

Illuminating Solutions: *The Youth Violence Reduction Partnership*

Wendy S. McClanahan, Tina J. Kauh, Alice Elizabeth Manning,
Paola Campos and Chelsea Farley



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Public/Private Ventures (P/PV)

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Acknowledgments

Numerous people and agencies in Philadelphia have contributed to the Youth Violence Reduction Partnership (YVRP). The William Penn Foundation funded P/PV's involvement in the development of YVRP, and our work evaluating the program. The Dolfinger-McMahon Foundation supported this publication, and the City of Philadelphia funded the programmatic data collection effort.

John J. Dilullo, Jr., former senior advisor and board member at P/PV; John Delany, former deputy district attorney and now the chair of the YVRP steering committee; Joseph Tierney, former vice president of Greater Philadelphia Initiatives at P/PV; Denise Clayton and Naomi Post, former directors of YVRP; and Shondell Revell, current director of YVRP, have all played critical leadership roles in the initiative and have provided invaluable feedback on multiple drafts of this report.

Many thanks are due to the city officials, agencies, clergy members and others who have contributed to the development of YVRP in Philadelphia over the last 13 years. They are too numerous to name here, but their support for the partnership has been essential. YVRP's Steering Committee has also played a critical role in the initiative and championing this evaluation effort. The YVRP Management and Operations Committees have also been central to the partnership's success.

Anthony Nazzario (of Philadelphia Safe and Sound); Ellen Kurtz, Lindsay Ahlman, Michael Pancoast, Charles Hoyt, and Alison Bell (of Adult Probation and Parole); and Peter Kropp and Steven Lyner (of Juvenile Probation) provided critical support throughout the data collection process, preparing data files for the study and providing liberal amounts of time for questions and clarifications.

Many people at P/PV contributed to this report, both by helping collect monthly data and by analyzing years of monthly data reports and homicide and violence data. Chiemezie Ibekwe, Simone Humphrey, Adam Lang, Alissa Weiss, Deirdre Din and Jennifer McMaken provided key support in collecting and cleaning criminal records data. John Marcotte provided statistical guidance for the neighborhood-level analyses. Many more P/PV staff were involved in the review of the report, including but not limited to Nadya K. Shmavonian, Jean Grossman and Patti Patrizi. Laura Johnson edited and oversaw the production of this report. Malish and Pagonis developed the graphic design.

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Introduction

Street violence is an epidemic among our nation's poor urban male youth. Murder is one of the leading causes of death for 15- to 24-year-olds in the United States and the number one cause of death for African American males in this age group.¹ Since the mid-1990s, there has been growing recognition that a disproportionate percentage of serious crime and street violence is committed by a small percentage of young offenders,² suggesting that efforts to prevent violence and serious crime might be best focused on this population.

Many of these young people have a history of persistent delinquency from a young age and are, in some ways, our nation's "throwaway" youth. They live in impoverished, high-crime, urban neighborhoods, where there are limited services and resources to meet their needs. The reasons these youth become involved in violent crime are multifaceted, and frequently run deep in families and communities. Common reactive crime reduction strategies, such as policing, traditional probation and incarceration, have often failed to adequately account for these complex underlying causes.

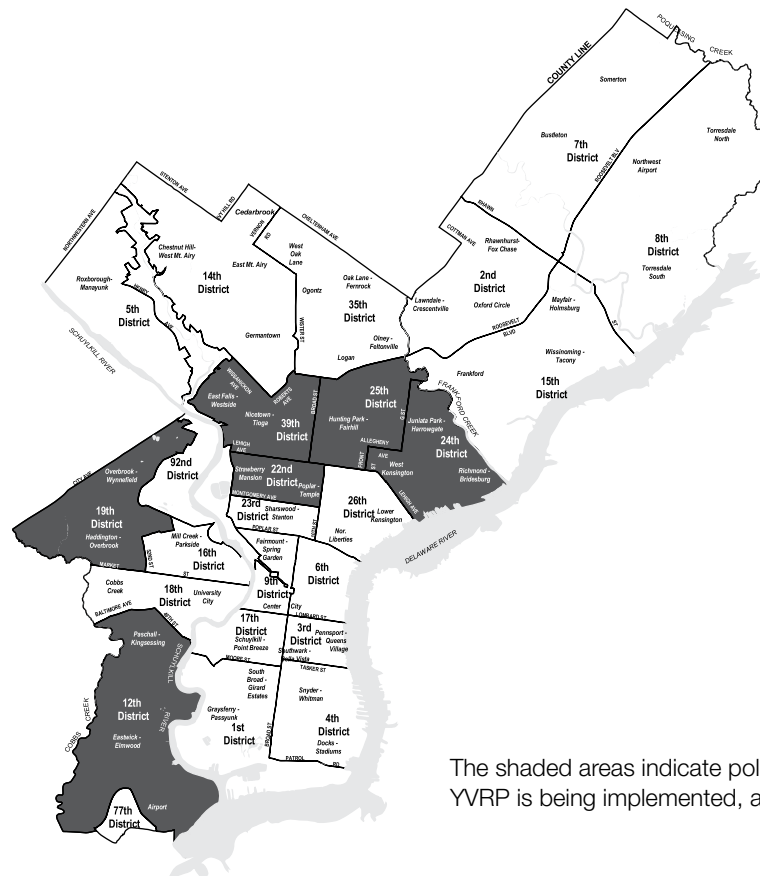
The Philadelphia-based Youth Violence Reduction Partnership (YVRP) employs proactive strategies aimed at addressing the root causes of violence by providing high-risk youth with intensive supervision and positive support. Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) has undertaken several studies of the YVRP model over the last decade, including an implementation study and a study of homicide trends before and after YVRP. This brief shares new analysis from a study comparing YVRP participants with similar non-YVRP participants, examining their involvement in violent crime over an 18-month period. It also updates the neighborhood-level³ homicide trend findings that P/PV first reported in *Alive at 25*,⁴ including additional years of homicide data for the two districts profiled in that report and new information about homicide trends in other neighborhoods where YVRP has since been implemented. Finally, this brief provides recommendations for leaders in Philadelphia and other cities who may be interested in developing YVRP-like programs.

The Youth Violence Reduction Partnership

What Is YVRP?

YVRP aims to reduce violence among young offenders on active probation who are deemed at highest risk of being involved in a homicide, as either a victim or a perpetrator.⁵ The program began in 1999 in Philadelphia’s 24th police district, and extended to the 25th police district in 2000. Over the course of the next nine years, YVRP was replicated across the city, expanding into four additional police districts. It is currently operational in six of the most violent areas in the northern and southwestern parts of Philadelphia: the 12th, 19th, 22nd, 24th/25th and 39th districts.⁶

Figure 1: Philadelphia Police Districts



The shaded areas indicate police districts where YVRP is being implemented, as of 2012.

YVRP is an unusual approach to violence reduction in that it combines criminal/juvenile justice responses with youth development principles. The model employs two key components:

1. Providing emotional and practical supports, primarily through paraprofessionals known as “street workers,” to address some of the root causes of crime (for example, lack of educational opportunities, lack of connection to meaningful employment, poor housing, abuse or neglect, negative peers, lack of access to needed services, and a lack of supportive adult guidance).
2. Simultaneously reducing the opportunity to engage in crime through greater supervision from probation officers and police.

Central to YVRP’s efforts is the intensive collaboration that occurs among numerous citywide agencies, including Philadelphia’s adult and juvenile probation departments, the police and the Philadelphia Anti-Drug/Anti-Violence Network (PAAN).⁷ Each YVRP participant, or “youth partner,” is assigned to a probation officer–street worker team that together works intensively with the young person to ensure that he (and less often she) not only stays out of trouble but starts on a path toward responsible adulthood.⁸

Although both members of the team share responsibility for supervision and support, probation officers and street workers focus on different aspects of the program. YVRP probation officers are expected to monitor the behavior of youth partners much more closely than in traditional probation. For instance, in addition to typical office visits, YVRP probation officers are expected to go out into the community to meet with youth partners in their homes, at their places of employment or around their neighborhoods several times a week—including during evening and weekend hours (when violence is at its peak). YVRP probation officers visit their youth partners both with and without police accompaniment. When police and probation officers go out together on joint patrols, they have an opportunity to check known drug corners or “hot spots” to make sure youth partners aren’t spending time there and to gain intelligence about what is happening in the community.

Relative to probation officers, street workers are expected to focus more narrowly on connecting YVRP participants with resources and positive supports. They have primary responsibility for helping youth partners access needed services and for addressing any barriers to participation that youth or their families may face. For instance, street workers sometimes provide tokens for transportation; they may even pick up youth partners to

take them to a job interview, counseling session or drug treatment. Street workers also provide crisis intervention services when needed—helping youth partners find emergency housing, food or childcare. Ideally, street workers also fulfill a mentoring role for youth partners, providing the kind of consistent adult support that research has demonstrated to be important for young people, because it helps develop their capacity to make good decisions and avoid dangerous situations.⁹ On average, probation officers have about three successful in-person contacts with YVRP participants per month, while street workers have six (attempted visits are not included in these averages).¹⁰

Who Are the Youth in YVRP?

YVRP targets youth who are on active probation (in any given month, about 80 percent of youth partners are on adult probation, and 20 percent are on juvenile probation).¹¹ Youth partners are typically between the ages of 14 and 24 and live in one of the six YVRP police districts; however, the program is occasionally extended past the arbitrary boundaries of age and district if the partnering agencies feel that a particular probationer is in need of YVRP services. During P/PV's comparison group study,¹² YVRP considered several factors in identifying who to enroll in the program,¹³ including:

- History of gun charges,
- Convictions for other violent crimes,
- Arrests for drug offenses (due to the strong association between drugs and violence),
- History of incarceration,
- Age of first arrest (earlier initiation suggests higher risk for continued involvement in crime and violence),
- Family history of abuse and neglect, and
- Sibling involvement in the juvenile justice or criminal justice system.

From its inception in June 1999 until August 2009, YVRP served more than 3,600 youth partners. Because the 24th, 25th and 12th police districts were, in that order, the first three to implement YVRP and have thus been operating the longest, the majority of youth partners have resided in those districts.¹⁴ Youth partners have been predominantly (95 percent) male and, reflecting the demographics of the communities where they live, African American (63 percent) or Hispanic (31 percent).¹⁵ Although nearly half of all youth partners receive services through YVRP for a period of one year or less, participation for some youth partners has continued for almost 10 years. On average, youth partners stay in YVRP for a little more than two years.¹⁶

Findings

What Are the Benefits of YVRP?

P/PV's multiyear evaluation of YVRP was designed to assess the program's impact on individual participants as well as on homicides in the neighborhoods where it operates. Although the program directly serves only specific high-risk youth and young adults, YVRP is a community-wide initiative—probation officers and street workers are present in YVRP neighborhoods, checking high crime areas and visiting youth partners' homes and schools. Police presence is also more visible in YVRP districts. As such, we sought to determine not only if YVRP keeps the serious and persistent young offenders who it directly reaches away from violent crime but also whether it makes the communities in which it is implemented safer.

This evaluation employed two quasi-experimental designs, neither of which can definitively determine if YVRP is responsible for improvements in individual participants' lives or neighborhoods. However, our analysis provides valuable evidence that can suggest whether the program is reaching its goal of reducing violence.

To assess neighborhood-level outcomes, we examined youth homicide data in Philadelphia before and after YVRP was implemented in the 12th, 19th, 22nd, 24th and 25th police districts.¹⁷ First, we compared the average number of youth homicides per quarter in the YVRP neighborhoods before and after YVRP began operating in those areas. A decline in the number of quarterly homicides within the district after YVRP began would suggest that the program may have had a positive neighborhood-level effect. Second, we compared youth homicide trends in the YVRP police districts after YVRP was implemented with youth homicide trends in the city as a whole during the same time period.¹⁸ If youth homicides in the YVRP neighborhoods declined more rapidly or increased more slowly than youth homicides in the city as a whole, this would also suggest that the program may be effective.

To assess YVRP's impact on individual youth, we compared the outcomes of youth partners with the outcomes of similar probationers who could not participate in the program

because they resided outside the geographical program boundaries.¹⁹ We estimated program effects using data from probation officers, official probation and court records, and street workers.

Neighborhood-Level Benefits

We examined possible neighborhood-level benefits of YVRP by analyzing 17 years (1994–2010) of homicide data to assess the extent to which the implementation of YVRP in five²⁰ police districts has been associated with a decrease in youth homicides in those areas. Four of the five police districts experienced a decline in the quarterly average number of youth homicides (ages 7 to 24) after the start of YVRP, but this decline was statistically significant in only the 25th police district (see Table 1).²¹

Table 1: Average Number of Youth Homicides (Ages 7 to 24) per Quarter, Pre- and Post- YVRP

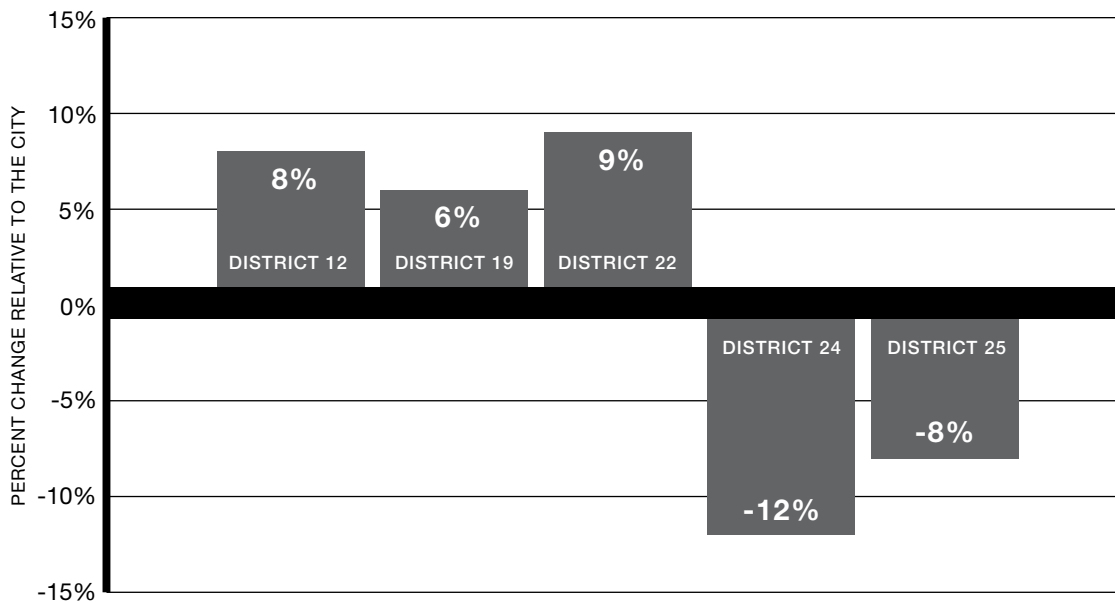
Police District	Pre-YVRP Quarterly Youth Homicide Average	Post-YVRP Quarterly Youth Homicide Average	Change in Average Youth Homicides per Quarter
12	3.21 (n=34)	3.10 (n=34)	- .11
19	3.02 (n=49)	2.75 (n=18)	- .27
22	2.71 (n=50)	3.19 (n=18)	.48
24	2.10 (n=21)	1.84 (n=43)	- .26
25	5.59 (n=27)	3.15 (n=41)	- 2.44*

Note: * $p \leq .05$. We utilized homicide numbers from 68 quarters of data for each district—from the beginning of 1994 through the end of 2010. The “n” indicates the number of quarters included in the calculation of the pre- or post-YVRP quarterly average. The number of quarters pre- and post-YVRP varies because YVRP was implemented on a rolling basis across the city. District 24 began implementing YVRP in June 1999, District 25 in October 2000, District 12 in August 2002, District 19 in April 2006 and District 22 in July 2006.

In addition to examining whether the quarterly average number of youth homicides declined within each YVRP police district, we also compared youth homicide trends over time in YVRP districts with those in the rest of the city. Figure 2 displays how YVRP districts performed relative to the rest of the city (i.e., the non-YVRP districts). A negative number indicates that the rate at which homicides declined in the district was faster than the rate of decline in the non-YVRP districts (or, alternatively, that the rate at which homicides

increased was slower in the YVRP districts than in the non-YVRP districts). A positive number indicates that the rate of decline in the district was slower than the non-YVRP districts (or, alternatively, that the rate at which homicides increased in the district was faster than the non-YVRP districts). Figure 2 shows that in the 12th, 19th and 22nd districts, the rate of youth homicides increased relative to the rest of the city following the implementation of YVRP, while in the 24th and 25th districts, the rate of youth homicides declined relative to the rest of the city. While none of these differences are statistically significant, they provide useful context for the pre- and post-YVRP numbers presented in Table 1.

Figure 2: Relative Percent Change in Homicides Among Youth (Ages 7 to 24) in YVRP Districts, Compared With Youth Homicides Citywide



Taken together, the results of the neighborhood-level analyses suggest that YVRP may have lowered the number of homicides among young people in some of the neighborhoods in which it operates—particularly in the areas where the program originated, the 25th and (somewhat less so) the 24th districts. The next section examines the extent to which YVRP yielded individual-level benefits for the high-risk youth and young adults who are directly supervised and receive support services through the program.

Individual-Level Benefits

To explore whether YVRP reduced individual participants' involvement in violence, we compared 150 youth partners on juvenile probation (the treatment group) with 211 non-YVRP juvenile probationers (the comparison group) on their rearrests and reconvictions for violent crime over an 18-month period—beginning from the time they enrolled in the study.²² Comparison group youth lived in non-YVRP police districts with high levels of violence and were similar to youth partners on background characteristics. While 5 of every 20 comparison youth were arrested for a violent crime, only about 3 of every 20 YVRP youth partners were—a difference of almost 40 percent. The findings were similar for convictions for a violent crime (see Table 2).

Table 2: Impact on Violent Crime Among Juvenile Probationers

	Percentage of Youth Partners ^a	Estimated Outcome Without YVRP (Comparison Youth)	Reduction
Arrested for a Violent Crime	15.5%	25.0%	38.0%*
Convicted of a Violent Crime	13.6%	24.1%	43.6%+
Note: +p<.10; *p<.05 ^a Estimated, controlling for confounding covariates by weighting average treatment–comparison group differences across strata of propensity score. For more details about this analysis, see the Technical Appendix.			

Because keeping youth partners alive is a central goal of YVRP, we also sought to examine whether they were less likely to be victims of violent crime, particularly through shootings. The incidence of these crimes among our study sample during the 18-month period was extremely low, however: No youth partners were murdered by guns in the 18 months after they entered YVRP, whereas two juvenile probationers from the comparison group were. Given the small sample size, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions about YVRP's role in preventing violent crime victimization.

Finally, our analysis revealed that youth partners who had more contact with their street workers were significantly less likely to have been arrested for a violent crime.²³ This finding suggests that the positive support participants receive from street workers may be an essential element in helping them avoid violence.

Understanding the Analysis

Why the Individual-Level Analysis Focuses on Juvenile Probationers

While we had data for both adult and juvenile probationers, the low arrest rate for violent crimes among our study's adult probation population limited our ability to draw conclusions based on those data. Specifically, only 4.5 percent of YVRP's adult probation participants were arrested for a violent crime during the study period; the percentage was very similar among comparison group members, at 5.4 percent.

Because of the small numbers of "failures" among adult probationers in our study, it would have been extremely difficult to detect statistically significant differences in arrests or convictions for violent crimes. Further, the low incidence of violent arrests found in our study strongly suggests that the bulk of the people selected for YVRP by adult probation were not at very high risk for involvement in violence (i.e., most likely to kill or be killed).

Related Changes in Adult Probation's Approach to Enrollment

Prior to June 2009, the youth partner selection process was subjective—based on YVRP staff's personal perceptions of the individual's risk for homicide involvement. Although part of their determination for risk level was based on concrete evidence from the probationer's criminal history, there were no stringent guidelines for probation officers to follow in making their determination. Staff were able to use their gut instincts, based on years of experience, to determine if a particular probationer posed a serious risk to public safety. Although the adult probation department did the best it could with the tools it had available, the results of our evaluation suggest that its selection process was flawed. Juvenile probation continues to use a similarly subjective process, but their caseloads are smaller, as is the overall number of youth arrested in the city. The sheer volume of individuals on each adult probation officer's caseload makes it more difficult for them to make solid, informed judgments about potential YVRP participants.

Recognizing this fact, during the summer of 2009 (after the conclusion of our study's participant enrollment), adult probation changed the process by which it selects youth partners. The department now solely utilizes a statistical risk-assessment tool that examines probationers' criminal histories, personal background characteristics and neighborhood-level characteristics to predict their likelihood of engaging in violent crime. With this new process, only probationers who are deemed "high risk" by the assessment tool (defined as likely to commit a serious violent or sexual offense within two years) are enrolled in YVRP.

Conclusions and Recommendations

YVRP was developed to provide very high-risk young offenders with both intensive supervision and positive supports to get them on a path to productive adulthood. While our analyses suggest that YVRP may deter engagement in violence among youth on juvenile probation, the picture at the community level is mixed—with evidence that the program considerably reduced youth homicides in the first two police districts where it was implemented but not in three districts where it was later replicated. This stark difference in outcomes raises the critical question: Why did some YVRP neighborhoods experience reductions in homicides and others did not?

Interpreting Our Findings

As with many other promising programs that have attempted to go to scale, YVRP experienced challenges as it expanded. For instance, the program grew without increasing its staff or institutionalizing core management functions—including finance and project coordination. The use of data to inform program decisions also declined over time, which undercut the quality of implementation. And there were notable changes in frontline staff practices in the three replication districts. For instance, street worker contacts with youth became increasingly focused on the critical task of connecting youth with jobs and education, with less emphasis on other kinds of support, such as providing emotional encouragement during times of crisis, engaging youth in positive recreational activities and helping participants' families. Similarly, targeted police patrols, initially conducted by a select group of police officers who were interested in community policing approaches, became open to all police as an overtime option when YVRP's expansion occurred.²⁴

Finally, there is an obvious question about how inevitable differences between neighborhoods affected the program's success. In Philadelphia, as with many large cities, the neighborhood "feel," resident composition and nature of crime vary from one section of the city to another. For instance, the 24th and 25th police districts have a high percentage of Hispanic residents, whereas the residents of the 19th, 22nd and 12th districts are

primarily African American. In the 25th and 24th districts, a large portion of drug sales occur in “open air” markets,²⁵ whereas in the 19th and 12th districts, there are fewer drug hot spots.

Despite these differences, our data do not suggest that variation among neighborhoods or participants is the likely reason that YVRP was less successful in the expansion districts. In fact, data from the comparison group study suggest that YVRP participants from the 25th police district are quite different from those in the 24th district, yet both districts demonstrated reductions in homicides after YVRP was implemented.²⁶ Similarly, there appears to be no correlation between neighborhood socioeconomic characteristics and the success of YVRP in that district. Therefore, adapting YVRP to address neighborhood or participant differences appears, at least at an anecdotal level, to be less critical than fidelity to the program model.

All of this suggests that variation in how YVRP was implemented is the most likely explanation for seeing community-level impacts in the original two districts, but not in the three replication districts. More broadly, it underscores just how difficult it is to successfully replicate a program model—even within the same city. In P/PV’s experience, effective replications hinge on strong organizational capacity and high-quality, data-driven program implementation. It is also clear that a balance must be struck between adhering to core elements of a program model and adapting that model to meet the unique contexts in which the program is operating. Yet much more research is needed to provide guidance about these issues. How can a carefully honed, well-tested model be best implemented in a new site while retaining its core elements? What level of support is needed to help replicate a model without diluting its impact?

Recognizing these challenges, the YVRP partners have recently been working to improve implementation quality across the six districts. Efforts include:

1. Clarifying YVRP’s mission;
2. Using data to assess and improve implementation and promote accountability;²⁷
3. Increasing YVRP agencies’ commitment to the initiative and improving the buy-in of frontline staff to YVRP protocol;
4. Supplying dedicated centralized management of the initiative;
5. Providing more staff training opportunities;

6. Bolstering the role of police to more strictly adhere to the original model of increased, non-crisis interaction with youth partners and families, renewing the involvement of police leadership, and more strongly emphasizing police intelligence gathering and sharing with other collaborative partners; and
7. Rededicating efforts toward the development and provision of supportive services for youth partners.

Recommendations to the Field

Findings from the two sets of analyses summarized above suggest that YVRP is a promising approach to reducing youth violence. It is associated with reductions in homicides in the two longest-running communities in which it operates, and the data suggest it may deter involvement in violent crime among individual participants.

YVRP is attempting to address a serious and costly social problem that disproportionately affects our nation's most vulnerable youth—primarily young males of color in our urban centers. While the findings presented here are mixed, we believe they are positive enough to warrant continued implementation of the model in Philadelphia and testing in other cities that are grappling with youth violence. But, this should be done only under the right circumstances:

1. Because it is so intensive, YVRP should target solely the young people at highest risk of engaging in serious violence. Recent research on Philadelphia probationers shows that low-risk individuals require only low-intensity probation.²⁸ Therefore, with a cost of between \$1.5 and 2 million per year per police district, YVRP should focus exclusively on serious and persistent offenders. The model should not be used as a general strategy for probation.
2. Program leaders must commit to implementing critical elements of the YVRP model with fidelity—paying careful attention to the role of the street worker; the provision of positive supports; and the coordination among probation, police and street workers.²⁹ These activities must be regularly monitored to ensure the program is on track for success.

3. Implementation must be coupled with rigorous evaluation that will add to our knowledge of the program's effectiveness, as well as detailed cost-benefit assessments that can inform public investment in YVRP and other, similar programs.

The research on YVRP to date suggests that by weaving together juvenile justice and youth development principles—that is, combining intensive supervision and positive support—we may be able to put troubled young people on a path to success and reduce violence in our communities. Further experimentation and refinement of the model will tell us with more certainty if this early promise bears out over time and, possibly, at greater scale.

Endnotes

1. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. 2010. "Youth Violence: Facts at a Glance." Retrieved May 10, 2012, from <http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/YV-DataSheet-a.pdf>.
2. See, for instance, Howell, James C., Barry Krisberg, J. David Hawkins and John J. Wilson. 1995. *A Sourcebook: Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
3. In this report, the term "neighborhood" most commonly refers to a police district in which YVRP is implemented.
4. McClanahan, Wendy S. 2004. *Alive at 25: Reducing Youth Violence Through Monitoring and Support*. Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures.
5. For detailed information about the initiative's implementation, please see Jucovy, Linda and Wendy S. McClanahan. 2008. *Reaching Through the Cracks: A Guide to Implementing the Youth Violence Reduction Partnership*. Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures.
6. We determined which districts were "most violent" by examining the numbers of shootings and homicides per police district. Although the 24th and 25th are separate police districts, YVRP has historically (since YVRP began operating in the 25th district in January 2000) combined them for operational and reporting purposes due to their close (bordering) proximity.
7. Although this report focuses on the roles of frontline staff from the adult and juvenile probation offices, PAAN, and (to a somewhat lesser extent) the Philadelphia police department, the success of the initiative also depends on the coordinated efforts of several other local agencies and organizations. These include: the Philadelphia Managing Director's Office, the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office, the Philadelphia School District, the Philadelphia Department of Human Services, the Public Health Management Corporation and Public/Private Ventures.
8. To facilitate collaboration and communication, probation officer–street worker teams consist of one probation officer and one street worker who are assigned a shared caseload of youth partners.
9. See Tierney, Joseph P. and Jean Grossman, with Nancy Resch. 1995. *Making a Difference: An Impact Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters*. Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures. See also McClanahan 2004.
10. Adult probation officers aim to have two home visits, four targeted patrol visits and two office visits per month. Juvenile probation officers aim to meet these same goals, plus two additional visits per month through any combination of home visits and targeted patrols. Both adult and juvenile probation officers also try to have at least two face-to-face visits with adults in the youth partner's life (such as a parent, an employer or a teacher) every month. Although all YVRP participants are considered to be very high risk for involvement in homicides relative to the general probation population, internally, YVRP street workers make further distinctions about youth partners' risk levels, and expectations for contacting youth vary accordingly. Contact standards for street workers range from at least 16 times per month (8 times in the home and 8 times in the community) for the highest-risk youth partners to at least 6 times (4 home visits and 2 visits in the community) per month for the lowest-risk youth partners.
11. Youth can be identified for the program as juvenile probationers or adult probationers. Youth on juvenile probation committed their offenses when they were younger than 18. These youth stay on juvenile probation until a judge or other court official discharges them or until they turn 21.
12. Adult probation now uses a different method for identifying probationers for YVRP. The new system assigns probationers a risk score based on a complex statistical algorithm that takes into account the individual's background characteristics and criminal history.
13. Jucovy and McClanahan, 2008.
14. The 24th and 25th police districts are home to 38 percent of all past and present youth partners; the 12th district is home to 30 percent.
15. Demographics are based on data from January 2000 through December 2006 in the four largest (based on enrollment numbers) and longest-running YVRP police districts: 12th, 19th and 24th/25th.

16. Because participation is mandated by the court, YVRP youth partners cannot drop out of the program. Youth partners' participation typically ends in one of two ways: 1) youth complete the terms of their probation and, thus, are released from all YVRP obligations, or 2) youth are "positively discharged" from YVRP. When youth are "positively discharged" they may still be on probation, but their risk levels are low enough that intensive YVRP services are no longer deemed necessary.
17. YVRP began operating in the 39th police district in 2008; as such, we had insufficient "post-implementation" data points to examine neighborhood-level outcomes.
18. The "city as a whole" did not include any of the districts that currently implement YVRP.
19. We used "propensity scores" to create a comparison group, matching individuals using an estimate of their likelihood of participating in the program based on their characteristics. Additional details on how propensity scores corrected for preexisting differences between the treatment and comparison groups are provided in the Technical Appendix.
20. Only five of the six districts had operated YVRP long enough to conduct this analysis.
21. A detailed description of the analysis is summarized in the Technical Appendix.
22. Because youth were not randomly assigned to participate in YVRP, it is impossible to be certain that our treatment and control groups are identical. They may differ in ways that we could not measure or account for, such as motivation to change. Thus, we cannot say with certainty that YVRP caused any differences observed between the two groups.
23. Holding other covariates and probation contacts constant, $p=.088$.
24. YVRP's targeted patrols also became open to all police in the 24th and 25th districts, but the implementation of the community policing approach in these districts may have had an impact on homicides early on, thus influencing the outcomes described in this report. Unfortunately, a quantitative analysis of this hypothesis is beyond the scope of the current study.
25. Volk, Steve. "Special Report: Top Ten Drug Corners in the City of Brotherly Love: 2011." Retrieved May 10, 2012, from <http://www.phawker.com/2011/08/23/special-report-the-top-10-drug-corners-2011/>.
26. For instance, on average, YVRP participants on juvenile probation from the 25th district had been arrested significantly fewer times before entering the program than those from the 24th district, with other districts falling in between (except the 22nd, but those data were from only one participant). YVRP participants on adult probation from the 25th district had been arrested more times than adult participants from any other district.
27. Since its inception, supervisors from each YVRP agency have met to review and compare the performance of their frontline staff with those of the benchmark standards developed by the YVRP partners. Beginning in early 2010, these meetings became more focused on specific pieces of data that were most relevant for monitoring performance and on holding agencies accountable for meeting program goals. To facilitate this increased accountability, frontline staff have been asked to attend monthly meetings during which they are expected to personally address questions about their own performance. As a result of these efforts, both supervisors and frontline staff have become increasingly invested in ensuring that accurate and high-quality data are collected, resulting in a "reinvigoration of the partners." (Personal communication with John Delaney, chair of the YVRP steering committee.)
28. Barnes, Geoffrey C., Lindsay Ahlman, Charlotte Gill, Lawrence W. Sherman, Ellen Kurtz and Robert Malvestuto. 2010. "Low-Intensity Community Supervision for Low-Risk Offenders: A Randomized, Controlled Trial." *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 6 (2), 159–189.
29. Jucovy and McClanahan, 2008.



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