experience working with police officers had greatly changed their perceptions. One female participant said most emphatically, "*I personally love everybody here!*" Almost every youth we spoke with made some kind of comment about coming to the realization that the police were normal, or even nice, people. They remarked: "*When I go to my station they're all nice, they like to play around. They're just normal people."* Another agreed, saying: "*They're really down to earth – very personable and stuff."* A male participant said: "*Now I know police are regular people*." And a female participant added: "*Now I see how they are it's like they're human just like us. They're doing a job just like everybody else*."

The notion that police officers are anything other than regular people may seem strange, but it was repeated time and again. In a different focus group, a female participant explained:

> *It's not like you're really talking to police officers and you're not intimidated by the authority they have. And when you get close to them you're like, 'Wow, these guys are like us.'*

Another female participant in the same group expressed: "*They all have different personalities and as the guy [police officer] said yesterday, they're all people too.*" It seemed that despite their positive attitudes towards the police before starting the program, most of the youth we spoke with seemed to have an idea that police officers were somehow different than the people they encounter in their everyday lives. One female participant was at first confusing when she spoke about her YIPI placement because she insisted that she did not have an experience with the police.

> Interviewer: *You say you feel like you didn't have an experience with the police?*
>
> Female participant: *I didn't have an experience with the cops. There were cops there [at her placement]; the people that ran it were cops…*
>
> Male student: *They weren't really cops, they were regular people.*

> Female participant: *Yeah, they weren't like cops… They were cops but you could never tell. I don't know.*
>
> Interviewer: *It improved your image of cops because you saw them not being cops?*
>
> Female participant: *Yeah, because they're normal*.

YIPI participants also spoke of police officers going out of their way to make them feel welcome. Remarking on the friendliness of the officers working at police headquarters, one participant claimed:

> *Especially if you're a YIPI, they'll pay extra attention to you. Every time you're in the elevator they're like: 'How long have you been working? How much do you get paid? So when is your last day? Wow, it went by so quickly.' They're all pretty friendly.*

The extent to which officers were personable completely caught one participant off-guard. She remarked about her first day: "*They'll just like smile at you and say, 'How are you? Have a nice day.' And you're like: 'Oh my god, that just happened!'*"

The officers' sense of humour was something that the YIPI participants really seemed to appreciate. A few of them told lengthy stories about funny things officers said or did. Two female participants discussed how officers laughing and joking around really put them at ease:

> Female Participant #1: *I remember the first day I came in – I can't even count how many times officers are laughing. They'll make jokes and you can hear them down the hall laughing.*
>
> Female Participant #2: *They're loud.*
>
> Female Participant #1: *They're so funny.*
>
> Female Participant #2: *They're actually really funny. Cops are hilarious. They're funny. I was walking down the hallway coming back from the bathroom and this officer he worked at staff planning which is across the hall from me and he's like: 'Hi, how are you?' and I'm like: 'I'm good'. He's like: 'Where do you work? Do you like it?" I'm like: 'Yeah, I like it.' He's like: 'Are you sure? No, no, no, come over here,' and he took me [to where he worked] and he was showing me around and he was like 'This place is much more fun. Look at our YIPI, he's happy.' He calls out the YIPI's name and he turns around and he puts his thumbs up and then he goes back to his computer.*

Two more participants discussed how the officers they worked with pretended to be stern about their participation in the Caribana parade:

> Female Participant #1: *The officers were dressed in the Caribana stuff. We had to wear the [YIPI] shirts but we could wear whatever we wanted underneath and it was really weird because before we went they were like, 'You guys better be on your best behaviour,' but then we went and they were like…*
>
> Female Participant #2: [The police officers said] '*You have to dance. That's a requirement.*'
>
> Female Participant #1: *And there was this one officer and he was dancing like no tomorrow. He was so funny.*

Being able to form personal relationships with police officers was also noted in the journals the participants kept throughout the summer. One participant wrote after orientation week:

> *Listening to other police officers experiences as well as civilians really showed me that police officers were as real as us and that opened my eyes to see that officers are human beings too.*

Other participants wrote about coming to this realization during their placements. As one participant wrote:

> *I will never forget the funny conversations between officers in my office. [A Police Constable] was especially really nice to me. As well, I enjoyed being around really funny officers because they were able to show me that you can always have a little fun even at work.*

Another commented on when two constables took her to the police college where they spent time playing with the gym equipment and went out for lunch. She wrote that she:

> *…got closer to the constables as the day went on. At the end of the day I changed the way I look at Constables T. and S. They are no longer 'just police officers' but they are my friends.*

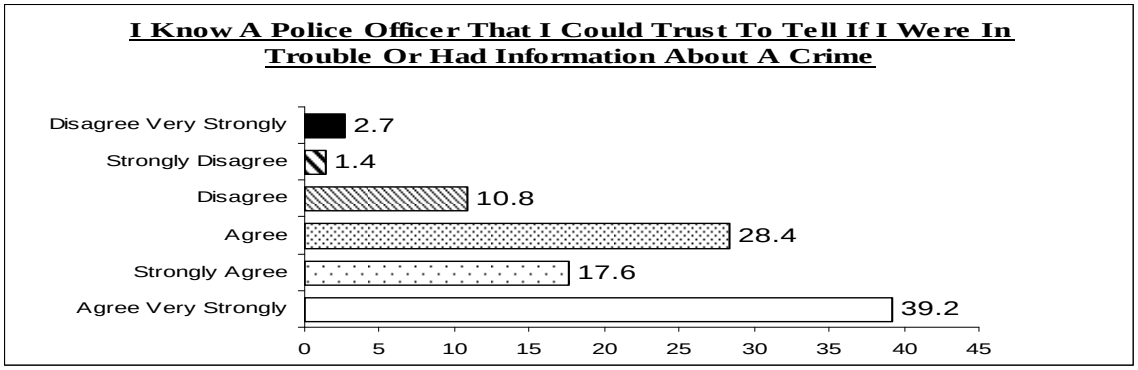
A female participant expressed surprise at meeting the people in her division and learning that while she: "*thought they would be really strict it turned out they were all pretty young and pretty cool and we all had similar interests.*" One participant concluded her journal entry with the observation that:

> *police officers are human beings, who have opinions and feelings just like everyone else… I am amazed to see how kind-hearted, and dedicated each and every worker is.*

While these reactions may seem almost trivial, it is hard to overestimate the enthusiasm with which the participants talked about their changing perceptions. These interactions had a profound effect on all of the participants with whom we spoke. The most striking statement came from the male participant who had previously stated that he thought police officers were "*assholes.*" When asked how much his perception of the police had changed he said it had completely altered his views, "*because now, when I see a cop car, I don't look to see who's in it, I look to see who's driving it.*" Our survey also revealed that knowing officers personally was one of the most significant changes among participants.

During orientation, the majority (49%) of the participants claimed they did not know a police officer they could trust if they were in trouble or had information to report about a crime. When we asked participants the same question at the end of the summer, approximately 85% of them those who expressed an opinion indicated that they did know a police officer they could trust.

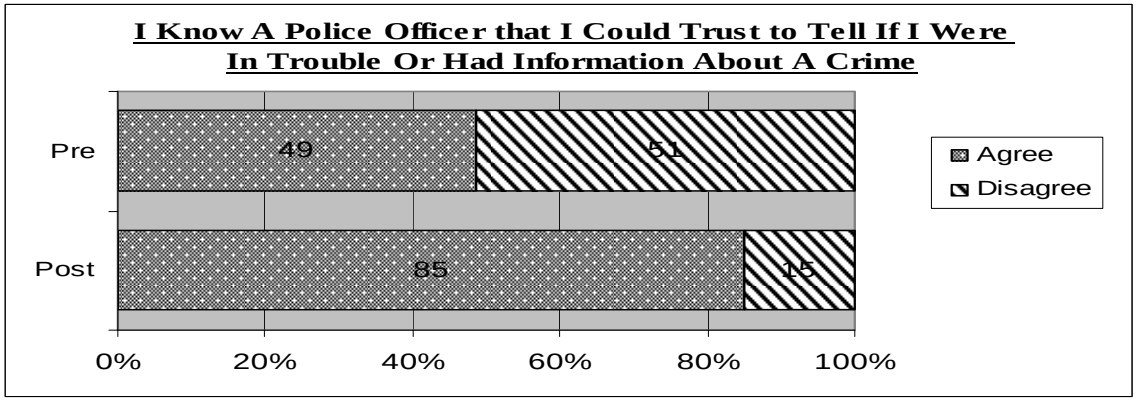
Figure 4.1



N=74

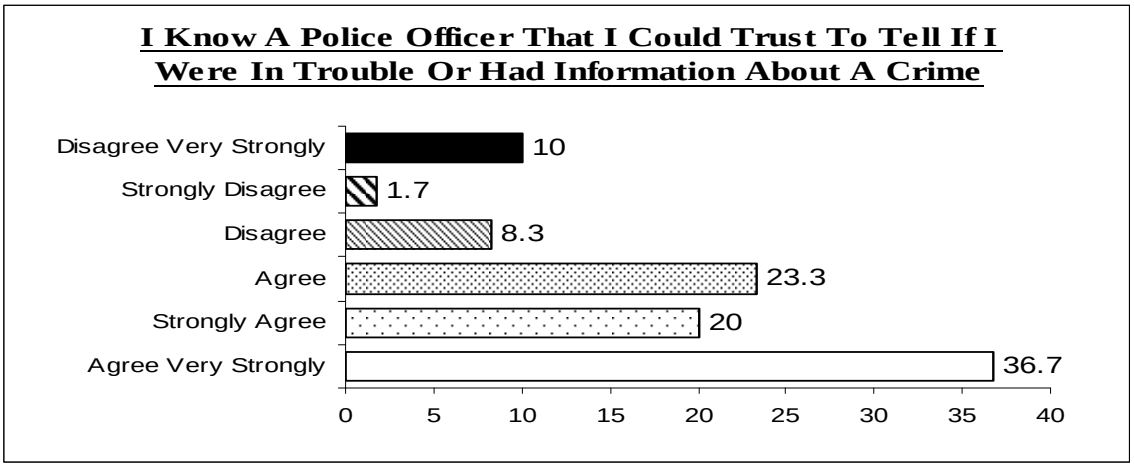
After working closely with police for weeks, it is understandable that there would be a significant increase (figure 4.2) in the number of participants who would have developed a personal relationship with a police officer and trust him or her enough trust in police to pass information about a crime. But, there still remained the 15% who are yet to have such trust in police.

Figure 4.2



This trust in police seems to have persisted over time since 80% of the participants from the surveys we received from YIPI alumni (2006-2009) also indicated that they knew an officer they felt they could trust.

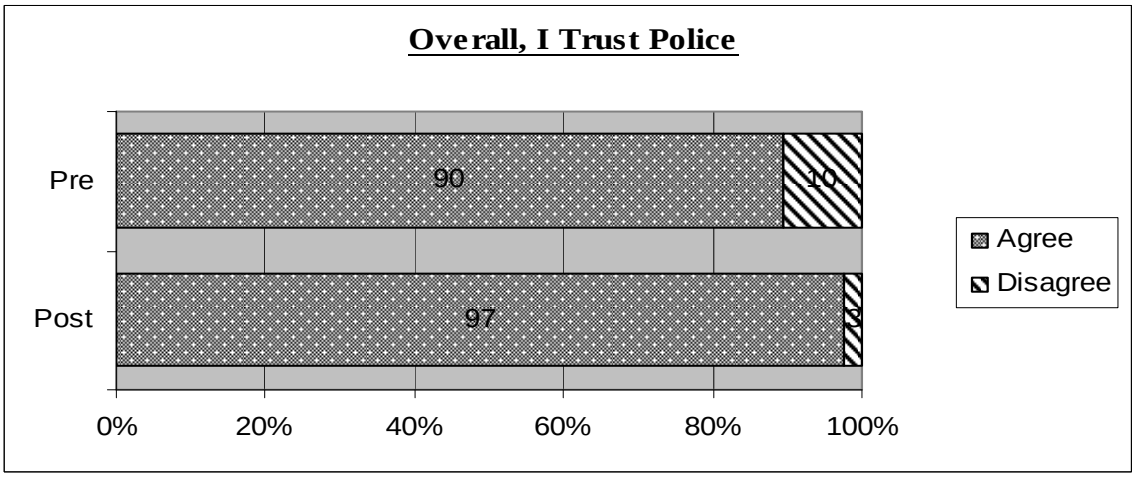
Figure 4.3



N=74

Interestingly, while a number of participants were not quite ready to fully trust police when in need or to provide them information pertaining to a crime, the vast majority of the participants indicated that, overall, they "trust police" (figure 4.4). The trust in police, already high at the beginning of the program, grew from 90% to 97% at the conclusion of YIPI.

Figure 4.4



It follows that with their overall trust and positive views of police (as we discuss in the following section) participants would report that their overall experiences with individual police officers had been mostly good. In fact, almost all (95%) of the participants who completed the post-employment survey responded to this statement about their overall experiences with individual police officers. At the beginning of the summer 86% of

participants indicated in the affirmative. This increased to 98% at the end of the 8 week program (figure 4.5). The most striking aspect of the shift, however, was in the strength of their assessment (figure 4.6). Over half of the youth (57%) marked 'agree very strongly' at the end of the summer, compared to 38.9% who indicated the same in the pre-employment survey. As we saw with both the question about whether participants knew an individual officer they could trust, and the focus group comments where the youths spoke enthusiastically about how personable the police officers they worked with were, this personal relationship fostered by YIPI perhaps had the most profound effect on young people's attitudes towards the police.

Figure 4.5

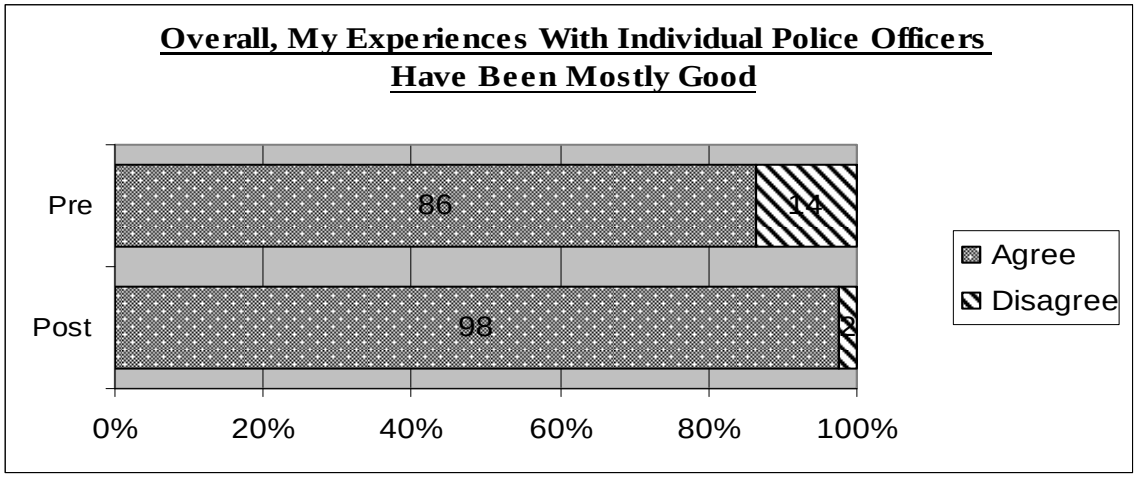
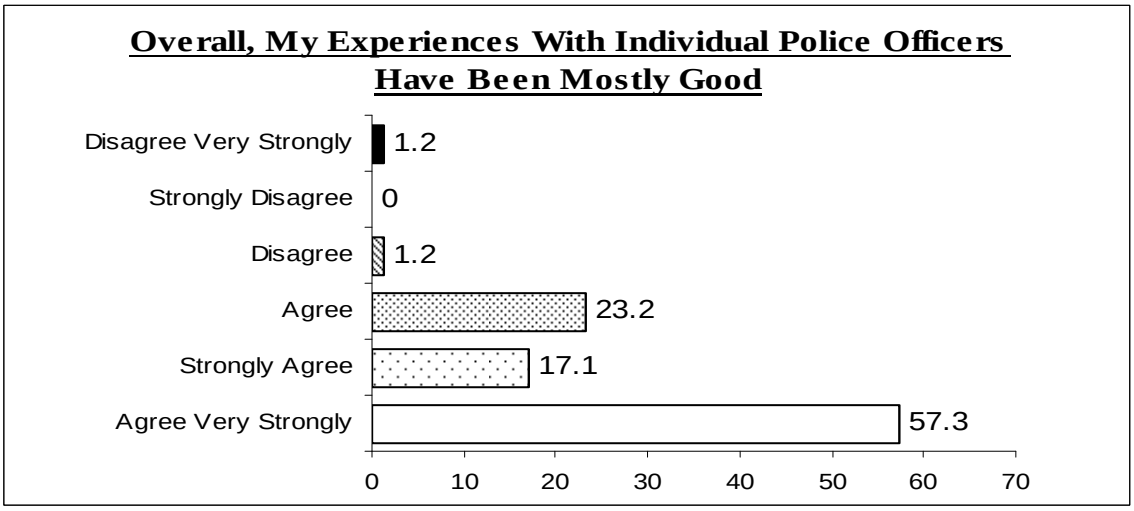


Figure 4.6



N=82

Given participants' trust in police and their "mostly good" experiences with police, it would be the case that they would very likely feel safe with police in their communities. In our initial survey 82% of the 2010 YIPI participants indicated that they felt safer when they see the police in their communities and by the end of the program 90% were indicating that response (figure 4.7). Interestingly, participants' very strong agreement with the statement moved from 33.9% at the beginning of the summer to 53.5% (figure 4.8) at the end. This was a substantive 20 point increase for the same question over a 6 week period.

Figure 4.7

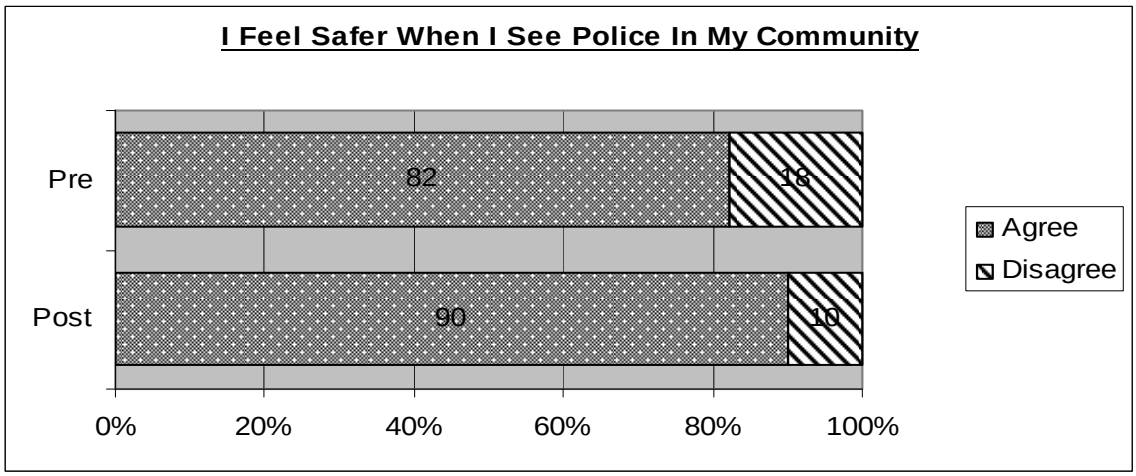
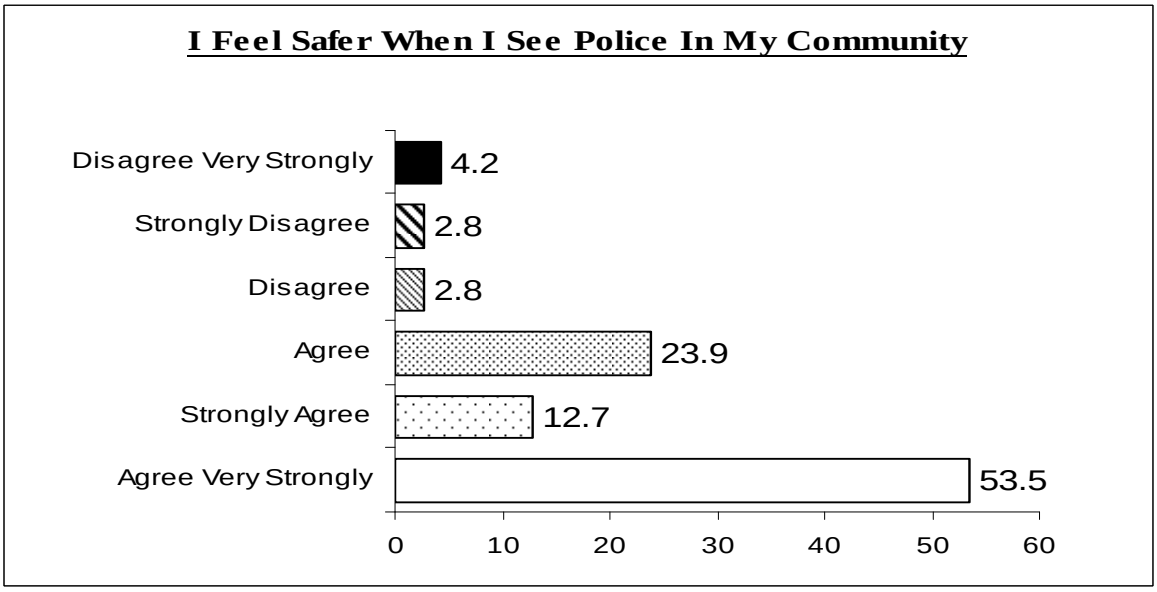


Figure 4.8



N=71

Relevant here is the extent to which participants trust in and good experiences with police carried over into them feeling comfortable passing information about a crime to the police (not to be confused with the earlier statement about having an individual police officer that the participant knew). The findings indicate that while at the beginning of the program they had some reservation in passing that information to police – 68% said they would – by the end of the program, 88% said that they would feel comfortable giving information about a crime to the police (figure 4.9). The increase was mostly in the "strongly agree" and "agree very strongly" categories, which accounted for half of those who responded to the statement. This was one of the most significant changes we observed in participants' responses. Originally, almost one-third of the participants indicated that they would not feel comfortable giving information to police. By the end of the summer, less than 12% still expressed some measure of disagreement with this statement (figure 4.10). And they disagreed with less conviction, with no participants indicating 'Disagree Very Strongly'.

Figure 4.9

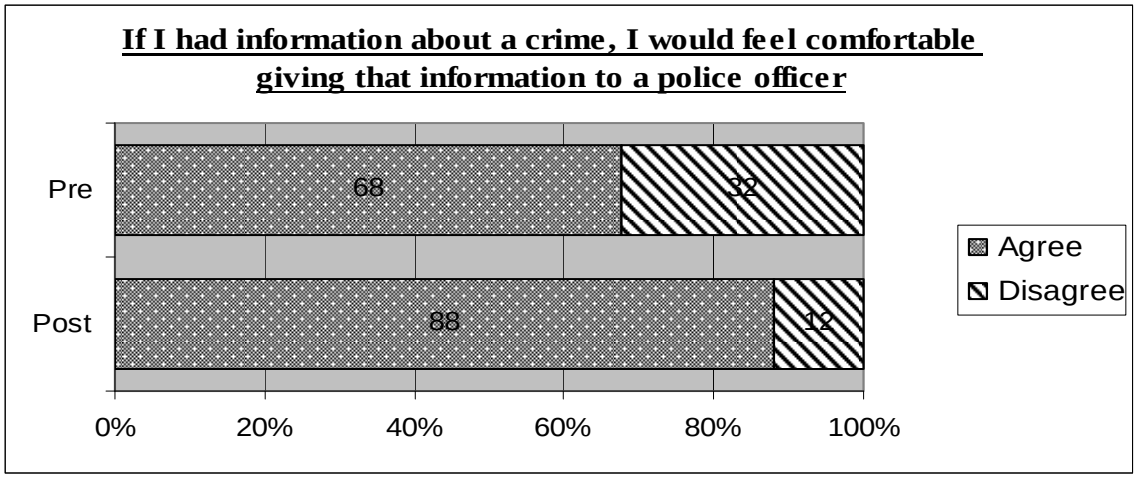
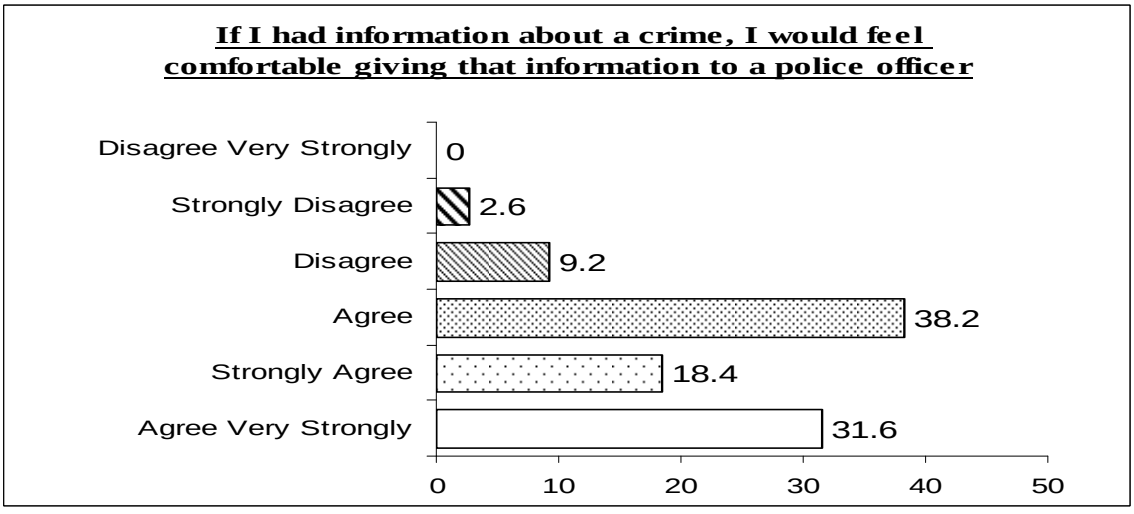


Figure 4.10



N=76

ii. Profile of police

The YIPI participants were more likely to assess the police as 'honest' at the end of the summer with only 9.8% of participants who expressed an opinion, disagreeing with this statement (figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11

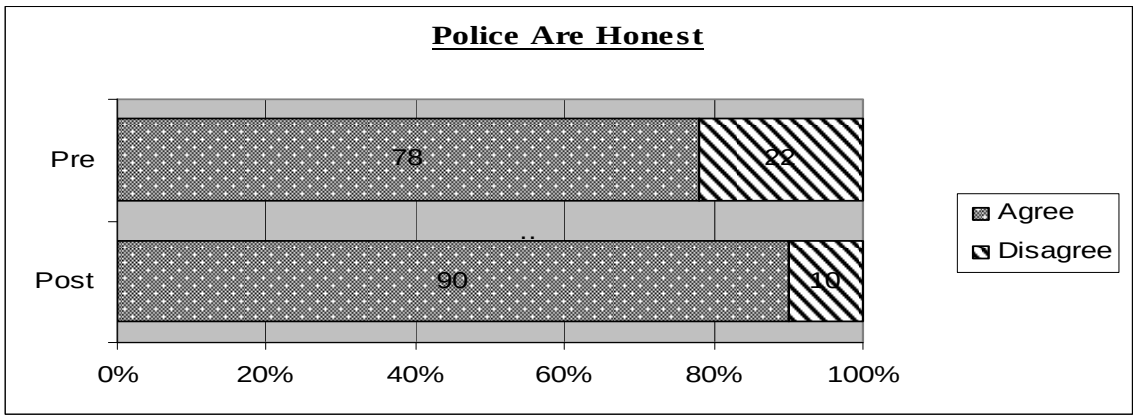
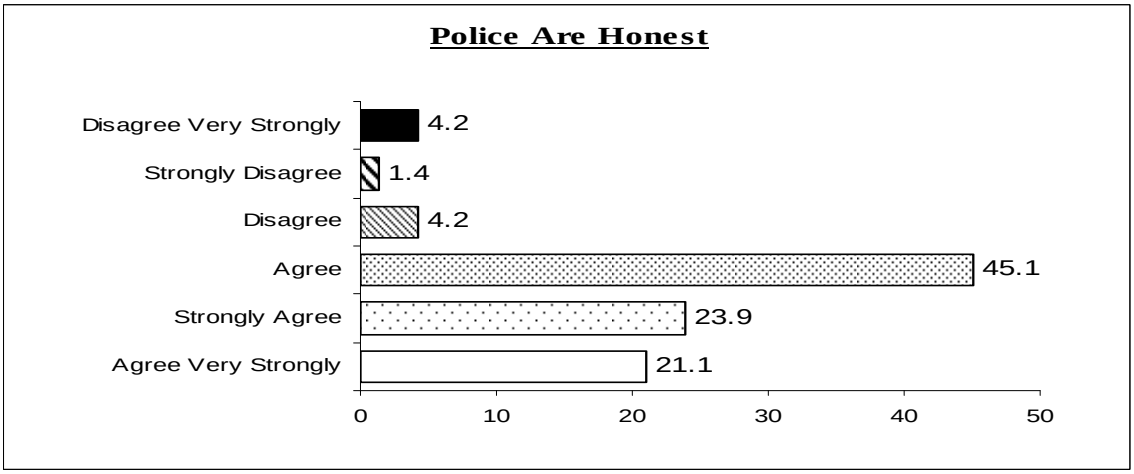


Figure 4.12



N=71

At the beginning of the summer the vast majority of participants who expressed an opinion about police racism indicated that they did not believe the police in their neighbourhood were racist. At the end of the summer a similarly large number of participants responded 'Don't know' to this question, but of those who either agreed or disagreed, 96% did not believe the police in their neighbourhood were racist (figure 4.13). In fact, only 2 participants disagreed with the statement and, unlike the 11.4% of participants who did in the initial survey, in the follow-up survey nobody indicated either 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree very strongly' (figure 4.14).

Figure 4.13

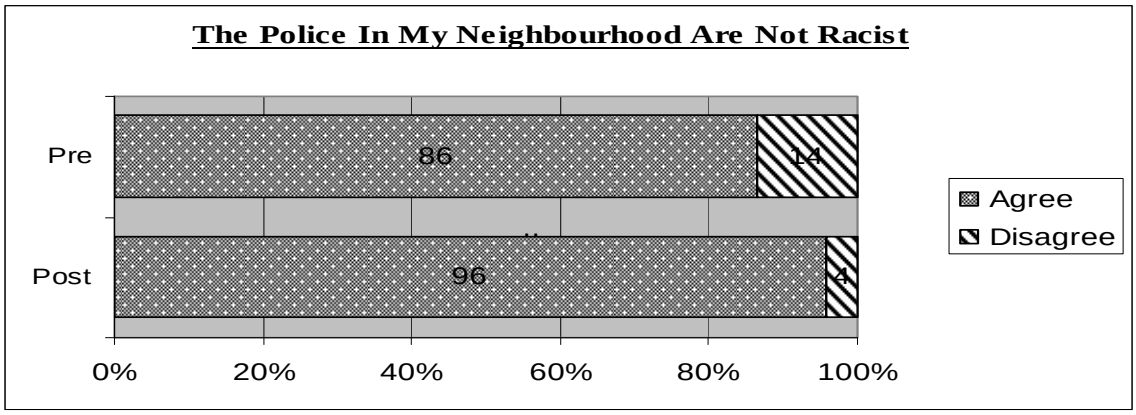
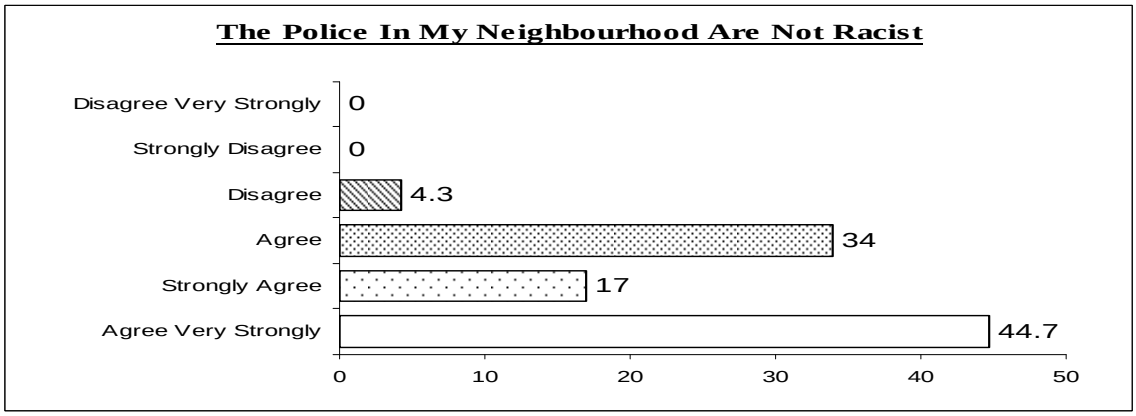


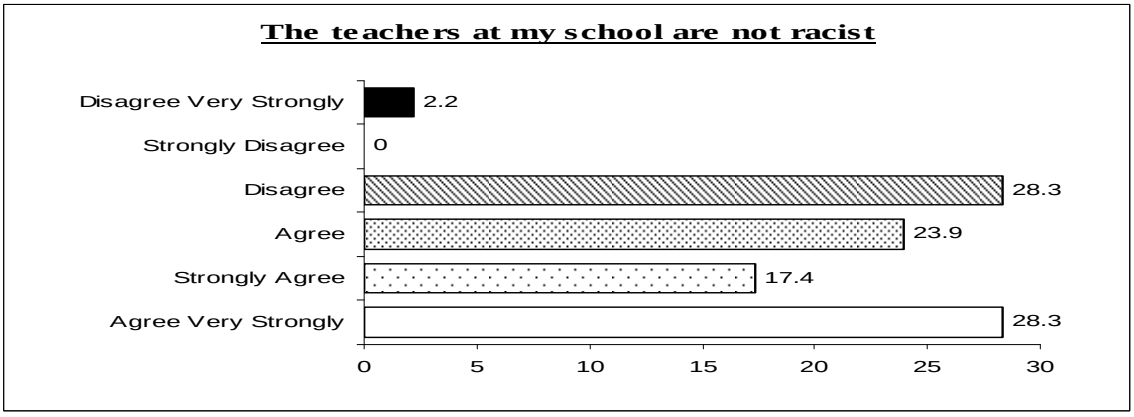
Figure 4.14



N=47

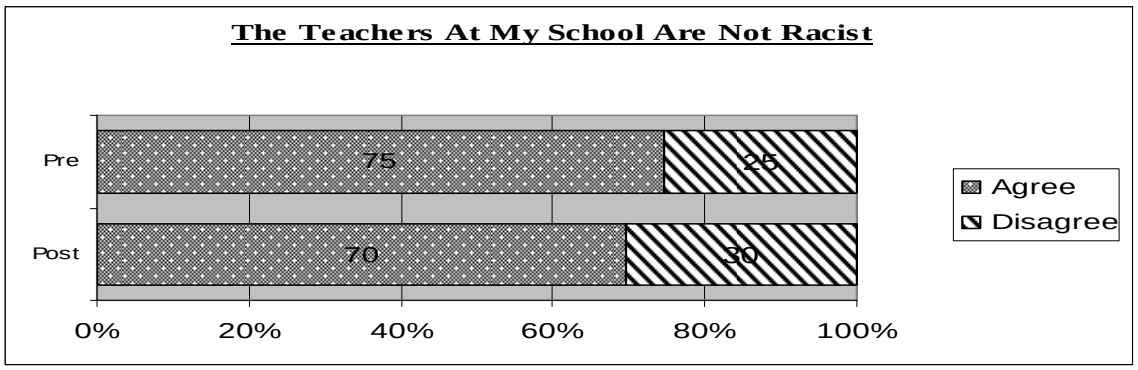
What might appear incongruous, given their exposure to teachers and the general perceptions of police, more participants agree that police are not racist compared to their teachers. Specifically, 70-75% of participants agree that their teachers are not racist (figure 4.16). This is significantly lower than their responses about police officers as indicated above.

Figure 4.15



N=46

Figure 4.16



When asked again if the police treated most kids in their communities fairly (figure 4.17), the majority again agreed. While there was a 10% increase in the proportion of YIPI participants agreeing with this statement, what is more significant is the strength of that agreement. In the original survey, almost half (49%) indicated 'Agree' whereas in the later survey (figure 4.18), just over one-third (35%) indicated 'Agree' with 33.3% and 20% marking 'Strongly Agree' or 'Agree Very Strongly' respectively. What has changed most is their conviction that the police treat most youth fairly.

Figure 4.17

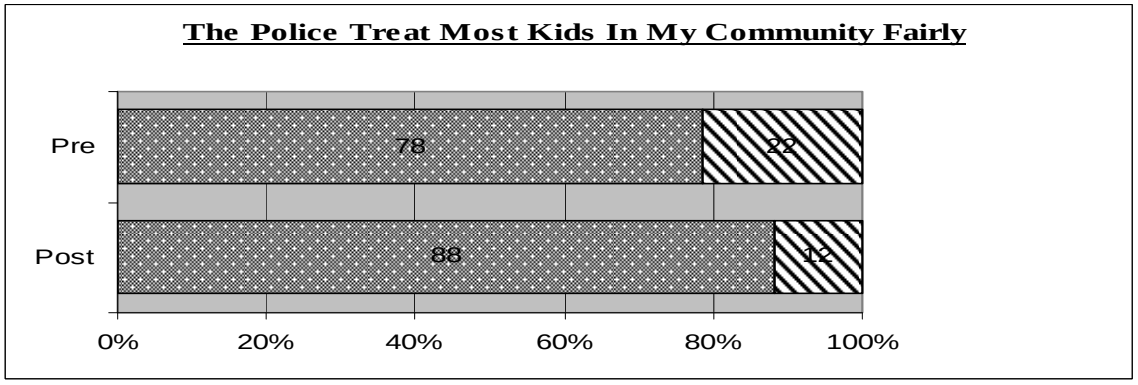
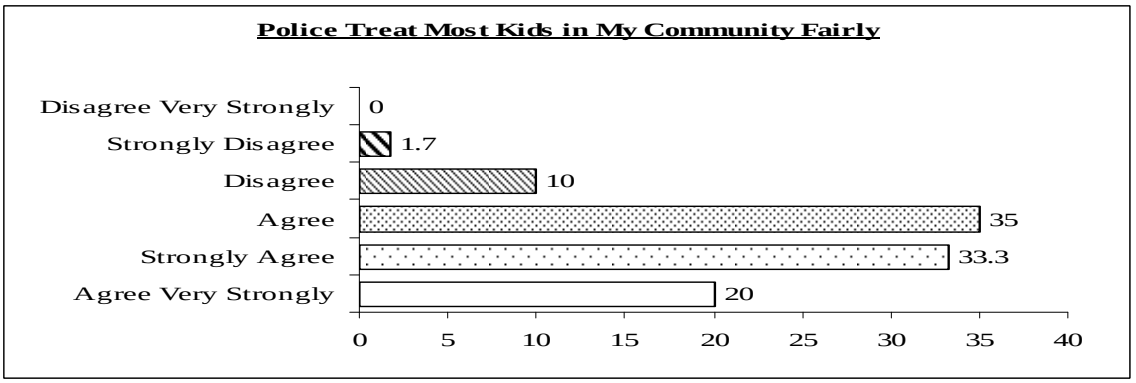


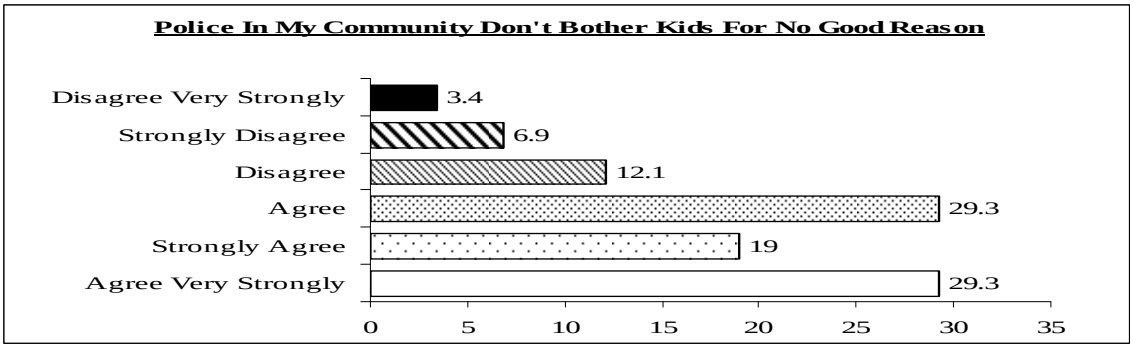
Figure 4.18



N=60

There was a more modest change on the question of whether the police in their communities bother kids for no good reason (figure 4.19). Of the 58 youth who expressed an opinion on this question, three-quarters still believed that the police do not bother kids for no good reason.

Figure 4.19



N=58

One significant shift was in the participants' evaluations of whether the police have too much power. At the beginning of the summer, over one-third of the participants believed that the police have too much power. At the end of the summer, this proportion was cut by more than half. Stated differently, 84% of the participants now believe that the police do not have too much power (figure 4.20).

Figure 4.20

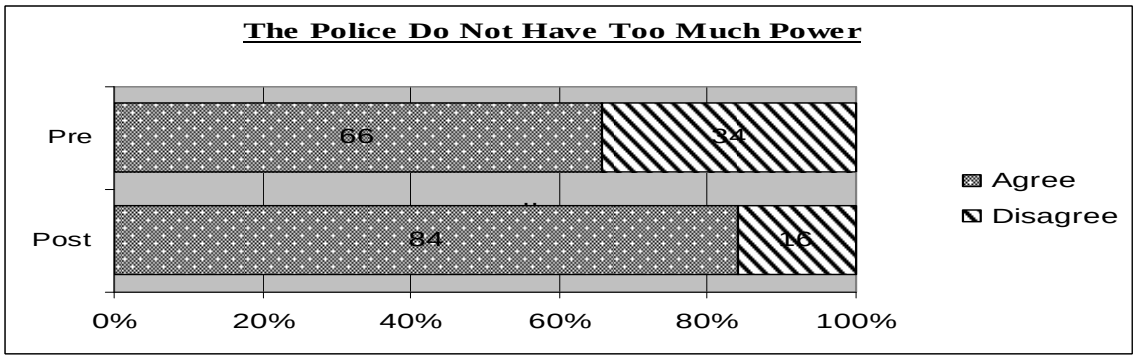
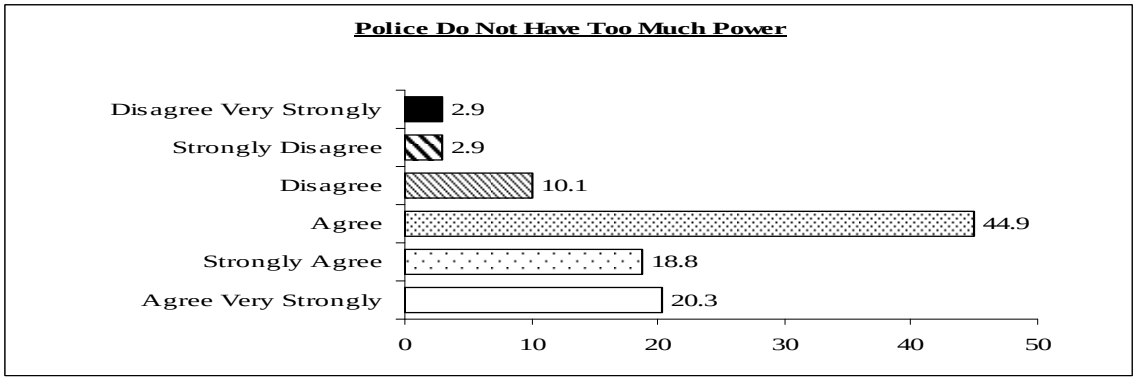


Figure 4.21



N=69

iii. Increased knowledge of policing

The YIPI participants' attitudes toward the police were also affected by the increased knowledge they gained about police work. In one focus group, when participants were asked how many were now considering a career in policing, five of the eight youth raised their hands. A female student who did not raise her hand mentioned that she had always wanted to be a social worker, to which and one of the male participants immediately responded: "*You can do that with the police.*" Even those who had other career aspirations began to see policing as not one job category. A male participant stated:

> *Honestly, this is another career option for me but it's my second option. I want to be a psychologist and take either social work or teaching because I like listening to people and helping them with their problems.*

In a different focus group, the participants discussed the same thing, explaining that they were previously unaware of how many different career options there were within the Toronto Police Service:

> *It's not only police officers and civilians. You have social workers, doctors and stuff. Nutritionists, sociologists. For me, I want to be a social worker but I never would have thought that a social worker could be part of the police force so that's like an option for me now.*

The number of civilian members working with the service and the different types of work they did was a big revelation for many of the YIPI members who had not previously considered a career in policing:

> *I never knew there were so many civilians that worked on the police force… Honestly, if you look at it this way they're like the backbone kind of thing. They [civilian members] are basically what keeps everything organized because they are the ones who allow the officers to do what they need to do as officers – paperwork, IT…*

Another participant interrupted to claim: "*They [civilian members] make them [the police officers] look good.*" A female participant claimed that her YIPI experience has made her consider becoming a police officer, something she had previously thought of as a male occupation:

> *Before, I really wasn't thinking of a job as a police officer. My mom was telling my brothers to do it. But being here, I'm getting to talk to the officers and more of the people who are actually up there, and I'm asking how the job is and how long it took them to get to this position. It seems they enjoy what they're doing and I like people so I think I might actually enjoy this.*

The diversity of police work was striking to the participants. One female participant commented:

> *The most interesting thing I learned was that there are so many areas of working with the police. I thought it was just detective work and CSI stuff. Is that the same thing? Whatever. I thought it was just going and driving a car and catching criminals. I didn't know there was so much.*

A lot of the knowledge about police work was gained during the initial orientation week and on the field trips that the YIPI participants took with the Marine Unit, the Mounted Unit, the Canine Unit, and the Emergency Task Force. One student spoke with enthusiasm about what she learned about graffiti during an orientation week presentation. Ironically, it was from a police officer she learned that not all graffiti is simply vandalism, and that a good deal of it can be considered art that is produced by extremely talented individuals.

Many of the participants expressed how much they enjoyed the trips for what they learned and because they were both informative and fun. Two participants discussed their trip to the Emergency Task Force:

> Female Participant #1: *ETF was kind of nice learning about the guns and things like that.*
>
> Female Participant #2: *We also learned that there's only one girl because it's really hard to get in.*
>
> Female Participant #1: *Yeah, the first girl actually.*

In a different focus group, another female student also remarked on the absence of women in certain areas of policing, saying that she now wanted to get onto the Emergency Task Force: "*I want to be a sniper*." In one group, the participants had a lively discussion about which of the trips they enjoyed the most:

- *The trips they provided for us were really cool.*
- *The Marine Unit…*
- *Oh my god! That was…*
- *That was amazing. We got to go on the speedboat.*
- *No, the Mounted Unit [was the best]. It really stinks but after a couple of minutes you can't smell anymore… We got a young guy to talk to us and everything and he actually got us to sit on the horse.*
- *I took a picture next to the horse.*
- *No, Canine Unit, that's my favourite.*
- *I think I got over my fear of dogs.*
- *Yeah… before the Canine Unit if I saw a dog walking down the street I'd go the opposite direction. But the Canine Unit, they're so well trained. And they [officers] even tell you the dogs at the Canine Unit are the best trained dogs ever.*

In their journals, participants mentioned things like: "*Learning about the structure ranks and roles of employees in the Toronto Police Service was interesting."* Regarding the things they had learned during Orientation Week, one participant wrote: "*Most of the presentations somehow opened my eyes to looking at things differently.*" Similarly, a student commented that she realized: "*Police have every bit of interest in saving our communities from various harm.*" One student captured what seemed to be the general sentiment in both our focus groups and in the journal entries when she wrote: "*I have to admit that I really have been quite oblivious to what the police actually do.*"

iv. Becoming ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service – but there are challenges

This increased knowledge about policing helped position the participants to fulfill the expectation that they become ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service. In one focus group, a female participant stated:

> *I told my friend and she's really pumped about it, because I'm always bragging to her about it [policing] and she wants to be a detective so she's like, 'Oh god, hook me up.'*

Another mentioned: "*My brother's thinking of applying for it.*" And another female participant said: "*I told my friend make sure you sign up next year because it's really good.*" One participant wrote in his journal that he was able to use the knowledge he gained to inform his friend about how to become a police officer:

> *I was able to fill in one of my friends with the requirements of becoming a police officer. I told him about the training and the college he will have to attend. I was also able to assure some people that the police as a whole are not bad people. They are regular people like everyone else and they shouldn't judge all police by the actions of just a few.*

Like the above participant, a number of others also talked of how this program helped to dispel the negative stereotypes they had of the police. A male participant said: "*The media portrays the police as aggressive as this bad type of police and being here dispels everything.*" Another jumped in when someone brought up people's complaints about police not being involved in the community:

> *See how she said that? At my division they have all these BBQ's and everybody's there [meaning police] but barely anybody ever shows up. On Saturday we had one where they brought the horses and stuff and the old police cars and everything and about 50 people showed up… People just don't want to show up.*

Accordingly, as one young woman explained, it is through YIPI that they have become aware of efforts by the police to reach out to the community. As she said:

> *[YIPI] opens up people's minds to what the police do. Because you might think the police are only out there to get you and doing negative things. But once you work here you see more about what they do. You know how people always say police stop you randomly, they always have no reason for stopping you? They [police] explain why they stop you – they might get a call or something and you might fit that description. They're just there to help you.*

The participants acknowledged that they gained an increased sense of police work and they often tried to communicate this to their friends. But according to our survey results, participants seemed to be having little impact on changing the views of their peers for there was only a 4% increase in the number of participants who gave positive responses to the statement about their peers' trust for police. Specifically, only 23% of participants, compared to 19% at the beginning of the program believed the majority of youth in their neighbourhoods do not trust the police (figure 4.22). There was little change on the question of whether the YIPI participants believed other kids in their community trusted the police. In other words, over three-quarters of the participants still did not believe this to be the case (figure 4.23).

Figure 4.22

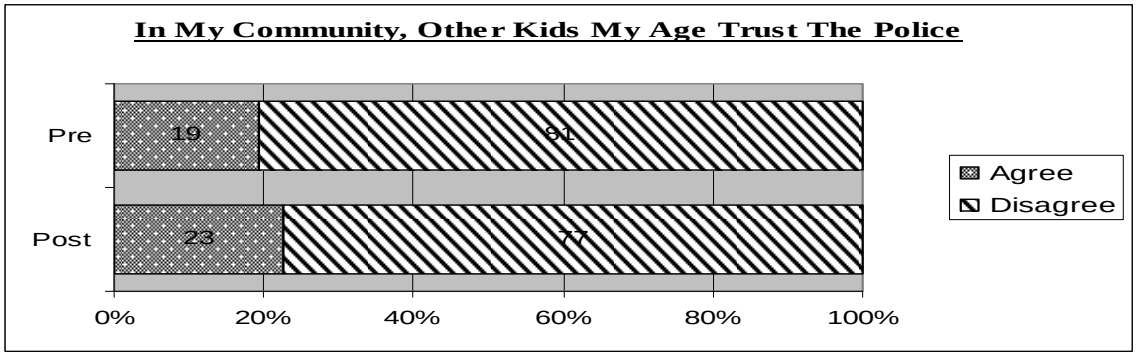
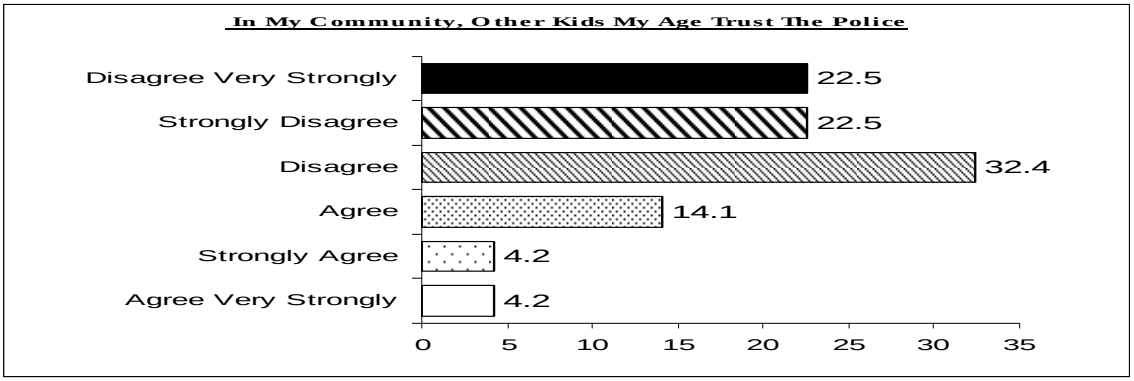


Figure 4.23



N=71

By the end of the summer, YIPI participants were more likely to indicate that the adults in their family trusted the police in their communities (figure 4.24). This 15% increase may be reflective of participants' thinking that their peers and family members were holding more positive attitudes towards the police because of the information that they were getting from the participants.

Figure 4.24

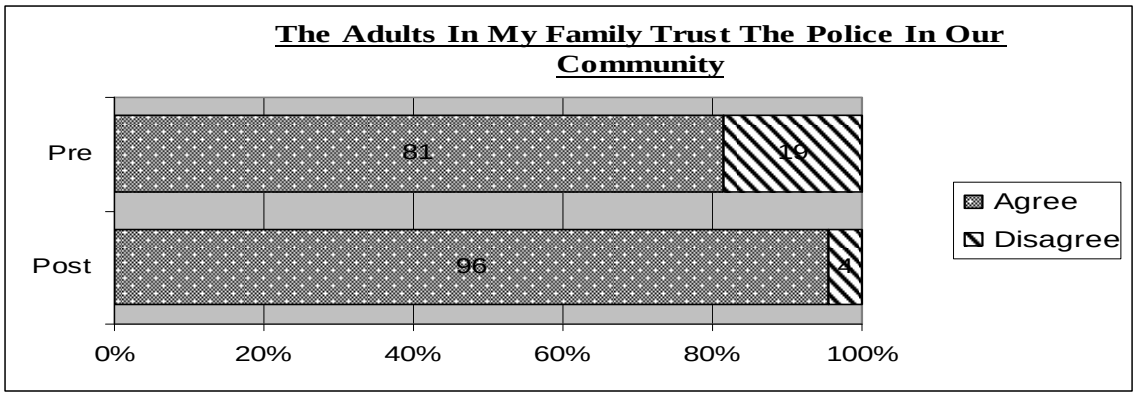
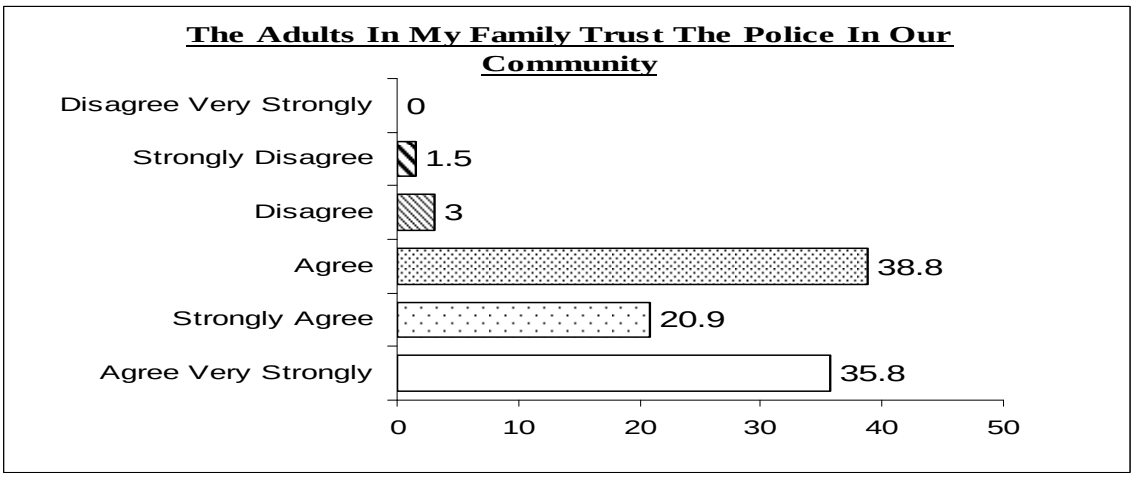


Figure 4.25



N=67

It is not clear why participants would believe that after 6 weeks of them working with the police that others would have changed their perceptions of police. What is likely the case here is that their changed views of others perceptions of the police were also a reflection of what they 'wished' to be the case.

While the YIPI participants' generally positive outlook of police officers was enhanced by the end of the summer, they still felt that their communities, and particularly other youth in their communities, viewed the police negatively – something they claimed they tried to change but so far have been unsuccessful in doing.

v. Guarded: Who gets to know about working with police and why

Their peers' negative views of police were the source of some of the reluctance participants expressed in talking with others about their employment at the beginning of the summer. When asked in the initial survey to identify the people who knew that they were involved in the YIPI program (table 4.1), understandably, the vast majority (99%) indicated that their parents did know about their participation in the program. Only one person indicated that his parents did not know. Almost 88% indicated that other family members knew, 68% said that friends in their community knew, 23% said that others in the community knew, and 53% said that their teachers knew of their participation in the program.

Table 4.1 - People aware of youth's participation in YIPI

	Yes	No	Don't know
Parents	98.6% (136)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)
Other family members	87.8% (122)	4.3% (6)	7.2% (10)
Friends in the community	68.3% (95)	17.3% (24)	12.9% (18)
Others in the community	25.2% (35)	42.4% (59)	31.7% (44)
Teachers	52.5% (73)	33.8% (47)	12.2% (17)

When asked why they didn't tell people about their participation (table 4.2), 5% reported that they thought others might consider them to be "a snitch," 11% indicated that others do not like the police, and 6% indicated that the others might think that they are different. The majority of those who answered this question (76%) selected a combination of the three responses. Many also wrote in other responses, including, the possibility of getting beaten up by people who had problems with the police. Many identified practical reasons, such as not knowing others in their communities really well, and not having the chance to tell anyone as school was out.

Table 4.2 - Reasons people were not told of youth's participation in YIPI

	VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)
They might consider me to be a snitch.	5.1% (4)
They do not like the police.	11.4% (9)
They might think I'm different, or not like them.	6.3% (5)
Multiple or 'Other'	77.2% (61)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (79)**
No Answer	0% (60)
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**

Participants were also asked: 'If others knew they were in YIPI, to indicate how they felt about them working with the Toronto Police Service' (table 4.3). The majority of respondents (87%) indicated that their parents were very positive about them working with the Toronto Police Service, while none of the respondents indicated that their parents were negative. When asked about how other family members felt about their work, the majority (70%) indicated that their family members were very positive, while 20% indicated that they were positive, and 7% indicated that their family members did not care. Again, none of those who responded to this question indicated that their other family members were negative.

Participants also shared that their friends were not as positive about them working with the police. Specifically, only 58% of them indicated that their friends were positive and 11% indicated that their friends were negative or very negative about them working with the police. Further, while they indicated that many people in their communities do not know about their summer jobs with the police, 28% of them speculated that community members would be positive and 14% of them thought of their community members as being negative about their employment. When asked about how their teachers felt, 50% reported that their teachers were very positive, 18% indicated that their teachers were positive, and 9% indicated that their teachers were neither positive nor negative. None reported that their teachers would have negative feelings about their work with the Toronto Police Service.

Table 4.3 - How do others feel about you working with the Toronto Police Service?

	Very Positive	**Positive**	**Don't Care**	**Negative**	**Very Negative**	**Don't know**	***TOTAL (Number of Students)***
Parents	87%	11%	2%	0%	0%	0%	**100% (134)**
Other family members	70%	20%	7%	0%	0%	3%	**100% (117)**
Friends in the community	29%	29%	19%	7%	4%	13%	**100% (130)**
Others in the community	15%	13%	23%	8%	6%	34%	**100% (128)**
Teachers	50%	18%	9%%	0%	0%	23%	**100% (131)**
Others	9%	4%	15%	2%	7%	62%	**100% (45)**

In the focus groups, at the end of YIPI, participants discussed talking with others about their summer employment. Most of the youth said that they had no problem telling other people who they were working with over the summer, but some went on to qualify what they said, noting that they sometimes felt less than comfortable when others in their communities knew that they were working with the police. One male participant spoke of how YIPI was a great experience, "*except when you have to go outside and you see people you know and they ask you, 'Oh you're working for the police wait until we tell the boys about this.'*" He continued:

> *My friends, none of them know because when we go outside for a police event the little kids come outside and they'll be like: 'Yo, the mens don't know you're working for the cops do they?' And they'll tell me all this crap and I'll be like, 'I work for Tropicana and they just put me here.'*

Another male youth agreed, saying: "*My family's easy, my friends, hell no.*" He claimed that he had told everyone other than his good friends that he was working for a sports camp. Some of the participants claimed that while they do not keep where they were working a secret, they used their discretion when telling people. One female student compared her

family's reaction to her getting a job with the police to how she thought some of her friends would react, concluding: "*My family, they approve of it. My mom's so happy. As for my friends, I just keep it on the low*." Another female student added: "*I just tell them I'm working for an office*." When participants were asked why they do this, a male youth explained: "*These guys hate the police…. They'll think, you know, I'm bwoydem.*"

Being reluctant to tell friends about their summer job was not the dominant response, and most of the youth were not hesitant to let their friends know about their experiences. One male participant claimed:

> *I told my friends and they were okay with it. They were actually open about it. And some of them were thinking because some of them are going into grade 11 so they're thinking of applying.*

A female participant added:

> *My friends actually did try and apply, they just didn't get it. They're the ones that know that I do this. They applied themselves and they got up to the last round and they didn't make it. There's like two of them.*

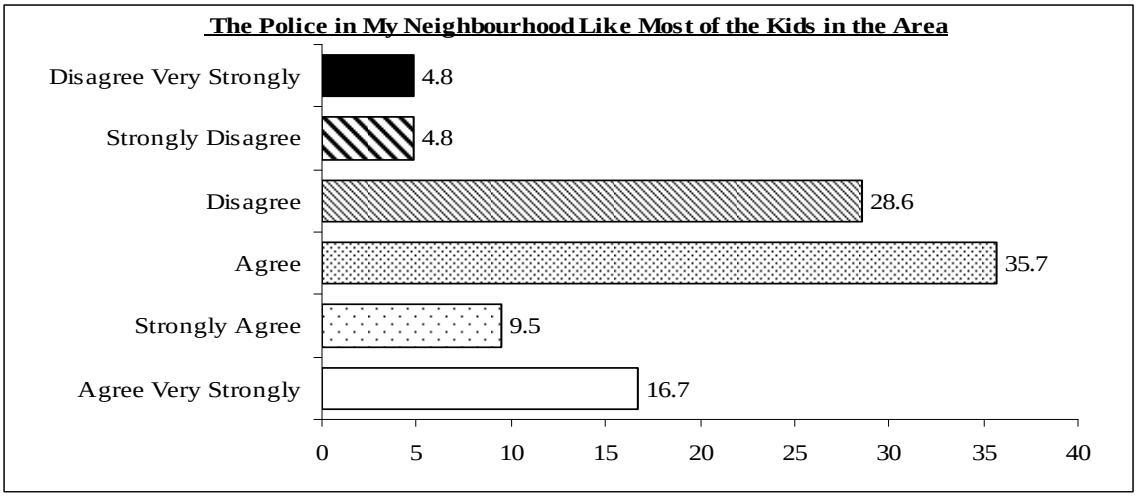
One participant explained that it is not really as big a deal as people have made it seem. She explained that really most people simply do not care:

> *They always ask us those types of questions [about] our community. But if it's just one person walking around, I don't think that makes a difference. I don't think it works that way. Somebody might see our uniform and be like 'Okay, great. She probably does something…' I don't think it affects them in anyway.*

This participant claimed that people made too big a deal about the reactions of, "*one person in the community of like ten thousand*" when discussing isolated incidents of people making either positive or negative remarks. One of the male participants who was concerned about how he was perceived by people in his community was forced to agree, recounting how once on the bus, returning to his Jane and Finch neighbourhood, "*some guys were like "Oh you work for the police. You're a cop bro, you're a cop bro.*" But on another occasion, as he went on to say, "*people saw my shirt and were like oh you're working for the police that's good for you young man.*" He added that this made him feel good and was promptly laughed at by the others in the focus group. This reaction confirmed the viewpoint that this was not as serious an issue as it was sometimes made to seem.

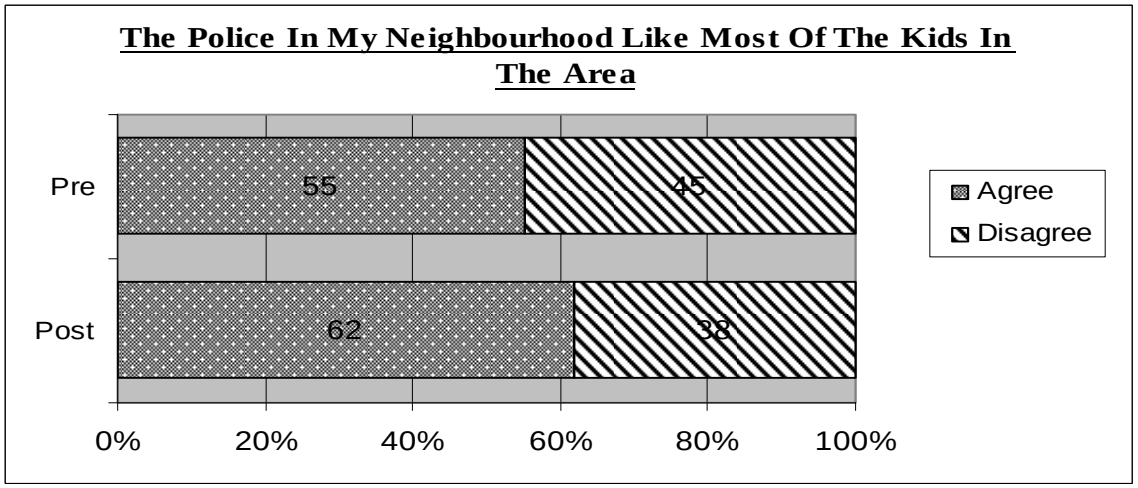
At the end of the summer, the majority of the YIPI participants chose 'Don't know' again when asked if they believed the police in their neighbourhood liked most of the kids in their area. Those who did express an opinion were slightly more likely to agree that the police in their neighourhood liked most of the kids in the area (figure 4.27).

Figure 4.26



N=42

Figure 4.27



vi. Additional Benefits from YIPI

The participants spoke at length about their increased appreciation for police and police work, and in the focus group interviews and their journal entries, there was substantial discussion about the things gained from the YIPI experience which are not directly related to policing. Participants expressed that, even though most of the work that they performed in their various placements was administrative, they had a great deal of appreciation for the skills and experiences they were able to obtain, suggesting many of the skills they acquired would help them in the future. One female participant, for example, spoke of how she spent most of her time filing papers. Rather than viewing this negatively, she remarked that it was

positive because, "*It teaches you how to be well organized.*" Another student spoke about the work she did researching organizations – inviting them to a police conference on diversity. She saw it as teaching her to be resourceful. Yet another called the administrative work useful because: "*I can take the skills I've learned and then any office I go to I know what to do. It's easy for me.*" A number of participants in both the focus groups and journal entries spoke of learning to use Microsoft Excel.

After discussing the amount of routine work they did and the organizational skills it required, a female student summed it up by saying:

> *The thing that I've acquired from this thing is patience and knowledge because I'm a very impatient person and really loud so to be working in an environment where you're supposed to be well-mannered and really quiet and sit in an office for eight hours doing the same thing I think was pretty good. It also helps me in the future because I want to be a lawyer.*

Another participant wrote in her journal:

> *I've also developed my team working skills. I have learned to work with others effectively and efficiently. My organizational skills have been enhanced. I've learned how to manage my time wisely. In the future I will use those skills at the different work environments I will be in.*

Others mentioned communication, initiative, and the very popular Impression Management workshop put on during orientation week.

Even so, there were those participants who admitted that the work was boring. As one put it:

> *I don't like some of the work. Some of the work is a little too repetitive. It's a little tedious at times and sometimes they just pawn off the work on us that they don't want to do themselves because they know it's boring.*

Agreeing to the lack of stimulation and excitement of the job, one officer, in her interview with us, said: "*They're just given odd jobs and tasks.*"

But more often, participants saw value in even the more mundane aspects of their employment, claiming that the YIPI experience was far better than the jobs at which they would otherwise have been working for the summer.

Vii Conclusion

At the conclusion of their participation in YIPI, the participants demonstrated a changed attitude towards police and policing. Most significantly, focus group participants spoke about the personal relationships they had formed with members of the Toronto Police Service and claimed to be both surprised and delighted to learn that officers were friendly, funny, and are like regular people. While these youth had generally positive attitudes towards the police at the beginning of the program, still, they expressed a degree of reluctance and intimidation about working with police officers. By the end of the summer, this apprehension about police had disappeared, and the youth spoke enthusiastically about their interactions and encounters with officers over the summer. The increased perceptions of the sociability and affability of police officers was represented in the 40 point shift on the survey question that asked participants if they knew an officer that they trusted enough to report a crime or would contact if they were in trouble.

In addition to these personal relationships, YIPI provided participants with an insider's knowledge of policing. The participants were exposed to the work of both police officers and civilian members, and they learned about the many career options with the Toronto Police Service. Based on this, a number of the youth who were not considering a career as a police officer saw the potential to pursue other career ambitions within the Toronto Police Service.

The increased knowledge they had gained over the summer, as well as the personal relationships they had formed, position the youth as ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service. While they still perceived other youth in their community to have largely negative views of the police, leading some to express some reluctance to tell some of their peers about their employment with the Toronto Police, others spoke of being able to provide friends and family members with information about YIPI policing in general. Finally, while the youth did admit that some of the aspects of their work were boring, they spoke of gaining valuable skills for use in future employment and saw this experience as far preferable to the types of jobs they would otherwise have taken.

Chapter Five
Toronto Police Service Members' perceptions and experiences with YIPI

Unlike the participants, whose evaluations of the YIPI program were overwhelmingly positive, the police officers who participated in this research had more divergent views of the program. We were able to interact with various officers and civilian members of the Toronto Police Service during the interviews, orientation week, and site visits. We arranged formal interviews with 12 Toronto Police Service employees who worked as either the primary or secondary supervisors with the YIPI participants in their respective divisions. We spoke with both individuals who had volunteered their time with the program and those who had been assigned by their supervisors to work with the YIPI participants. With anonymity assured, members willingly shared their perceptions and experiences about the program. There were noticeable differences in the assessments of the program by the Toronto Police employees who volunteered and by those who were assigned to work with YIPI participants as part of their work duties.

While almost everyone involved in supervising YIPI participants expressed support for the program there were different opinions on the effectiveness and organization of the program. The main issues that were raised included: the amount and type of work the participants had to do; the work that respondents had to do to organize and supervise the participants' activities; how and from where youth were chosen to participate in the program; and the effectiveness of the program in changing the attitudes of both youth and police officers.

i. Work for YIPI participants

A primary concern of the supervisors with whom we spoke was how to keep the participants engaged. Many of the respondents worried that there was not enough work for the participants or that the work, largely administrative, was not meaningful. One respondent claimed that it was extremely difficult to come up with enough jobs for the participants to fill eight hours a day over the six weeks they were assigned to the divisions. "*It's a great program for youth, but it's challenging for us to supply meaningful work*," the respondent noted. This respondent worried about the number of "menial" jobs that were assigned to participants to keep them busy. Another respondent commented: "*Keeping them busy is quite a task.*" He claimed that the experience for the youth ranged from being really helpful to simply being in the way, concluding: "*Great program but no curriculum for the kids once they get here. It's up to the individual officers to keep them busy… there has to be a curriculum in place for this to grow.*" A supporter of the program, he said that it was great at the "*organizational level*," but that the responsibility to find work for the participants fell to the "*operational level. And that's not right.*" A number of respondents asked that there be more direction from headquarters and that consideration be given to the number of participants who are sent to the divisions for in some cases they receive too many.

One respondent commented that while filing was an important skill, there needs to be more and different work available for the participants to do. In some divisions participants' time was spent on cleaning, filing, shredding, updating contacts in the database, attending seminars held by officers in the community, attending festivals, organizing the store room and working at the front desk. On one occasion, participants at this division were also taken to a presentation given by a psychologist at the Centre for Addictions and Mental Health (CAMH) on dealing with people with mental health issues. Clearly, there were differences in the level of engagement of YIPI participants. As one officer noted: "*In some places the YIPIs were engaged; in others, there is not enough for them to do*." Concurring with this sentiment, another respondent said that the number of youth that were assigned to their division was a lot, "*and we don't have anything for them to do*." This situation, specifically, concerned the respondents, as they worried about the quality of the participants' experience, claiming:

> *It's not police work…They're not learning anything about police work when they're here… I had them washing cars. I didn't know what else to do with them, so I'm getting them to wash the cruisers. They're not really learning anything about policing that way. And it's tedious, and we can't just leave them wandering around the station, you know. So that's why I just don't like the program.*

Confidentiality was also cited as one of the reasons for not having work for the youth to do. It was explained that a lot of the material police deal with has to be kept confidential. Accordingly, as one respondent put it: "*We're behind locked doors and there's a reason for that*."

But as one YIPI supervisor advised, other YIPI supervisors need to think of their responsibility in terms of job training:

> *If you're doing your regular job, they can work alongside you as long as you're not out there doing take-downs, they can work alongside you or a civilian member. I get a YIPI that is assigned in my area and I'll teach her how I do my filing and we're going to meetings and they go with you. They see what we do. So it's part of your routine job anyway and you're just imparting it to these participants. Teach them how to answer the phone if you're not there. You introduce them to the unit commander. Our officers here will take them out to different events. If they're going out to do a workshop or a talk, they'll take them [YIPI youth] with them. You come in and if it was a civilian member that you had to oversee you would still have to say: 'Okay, this is what you do'. If you go to a bank for a job, you're going to be trained for the position before you can actually work for the position. So if you have a kid that is assigned to you and you have nothing to do the onus is on you to find something for that kid to do.*

Questions about how to keep YIPI participants busy and productive were not held by all the respondents. One suggested that in his division: "*They're [youth] busy. There's lots for them to do in this office.*" These respondents believed that with proper planning, it was possible to

find enough work for the participants. The idea of planning was significant because there were differing ideas about who should be responsible for finding enough meaningful activities for the YIPI participants. Some respondents believed it was up to YIPI supervisors in the divisions to plan and find appropriate work for the six weeks that the YIPI participants would be in their divisions, while others believed the YIPI staff should provide the necessary direction and information about work for the YIPI participants.

As supervisors explained, there were variations in the amount of information, suggestions, and preparation pertaining to YIPI that they received. Some of the supervisors claimed that they were given nothing in terms of preparation, and others felt that what they were given was enough. One respondent said that the meeting they attended and the package of suggestions they were given was insufficient:

> *I wasn't really given a lot of preparation. There were suggestions made at a meeting that we went to beforehand, so we did have meetings and they provided us with suggestions [but it was not enough].*

However, we found that in some cases, it was not that service members were not provided support or information. It was, as in the case of one respondent, choosing not to attend the information session because it was believed that attending the session might convey the impression of eagerness to participate in supervising the youth and hence, the division would be sent more participants.

A number of respondents mentioned that both the meeting for supervisors and the package that was sent out outlining the activities and work participants could perform was quite sufficient. One respondent who had been involved with the program since its inception in 2006 admitted to having no difficulty finding ways to occupy the participants' time. And to the idea, as some respondents claimed, of a lack of work for participants, this respondent emphatically asserted: "*See, that's not right. I've got an operational plan that tells them what they can do.*" He spoke of how he sits down with all of the staff who are assigned to work with the YIPI participants and develops a plan of activities that will fill all six weeks of the youth's time at the division. Having engaged in this exercise with the supervisors, this respondent went on to say that ideas that emerge from these sessions are used in the orientation of the youth:

> *As soon as the youth arrive here, they have their orientation day like they did for that week. I sit them down and tell them exactly where I'm coming from. I tell them that they have two hours, and this is part of your life skill for time management – what I want you to do now is write out a biography on yourself. You will then have time that I want you to go to the computer and type out what your written portion was and then as a third step you will all be presenting this in front of 20 people… [It] gave the supervisors a clear understanding of the participant and it gave [the participant] the confidence to be able to get up in front of a group of people… I'm a firm believer in this program.*

The variation in viewpoints tended to correlate with whether the supervisors had voluntarily taken on the role of working with the participants, or whether they had been assigned to supervise the youth by their supervisory officers. Those who had been assigned the duty expected more specific direction primarily from the YIPI staff. Given the differences in their supervision and, concomitantly, the activities in which the youth engaged, it follows, as we heard from respondents, that there would be differences in the rewards the youth received from their experiences – rewards which were also mediated by the degree to which the activities for the youth were coordinated on a division-wide level or left to the particular supervisor to determine. Indeed, as we heard, there were: "*Supervisors who take it seriously and really embrace the program.*" And as an officer asserted: "*Success of YIPIs depends on the supervisors being creative and willing, looking for projects that have purpose.*" One respondent who is more centrally involved in YIPI explained there were service members who had been involved in the program for a number of years and as a result have a better idea of how to organize the participants' work:

> *Some do a better job than others. But it's a learning curve for them all, and at each division each year you may have new officers. It's not the division... each year you probably have a seasoned officer who has been doing this program for a few years. He's still there whereas in another division, the person who took on the program for the last two years was transferred somewhere else so a new officer gets it to do. So each officer will do something different. A seasoned officer knows what to do. So that's why we always emphasize the training for the supervisors.*

Even so, as we have discussed in the previous chapter, although a number of YIPI participants acknowledged that some of the work was boring, they thought of it as an opportunity to gain valuable skills, and they saw the YIPI experience as far superior to the work they would otherwise be doing. One respondent, who had been very critical about the lack of work, observed:

> *I was surprised at the end when they said this was the best job ever. Because I was giving them such tedious tasks, I thought they were going to hate it, but no, they enjoyed themselves.*

ii. Work for supervisors

The idea that there was not enough work for the YIPI participants meant that supervisors had the responsibility to find them work or make work for them to do – something which some of the supervisors felt created a lot of extra work for them. Respondents made comments like, "*I don't want to babysit them*," or claimed that the participants were, "*babied too much*." One respondent commented that since other officers in the division did not want anything to do with the program, the supervision of the YIPI participants fell mainly to civilian members. This lack of support combined with what one respondent perceived as mistrust of the participants – even though service members knew the youth had passed the necessary background checks – prompted one respondent to suggest: "*There are officers who should*

not deal with kids." This respondent maintained that the program would be better implemented if those who worked with the participants were officers who volunteered to be involved.

Two respondents estimated that three hours of each day was spent accommodating, supervising, or making work for the YIPI participants. And when officers were not trying to find work for participants, they had work to do in terms of modeling appropriate behaviour. On this point one respondent, who was a strong supporter of the program, hypothesized that the professional model of policing was in part responsible for the reluctance of many other officers to engage with the youths. This respondent claimed that, for some, it would seem unprofessional to interact casually with the participants; hence, officers were always on guard both with how they interacted with the youth and how they acted in situations where they are observed by the youth. In summing up this notion of extra work, another respondent had this to say: "*YIPI is worthwhile, but it is not an effective use of the officers' time*."

iii. Who gets to participate in YIPI

A topic that generated much discussion as well, was how YIPI participants were chosen and the attention given to the neighbourhoods from which they must come. On this topic respondents reflected on the purpose of the program, the maturity level of the participants, and the fact that to be eligible, a potential participant must be from one of the priority areas.

A number of respondents questioned the requirement that the youth must be from one of the 15 identified neighbourhoods in order to participate. Apart from thinking that the program should be open to all youth, respondents claimed to be concerned that the identification of particular neighbourhoods contributes to the stigmatization of certain communities and neglects areas where there are marginalized youth who could benefit from the program. Arguing that the program should be open to all youth, one respondent claimed that if the purpose of the program was to give youth an increased understanding and appreciation for the police, the designation of certain communities was superficial and limiting. He claimed that youth are no different, in terms of their attitudes towards police, whether they are from Jane-Finch or Forrest Hill. He said: "*In Jane-Finch you might encounter some more negative behaviour, but in Forrest Hill you get the same reactions to police*." Another respondent mentioned that the youth from the priority areas often have: "*Parents who are struggling, but you get that a lot in other neighbourhoods as well.*"

Agreeing that the neighbourhoods from which the program draws its participants should not be so circumscribed, one respondent opined: "*The type of kid is more important than what neighbourhood they live in*," and went on to mention that there are Toronto Community Housing units in their division but that these youth do not qualify for YIPI because the neighbourhood, located in downtown Toronto, is not designated a 'Priority Area'. One service member also talked about receiving calls from guidance counselors wanting to get their students into the program, but: "*They're frustrated because they've got excellent candidates that they would like to see get into the program, but they don't live in the right neighbourhood.*"

Another respondent added:

> *I grew up in metro housing. But you're not picking [some places] where it's bad, but you're picking [a priority area], which is just across the street. I don't get the reasoning for picking certain areas. [They should] say it's open to all children who live in metro housing, or whose family is below the poverty line. I have a friend who has three boys, who are good kids thankfully, but still they're just barely living, and something like this would be amazing for them but they can't apply because of where they live.*

With respect to limiting the program to youth from priority areas, some respondents wondered what message was being sent about the neighbourhood, insisting that the current practice serves to stigmatize neighbourhoods, giving the idea that these neighbourhoods have, "*problem kids*". But on the contrary, just because they are from certain neighbourhoods, argued one respondent, "*It doesn't mean they're bad kids*." "*These are good kids,*" insisted another; and, on this basis respondents would claim that the current YIPI participants would be fine even without this program. They believed that more effort should be made to identify and recruit "at-risk" youth from wherever they reside.

Both YIPI staff and supervisors who have had a greater level of involvement with the program, however, tended to disagree with the notion that the current and past cohort of YIPI youth were substantially different from those in their communities who are coming into contact with the police. These service members point to the fact that having been involved with the selection of participants for the program – interacting with them at information sessions, interviews, and during orientation week – they know the YIPI participants and about their communities more intimately. As such, they know more than others about the progression the participants have made, and the time and effort put into their personal development before they arrived at the various divisions. Hence, according to those respondents who have witnessed the development of YIPI participants over the years, it is incorrect to say that the program was only selecting the best applicants and those who were in no danger of getting into trouble with the law. They were adamant that youth had varying capacities which was reflected in the program. As was stated:

> *If you're just pulling out certain kinds of participants, it's limiting… We definitely do not take the best of the best. You need the kids who are the class vice-president and you need the kids who are struggling in school – who are engaged and not engaged. There's a level of being influenced by your peers that we try to facilitate. Taking only the most accomplished applicants is not the reality, especially not the reality of what this program is supposed to be doing which is making inroads into the community as a whole.*

Indeed, during the orientation week, researchers did observe YIPI staff members and other resource persons teaching participants about professionalism and stressing to the participants the responsibility they were undertaking in this program.

Recalling the frequent interventions by staff members dealing with participants' lateness and behaviours during the week, one respondent commented: "*As you could see, we were having issues with them. Lot's of issues. And that's okay.*" A particularly effective method employed was forcing youth who were late during orientation week to stand in front of the whole auditorium and apologize to staff, presenters, and the other YIPI participants. At the beginning of the week, this was quite common, but by mid-week, it was a rare occurrence.

iv. Readiness of participants for the job

Some of the supervisors who participated in this study pointed out that they felt that some of the YIPI participants were not ready for the program. Thinking of YIPI as a work experience program, they evaluated the youth in relation to how willing and ready they were to work. One respondent commented that although he noticed great progress in the participants over the summer, they did not come to the division "*geared for work.*" Another, recalling the words of one participant who said: "*This is the easiest money I've ever made,*" mentioned that this gave him the impression that some of the participants were not there for the "*right reasons*." In the same vein, one respondent claimed that she felt "*taken advantage of,*" when a couple of the participants were late or seemed not to be working very hard. One supervisor was quite upset about a situation where some participants fell asleep on the job.

For the most part, the supervisors we interviewed spoke of relatively minor incidents where the participants were either late or neglected to complete tasks assigned to them. Usually, the participants were given verbal warnings and in one case the participant was given a written warning. Interestingly, however, most of the supervisors expressed a reluctance to discipline the participants, claiming: "*They're just kids,*" or "*You don't want to get them into trouble*." These responses to the behaviour of the youth are, in part, based on sympathy, particularly from supervisors who had teenage children, and thus understood some of the issues involved when working with youth. As one officer said, "*You have to exercise a lot of patience.*" It was clear that the supervisors in charge of YIPI participants felt both a connection to them and a responsibility to look after them. But not disciplining participants or reporting them to YIPI staff is as much about recognizing that indeed they are "just kids," as it is a reflection of the supervision given to them.

All of the supervisors expressed some degree of understanding that working with youth means that there will be challenges and they will require extra supervision. There was a preference, however, for 16 and 17 year old participants, because they were seen as being more mature, having better work ethic, and being closer to possibly considering a career in policing. As one respondent said:

> *Their work ethics are different. The 14 year olds have never really worked out of the house… I would like to see it, geared more towards more 16-17 year olds, versus your 14/15 year olds being involved in this program. Not to put anything against the youth, but it's just the maturity factor. It's a lot better to be working in a policing type environment. At 14, you really don't know if you want to become a policeman - they don't know what they want to*

> *be; whereas, at 16 and 17, you're starting to get a little better understanding of exactly what type of job, career, you want to go into. You're in high school and you hope to establish, to get, your proper classes – to earmark yourself towards the career path that you want to take. Somebody in grade 9 maybe doesn't know that right now, but in grade 11, you should know what you want do, or at least have some better idea of it.*

One respondent called attention to the fact that, "*when you're an adult and there's a child you always have to remember that you're in control*." So, as she went on to say, it is up to supervisors to recognize that these youth will make mistakes and working through these mistakes is part of the responsibility that supervisors take on when they accept these participants. As she put it:

> *We're training them in this position. We still have to remember that they're 14 to 17 and they're going to do kids stuff. So you always have to be there to steer them when they're going off track.*

v. The changing attitudes of police and youth

Most of the supervisors with whom we spoke claimed that the YIPI participants did not change their attitudes towards youth because, to begin with, they did not believe they had negative opinions towards youth, particularly towards youth from certain neighbourhoods. Additionally, they claimed that other officers in their divisions were not too affected by the presence of the YIPI participants because they had limited interactions with the youth. One respondent who claimed that the program did not change police officers' attitudes towards youth from priority areas claimed: "*The police know that you have good and bad kids from everywhere, so there will always be both.*"

But a few respondents spoke of how attitudes towards the YIPI program had changed. According to them, in the early years there was a lot of resistance to accepting YIPI participants primarily because they were concerned about confidentiality. However, as the program developed, other officers and civilians working in the divisions have grown accustomed to the presence of the youth and willingly now interact with them. One respondent shared that what the program really showed was the potential of youth from marginalized communities when given an opportunity.

> *Given the opportunity these kids are making the best of it and people are confusing it with [whether they are good or bad kids]. And it's not. Give a kid an opportunity, encourage them, give them a healthy positive environment and then you see what happens.*

Another respondent pointed out:

> *I believe no child is born a bad child. People get to where they are based on environmental – what's the word I'm looking for – their surroundings, whatever is happening around them. Some people adapt and some don't. And for me if we can take someone from these – and I don't like the term high-risk or whatever they use – if we can take someone from these priority neighbourhoods and be a positive influence on their life and they in turn can go out and influence someone and turn them from going down the path of destruction we can accomplish a lot and I think we have done that. You never know what would happen.*

Regardless of their opinions about who got recruited to the YIPI program, every supervisor we interviewed believed the program had a large impact on the participants. Furthermore, they all spoke of the close relationships they or other officers formed with many of the youth. The most common observation was that the participants were initially intimidated by the officers, but by the end of the summer they were comfortable and displayed a far greater knowledge of police work. One supervisor claimed: "*A lot of the participants are very intimidated by the uniform and coming into work here and seeing what goes on gives them a very different outlook on policing*." When we asked one respondent if he noticed a change in the YIPI participants over the summer, they responded: "*Absolutely they change. A lot of kids come with resentment towards the police but by the end of the summer they open up.*" He further noted that, "*There's always one or two who stand out from the rest. They really take on a leadership role*."

The reason the supervisors we spoke with supported the program, despite their complaints about the work it created for them, was because they saw the difference it had on the participants and the potential it had to change the way that police are perceived. One officer said:

> *Is it a good program? It's an excellent program. Because it's giving those 150 kids that opportunity to go out there and do something. It's an opportunity to make some money and keep busy, and to learn. If this is a career path they're going to take, let them take that career path and we welcome them with open arms. If it's not something they want to do, if anything it gives them, it's two-fold. It's a win-win for us; we build that partnership with that kid right now, who is going to go back and speak to ten other friends, and say, 'Hey, you know what, Linda [pseudonym] was in the program and you know what, I'm going to apply for it next year', and that's what we're starting to see right now.*

Another supervisor echoed the idea that YIPI could create ambassadors for the police service:

> *I really enjoy this program. I like helping kids. And it's a chain reaction. We help someone to help someone to help someone and you never know what would have happened to that person.*

One officer talked about a YIPI alumnus who returned to ask her for a job reference. She noted that he had, at first, not been a great employee but that she recognized that he was exactly the type of youth the program needed to reach. "*We could have fired him but we recognized that he was the kid we want as a YIPI,*" she said, adding that they were happy to hear at their division that he seemed to be keeping on the right track by applying for jobs. She also indicated that she was flattered that he had thought of her as someone to provide a reference. Like the participants, this personal aspect seemed to be really meaningful for the supervisors, with many speaking about former YIPI participants who kept in touch or came back to visit. Some former participants even volunteered their time for various events, or to come in and give presentations to participants just starting at the divisions.

Many of these connections were quite significant. One officer spoke glowingly of a participant he had supervised in the program three years earlier:

> *[She] was my second year participant here, and was absolutely fantastic. She just came and she did my orientation this year. She came in on her own time. I've seen her evolve, from a younger 15 year old, to now, a 19 year old young lady, and we still keep in touch and we still talk. My YIPI participants still keep in touch with me because of that rapport that I have with them.*

Likewise, during orientation week, an officer who was giving a presentation came with one of his former participants. The participant spoke of how rewarding the experience had been for him, the opportunities it had created, and the close relationship he was able to develop with this supervisor. The YIPI alumnus told the incoming participants that in the year following his participation in YIPI, he had developed some severe health problems which resulted in him needing major surgery and that this police officer, his supervisor, was one of the first people to visit him in the hospital. We also heard from one respondent of a participant who, while participating in YIPI in 2010, had informed his family that he was gay and was subsequently kicked out of his home. The officers at the division rallied to support this youth and one officer, in particular, assisted the youth by providing him someone with whom to speak, helping him find a place to stay, and getting him furniture, and putting him in touch with support organizations.

vi. Conclusion

Despite varying levels of involvement with the program, and some ambiguous feelings about certain aspects of it, the officers and civilian members responsible for supervising YIPI participants took seriously their role in providing a meaningful YIPI experience to the youth. Those who had been involved for a number of years displayed a great sense of investment in the program and a desire for it to continue improving as everyone involved became more comfortable in their roles. One desire which was expressed by many of the supervisors was to have the opportunity to have more input in the operational aspects of the program and for their experiences and insights to be taken into account by the Toronto Police Service. There was a sense that the hierarchies within policing meant that decisions about YIPI were made

on a "political level" and their input carried little weight. One officer suggested that there needed to be a dedicated officer at headquarters who could both liaise with and provide overall supervision for the various divisions where YIPI participants are placed. It was also suggested to us that officers who had been consistently helping with YIPI should be recognized or given some kind of commendation so that others would be motivated to get involved.

We conclude with the words of a service member who at the conclusions of the interview expressed his wish for this research report to convey the views of those in the various divisions who have been responsible for supervising the youth for six weeks of the summer.

> *Hopefully it's given you a little more insight and a little bit better understanding of it. There's nothing that is said here that is negative. It's all positive. It's just that it's still: Are we at 100% for our operation? No. So what we need is someone from the outside to come in, and maybe give a bit of an eye opener right now, to say you know, we've seen this, these are the recommendations… What are you hearing? You're hearing the ideas. And a lot of people have good ideas, but sometimes people don't want to hear. But when an independent review comes in, maybe it's best that those people… now sit back, leave their ears open, and listen.*

Conclusion

The Youth in Policing Initiative aims to promote youth participation in and exposure to the Toronto Police Service. The guiding assumption was that the program would be able to enhance the relationship between police and youth, and by extension, police and the communities they serve, by providing a meaningful employment opportunity for young people from priority areas. The program also seeks to promote the Toronto Police Service as a potential career choice for this group of young and marginalized youth. The program operates under the assumption that the experience will result in these youth creating and maintaining relationships with members of the Toronto Police Service, and that they will, in turn, act as ambassadors for the service in their communities. Our research sought to examine the extent to which YIPI was effective in accomplishing these goals and to measure the impact the program had on the perceptions, experiences, and attitudes of the participating youth. Insofar as the Toronto Police Services Board has the goal of supporting programs that are responsive to the needs of youth, but that also have a positive effect on police-community relations, we set out to assess the extent to which YIPI had a positive impact on the relationship and attitudes of both the participating youth and the police.

YIPI started in 2006 through a partnership between the Toronto Police Service, the Toronto Police Services Board, and the Ministry of Children and Youth Services. Initially a three-year pilot program, its early success prompted the government of Ontario to permanently fund its continuation. YIPI's goals are to provide a meaningful work experience for youth from priority areas; to enhance the link between police and youth and, by extension, their communities; to promote the Toronto Police Service as an employer of choice; and to position the participating youth as ambassadors for the police in their communities. Data from observations, individual and focus group interviews with police officers, youth, and other key informants, YIPI participants' journal entries, and a survey which we administered at both the beginning and end of the summer program enabled us to assess the extent to which those goals were attained in 2010's YIPI.

YIPI participants come from the diversity of backgrounds that characterize their neighbourhoods, and most chose to apply for the program either to gain meaningful work experience or because they had some degree of interest in policing. Having heard about the program from friends, family members, teachers, guidance counselors, and school resource officers, participants believed it was a good opportunity to gain and develop the skills and connections that would help their future career goals. For the most part, these youth – who are often because of the neighbourhoods where they live – were motivated to make the most of every opportunity they either sought or that was made available to them.

The results of our survey at the beginning of the program demonstrated that most YIPI participants had generally positive views about policing and police officers. However, both the survey and the discussions in our focus groups indicated that many of the youth had very little direct contact with police and were both intimidated and uncomfortable around police. The youth also perceived other youth in their communities as having negative opinions of police and this, combined with some of their own misgivings, led a few of them to go so far as to misrepresent to their peers the nature of their summer employment. By the end of the summer, however, both their familiarity with policing and their personal levels of comfort with individual police officers demonstrated a significant change.

Further, at the end of the program, the youth in our focus groups spoke enthusiastically about the personal relationships they had formed with members of the Toronto Police Service and their recognition that police officers were in many ways quite similar to the other people they encountered in their lives. They repeatedly emphasized the significance of learning that police were like "regular people". Additionally, YIPI greatly increased the participating youths' knowledge of policing and the work in which both officers and civilian members of the Toronto Police Service engage. Despite still believing that youth in their neighbourhoods took a negative view of policing, these youth revealed an ability and, in many cases, a willingness to act as ambassadors for the Toronto Police Service, being able to provide friends and family members with information about both YIPI and about policing more broadly. The participating youth reflected positively on their experience at the end of the summer, considering even the more mundane aspects of their employment – e.g. filing, cleaning – to have given them both job and life skills.

The officers and civilian members who were in charge of supervising YIPI participants at the various divisions and detachments in Toronto recognized the importance of the program and took very seriously the task of providing the participants with a meaningful work experience. Some officers also displayed a great extent of investment in the success of the program and a strong desire for it to continue improving. These key informants had many opinions about the program and were very forthcoming both in their praise and criticisms. Many of the informants worried that it was difficult to find enough meaningful work for the participants, and the effort to do so created a lot of additional work for them. There were also varying concerns about the selection of youth in terms of job-readiness and the requirement that the youth selected must reside or attend school in one of Toronto's priority areas. Some of the key informants believed that the program should be open to all youth, and a few felt that the focus on priority areas risked stigmatizing certain youth and communities. This coincided with their assessments that, despite some minor disciplinary issues, the YIPI participants were "good kids". It is difficult to ascertain, on anything more than anecdotal evidence, the extent to which the exposure to YIPI participants changed police attitudes about youth generally and those in disenfranchised communities in particular. The officers and civilian supervisors, however, spoke of the relationships they formed with many of the YIPI participants. Those who had been involved in the program for a number of years revealed that these relationships, formed over the summer, often become ones that are quite meaningful and lasting. Because they cared about both the youth and the program, the officers and civilian supervisors we spoke with expressed a desire to have a greater amount of input into the operational aspects of the program. It was also mentioned that those who put a significant amount of time and effort into ensuring a positive experience for the youth should receive some special recognition.

In conclusion, YIPI seems to have achieved a great degree of success in fulfilling its objectives. The youths who participate every summer gain a valuable work experience, improved attitudes towards police and policing, and feel positive and confident about their experience – something they can take back to their communities. Additionally, the program facilitates positive and sustained personal relationships between the youth and members of the Toronto Police Service. For a program which was initially met with a great deal of resistance from certain segments of the Police Service and the public, this is a remarkable achievement.

PART B

Chapter One
Community Initiatives: Introducing the Programs

Part B of this report presents the findings of our study of participants in TPSB-funded initiatives carried out by community organizations. While the Youth in Policing Initiative (YIPI) participants had the chance to work closely with police officers for eight weeks during the summer, in the community–based programs the youth did not have any such sustained contacts with the police. These programs are expected to help improve relations between police and marginalized youth residing in disadvantaged communities, and as such this study provides an opportunity to look at the potential, possibilities and limits of both strategies. Hence, an underlying idea that we sought to examine with both groups of youth is the extent to which their familiarity with or level of exposure to the police helped to reduce the stereotyping, distrust, disrespect and conflict that tend to characterize perceptions, interactions and relationships with police. Did the programs provide youth with new and positive insights into the role and workings of the Toronto Police Service, and did they help to establish good rapport among police, youth and community members, thereby contributing to the enabling and maintenance of community safety? Of course, the reverse, is equally important to ascertain – something we endeavoured to do in our interviews with police officers who worked with YIPI youth. In essence, we sought to find out if, and how, these programs serve to educate youth and police about each other, thereby helping to build a respectful and amicable relationship among them. The TPSB also acknowledged that these were programs that did not focus only, or even primarily, on the relationship between young people and the police, but that sought to address human rights, anti-racism, and other concerns and issues. These are deemed important because they have been identified as contributing to ongoing tensions and conflicts as well as discriminatory and disrespectful behaviours in police and youth encounters, particularly as they occur in communities populated by immigrant, low-income and racialized people.

In this portion of the report, we discuss the community programs, the youth's perceptions of the police and the kinds of experiences that influence their views. We draw on the perceptions and experiences of participants in the three community–based programs – YouthAction of Native Child and Family Services of Toronto, START of Tropicana Community Services, and Youth Association of Academics, Athletics and Character Education (YAAACE)[1] – we studied. The participants were largely racial minority youth between the ages 9 and 22 who, like the YIPI youth, were residing in Toronto's priority areas. We were able to hear from current and past participants about the ways in which these community-based programs helped to decrease concerns and issues arising from youth alienation and disenchantment which reports indicate contribute, in part, to the violence and other anti-social behaviours we witness.[2] In fact, concerns about the behaviours of youth

[1] *A fourth organization, Belka Enrichment Centre which had also received funds to assist with their Mobile Computing Lab, was also contacted and the coordinator met with us to discuss their participation in the research. However, we were unable to get a chance to interview participants. This was mainly due to the drop-in nature of the program; and the lack of contact information for the youth who participate in the program.*

[2] *See Roy McMurtry and Alvin Curling (2008), Review of the Roots of Youth Violence; Julian Falconer, Peggy Edwards and Linda MacKinnon (2008), The Road to Health: A Final Report on School Safety.*

precipitated by events of the so-called 'summer of the gun' in 2005, prompted some social service agencies, public institutions, and community organizations to develop initiatives that were designed to help address issues affecting marginalized youth in Toronto, including poor community-police relations. We also sought to learn how responsive these community programs were to these youth's needs, and the degree of success the programs were having in achieving the goals and objectives defined for these programs.

In this chapter, we provide a profile of each of the three community-based programs who participated in the research, and we go on to present relevant data gathering methods particular to this part of the study. In Chapter 2, we discuss the youth's experiences and perceptions of the police; and in Chapter 3, we explain the level of police current involvement in these programs probing the extent to which that involvement has met the expectations of the youth, their parents and youth workers.

i. The Programs

As mentioned above, the three community-based programs that participated in this research are: YouthAction, START, and YAAACE. Each of these TPSB-funded initiatives organized and run by community-based organizations, among other things, attempt to

1. engage youth in productive activities that attend to their needs and interests;
2. address human rights and anti-racism concerns and issues, particularly in relation to their contributions to conflict between youth and police;
3. improve the experiences and perceptions youth and police have of each other; and
4. take up the concerns and issues pertaining to youth alienation and disenfranchisement.

Additionally, we worked with these organizations to learn about principles and activities that have contributed to successful youth programs, to explore the impact of these programs on police officers who are either assigned to or volunteer their time to these projects. The following is a brief introduction to each of these programs

Native Child and Family Services of Toronto – 'YouthAction'

The Native Child and Family Services of Toronto (NCFST) is a large organization serving Toronto's approximately 60,000 native people. This number includes approximately 45,000 Status Indians, as well as non-status Indians, Métis, and Inuit people. NCFST delivers a broad range of services across the GTA, including day camp programs, Ontario Early Years Centres, mental health programs and case management, youth programs – including transitional housing and outreach, and other developmental services. NCFST also operates as a Children's Aid Society under the Child and Family Services Act. The organization has a mandate to protect children from all forms of maltreatment and to provide residential care for those children in need.

YouthAction program of Native Child and Family Services took place in 2005, but it did not continue as an ongoing project. The program's stated goals were to engage youth who were in conflict with the law in community development projects that simultaneously built community safety and improved the resiliency of youth. The program was located in the Kingston-Galloway neighbourhood and focused on Aboriginal youth and youth of colour. Some 30 young people participated in the programs. In addition, 5 youth were assisted in returning to school after having either dropped out or been expelled.

Tropicana Community Services – 'START' Program

Tropicana Community Services is a large Toronto organization serving newcomers, youth, and people of Black and Caribbean heritage. Tropicana provides its service's users with access to programs that are culturally appropriate and address a wide range of needs. Many programs are run in partnership with existing community organizations, schools, and other government-funded programs. The services offered include counselling, child care, employment services, and youth development programs.

Tropicana Community Services began nearly 30 years ago in the Finch and Birchmount (Scarborough) area where there was a predominantly Caribbean family population, many of whom were financially disadvantaged and faced barriers to participation in community programs. Though Tropicana is still located in Scarborough, and still caters to Black and Caribbean-Canadian families, children and youth, it has grown to be one of the largest Black community organizations in Toronto providing programs to participants from across the city.

The Success Through Aggression Replacement Training or START program at Tropicana Community Services continues to operate and aims to reduce aggressive tendencies in children ages 9-13 through social skills instruction. Workshops and topics for discussion in the START program include decision-making, anger control, and interpersonal communication. The program emphasizes the joint participation of children and their parents in workshops – a participation that staff consider key to the program's effectiveness.

The Youth Association for Academics, Athletics and Character Education (YAAACE)

The Youth Association for Academics, Athletics and Character Education (YAAACE) is a youth-based organization in the Jane and Finch community that aims to create a culture of high academic achievement, and social and civic responsibility among its members. Since 2007, one of the program goals has been to bridge the gaps between youth who live in the north and south side of Finch Avenue. YAAACE is committed to empowering young people by providing projects and programs that develop self-confidence, discipline, academic success, and a healthy self-image while encouraging youth to pursue their occupational aspirations. YAAACE works to forge meaningful partnerships with parents, mentors, and other community organizations. The organization runs several year-round programs, including after-school tutoring programs at local elementary and high schools, as well as weekend 'institutes' focused on academic achievement. YAAACE is perhaps best known in

the Jane-Finch community for its basketball program and full-time summer program, which attracts over 200 participants. With hundreds of participants each year, and several dozen youth mentors and staff, the program reaches many families in the Jane-Finch community, and the affordable (subsidized) program fees, as well as strong leadership and a community-oriented atmosphere, make YAAACE a highly-regarded program for young people in the Jane-Finch community.

ii. Methodology

The data collection with the three community-based programs were focus group interviews with participating youth in some cases with their parents and youth workers, and individual interviews with key informants who were youth workers and parents. In the tradition of qualitative research methodology we sought to capture the experiences and interpretations of participants, noting how the organizations' social processes helped to build relationships with and among the youth and police, and how they worked together within existing social and economic and cultural contexts (Mason, 2002). We endeavoured to understand how marginalized youth from "priority areas" think about their relations with the police. And as we did in the case of YIPI, we spent time at the respective program observing the youth in their activities. In the three community programs, we paid short visits of 1-2 hours to summer programs and toured the facilities where programs were held. One program held a graduation ceremony that project researchers attended in June 2010.

Project researchers were provided with a list of organizations to contact by phone and email. From May to July 2010, researchers contacted individual program workers at Native Child and Family Services of Toronto (NCSFT), Tropicana Community Services, and Youth Association for Academics, Athletics and Character Education (YAAACE) program. In all cases, it took several conversations with the program workers to eventually establish a rapport which enabled us to carry out our study. From June to August 2010, researchers met with individual staff members of NCFST, Tropicana, and YAAACE to describe the research, answer any questions of concerns, plan interviews, and to discuss how to best organize focus groups with youth from these organizations.

In all cases, representatives at NCFST, Tropicana, and YAAACE were accommodating and helpful, showed keen interest in the project, and were eager to contribute to research that they considered helpful to their programs, and had the potential to help improve the relation between youth and police. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, or detailed notes were taken. Literature about the programs was gathered. In some cases, two interviewers were present and each took notes which were later combined. At each organization, researchers interviewed youth ranging in age from 9 to 22 years. Most youth were participants, but some were also mentors to younger people, or former participants who were employed as staff in the programs.

Researchers had two broad topics for discussion in these interviews: first, program staff at Tropicana, NCFST, and YAAACE, were asked about their programs' history and involvement with youth, and about any involvement that members of the Toronto Police

Services may have had with the programs. Interviewers and program staff discussed the nature and aspects of police involvement in the youth programs, noting the successes, challenges and areas for improvement. The second broad topic of discussion was about these programs' impact on youth and police perceptions of one another, and the current relationship and perceptions that youth in these programs have of the police. In total, our interviews with key informants (i.e. youth workers and staff members) included two at Tropicana, three at NCSFT, and one at YAAACE. Each interview was approximately one hour, and took place at the sites of the respective programs.

Following the interviews with program staff at NCSFT, Tropicana, and YAAACE, we arranged focus group interviews with the members of the programs. These interviews took place in August and September 2010. The focus group with members of the YouthAction program at NCSFT included three youth (ages 15-22) and three youth program staff – they all decided participate together. We did not observe any adverse consequence in this situation – seemingly a reflection of the collegial and friendly relationship among the members. In fact, the age difference was quite small. Recall that this program, and hence the participants, had ended about four years ago. The Tropicana START focus group had three youth (ages 9-12) and four parents. In this case, the focus group discussion became a program activity, building on the objective of the program which is, in part, to improve parent-child relationships. Again, there was no observable limitation to this; in fact, the parents were helpful to the process, they encouraged their children to express their ideas.

With semi-structured questions, our focus group interviews enabled us to generate productive group discussions. We focused on two themes. The first theme we explored was the youth's experiences and type of involvement in the program. We then proceeded to get their thoughts on what made the programs successful and engaging for them, and what, if any, improvements were necessary in the programs. The youth were also asked to recall involvement of Toronto police officers in their programs – they were asked to elaborate by saying what that involvement was like and what they thought about it. In most cases, there was minimal direct involvement of police officers in the programs, so this lack of visibility or minimal involvement became the focus of the discussions. The second theme discussed, was the perceptions police and youth have of each other, and the impact that these perceptions had on police and youth interactions.

All four of the focus groups were tape recorded and transcribed by the project researchers. The transcriptions were then coded for further themes. The discussion found in this report are based on the topics and themes that emerged from the information obtained from youth participants, parents, and program staff of three community-based programs.

Chapter Two
The Youth Experiences with and Perceptions of the Police

When youth from the three community-based programs were asked in the respective focus group interviews to talk about their perceptions of the police, they initially provided somewhat characteristic non-committal answers. As one youth said of the police, "*Some are good, some are bad*", a male youth added: *"They go both ways. You have no say. Even if they're wrong, they're still right, you have no say. What they say is always right."* Other words and phrases that were used to describe the police were: *"bad guys;*" *"not fair;" "annoying;" "rude."* While some youth indicated that these opinions of the police resulted from their direct dealings with the police, for most of the youth it was from their observations of the police behaviours as they patrol their communities, police's attitudes towards and interactions with youth and community members, and what they heard from their friends and their family members. But for those youth who had personal encounters with police, they claimed that their views were a result of the negative and confrontational nature of these interactions which have left them feeling upset, frustrated and concerned. These youth alleged that they were often stereotyped and treated with suspicion, aggression and disrespect by police. The youth workers and parents with whom we spoke also corroborated what the youth had to say about their experiences with the police.

What we heard from our study participants also appears in recent reports. Specifically, in the *Roots of Violence* report, McMurtry and Curling (2008, Vol. 3, p. 14) commented at length about relations between youth and the police as an area of major concern identified by community members. They wrote:

> *... in our Neighbourhood Insight Sessions, youth recounted how patrol officers unfairly targeted them. Whether it was Black youth in Toronto or Aboriginal youth in Thunder Bay, the story was the same: if you are young, and especially if you are a member of a visible minority, you can expect to be stopped for doing nothing more than walking home from a recreation centre or mall (Curling and McMurtry, 2008, Vol. 3, p. 14).*

i. Perceptions of and interactions with the police

Many of the youth reported that their negative interactions with police tended to take place when they were socializing in groups. It was also when they were most often stopped and questioned by police. As one male participant suggested:

> *When we're in a big group, like say we're walking to a friend's, they tend to stop us, pull us over and ask us questions, because they probably think we're gonna do something bad, but...we're just going to play basketball or something.*

This participant, an immigrant, went on to suggest that lack of cultural awareness contributes to the police misreading of youth's actions and activities.

> *Here in Canada the definition of a gang is three or more people together but this should not be so…. In other countries, we socialize with a whole bunch of people to socialize, let's say 5 or 10 people. This is how, other countries do it in terms of socialization, we have a group and we talk.... Here in Canada, it's a very different perspective. I guess... for the police to understand is for them to be a part of the group to understand that… this is how we socialize in Third World countries, and we're bringing it here. And here in Canada, it's, quote un-quote, it's a gang when you have 3 or more people. So we're here, we're socializing, we make use of our time, we're not trouble-makers or anything else like that.*

On the topic of being stopped, questioned, and sometimes arrested or threatened with arrest by police, one youth worker, in referencing her own experiences as a mother of a teenage son, revealed:

> *My poor son gets stopped all the time, just because he's a young male. He's dressed whatever, but they all dress like that. It's not special! He's not wearing a rainbow suit! [Laughing] He gets stopped all the time, so now he's smart. (When stopped by police), he says, 'Wait, call my mom, I'm calling my mom.' So now me and my ex-husband will go right away to meet him. The cops said that there were B&E's in the neighbourhood, and he matches the description.... again! He gets stopped at least once a week, and he's been arrested for the most ridiculous things, even though he's a good kid!*

Up against the stereotyping, the youth and their parents remain concerned about the police assuming the "worst of them." This, they said, causes them stress and makes them weary of police hence the strategies they, like this parent and son, developed to deal with the situations in which they find themselves with police.

A further strategy that another parent employed was to call her son into their apartment whenever she saw police officers patrolling the neighbourhood.

> *They [the youth] get in trouble for hanging out in front of the building. We live there! Where else are we supposed to go? So it's like our yard, but we're constantly being bothered. They [police] even do stairwell checks, and even though my son is not up to no good, and I know what he's up to... I'm on him. I phone the school every week. But now when they [police] come, I find him and get him in the house. And that's awful.*

This parent's reaction to her son being outside of their apartment when the police visits to their building or neighbourhood points to the level of trust that parents, like their children, have of the police. Clearly, parents, too, feel that any interactions with police are likely to be negative.

But attempting to avoid young people hanging around outside their apartment building is likely to be difficult, especially when they do not have backyards or porches in which to socialize. Actually, the youth, parents and workers pointed out that living in high-rise apartment buildings and multi-unit complexes meant that it is in public spaces that is the most convenient for them to socialize. As a consequence, congregating in public spaces makes them, not only more visible, but also vulnerable to the police gaze as they patrol the neighbourhood. The following example, related by one young man, illustrated what happened when he was "hanging out" with a group of friends in his neighbourhood parking lot in westend Toronto.

> *Sometimes you're not doing anything. One time, we were hanging out, chillin' out, talking and then, helicopters, cars coming... and they were, like, 'Oh sorry, someone said you guys were selling drugs in the parking lot; so we brought the whole squad"..... I mean, helicopters, everything, the whole works. Where we were, we saw a person peek out his house, but we didn't think anything of it, cuz we weren't doing anything bad.... Next thing you know, cars, helicopters, for what?*

The youth were well aware of the role the media play in influencing police perceptions of them and their communities which, as they speculate, fuel the mistrust, dislike, stereotyping, and the negative treatment they receive from police. Much of this they assumed had to do with media reports of their communities as violence-prone and crime-ridden. One young woman proffered:

> *I would say that, the officers, they're somewhat [influenced by]... the media. I would say don't let the media distinguish that a certain person is gang affiliated, or a gangster, because of the way they dress or the colour of their skin. Because, really and truly, I'm, I am... considered a role model or whatnot. But I do dress like, those so-called gangsters. I do wear my pants lower, below my waist... I wear baggy clothes. So, am I supposedly considered a gangster?*

This young woman, a former program participant and now a mentor in her program, argues that simply relying on dress – which is often used to stereotype young people – is not a reliable indicator of a person's potential, character and social standing. Her comments gesture toward the need for police to give attention to the culture of the youth which informs their fashion and behaviour practices. They do not wish to be reduced to one single or simple construct, but seen as complex and varied in their outlook on things.

It was suggested, especially by parents and youth leaders, that what we heard from the youth pertaining to their negative perceptions of police likely has more to do with what they heard from their peers than from their own experiences with police. Indeed, young people are a crucial source of information about the police for each other, specifically those who may not have personal experiences with the police. This helps explain how even those youth who have no direct contact with police end up sharing the youths' general distrust, suspicion and skepticism of police. In illustrating how peer influence operates in shaping young people's views of police, one youth worker explained:

> *I think a lot of it really is stemming from the relationship that they [youth] have with their peers, which allows them to fall into that little pattern of, jumping on board [with their peers]. You know, like this person might say: 'Police are bad, police do this, police do that,' or whatever the case may be. And so you know what, [the youth] gonna jump on board basically. You know, I do see a lot of that happen.... You know, they do have the wrong views of certain police officers, but at the same time, I don't think they really understand...what's actually going on. Especially when they're out there being confronted by a police officer, you know....*

In a somewhat similar manner to how peer influences operate, there are also strong family and/or community influences that are significant – or even more significant – in shaping youth's views of the police. As mentioned above, given the close proximity in which they live with each other – highly populated areas with apartment buildings – and their tendency to congregate outside in their neighbourhoods, the youth are likely to see neighbours or family interactions with the police. In referring to impact that family-police dynamics have had on the young people with whom he has worked, one youth worker theorized:

> *Just from what I've seen and lived through, many of those confrontations [with police] are bad confrontations. And because of that it affects the entire family – just like the friend thing…. But with the family, odds are you'll see it yourself. So I mean.., .the police is fed up with this one person [family member], and they manhandle, or roughhouse the other person[family member], everybody else in the family are all watching it, and they all experience it as if it happened to themselves. And therefore their perceptions of the police changes. Now if this happens on a regular basis, say you live in a building, and this happens to several people who live in your building, on a regular basis, you're not going to think anything good about the police. And then your friends, who live maybe in the building beside you, so the same thing happened in their building, and they're like, yeah, I saw this happen last week, right?*"

The youth we interviewed commented that an outcome of witnessing repeated negative or conflictual interactions between police and family or community members had contributed to their decision to avoid the police when they see them in their community. One young man said: "*I just avoid them.... They might harass you one day. They'll try to find something wrong*. Another added: *Because you don't know what kind of cop you're dealing with, you're not going to go out of your way to try and talk to him*." But as one young woman insisted in offering a 'more balanced' view of the youth and police, the distrust that youth had towards the police was not one-sided. "*There are stereotypes on both sides. The cops are assholes and racist, and kids [from my community] are a bunch of troublemakers who don't care, the parents don't care....*" According to this respondent, youth are not solely responsible for their actions, parents bear some responsibility for them.

The failure for the police to participate in programs with the youth also helped to maintain the perceptions the youth had of the police and helped to maintain the distance that existed between them. At one community-based program we studied, an annual event between police and young members of the community changed the age requirements that year, and neither the community program nor the youth (who were expecting to participate) were notified until the decision had already been made. For the youth, this was interpreted as the police trying to avoid working with them. As one young participant said: "*They [police] don't want to deal with us*."

What we heard from many of the young people was summed up in what one youth worker said to us about what she took away from a youth conference she recently attended in Toronto.

> Youth Worker: … *apparently a huge issue is police bullying the youth, because they have the power to do so, right?... Almost every single youth who was there, including the audience members, said yes, they were bullied by the police.... And that seems to be one of the biggest issues that the youth have with the police – which is what's causing a lot of the aggression, and anxiety, and hatred; which is also one of the reasons that...*
>
> Interviewer: *'Hatred?' You would go so far as to say hatred?*
>
> Youth Worker: *Yeah! Oh yeah! A lot of them absolutely hate the police. And it's like, why do you hate the police? And then when you break it down as to why, you can't really blame some of them as to why they do. Because if you're being bullied on a regular basis....*

But understandably, not all of the young people shared their peers' negative views of the police. In fact, it could be said that those with negative views and/or experiences with the police tended to be those who talked most in the interview sessions. Occasionally, we heard from the less strident and more balanced respondents. Gender seemed to have played a role in those more willing to volunteer their ideas. In this regard, most of the experiences we heard about were those of male respondents who tended to have more personal experiences with being stopped by police, which likely contributed to their stronger and more committed negative views of the police. The young women, on the other hand, were somewhat less willing to offer their views of the police, saying, for example, "*They're just doing their job. If you do something wrong, that's your fault*."

ii. Gender and racial differences in police-youth relationships

Comments were also made about the differences between male and female police officers, with female officers being described as somewhat less aggressive and friendlier than male officers. Referencing her experience with two police officers, one young man recalled: "*It was a guy and a girl [police officer], and the guy was just harassing, me. The lady was like, trying to be friendly.*" Another young woman asserted: "*Honestly the ladies [police] are*

always friendly." It is difficult to conclude how much gender influences youth perceptions of and interactions with male and female police officers, but clearly, they have, to a degree, different experiences with male and female police officers. The race of the police officer was perceived to play a significant role in officers' attitudes towards and interactions with youth - specifically Black youth. Their contention was that Black police officers are differently positioned and this likely affects their treatment of Black youth. As one Black youth argued: "*Black cops are worse, they're trying to build a reputation. They don't want to be seen as helping us."* Corroborating that claim another Black youth declared: *"Yeah, sometimes they try to prove themselves."*

Apart from gender, there were also assertions made about the role uniforms played in the relationships between police and youth. Many of the youth said that they found the uniforms to be intimidating because it represents or re-inscribes the authority role of the police. As such, they contended that the uniforms helped to create a division between community members and police officers which is hard to bridge. It was further suggested that there are occasions, like at community events, when it would be appropriate for officers to not wear uniforms since they would then not be there to assert control over people, but to represent the police as part of the community. Here are some of the comments from participants of all three programs:

> Youth: *If they're in uniform, they're already separating themselves. They only appear when there's trouble. It's not like they're hanging out talking to kids.*
>
> Youth Worker: *The youth say that when the cops are in uniforms, they create an us/them division. They should be real people.*
>
> Female Youth: *It's like they're anticipating something to happen when they wear uniforms.*
>
> Youth Worker: *When they go to community events, they should in a more casual uniform.*
>
> Parent: *Kids are not going to warm up to you in your suit...it's intimidating. It just says that you're an authority figure.*
>
> Youth Worker: *With the uniform, there's like this invisible wall.*

The comments indicate that police uniforms send a strong message to youth and community members, and that there are contexts where the youth, parents and youth workers we spoke to, would like to see police officers dress in more casual clothing. They believe that police uniforms create an added barrier to youth and police forming better relationships, and that it hinders the ability for police officers to be seen as 'real people.'

iii. Conclusion

> *They [police] do need to sometimes, cut some slack.... For instance, if somebody were to get approached by a cop, and they know that they're not doing anything wrong, and he [the police] came to them in an aggressive way, they're [youth] gonna react in an aggressive way. So, don't take the next step, as the cop, know what I mean? Kind of step back as a person and understand that I'm taking offense to how you're stepping onto me, because you're stepping to me aggressively."*

Much of the knowledge, experiences and encounters that the young people have had with the police have contributed to their negative perceptions which have left them with a sense that police do not understand them particularly in relation to social and cultural differences. Further, the impact of these interactions is quite significant given that these interactions are, in most cases, the only ones that youth and police have with each other. The youth who participated in this study have complex and varied perceptions of police – some of which has to do with the officers' gender and race. Their distrustful and negative views of police are tempered by a desire to know them as "real people" – not based primarily on what they have heard of the police from friends and family members, or what they observed in their neighbourhoods, but people who have a significant role to play in their communities.

Chapter Three
Police involvement in three TPSB funded community-based programs

This chapter presents accounts from youth workers, other agency staff, parents and young people of three community-based programs about police involvement in their programs. The information gathered comes mainly from interviews with workers and parents. The youth were also questioned on the topic but they had very little to say as most of them could not recall having interactions with police through these programs. On the other hand, agency staff, youth workers and parents had much to say about past efforts to encourage police involvement in their community programs. These informants also talked about the kinds of partnerships in which the police and their communities had engaged in the past, and the challenges and limitations they presently face in terms of building more formal and positive relationships. None of these programs have official or formal relationships with any individual police officers or with the Toronto Police Service beyond the project funding they have received from the TPSB. As a respondent at the Tropicana START Program stated, police and youth relations are "*a huge issue"* that "*comes up frequently"* in their work with youth.

Agency staff and youth workers who have worked with hundreds of youth and families – particularly marginalized youth and families – as well as parents were enthusiastic about sharing their thoughts with us as researchers, as they care deeply about seeing police-youth relations in their communities improve. Furthermore, they saw police involvement in community programs as having the potential to act as opportunities to foster positive long-term relationships between police officers and community members and something that would speak to the seeming resignation, as we heard from one youth: "*It's very rare that you see a positive visit from an officer."* It therefore follows, as McMurtry and Curling (2008) wrote, in the *Roots of Violence Report*,

> *It's also important to fund more community police officers whose job it is to go into schools and develop relationships with youth, and there needs to be some consistency in the police officers working in specific neighbourhoods so that relationships can be built (McMurtry and Curling, 2008, Vol. 3, p. 26-27).*

In what follows, we discuss the types of community-police partnership initiatives and activities that were most often cited by respondents:

1. Police-facilitated workshops.

2. Special events held in the community or at Toronto Police Service's Headquarters.

3. Other partnership programs in which the community agencies were once involved with the police (e.g., Cops & Kids).

i. Police facilitated workshops

Staff from all three programs said they have seen police involvement in their programs through the workshops that police officers occasionally deliver to children, youth, and families. However, they all mentioned that these were very infrequent, and that they would like to see more of these types of workshops. Topics covered included anti-bullying, community safety, and how to work with police. Most program workers knew that these kinds of workshops exist but could not recall the last time any of these workshops were held.

The YAAACE program was unusual in that it had a Toronto Police officer who had voluntarily made the program part of his community activities, and program staff spoke very highly of the effects of this officer's involvement. The informal nature of his involvement, and the fact the officer volunteers his time, are very positively received by the program participants. However, staff at YAAACE and the other two community-based programs all said that formal police officer involvement in the form of educational workshops are important; hence, they regret that they were not more frequent. We also discuss attempts by program staff to have more workshops and facilitated visits by police officers and the challenges they describe in doing so. Suffice to say here, that the general sentiments of many of the workers pertaining to why workshops should be an important part of TPS community programming is, as one youth worker of the at the Tropicana START program, put it:

> *If we are able to get the police, if they really want to do something about this problem here, they need to somehow develop some kind of a system where we're bringing in; somebody comes in to conduct workshops on a more consistent basis. I mean, if they want these relationships to be developed, they need to. These kids need to see their faces more regularly. And not so much when they're busted and put in the cruiser. More fun stuff, come into an environment like this, run workshops, provide some food for them, take some time to share information and to talk to each other, get to know each other; because these kids have a lot of information that we can't even really verify for them sometimes because we're not police officers, so we don't have the answers for them. So therefore, they [youth] need a police officer in front of them, so that they can ask them [police] questions directly, so that they [police] in return can give them the solutions for police problems that they're facing.*

Similar sentiments were echoed at NCFST, where staff could not recall the last time a member of the police service had visited their youth to do a workshop or to speak with them. Most of the community workers and youth indicated that they wanted more workshops or facilitated visits by police officers. The workers perceived such activities as having the potential to contribute to positive relationship-building between youth and police. But none of the informants could recall any ongoing or annual workshops or visits by police; and all suggested that they would be appreciative and enthusiastic about arranging for police officers to come and engage with the youth in programs with their communities.

ii. Police involvement at community events, community attendance at police events

All of the informants recalled that the youth in their programs and police have interacted at community festivals and special events. They recalled being invited to events at Police Headquarters, as part of, for example, the launch of Caribana, or for an important announcement that affected their communities. Respondents also mentioned that community events were often attended by police, but that the youth were often unwilling to engage with officers at these events if they perceived that the officers were there mainly to act as authority figures rather than as participants. One YAAACE program youth could only remember police officers attending their program, as he said, "*maybe they're security at events or something, but not hands on. They come around here and there for special events, that's all*."

NCFST staff mentioned that one of the ways that their program participants were involved with the TPS is through their attendance at public relations events – such as program launches, program announcements, or to mark festivals or holidays – which were most often held at Police Headquarters. While they were happy to participate in these events, the workers felt that they were not provided with sufficient support for the work and costs to make these trips meaningful. In the words of one NCFST staff member:

> *There are often PR (public relations) events, like bringing youth or families out to 40 College for a ceremony or an announcement. These kinds of events feel like an obligation sometimes, but we also think it's an important way to show that we want to build good relationships, so we do it. But it costs us money, and we never get any funding for it. Like it costs $300 to get a bus to and from 40 College, plus we have to organize permission forms and stuff...*

Another staff member added:

> *If we take our youth and families to an event, it has to be memorable for them. Sometimes we feel tokenized: like we go through a lot of trouble to get the community to come out to the cops' events, we get there, stand around and smile, shake hands, clap, get some juice and cookies, and get back on the bus and come home. That's not memorable, it doesn't feel like it builds any relationships or builds trust."*

While police involvement in community programs through workshops would be welcomed by staff of these community agencies, concerns have been expressed about police officers' participation in community events. It is felt that sometimes officers' participation is often viewed as a part of law enforcement strategy, more for show or public relations exercise than relationship-building. The concerns expressed by these community workers point to a need for more interactions and mutual exchanges between police officers and youth – especially marginalized youth – in which the needs and interests of both parties are respected and met.

iii. Other police-community partnership programs

Agency staff also talked of past police-community programs in which they had been involved. They spoke highly of what they referred to as the 'Kids & Cops' program. The program which is operated by ProAction Kids & Cops – a private organization founded in 1991 that funds police-youth programs – promotes communication, mutual understanding and improved perceptions between young people and police. ProAction Kids & Cops funds programs that cover a broad range of activities that are initiated and organized by police officers (see www.copsandkids.ca). The specific activity that was mentioned by workers was a multi-day camping experience with police officers and youth spending time together each summer.

The Kids and Cops Camp program was referred to several times in the context of thinking about 'what works' in relationship-building between youth and the police. NCFST staff said that the program was successful because it was consistent and re-occurring, so they could plan for it, and build links between their discussions all year with youth, and the camp program that took place every summer. Also, they mentioned that the informal nature of the interactions between youth and police created a more equitable starting point for exchanges and relationship-building. One staff member explained that the diverse activities and multi-day programming provided the opportunity for young people to see police officers as "*real people, not just authority figures*," and that since many of the activities involved sports or outdoor activities, "*the cops are on the kids' turf. This is their world, and the cops are guests, and this is really empowering for the kids*." An important point that was repeatedly emphasized for its perceived positive effect was having more programs that enabled young people to see police officers as individual people, rather than nameless authority figures. More to the point, the idea put forward was having programs in which youth would interact with police officers on an individual level, and in settings that were not overly formal or conflictual.

Another program that was discussed in one focus group was the Toronto Police Service's Chief's Youth Advisory Committee (CYAC) in which one youth had participated. The experience was brought up because it ended less than ideally from the youth's perspective. They explained that the organizers of CYAC stopped contacting them, and hence they were unaware of upcoming meetings or events. After not hearing for months, they figured they were no longer part of the CYAC. The young people who discussed this with us characterized the lack of communication as evidence that they were unimportant. Additionally, the youth seemed to bemoan having gone out of their way to travel to meetings and participate in activities for which they were not compensated. Evidently, such treatment contributes to the youth's perceptions of police and their unwillingness or resistance to participating in similar programs in the future.

Respondents also recounted past experiences where they, and individual police officers, worked together within existing programs to improve youth perceptions of the police. There were two specific examples discussed: the first was a long-term initiative with youth, and the second was of a workshop for youth, facilitated by police officers who individually agreed to attend and help. The first example was related to us by a youth worker with Tropicana

START program. It was about a female officer who went from an initial difficulty to a positive relationship with youth in a certain school by volunteering to supervise extra basketball training for youth who were asking for more access to gym facilities, but who were having trouble finding a teacher or other adult who could supervise them:

> *We had a school liaison officer in the building with us who was working very closely with me, and every time a youth came into my office, when we were doing mediation session with the youth, they're [school officer] always there, because there might have been an incident that needed the police.... So what ended up happening is, when she [officer] was there, they [youth] would not say one word at all. Not a word. So what I ended up doing was, have the police officer leave the room, and then once they've left the room, the youth would open up and talk more*.

The worker went on to discuss how she created opportunities that led to more positive interactions which eventually changed the views of the officer:

> *So it went on like that for a very long time. So she [the officer] needed to figure out some way of developing some kind of a relationship with the kids... So we came up with an idea: I was coaching the basketball team, and the kids were always asking for more time in the gym to go play basketball. So we decided ok, we're going to open up the gym every Monday and Wednesday morning, and I'm not going to do it, but she is going to do it. So, what ended up happening, the kids took it and ran with it. It was free time to play basketball, and at the same time, the police officer was there, and that was her opportunity to get connected to them, which ended up happening. And because they kept on seeing her face every morning, they kept on seeing her commitment. She [school officer] was involved in everything that happened.... So once she made that change, to get connected with them and get involved with them, that's when the relationship got better.*

Based on this experience, this youth worker concluded that more amicable and mutually respectful relationships can be created through long-term, repeated, and consistent contact with police officers who show that they are interested in developing better relations with young people. This youth worker's conclusion is consistent with that of others. For example, as noted earlier, the NCFST workers also talked of the benefits of having the same officers be part of programs with youth, so that the youth can learn to see them as individuals and not only as undifferentiated representatives of law enforcement.

A second example was about a one-day workshop for police and youth from a "priority area" that was organized and facilitated by Tropicana START program staff. The workshop was intended to address the very tense and negative police-youth relations that existed at that time. According to one worker:

> *We were having so many issues with the youth in [the priority area] with the police every day. They're in the school every day, and constantly people are getting arrested. So what can we do about it? Maybe the police can come and talk to the youth and try to develop a relationship. Everybody in the group [the youth] said 'no' at first. 'I don't want to see them' – even I said no, I can't lie.... Why? Because in that particular area – and I can only speak for that area – what I've seen, and I've personally been through and I've heard of in the area with the police and the youth, is just atrocious. It's horrible. Like the police are not trying at all, in order to connect with the youth, even though they said they're doing it. I haven't seen any evidence as to them trying, and I guess the mindset of both the youth and the police towards one another – it's like war.*

Despite the distrustful and negative relationships that youth and police had with each other, the youth were eventually persuaded that it would be a good idea to have the police visit their program. Understandably, the workshop was to plan, and as the worker explained, there was no formal institutional agreement. In fact, as she said: "*It took a long time and the only reason we were able to get those two officers is because the youth worker who was working at the centre over there, she knew those two personally.*" In continuing to talk of their concerns, limitations and outcomes, the worker went on to say:

> *So they decided to let the police come, and maybe they can make some sort of a bridge, right... They were pretty cool people [the officers], you know. They spoke, and at first I was like, ehhhhh [indicating apprehension]. But it was good. But that only worked for that small group of people, right? They [police officers] were not willing to do it in the schools, only with like 6 people sitting there in the room with them. That's not going to make much of a change in two neighbourhoods.*

The wish for more workshops, or that more youth would have been reached through this workshop, is indicative of this and other youth workers' wish for as many exchanges between youth and police which would help them to have useful and meaningful experiences.

iv. On the question of accessing TPS

The workers of all three community organizations acknowledged that if there is to be effective communication and relationships with police then there would have to be better access to TPS. But they felt that TPS is difficult to access and navigate. A number of staff members with whom we spoke indicated that they had tried to contact Police Services to try and arrange workshops, police visits, or to inquire about police-community partnerships. Some staff reported that they had never been called or visited by a member of the TPS or TPSB even though they had received program funds from the TPSB. Several people also said they expected that with funding, a closer relationship with police officers, or a relationship with specific members of the TPS would have been established as a condition. All of the

respondents were enthusiastic and open to new ideas for establishing better youth-police relations. In fact, we heard from all three community organizations that they would welcome police involvement in their programs, but did not know who to contact to make such a request, or to discuss strategies.

In discussing accessibility of the police with two youth workers, they stated:

> Youth Worker 1: *[accessibility is] part of the problem too.*
>
> Youth Worker 2: *It's not easy at all [to reach an officer].*
>
> Youth Worker 1: *It shouldn't be, if you think about it. As far as I'm concerned, they should be coming around and try to get more connected more involved, with the community. You know, create stuff, develop programs. You don't hear too much of what's going on, with regards to the police, seriously. You really don't.*
>
> Youth Worker 2: *If you called, actually, it's hard to get a hold of one.... And you don't know what kind of a relationship they have with youth within the community, because perhaps the two [officers] that you're getting are the only two that's sent from the division, and that's who you got. And then you bring them over, and you know, hostility. So that's not so great either. You have to screen before you bring them in.*
>
> Youth Worker 1: *There should be some kind of program that should be run all year round with the key focus of basically trying to engage the community, providing some officers to go to certain schools, to certain community centres, [and] conduct workshops. I mean they have the money to do this, but it's not happening.*

All of the youth workers and staff with whom we spoke expressed the desire to have police officers more closely involved in their youth programs. Interestingly, despite the many programs and projects that the TPS and TPSB have created to engage youth, most of these agency workers seemed to have little knowledge of such programs.

v. Conclusion

The three community-based programs discussed here, all serve marginalized youth – many of them from priority areas – who, as we have discussed earlier, have negative views of, and strained relationships with police. While it was by no means pervasive or widespread, the impression we were left with is that among the youth, parents and workers, there is a culture of distrust and apprehension about dealing with the police. The research respondents at the three community programs expressed grave concerns about youth-police relations, and they wished that having shared their ideas and experiences with us that new initiatives with TPSB and TPS would emerge particularly among marginalized youth living in many of Toronto's "priority identified areas."

All three programs said they wished for more police involvement with their programs and the youth in particular, since generally there was very little involvement. And they had an expectation that as recipients of TPSB funding, there would have been increased contact, involvement, or relationship with members of Police Service, but this has not been the case. There were mixed feelings about this. In some cases, respondents were concerned about what it meant for their programs to be funded by the TPSB, but have never had any contact from them or visits to their programs. They also expressed disappointment that the funding they received did not grant them access to officers or TPS members who wanted to know more about their youth programs and become more involved. There was also frustration expressed over the challenges that faced community members in terms of accessing members of the TPS in order to invite them to their programs.

Despite these challenges, members of the three community-based programs remained committed to addressing the problem of poor youth-police relations, especially among particular youth. They had many ideas about how police could engage with the youth they work with, and expressed a willingness to work in collaboration with police officers to ensure the success of any initiatives.

Conclusion

This report primarily set out to examine the degree to which the Toronto Police Service has been successful in addressing the issue of poor relations between marginalized youth and police, but many more issues were raised over the course of our research. This part of the report – Part B – looked at three community-based programs that received some funding from the Toronto Police Services Board (TPSB). Using information gathered through individual and focus group interviews with youth workers, agency staff, parents and mostly marginalized youth in the programs, we discussed the kinds of police involvement in these programs, and the experiences and views of respondents about the police and their involvement. Some of the key points raised include:

- Many of the youth in the three programs tended to have negative views and were distrustful of the police.

- For most of the respondents, personal experience served as a strong influence on their negative perceptions of the police.

- Youth's views of the police were also influenced by the attitudes and views expressed by their peers and family members, as well as what they observed of police behaviours in their patrol of their communities.

- Key informants and youth reported that youth in their communities, especially young men of colour and young people in groups, were frequently stopped by police, and that this was a significant and ongoing challenge in building better youth-police relations.

- There was little police involvement with the three programs.

- Program workers were eager to find ways to involve police officers in their programs with young people.

The youth were by no means unanimous in their dislike of the police, and a number of them identified perceived differences among police officers based on gender and race. Women were seen as more friendly and racial minority officers as having to prove their impartiality to their fellow officers by being even more unfriendly towards the youth. Many of the youth expressed concern that they were stereotyped and discriminated against by police because of where they lived or how they dressed. A few youth discussed the distress and frustration they felt when police 'assume the worst' of them and expect delinquent behaviour. In general, male youth reported having more personal negative experiences with the police, and female youth showed more hesitation in speaking disparagingly of the police. The youth also expressed concern over the media's mostly negative coverage of their communities, which they hypothesized played a significant role in influencing police attitudes towards them.

Youth workers and parents were very concerned with the poor perceptions that youth and police have of each other in priority areas, and they were very keen to find ways to facilitate building better relations, mutual understanding, and respect. Many respondents saw misinformation and misperceptions on both sides as key issues that were sustaining the problem of young people – especially young men of colour – being regularly stopped and questioned by police. They pointed to the influence of peer group, family and community opinions on youths' poor perceptions of the police, but they noted that it is difficult to improve relations when the only interactions that youth have with police is when they see, or are involved in, law-enforcement encounters with police. The youth see these encounters as resulting from police targeting of innocent people, engaging in racial profiling or stereotyping, or behaving in an overly-aggressive manner.

What was clear from the beginning of the research is that Police Service members (see Part A of the report), community workers, parents, and youth all care deeply about the issue of poor relations between youth and police. Many believed programs like Cops & Kids and other social and recreational activities have the potential for youth and police to build trust and mutual respect through programs that provide opportunities for creative and cooperative encounters. Everyone we spoke with agreed that the programs that work best at improving police-youth relations must be long-term, consistent, and take place in a youth-friendly setting where police and youth learn to see the other as individuals, rather than as undifferentiated members of an oppositional group.

Rather than sharing in the youths' generally avoidant strategies for dealing with police, the youth workers and parents expressed the desire to have police officers become more involved in community programs with youth, and all said they would welcome police officers into their programs and community centres. Many spoke of successful efforts they had made in working with individual police officers, but in most cases they felt that the lack of long-term and consistent programs meant that what has materialized so far has had a limited impact on a small number of police officers and youth. Several of the program staff members said that when they began receiving program funding from the TPSB, they expected that it would have helped to create a relationship between their programs and TPS, or their community and a number of police officers. Nevertheless, despite the challenges and the fact that young people have been unable to establish the kind of relationship they wish to have with TPS, respondents remained optimistic about the potential for more programs to improve youth-police relations in their communities, and they were eager to work in partnership with law enforcement to ensure that more positive relationships develop.

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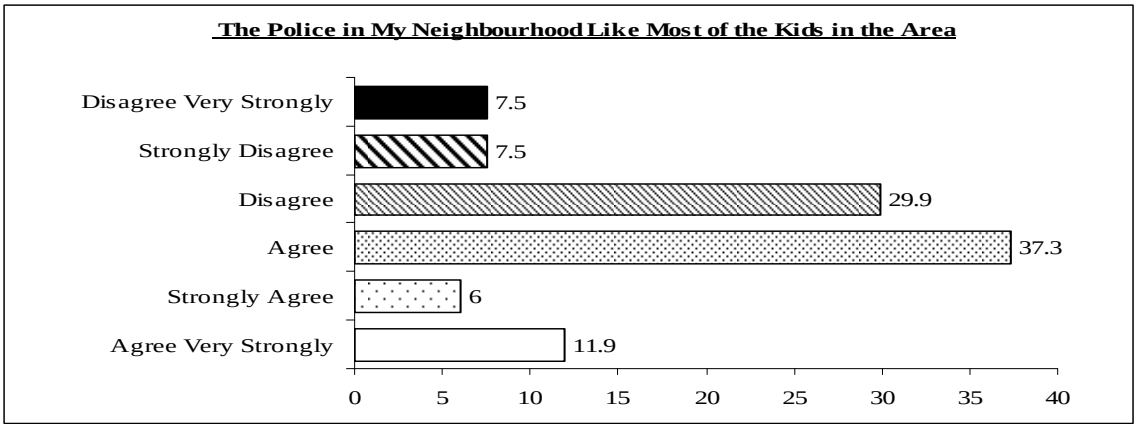
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLICE BEHAVIOUR

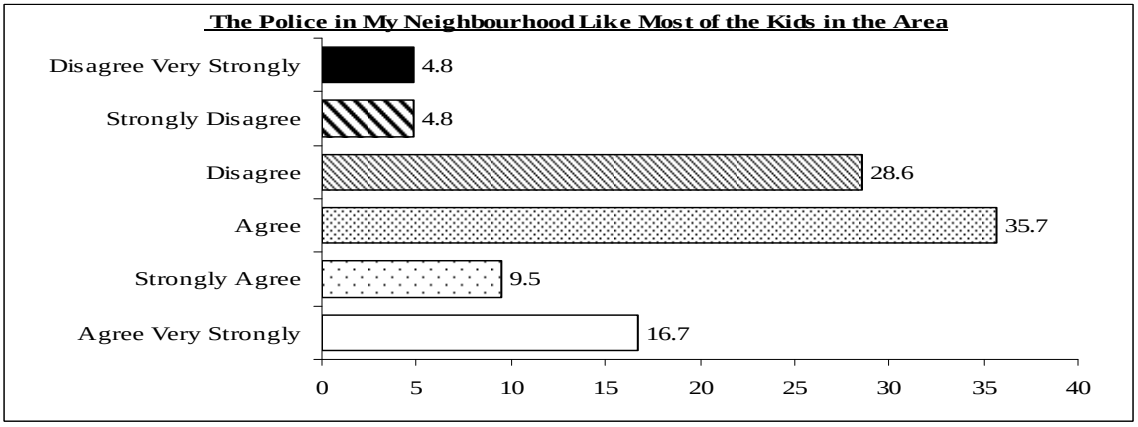
THE POLICE IN MY NEIGHBOURHOOD LIKE MOST OF THE KIDS IN THE AREA		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	11.9% (8)	16.7% (7)
Strongly Agree	6.0% (4)	9.5% (4)
Agree	37.3% (25)	35.7% (15)
Disagree	29.9% (20)	28.6% (12)
Strongly Disagree	7.5% (5)	4.8% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	7.5% (5)	4.8% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (67)**	**100% (42)**
Don't Know	**0% (72)**	**0% (47)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=67 pre-employment

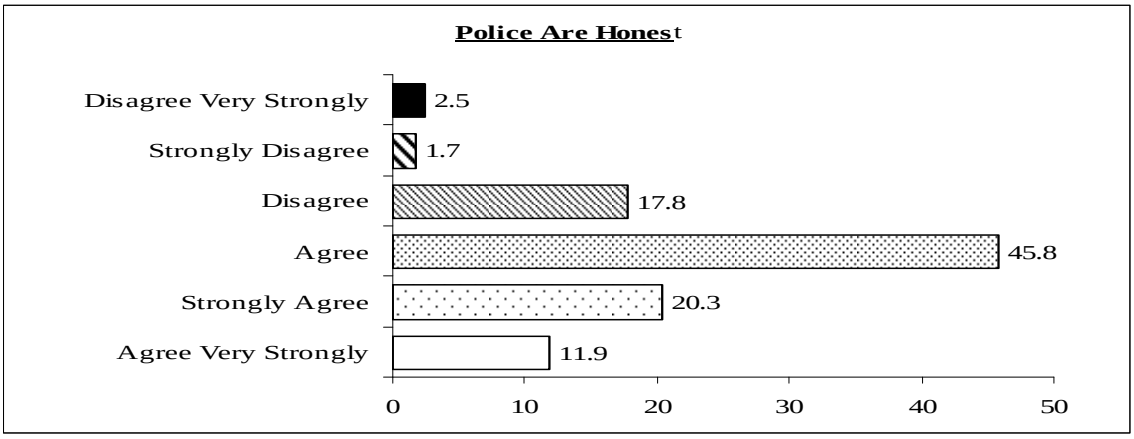
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=42 post-employment

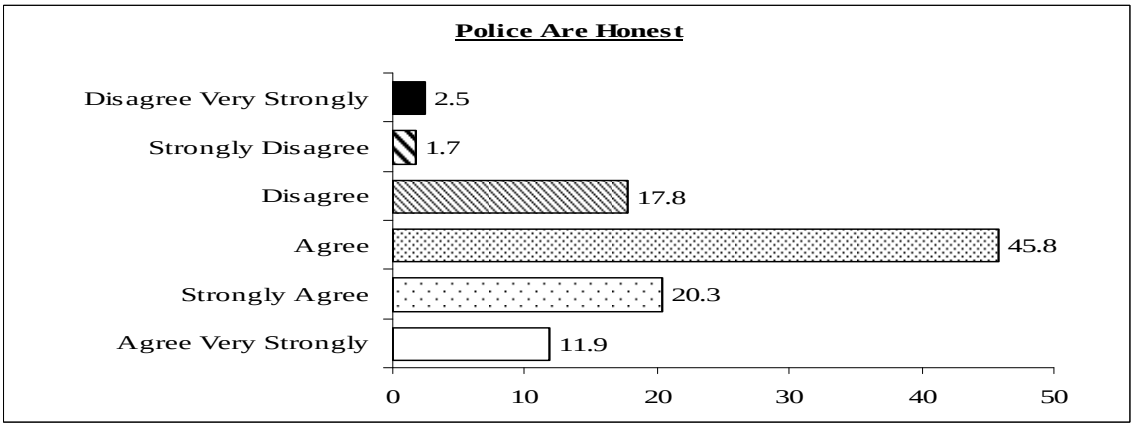
	POLICE ARE HONEST	
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	POST-EMPLOYMENT
RESPONSE	VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)	VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)
Agree Very Strongly	11.9% (14)	21.1% (15)
Strongly Agree	20.3% (24)	23.9% (17)
Agree	45.8% (54)	45.1% (32)
Disagree	17.8% (21)	4.2% (3)
Strongly Disagree	1.7% (2)	1.4% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	2.5% (3)	4.2% (3)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (118)**	**100% (71)**
Don't Know	**0% (21)**	**0% (18)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=118 pre-employment

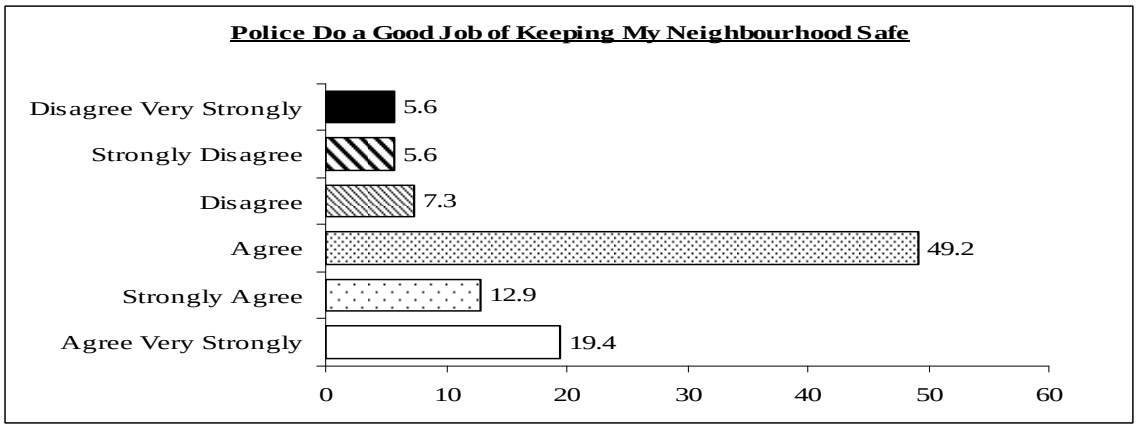
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=71 post-employment

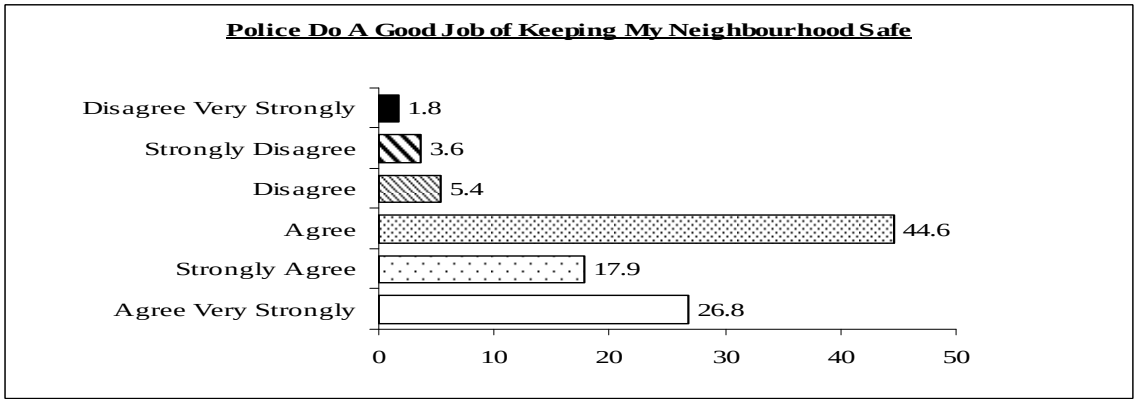
POLICE DO A GOOD JOB OF KEEPING MY NEIGHBOURHOOD SAFE		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	19.4% (24)	26.8% (15)
Strongly Agree	12.9% (16)	17.9% (10)
Agree	49.2% (61)	44.6% (25)
Disagree	7.3% (9)	5.4% (3)
Strongly Disagree	5.6% (7)	3.6% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	5.6% (7)	1.8% (1)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (124)**	**100% (56)**
Don't Know	**0% (15)**	**0% (33)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=124 pre-employment

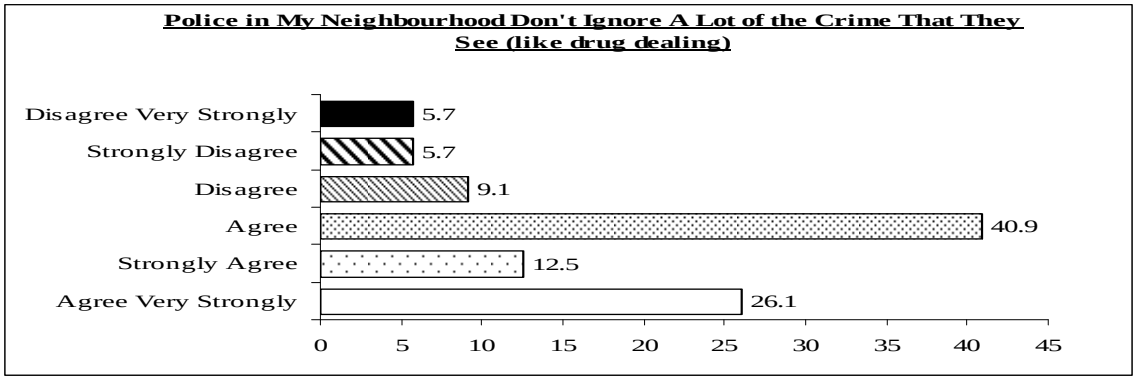
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=56 post-employment

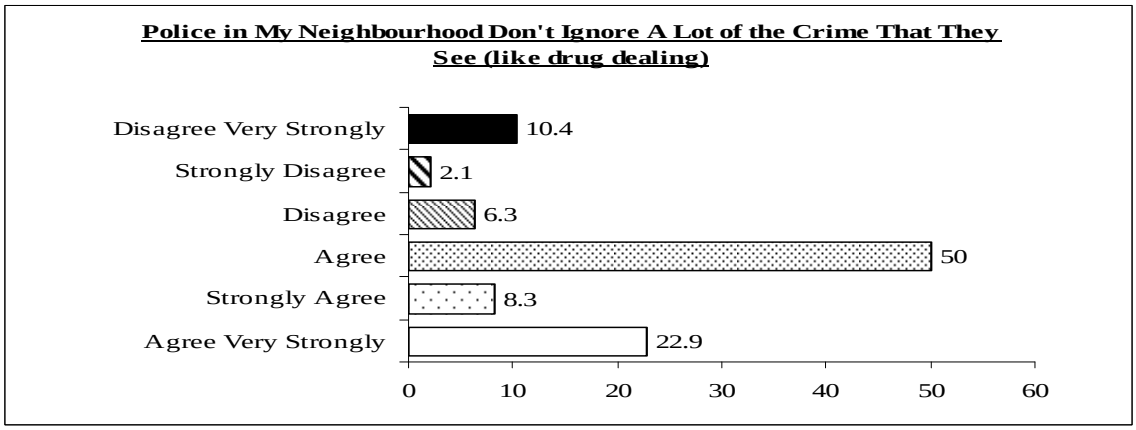
POLICE IN MY NEIGHBOURHOOD DON'T IGNORE A LOT OF THE CRIME THAT THEY SEE (LIKE DRUG DEALING)		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	26.1% (23)	22.9% (11)
Strongly Agree	12.5% (11)	8.3% (4)
Agree	40.9% (36)	50% (24)
Disagree	9.1% (8)	6.3% (3)
Strongly Disagree	5.7% (5)	2.1% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	5.7% (5)	10.4% (5)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (88)**	**100% (48)**
Don't Know	**0% (51)**	**0% (41)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=88 pre-employment

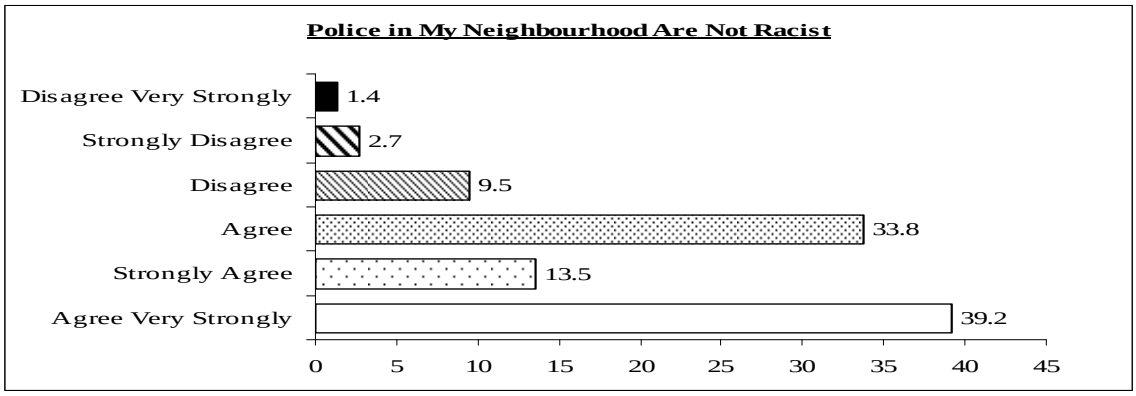
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=48 post-employment

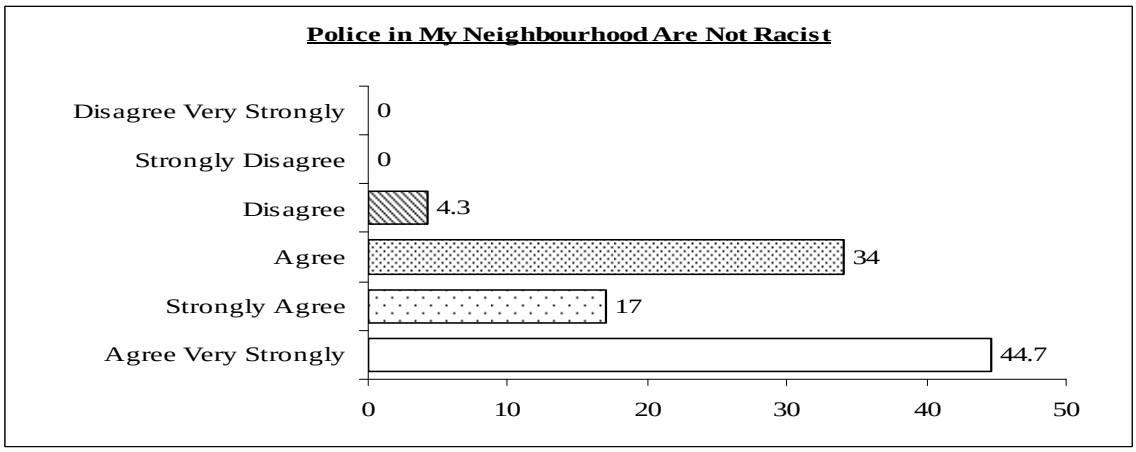
POLICE IN MY NEIGHBOURHOOD ARE NOT RACIST		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	39.2% (29)	44.7% (21)
Strongly Agree	13.5% (10)	17% (8)
Agree	33.8% (25)	34% (16)
Disagree	9.5% (7)	4.3% (2)
Strongly Disagree	2.7% (2)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	1.4% (1)	0% (0)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (74)**	**100% (47)**
Don't Know	**0% (65)**	**0% (42)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=74 pre-employment

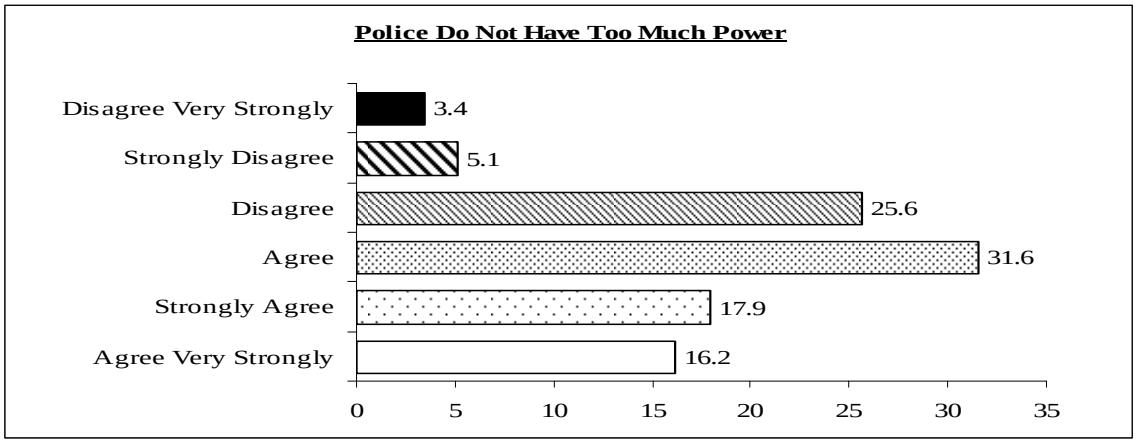
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=47 post-employment

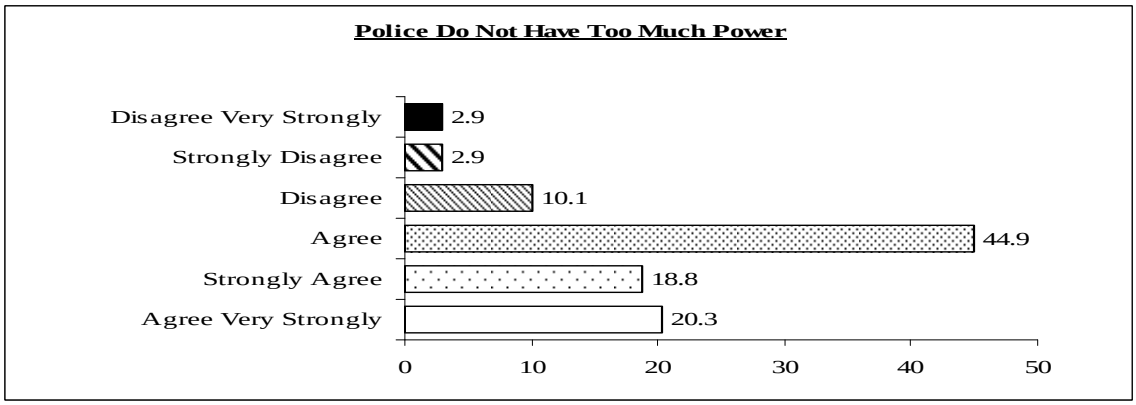
POLICE IN DO NOT HAVE TOO MUCH POWER		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	16.2% (19)	20.3% (14)
Strongly Agree	17.9% (21)	18.8% (13)
Agree	31.6% (37)	44.9% (31)
Disagree	25.6% (30)	10.1% (7)
Strongly Disagree	5.1% (6)	2.9% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	3.4% (4)	2.9% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (117)**	**100% (69)**
Don't Know	**0% (22)**	**0% (20)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=117 pre-employment

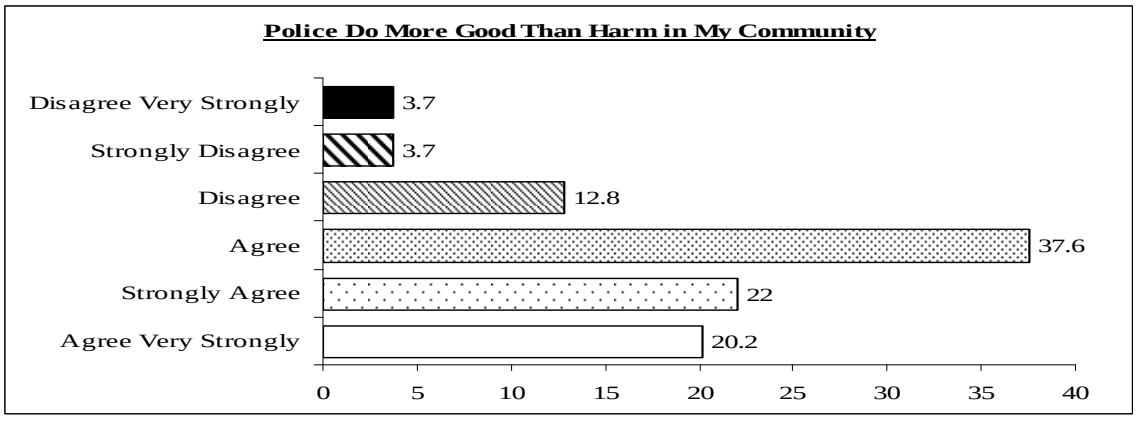
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=69 post-employment

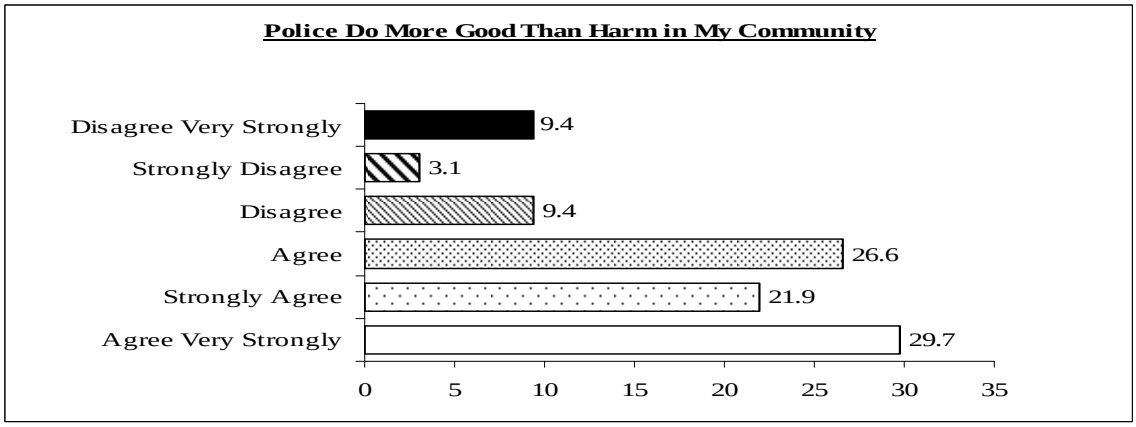
POLICE IN DO MORE GOOD THAN HARM IN MY COMMUNITY		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	20.2% (22)	29.7% (19)
Strongly Agree	22% (24)	21.9% (14)
Agree	37.6% (41)	26.6% (17)
Disagree	12.8% (14)	9.4% (6)
Strongly Disagree	3.7% (4)	3.1% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	3.7% (4)	9.4% (6)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	100% (109)	100% (64)
Don't Know	0% (30)	0% (25)
TOTAL RESPONSES	100% (139)	100% (89)

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=109 pre-employment

POST-EMPLOYMENT

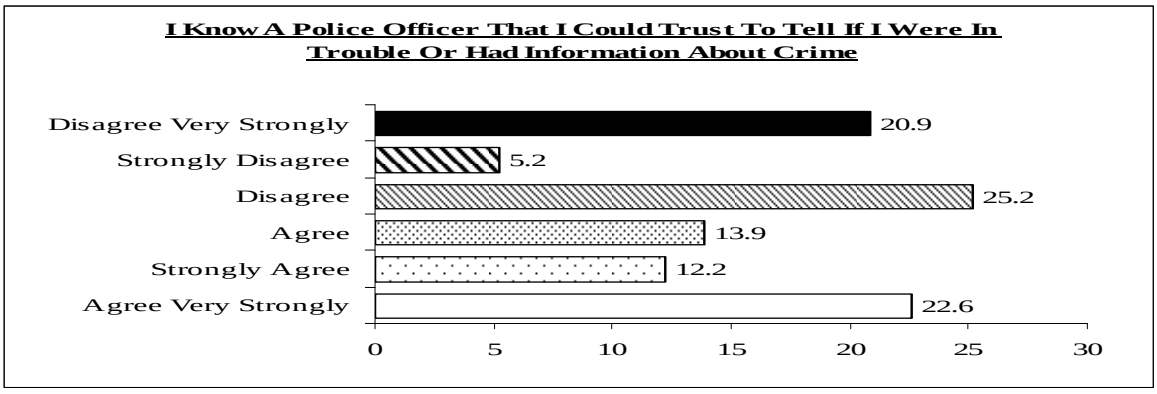


N=64 post-employment

APPENDIX B: ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLICE INTERACTIONS

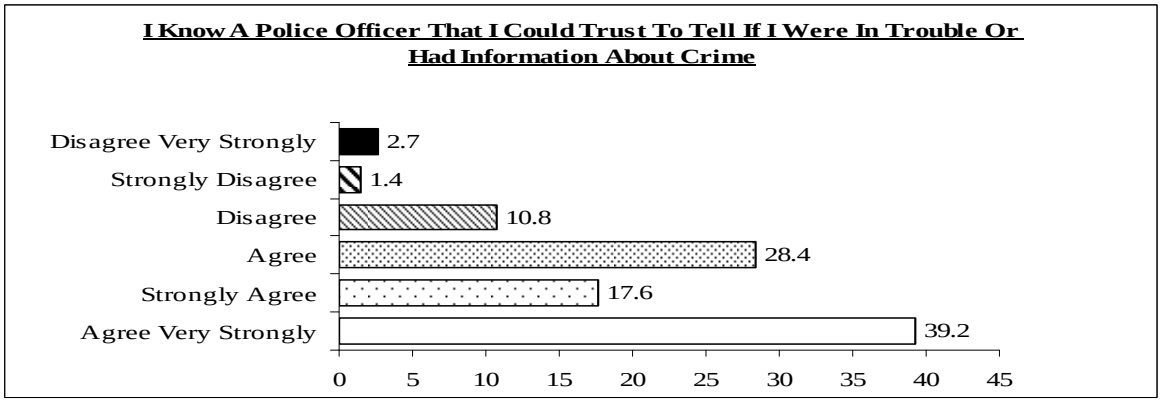
I Know A Police Officer That I Could Trust To Tell If I Were In Trouble Or Had Information About Crime		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
Response	**Valid Percent (Number of Students)**	**Valid Percent (Number of Students)**
Agree Very Strongly	22.6% (26)	39.2% (29)
Strongly Agree	12.2% (14)	17.6% (13)
Agree	13.9% (16)	28.4% (21)
Disagree	25.2% (29)	10.8% (8)
Strongly Disagree	5.2% (6)	1.4% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	20.9% (24)	2.7% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (115)**	**100% (74)**
Don't Know	**0% (24)**	**0% (15)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=115 pre-employment

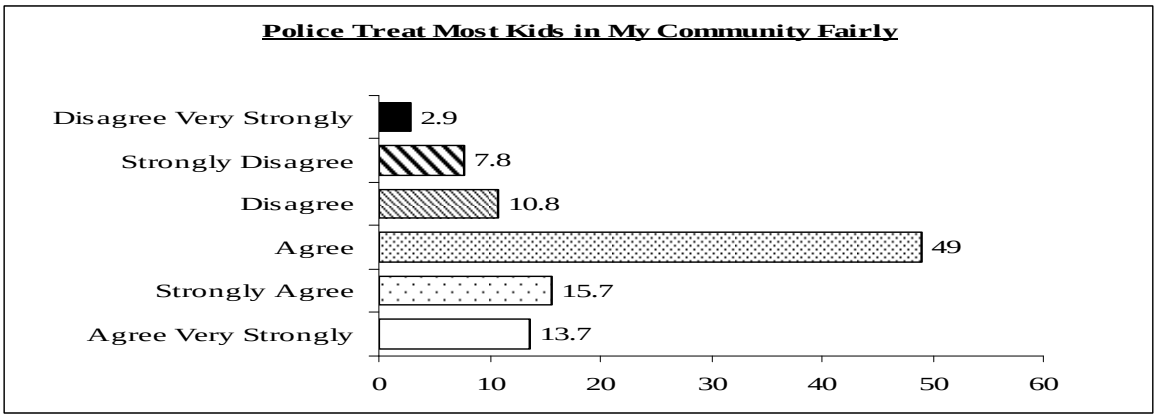
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=74 post-employment

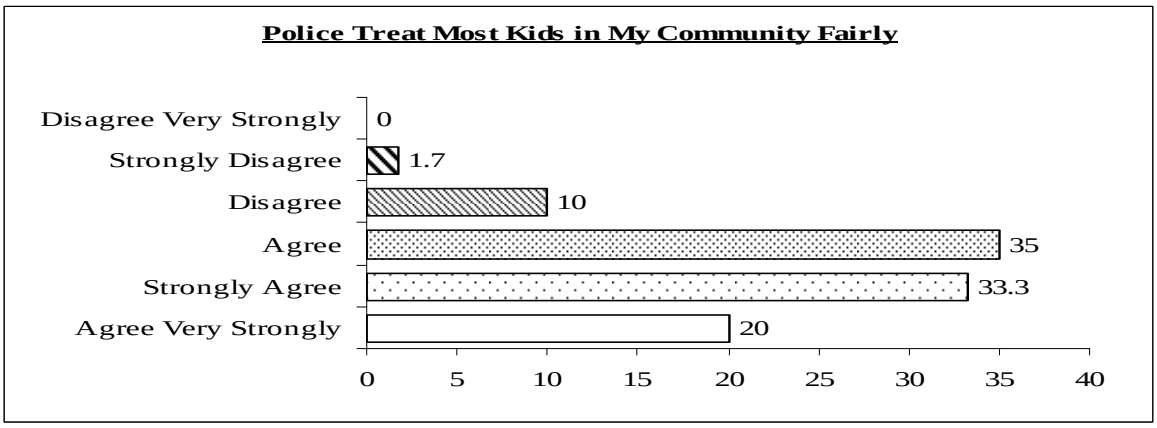
POLICE TREAT MOST KIDS IN MY COMMUNITY FAIRLY		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	13.7% (14)	20% (12)
Strongly Agree	15.7% (16)	33.3% (20)
Agree	49% (50)	35% (21)
Disagree	10.8% (11)	10% (6)
Strongly Disagree	7.8% (8)	1.7% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	2.9% (3)	0% (0)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (102)**	**100% (60)**
Don't Know	**0% (37)**	**0% (29)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=102 pre-employment

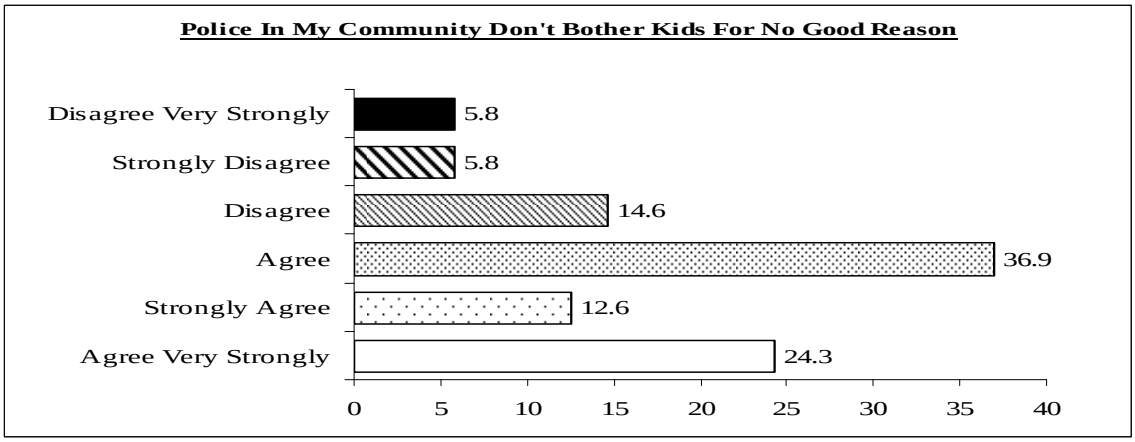
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=60 post-employment

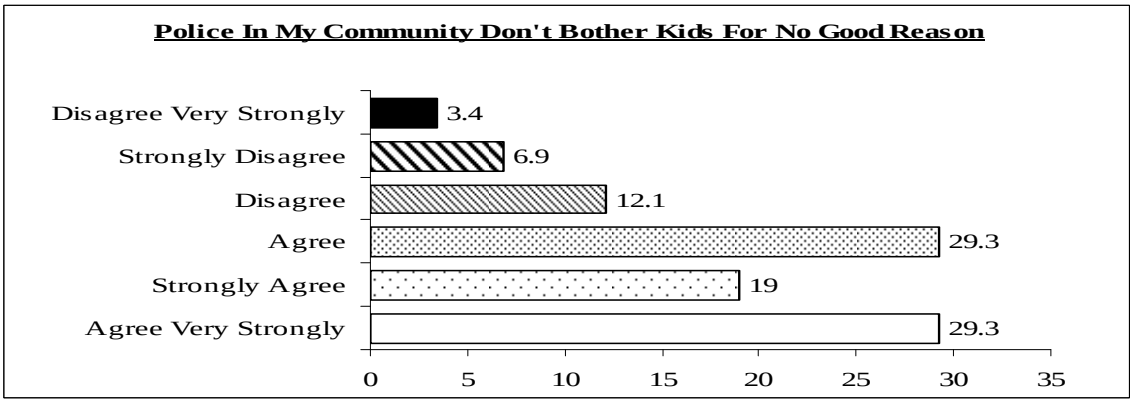
POLICE IN MY COMMUNITY DON'T BOTHER KIDS FOR NO GOOD REASON		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	24.3% (25)	29.3% (17)
Strongly Agree	12.6% (13)	19% (11)
Agree	36.9% (38)	29.3% (17)
Disagree	14.6% (15)	12.1% (7)
Strongly Disagree	5.8% (6)	6.9% (4)
Disagree Very Strongly	5.8% (6)	3.4% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (103)**	**100% (58)**
Don't Know	**0% (36)**	**0% (31)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=103 pre-employment

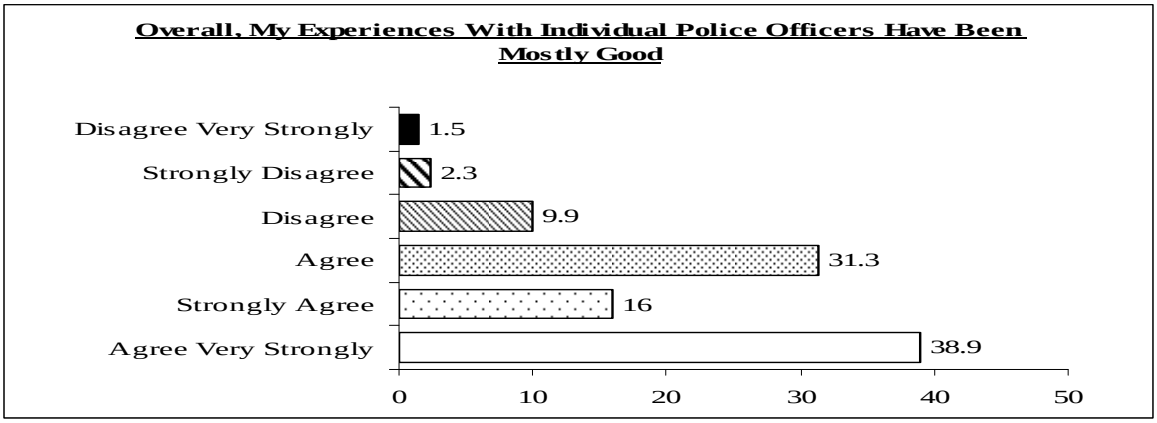
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=58 post-employment

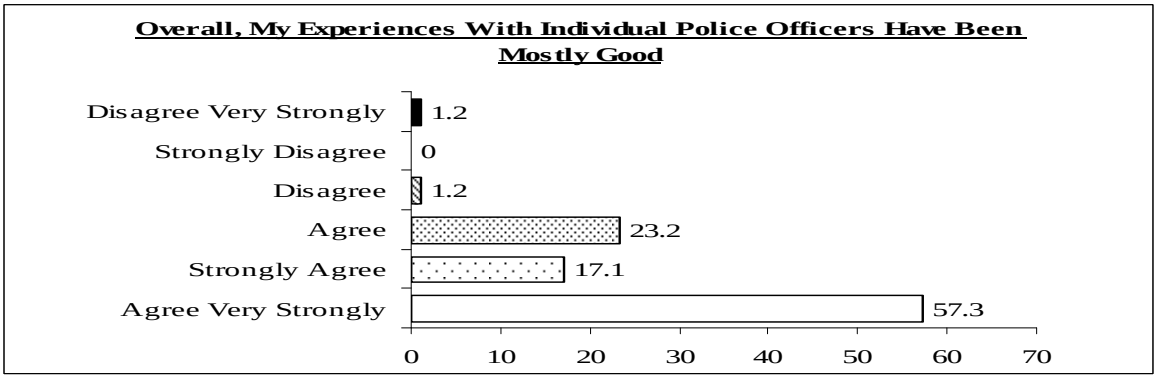
OVERALL, MY EXPERIENCES WITH INDIVIDUAL POLICE OFFICERS HAVE BEEN MOSTLY GOOD		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	38.9% (51)	57.3% (47)
Strongly Agree	16% (21)	17.1% (14)
Agree	31.3% (41)	23.2% (19)
Disagree	9.9% (13)	1.2% (1)
Strongly Disagree	2.3% (3)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	1.5% (2)	1.2% (1)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (131)**	**100% (82)**
Don't Know	**0% (8)**	**0% (7)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=131 pre-employment

POST-EMPLOYMENT

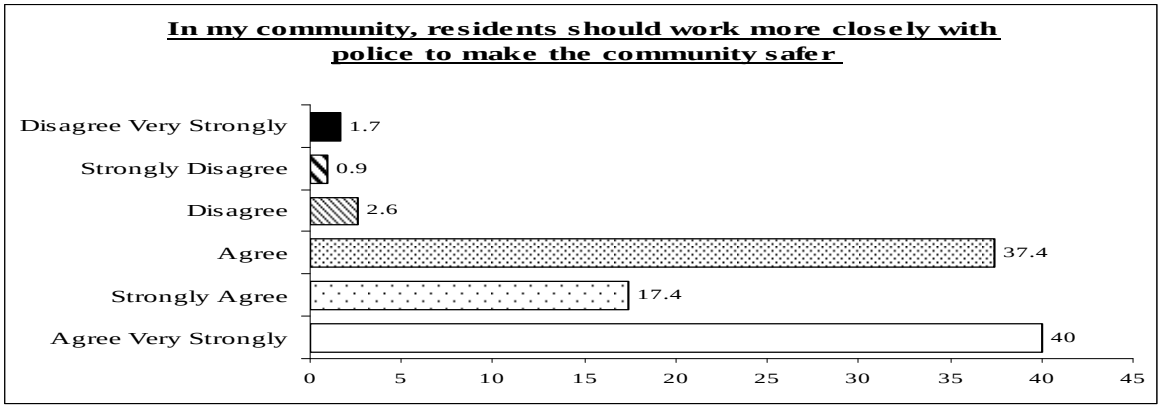


N=82 post-employment

APPENDIX C: ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLICE
(Reactions to Police)

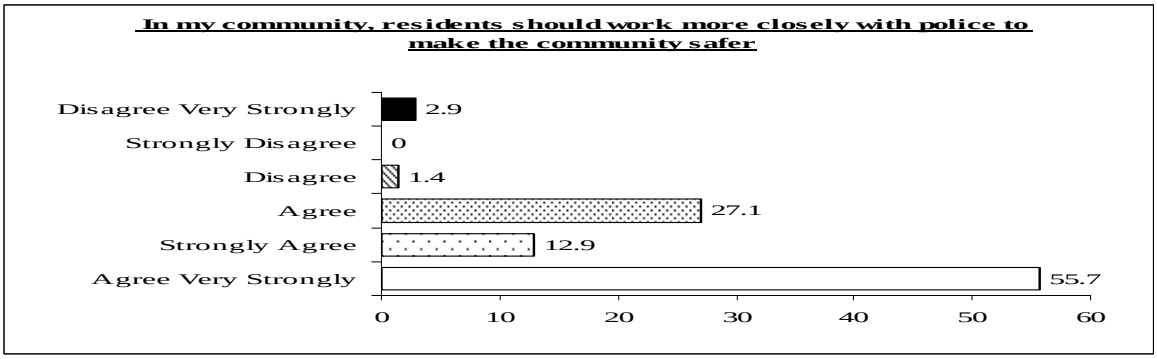
IN MY COMMUNITY, RESIDENTS SHOULD WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH POLICE TO MAKE THE COMMUNITY SAFER		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	40% (46)	55.7% (39)
Strongly Agree	17.4% (20)	12.9% (9)
Agree	37.4% (43)	27.1% (19)
Disagree	2.6% (3)	1.4% (1)
Strongly Disagree	0.9% (1)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	1.7% (2)	2.9% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (115)**	**100% (70)**
Don't Know	**0% (24)**	**0% (19)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=115 pre-employment

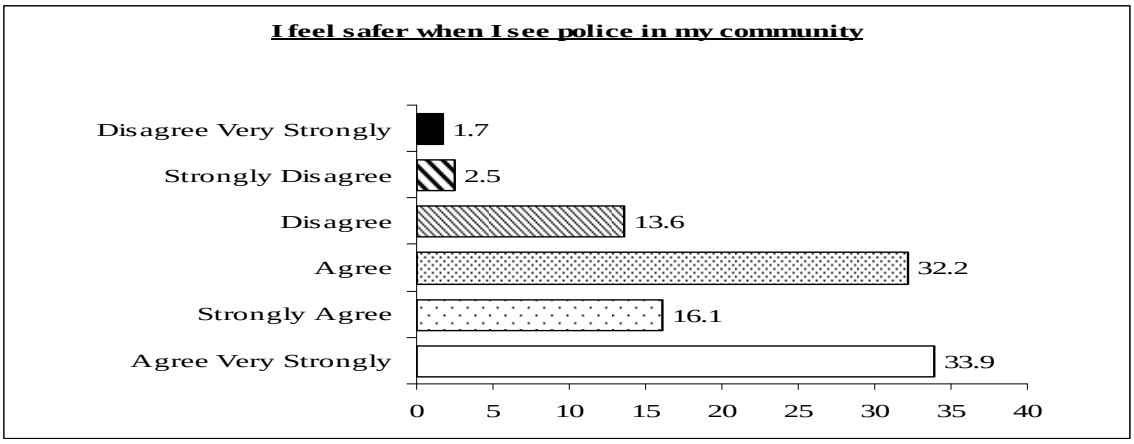
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=70 post-employment

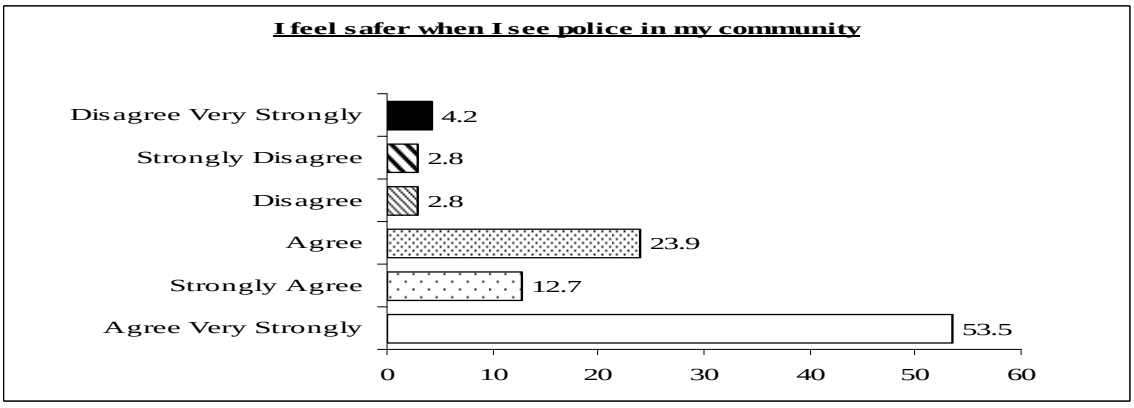
I FEEL SAFER WHEN I SEE POLICE IN MY COMMUNITY		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	33.9% (40)	53.5% (38)
Strongly Agree	16.1% (19)	12.7% (9)
Agree	32.2% (38)	23.9% (17)
Disagree	13.6% (16)	2.8% (2)
Strongly Disagree	2.5% (3)	2.8% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	1.7% (2)	4.2% (3)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (118)**	**100% (71)**
Don't Know	**0% (21)**	**0% (18)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=118 pre-employment

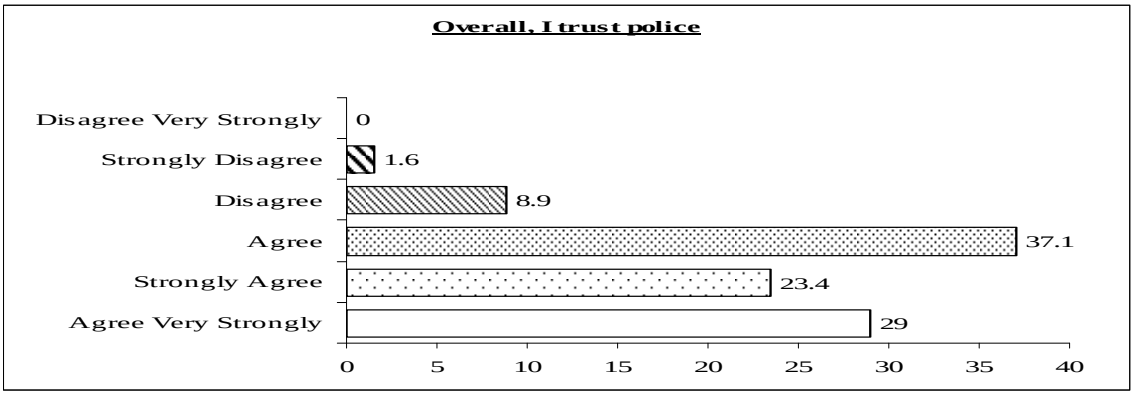
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=71 post-employment

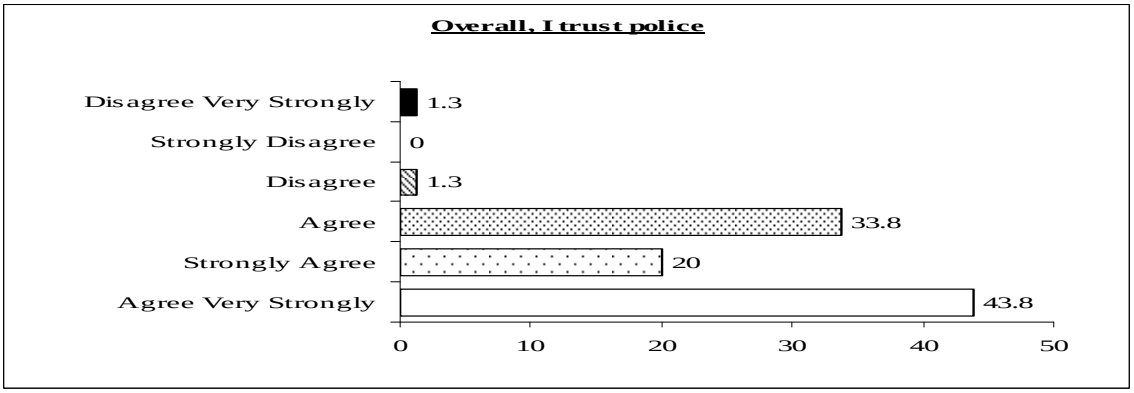
	OVERALL, I TRUST POLICE	
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	29% (36)	43.8% (35)
Strongly Agree	23.4% (29)	20% (16)
Agree	37.1% (46)	33.8% (27)
Disagree	8.9% (11)	1.3% (1)
Strongly Disagree	1.6% (2)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	0% (0)	1.3% (1)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (124)**	**100% (80)**
Don't Know	**0% (15)**	**0% (9)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=124 pre-employment

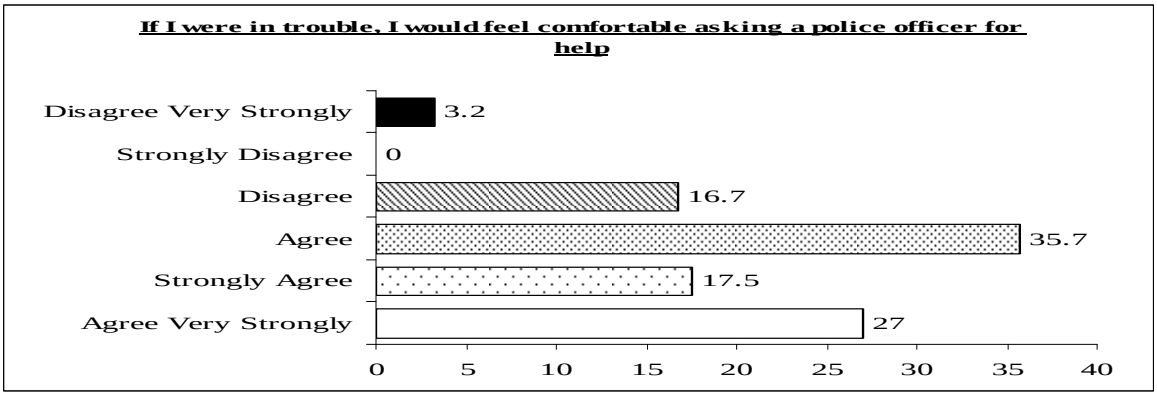
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=80 post-employment

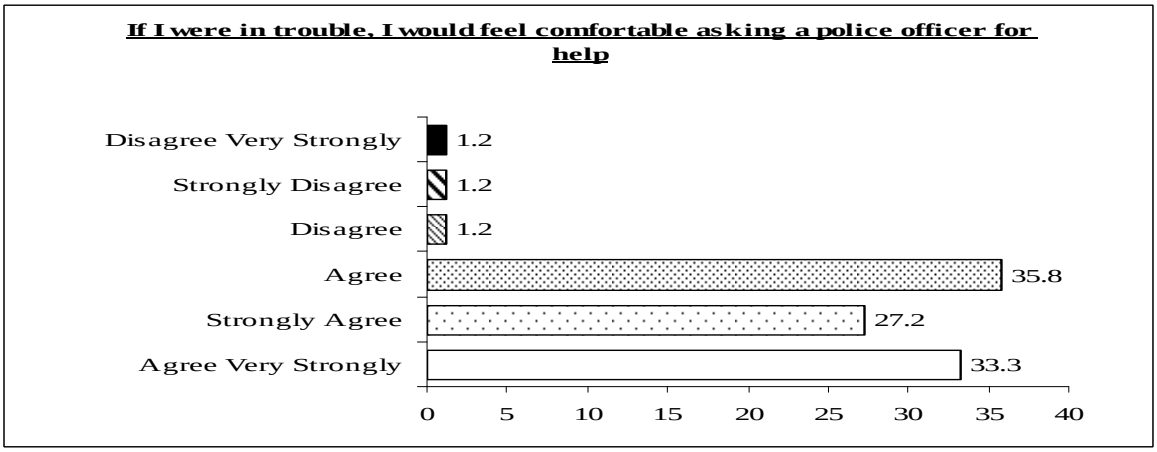
IF I WERE IN TROUBLE, I WOULD FEEL COMFORTABLE ASKING A POLICE OFFICER FOR HELP		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	27% (34)	33.3% (27)
Strongly Agree	17.5% (22)	27.2% (22)
Agree	35.7% (45)	35.8% (29)
Disagree	16.7% (21)	1.2% (1)
Strongly Disagree	0% (0)	1.2% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	3.2% (4)	1.2% (1)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (126)**	**100% (81)**
Don't Know	**0% (13)**	**0% (8)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=126 pre-employment

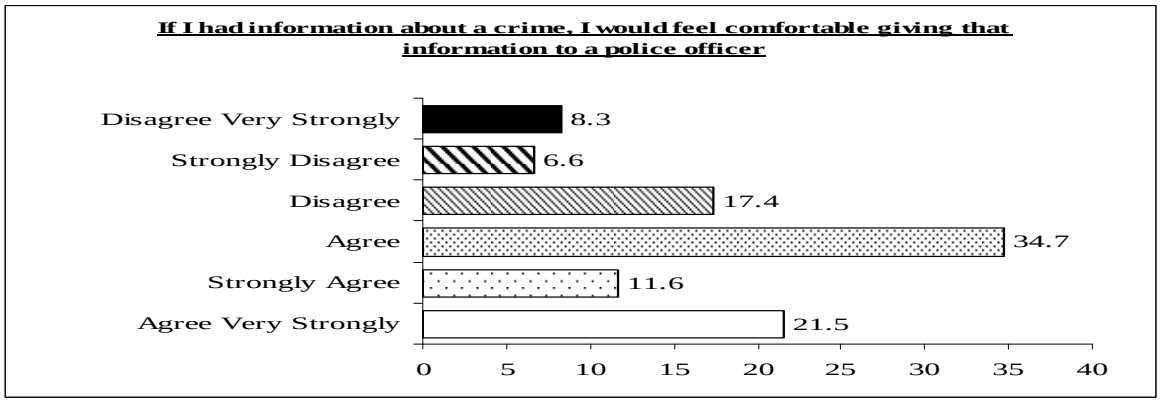
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=81 post-employment

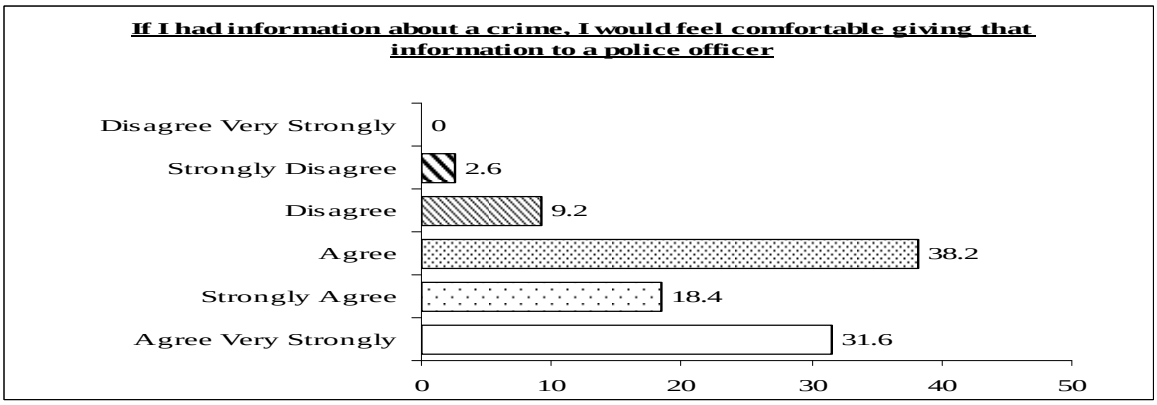
IF I HAD INFORMATION ABOUT A CRIME, I WOULD FEEL COMFORTABLE GIVING THAT INFORMATION TO A POLICE OFFICER		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	21.5% (26)	31.6% (24)
Strongly Agree	11.6% (14)	18.4% (14)
Agree	34.7% (42)	38.2% (29)
Disagree	17.4% (21)	9.2% (7)
Strongly Disagree	6.6% (8)	2.6% (2)
Disagree Very Strongly	8.3% (10)	0% (0)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (121)**	**100% (76)**
Don't Know	**0% (18)**	**0% (13)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=121 pre-employment

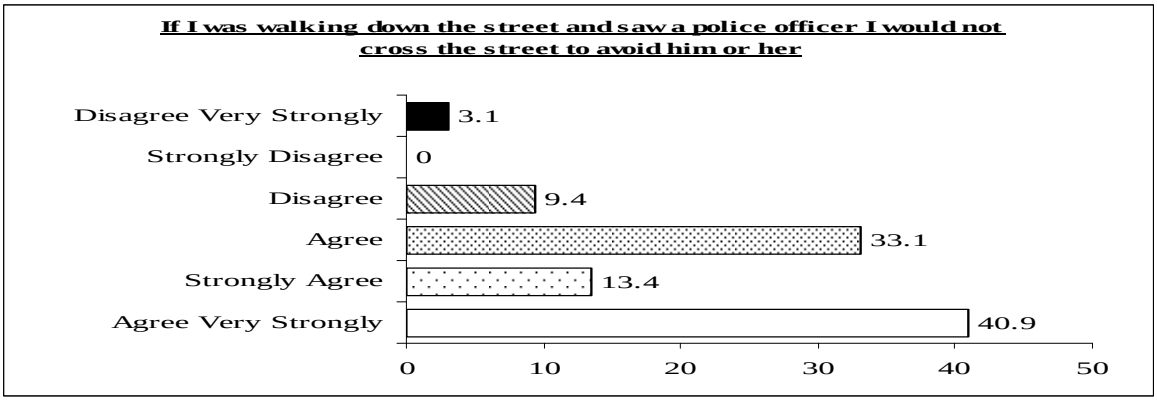
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=76 post-employment

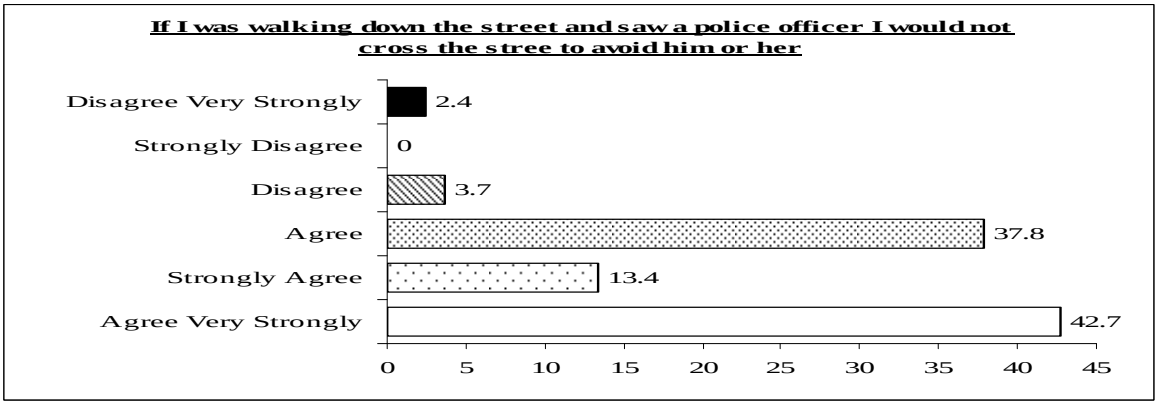
IF I WAS WALKING DOWN THE STREET AND SAW A POLICE OFFICER I WOULD NOT CROSS THE STREET TO AVOID HIM OR HER		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	40.9% (52)	42.7% (35)
Strongly Agree	13.4% (17)	13.4% (11)
Agree	33.1% (42)	37.8% (31)
Disagree	9.4% (12)	3.7% (3)
Strongly Disagree	0% (0)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	3.1% (4)	2.4% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (127)**	**100% (82)**
Don't Know	**0% (12)**	**0% (7)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=127 pre-employment

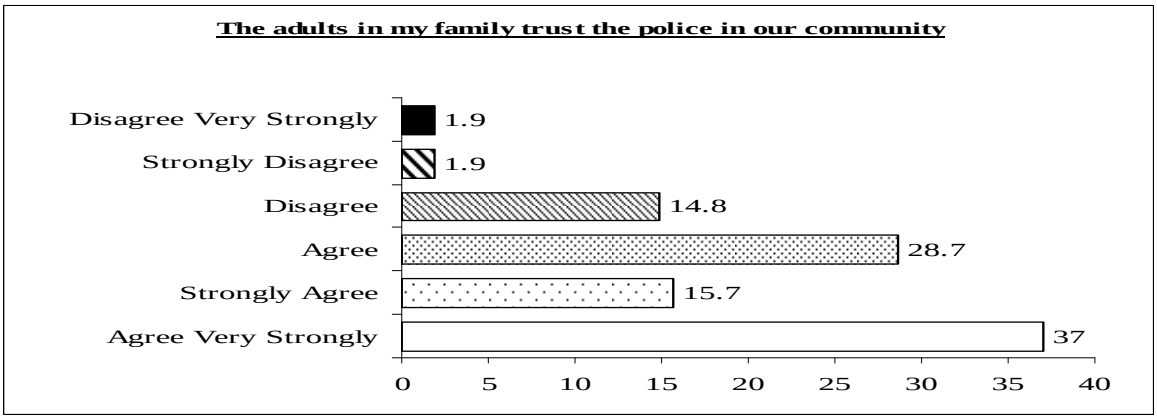
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=82 post-employment

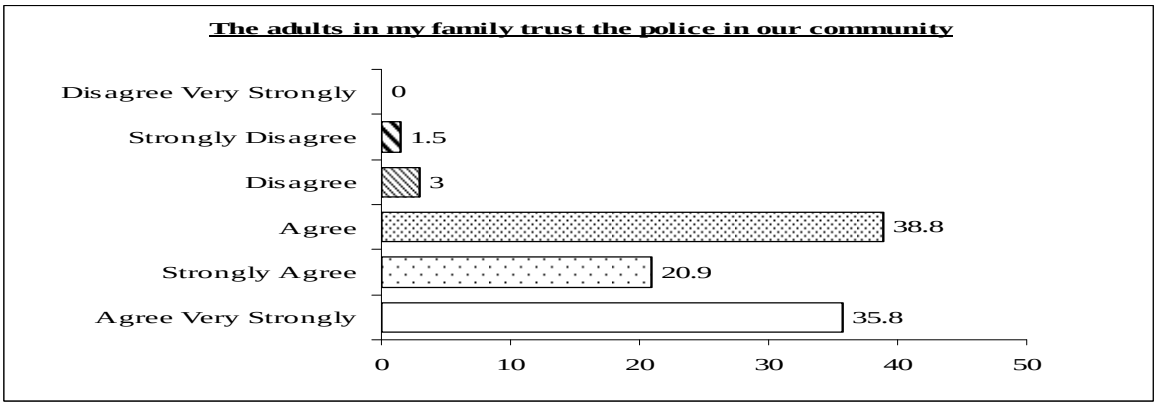
THE ADULTS IN MY FAMILY TRUST THE POLICE IN OUR COMMUNITY		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	37% (40)	35.8% (24)
Strongly Agree	15.7% (17)	20.9% (14)
Agree	28.7% (31)	38.8% (26)
Disagree	14.8% (16)	3% (2)
Strongly Disagree	1.9% (2)	1.5% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	1.9% (2)	0% (0)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (108)**	**100% (67)**
Don't Know	**0% (31)**	**0% (22)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=108 pre-employment

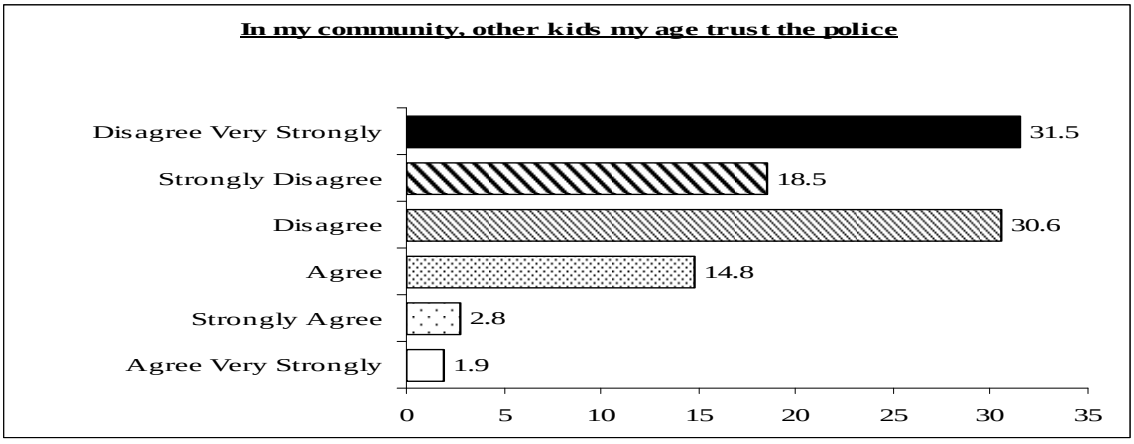
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=67 post-employment

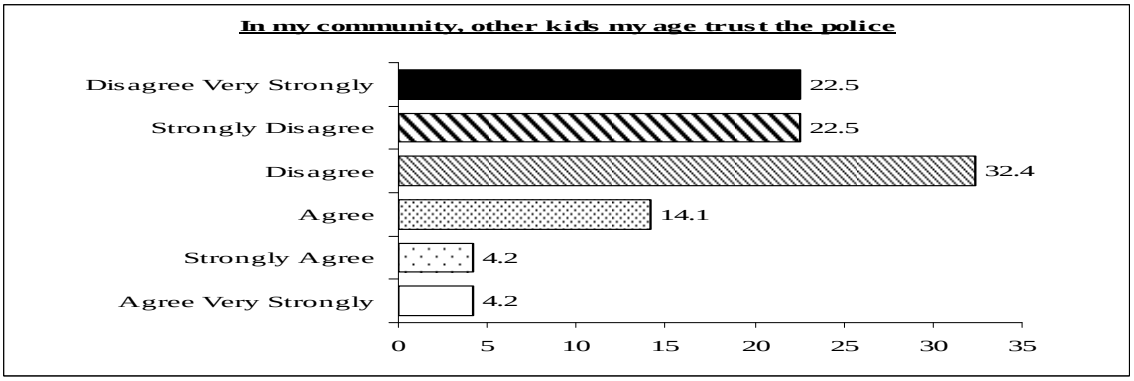
IN MY COMMUNITY, OTHER KIDS MY AGE TRUST THE POLICE		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	1.9% (2)	4.2% (3)
Strongly Agree	2.8% (3)	4.2% (3)
Agree	14.8% (16)	14.1% (10)
Disagree	30.6% (33)	32.4% (23)
Strongly Disagree	18.5% (20)	22.5% (16)
Disagree Very Strongly	31.5% (34)	22.5% (16)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (108)**	**100% (71)**
Don't Know	**0% (31)**	**0% (18)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=108 pre-employment

POST-EMPLOYMENT

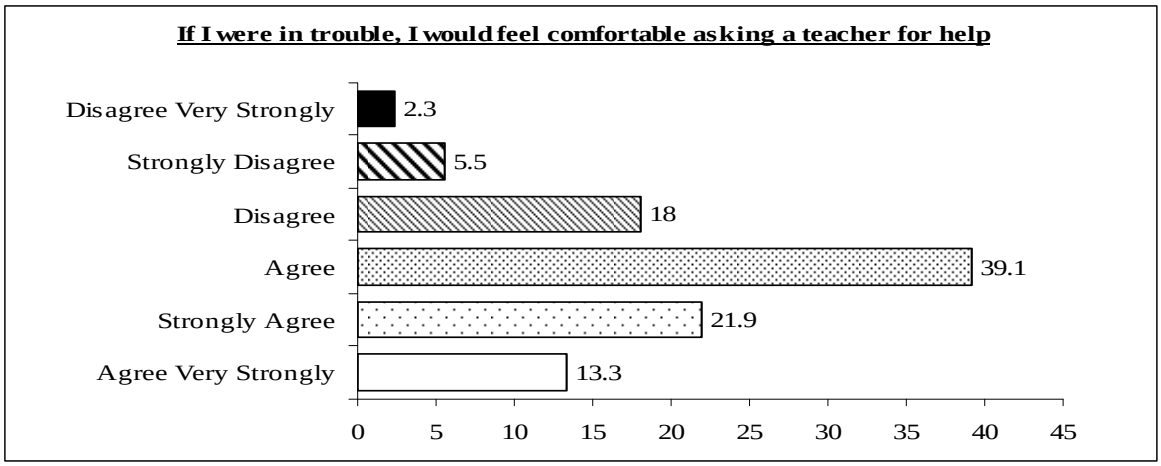


N=71 post-employment

APPENDIX D: ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLICE
(Reactions to Teachers)

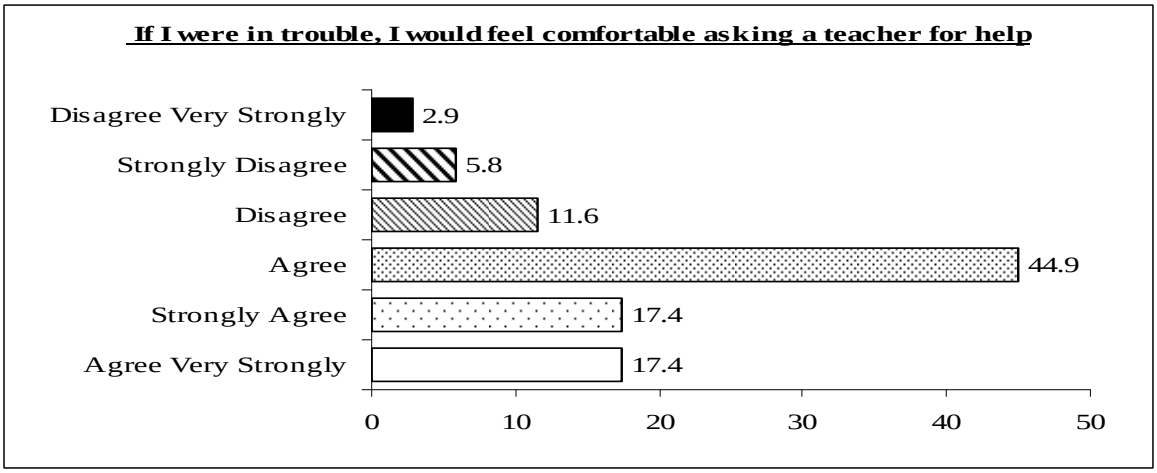
IF I WERE IN TROUBLE, I WOULD FEEL COMFORTABLE ASKING A TEACHER FOR HELP		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	13.3% (17)	17.4% (12)
Strongly Agree	21.9% (28)	17.4% (12)
Agree	39.1% (50)	44.9% (31)
Disagree	18% (23)	11.6% (8)
Strongly Disagree	5.5% (7)	5.8% (4)
Disagree Very Strongly	2.3% (3)	2.9% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (128)**	**100% (69)**
Don't Know	**0% (11)**	**0% (20)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=128 pre-employment

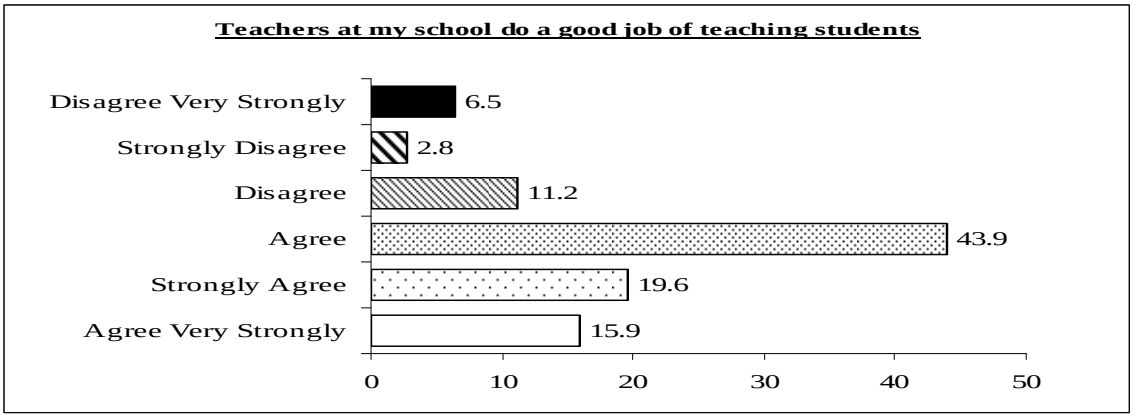
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=69 post-employment

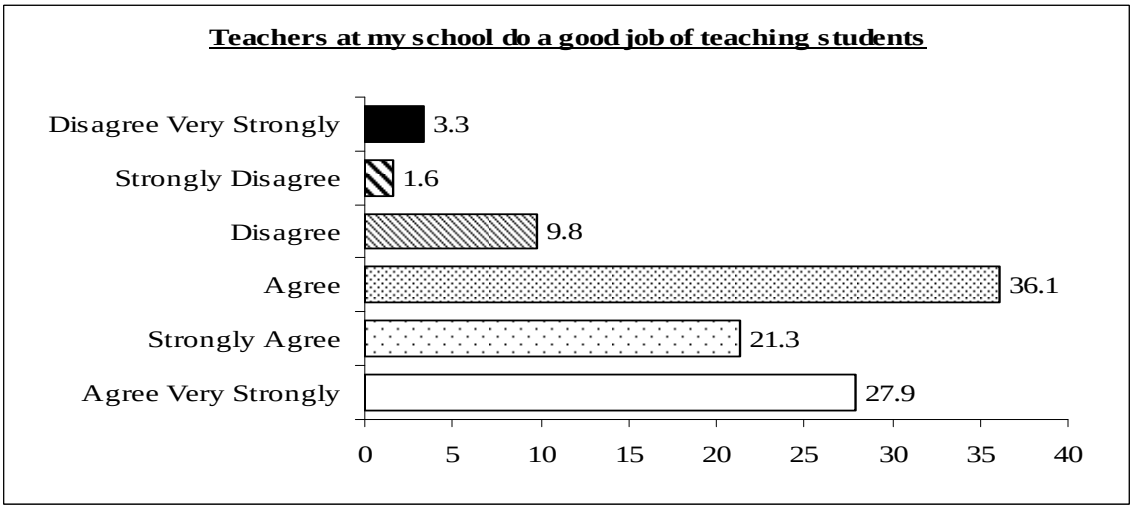
TEACHERS AT MY SCHOOL DO A GOOD JOB OF TEACHING STUDENTS		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	15.9% (17)	27.9% (17)
Strongly Agree	19.6% (21)	21.3% (13)
Agree	43.9% (47)	36.1% (22)
Disagree	11.2% (12)	9.8% (6)
Strongly Disagree	2.8% (3)	1.6% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	6.5% (7)	3.3% (2)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (107)**	**100% (61)**
Don't Know	**0% (32)**	**0% (28)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=107 pre-employment

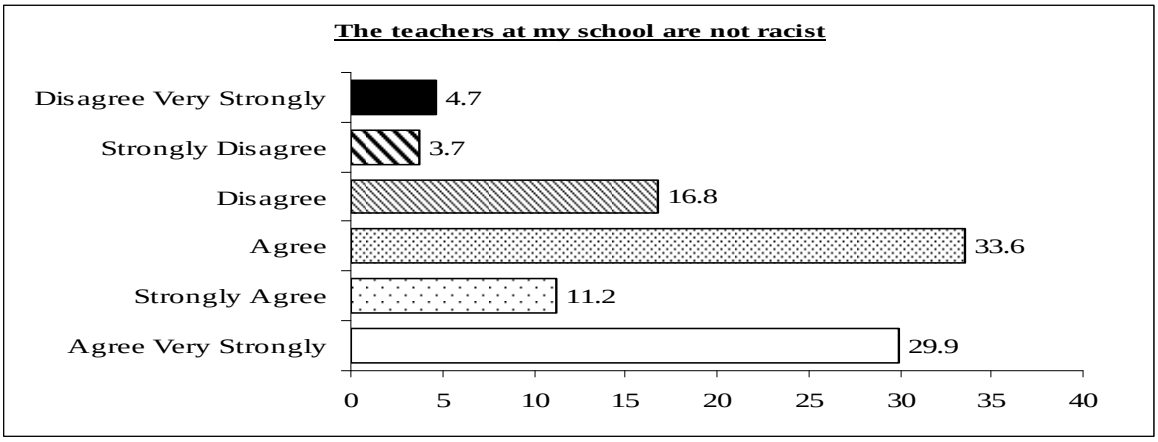
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=61 post-employment

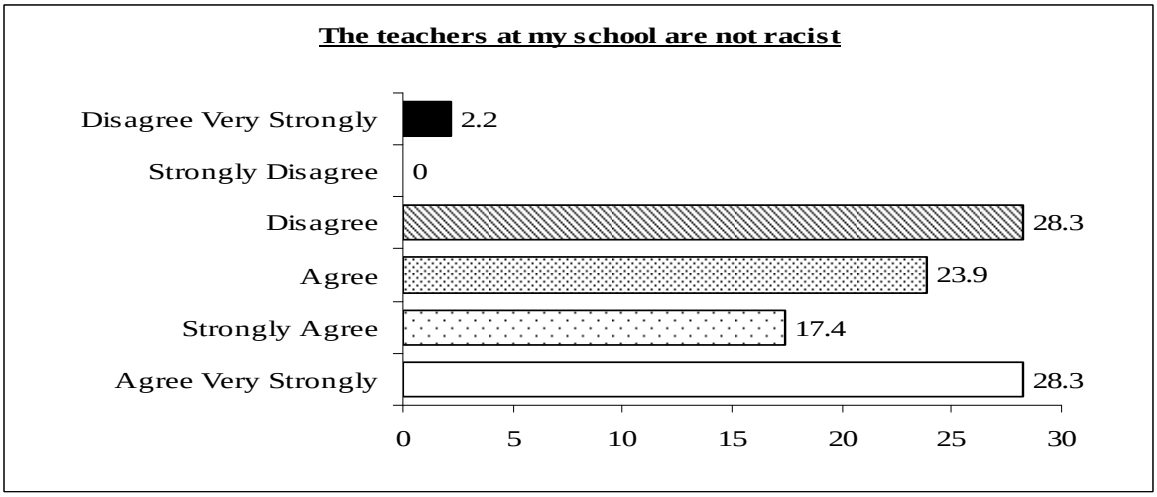
THE TEACHERS AT MY SCHOOL ARE NOT RACIST		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	29.9% (32)	28.3% (13)
Strongly Agree	11.2% (12)	17.4% (8)
Agree	33.6% (36)	23.9% (11)
Disagree	16.8% (18)	28.3% (13)
Strongly Disagree	3.7% (4)	0% (0)
Disagree Very Strongly	4.7% (5)	2.2% (1)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (107)**	**100% (46)**
Don't Know	**0% (32)**	**0% (43)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=107 pre-employment

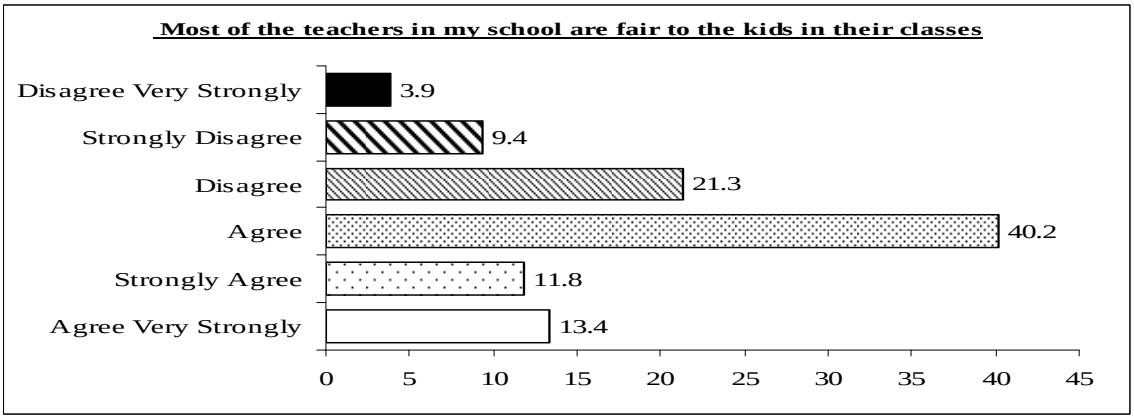
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=46 post-employment

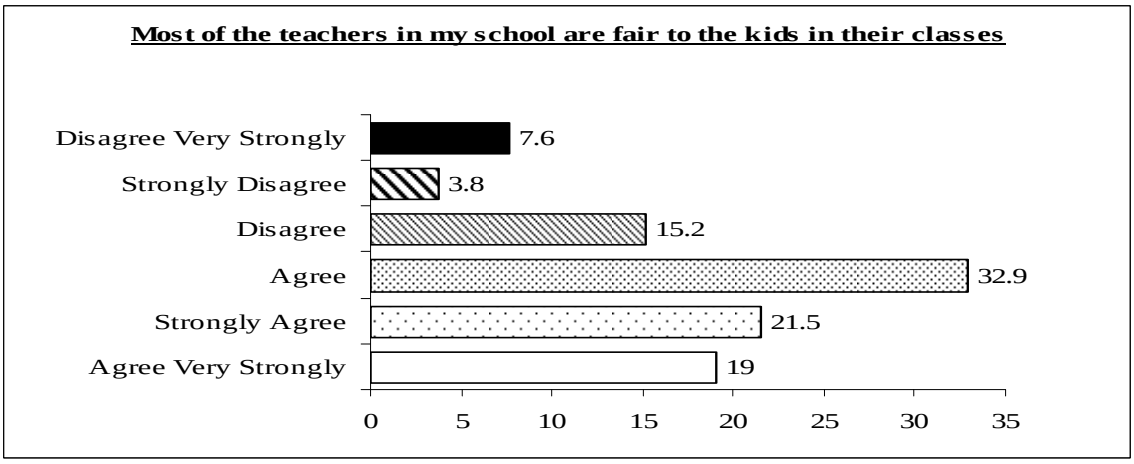
MOST OF THE TEACHERS IN MY SCHOOL ARE FAIR TO THE KIDS IN THEIR CLASSES		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	13.4% (17)	19% (15)
Strongly Agree	11.8% (15)	21.5% (17)
Agree	40.2% (51)	32.9% (26)
Disagree	21.3% (27)	15.2% (12)
Strongly Disagree	9.4% (12)	3.8% (3)
Disagree Very Strongly	3.9% (5)	7.65 (6)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (127)**	**100% (79)**
Don't Know	**0% (12)**	**0% (10)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=127 pre-employment

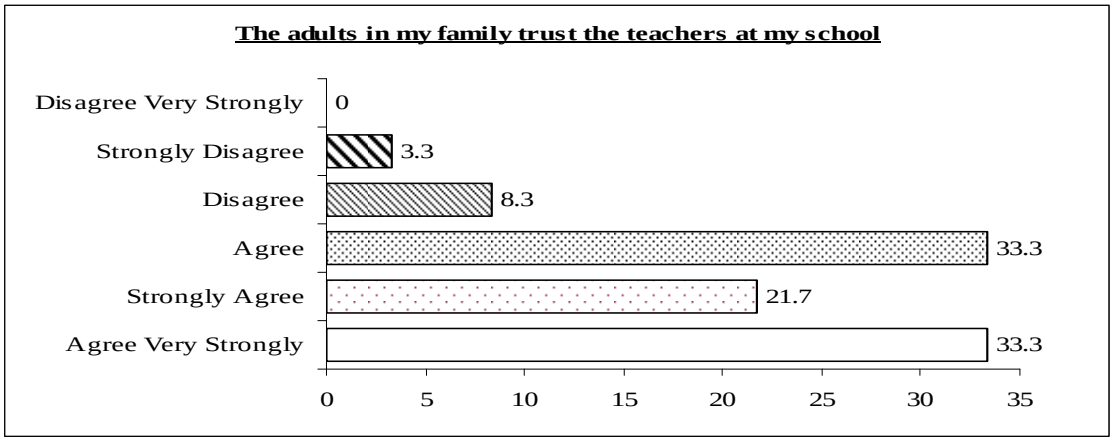
POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=79 post-employment

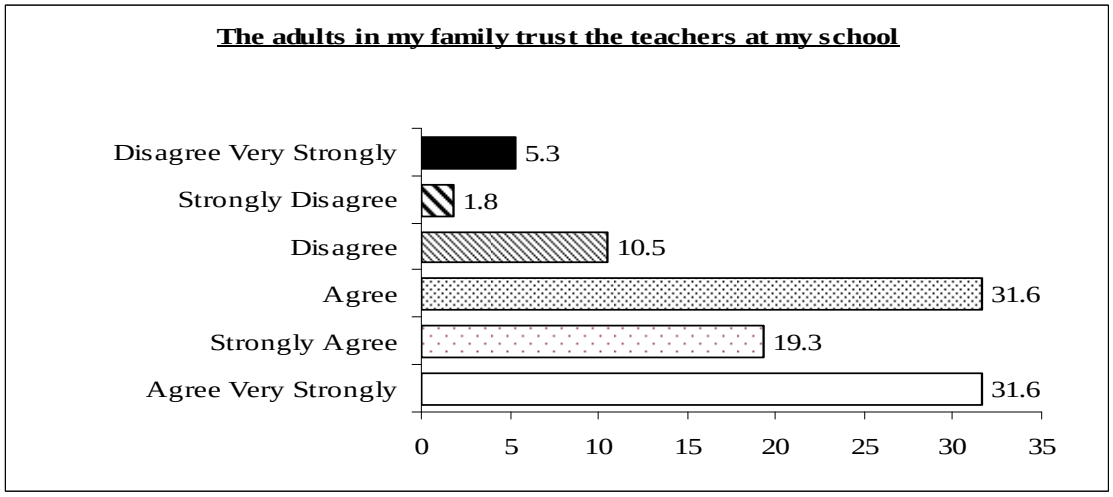
THE ADULTS IN MY FAMILY TRUST THE TEACHERS AT MY SCHOOL		
	PRE-EMPLOYMENT	**POST-EMPLOYMENT**
RESPONSE	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**	**VALID PERCENT (NUMBER OF STUDENTS)**
Agree Very Strongly	33.3% (40)	31.6% (18)
Strongly Agree	21.7% (26)	19.3% (11)
Agree	33.3% (40)	31.6% (18)
Disagree	8.3% (10)	10.5% (6)
Strongly Disagree	3.3% (4)	1.8% (1)
Disagree Very Strongly	0% (0)	5.3% (3)
TOTAL VALID RESPONSES	**100% (120)**	**100% (57)**
Don't Know	**0% (19)**	**0% (32)**
TOTAL RESPONSES	**100% (139)**	**100% (89)**

PRE-EMPLOYMENT



N=120 pre-employment

POST-EMPLOYMENT



N=57 post-employment