LIFE Program Evaluation, Final Report

August 2018

Trisha Rhodes, Ph.D.

Department of Criminal Justice

University of Arkansas at Little Rock William Pelfrey, Ph.D., Hayley Cleary, Ph.D., & Jessica Smith, M.A.

L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs

Virginia Commonwealth University

Submitted on August, 2018

Submitted to

Richmond Police Department, Richmond, VA

by:

Trisha Rhodes, Ph.D., Department of Criminal Justice, University of Arkansas at Little Rock

William Pelfrey, Ph.D., L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs, Virginia Commonwealth University

Hayley Cleary, Ph.D., L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs, Virginia Commonwealth University

Jessica Smith, M.A., L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs, Virginia Commonwealth University

This report was generated under contractual agreement by the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of Criminal Justice in partnership with the Richmond Police Department.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Tables and Figures
Executive Summary
Introduction
The LIFE Program6
Methods7
Data Collection9
Measures11
Analyses
Limitations of the Data13
Findings
LIFE Program Implementation14
LIFE Participant Attitudes and Behaviors16
LIFE Participant Focus Group Responses16
LIFE Participant Survey Responses18
LIFE Facilitator and Administrator Experiences
Clinician Focus Group Responses
School Resource Officer Focus Group Responses
Administrator Interviews
Conclusion
References
Appendix A: Summary of Survey Responses

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Survey Analysis	20
<i>Table 2.</i> Summary of Rule-Violating Behavior in the Past Two Months	21
Figure 1. LIFE Program Outcomes	6
Figure 2. Commitment to School: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	22
Figure 3. Legal Cynicism: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	23
Figure 4. Legitimacy of Police: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	
Figure 5. Legitimacy of Parents: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	25
Figure 6. Legitimacy of Teachers: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	26
Figure 7. Community Procedural Justice: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	27
Figure 8. LIFE Procedural Justice: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree	28
Figure 9. Percent of Youth Who Violated Any Rule in the Past Two Months	29

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of an evaluation of the Richmond Police Department Law Enforcement Intervention Focusing on Education (LIFE) program. Key findings are summarized below.

- Hiring a full-time program coordinator improved stability and consistency in program functioning.
- 4 Youth reported positive views toward school, parents, teachers, and LIFE officers; however, they held negative views of police in the community.
- There were no changes in youth attitudes or behaviors, though a subset of youth believed the program was beneficial for them.
- LIFE increased the provision of resources to at-risk youth who were referred to community counseling, child advocacy groups, or to family organizations. RPD will further increase provision of resources through the RVA Alternative Pathways project.
- RPD demonstrated substantial interagency collaboration through the LIFE program. While community partners were supportive of continued collaboration, SROs felt their role in LIFE had been limited.
- Organizational change at RPD was evident in financial and material support of the LIFE program and through changes in officer beliefs and behavior as identified by program administrators.

INTRODUCTION

Methods of addressing juvenile delinquency have long been an area of concern and debate. Efforts to prevent and reduce delinquency have alternately been described as too harsh or too lenient, which has led to innovation in how society responds to juveniles deemed at-risk or delinquent. One area of innovation has developed in response to concerns about the "school-to-prison pipeline." Practitioners and scholars argue that increasingly punitive school policies and greater reliance on school-based police have led to a surge in the number of youth who enter the juvenile justice system (Hirschfield, 2008; Price, 2009). In fact, some evidence suggests schools with a greater police presence have higher rates of juvenile arrest, and arrests are disproportionately skewed toward minority youth and youth with learning disabilities (Hirschfield, 2008; Justice Policy Institute, 2011; Na & Gottfredson, 2011). In Virginia, in particular, a 2015 report showed the state was leading the nation in numbers of student referrals to law enforcement, many of which were for minor offenses (Zubak-Skees & Wieder, 2015).

These findings are concerning for several reasons. First, it is not clear why there is disparity in the arrests of juveniles, but it suggests that some youth are at greater risk of offending or are unfairly targeted for punishment. Second, more punitive responses should be reserved for more serious offenses, yet the use of police in schools has had an apparent net-widening effect for minor offenders. Finally, youth who enter the juvenile justice system face a higher risk of harmful outcomes, such as dropping out of school and reoffending, compared to youth who are diverted from the criminal justice system (Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010). These outcomes are inconsistent with the goal of preventing and reducing delinquency.

To address concerns about the high rate of juvenile arrests in Virginia, the Richmond Police Department (RPD) collaborated with Richmond Public Schools (RPS) and a number of community organizations to develop the Law Enforcement Intervention Focusing on Education (LIFE) program. LIFE was designed to reduce the number of in-school juvenile arrests by diverting atrisk youth charged with misdemeanor offenses out of the juvenile justice system. The program offered first-time, minor offenders an opportunity to drop their charges upon completion of educational modules facilitated by RPD and RPS over nine weeks.

THE LIFE PROGRAM

Richmond Police Department's Law Enforcement Intervention Focusing on Education (LIFE) program is a community policing initiative to reduce the number of youth formally processed through the juvenile justice system. Program outcomes are shown in Figure 1 below. Though initially designed as a diversion program for youth with first-time, misdemeanor charges, the program was later adapted to include at-risk youth (i.e., children in need of services, or CHINS) identified by local juvenile judges. Initially, program participants were selected if they had committed a first-time, misdemeanor offense and were recommended for the program by a school resource officer or school administrator. During later sessions, youth were referred to the program directly through the juvenile court system.

Figure 1. LIFE Program Outcomes

1. Reduce in-school juvenile arrests

2. Increase provision of resources to participants

3. Strengthen student relationships with SROs and school staff

4. Increase prosocial behavior

Youth who agreed to participate in LIFE were expected to attend an approximately nine-week educational program covering the topics of respect, gang activity, social media awareness, drug and alcohol awareness, decisionmaking, conflict resolution, and interactions with law enforcement. The curriculum offered time for field trips, including a trip to the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial in Washington, D.C., visits to local historical museums, and opportunities to attend local sports events. Parents were also invited to participate in at least three classes per session. Upon completion of the program, youth participated in a formal graduation ceremony and any charges were dropped from their records.

During the reporting period, three sessions were held during the spring, summer, and fall of 2017. While RPD was the primary facilitator of the LIFE program, RPD partnered with Richmond Public Schools (RPS) and other community organizations, including ChildSavers and SCAN, which offered information about available educational, clinical, and mental health services. Each of these organizations participated to varying degrees throughout the reporting period. During the first two sessions of LIFE, RPD and RPS worked closely and RPD school resource officers primarily facilitated the program at two local schools. RPD and RPS worked together to provide transportation for program participants. The remaining sessions were held at the police department headquarters and RPD staff became the primary program facilitators.

METHODS

In the spring of 2017, the Richmond Police Department (RPD) contracted faculty from the Criminal Justice Department at Virginia Commonwealth University to assess the implementation and outcomes of the LIFE program. Additionally, the evaluation was designed to measure elements of community policing, including levels of interagency collaboration and organizational change at RPD to support the LIFE program. With these

goals in mind, the following broad questions formed the basis for data collection in this evaluation:

- 1. How is the LIFE program implemented in practice compared to the program design?
- 2. What are participant perceptions of the LIFE program?
- 3. Do LIFE students demonstrate different attitudes about themselves and others following program completion?
- 4. Do LIFE students experience changes in educational outcomes (e.g., grades, prosocial activities, disciplinary incidents, referrals, etc.) following program completion?
- 5. How do attitudes and educational outcomes of LIFE students compare to a matched group of non-LIFE students?
- 6. What is the effect of LIFE on the overall number of school-based juvenile disciplinary incidents, referrals, and arrests in Richmond Public Schools?
- 7. What is the effect of LIFE on student and parental use of community partner resources (e.g., counseling)?
- 8. What is the effect of LIFE on interagency partnership (e.g., between the Richmond Police Department and other community partners)?
- 9. What is the effect of LIFE on organizational change to support community policing within the Richmond Police Department?

Data collected from youth participant surveys, focus groups with youth and program facilitators, and interviews with program administrators allowed us to assess questions 1-3 and 7-9. While we planned to collect secondary data from official school records, changes in the Richmond Public School administration prevented us from acquiring school records. Consequently, we are unable to report on questions 4-6 and cannot directly assess changes in school arrest rates, though program participants' selfreported behaviors provide some indication of how LIFE affected them.

DATA COLLECTION

During the reporting period, data collection included 1) pre- and postprogram questionnaires with students; 2) focus groups with students, SROs, and community partners; and 3) interviews with program staff.

PRE-AND POST-PROGRAM QUESTIONNAIRES

To assess youth program participants' attitudes and perceptions of LIFE, the evaluation team administered questionnaires that included measures of the following constructs: perceptions of commitment to school, legal cynicism, legitimacy of authority figures, procedural justice, views of LIFE officers, and self-reported rule-violating behaviors. During the first LIFE class in each session, parents and youth received an introduction to the program. RPD provided time for the evaluation team to administer informed consent procedures and distribute a pre-test version of the questionnaire. The pre-test served as a baseline measure of youths' attitudes and perceptions on the relevant variables. The questionnaire was administered again as a posttest after programming was completed. Thus youth responses upon completion of LIFE can be compared to their baseline responses prior to starting LIFE. Surveys allowed the evaluation team to reliably measure attitudes and perceptions using pre-validated questionnaire items.

While questionnaires were distributed during the spring, summer, and fall 2017 sessions, two factors affected the distribution of surveys during the fall 2017 session. First, pre-tests were not administered in the fall due to changes in evaluation team staff and other scheduling difficulties. Second, a snow storm during the last week of the fall 2017 session prevented the evaluation team from distributing in-person surveys. Due to the weather, the survey was administered over the phone, and several youth in the program could not be reached to complete the survey.

Out of the 64 youth who enrolled in the LIFE program during 2017, a subset of 42 agreed to participate in the evaluation. Of these, 19 participated

during the spring session (17 completed a post-test), 18 in the summer session (13 completed a post-test), and 5 in the fall (post-test only). The total number of youth included in the evaluation represents a response rate of 66%.

FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups with program participants were used to expand on survey responses and learn more about youth perceptions of the LIFE program. At the end of the LIFE program, youth participants were asked to share what they liked and disliked about the LIFE program, how they viewed themselves throughout the program, and how they viewed program facilitators. Focus groups took place for approximately 20 to 30 minutes and were audio-recorded. Focus groups were completed for the spring and summer 2017 sessions; however, a snow storm prevented the evaluation team from conducting focus groups with participants during the fall 2017 session.

Focus groups were also conducted with LIFE staff and community partners, specifically RPD school resource officers, ChildSavers clinicians, and SCAN clinicians who helped facilitate the LIFE program. Focus groups provided information to assess program functioning and staff perceptions of the program. Participants were asked about the overall efficacy, strengths, and challenges of LIFE implementation. Participants were also asked to share their views of and interactions with students during the program. Focus groups took approximately 30 minutes to one hour to complete and were audio-recorded.

INTERVIEWS

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with program administrative staff to collect information about program implementation and to determine administrator experiences during the program. Three administrators of different rankings were interviewed. Interviews allowed us to explore administrator views of the level of interagency collaboration and organizational change throughout LIFE, which were community policing goals connected to the program design. Interviews were completed by phone and audio-recorded. They took approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour to complete.

MEASURES

Youth participant surveys included a series of questions measuring attitudes and changes in behavior most relevant to the design of LIFE. The evaluation team selected variables that have been tested for validity and reliability in prior literature (Trinkner & Cohn, 2014; Wu, Lake, & Cao, 2015). These included the following: 1. commitment to school, 2. legal cynicism, 3. perceived legitimacy of authority figures, 4. perceptions of police officers as procedurally just, and 5. rule-breaking behavior in the past two months. Each variable represents a composite measure of multiple survey items (see Appendix A). Factor analysis and scale reliability were used to ensure the validity of the composite measures. Cronbach alpha values higher than .7 indicate that survey items are internally consistent and the composite measure is acceptable.

Commitment to school (a = .804) is a measure of youths' selfinvestment in school. **Legal cynicism** (a = .874) represents the level of a youths' cynical beliefs about laws, rules, and social norms in general. While five statements were listed on the survey, two items were dropped following factor analysis (items d and e in Appendix A). **Legitimacy of authority figures** (a = .874) measures youths' trust in and perceived obligation to obey authority figures. The overall measure combined responses for police, parents/guardians, and teachers; however, these items are also broken down into three separate variables (a = .813, .811, and .757, respectively). **Procedural justice** indicates participants' judgments of fair treatment and decision making by police. Two separate measures account for youth views toward police in the community (a = .939) and toward LIFE officers (a = .972). All survey questions were measured on a five-point scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicate stronger degrees of each variable.

To assess changes in **rule-violating behavior**, youth were asked the number of times in the past two months they had committed a number of offenses, including drug offenses, theft, violent crimes, vandalism and other general misbehavior. Two months represents the length of a LIFE session. Responses were left open-ended so that youth could respond precisely. Responses were then summed to provide a total count of youth who committed any offense, the number of youth who committed specific types of offenses, and the number of youth who committed one to two offenses and three or more offenses.

ANALYSES

T-tests were utilized to examine changes in youths' self-reported behavior between pre- and post-test surveys. This type of analysis is appropriate when comparing the average values of continuous variables for two groups (i.e., youth who completed the pre-test and youth who completed the post-test). To maintain the anonymity of survey participants, we did not collect any identifying information on the surveys. Consequently, we are unable to match post-test surveys to the individuals who completed the pretest surveys; however, we can assess changes in responses across the entire group of youth in each program session. Analyses that are statistically significant indicate a change in youth perceptions or behavior, while nonsignificant results suggest there was no change.

While surveys allowed for quantitative data analysis, qualitative data was collected from focus group and interview responses to semi-structured questions. General themes were used to structure questions, such as participant views of the LIFE program, and these themes also guided analysis and identification of general patterns in participant responses. Qualitative themes are supported by participant quotes.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

There are limitations to the data that should be noted. First, the program included small samples of youth in each session. The program was designed to include 15-30 students at a time to encourage one-on-one relationships between students and program staff and to keep the program manageable. While the program size did enable staff to build these relationships, the small number of program participants makes it difficult to identify statistically significant outcomes in the variables of interest. It is possible that changes in youth perceptions and behavior are masked by a small sample and, if more participants were included, there might be more statistically significant differences between pre- and post-tests.

The nature of the data also prevents generalization beyond the program participants of this study. There was not a consistent method of selecting youth for the LIFE program, and it is possible that differences in the youth contributed to the findings in this study. Relatedly, the small number of surveys and qualitative data provide information about program participants and program functioning, but findings should not be generalized from these data sources. Further, there were significant changes in program functioning from one session to the next as program staff learned what worked well and tailored the program to their needs. Thus, it is possible that program changes resulted in changes in the evaluation outcomes.

It should be noted that the evaluation team initially planned to collect secondary data from official school records, and the RPS superintendent at the time the LIFE program was initiated agreed to provide this data. However, during the reporting period, there were significant changes in the RPS administration and the evaluation team was unable to obtain school records. Consequently, we are unable to report on changes in the number of in-school juvenile arrests or on youth behaviors in schools beyond their self-reports.

Finally, the evaluation team was not able to follow-up with participants after the last LIFE class. While it is possible to compare youth perceptions and behavior at the end of the program to their baseline scores at the beginning, it is likely that the effects of the program take time to develop. For example, youth may need time to reflect on what they learned in the LIFE classes before they begin to change their behavior. Without long-term followup, it is not possible to assess changes in youth beyond initial completion of the program.

FINDINGS

In this section, findings from surveys, focus groups, and interviews are presented. Results are organized around key research questions. The following section includes information on 1) LIFE program implementation, 2) participant attitudes and behaviors, and 3) facilitator and administrator experiences.

LIFE PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Before turning to LIFE outcomes, it is important to assess how the LIFE program was implemented, which addresses our first research question:

1. How is the LIFE program implemented in practice compared to the program design?

While the LIFE program was largely implemented as designed (e.g., offering nine classes per session on the topics the program was designed to cover), there were changes from session to session as the program evolved to meet the needs of the Richmond Police Department (RPD). Prior to the reporting period, turnover among RPD supervisors and SROs led to changes in the staff who facilitated and supervised the program; however, grant funding allowed RPD to hire a full-time program coordinator who established consistency in program implementation. Further, the LIFE program was initially designed in 2016 as a diversion program for youth with first-time, misdemeanor charges who were referred from Richmond Public School (RPS) staff, including SROs. However, by 2017, youth were referred to the program directly through the juvenile court system and included at-risk youth (e.g., children in need of services) who had not necessarily been charged as delinquents.

Despite these early changes in staffing and selection of program participants, RPD made several efforts to maintain youth attendance and engagement during LIFE program sessions and had relatively low attrition rates. First, RPD offered transportation assistance to all participants, so they were able to physically attend classes. Second, multiple RPD staff members and members of partner organizations (e.g., RPS, ChildSavers, SCAN) allowed youth to work one-on-one or in small groups with program facilitators. Third, RPD staff worked closely with youth who periodically struggled with personal crises to help them complete the program. During the three 2017 LIFE sessions, there were multiple youth who had experienced the violent death a friend or family member or who encountered family problems (e.g., a parent would not attend the graduation ceremony). LIFE facilitators frequently checked in with these youth to minimize the chance that they would reoffend or drop out of the program. Ultimately, the spring 2017 program session began with 30 youth and finished with 21. The summer 2017 session began with 21 youth and ended with 18. The fall session began with 13 and concluded with 12 youth. Youth who dropped out of the program were those who missed more than one class or committed a new offense before they completed the program.

LIFE PARTICIPANT ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

Focus groups and surveys of LIFE participants were used to assess youth perceptions of the program and changes in their attitudes and behaviors. These data sources relate to our second and third research questions:

2. What are participant perceptions of the LIFE program?

3. Do LIFE students demonstrate different attitudes about themselves and others following program completion?

LIFE PARTICIPANT FOCUS GROUP RESPONSES

Focus groups were conducted with youth at the completion of the spring and summer 2017 program sessions. To learn about participant perceptions of LIFE, youth were asked what they liked and disliked about LIFE, how they viewed RPD police officers, and how they may have changed since participating in LIFE. All participants were encouraged to respond to questions, though it was common for some youth to dominate the discussion while others were quiet.

There was wide variation in how youth felt about the program, though youth generally did not provide much depth to their responses. The majority of youth felt the program was fine. Most did not have complaints about participating in the program and were happy to avoid a more serious consequence, though not all youth appreciated being required to participate or face delinquency charges. A subset of youth strongly enjoyed the program and felt they benefitted a lot from participating. For example, one participant said, "If I had to do it again, I would – I liked it." Others said, "I learned something every week" and had positive responses to the program, such as the following quote, "This program helps you better yourself." Participants also liked many of the topics covered in class, such as the classes on drugs and alcohol, social media use, and respect for self and others. In these classes, participants generally enjoyed doing activities, such as a drumming activity, making masks, and spending time outside of class at museums. Nearly all youth said they enjoyed being in the small groups during each class where they were able to talk and build relationships with clinicians, officers, and other youth in their groups.

A subset of youth also had negative perceptions of the program, disliked most of the staff, and would not recommend the program to others. For example, one participant said, "Y'all should just retire this [program] and just lock us up" while another said, "F this program. I hate this program. I hate waking up early." Two youth said they would have rather spent time in jail, though one youth who said this mostly complained about limited freedom in the program (e.g., being told what to do, not being able to use the phone, and not having Friday available to do personal things). Common complaints about the program related to the timing of the program (i.e., in the late morning on weekends) and the free food provided during each class. Youth participated in the program to varying degrees and some took the program more seriously than others, which was evident in participant responses.

When asked about views toward police officers, LIFE participants made a clear distinction between the police staff who helped facilitate LIFE and other RPD officers in their community. Most participants had positive views of the LIFE staff, and this was something they realized by participating in the program. While many were apprehensive about being in a room with police officers (one youth said she felt like a "snitch" at first), participants came to realize that police could be "alright" and that "some cops are cool and care about kids." Some youth said they would feel "comfortable" talking with the RPD staff members they had gotten to know through the program and one person said, "I respect certain officers more" as a result of the program. Unfortunately, the positive views of police did not extend to police officers in the community. While one youth said the program "made me feel more comfortable around police," the majority of participants expressed negative views of police. In one focus group, several youth repeated, "We just don't like police," while in another session a participant said they "still think the other [police] are bad."

Finally, youth were asked how they thought of themselves when they began and completed the program. Evaluators probed responses to determine if youth noticed changes in their thoughts or behaviors. Generally, youth were more reluctant to discuss possible changes in themselves. Those who did respond to these questions provided mixed views of how LIFE affected them. A few youth felt the program was beneficial. One said, "[the program] helped me redeem myself" and a second said, "[the program] kept me out of trouble," while others said they had matured, become more patient, and would think through their actions as a result of the program. Others noted that the experience made them want to avoid a run-in with police, so they would avoid committing crime. Finally, many youth said there were no changes in their thoughts or behavior. As one participant said, "[there has been] no change at all. I act exactly the same."

LIFE PARTICIPANT SURVEY RESPONSES

While focus groups indicated mixed responses from youth, surveys provided additional information about youths' self-reported attitudes and behaviors. Overall results from surveys of program participants are shown in Tables 1 and 2. These are followed by graphs which summarize participant responses to individual survey items. For more detail on responses to survey items, see Appendix A.

Statistical analyses comparing pre- and post-test responses to questions about commitment to school, legal cynicism, perceived legitimacy of authority figures, and perceptions of procedural justice revealed no statistically significant differences. The change in the percentage of youth who reported committing any offense or rule violation was also not statistically significant. While no statistically significant differences between youth who began and completed the program are evident, this result should be viewed with caution in light of the very small sample size in each program session.

Though it does not appear that youth changed from the beginning to the end of the LIFE program, as a whole, the survey responses reveal some positive outcomes. First, mean values indicate that, on average, LIFE participants reported relatively high levels of commitment to school, perceived legitimacy of authority (particularly for parents and teachers), and perceptions that LIFE officers were procedurally just. Average responses to questions about legal cynicism, legitimacy of police, and perceptions about procedural justice in the community indicate more mid-range responses that are not particularly high or low. Finally, it is clear that the majority of youth committed an offense both before and during the program, though 20% or more did not report violating any rule.

Table	1. Surve	ey Analysis
-------	----------	-------------

	Spring '17		Summer '17		Fall '17	Range
	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-	Post-	
	Test	Test	Test	Test	Test	
	(N = 19)	(N = 17)	(N = 18)	(N = 13)	(N = 5)	
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	
	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	
1. Commitment to School	18.79	20.00	18.41	19.00	21.60	5 - 25
	(5.02)	(3.06)	(3.92)	(3.83)	(1.67)	
2. Legal Cynicism	8.95	9.65	8.11	10.83	10.40	3 - 15
	(3.06)	(2.78)	(2.47)	(2.41)	(3.91)	
3. Legitimacy of Authority	45.74	43.31	39.75	37.69	45.80	12 - 60
Figures	(6.87)	(5.47)	(8.24)	(10.83)	(7.01)	
a. Legitimacy of Police	11.00	10.06	9.65	9.15	11.80	3 - 15
	(2.52)	(2.77)	(2.96)	(2.67)	(1.92)	
b. Legitimacy of Parents	16.63	16.00	14.18	13.62	16.20	4 - 20
	(3.022)	(2.09)	(3.47)	(4.29)	(2.68)	
c. Legitimacy of	14.26	13.18	12.24	11.85	14.40	4 - 20
Teachers	(3.28)	(2.46)	(3.77)	(3.95)	(2.88)	
4. Community Procedural	37.26	34.88	30.69	32.42	32.75	10 - 50
Justice	(8.92)	(4.96)	(9.29)	(10.34)	(7.68)	
5. LIFE Procedural	-	-	27.88	28.31	-	7 - 35
Justice			(4.96)	(8.00)		
6. Committed Any Offense	0.61	0.80	0.65	0.80	0.60	0 - 1
	(0.50)	(0.41)	(0.49)	(0.42)	(0.54)	

Note. A measure of LIFE procedural justice is not available for the spring and fall 2017 program sessions. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001.

Though surveys indicated between 60%-80% of LIFE participants violated a rule or law at some point, Table 2 provides more information about how many youth committed multiple offenses and what types of rules were commonly violated. As with the previous analyses, there were no significant differences between pre- and post-test responses. Survey results show that roughly a third of the youth committed one or two offenses, though that number varies slightly depending on the session. Similarly, roughly a third of youth committed three offenses or more, though this represents fewer youth at the end of the spring and fall sessions. Finally, drug offenses (18%-50%) and violent offenses (6%-24%) were common among youth who violated a rule or law. Of these, drinking alcohol, using marijuana, and fighting were the most frequent behaviors.

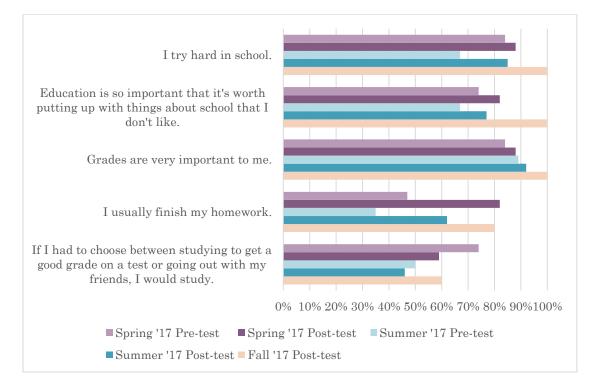
	Spring '17		Summer '17		Fall '17
	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-	Post-
	Test	Test	Test	Test	Test
	(N = 19)	(N = 17)	(N = 18)	(N = 13)	(N = 5)
	# (%)	# (%)	# (%)	# (%)	# (%)
Committed Any Offense	11	12	11	8 (80%)	3 (60%)
	(61%)	(80%)	(65%)		
Committed 1-2 Offenses	3 (17%)	8 (53%)	5 (29%)	3 (33%)	2 (40%)
Committed 3+ Offenses	8 (44%)	4 (27%)	6 (35%)	4 (44%)	1 (20%)
Lied/Conned Someone	-	1 (7%)	-	-	-
Vandalized	-	-	-	-	-
Participated in Gang Activities	-	-	-	-	-
Committed Minor Theft	-	-	1 (6%)	-	-
Carried Weapon	1 (6%)	1 (7%)	-	-	-
Committed a Drug Offense	9 (50%)	7 (47%)	3 (18%)	5 (50%)	2 (40%)
Committed Serious Theft	-	-	-	1 (10%)	-
Committed Arson	-	-	3 (18%)	1 (10%)	-
Committed a Violent Offense	1 (6%)	3 (20%)	4 (24%)	1 (10%)	1 (20%)

Table 2. Summary of Rule-Violating Behavior in the Past Two Months

While Table 1 provided composite measures of key variables the LIFE program is designed to target, the following bar graphs show levels of participant agreement with individual survey questions. These graphs provide some descriptive information that is not immediately evident in the composite measures. The graphs include data from pre- and post-tests for all sessions of LIFE during the reporting period.

In Figure 2, the majority of youth said they try hard in school (67%-100%), believe education is important (67%-100%), and believe grades are important (84%-100%) across all sessions. Participants were less likely to agree that they usually finish their homework on the pre-tests (35%-47%), though these responses were higher at the post-tests (62%-82%). Similarly, fewer participants were willing to trade spending time with friends for studying to get a good grade (46%-74%).

Figure 2. Commitment to School: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree



Participant responses to questions about legal cynicism varied by session (see Figure 3). In the first session, youth were less likely to agree that rules were made to be broken (21%-24%) compared to later sessions (28%-80%). Across nearly all sessions, the majority of youth believed it is okay to do anything you want as long as no one gets hurt (33%-77%). Yet, fewer

participants agreed that there are no right and wrong ways to make money, only easy ways and hard ways, at the pre-tests (12%-31%) compared to post-tests (47%-67%).

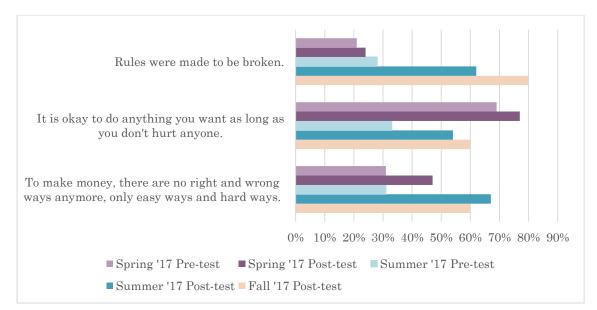
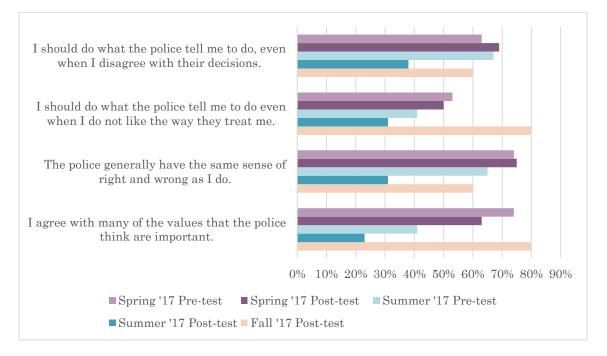


Figure 3. Legal Cynicism: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree

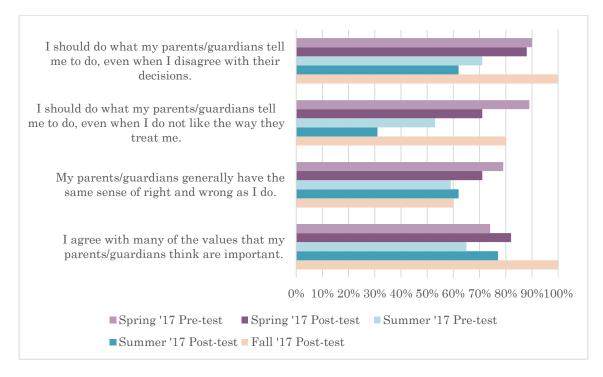
As indicated in Figure 4, views that police are legitimate were relatively high for most survey items, though youth who completed the post-test in the summer 2017 session consistently viewed police as less legitimate. This is interesting, because their scores were relatively high at the pre-test. Excluding the post-tests in the summer session, 60%-69% of youth believed they should do what the police tell them to do even if they disagree with their decisions. When the question is phrased so that youth may not like the way they are treated, 41%-80% of youth still agreed that they should do what the police tell them to do. Most participants agreed that police have the same sense of right and wrong as they do (60%-75%), while many also agreed that they share the same values as police officers (41%-80%). Youth in the summer session responded at 38%, 31%, 31%, and 23% for these four questions, respectively.

Figure 4. Legitimacy of Police: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree



The previous set of questions were repeated but directed toward parents as authority figures for youth (see Figure 5). Generally, youth in all sessions agreed that they should do what their parents tell them to do, even if they disagree with the decision (62%-100%) or dislike the way they are treated (53%-89%). The exception to the last item is that youth who completed the post-test in the summer session were less likely to agree that they should do what their parents tell them to do if they dislike the way they are treated (31%). Still, most participants said their parents have the same sense of right and wrong as they do (59%-79%) and that they find the same values important (65%-100%).

Figure 5. Legitimacy of Parents: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree



Youth perceptions of the legitimacy of their teachers were also assessed in responses presented in Figure 6. Here again, youth who completed the posttest during the summer session reported less agreement that they should do what teachers tell them to do if they disagree with the teacher's decision (15%) or if they dislike the way the teacher treats them (15%). Looking at the other sessions, between 41%-100% agreed with the first statement, but participants were less likely to agree if they were in a situation where they disliked the way a teacher treated them (20%-68%). Responses to the last two survey questions were mid-range. Between 41%-61% agreed that they have the same sense of right and wrong as their teachers, and 58%-65% agreed that they share the same values as their teachers.

Figure 6. Legitimacy of Teachers: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree

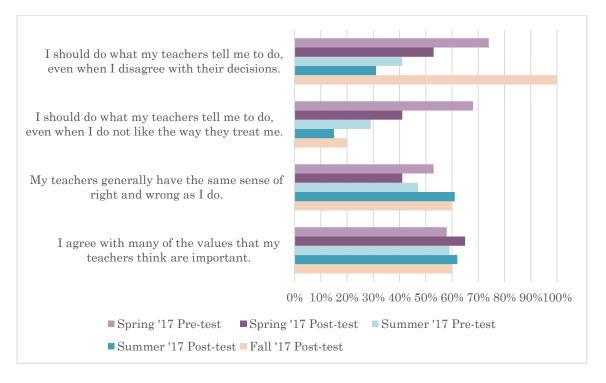
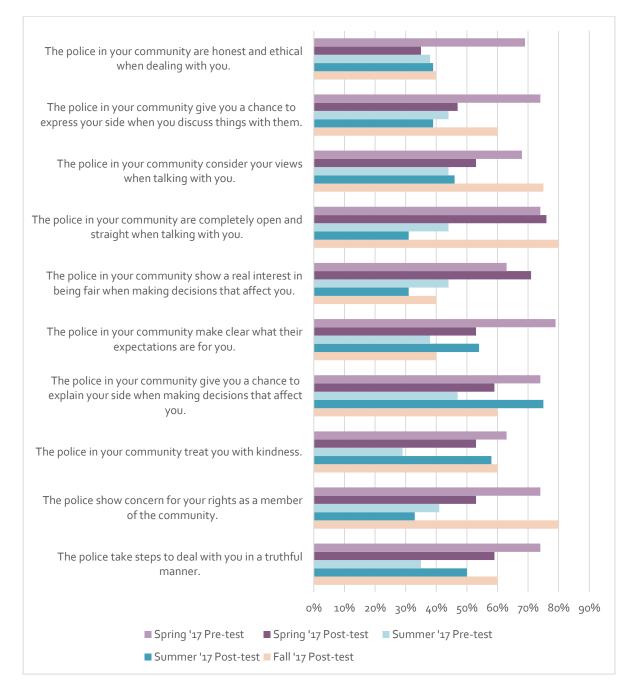


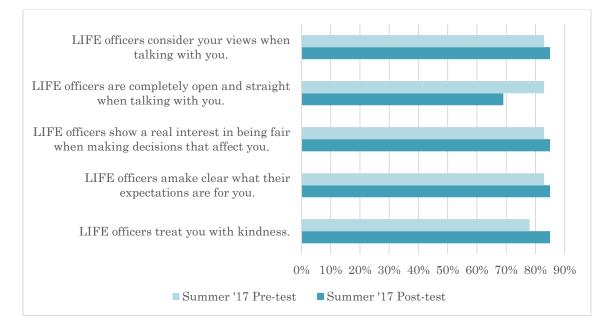
Figure 7 presents youth perceptions about police in their communities. Procedural justice includes four components: fairness in police response, transparency, giving citizens a voice, and treating people equally. Responses varied by program session, though youth in the spring and fall sessions tended to report higher levels of agreement with survey items. In terms of fairness, 31%-71% of youth agreed that police show a real interest in being fair. Perceptions of transparency ranged substantially; 35%-69% believed police are honest and ethical, 31%-80% agreed police are completely open and straight, 38%-79% said police make clear what their expectations are, and 35%-74% agreed that police take steps to deal with citizens in a truthful manner. Similarly, participant perceptions that police give citizens a voice by letting them express or explain their side or by considering citizen views ranged from 39%-75%. Youths' belief that police are impartial and treat citizens with kindness were somewhat lower at 29%-63%, while 33%-80% agreed that police show concern for the rights of citizens.

Figure 7. Community Procedural Justice: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree



In addition to beliefs about police in the community, program participants were asked specifically about the officers who helped facilitate the LIFE program, though data are only available for the summer session. Youth views of police in the LIFE program were more positive than their views of police generally, and their views did not change much from the pre-test to post-test. The majority of youth agreed that LIFE officers are honest (77%-83%), give youth a chance to explain their side (77%-89%), consider youths' views (83%-85%), and are open and straight with youth (69%-83%). Similarly, most youth believed LIFE officers show an interest in being fair (83%-85%), make their expectations clear (83%-85%), and treat youth with kindness (78%-85%). These results are consistent with the findings from focus groups with youth and indicate that youth had positive views of the LIFE officers.

Figure 8. LIFE Procedural Justice: Percent of Youth Who Said Agree or Strongly Agree



Finally, youth were asked to report any rules or laws they had violated in the past two months. Two months represents the length of the LIFE program. Youth were asked about a number of different offenses, ranging from lying to using marijuana to serious theft and violence. Participant responses illustrated in Figure 9 show that approximately 60-80% of youth reported violating at least one rule in the past two months.

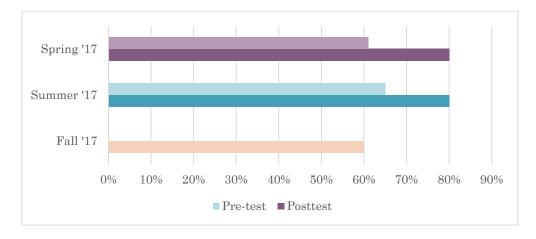


Figure 9. Percent of Youth Who Violated Any Rule in the Past Two Months

LIFE FACILITATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR EXPERIENCES

In addition to focus groups with program participants, we conducted focus groups with LIFE facilitators, including RPD SROs and clinicians from ChildSavers and SCAN, who served as community partners and provided external resources to LIFE participants. Program administrators were also interviewed to learn about their views and experiences overseeing program implementation. These focus groups and interviews allowed us to assess the following research questions:

7. What is the effect of LIFE on student and parental use of community partner resources (e.g., counseling)?

8. What is the effect of LIFE on interagency partnership (e.g., between the Richmond Police Department and other community partners)?

9. What is the effect of LIFE on organizational change to support community policing within the Richmond Police Department?

CLINICIAN FOCUS GROUP RESPONSES

Clinicians from the ChildSavers and SCAN community organizations in Richmond helped facilitate the LIFE program to varying degrees throughout the reporting period. ChildSavers is a nonprofit group that provides family counseling and advocates for youth, and ChildSavers is both licensed by the Virginia Department of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services and accredited by the Council on Accreditation for Child and Family Services. SCAN stands for Stop Child Abuse Now and is another local nonprofit organization that addresses child abuse and neglect through therapy and support services, including education.

During the LIFE sessions, clinicians attended weekly classes, led some activities, and worked closely with youth and officers in small groups. Given that clinicians provided a direct link between program participants and community resources, it was useful to speak with clinicians about the extent to which participants made use of outside resources. Not all clinicians were aware of how many LIFE youth actually received outside counseling or resources; however, all clinicians reported talking with students about possible community services that might benefit youth and their families. One clinician reported that a handful of youth had followed up with the LIFE program coordinator and with community organizations (e.g., one youth participated in a week-long camp after the LIFE graduation; other youth played basketball with SROs outside of LIFE classes). However, clinicians noted that parents were a frequent stumbling block, saying "I know that referrals have been made, but, again, it gets to the parents." Frequently a program participant was eager to receive outside help, but parents were reluctant and failed to follow-up to take advantage of community services.

While clinicians reported some difficulties in connecting youth to outside services, members of ChildSavers and SCAN offered a unique skill set to youth during the program, so that youth were exposed to therapeutic methods and discussions during classes. Clinicians worked with youth through the program to teach various skills, including communication skills, conflict resolution, how to cope with anger and family issues, and how to change the way others perceive them. They felt these strategies were fairly successful, particularly with some of the older youth who were more mature. Clinicians discussed how youth were very quiet at the beginning of each session, but youth began to open up and were "engaged" during the program. One individual said youth "seemed to just feel safer over time" and felt more comfortable sharing information about themselves. Another clinician talked about two older boys who began "seriously thinking about their future," which included discussions about college, traveling to other countries, and joining the marines.

The level of partnership between RPD, ChildSavers, and SCAN was something that clinicians felt positive about. One clinician said they "appreciated being able to work with officers" in a different professional context, because "it was just nice to be able to see... the level of care that [the officers] had for the kids." Another felt they had gained a "fuller perspective" by listening as officers explained "how they make decisions" and "from a professional level it was a good experience." All of the clinicians also commented on the benefits of having a LIFE program coordinator with clinical experience who was "instrumental," able to "toe the line between the officers and clinicians," and understood their "varying levels of experiences." One person said the way the coordinator was engaged with families promoted the success of the program and the willingness of youth participants to follow-up with community resources, including counseling. The clinicians felt youth "listened to her in a different way" than they listened to officers and that youth were more receptive to her.

Related to partnership, clinicians expressed an interest to continue working with RPD to facilitate the LIFE program and to possibly extend the programming to include parents. Clinicians suggested offering classes targeted for parents with incentives to participate as opposed to mandated attendance. Clinicians said they would be willing to collaborate with RPD to help provide this type of training.

SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER FOCUS GROUP RESPONSES

School resource officers (SROs) were also responsible for facilitating the LIFE program by interacting with youth during classes and participating in group activities. Occasionally, SROs would lead classes, though the program coordinator, another community relations officer, and the SRO Sergeant primarily oversaw classes. It is important to note that RPD Chief Alfred Durham allocated extra resources (e.g., overtime) to cover SROs' attendance during weekend events and has been a strong supporter of SRO involvement in the LIFE program. Additionally, while RPD experienced some turnover in LIFE staff early in the program, the SRO Sergeant who was transferred into the position at the beginning of the reporting period remained in his position throughout 2017. He and an officer from the RPD community relations unit were closely engaged with youth throughout each program session. The involvement of SROs in the program and the use of RPD staff to monitor program functioning represent organizational changes to support this community policing initiative.

During focus groups, SROs shared their views of the LIFE program and offered information on interagency partnership and organizational change that was useful to the evaluation. While SROs had some positive comments about the program, they also had some concerns about program content and the approaches of various community partners. Generally, SROs said they enjoyed the small group format and the opportunities they had to connect with youth outside of their normal work roles. Officers expressed some concern about how LIFE has become "outsourced," meaning RPD officers have been leading fewer classes as other guest presenters are identified. For example, presenters have included faith leaders and health workers in the community. Some SROs believed the class presenters were "less connected" to youth and did not fully understand the experiences of youth in the program. For example, some of the SROs felt they personally identified with youth, because they had similar experiences growing up, which other presenters may not share. These responses indicated that the SROs were happy to be engaged with youth during the small group sessions, but may have preferred to lead or direct activities during classes. Responses also show that SROs wanted to connect with youth.

In terms of interagency partnership, while LIFE clinicians primarily held positive views about their level of partnership with RPD, the SROs suggested that officer and clinician philosophies were inherently opposed. Several officers said the youth were "coddled," the program was too soft, and that more discipline and consequences were needed to make kids "take [the program] seriously." A few of the officers suggested that the LIFE program should entail more shock value with "harder" activities, such as trips to the local jail. SROs valued sending a message of accountability to youth so that participants would know there are consequences for misbehavior. Though SROs enjoyed working with youth in the LIFE program and actively interacted with participants, many of their statements were at odds with the goals of the LIFE program. These findings suggest there has been a significant level of community partnership throughout the program, but more organizational change may be needed to change SROs' views of program participants, clinicians, and other program presenters.

ADMINISTRATOR INTERVIEWS

In addition to focus groups with program facilitators, LIFE administrators were interviewed to gain perspective on levels of community partnership, student and parental use of community resources, and police department organizational change taking place during the reporting period. As evident from focus groups with clinicians and SROs, there was substantial interagency partnership throughout each LIFE class and session. Program

administrators noted that, in addition to the collaboration between RPD, ChildSavers, and SCAN, additional speakers and volunteers from the Richmond Public Schools, Richmond Court Services, Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU), and local faith groups attended classes. Further, administrators reported that there have been several efforts to connect youth with community resources and to follow-up with youth outside of LIFE. Some youth have been identified as having unmet needs or in need of additional services beyond what LIFE could provide, and these youth have been connected to outside services. For example, one program participant was interested in talking with a counselor and was directed to a group leader from SCAN, while another said she had experienced abuse and was referred to the Child Advocacy Center. In a third instance, the program coordinator learned that a former participant was not attending school because he did not have clothes to wear. The coordinator worked with community organizations to provide the youth with clothes, so he could return to school. A handful of youth from LIFE have also participated in extracurricular activities with officers, including working out in the police department weight room, playing basketball on a regular basis, and participating in a month-long sports camp. Through these activities, youth have been able to engage with police officers outside of the LIFE program and SRO unit.

In response to questions about the level of community partnership, administrators were overwhelmingly positive. They believed police department collaboration with outside organizations has only benefitted LIFE and RPD. For example, one administrator said that the collaboration between SROs and community organizations has helped officers to "see a different side of kids," to "get below the surface," and to help them begin to "identify root causes [of youth behavior], rather than blaming the kid for their behavior." A second administrator said it has been useful to pair youth with community partners and SROs, so facilitators get to know youth and have a "pulse" on their experiences as they facilitate the program. RPD has also made plans to extend services to youth once they complete the LIFE program. First, RVA Alternative Pathways is a new program developed by RPD and VCU Health to connect youth with mentoring, internships, and other community resources. Once youth complete LIFE, they will participate in the RVA Pathways program. At the conclusion of the reporting period, the new program was well under way. A second opportunity to work with community partners has involved the VCU basketball team. Members of the team may work with RPD to offer mentoring to LIFE youth in the future.

While interviews provided ample evidence that LIFE increased interagency partnership and offered youth and parents opportunities to connect to community partner resources, interviews also provided some indication of organizational change to support community policing. Administrators said there had been consistent support for the LIFE program from the upper levels of RPD. In terms of financial resources, grant funding was used to hire a full-time program coordinator, officers were paid overtime to attend classes, and resources were devoted to provide meals, transportation, and attendance to museums and other program events. One administrator noted that there were growing pains in the initial development of LIFE, but these have been resolved over time. For example, RPD initially wanted a large number of youth in the program, but found that many would drop out before the program began. By the time of our reporting period, LIFE was running with a smaller number of youth and the administrator felt youth were "better vetted" to ensure they would attend classes. As the administrator said, early on "some of the kids were just not right for the program... they needed more attention, more services than what we could provide." Once they identified youth who would participate and possibly benefit from the program, things ran more smoothly.

Changes in officer behavior and attitudes toward youth are also elements of organizational change. Administrators reported that some SROs spent time with youth outside of LIFE playing basketball and that a few other RPD officers began playing basketball and working out with LIFE youth. One administrator noticed changes in the officers' views of youth, noting that one officer said he had only had negative interactions with juveniles on the street. Once the "uniform came off," the "interaction was great... they were playing basketball, having fun, just normal, and the wall sort of came down." Officers and youth were both excited to meet for the next game of basketball. The administrator said these activities "[help] officers feel good, ... build their resilience, [bring] that positive perspective back around... [and] it allows them to feel a little bit more free [as they are] treated as themselves." Such interactions are signs of positive changes in the relationships RPD officers developed with at-risk youth.

CONCLUSION

Citizen and practitioner concerns about the number of youth who enter the juvenile justice system have galvanized organizations to adopt innovative strategies to address and prevent juvenile delinquency. One such strategy is the Richmond Law Enforcement Intervention Focusing on Education (LIFE) program developed and facilitated primarily by the Richmond Police Department (RPD). LIFE targets at-risk juveniles and diverts them out of the juvenile justice system and into an educational setting where youth complete nine weeks of classes with RPD officers and community partners. The primary goals of LIFE are as follows:

- 1. Reduce in-school juvenile arrests
- 2. Increase provision of resources to participants
- 3. Strengthen student relationships with SROs and school staff
- 4. Increase prosocial behavior

This report presents the findings of an evaluation of the LIFE program designed to assess RPD's efforts to promote community policing through the LIFE program by engaging in problem solving (to address the four goals above), interagency partnership, and organizational change. Surveys and focus groups with youth, focus groups with program facilitators, and interviews with program administrators provide some general conclusions about LIFE implementation and outcomes.

The component of the evaluation first examined program implementation. There were some issues with implementation early on (e.g., administrator turnover and changes in selection criteria of youth participants). However, the placement of a full-time program coordinator, supported by grant funding, helped contribute to greater stability and consistency in program functioning. The importance of the program coordinator was further confirmed by many of the participants in focus groups and interviews. In addition to facilitation of the program, the evaluation revealed classes were implemented as intended, and both LIFE facilitators and administrators indicated they believed the small group format was a positive component of the program. Further, RPD staff offered transportation and meals to encourage participation and prevent youth from dropping out of the program. These efforts contributed to declining rates of attrition as LIFE became established. Overall, LIFE was largely implemented as intended, which provides greater confidence in measurement of program outcomes.

To determine the level of problem solving, the evaluation was designed to assess changes in juvenile arrests, provision of resources to participants, relationships between youth and authority figures, youth attitudes, and youth behavior. Though secondary data was unavailable to determine changes in school-based juvenile arrests, general conclusions can be drawn from focus groups and surveys in which youth self-reported their attitudes and behaviors. Findings revealed that youth reported relatively high levels of commitment to school, believed their parents and teachers were legitimate authority figures, and believed LIFE officers were procedurally just. Though there were no statistically significant differences in youth responses before and after the program, the fact that youth already held relatively prosocial attitudes is a positive finding.

There was also no evidence that LIFE changed youth perceptions toward officers in the community or the legal system in general. Though the small number of youth included in the surveys limits our confidence in statistical findings, this result was consistent with focus group responses. Youth tended to view the LIFE officers in a positive light, but viewed them as more of an anomaly among police. Less than a handful of youth said they would be open to talking with an officer in their community before judging them, but the majority of youth continued to dislike police as a whole. Thus, it appears that youth do not make the connection between officers who facilitate the program and those who patrol their communities.

With regard to behavior, findings also showed no significant changes: approximately 60%-80% of participants said they violated a rule or law in the past two months, and roughly 20%-40% of youth committed three or more different offenses. Focus group responses revealed that the effect of LIFE on behavior may depend on differences within individual youth. Some youth reported positive outcomes, such as feeling redeemed, more mature, and less likely to get in trouble; however, other youth said they had not changed. It is not clear why some youth gained from their experience in the program while others did not, though it is likely some youth are simply more inclined to engage with facilitators and participate in classes. Differences in participant characteristics, such as age, or in class group dynamics may also account for these different outcomes, though further research is necessary to sort this out. It is also likely that youth need more time to reflect on their experience in LIFE and that changes would be evident in the months or years after program completion.

In addition to changes in youth, the LIFE program was designed to connect at-risk youth to community resources beyond the police department. Focus groups with clinicians and interviews with administrators indicated that some youth are being referred to counseling or child advocacy groups to address their individual needs, though not all program participants need to make use of these resources. Further, some youth had requested assistance (e.g., counseling); however, their parents often failed to follow up with community providers. Efforts to gain parental buy-in and participation may make youth more likely to receive community resources they need. In addition to the connection to community resources through program staff, RPD is preparing to expand possible resources for youth through the RVA Alternative Pathways project and by identifying positive mentors (e.g., college basketball players). Ultimately, these findings suggest RPD has made considerable progress toward increasing the provision of resources to program participants.

As a community policing initiative, the LIFE program has also required RPD to engage in interagency partnership and organizational change, which were evaluation components. Through the LIFE program, RPD demonstrated substantial levels of collaboration with community partners, including community clinicians and therapists (e.g., ChildSavers, SCAN), Richmond Public Schools, Richmond Court Services, Virginia Commonwealth University, and local faith leaders. To assess the collaboration with organizations that help facilitate LIFE classes, the evaluation team conducted focus groups with RPD school resource officers (SROs) and clinicians from ChildSavers and SCAN. Clinicians viewed their role in LIFE as beneficial and felt it was useful to combine both criminal justice and clinical approaches to address youth behavior. While clinicians said they would continue to facilitate the program, SROs expressed some concerns about the level of partnership. While SROs desired to work with youth, they may prefer to lead or direct class activities, and they suggested that the program should adopt a more punitive focus. This finding may indicate a need to review the goals and philosophies of LIFE with all program facilitators to ensure buy-in and consistency across all partners.

In terms of organizational change, RPD applied both financial and material support to promote the LIFE program. Support was evident in the placement of all SRO staff in the program with overtime to cover their hours, the hiring of a program coordinator, provision of meals and transport, and efforts to continue identifying community partners. Further, there was some indication of changes in officer beliefs and behaviors. Program administrators reported both SROs and RPD officers who became more willing to spend time and develop professional relationships with youth. These are positive changes in line with community policing efforts, though changes in officers were mostly evident outside of LIFE classes. Efforts to enhance positive officer interactions with youth through fun activities may help promote the goal of improving youth views of officers while also encouraging organizational change toward community policing.

In conclusion, findings from this study indicate RPD has achieved some success in reaching the goals of LIFE, particularly in increasing provision of resources to at-risk youth and in partnering with community organizations. Despite these positive changes, there is room to continue to target the intended goals of LIFE. While findings from this evaluation should be viewed cautiously, results suggest LIFE alone may not fully change youth perceptions and behaviors or that more time may be needed to identify changes.

- Hirschfield, P. J. (2008). 'Preparing for Prison? The Criminalization ofSchool Discipline in the USA.' *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(1), 79-101.
- Justice Policy Institute. (2011). 'Education Under Arrest: The Case Against Police in Schools.' Retrieved from http://www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/educatio

nunderarrest_fullreport.pdf

- Na, C., & Gottfredson, D. C. (2013). 'Police Officers in Schools: Effects on School Crime and the Processing of Offending Behaviors.' Justice Quarterly, 30(4), 619-650.
- Price, P. (2009). When is a police officer an officer of the law?: The status of police officers in schools. *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 99(2), 541-573.
- Trinkner, R., & Cohn, E. S. (2014). Putting the "Social" Back in Legal Socialization: Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and Cynicism in Legal and Nonlegal Authorities. *Law and Human Behavior*, 38(6), 602-617. doi:10.1037/lbb0000107
- Wu, Y., Lake, R., & Cao, L. (2015). Race, social bonds, and juvenile attitudes toward the police. Justice Quarterly, 32(3), 445-470.
- Zubak-Skees, C., & Wieder, B. (2015, April 10). A state-by-state look at students referred to law enforcement. *The Center for Public Integrity*. Retrieved from http://www.publicintegrity.org/2015/04/10/17074/statestate-look-students-referred-law-enforcement

APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF SURVEY RESPONSES

Commitment to School			Neutral (%)		Disagree/		
	Agre	e (%)			Disagro	ee (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. I try hard in school							
Spring '17	84	88	5	12	11	-	
Summer '17	67	85	28	8	6	8	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-	
b. Education is so important that it	t's worth p	utting up	with the	ings abo	ut school tha	t I don't	
like.							
Spring '17	74	82	16	12	11	6	
Summer '17	67	77	17	15	17	8	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-	
c. Grades are very important to me.		1					
Spring '17	84	88	11	12	5	-	
Summer '17	89	92	11	8	-	-	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-	
d. I usually finish my homework.	1	1					
Spring '17	47	82	16	6	37	12	
Summer '17	35	62	35	8	29	31	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	-	-	
e. If I had to choose between studying	ng to get a	good grad	de on a i	test or go	oing out with	my	
friends, I would study.							
Spring '17	74	59	5	18	21	24	
Summer '17	50	46	33	23	17	31	
Fall '17	-	60	-	20	-	20	

Legal Cynicism	_			al (%)	Disagree		
	Agre	e (%)			Disagı	agree (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. Rules were made to be broken.							
Spring '17	21	24	37	29	42	47	
Summer '17	28	62	22	8	50	31	
Fall '17	-	80	-	-	-	20	
b. It is okay to do anything you w	ant as lon	ng as you d	lon't hui	rt anyon	е.		
Spring '17	69	77	-	12	32	12	
Summer '17	33	54	28	31	39	15	
Fall '17	-	60	-	-	-	40	
c. To make money, there are no ri	ght and u	vrong way	s anymo	re, only	easy ways a	and hard	
ways.							
Spring '17	31	47	26	29	42	24	
Summer '17	12	67	33	8	44	25	
Fall '17	-	60	-	-	-	40	
d. Fighting between friends or wi	thin fami	lies is nob	ody else	's busine	288.		
Spring '17	63	71	21	24	16	6	
Summer '17	72	69	11	15	17	15	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	-	-	
e. Nowadays a person has to live	pretty mu	ch for todo	ay and l	et tomor	row take ca	re of itself.	
Spring '17	63	69	21	25	16	6	
Summer '17	59	58	18	17	24	25	
Fall '17	-	60	-	20	-	20	

Legitimacy of Police	Agree/Strongly Agree (%)		Neutral (%)		Ŭ	/Strongly ree (%)
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
a. I should do what the police tell m	re to do, et	ven when	I disagr	ee with t	their decisio	ns.
Spring '17	63	69	26	6	11	25
Summer '17	67	38	11	46	22	15
Fall '17	-	60	-	40	-	-
b. I should do what the police tell n	re to do ev	en when 1	do not i	like the t	way they tre	at me.
Spring '17	53	50	21	13	26	38
Summer '17	41	31	24	46	35	23
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	-	-
c. The police generally have the sam	ne sense of	^f right and	l wrong	as I do.	1	
Spring '17	74	75	21	13	5	13
Summer '17	65	31	-	46	35	23
Fall '17	-	60	-	20	-	20
d. I agree with many of the values t	hat the po	lice think	are imp	ortant.	1	1
Spring '17	74	63	26	38	-	-
Summer '17	41	23	41	54	18	23
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	-	-

Legitimacy of Parents	Agree/Strongly N		Neutral (%)		Disagree/Strongly		
	Ag	ree (%)			Disag	ree (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. I should do what my parents/guar	dians te	ell me to do,	even wh	en I dis	agree with	their	
decisions.							
Spring '17	90	88	5	12	5	-	
Summer '17	71	62	18	15	12	23	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-	
b. I should do what my parents/guar	dians te	ell me to do	even wh	en I do 1	ot like the	way they	
treat me.							
Spring '17	89	71	5	18	5	12	
Summer '17	53	31	12	23	35	46	
Fall '17	-	80	-	-	-	20	
c. My parents/guardians generally h	ave the	same sense (of right o	and wro	ng as I do.		
Spring '17	79	71	16	24	5	6	
Summer '17	59	62	12	23	29	15	
Fall '17	-	60	-	20	-	20	
d. I agree with many of the values the	at my po	arents/guar	dians th	ink are	important.		
Spring '17	74	82	16	18	11	-	
Summer '17	65	77	18	8	18	15	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-	

Legitimacy of Teachers	Agree/Strongly Agree (%)		Neutral (%)		Disagree/ Disagr	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
a. I should do what my teachers t	tell me to a	do, even w	hen I di	sagree wi	ith their dec	isions.
Spring '17	74	53	16	29	11	18
Summer '17	41	31	18	15	41	54
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	-	-
b. I should do what my teachers t	tell me to a	lo even wh	en I do	not like t	the way they	treat me.
Spring '17	68	41	5	35	5	24
Summer '17	29	15	18	23	53	62
Fall '17	-	20	-	40	-	40
c. My teachers generally have the	same sens	se of right	and wr	ong as I d	do.	1
Spring '17	53	41	26	41	21	18
Summer '17	47	61	35	8	18	31
Fall '17	-	60	-	-	-	40
d. I agree with many of the value	s that my	teachers ti	hink are	importa	nt.	1
Spring '17	58	65	26	29	16	6
Summer '17	59	62	18	15	24	23
Fall '17	-	60	-	40	-	-

Community	Agree/S	trongly	Neutral (%)		Disagree	/Strongly	
Procedural Justice	Agre	Agree (%)				ree (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. The police in your community of	are honest	and ethic	al when	dealing	with you.		
Spring '17	69	35	21	29	11	35	
Summer '17	38	39	38	46	25	15	
Fall '17	-	40	-	40	-	20	
b. The police in your community	give you a	chance to	express	your sid	e when you	discuss	
things with them.							
Spring '17	74	47	11	35	16	18	
Summer '17	44	39	44	39	13	23	
Fall '17	-	60	-	-	-	40	
c. The police in your community of	consider ye	our views	when ta	lking wi	th you.		
Spring '17	68	53	21	41	11	6	
Summer '17	44	46	31	39	25	15	
Fall '17	-	75	-	-	-	25	
d. The police in your community	are comple	etely open	and stro	aight wh	en talking i	with you.	
Spring '17	74	76	16	24	11	-	
Summer '17	44	31	25	46	31	23	
Fall '17	-	80	-	-	-	20	
e. The police in your community s	show a rea	l interest	in being	fair whe	en making o	lecisions	
that affect you.							
Spring '17	63	71	16	24	21	6	
Summer '17	44	31	38	39	19	31	
Fall '17	-	40	-	40	-	20	
f. The police in your community n	nake clear	what thei	r expect	ations a	re for you.		
Spring '17	79	53	11	29	11	18	
Summer '17	38	54	31	31	31	15	
Fall '17	-	40	-	20	-	40	
g. The police in your community g	give you a	chance to	explain	your sid	e when ma	king	
decisions that affect you.							
Spring '17	74	59	11	24	16	18	
Summer '17	47	75	29	8	24	17	
Fall '17	-	60	-	20	-	20	

Community Procedural	Agree/S	Agree/Strongly Neutral (%)			Disagre	e/Strongly	
Justice Continued	Agre	Agree (%)				ree (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
h. The police in your community t	reat you ı	with kindn	iess.			<u>.</u>	
Spring '17	63	53	21	35	16	12	
Summer '17	29	58	29	17	41	25	
Fall '17	-	60	-	40	-	-	
i. The police show concern for you	r rights a	s a membe	er of the	commun	iity.		
Spring '17	74	53	11	41	16	6	
Summer '17	41	33	24	50	35	17	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	-	-	
j. The police take steps to deal wit	h you in c	a truthful	manner	•	^		
Spring '17	74	59	16	29	11	12	
Summer '17	35	50	41	33	24	17	
Fall '17	-	60	-	-	-	40	

LIFE Procedural	Agree/	Strongly	Neutral (%)		Disagre	e/Strongly	
Justice	Agr	ree (%)				gree (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. LIFE officers are honest when	83	77	6	15	6	8	
dealing with you.							
b. LIFE officers give you a	89	77	11	8	-	15	
chance to explain your side							
when you discuss things with							
them.							
c. LIFE officers consider your	83	85	11	8	6	8	
views when talking with you.							
d. LIFE officers are completely	83	69	11	15	6	15	
open and straight when talking							
with you.							
e. LIFE officers show a real	83	85	17	8	-	8	
interest in being fair when							
making decisions that affect							
you.							
f. LIFE officers make clear what	83	85	11	8	6	8	
their expectations are for you.							
g. LIFE officers treat you with	78	85	17	8	6	8	
kindness.							

Note. The data for this set of questions comes from the summer of 2017 session. It is important to note that youth participants completed the pre-test during the first class of the LIFE session, before they had much time with the LIFE police facilitators.

Rule-Violating Behavior in the Past Two	Non	e (%)	One or More		
Months			Time	es (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
a. Intentionally damaged or destroyed property that did not	belong t	o you			
Spring '17	78	80	22	20	
Summer '17	82	55	18	45	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	
b. Participated in gang activities					
Spring '17	83	93	17	7	
Summer '17	88	90	12	10	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
c. Smoked cigarettes					
Spring '17	94	87	6	13	
Summer '17	88	80	12	20	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
d. Had an alcoholic drink					
Spring '17	67	67	33	33	
Summer '17	88	60	12	40	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
e. Used marijuana					
Spring '17	56	73	44	27	
Summer '17	71	67	29	33	
Fall '17	-	60	-	40	
f. Used any other illegal drug					
Spring '17	89	100	11	-	
Summer '17	82	100	18	-	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	
g. Sold any illegal drug					
Spring '17	89	100	11	-	
Summer '17	88	90	12	10	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
h. Taken something from a store without paying for it					
Spring '17	72	80	28	20	
Summer '17	71	70	29	30	
	1	1	1	1	

Rule-Violating Behavior in the Past Two Months Continued	None	e (%)	One or More Times (%)		
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
<i>i.</i> Other than from a store, taking something not belonging to					
Spring '17	72	80	28	20	
Summer '17	82	70	18	30	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
j. Other than from a store, taking something not belonging to	you wo	rth \$50	or MOR	E	
Spring '17	89	100	11	-	
Summer '17	88	60	12	40	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
k. Tried to get something by lying to someone about what you	would	do for l	nim or he	<i>1</i> *	
(tried to con someone)					
Spring '17	78	73	22	27	
Summer '17	77	60	23	40	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
l. Taken a vehicle without the owner's permission					
Spring '17	94	100	6	-	
Summer '17	88	80	12	20	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
m. Broken into a building or vehicle to steal something or just	st to look	r aroun	d		
Spring '17	89	80	11	20	
Summer '17	82	90	18	10	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
n. Pushed, shoved, or kicked somebody on purpose (including	g a fight)			
Spring '17	67	53	33	47	
Summer '17	59	70	41	30	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	
o. Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or kill	-				
Spring '17	94	87	6	13	
Summer '17	77	70	23	30	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	

Rule-Violating Behavior in the Past Two	None	e (%)	One or More		
Months Continued			Time	s (%)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	
p. Taken a handgun to a public place (including school)					
Spring '17	94	93	6	7	
Summer '17	88	90	12	10	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
q. Used force or a weapon (knife/gun/other object) to get som	ething j	from a	person	1	
Spring '17	100	87	-	13	
Summer '17	82	80	18	20	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	
r. Hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor					
Spring '17	78	73	22	27	
Summer '17	82	80	12	20	
Fall '17	-	80	-	20	
s. Set fire to someone's property on purpose		1	1	I	
Spring '17	100	100	-	-	
Summer '17	82	90	18	10	
Fall '17	-	100	-	-	