Policing Canada in the 21st Century: New Policing for New Challenges

The Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models

Council of Canadian Academies
Conseil des académies canadiennes

Science Advice in the Public Interest

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THE COUNCIL OF CANADIAN ACADEMIES
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Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models

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Message from the Chair

This Expert Panel was brought together at a time of mounting concern over the rising costs of Canada's police, costs that many believe are increasingly difficult to sustain. Yet the police remain a valued public service that is indispensable to a well-functioning society. The challenge is to find new ways in the world of today and tomorrow for the police to effectively play their essential role in ensuring public safety and security.

Although important, it became clear early in Panel discussions that policing costs was by no means the only issue facing police. As with other public institutions established in earlier times, police are being fundamentally challenged by a rapidly changing and increasingly complex society that requires them to continually adapt and change. This report offers a way forward, with a diagnosis of the current state of policing, and an assessment of the opportunities that have the potential to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of how policing is delivered in Canada.

It has been a pleasure and privilege to chair the Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models. The Panel's deliberations were rigorous and insightful as we considered the evidence on how policing could be improved. I am very grateful to my colleagues on the Panel who contributed their time and effort to ensure the depth and quality of the report. We hope the resulting effort will be useful in informing future discussion, debate, and action about policing Canada in the 21st century.

On behalf of the Expert Panel, I thank Public Safety Canada, Justice Canada, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for asking the Council to undertake this assessment, and to the expert peer reviewers who set aside the time to critique the report and help ensure its comprehensiveness, accuracy, and balance. Not least, I would also like to extend my thanks to the Council's project team for their excellent work and support throughout the assessment.

Justice Stephen T. Goudge, Q.C., Chair,
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Report Review

This report was reviewed in draft form by the individuals listed below — a group of reviewers selected by the Council of Canadian Academies for their diverse perspectives, areas of expertise, and broad representation of academic, industrial, policy, and non-governmental organizations.

The reviewers assessed the objectivity and quality of the report. Their submissions — which will remain confidential — were considered in full by the Panel, and many of their suggestions were incorporated into the report. They were not asked to endorse the conclusions, nor did they see the final draft of the report before its release. Responsibility for the final content of this report rests entirely with the authoring Panel and the Council.

The Council wishes to thank the following individuals for their review of this report:

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The report review procedure was monitored on behalf of the Council's Board of Governors and Scientific Advisory Committee by **Clarissa Desjardins,** CEO, Clementia Pharmaceuticals Inc. (Montréal, QC). The role of the Report Review Monitor is to ensure that the Panel gives full and fair consideration to the submissions of the report reviewers. The Board of the Council authorizes public release of an expert panel report only after the Report Review Monitor confirms that the Council's report review requirements have been satisfied. The Council thanks Dr. Desjardins for her diligent contribution as Report Review Monitor.

Executive Summary

Police in Canada are facing unprecedented internal and external challenges, many of which are rooted in the changing context in which police now operate. At the same time, significant new opportunities are emerging that can help police services to better adjust and ultimately prosper in the evolving safety and security landscape. To better understand how policing may be carried out more efficiently and effectively in the future, the Government of Canada, through Public Safety Canada (the Sponsor), with support from Justice Canada and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, asked the Council of Canadian Academies (the Council) to undertake an expert panel assessment that brings together the available evidence from Canada and around the world.

Specifically, the Sponsor posed the following question:

> *Given the evolution of crime, the justice system, and society, what do current evidence and knowledge suggest about the future of the public policing models used in Canada?*

Additional direction was provided through three sub-questions:

- *What existing and emerging issues are identified as key, cross-jurisdictional challenges for Canada's policing models, e.g., service delivery models, public confidence, performance measures?*

- *What are some of the best practices and changes in the policing models of other countries towards greater effectiveness and efficiency, and towards fostering public confidence in policing? What are the relevance and applicability of such ideas in Canada?*

- *What research/knowledge gaps exist respecting these identified challenges? What communities of expertise and other resources might best be utilized towards ongoing policing-related research?*

To address the charge, the Council assembled a multidisciplinary panel of 12 experts (the Panel) from Canada and abroad. The Panel's composition reflects a balance of expertise, experience, and demonstrated leadership in a number of areas relevant to the charge, including the areas of police reform, police administration and governance, criminology, and law. Each member served on the Panel as an informed individual, rather than as a representative of a discipline, patron, organization, region, or particular set of values.

In preparing its report, the Panel drew from a detailed review of peer-reviewed literature, official reports, and statistics from Canada and other countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, each of which has important similarities to Canada that make comparisons informative. Although the Panel recognized the limits of these lessons when applied to Canada, it relied significantly on international policing research, due to the limited availability of Canadian research.

MAIN FINDINGS

The current structure of Canadian police organizations needs to fully adapt to the changing context in which police now work and to better reflect the rapidly evolving knowledge base on policing. Successful adaptation and knowledge application would help alleviate many of the challenges now facing police.

Both the demands on police and the context in which they work have changed considerably since police were initially institutionalized to provide public security in Canada. Foremost among these changes has been the growth of the safety and security web. The web comprises an increasing number of non-police organizations — including private security, local health professionals, community and municipal groups, and other government organizations — that now interact with one another and with police in the provision of safety and security. The safety and security web presents both the central challenge and the central opportunity for Canada's police in the 21st century. Working effectively within and through this web — rather than as isolated entities — will allow policing organizations to better respond to existing and emerging issues.

Other important contextual changes include shifts in the nature of threats and crime, the demand for greater cost-effectiveness, and the emergence of a body of knowledge on what works best in policing. Although police have begun to adapt to the evolving context, more change is needed if they are to overcome their many organizational and operational challenges, including the rising costs of policing.

Successful policing models require police to acknowledge, adapt to, and leverage the specialized capabilities and resources in the safety and security web.

The role of police must align with trends in the safety and security web, acknowledging that other players may have a unique advantage in responding to particular issues. The contours of the police role in the safety and security web can vary. In some instances police will be leaders, while in others, they will act as supporting partners or defer entirely to other actors who may be better positioned to lead a response. Adapting effectively to web policing requires clarity in police roles, so that police can decide when best to engage the unique assets of other actors and when to follow through on opportunities for fostering partnerships. Effective adaptation also requires an understanding that the safety and security web is geographically variable — its structure is determined by local conditions, available safety and security providers, and community capabilities and initiatives. Policing models must therefore be tailored to the local context and possess the flexibility to adapt further. The safety and security web is a continual work in progress.

Increased professionalization of police and evidence-based policing would enable police to play an optimal role in the safety and security web.

Improving the professionalization of police can systematically prepare police employees to focus on the tasks best suited to their unique powers. In design, this would involve a greater investment in, and use of, the best evidence and practice in policing. It would also involve differentiation of roles within police organizations, with less reliance on generalist police officers — who remain necessary for first responder work — and more reliance on accredited police specialists with the know-how to address new threats like cybercrime and to manage partnerships in the safety and security web. This level of professionalization requires broader agreement among the police community on an evidence-based professional police practice, engagement in police-related research, and sound performance measures.

The diversity of actors in the safety and security web introduces accountability concerns that have yet to be addressed.

When police break the law, they are accountable through the courts and the *Criminal Code*. When laws are not broken but public confidence is breached, police are subject to multiple mechanisms of accountability for propriety. These types of accountability mechanisms, however, have yet to emerge to the same degree for private security and other actors in the safety and security webs. As these non-police actors come to play more extensive roles and engage through more sophisticated partnerships, the need to develop accountability structures for all actors in the safety and security web is expected to grow. Public security boards have been proposed as one promising solution. With authority that spans multiple jurisdictions, these boards have the potential to oversee the full range of safety and security providers for both propriety and efficacy.

Although there is a substantial and growing body of information regarding police practice in the safety and security web, significant knowledge gaps in the available evidence remain surrounding the optimization of this web's operation.

Existing data on crime and victimization, along with data on police costs and activity levels, are inadequate for evaluating safety and security outcomes in the safety and security web. In the absence of this information, developing the knowledge to optimize the operation of the safety and security web is difficult. With experimentation on accountability mechanisms outpacing the research, police can benefit from documenting, and sharing knowledge of, opportunities for improving democratic accountability. Police everywhere are working in the safety and security web, although with notable variation based on local context. Identification of these differences and the promising web practices that increase safety and security in different contexts are important to fully understand the opportunities and challenges for Canada, along with the transferability of promising initiatives.

Governments, for their part, must be enablers of safety and security and fulfill their roles by ensuring that the safety and security web serves the public interest.

The production of safety and security is a whole-of-society affair involving multiple jurisdictions and many mandates beyond the policing system. Police cannot initiate change on their own if the institutions and organizations in the wider safety and security web are not flexible. An effective transition by police to new models must therefore happen in concert with changes made by other actors, and it must be supported by governments. Governance of the safety and security web must also continue to reflect the broader objective of freedom from harm and to ensure that the public interest is served. While the diffusion of successful models can be encouraged, it must be recognized that no one specific model is universally applicable, given the diversity of local crime contexts and of community-based safety and security efforts.

The Panel identified various potential options through which governments at all levels could shape the future of a well-functioning safety and security web. Such options include: regulations and policies that foster safe and secure environments and optimize accountability across the safety and security web; strategies that combine multiple safety and security approaches across traditional sectors; adequate support for all actors in the safety and security web; and governance structures that coordinate and incentivize police and other providers to achieve safety and security in a manner that accounts for their unique roles.

BRINGING POLICING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

Although the impetus for change in Canada is clear, implementation of such change is made difficult by the decentralized authority for policing across different levels of government. To date, change in policing has typically come about from public inquiries, and for the most part has been incremental. These inquiries all opened windows for reform; however, the reform was geared towards specific problems in a particular area rather than in the police system as a whole. The transformational change that is needed now will necessitate the engagement of Canadian stakeholders at all levels of government, as well as across the police sector.

The Panel's assessment underscores three dominant themes that, if embraced by all stakeholders, could initiate change. The first is *adaptation*. Any policing model cannot be singularly applicable across all of Canada. Rather, it needs to be flexible and tailored to local contexts, including not only the local crime context but also the local capabilities of the various providers who can be mobilized towards improved safety and security outcomes.

A second theme is *interdependence*. As the complexity of police responses to crime grows, so too will the reliance upon resources, knowledge, and capabilities external to most police services. This type of resource interdependency ultimately requires police to become more adept at managing partnerships towards strategic goals and to become more open to shared roles in delivering safety and security in a cost-effective manner.

Finally, the third theme is *knowledge* itself. By further developing and applying the growing body of police and public safety knowledge, 21st-century policing can be more effective and better aligned with the ever-changing environment in which police now operate.

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1 Introduction

Police services around the world are embarking on a major period of change that has few parallels since the founding of modern policing in the 19th century. A conflation of factors — some long-standing, others of more recent origin, but all significant — are now coalescing, with serious consequences for the traditional ways in which police services have been providing safety and security to the public. Among the most notable factors has been the subtle but fundamental restructuring, several decades in the making, of the delivery of security and safety. Police are now but one of many actors in the safety and security space, which calls into question their core role and purpose and the continued prevalence of a traditional policing model that is reactive in nature, geographical in focus, jurisdictionally bound, and structured for officers qualified (at least initially) for general constabulary duties. These traits are increasingly seen as a hindrance at a time when police are being called upon to engage in partnerships to prevent crime and to respond to the very significant challenges of international terrorism and cross-border organized crime, as well as the a-spatial challenges of cybercrime.

Another important development is that the major investments made in policing over the past few decades are coming to an end in many developed countries. An era of fiscal austerity is forcing many states, including Canada, to re-examine the sustainability of their policing models at a time when public concern about crime and the demand for safety and security remain undiminished, despite falling rates in crime reported to police.

These issues affect major jurisdictions in subtly different ways depending on their organizational structure, constitutional framework, history, and culture of police. Although the Canadian economy has not experienced such severe recession as that of the United States, United Kingdom, or Europe, fiscal pressure from continuing inflation of police costs is having a significant impact at the municipal level, where most policing is carried out. The three-tier structure of Canadian police — municipal, provincial, and federal — presents additional challenges to coordination and management of a growing number of cross-border and transnational crimes. As in other jurisdictions, these pressures are starting to generate a substantial public and professional debate in Canada on the sustainability and effectiveness of current models of policing.

1.1 CHARGE TO THE PANEL

To help inform the debate, Public Safety Canada (the Sponsor), with support from Justice Canada and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, asked the Council of Canadian Academies (the Council) to undertake an expert panel assessment bringing together the available evidence on how to improve policing.

Specifically, Public Safety Canada asked the following question:

> *Given the evolution of crime, the justice system, and society, what do current evidence and knowledge suggest about the future of the public policing models used in Canada?*

The Sponsor also posed three additional sub-questions:

- *What existing and emerging issues are identified as key, cross-jurisdictional challenges for Canada's policing models, e.g., service delivery models, public confidence, performance measures?*
- *What are some of the best practices and changes in the policing models of other countries towards greater effectiveness and efficiency, and towards fostering public confidence in policing? What are the relevance and applicability of such ideas in Canada?*
- *What research/knowledge gaps exist respecting these identified challenges? What communities of expertise and other resources might best be utilized towards ongoing policing-related research?*

To address the charge, the Council assembled a multidisciplinary panel of 12 experts (the Panel) from Canada and abroad. The Panel's composition reflects a balance of expertise, experience, and demonstrated leadership in a number of areas relevant to the charge, including the areas of police reform, police administration and governance, criminology, and law. Each member served on the Panel as an informed individual, rather than as a representative of a discipline, patron, organization, region, or particular set of values.

The Panel drew from a detailed review of peer-reviewed literature, official reports, and statistics. As a result, the Panel's report makes use of policing research from Canada and other countries, particularly from the United States and the United Kingdom, each of which has important similarities to Canada that make comparisons informative (see Section 1.3). Although the Panel recognizes the limits of these lessons when applied to Canada, it relied heavily on international research due to the limited availability of Canadian research. The United Kingdom and the United States are also of interest due to the pioneering changes introduced to their police systems in recent years that have been driven primarily by fiscal constraint.

The Panel believes a note of caution is warranted regarding the state of policing research in general. Even though some new practices may be well-documented and replicated across police services, they may not have been formally evaluated to assess their effectiveness in achieving intended objectives. This is particularly the case for new organizational practices, most of which have not been subject to the same degree of empirical scrutiny as crime control interventions. In the absence of such evidence, it is difficult to be conclusive about the best models for policing. This difficulty is compounded by the generally poor amount of data on police and policing in Canada.

1.1.1 The Assessment Focuses on Public Police and Associated Policing Models

In interpreting the charge, the Panel has generally emphasized the evidence that points to why public policing needs to be improved and how this may be done in Canada. Accordingly, "public policing models" are understood to be inclusive of any policing arrangement in which public police are directly or indirectly involved and that achieves public safety and security. This includes ways in which police services and the police profession are organized and supported, along with any policing arrangements with other actors — such as private security and non-police peace officers — who are becoming increasingly legitimate and institutionalized features of the public safety and security landscape (see Section 1.4). Public police, the focal point in assessing policing models, are defined herein as peace officers in uniform (known elsewhere as "sworn officers") and the police service that employs them. In the interest of simplicity of language, the Panel refers to "public police" as "police."

1.1.2 Several Topics Are Out of Scope

Tasked with such a broad charge, the Panel had to decide which aspects of policing models to prioritize. Taking into consideration where it could have the most impact, along with the suitability of the literature review methodology for the subject, the Panel chose not to focus on the following four topics related to policing models, despite their importance.

First, the Panel recognizes that safety and security are influenced by a wide range of institutions and organizations both inside and outside of government. The justice system, the education system, and correctional system, for example, have all been shown to be able to reduce and prevent crime (Waller, 2014). With its main focus on police, this assessment takes these organizations and institutions into account only as they relate directly to the challenges and opportunities facing police.

Second, the assessment focuses mainly on urban policing, rather than rural and remote policing, because the majority of Canadians are policed by municipal police services and much of the research available is in an urban context.

Third, although the assessment takes into account a number of Aboriginal policing issues, mostly in an urban context, it does not focus on Aboriginal on-reserve policing. The unique policy context of this important topic limits the transferability of research findings from the wider police literature. The policing of Aboriginal peoples on reserves or in Aboriginal communities is distinctive, with its own historical, jurisdictional, cultural, and operational issues and challenges (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011). To more effectively address these issues, the federal government established the Aboriginal Policing Directorate's First Nations Policing Program within Public Safety Canada, which is responsible for funding and developing policy for police services to First Nation and Inuit communities. Most recently (2014), this program was subject to a performance audit by the Auditor General of Canada (AG, 2014).[1]

Finally, although the Panel recognizes that the current structure of Canada's police system could be having a negative impact on police effectiveness, there has been too little research evaluating the system as a whole to include this issue in the assessment. Therefore, the Panel felt it was necessary to accept the complexity of the Canadian police system and its multilevel structure, as described in the following section, and work to identify opportunities from within.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF CANADA'S POLICE SYSTEM

Canada's police system is unique among peer countries both in its complexity and geographic asymmetry. With three levels of government involved in policing, several types of police services serve Canadians, with variations depending upon where they live.

Regarding municipal policing, residents of Ontario and Quebec are policed either by municipal or provincial police services, whereas residents of western and maritime Canada are policed either by municipal police services or by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) through its municipal, provincial, or territorial policing provided under contract. Newfoundland and Labrador is different yet again. With no municipal police services, it tasks the provincial police, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, to serve the major municipalities, and the RCMP to be responsible for rural policing. First Nations communities

1 Additional reports and information on Aboriginal policing are available on Public Safety Canada's website, http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/brgnl-plcng/index-eng.aspx.

have their own municipal policing, as set out in the federal government's First Nations Policing Policy, which manages various types of arrangements including self-administered policing and the use of dedicated officers from existing police services such as the RCMP (PSC, 2010).

The result is that the majority of Canadians (about two-thirds) live in regions served by stand-alone municipal police services. Another 11% live in municipalities policed by the RCMP — a share, however, that is much higher in provinces such as British Columbia (56%) and Alberta (21%), and lower in Manitoba (9%) and Nova Scotia (3%) (SC, 2012b). Ontario and Quebec, as noted, do not contract municipal policing to the RCMP.

In 2011 there were 491 municipal police services in Canada (see Table 1.1). This number includes the contracted municipal services of the RCMP, the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), and the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, each of which comes under joint control with local authorities. This number represents a decline of 4% from 2002 levels, as a result of consolidation — in other words, as a result of municipalities either agreeing to be served by a new regional service or contracting out to provincial police or the RCMP.

Adding to the complexity of Canada's policing system are both the importance of the RCMP as a national institution and its role as Canada's federal police service. With deep roots in Canadian history, the RCMP has acquired an iconic profile that has supported a perception of the RCMP as a unique and elite institution aligned with the national interest (Perrott & Kelloway, 2011).

Table 1.1

Police Services in Canada by Provider Type

Provider of Municipal Service	2002	2011	% Change (2002–2011)
Municipal police service	216	190	-12
Ontario Provincial Police	96	117	22
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	198	181	-9
Royal Newfoundland Constabulary	3	3	0
Total	513	491	4

Data Source: SC, 2013b

The number of municipal police services in Canada, as reported by Statistics Canada, decreased by 4% overall between 2002 and 2011. The largest drop came among municipalities with their own police services that agreed to be served by a new regional service or to contract out to provincial police or to the RCMP. The growth in the number of municipalities policed by the OPP reflects the decisions of Ontario municipalities to contract with provincial police.

It is also the country's largest police service, with influential roles at all three policing levels, thereby further contributing to the distinctive context within which Canadian policing must evolve. As Canada's federal police service, the RCMP performs a role that is entirely separate from its contract policing activities at the local and regional levels. In fulfilling this role, the RCMP employs over 4,400 officers across the provinces (SC, 2013e), whose responsibilities include delivering a number of centralized support services made available to municipal and provincial police. These national police services provide forensic analyses of criminal evidence, maintain criminal records information, provide identification services and technological support, administer the Canadian Police College, and collect and analyze criminal information and intelligence (RCMP, 2012a). One of the outcomes of the RCMP's multifaceted role in Canadian policing is that although the RCMP serves all Canadians, its responsibilities vary across the country.

What explains Canada's policing complexity? One answer is historical. Canada, in its colonial development, adopted more than one police model from the British and French (Brodeur, 2010a). Indeed, Emsley (1999) identifies three distinct ideal types to have emerged in 19th-century Britain and France, and which were subsequently adopted to varying extents throughout Europe, the British Empire, and the United States. These ideal types — state civilian, municipal civilian, and state military — differ in chain of command and accountability and in the way that men were recruited, equipped, and deployed (Table 1.2). In Canada, all three ideal types are represented either at the federal, provincial, or municipal levels, and can account for long-standing differences among Canada's police.

Table 1.2

Three Ideal Types of Police Models that Influence Canadian Policing

Ideal Type	Characteristics	Canadian Example
State civilian	• Commanded by government appointees • Generally independent of local authority	Ontario Provincial Police
Municipal civilian	• Under local control • Men recruited locally	Municipal police services
State military	• Responsible to central government ministry • Armed and equipped like soldiers • Stationed in barracks	Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Data Source: Emsley, 1999

This table lists three ideal types of police models that emerged in 19th-century Britain and France, which were later adopted throughout Europe, the British Empire, and the United States. Although not every country adopted all three types, Canada has examples of each. The state civilian model, which is characterized by having government appointees in command and being independent of local authority, is similar to the OPP. The municipal civilian model, with local control and local recruits, is the template for municipal police services. The state military model, which is responsible to a central government ministry and bears traits associated with the military, is exemplified through the RCMP.

Another contributing factor to the complexity of Canadian policing is federalism, which distributes responsibilities across all three levels of government, as described in more detail in Section 1.3. The locus of responsibility, however, for policing and policing policy in Canada remains at the provincial level, with the provinces delegating fiscal and governance responsibility to the larger, urban municipal governments.

Canadian policing is complicated further by the fact that police roles can vary by jurisdiction. Although the fundamental role of the various police services, as established through legislation, is broadly similar — to preserve the peace, enforce the *Criminal Code*, and enforce other laws in the jurisdiction such as federal laws, provincial regulations, or municipal bylaws — policing statutes set out officer duties that vary by province. Duties can include the preservation of the public peace, prevention of crime, enforcement of relevant laws, execution of warrants, apprehension of criminals, and provision of assistance to victims. There is also significant discretion afforded to various actors, such as ministers, police chiefs, and police officers, to determine the duties of provincial and municipal police services and how these duties need to be delivered (Robertson, 2012). The federal *Police Act*, for example, permits the enumeration of further duties (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, 1985), as do provincial police services acts, such as the Manitoba Police Services Act of 2009. As a result, the duties enumerated via statute are only the baseline requirements — requirements that provide basic contours to the role of police in Canada.

1.3 INTERNATIONAL JURISDICTIONS: COMPARISONS WITH CANADA'S POLICE SYSTEM

When considering the transferability of foreign police practices and organizational structures to Canada, many important differences are worth noting. Bayley (1985) assesses three dimensions of comparison that continue to be relevant today: the degree of centralization, the degree of coordination, and the number of police bodies. By this typology, Canada, with its multitude of municipal police services of different types with no one central command centre, is described as having a "multiple system" that is extremely decentralized but carefully coordinated such that when an area chooses self-policing instead of contracting out to the RCMP or provincial police, coverage by a more inclusive force — such as a provincial police service — is removed.

The Canadian system is different from that of two common comparator countries, the United States and the United Kingdom. Although the United States also has multiple police services, with more police forces than in any other country, and is decentralized similar to Canada, Bayley (1985) points out that these services operate in a highly uncoordinated manner. Police authority is vested "in almost every level

and unit of government," and police services can have overlapping authority in a given jurisdiction. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), state police, highway patrol, county sheriff, and municipal police, for example, can all make arrests in a particular area.

The United Kingdom (England and Wales, specifically), by Bayley's typology, is in the same category as Canada, with multiple police services decentralized to the local level in a coordinated manner. There are, however, important differences with Canada in how policing is governed and resourced. Each of the 43 regional police services in England and Wales (as of 2010) is governed by a publicly elected Police and Crime Commissioner who appoints the chief constable for his or her respective police service (van Sluis & Ringeling, 2013). Governance arrangements in the United Kingdom are therefore similar to those in the United States, where county sheriffs are also elected. All this is in contrast to Canada, where leading police officials are appointed rather than elected. Police services are accountable to the public either through a police service board, as with municipal police, or through an attorney general, as is the case for the RCMP and provincial police.

With regard to funding in the United Kingdom, the central government pays for most municipal policing through a funding grant. Using a Police Allocation Formula to distribute resources based on need, municipal police depend on central government funding to varying degrees; for example, in 2010–2011 reliance on central funding ranged from 52 to 85% of gross expenditures (HMIC, 2013b). In Canada the municipalities, through the local tax base, pay for the majority of policing.

1.4 THE SAFETY AND SECURITY WEB: A LENS THROUGH WHICH TO ASSESS POLICING MODELS

Despite the differences between police systems in Canada and their international peers, they are similar in that they are structured for simpler times and for a very different risk environment than exists today. Police are generally effective in responding to crimes that are local, urban, and disruptive of local order — the type that prevailed when police services were first established (Wall, 2007; Brodeur, 2010a). They are, however, less effective in responding to the more complex crimes that they often face today: multijurisdictional crimes, cybercrime, and environment-related security and safety risks. These crimes are often beyond the capacities of a single police service and their resolution is hindered, in part, by an over-reliance on generalist police officers trained to respond to a wide variety of situations, from traffic incidents to dispute resolution to property and violent crime. Although police services may no longer be self-sufficient in knowledge, skills, and resources to deal effectively and efficiently with the new risks, a

wider set of organizations, professionals, and industries can be engaged to do so. Other peace officers, private security firms, health professionals, internet firms, and even the insurance sector, for example, can all play potentially important roles alongside police in meeting public expectations for safety from harm.

In acknowledgement of the significance of this changing, multi-actored landscape, the Panel chose to use the "safety and security web" as the primary methodological lens through which it examined policing models for the 21st century. The term is inspired by Jean-Paul Brodeur's 2010 book, *The Policing Web*. Similar to Brodeur, the Panel uses the term in recognition of the many components that make up the "policing apparatus." These are sometimes linked, but often not; they can be coordinated, but are mostly not (Brodeur, 2010a). Used as a methodological lens, the safety and security web is therefore intended simply to convey that police now operate in a wider landscape of actors in delivering safety and security. This lens focuses attention on the linkages between police and other safety and security actors, and how these linkages can shape future policing models in Canada. To represent such arrangements where police are in partnership with actors in the safety and security web, the term "web policing" is used in this report.

It is important to understand that the safety and security web is not a system or network in the formal sense of organized and linked elements. Nor is it geographically consistent or uniformly accessible across Canada. It presents, however, both the central challenge and the central opportunity for Canada's police in the 21st century. Adapting police practices and structures to take advantage of this new reality will ultimately define police effectiveness in responding to new crimes and emerging threats.

1.5 THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

A barrier to adapting to the safety and security web is, of course, a set of difficulties associated with implementing change in general — difficulties that are by no means limited to police. Specific to police, though, is the challenge of balancing the necessity to become more effective in addressing new crimes while maintaining capacity for effective response to traditional crimes and calls for service.

Implementing change within the Canadian police context also poses unique challenges. Unlike countries such as England and Wales, which recently implemented a major review leading to reform of their policing system (Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act, 2011), change in Canadian policing has only ever occurred incrementally, due to the decentralized authority for policing across different levels of government. In fact, Canadian policing has never been subject to a comprehensive assessment resulting in major reform. Change has typically come about from public inquiries that

opened windows for reform only regarding specific problems in a particular area of the police system: British Columbia's Missing Women Inquiry (Oppal, 2012), the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182 (Major, 2010), Ontario's Ipperwash Inquiry (Linden, 2007), the Task Force on Governance and Cultural Change in the RCMP (Brown, 2007), the Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia (Oppal, 1994) and, before that, the Public Inquiry Commission appointed to inquire into the Sûreté du Québec (Poitras, 1990), the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Certain Activities of the RCMP (McDonald, 1981), and the Commission of Inquiry Relating to Public Complaints, Internal Discipline and Grievance Procedures within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Marin, 1976), along with numerous innocence inquiries[2] where policing strategies are critically evaluated.

Yet, as is presented in Chapters 2 and 3, the imperative for change is clear. Canadian stakeholders at all levels of government, along with the public, are calling for dialogue surrounding the viability of current policing models at a time marked by serious fiscal concerns. This report contributes to this conversation with an analysis of evidence on police practices and models that are appropriate for the 21st-century policing landscape.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The report is broadly organized around the challenges facing Canada's police (Chapters 2 and 3) and the opportunities for adapting to these challenges (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main external challenges confronting Canada's police. Crime is changing in several important ways not always reflected in crime statistics or effectively addressed through traditional policing practices. Society is also changing and, with it, the demands and expectations it places on police. Just as significant, however, is the growing recognition that police no longer have a monopoly on providing public safety and security, because they are but one of many actors currently operating in that space. Recognition and understanding of this broader safety and security web are essential in defining the future roles of police, determining collaboration arrangements with other actors, and identifying promising opportunities for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of delivering safety and security to Canadians.

2 Independent reviews of post-conviction claims of innocence.

These pressures, although external to police organizations, can result in significant challenges for the inner workings of police services and the sector as a whole. Chapter 3 explores some of the key internal challenges facing police organizations, including effectively managing human resources that can deliver safety and security matching society's expectations. In an era of increased transparency, the police sector is also confronting the need to explain rising costs and to mitigate doubts about accountability. These issues, viewed in sum, suggest that many police organizations are having difficulty adapting to the shifting safety and security landscape, but analysis of these issues also points to key levers for improving how police can better respond to their ever-changing external environment.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 look more closely at successful or promising practices, mechanisms, or approaches that have been adopted or considered by police in Canada and abroad in response to the reality of the safety and security web and other trends set out in Chapters 2 and 3. The various mechanisms for strengthening accountability of police, along with maintaining public confidence in them, are the subject of Chapter 4. Chapter 5 summarizes research on practices for improving the organization and delivery of police services, while Chapter 6 presents broader opportunities for improving police at a system-wide or national level.

Chapter 7 summarizes the Panel's key findings in response to each of the questions that comprise its charge, based on the evidence presented in the preceding chapters. The report concludes with final reflections from the Panel on how best to position police in the 21st century.

2

External Challenges Facing Canada's Police

- The Changing Nature of Crime
- Impact of Social Trends on Demand for Police Services
- Adapting to the Safety and Security Web
- Conclusion

2 External Challenges Facing Canada's Police

Key Findings

The safety and security web represents the broadest external challenge for police, to the extent that it encapsulates fundamental changes to the policing landscape to which police have yet to fully adapt. Issues of interoperability, equity, police support, and interpersonal dynamics all arise in a web policing context that involves multiple safety and security actors. Understanding how police can best operate within the safety and security web is central to improving both their effectiveness and efficiency.

The nature of crime is changing, often in ways not apparent via official crime statistics. With an emphasis on crimes reported to police, official statistics do not capture new types of crime or the full extent of victimization. Although reported crime continues to fall in Canada, data indicate that victimization rates have remained fairly stable over the last decade.

Enabled by information technology and the increasing mobility of people, goods, and knowledge, crime is becoming more complex, more "a-spatial," and potentially more harmful. There is a growing mismatch between the increasing threat and reality of a-spatial crimes and the continued organizational emphasis on jurisdiction-based police responses.

Police services are increasingly responding to social problems for which they have limited training and resources. Demand is being influenced by an older, more diverse, and digitally savvy population; in addition, the policing of people with mental illness or in crisis is increasingly recognized as a country-wide issue.

In the last few years, Canada's police have been confronting significant change on multiple fronts, which has put stress on both the organization and the delivery of police services. Indeed, the public space in which police conduct their day-to-day duties has been, and continues to be, in a state of profound transformation as technological innovation and social and economic developments coalesce to change Canadian society for the better and, at times, for the worse. For the better, the volume and severity of reported crime have decreased, and police have benefitted from ever-more sophisticated technologies and practices to prevent crime and preserve the peace. For the worse, however, new types of crimes have emerged — crimes that are often complex, multijurisdictional, and typically beyond the training of a single officer or even the reach of a local

police service. Police are now carrying out their mandate in transformed public spaces exhibiting significant features such as community surveillance, which is on the rise, and in the presence of social media. Moreover, police are now situated within a web of safety and security providers to which they must adapt to ensure their relevance and effectiveness in the execution of their duties. This chapter explores these and other challenges central to the reshaping of the landscape in which police operate, identifying implications for police where evidence is available.

2.1 THE CHANGING NATURE OF CRIME

A central challenge for police is the constantly evolving nature of crime. New crimes and threats continue to emerge, adding to the breadth of existing harms to which police must respond, such as interpersonal violence and property theft. The challenge for police stems not only from having to deal with a broader range of crimes but also from crime's changing nature, which can undermine the effectiveness of established police interventions.

In spite of crime's changing nature, it is important to note that the vast majority of incidents to which police respond are associated with interpersonal crime (violent and property crime), as is evident in police-reported crime statistics. During 2012 police in Canada reported approximately 2.2 million violations, of which 72% were related to interpersonal crime (Perreault, 2013).

2.1.1 Crime Statistics Do Not Provide an Accurate Picture of Crime in Canada

Each year, the national media headline what has been for many years now a good news story — namely, that the crime rate is falling. "Canada's crime rate in 2011 lowest since 1972" (CBC News, 2012) and "Canadian crime rate hits four-decade low, Toronto leads the trend" (Mahoney, 2013) are but two such headlines highlighting a real drop in the number of crimes being reported to police. Behind these headlines, however, are data requiring careful interpretation.

The crime data most commonly presented in the headlines are sourced from Statistics Canada's annual Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey, which has captured police-reported crime since 1962 (SC, 2012a). In the Panel's view, however, these data reflect only a subset of the universe of harms that are of public concern. Figure 2.1 underscores the limitation of the data: not all harms are crimes, and not all crimes are reported.

Figure 2.1

Conceptualization of the Universe of Harms

Although the public and the governments it elects are concerned with a wide variety of harms that have an adverse impact on social and individual well-being, police primarily intervene in the subset of harms that have been identified as criminal offences. These may include harms such as violent victimization (e.g., sexual assault, robbery, and physical assault) and non-violent victimization (e.g., household victimization, theft of property). Non-criminal harm may include items such as moral or ethical violations, violation of trust, uneven medical access, and some types of environmental pollution. Because not all criminal offences become known to police, police are primarily preoccupied with reported crime, a narrower subset of the universe of harms. By one estimate, about 30% of overall crime is reported to police (Perreault & Brennan, 2010).

Statistics Canada provides another data set that covers a wider range of criminal victimization and that is based upon the General Social Survey (GSS) on victimization. The survey is conducted every five years, most recently in 2009.[3] The GSS reveals a discrepancy between victimization rates and reported crimes. In contrast to the reduction in police-reported crime over the last decade, the survey finds that, since 1999, victimization rates have increased for theft of personal property while remaining stable for violent victimization and household victimization. In 2009, one-quarter of the Canadian population indicated they had been the victim of a criminal incident in the preceding year (Perreault & Brennan, 2010).

3 This survey of the 10 provinces focuses on eight types of crime generally relating to violent victimization, household victimization, and theft. It excludes crimes against business.

Drawing on the GSS results, Perreault and Brennan (2010) estimate that only about 30% of overall crime is reported to police and therefore included in the UCR Survey.[4] In addition, the rate at which crime is reported to police fell from 37% to 31% between 1999 and 2009, due to a reduction in reporting for break and enter and property theft (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Victimizations Reported to Police in Canada by Type of Offence, 1999, 2004, and 2009

	1999	2004	2009
Violent victimization	%	%	%
Sexual assault	Unavailable	8	Unavailable
Robbery	46	46	43
Physical assault	37	39	34
Total violent victimization	31	33	29
Household victimization			
Break and enter	62	54	54
Motor vehicle/parts theft	60	49	50
Household property theft	32	29	23
Vandalism	34	31	35
Theft of personal property	35	31	28
Total household victimization	44	37	36
Total victimization	37	34	31

Data Source: Besserer & Trainor, 2000; Gannon & Mihorean, 2005; Perreault & Brennan, 2010

The data represent the percentage of incidents reported to the police by type of offence. For instance, in 2009, of all physical assaults acknowledged by survey respondents, only 34% were reported to police. Since 1999, the percentage of crime victims who have reported incidents to police has declined. The decline is largely attributed to a reduction in reporting for household victimization rather than a reduction in actual victimization. The data are sourced from the GSS on victimization, and identify trends in self-reported victimization.

4 Homicide stands out as one area where this discrepancy is limited: the vast majority of Canadian homicides become known to police and are therefore included in reported crime data (Perreault, 2012). The homicide rate has continued to fall in Canada, in 2012 reaching its lowest level since 1966 (Perreault, 2013).

Factors Influencing Crime Statistics

Moulton (2013) explains the divergence between recorded crime and victimization rates using a funnel theory. He suggests that since the criminal justice system can only accommodate a certain volume of work each year, criminal legal processes give the system a tapered shape, which allows only some offences and offenders to be routed through it. In this way, processes in criminal justice strongly influence the statistics on crimes — the output of the funnel; the narrow end of a funnel allows a more limited capacity than that entering the larger end, so fewer incidents are counted in crime statistics than actually occur. For instance, when police officers have to increasingly invest more time writing and filing incident reports, the number of such reports that can be processed diminishes.

Similarly, growing demands to respond to reported crime leave less time for preventive activities, such as impaired driving detection programs, which may lead to new criminal cases. This funnel can also deter members of the public from reporting crime, as they observe police resource constraints or an ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system in addressing certain types of crime (Moulton, 2013).

Approaches to recording and measuring police-reported crime data also influence the conclusions that can be drawn from them. Maguire (2012) describes four important factors that influence recorded crime figures: the types of crimes included in the statistics, approaches to counting and classifying offences, recording practices of police, and public reporting practices. In an earlier study, Black (1970) further noted that reported crime rates may be influenced by the legal seriousness of the incident, the complainant's level of respect for the police, the relational distance between the complainant and the suspect, and the complainant's recognizable preference for police action.

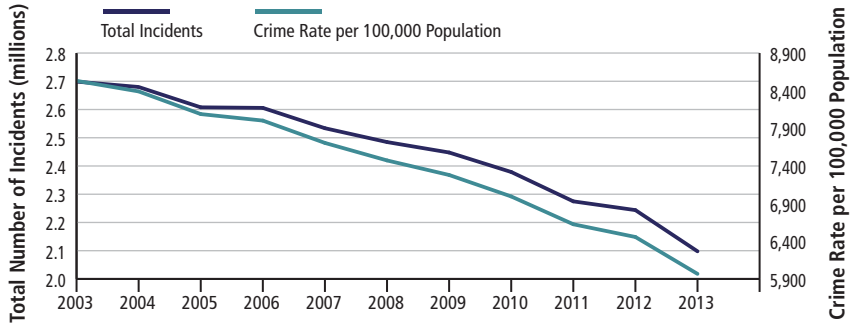
Resource availability and the amount of police time spent on particular initiatives such as impaired driving programs or drug-related crime can also alter the statistics from one year to the next without necessarily reflecting a change in the overall incidence of a crime (Perreault, 2013). In addition, the level of crime is ultimately subject to changing definitions of crime; as governments criminalize or decriminalize social harms, the incidence of crime will vary accordingly (Mihorean *et al.*, 2001). Statistics Canada issues a crime severity index that reflects the volume and seriousness of offences on a per-capita basis, using court sentences to estimate and then indicate severity of the crime (Brennan, 2011). Newark (2013) points out that the sentencing decisions upon

which the index is based are ultimately a subjective measure of crime severity. When several crimes are involved in an incident, only the most serious crime is included in the crime reports, which leads to an understatement of total crime.

Important considerations shape the way that victimization data should be interpreted. Maguire (2012) notes some of the reoccurring challenges of public surveys including "sampling errors, non-response, inaccurate recall of events by respondents, weighting procedures, classifications of responses, and so on…" He also indicates that some types of offences, such as domestic violence, are less likely to be reported through these surveys.

Trends in Crime Reported to Police

Recognizing the data limitations described above, population-level quantitative crime data do, nonetheless, play a role in signalling trends and in providing an overall assessment of crime. Reported crime data from the UCR Survey show a general increase in the incidence of crime reported to police in Canada up until the beginning of the 1990s, at which point a steady decline began that has continued to this day. This decline, shown over a 10-year period in Figure 2.2, has been associated in Canada primarily with decreases in non-violent crime (Perreault, 2013), and is evident on a per-population basis and in absolute terms.

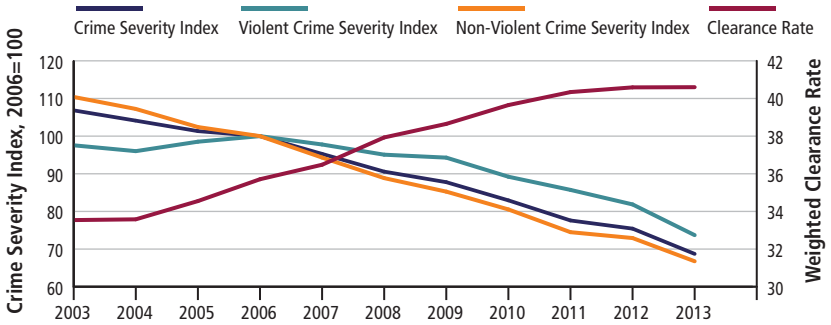


Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2014b

Figure 2.2

Incidents Reported to Police in Canada, 2003–2013

Since 2003 the crime rate and total number of incidents reported to police in Canada have steadily declined. The total number of incidents fell by 22% between 2003 and 2013, while the crime rate fell by 30%. The data are sourced from the UCR Survey and capture *Criminal Code* violations as well as federal statute violations.



Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2014c

Figure 2.3

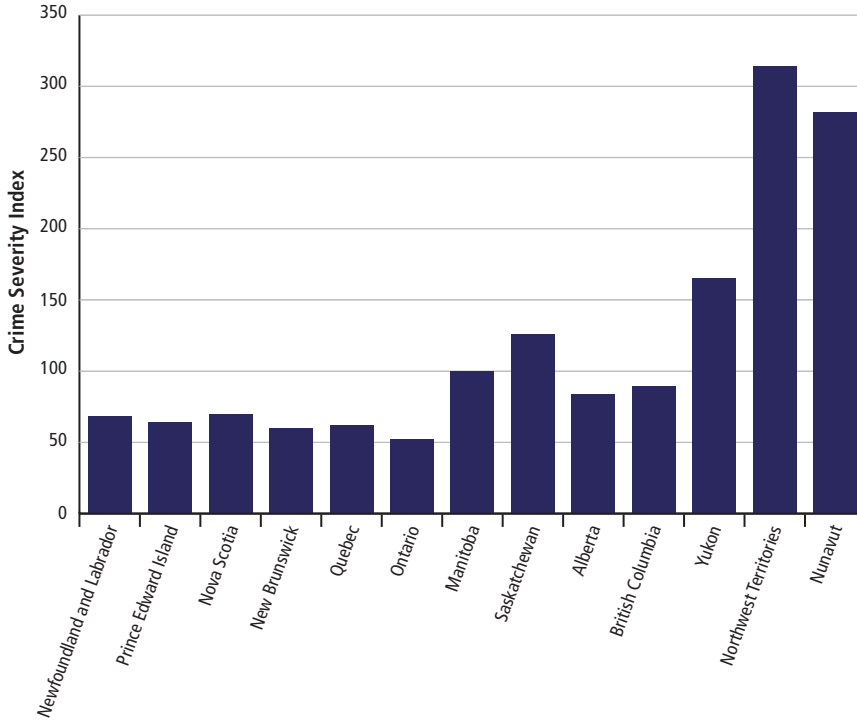
Crime Severity and Clearance Rates in Canada, 2003–2013

The crime severity index is a tool for measuring the change in severity of crime over a period of time in a given jurisdiction. The index reflects the volume of crimes and their seriousness, using court sentencing as an indicator of crime severity. According to this index, the severity of crime in Canada fell between 2003 and 2013, particularly for non-violent crimes. This coincided with an increase in the crime clearance rate, which reflects the share of crimes resolved by police and assigns greater weight to the resolution of more serious crimes. The crime severity index is expressed as a standardized measure, meaning it has been adjusted to equal 100 in the base year (2006).

The decline in the severity of crime in Canada is also significant. According to the crime severity index, the severity of crime has dropped by around 30% over the past decade (see Figure 2.3). Also notable is a corresponding improvement in the number of crimes being solved over the same period (the crime clearance rate), adding further to an overall positive message on crime in Canada.

National averages, however, can mask important variations across population sub-groups. In Canada the crime severity index fluctuates across the country, and is particularly high in Saskatchewan and Manitoba and the three territories (see Figure 2.4).

Averages can also obscure trends in particular types of crimes. Since 2002, drug offences, child pornography, and *Criminal Code* traffic violations (excluding impaired driving) have increased, whereas most other types of criminal incidents recorded by police have fallen, including homicide, other violations causing death (e.g., criminal negligence), and property crimes (Perreault, 2013).



Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2014c

Figure 2.4

Crime Severity Index by Canadian Province/Territory, 2013

The crime severity index facilitates comparison of the seriousness of crime by jurisdiction. The incidence and severity of crime vary by province/territory. Among the provinces, Saskatchewan had the highest crime severity index score at 125 (2013). This indicates that the severity of police-reported crime in Saskatchewan was approximately twice as high as the national average. The province of Ontario has the lowest index scores.

Canada is by no means the only country experiencing these trends. In fact, a drop in reported crime is now common across western industrialized countries. In the United States, for example, the decline began in 1991, in the United Kingdom in 1995, and in France in 2001 (The Economist, 2013). The cause of this crime drop has been the subject of much debate in the literature, as summarized in Box 2.1.

Box 2.1
Explanations for Falling Crime Rates

Reported crime rates in western industrialized nations showed a sharp decline in the 1990s, prompting extensive research and debate on the drivers of crime. The outcome of this research has identified a wide range of theories for why crime rates have fallen. These have pointed to factors such as the ending of the crack epidemic and related gang warfare in the United States, having more police officers and higher incarceration rates (Levitt, 2004), the use of CompStat, demographics changes, and the bulge of crime-prone youth that followed the post-war boom in newborns. The economic cycle has also been cited as explaining crime trends. Rosenfeld and Messner (2009), for example, suggest that economic prosperity levels in Europe and the United States during the 1990s contributed to the decline in property crimes in these areas. Another explanation is a change in police recording practices, as a consequence of increasing police workload (Waller, 2014).

A detailed review of the literature by van Dijk *et al.* (2012), however, shows that many of these theories do not stand up to international or temporal comparisons. This has given rise to new perspectives pointing to broader trends in the safety and security landscape that have changed the "opportunity structures" for crime. One of these is the growth in some security efforts known as "situational prevention" (van Dijk *et al.,* 2012), which came in the wake of rising crime and have played an important role in reducing the incentives for crime. Security guards, along with other new security provisions in homes, cars, stores, workplaces, and airports, for example, have become ubiquitous. There is also growing involvement by social service providers (Chanmugam, 2014) and health-care workers (Taket, 2004), who are all engaged in preserving peace and preventing crime.

Legislation has also helped reduce the incentives for crime, as is documented by Waller (2014) and others. In one example, van Dijk and Vollaard (2012) show that Dutch legislation on mandatory security measures in all houses built after 1999 was a factor in explaining the significant drop in burglaries. They point out that where levels of security are higher, declining trends in burglary are steeper.

2.1.2 Crime Is More Complex and Increasingly A-Spatial

Although the data on overall crime levels may be inconclusive, what is clear is that crime itself is changing. Enabled by information technology and globalization, crime is becoming more complex, more cross-jurisdictional, and potentially more harmful. Indeed, the growing prevalence of cross-border crime is now a well-established and widely documented trend. Facilitated by rapid growth in connectivity, new technologies, and increasing flows of people, capital, and goods in a global economy marked by rising income disparities, both individuals and groups seek to exploit the many seams at international borders in their pursuit of illicit opportunities for profit. According to the United Nations (2012), by 2009 transnational organized crime had become a US$870 billion a year industry that encompassed money-laundering and trafficking of many sorts, including of humans, drugs, firearms, counterfeit goods, wildlife, and cultural property. Cybercrime also increasingly features among transnational organized crime (UNODC, 2012).

Cybercrime and network technologies, in particular, have accentuated the jurisdictional challenge by facilitating the extent to which serious crimes can be initiated by perpetrators residing outside the affected region. As one observer notes, "as never before and at little cost a single offender can inflict catastrophic loss or damage on individuals, companies, and governments from the other side of the world" (Broadhurst, 2006). In response to a United Nations survey of Member States, representatives of an unnamed Eastern European country noted that approximately 80% of the cybercrime acts examined by domestic law enforcement authorities are transnational (UNODC, 2013). By extrapolating from data obtained from the United Kingdom, Anderson *et al.* (2012) have provided global estimates of the costs associated with various types of genuine cybercrime, recognizing that available statistics are "insufficient and fragmented and suffer from under- and over-reporting" and that extrapolations from the U.K. data should be interpreted with utmost caution. With these precautions, Anderson *et al.* provide estimates for global online banking fraud (US$1.7 billion), patent-infringing pharmaceuticals (US$288 million), copyright-infringing music (US$150 million), fake antivirus (US$97 million), and copyright-infringing software (US$22 million).

Despite these notable trends, geography continues to be a dominant factor in shaping how police respond to crimes in Canada and across much of the world. Having been initially established to "keep the dangerous classes off the streets" by "maintaining local order and enforcing law" (Wall, 2007), today's police remain primarily locally focused. This geographic orientation to police business is reflected not only in the regionalized representation of police services but also in the spatially decentralized command structure of local police stations,

the emphasis on community-based policing and hot spot strategies, the ways in which crimes are reported and, not least, how police services are funded in Canada, with municipalities typically paying the largest share (Bayley, 1992).

The result, it is argued, is a growing mismatch between the increasing threat and reality of a-spatial crimes and the continued organizational emphasis on jurisdiction-based police responses (Treverton *et al.*, 2011).

2.1.3 The Nature of Safety and Security Threats Is Changing

The threat of terrorism in Canada has been a notable feature of its security landscape since the activities of the Front de libération du Québec in the 1960s, and has been heightened more recently with the September 2001 attacks in the United States. Since that time, Canadian governments and the media have continued to emphasize that "security threats remain imminent [and that] continued vigilance and extraordinary security measures are still required" (Murphy, 2007). A 2013 Public Safety Canada report states that terrorism is a persistent threat to Canadians and Canadian interests, fuelled by evolving global conflicts and "global violent extremists" (PSC, 2013d). Canadians implicated in foreign terrorist acts such as those in Algeria, and the continued uncovering of domestic terrorist plots (including the VIA rail terrorism plot of 2013 and the 2006 Ontario terrorism plot), are reminders of these threats and the scale of the potential harm that terrorism can bring to Canada.

These trends, which have a strong cross-border dimension, all point to a growing need for cross-jurisdictional collaboration, which has become a growing trend on its own. Although transnational structures designed to facilitate cross-jurisdictional collaboration, such as Interpol, have been in place for decades, recent research emphasizes an important difference with respect to contemporary international crime control arrangements. The difference is one of degree, whereby the complexity, sophistication, and comprehensiveness of international policing institutions are greater now than at any time in history (Andreas & Nadelmann, 2006).

Andreas and Nadelmann (2006) identify two trends that are influencing the complexity of the international crime control system. First, law enforcement and national security institutions are coming together as part of a counterterrorism response. Second, a transatlantic security community has emerged, which is underpinned by policing alliances against non-state actors and comprises an increasingly dense set of trans-governmental policing networks and international agreements. These policing alliances, which have been "quietly built up and largely overlooked," are notably different from traditional security alliances such as the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), which focuses

on state-based military threats (Andreas & Nadelmann, 2006). Multilateral and bilateral security arrangements also add to the complexity. There are 11 collaborative arrangements between Canada and the United States alone that are set to expand further under recent border security enhancements (Government of the United States, 2012).

Significant environmental threats are also on the rise. Growing population density, increased human settlement in vulnerable areas, and climate change are all converging to exacerbate human safety and security risks posed by the environment (Scheffran & Battaglini, 2011). Organizations such as the Toronto Police Service have developed operational plans to address an emergency event or natural disaster (TPS, 2013). Because human security and safety risks posed by environmental change are expected to increase (Scheffran & Battaglini, 2011), police services may be called upon with greater frequency to assist in emergency response efforts while maintaining order in what can be chaotic situations. Hurricane Sandy (see Box 2.2) is but one example that highlights both the impacts of natural disasters on human security and safety, and the important role that police services play in responding to these threats.

Box 2.2
Hurricane Sandy and the Role of Police

In October 2012 Hurricane Sandy made landfall in the United States as the largest Atlantic hurricane on record, engulfing the entire U.S. eastern seaboard and eastern Canada. And although damage was widespread, Manhattan, New York, in particular, bore significant damage. Manhattan had to deal with the closure of mass transit, loss of power, telephones, and email, fallen debris, and the flooding of many streets as a result of a major storm surge (Fishell, 2013). The New York Police Department was an active participant in emergency response efforts, working alongside related organizations such as the Port Authority and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority. Police officers were involved in evacuating members of the public from low-lying areas (Saul, 2012); enforcing temporary transportation regulations, including requiring vehicles entering Manhattan by tunnel or bridge to carry three or more passengers; and maintaining order and deterring fighting during fuel shortages by being present at every gas station in the city (Kaufman *et al.,* 2012). Law enforcement agents also helped pump water out of tunnels and clear debris from roads (Kaufman *et al.,* 2012).

2.1.4 Technology Is Reshaping Crime and How It Is Fought and Perceived

Technology is also reshaping the nature of crime, creating an important deterrent for some property crimes by reducing the supply of desirable targets while simultaneously creating new crime opportunities. On the deterrent side, for example, Farrell *et al.* (2011) show a strong link between the use of electronic immobilizers in combination with central locking and the reduction in vehicle thefts in the United Kingdom. Based on these findings, they conjecture that the two-thirds drop in car theft in the 1990s observed in the United Kingdom can be attributed to improved car security.

And while the literature shows that technology can reduce the opportunities for crime, it also emphasizes the reverse. Some types of harm that are common in physical spaces are also present in virtual settings; identity fraud and cyberbullying are examples of threats to public safety in cyberspace (Rosenfeld & Messner, 2009; Addington, 2013). Another notable narrative is the extent to which technology has expanded the range of larceny. Police leaders in the United States have called attention to the increase in crime related to the theft of electronic items, now among the most stolen pieces of property (MCCA, 2012). Moreover, cellphone thefts are among the fastest growing crimes in the United States (Winkler, 2012). Police chiefs from major cities across the United States and Canada have been pushing for a technological fix by which telecommunications firms are required to implement technologies to disable stolen devices (Winkler, 2012). A similar dynamic is playing out in the fight over copyrighted materials, with industries that create content seeking to develop and embed a range of technologies that reduce the opportunity for illegal copying (Mueller *et al.,* 2012).

Much of the recent literature dealing with the relationship between technology and the commission of crime, however, focuses on cybercrime. With the advent of the internet and networked technologies in general has come an explosion of cyberspace crimes, many of which are not reflected in traditional crime statistics (Ryan *et al.,* 2011; Smyth & Carleton, 2011). Researchers suggest that a more consistent definition of categories of cybercrime and more systematic data collection would make it easier for researchers to observe long-term trends (Dupont & Gagnon, 2008).

The role of police in responding to cybercrime is evolving. Fighting internet crime is made difficult by its changing nature, scale, and a-spatial character. Aggravating the cybercrime challenge is a public not fully aware of the actual extent of, and therefore the risk of, cybercrime (Dupont & Gagnon, 2008). Cybercrimes are difficult to deal with given that they are often "small-impact bulk victimizations with a large aggregated loss, but spread out globally across a range of jurisdictions" (Wall, 2007; Waller, 2010).

2.1.5 New Knowledge Is Reshaping the Response to Crime

Coinciding with the changing nature of crime has been a growing body of evidence on how best to respond to crime. As police continue to respond to crimes, often with reactive strategies that have been shown to be of limited effectiveness (Santos, 2012), research suggests that crime prevention initiatives are often more sustainable and successful in reducing interpersonal crime. A range of proactive and preventative strategies, involving a variety of actors including but not always the police, have been evaluated to be both more effective and less costly than reactive policing alone in reducing interpersonal crime (Waller, 2014) (see also Section 6.2). In Canada, however, police are often challenged to make the shift from reactive to proactive models (Henry, 2002).

2.1.6 More Data Are Needed on Crime, Victimization, and Calls for Service

Through crime statistics and research literature, police services have gained insights into the changing nature of crime. Existing knowledge gaps, however, create limitations in capturing the full extent of victimization and in providing a clearer understanding of the demand for police services. This section reviews the implications from the limitations in crime statistics and the dearth of publicly available data regarding police calls for service.

Gap in Crime and Victimization Statistics

As noted previously, Canada has two sources of national data on crime: the UCR Survey and the GSS on victimization. One of the advantages of the GSS on victimization is that it seeks to capture crime that is not reported to police. This is particularly useful since only about 30% of overall crime is reported to police and therefore included in the UCR Survey (Perreault & Brennan, 2010).

Although the GSS on victimization provides critical insights into the characteristics associated with criminal activity, some improvements could be made to the methodology. Currently, the survey only collects a subset of offences including sexual assault, robbery, physical assault, breaking and entering, theft of motor vehicles/parts or household/personal property, and vandalism, and excludes crimes against businesses. Further, the survey is also limited in that it excludes data on Canadians 15 years or younger as well as those living in institutions. Given that crimes such as intimate partner and sexual violence have been shown to occur among demographic groups that might reside in institutions (see for example Stein, 2009), a survey that excludes their participation may not accurately capture the extent of victimization.

Need for Improved Calls-for-Service Data

Recognition of whether crime is increasing or decreasing has important implications for the provision of police services. With a reduction in reported crime comes a reduced demand for traditional police services (all things being equal). As for unreported crime, this may have indirect effects on the demand for police services through prevention work, along with an increase in fear of crime. When left unreported, for example, crime may affect the public view of police and manifest itself in lack of cooperation to report crimes or to be a witness when required. Data on calls for service could shed further light on the demand for police services, but data quality and availability are limited in Canada. Few police organizations publicly report trends in calls for service, and those that do rarely break calls down by incident type. One study did report that calls for service to the OPP have been fairly stable over the last five years (OAGO, 2012) and that between 2009 and 2011, about 15% of calls to the OPP were related to *Criminal Code* incidents, a further 41% were traffic-related, and the final 44% were classified as "other" (OPP, 2012).

2.2 IMPACT OF SOCIAL TRENDS ON DEMAND FOR POLICE SERVICES

In addition to the changing nature of crime, Canada's police must also necessarily respond to a changing society, which has implications for the demand for police services. Demographic shifts, new social expectations of police, and society's use of police as the first responder of choice have changed what police are called upon to do. As a result, the demands on policing grow ever more complex as police organizations are asked to tackle an increasing diversity of challenges.

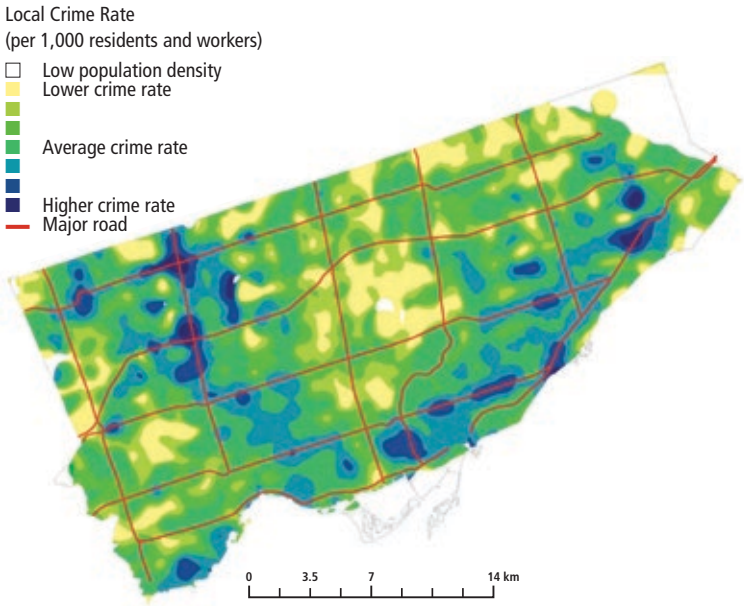
2.2.1 An Aging and More Diverse Population Places Different Demands on Police

As the Canadian population ages and diversifies, the demands on police change. An aging population, for example, may lead to falling crime rates because youth are disproportionately more likely to commit crimes (Wallace, 2004). This demographic shift may also be associated with an increase in other types of harms that are largely unreported, as is the case, for example, with the mistreatment of older adults commonly known as "elder abuse" (Gibson, 2013). In a time series analysis of the incidence of crime in Canada between 1962 and 2003, Pottie-Bunge *et al.* (2005) found a significant correlation between the growth in the proportion of the population aged 15 to 24 years of age and an increase in break and enter rates, but no such correlation with homicide, robbery, or motor vehicle theft. Younger Canadians are also more likely to be victims of crime than their older counterparts, but are less likely to report these crimes to police (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). Fear of crime is greater among older

Canadians (Hayman, 2011), which may also manifest in calls for police service. Older Canadians are also less likely to take precautions to prevent crime, such as changing a phone number or avoiding dangerous areas (Mihorean *et al.*, 2001). Researchers caution that age group tendencies are not static, but vary over time depending on economic and social circumstances (Levitt, 1999; Ouimet, 2002).

The Canadian population is becoming increasingly diverse and this trend is expected to continue into the future (Malenfant *et al.,* 2010). According to Stenning (2003), as Canada has become increasingly multicultural over the last 50 years, traditionally white male-dominated police services have been challenged to work effectively with an increasingly diverse population that espouses varying social norms and often requires communication in multiple languages. Many controversial and high-profile cases of police–citizen interaction have highlighted these challenges and triggered inquiries to identify corrective measures.

The social characteristics of Canada's urban neighbourhoods can also have implications for police. Several research studies have suggested that crime does not occur randomly (Fitzgerald *et al.,* 2004; Savoie *et al.,* 2006; Charron, 2008; Savoie & National Justice Statistics Initiative, 2008; Charron, 2009). Rather, the prevalence of crime is associated with various socio-economic factors. In the early 2000s, Statistics Canada conducted spatial analysis of crime data in several Canadian metropolitan areas including Edmonton, Halifax, Montréal, Regina, Saskatoon, Thunder Bay, Toronto, and Winnipeg. While each city had unique differences, there were several overarching social factors associated with high-crime neighbourhoods, including a larger proportion of lone-parent families, lower levels of income and education, and a greater proportion of residential instability. These findings can have implications for how police respond to crime and, subsequently, to recorded crime statistics; should police target these particular areas, the numbers of recorded criminal incidents could increase as a result of additional police activity. Figure 2.5 portrays a map of violent crime for the City of Toronto in 2006. It shows that in crime hot spots, rates of violent crime are 18 times higher than those in the cold spots, but these regions of high crime constitute only a small area of Toronto (Charron, 2009).



Based on 26,040 violent crime incidents.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Incident-Based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, geocoded database, 2006 and 2006 census.

Reproduced with permission from Charron, 2009

Figure 2.5

Spatial Distribution of Violent Crime in the City of Toronto, 2006

Crime maps are visualization tools that show the spatial distribution of crime data. In this crime map of the City of Toronto, violent criminal occurrences reported to the police are not randomly distributed. Rather, they are concentrated in specific geographic zones. Those zones, or hot spots, with high rates of violent crime are associated with lower levels of household income, are "more densely populated, have a higher percentage of residents living in multi-unit dwellings, and have the highest percentages of children (under the age of 15), renters, single-parent families, and visible minorities" (Charron, 2009).

2.2.2 Urbanization of Aboriginal Populations Is Creating Additional Demands for Police

In 1961, 13% of Canada's Aboriginal population lived in urban areas (Norris & Clatworthy, 2011). By 2011, this number had quadrupled to more than 56%, with non-status First Nations and Métis, in particular, having greater representation in urban population centres. The increasing urbanization of Aboriginal peoples has created a unique policing challenge. In a 2009 survey of 2,614 First Nations peoples, Métis, and Inuit living in 11 major Canadian cities, around 52% of respondents had reported serious involvement with the justice system either as a crime victim or witness to a crime, or by being arrested or charged with a criminal offence. The survey, which was conducted as part of the Urban Aboriginal People Study, also found that 27% of respondents reported that they had been arrested in the past 10 years, with another 23% reporting that they had been criminally charged (Environics, 2010). These statistics are supported by an analysis by Perrault and Brennan (2010),

who point out that in 2009, rates of self-reported violent victimization were twice as high among Aboriginal people as among non-Aboriginal people (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). These trends are giving rise to a number of policing issues: the growing social crisis of street violence in which Aboriginal youth gangs play a significant part (Chrismas, 2013), underrepresentation of Aboriginals in urban police services (Jain *et al.,* 2000), and a need for the development of culturally sensitive and effective policing strategies in urban Aboriginal communities (Stenning, 2003).

2.2.3 Digital Technology Is Altering the Relationship Between the Public and Police

As the internet and digital technologies become more deeply enmeshed within the fabric of society, the relationship between the public and police becomes more complex, as is evidenced by a number of cases where incidents of crime or police actions have been captured by video or stills and widely disseminated through social media. This footage can be helpful to police, as was the case when Vancouver police sought out images of vandals from the public as part of its investigation into the 2011 Vancouver riots (Schneider & Trottier, 2012). It can also be helpful to members of the public who are seeking to hold police accountable for possible impropriety. The footage taken by spectators, for example, can be used to confirm and question the official police record of an event. In the case of Robert Dziekański's death following an altercation with the RCMP at the Vancouver airport in 2007, videos taken by other people at the airport were ultimately used in the investigation and inquiry (Braidwood, 2010).

This new relationship with the public, however, brings additional challenges. The inconsistencies between the official record and the story shown on videos may ultimately undermine public confidence in police (Braidwood, 2010). The 2013 shooting death of Sammy Yatim on a downtown Toronto streetcar by police, which was captured by amateur video cameras and profiled on social media, is one example. These high-profile incidents are one of many factors in the apparently downward trend in public confidence in police (see Section 4.1 for further discussion).

2.2.4 Police Are Responding to a Growing Number of Incidents Involving People with Mental Illness

Canada's police have long been responding to calls dealing with people with mental illness and mental health issues, such as suicidal behaviour (Matheson *et al.*, 2005), and it continues to be a major issue for police. In 2007, for example, police services in Ontario reported over 40,000 encounters that involved mental illness, 16,000 of which were characterized as apprehensions under the *Mental Health Act* and 12,000 suicide-related (Durbin, 2010). Brink *et al.* (2011) reviewed 20 studies evaluating the proportion of

police dispatches or encounters dealing with persons with mental illness. The majority of the studies were from the United States, with five from Canada and the remainder from the United Kingdom and Australia. On average, 5% of police work (police dispatches or encounters) involved individuals with mental illness (Brink *et al.,* 2011). This percentage, however, varies by police service. In Vancouver, mental incidents are estimated to account for 21% of all incidents handled by the Vancouver Police Department and 25% of the total time spent on calls where a report is written (VPD, 2013).

There is also mounting evidence that these incidents are on the rise. The number of Ontario police encounters with people with mental illness increased on a per-capita basis by 38% between 2003 and 2007, and by 35% for *Mental Health Act* apprehensions between 2004 and 2007 (Durbin, 2010).[5] Of these interactions, approximately 60% involved alleged criminal behaviour, both violent and non-violent, with the remaining 40% unrelated to criminal activities and including bizarre behaviours or calls for assistance from people with mental illness or mental health staff (Brink *et al.,* 2011). In Vancouver, *Mental Health Act* apprehensions increased by 16% between 2010 and 2012. As a result, 17 full-time employees from the department are now assigned to deal with these cases, up from 1.5 employees in the 1990s (VPD, 2013).

An earlier Vancouver study on police service calls also observed high levels of service calls that had a mental health dimension and attributed this to a lack of mental health-care capacity following deinstitutionalization of mental health treatment, poor information sharing across mental health-care providers, and limited enforcement of British Columbia's *Mental Health Act* (Wilson-Bates, 2008). A similar finding in the Ontario context was made in an independent review of police encounters with people in crises carried out for the Toronto Police Service (Iacobucci, 2014). The Canadian Police Association notes that officers are "called on to serve roles as diverse as substance abuse counsellors, mental health workers, marriage counsellors, and youth intervention officers, all while maintaining their primary responsibility for community safety" (Stamatakis, 2013).

Although the police are now considered the "informal first responders of the mental health system," they lack the support or necessary resources to effectively carry out this mandate (Adelman, 2003). This finding was given further backing by a coroner's jury in an inquest into a triple shooting in Ontario, which pointed to several shortcomings in police responses to people with mental illness,

5 Mental health calls increased from 287 (2003) to 397 (2007) per 100,000; *Mental Health Act* apprehensions increased from 172 per 100,000 in 2004 to 232 per 100,000 in 2007 (Brink *et al.,* 2011).

including lack of consistent evidence-based practices for how police respond to emotionally disturbed people, and the low interoperable communication system between police and emergency medical services (OOCC, 2014).

2.3 ADAPTING TO THE SAFETY AND SECURITY WEB

The safety and security web (introduced in Section 1.4) represents the broadest external challenge for police, to the extent that it encapsulates fundamental changes to the landscape of policing to which police have yet to fully adapt. The challenge, however, lies not only with police. The wider institutions governing the provision of safety and security more generally, and that can hinder the ability of police to change, must also adapt to this safety and security web environment (see Box 2.3).

Box 2.3
The Safety and Security Web as the Defining Metaphor for Contemporary Policing

The safety and security web is a metaphor and a new way of looking at police in relation to the larger external environment in which all police now operate, as one of a variety of institutions fostering public safety and security. Viewing contemporary Canadian policing in this broader and more complex policing safety and security context acknowledges the new reality of a network, or "web," of multiple public and private agencies and actors operating and collaborating in various ways to produce and reproduce public and private safety and security. The old paradigm of conceptualizing police as the primary and dominant provider of public safety and security does not capture the reality of an increasingly global, dynamic, and complex policing and security environment with multiple safety and security actors operating as providers, partners, and competitors.

The purpose of this section is to review the evidence on the safety and security web, in order to establish an understanding of its complexity and the associated challenges for police. Understanding how best to operate in this web of multiple safety and security actors is central to improving the effectiveness and efficiency of police. It also raises a number of questions related to whether police are, in fact, the most suited to serve as first responders in all situations — and, if they are not, what their roles should then entail with respect to web policing. It is also important to determine the most appropriate role for governments in taking responsibility for managing the safety and security web.

As a starting point, to gain a glimpse of what this safety and security web can look like in Canada and what role police can and often do play, there are few better windows than a sports mega-event such as the Vancouver 2010 Olympics. As Boyle and Haggerty (2012) point out, the modern Olympics are as much a security spectacle as they are a sporting spectacle, involving the mobilization of thousands of security personnel, conspicuous use of military equipment, and the deployment of new technologies for policing and surveillance. Although the sheer scale of the event may be specific to the Olympics, the vignette in Box 2.4 points to a distinguishing feature of contemporary policing that is widely established, but less so acknowledged in the public sphere: the provision of security, peace, and safety is almost always the product of successful coordination and integration of a wide range of police and non-police actors and resources. Police services, far from acting as isolated organizations battling crime, operate in a wider network to deliver safety and security.

2.3.1 The Safety and Security Web Has Gained Significance in Canada

Over the past few decades, considerable research has been published on the rise of private security and its implications for police, society, and government (e.g., Stenning & Shearing, 1979; Shearing & Stenning, 1983; Swol, 1998; LCC, 2002). States, long considered as having a monopoly over the exercising of force in society, had historically been held up as the legitimate authorizers of security, deciding on the extent and need for security in a region and making decisions regarding its principal suppliers. The growth in private security was a direct challenge to this view and therefore of much interest to researchers.

The interest in private security has now been extended in recognition that private security is just one of several non-police actors providing safety and security. Social service providers, the security industry, other types of peace officers, and health-care workers are all now engaged to varying degrees in the interest of preserving peace and preventing crime. So, too, are insurance providers, which by way of lower premiums have long helped incentivize policy holders to be more responsible for the security of their property (Lemaître, 1995).

The trend in the growing diversity of safety and security providers has been described from various perspectives and conceptualized by various terms, each highlighting different aspects. Loader (2000) terms this policing through, beyond, below, and above government. Bayley and Shearing (2001) characterize it as "multilateralization" that has involved "(a) the separation of those who authorize policing from those who do it and (b) the transference of both functions away from government." Others have used the terms "security network" (Dupont, 2004) or "nodal security" (Shearing, 2005) to reflect the complexity of this landscape and to underscore the organizations that act as nodes, or rather connection points, within the network.

Box 2.4
The Web of Safety and Security at the 2010 Vancouver Olympics

Described at the time as the "largest peacetime security operation in Canadian history" (Molnar & Snider, 2011), the 2010 Vancouver Olympics involved round-the-clock security for 30 venues and 27 functions (Kaluzny & Hill, 2011). Over 15,000 security professionals were engaged, including some 6,000 law enforcement officers, 4,500 military personnel, and 5,000 private security guards (CBC News, 2009; GOC, 2010). NORAD provided air and marine surveillance, military divers deployed floating security booms around the athletes' village at the water's edge and around the cruise ships housing security personnel, and a naval destroyer and frigate conducted surveillance patrols (Murphy, 2010). On the downtown streets and around venues, nearly 1,000 security cameras were installed as part of a closed-circuit television camera system of surveillance.

Leading the security effort was the RCMP, which had formed the Vancouver 2010 Integrated Security Unit to serve as the mechanism for coordinating security resources across a diverse range of security-related actors (GOC, 2010). Along with the RCMP itself, these actors included municipal police services, federal government departments, the Olympic organizing committee, the military, transit organizations, and the intelligence service (Molnar & Snider, 2011). Private security was also called upon to provide not only personnel but also security screening technology, such as metal detectors and sophisticated surveillance equipment for coordinating security undertakings (Molnar & Snider, 2011). Private security guards were central to screening visitors to the Olympic venues and authorized vehicles (OPCC, 2011). Transit organizations, specifically the South Coast British Columbia Transportation Authority Police Service, were also an important part of the security effort and called upon to work closely with the 21 police jurisdictions to reduce the security risk to transit users. Transit police brought high-profile patrols, deployment of explosives scent-detection dogs, portable x-ray machines, metal detectors, and thermal imaging cameras into service (Clapham, 2010).

A web orientation to policing is particularly valuable in that it emphasizes "the management of national and global infrastructural nodes at which flows of people and goods intersect" (van Steden *et al.,* 2013). Van Steden *et al.* add that "infrastructural nodes, such as airports, seaports, railways, highways and

internet servers, constitute crucial sites for police engagement because they provide the infrastructures that enable people, information and commodities to travel across time and space." This orientation also allows recognition of non-police organizations that are similarly crucial nodes of delivering safety and security.

Statistics on private security give some perspective on how significant this multi-actored safety and security web landscape has become in Canada. The 2006 Canadian census indicates three private security personnel for every two police officers, and that the number of private security personnel is growing at a faster rate than that of police officers (Li, 2008). There has also been growing acceptance of this shift. Research suggests that both the public (Sheptycki, 2004) and police (Murphy, 2002) agree that non-police actors do indeed have a role to play in providing security and safety. Drawing on the example of cybercrime, Dupont (2013) notes that the imperative for private-sector involvement can vary with the issue and perceived harm; given the degree to which technology owned by private interests is embedded in everyday life, cyber cases are seen as critical threats and therefore cybersecurity strategies accordingly emphasize partnerships.

Varied Roles of Safety and Security Actors

Within this broader framing of the safety and security web, most actors have relatively distinct roles. Figure 2.6 identifies the main actors who play a role in providing safety and security across the public and private spheres. The figure differentiates between those with primarily an enforcement role, such as by-law enforcement officials, and those with primarily a deterrence or prevention role. It also recognizes that some actors have more than one role. The justice system as a whole, for example, plays both an enforcement and deterrence role. Along the vertical axis, Figure 2.6 makes the distinction between actors whose roles are society-wide versus those who work at the level of individuals. For example, urban designers, who are identified in the top half of the figure, may independently implement security-enhancing features in new neighbourhoods, thereby improving safety and security across the wider community. In contrast, social workers, depicted in the lower portion of the figure, may be tasked with intervening with troubled individuals through rehabilitation programs, in schools and other milieus, or in conjunction with families.

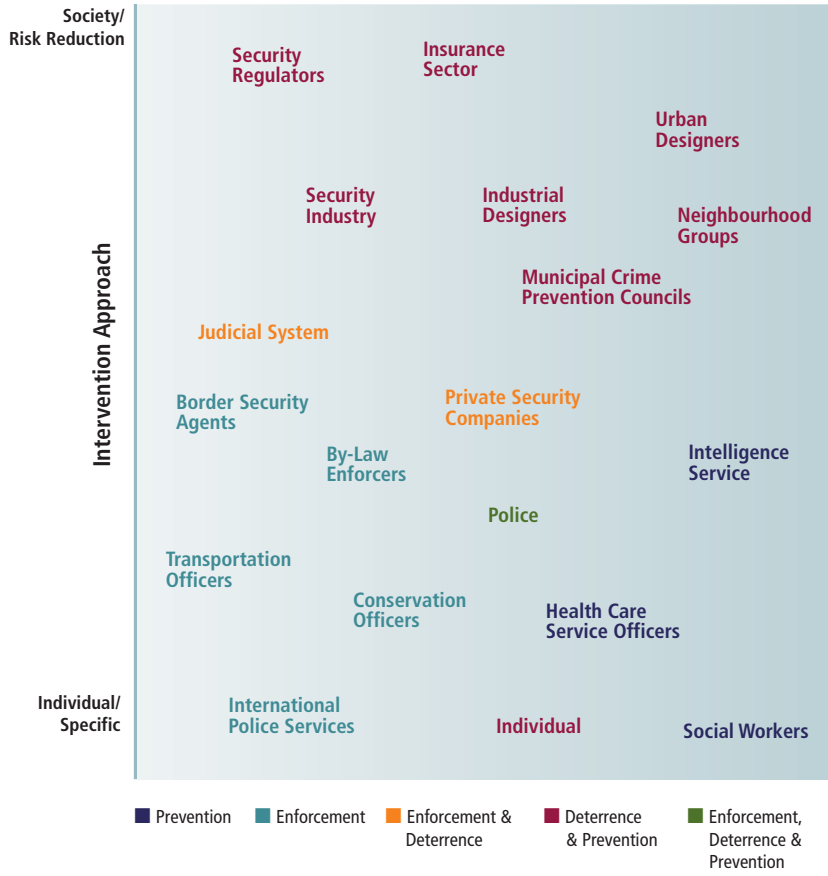


Figure 2.6

The Diversity of Actors in the Safety and Security Web

Public safety and security, although a public good, are undertaken by many kinds of providers, both public and private. Some actors focus on reduction of risk through society-wide interventions, while others are more oriented towards intervening at the individual level. The activities that actors perform range from those focused on preventing crime, to deterring crime, to enforcing the law. Police are primarily oriented towards managing risk at the individual level, and their activities are focused on all three areas: enforcement, deterrence, and prevention.

The various roles within the safety and security web are influenced in part by differences in the legislated powers of some of the actors. Box 2.5 highlights the legal powers of police as peace officers, of private security, and of individuals.

Box 2.5
Roles and Powers of the Various Actors in the Safety and Security Web

Those with the widest range of powers are police, whose legal status as peace officers gives them certain powers, which are otherwise prohibited, with respect to discharging their duties. Under Canada's *Criminal Code* police are, for example, entitled to possess firearms for the purpose of fulfilling their duties as police, and to use reasonable force in the enforcement of laws (Canadian Criminal Code, 1985). Another element of the unique role of police is as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system (Siegel, 2009), determining whether those who commit offences should enter the criminal justice system or be diverted to other paths.

Police are not the only profession to be designated as peace officers. Others include members of the Canadian Forces, airline pilots, mayors, and officers designated or authorized by other government regulation. The powers associated with their status, however, usually come with time and space restrictions that are commensurate with performing duties as required by the particular occupation and set out in relevant legislation. Railway police, for example, have powers only in relation to railway property, while aircraft pilots have the powers of peace officers only while the aircraft is in flight (Canadian Criminal Code, 1985).

For their part, private security personnel, whose primary role is the protection of private property, are empowered by property and trespass law (Stenning & Shearing, 1979), and in some cases with special constable status. This legislation allows property owners or occupiers to authorize private security to enforce the conditions for entry, ban transgressors, deny access to their property, and arrest trespassers. In Ontario, for example, the *Trespass to Property Act* provides that a "person authorized by the occupier may arrest without warrant any person" for reasonable and probable grounds (Government of Ontario, 1990). Private security personnel are also empowered with the authority conferred to private citizens under the Citizen's Arrest and Self-Defence Act (ISIS, 2012; Department of Justice Canada, 2013). With these powers, private security and private citizens are authorized to make citizen's arrests within a reasonable amount of time and with reasonable force.

The provision of safety and security need not involve police at all, neither as provider nor auspice. Indeed, there is evidence of the lack of police involvement in examples of community organizations, legal businesses, and illegal enterprises, along with individuals commissioning services from private-sector safety and security providers. These providers include a diverse range of individuals, governments, private enterprise, and non-governmental organizations (Bayley & Shearing, 2001). The Vancouver Ambassadors, for example, operate as a visible corps providing a safety patrol function to areas in the downtown core but without any formal law enforcement authority (Sleiman & Lippert, 2010). Ambassadors are sponsored by local business and empowered only to discourage unlawful behaviour and disorder, and to provide reports to police.

Geographical Unevenness of the Safety and Security Web

One of the traits of the safety and security web is that it comprises various components or "assemblages" that are neither uniformly present across a given jurisdiction nor always coordinated. As Brodeur (2010a) points out, while some of the various parts of the policing assemblages act at times as locally integrated networks where police almost always perform the coordinating functions, more often than not such coordination cannot be assumed. Safety and security are the product of a wide range of actors operating in different capacities, in different regions, and with different initiatives tailored to specific types of security problems.

This variability is evident from a number of examples. Communities located on Canada's borders have a different web of security organizations than do communities further afield. Indeed, there are now 15 border regions in Canada with Integrated Border Enforcement Teams in place, comprising Canadian and U.S. law enforcement organizations. These teams collaborate with municipal, provincial, state, federal, and First Nation law enforcement organizations, and other relevant government bodies, to target cross-border criminal activity (RCMP, 2012d).

Another example of the safety and security web's variability is evidenced in relation to the issue of traffic accidents, which continue to be a major source of fatalities in Canada and peer countries (Waller, 2014) and a major occupier of police resources. Instead of a single response to the issue, however, traffic fatalities are addressed through multiple actors and decision centres. As Waller highlights, a wide range of actions, both preventive and reactive, can be employed to reduce road fatalities, including alcohol-associated driving fatalities. These initiatives involve not only police, but also car manufacturers, which continue to improve on design and safety features; driving trainers; civil society groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD); and not least, legislators, who

can legislate on such measures as blood alcohol levels, revocation of licences, and treatment of repeat offenders. The extent to which these actions are implemented can vary considerably by region. A 2002 U.S. study, for example, found that variation in state level-implemented initiatives discouraging drunk driving is directly linked to the reporting of alcohol-impaired driving: people living in states with the least comprehensive sets of initiatives are 60% more likely to report alcohol-impaired driving than those living in states with the most comprehensive set of initiatives (Shults *et al.,* 2002; Waller, 2014).

Leadership in the Safety and Security Web

Geographically diverse, the safety and security web is characterized by multiple nodes of leadership that mobilize responses to specific crimes, sometimes in specific regions, or that initiate crime prevention efforts. These may or may not be police-led. For example, municipalities often lead collaborative efforts to reduce crime, with municipal police engaged as one of many partners. The Waterloo Regional Municipality Crime Prevention Council, in existence since 1993, is one such case (IPC, 2009). With the purpose of supporting community efforts aimed at reducing and preventing crime, victimization, and fear of crime, the Council brings the local police together with over 30 representatives from regional organizations, including the education sector, social services organizations, municipal planning groups, and correctional services. These efforts translate into a series of priorities and initiatives that are then coordinated and implemented by the Council's secretariat (Region of Waterloo, n.d.). Governments, for their part, may play a role in the provision, supervision, or coordination of safety and security services (Loader, 2000).

2.3.2 Policing Challenges in the Safety and Security Web

The literature identifies several challenges in providing safety and security in a web environment and that relate to issues of interoperability, equity, and support for police. The G20 Summit hosted in Canada in 2010 is one example of how such arrangements can go wrong (see Box 2.6). And although the scale and complexity of major event security make the G20 a special case, this example does nonetheless serve as a reminder of how effective coordination and clarity of authority can be difficult to achieve.

Box 2.6
How Collaborations Can Fail in the Provision of Safety and Security: 2010 G20 Summit

In June 2010 Canada hosted the G8 and G20 summits back-to-back in two Ontario cities, Huntsville and the City of Toronto. Together these events surpassed the Vancouver Olympics as the largest security event in Canada's history, but they also brought to light a number of inherent challenges in delivering security and safety in collaboration with multiple partners. For the summits and the Olympic Games, the RCMP led security with the authority from the same legal framework, the *Foreign Missions and International Organizations Act* S.C. 1991, c.41 (Morden, 2012; RCMP, 2012c). Unlike the Olympics a few months before, however, the provision of security at the G20 Summit was found to be negatively affected by planning and execution challenges, and ultimately by violence, vandalism, excessive use of police force, and mass arrests (OIPRD, 2012).

In total, the summits mobilized 20,974 security personnel, including RCMP officers, private security personnel, the Canadian Forces, OPP, and Toronto and Peel police services (Morden, 2012). As with the Olympics, an Integrated Security Unit centrally coordinated all personnel and operations. But, unlike the Olympics, numerous problems arose in planning and implementation, several of which related to the collaborative and networked nature of the security arrangements. Problems of coordination, leadership, and clarity of authority among policing groups, for example, were among those identified by the various investigations and inquiries into security issues related to the G20 Summit (Morden, 2012).

Interoperability and Coordination of Safety and Security Are Complex

Policing of the G20, as described in Box 2.6, points to a broader challenge of interoperability and coordination in an increasingly networked policing landscape. Effective relationships in a safety and security web are contingent upon successful communication across organizations, the lack of which was demonstrated in the G20 example.

In one notable example of coordination issues documented by the *Independent Civilian Review into Matters Relating to the G20 Summit*, RCMP and OPP commanders deployed in the Outer Zone in Toronto reported that it was difficult to determine who was in charge. According to the review, shortcomings in a key planning document on the command and control of security at the summit left open the potential for more than one chain of command operating simultaneously,

which indeed occurred for a short period of time at the summit (Morden, 2012). In summary, "the more complex a police operation is the more essential it is that all of the police services involved have a clear understanding of the scope of their authority" (Morden, 2012).

Connecting people even within a single organization requires a concerted effort at communication. Interoperability is a technological possibility, but depends upon common priorities and configuration needs; organizations, and even individual employees, may have to sacrifice familiar platforms or ways of working in favour of common hardware and software (Sanders & Henderson, 2012).

Sheptycki (2004) explains that some processes in the practice of policing are sufficiently dysfunctional to be labelled pathologies. Systemic in nature, these dysfunctions can compromise the crime-fighting ability of police organizations. Among the "problems that bedevil the organization of police information systems" are different categories for types of crime, an overload of data or intelligence, and poor linkage leading to inadequate horizontal flow of information.

Security May Be Inequitable Across Society

The increasing influence of private security and other non-police organizations on the degree of services offered to different individuals and groups is also creating concerns about equity. Bayley and Shearing (1996) caution that "pluralizing under market auspices at present does not improve security equally across society," but rather it favours the affluent:

> If police concentrate on law enforcement, the dualism between rich and poor will be exacerbated. The rich will be increasingly policed preventively by commercial security while the poor will be policed reactively by enforcement-oriented public police. Moreover, since there seems to be a qualitative difference in the efficacy of these approaches — deterrence versus prevention — the poor will also be relatively less secure.

A related equity concern is that police are accountable to all of society, while private security organizations are primarily accountable to their funders (Bayley & Shearing, 1996). Concerns may also arise when police sell their services to the private sector. In such instances, it may be difficult for police to prioritize the public good, particularly if resources tied up in a private engagement cannot be used to respond to public calls for service (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). Private purchase and private provision may also give the appearance of creating privileged influence over police, or privileged use of police, although it is recognized that police can address this perception (Murphy, 2002; Cukier & Thomlinson, 2005; Ayling *et al.,* 2009).

There is a competing view that when these relationships involve off-duty or overtime assignments, they do not affect the resources allocated for policing during that time frame and can contribute to greater public safety funded through private expenditure (Brunet, 2008). There is a concern, however, that police officers selling off-duty time could create health and safety issues due to fatigue from long work hours (Vila, 1996).

2.3.3 More Research Is Needed on the Safety and Security Web

There is a lack of research on the safety and security web as it exists in Canada, and how police can operate effectively and more efficiently within this environment. The safety and security web is variable, with different groups of actors engaged in different crime and prevention issues in different jurisdictions. For instance, retail companies and banks are in a better place to effectively respond to financial cybercrime, while responding to common street crime has been shown to involve local community organizations interfacing regularly with police. Furthermore, promising web policing practices that work in some jurisdictions will not necessarily work in others, due to national and regional variance in the set of actors who can be engaged to address crime and in distinctive factors internal to police services. Understanding these differences will be important to understanding the opportunities and challenges for Canada and the transferability of promising initiatives.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The external challenges identified in this chapter are reshaping the landscape in which police in Canada operate. Although some challenges have been long-standing, such as police having to respond to a diversity of calls (including those involving people with mental illness), others are more recent, such as those associated with digital technology. When considered together, however, they underscore the need for the entire police system to continue adapting to reflect this external reality. Leadership will be important in this respect as police come to recognize the multiple nodes of leadership in the safety and security web — a web that may be better positioned than police to lead on certain issues.

As is demonstrated in the next chapter, several of the external challenges are, in fact, linked to key internal challenges now facing police in the areas of human resources, costs, and accountability. Responding to external challenges will also, therefore, require internal changes if police organizations are to operate more effectively and efficiently in the provision of safety and security services in the web environment.

3

Internal Challenges Facing Canada's Police

- Human Resources
- Policing Costs
- Accountability and Legitimacy
- Conclusion

3 Internal Challenges Facing Canada's Police

Key Findings

Police organizations face a number of workforce challenges, including a large cohort poised for retirement, underrepresentation of women and minorities, a new set of expectations among recent recruits, and a lack of skills necessary to make best use of technologies and address emerging types of crime.

Over the past decade, police costs have been rising at a faster rate on average than total public expenditures and gross domestic product (GDP), substantiating concerns about police affordability. Cost drivers include legislative changes, a need to acquire the latest technologies and, most importantly, increased salaries and benefits. The nature of these cost drivers suggests that costs may be rising without necessarily yielding visible improvements in the level or quality of service offered to the public.

Changes in the policing landscape are straining existing accountability structures as new technologies, changing crime trends, and growth in mandates, among other factors, require police to act and respond in new ways. Although public confidence in Canadian police has been historically high in recent years, this confidence has been declining.

Most of the accountability mechanisms that oversee the work of police do not exist for private security or for the collaborative operations that shape the safety and security web, which is a concern given their growing significance.

The evolving landscape described in Chapter 2 has a number of implications for the internal workings of Canada's police, who have been challenged to keep up with the pace of change. This chapter reviews three areas of internal challenges facing police services and the organization of police as a whole. These relate to workforce management, rising police costs, and accountability issues.

These challenges are complex and often interlinked with how police services have been set up and organized by external institutions. As one observer has noted, "the environment has changed at a greater rate than police services have been able to change," adding that police today are faced with "having a 19th century funding model, a 20th century legal framework and 21st century problems" (Duxbury *et al.*, 2013).

3.1 HUMAN RESOURCES

Several of the external trends, identified in Chapter 2, that affect the demand for policing in Canada are also affecting its supply — namely, the police workforce. Demographic and social changes are introducing retention and recruitment issues, while the increasing complexity of the operating environment, including criminality, highlights a need for advanced knowledge, exercise of judgment, and development of advanced technical skills. Together, these changes present a significant challenge for the provision of effective police services at a level expected by the public.

3.1.1 Police Services Are Struggling with an Aging Workforce and Underrepresentation of Women and Minorities

An aging workforce and underrepresentation of women and minorities are features of Canadian police services that may constrain their future effectiveness. In 2011, 10% of Canadian police officers were eligible to retire, but only 2% actually did so (CCJS & SC, 2013b). On the one hand, if they continue to be police employees, older officers who are eligible to retire can contribute to training, mentoring, and leadership of organizations. On the other hand, if they remain working, their positions cannot be filled by new graduates or mid-career officers. This may result in an inflated cohort of officers eligible for retirement and delay stronger recruitment efforts. The size of retirement-eligible cohorts varies across police services and is particularly high in some instances. For example, nearly 20% of the RCMP was eligible to retire in 2011.

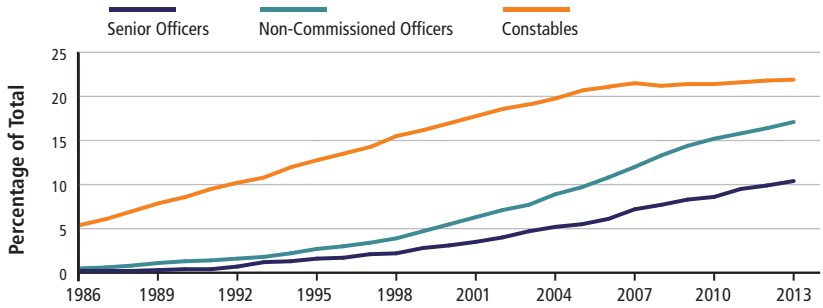
Across the country, 14% of police officers are under the age of 30, a further 35% are between 30 and 39, 35% are between 40 and 49, and 15% are 50 or older. Trends are fairly consistent across the larger provinces; however, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut have a greater share of young officers, while the RCMP Headquarters and Training Academy has a greater share of older officers (CCJS & SC, 2013a).

A common perception is that the retirement of a large proportion of long-serving police will present challenges for training and leadership (including the filling of senior positions) of a highly skilled police workforce (CCJS & SC, 2013b). The workforce planning challenge is exacerbated by resistance to lateral entry (the appointment to a rank other than constable), which could diversify the specialization of police services and provide additional experience from varied disciplines (LCC, 2006).

Despite a trend towards improvement, women continue to be significantly underrepresented in police organizations. This can have implications on police responsiveness to incidents such as violence against women and women's access

to justice services (Waller, 2010; UN Women, 2011). Figure 3.1 illustrates a growing number of female officers across all ranks in Canadian police services over the last several decades. In 2013, however, women still represented a little over 20% of all police officers in Canada (CCJS & SC, 2014). Women are particularly underrepresented among higher ranks in police services relative to their share of the overall population, occupying only 10% of senior officer positions.

This underrepresentation comes despite the tendency for women to be more highly educated than their male peers among constable and sergeant/staff sergeant ranks (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Research suggests that female police officers do not seek promotions as often as their male counterparts (Archbold *et al.*, 2010) and perceive gender barriers to recruitment and retention more readily than male officers (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). Some female officers have faced challenges in pursuing career development opportunities that they have perceived as unfair and highly gendered (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2000). Male police perceive a double standard in the requirements for promotion, to their disadvantage (Archbold *et al.*, 2010). Similarly, research finds that homosexual officers in U.S. police organizations perceive consistent barriers (Colvin, 2009). Perceived inequities in promotion structures may mean that police services do not have as wide a pool of candidates as possible for promotion.



Data Source: CCJS & SC, 2014

Figure 3.1

Share of Female Police Officers by Rank in Canada, 1986–2013

The share of female police officers has risen substantially in recent decades, from roughly 1 in 20 constables in 1986 to up to more than 1 in 5 today, and from 1 in 500 senior officers to 1 in 10 today. Growth in the share of female constables has flatlined in recent years.

Although police organizations in Canada have made attempts to increase the diversity of their workforce (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2000), the proportion of visible minorities employed by the police labour force is significantly below that of the labour force's national average. While visible minorities represent close to 20% of the population (SC, 2013a), they appear to be underemployed as police officers, representing roughly 8% of total officers (CCJS & SC, 2013a). The causes for this underrepresentation are unclear; however, data from the most recent Police Administration Survey suggest that overall employment of Aboriginal police officers roughly corresponds to their share of the Canadian population (approximately 4%). While the reasons remain elusive, the underrepresentation of visible minorities in police services suggests that police organizations may be challenged in recruiting and/or retaining personnel from visible minority groups. A police service that is representative of the population may be perceived as more effective and legitimate by the community. Section 4 explores the evidence on using representativeness as a means to build effective workforces.

3.1.2 Low Job Satisfaction Is Symptomatic of a Mismatch Between the Changing Expectations of Police and the Current Structure of Police Services

Today police services are confronted with low job satisfaction and the need to accommodate a new generation of police officers who may not share the sentiments and priorities of earlier cohorts. Police services need to consider how best to address these challenges in order to maximize the effectiveness of workforces.

Police work involves intense responsibility with multiple potential sources of stress. From surveys of police departments in the northern United States, Shane (2010) distinguishes the content, or the tasks, of police work from its structural characteristics or the "context" in which police do their jobs; the latter is determined to be the source of greater stress for police employees. This is consistent with the lack of organizational supports found by some investigations of police work–life balance in Canada (Dick & Metcalfe, 2001; Maguire & Dyke, 2012).

Surveys of Canadian police officers indicate they perceive stress from multiple competing demands, an unmanageable workload, and work–life conflict (Duxbury, 2007; Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Although two-thirds of Canadian police officers report satisfaction with their jobs, the data reveal some room for improvement on work–life balance in police organizations. Points of particular concern include dissatisfaction with current workload and unrealistic expectations, the ability to meet career goals and aspirations, and the lack of development opportunities provided by employers (Duxbury

& Higgins, 2012). These types of concerns, and the perception of a lack of organizational supports, are enough to deter police from pursuing promotions (Murphy, 2006) and also have an impact on police performance (Shane, 2010; Perrott & Kelloway, 2011).

Canadian police employees, overall, perceive low organizational support and report a low degree of internalization of organizational values (Maguire & Dyke, 2012). When examined by rank, the findings suggest stronger organizational commitment among supervisors than non-supervisors. These findings confirm results of an earlier study that reported higher organizational commitment in management, both among police officers and civilian staff (Dick & Metcalfe, 2001). This study suggests low organizational commitment may be reflected in a reduced willingness to invest effort in the work and may also present a challenge to retaining employees in non-management positions.

The impact of high-profile events involving police in a negative light is also evident in the morale of individual officers. One in five police officers reports managing public expectations as a source of stress (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012); this proportion increases with rank to 30% among senior command levels. In addition to changing with rank, the impact varies with the organization. In a work–life study, Perrott and Kelloway (2011) found differences between the RCMP and officers employed in a municipal service. Municipal officers reported significantly higher perceptions of control and workplace autonomy and social support than RCMP officers, and lower levels of psychological distress. The authors hypothesize that the "sagging morale" of the RCMP has roots in earlier scandals that have changed public perception of the institution. (See Section 3.3.3 for a discussion of public confidence in police.)

This collection of observations has been summarized by some authors as reflecting a new generation of Canadian police employees (Police Sector Council, 2006; Batts *et al.,* 2012; Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). The expectations of this cohort — for autonomy, support, flexibility, and work–life balance — may not correspond to past traditions of police organizations. Human resource management practices of police organizations may need to adapt to this emerging labour market to attract highly skilled employees and retain dedicated experienced workers (Duxbury, 2007). Building effective workforces may involve further exploring some of these identified issues and evaluating promising practices for strengthening employee job satisfaction.

3.1.3 Current Police Workforce Structures Make Acquiring Specialized and Technical Skills More Challenging

Fulfilling the demand to deliver routinized responses to calls for service will always require law enforcement generalists. Current police workforce structures are designed mostly around the generalist police officer; however, this is an obstacle to meeting new crime challenges such as cybercrime and cross-border crime. These crimes require specialist skills in analytics and proactive policing that are difficult to develop in a tenure-based generalist officer model. Similarly, professionals with these skills who are recruited as civilians may be difficult to retain within promotion structures that focus on police officers. The Arar Commission (O'Connor, 2006) has stressed the need for specialized training for those working in national security policing. The need for specialization warrants recognition in human resource planning.

Issues of technology implementation highlight what has been described as a "disconnect" between the skills needed to perform critical information technology (IT) work and the skills required to be a police officer. This, according to one observer, "is likely to shift the balance on the force away from sworn officers toward civilians" (Treverton *et al.*, 2011). Technology is also a driver of training in police organizations. A greater degree of IT implementation is associated with higher education requirements for new recruits, more training on the job, and greater specialization within the whole organization (Garicano & Heaton, 2006, 2010). The use of IT in front-line police work requires certain skills to capitalize on the potential of the equipment (Sanders & Henderson, 2012). New technologies can also introduce the need and opportunity for other specialty skills, for example in analysis of crime data (Byrne & Buzawa, 2005).

One of the challenges to implementation of technology is the rank structure itself. The effective use of policing technology requires trained personnel for general operations and specialty units, but many police employees report not being properly trained to use, or simply not having access to, the most up-to-date technology (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2000). Another challenge is one of turnover that results, in part, from lesser paid but skilled civilian staff seeking better opportunities in the private sector.

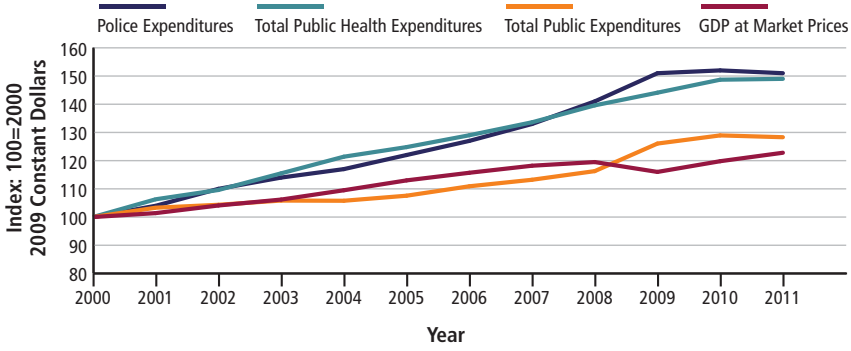
Technology implementation issues, however, are by no means limited to police. Technology diffusion, and the organizational barriers to effective technology adoption, is a widespread challenge faced by many sectors of the economy (Hall, 2007). A central finding of research on the diffusion of technology is that it takes time for the organizational change required to make effective use of technology (Hekkert *et al.*, 2007).

3.2 POLICING COSTS

Rising policing costs are a concern across Canada and at all levels of government. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities notes that almost 20% of municipal operating budgets are now devoted to security, and identifies police and fire service spending as the fastest growing cost for municipalities (FCM, 2008). In January 2013 Public Safety Canada brought together ministers, government officials, police leaders and officers, researchers, and other stakeholders to "increase awareness of the challenges and opportunities facing policing, provide practical information on improving efficiency and effectiveness, and strengthen the foundation for innovation and reform in Canadian policing" (PSC, 2013a). The evidence presented in this section confirms that police costs are increasing and explores several drivers for this trend. This suggests that additional spending may not be resulting in visible improvements to the quality of service.

3.2.1 Policing Costs Have Increased at a Faster Rate than Total Public Expenditures and GDP but Are Consistent with Increases in Health-Care Costs

In 2011 Canadian policing costs were estimated at $12.9 billion, down from the year before by less than 1% (CCJS & SC, 2013b). Prior to 2010, however, inflation-adjusted police expenditures rose for 14 consecutive years (CCJS & SC, 2011). Figure 3.2 shows that police expenditures have increased at a higher rate than total public expenditures in Canada and at a higher rate than GDP growth, substantiating concerns that policing is becoming less affordable. Moreover, while police costs have increased, the total cost of crime reached an estimated $99.6 billion in 2008, 83% of which was borne by victims, with the remainder incurred by the criminal justice system and third parties. The total amount of $99.6 billion includes $31.4 billion in tangible social and economic costs of *Criminal Cod*e offences and $68.2 billion in intangible costs associated with pain and suffering and loss of life (Zhang, 2011).



Data Source: CCJS & SC, 2013b; SC, 2013c, 2013d

Figure 3.2

Trends in Police Expenditures Relative to GDP in Canada, 2000–2011

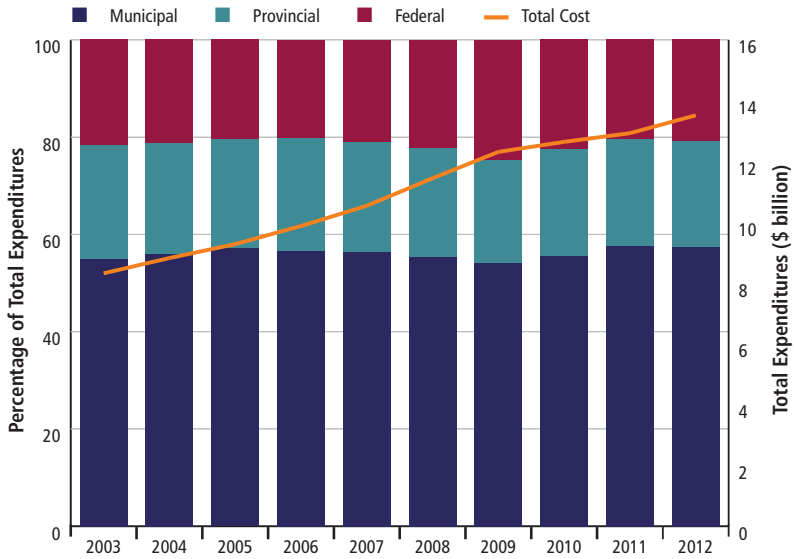
By presenting expenditure data as an index, the figure shows relative increases that have occurred in different areas of public expenditures against a baseline year of 2000. Although police expenditures have increased at a more rapid rate than total public expenditures, they have increased at a rate similar to that of public health-care expenditures. The relative growth in GDP is an indicator of the changing affordability of policing in Canada. From the early 2000s police expenditures grew faster than GDP, making policing relatively more expensive. This trend reversed in 2009 when GDP once again began to rise faster than police expenditures. All numbers are derived from constant 2009 dollars. Originally expressed in constant 2007 dollars, GDP data were deflated to constant 2009 dollars using Statistics Canada's price indexes for GDP at market prices (Table 380-0066).

Increases in police expenditures are, however, in line with increases in public health expenditures, underscoring the increases in public expenditures in other areas. In a comparison of police expenditure as a percentage of GDP for a number of comparable, common law jurisdictions, Canada's expenditure is higher than expenditures in New Zealand, the United States, and Australia, second only to the United Kingdom (Boyd *et al.*, 2011).

The long-term growth in policing costs has been identified by van Reenan (1999) as an example of "Baumol's cost disease," an economic theory that proposes that an industry that relies heavily on labour inputs and cannot apply technology to make significant productivity improvements will continue to see its costs rise. In the case of policing, van Reenan argues that society would not accept greater automation in many of the fundamental aspects of police work. Also, technological advancements are helpful in some investigations but they have also made crime increasingly complex. This theory is tested using data from the Netherlands, but findings are not fully conclusive due to the limited availability of data on police productivity. Van Reenen notes other features of policing that encourage salary growth despite a lack of productivity improvement. These

features include the monopoly nature of police, the essential service status, and an inability to strike, which may lead salaries to be benchmarked to other industries where productivity is improving.

Although total police costs have increased, the share paid by each level of government in Canada has remained steady. Municipalities bear the majority of this cost burden, with provinces/territories and the federal government each covering slightly more than 20% of the costs (see Figure 3.3). For contract policing where municipalities choose to contract out the provision of their statutory police services to the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, 1985), the cost sharing may differ as a result of cost share formulas that take into account population size and the date a municipality signed its first policing agreement with the RCMP (AG, 2005; RCMP, 2013b).



Data Source: CCJS & SC, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013b, 2014

Figure 3.3

Expenditures by Jurisdiction in Canada, 2003–2012

The relative policing expenditures of municipal, provincial, and federal governments in Canada have been fairly steady since 2003, with municipalities covering between 50% and 60% of the costs and the provincial and federal governments each covering slightly more than 20%. During the 2003–2012 period all levels of government increased police spending, as shown here in nominal terms.

3.2.2 Salaries and Benefits Are the Most Important Driver of Rising Policing Costs

Rising salaries and benefits are a key source of pressure on police budgets. With police salaries and benefits now accounting for upwards of 85% of police service budgets in Canada, as is the case for the OPP (OPP-MPB *et al.*, 2012), continuous salary increases represent a major pressure on police budgets. Police compensation varies by organization, but averages approximately $105,000 annually — including pensions and benefits, which represent, on average, 20% of total compensation (see Table 3.1). This is in contrast to average yearly earnings of $29,782 (2012) for private security service employees.[6]

Table 3.1

Average Police Compensation for Nine Police Services in Canada, 2012

Compensation Element	Average ($)	Total Remuneration (%)
Total Remuneration	104,607	100.0
Cash Compensation	83,305	79.6
Pension & Benefits	21,302	20.4
Pension/Savings	12,614	12.1
Group Benefits	8,689	8.3
Net Total Hourly Compensation (Based on Net Annual Hours)	64	–

Data Source: RCMP, 2013c

The table shows police compensation levels averaged across nine police services (Edmonton, Halifax, Montréal, OPP, SQ [Quebec Police], RCMP, Toronto, Vancouver, and Winnipeg), data for which are drawn from the *RCMP Total Compensation Report* of December 2012. The values are based upon the RCMP's demographic and actuarial profiles as of January 1, 2012 and upon the constable rank. They also reflect the weighted workforce average for positions from the entry level through 35 years of service. Net hourly compensation is based upon net annual hours, which are calculated by subtracting vacation, designated paid holidays, and paid meal breaks from gross annual hours. The report does not include an analysis of overtime pay; however, according to the OPP, the rate of overtime paid by municipalities across Ontario ranged from 0.8 to 15.7% as a share of total uniform salaries and benefits (OPP-MPB *et al.*, 2012).

Although the Panel did not find any evidence on the role of arbitration in shaping police salaries and benefits, this nonetheless may be an important factor. Several recent news reports have profiled agreements reached between police services and their employees, pointing to the trend for police salaries to be adjusted upwards based upon salary increases granted to other police services (Leslie, 2011; Macdonald, 2013; Schmidt, 2013). For example, an agreement between the province and the OPP guarantees that the OPP will be the

6 Based upon average weekly earnings, unadjusted for seasonal variation by the NAICS classification "Investigation and security services" [5616] (SC, 2014a).

highest-paid police service in Ontario. In addition, pensions represent a locked-in cost for police services, creating significant inertia in overall departmental budgets (Boyd *et al.,* 2011).

It is worth noting that police wages have increased alongside those in the public sector as a whole. A 2012 study on wage growth in four areas of the Canadian public sector, exclusive of the federal level, found an average increase of 63% in the total wage bill over the course of a decade through to 2010, with Alberta incurring the largest increase at 119%. These increases were driven mainly by per-employee wage increases in all of the four areas examined — provincial general government, health and social service institutions, colleges and universities, and local school boards (Boessenkool & Eisen, 2012).

3.2.3 Legislative Changes Have Increased the Resources Needed to Respond to Incidents

Many researchers have noted the far-reaching consequences of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (the Charter) on Canadian policing (Malm *et al.,* 2005; LCC, 2006; Rosenberg, 2009). Malm *et al.* (2005) found that the Charter has provided grounds for many successful court challenges that have led to judicial decisions with profound impacts on policing. *R. v. Stinchcombe*, [1991] 3 S.C.R. 326 is seen as having had the greatest impact on police, as the courts determined that the accused should be provided with full information about the case against them, adding a huge disclosure burden to police departments (Malm *et al.,* 2005). According to Malm *et al.,* "the cost associated with disclosure for even one large-scale fraud can easily reach into the tens of thousands of dollars and sap the entire operational budget of an investigative unit or department, limiting its capacity to conduct other investigations." The precedent set under Stinchcombe has also been applied to require the disclosure of prior police discipline (SCC, 2009).

Other judicial decisions have also led to significant changes in procedures. For instance, *R. v. Feeney*, [1997] 2 S.C.R. 13 determined that police require special warrants to enter a house to arrest a suspect if the suspect refuses to leave of their own accord. The time and steps necessary to obtain this warrant have quadrupled the resources required to make an arrest in these circumstances (Malm *et al.,* 2005). Rosenberg (2009) points to *R. v. Therens*, [1985] 1 S.C.R. 613 as an important marker for the Charter's impact on the courts; in this decision, the court acknowledged its role in protecting individual rights and showed it was willing to exclude evidence to enforce the Charter. At the same time, Rosenberg cautions against overstating the Charter's impact, noting that most cases continue to be resolved out of court and the Charter's impacts are thus minimal (Rosenberg, 2009).

Malm *et al.* (2005) examined the evolution of policing resource demands in three regions of British Columbia (Prince George, Nanaimo, and Surrey) and found that court decisions reached in recent decades have continually increased police resources required to respond to and handle crime incidents. The unintended result has been erosion of police capacity. For example, the time required to respond to cases has approximately increased from 5 to 10 hours for break and enter, 1 to 5 hours for driving under the influence, and 1 to 12 hours for domestic assault. A considerable part of this increase is associated with the increased time required to prepare reports for crown counsel acceptance (Malm *et al.,* 2005).

The *Code of Police Practice* — a set of guidelines for Canadian officers developed by the former Police Futures Group — demonstrates the pervasiveness of court proceedings in shaping a wide range of police procedures. Procedures for note-taking, both content and form, and for responding to different case types are determined by the need to carry out procedures and produce evidence in a manner that the courts will deem fair and admissible (CACP, 1999). Malm *et al.* (2005) note that the complexity of many court decisions means that the average police officer is increasingly challenged to comprehend and implement them.

Beyond the Charter, other legislative changes have had impacts on police, including access to information provisions, reporting on seized evidence, and complex warrants for DNA evidence (Malm *et al.,* 2005). Under the *Police Services Act*, the Government of Ontario introduced a set of "adequacy standards" in 1999 that required all police services in the province to meet a set of requirements relating to their core policing functions (Blandford, 2004). These standards have created a level of consistency across police services, but have also required them to invest already scarce resources in a variety of areas. Blandford notes that "the province continues to direct through the Adequacy Standards the level and quality of police service that municipalities must maintain, but does not fund the training and capital expenditures required to meet these standards." Recent legislation such as the Victims' Bill of Rights Act, which entrenches the right of crime victims to protection, restitution, information, and participation, could also potentially have an impact on costs (Fine, 2014).

The same challenges appear to apply in other countries. According to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of the Constabulary (HMIC) in the United Kingdom, police organizations have become increasingly risk averse and have increased the use of guidelines and practices to control police behaviour. As a result, an increased level of resources has been directed towards these oversight functions and mechanisms, and away from front-line policing (HMIC, 2010). In a U.S. case study of Mesa, Arizona, rising policing costs are partially attributed to the growing complexity of police procedures (Gascon & Foglesong, 2010).

A key concern related to this trend in legislative and judicial changes is a lack of assessment and management of the impacts of judicial decisions on police in Canada (Malm *et al.,* 2005). Police boards have noted the strain that these changes are placing on police resources (CAPB, 2011; OAPSB, n.d.). Courts, however, are not required to weigh the costs and benefits of their decisions or to factor in impacts on police priorities.

3.2.4 Technology Offers Potential Cost Savings, but Creates New Resource Demands

Police officers make use of, or have ready access to, an increasingly wide range of technologies to support information and resource management, communications, and crime investigations. Technology, while an imperative for effective and efficient police services, can create many challenges. The evidence points to some aspects of technology that can free up police resources, and others that can create new resource demands.

Some of the readily identified resource efficiencies available through technology include crime information management systems used in suspect identification, accessing warrants, and identifying missing persons, along with communication technology that can help improve response times and coordination between first responders (AG, 2000). In addition, police can be more productive while away from the office, as smartphones, laptops with wireless connection, radios, and global positioning systems have made the modern police vehicle a mobile work station (Casady, 2011).

At the same time, technology is creating new resource demands. A report on cybercrime in Canada points out that traditional crimes such as drug trafficking frequently include an examination of mobile devices when individuals are arrested (Deloitte, 2008). In the United States, large internet service providers, phone service providers, and even social media or email domains receive requests for information from government or police (Mueller *et al.,* 2012). As Leistert (2012) notes, "the meta-data produced automatically by mobile telephony are at least as important for law enforcement as the content of the calls." In the United Kingdom, the use of closed-circuit television (CCTV) is commonplace, even though studies of CCTV show mixed results in its ability to reduce crime (Welsh & Farrington, 2008). Although these relatively new resources can be valuable in preventing and resolving crime, it is still unclear as to whether the processing of these data places additional demands — or undue burdens — on police time (Deloitte, 2008).

3.2.5 Evidence Is Mixed on Whether or Not Police Budget Cuts Affect Crime Rates

The Panel has observed that there is no evidence base to support an "ideal" level of police expenditures. The social acceptability of police expenditure levels is a function of social priorities and economic circumstances. However, Canadian police budgets may be forced to contract over the coming years due to increasing constraints on municipal budgets in Canada, of which policing is one of the largest expenses (PSC, 2012, 2013e; Leuprecht, 2014). Since the economic crisis of 2008, public expenditures have come under increasing scrutiny, and police spending in some jurisdictions has fallen dramatically. The U.K. government is in the process of implementing a 20% reduction in central funding for all police services (HMIC, 2013b); however, projected figures from the most recent funding settlement suggest that the figure will be greater (than 20%) by 2020 (HM Treasury, 2013).

Police budget reduction exercises can have multiple impacts on the supply of police services (HMIC, 2013b). Layoffs can result in the loss of skills and expertise, and reduced resources can diminish staff morale, which may in turn lead to limited work commitment. The public may find police less accessible due to office closures and layoffs, resulting in fewer visible officers on patrol, and reactive policing may be preserved at the cost of reduced proactive policing (HMIC, 2013b).

There is mixed evidence related to the effects of police visibility on crime, including some evidence that reductions in front-line resources may have negative impacts on crime. After the London Underground bombings in 2005, the police presence in central London increased by over 30%. Crime in the area fell notably compared with other areas where deployment levels were steady, suggesting that a 10% increase in police presence reduced crime by 3% (Draca *et al.,* 2008). This study is careful to underscore that police visibility, rather than overall police staffing, is responsible for reducing crime.

An injection of funding from the Community Oriented Policing Services was issued to U.S. police services irrespective of the levels of crime. As a result, police services hired more officers and saw reductions in burglary, robbery, auto theft, and assault (Evans & Owens, 2007). In a meta-analysis that pools these studies and others, Heaton (2010) reported that a 1% increase in police personnel levels leads to a 0.93% reduction in homicide, a 0.59% reduction in robbery, a 0.29% reduction in serious assault, a 0.4% reduction in burglary, and a 0.44% reduction in vehicle theft. He notes that "these estimates are most

useful for projecting the effects of small to modest changes in the number of police and may be less informative about large changes in service size, such as a 50% decrease in the number of officers."

Bradford (2011) notes that methodological issues limit the ability to draw strong conclusions from these reports. For instance, the short-term boosts in police presence following a terrorist attack may be of a nature and scale that would not be reproduced through normal hiring and deployment practices. Also, these quasi-experimental studies look at increases in police presence, rather than decreases (Bradford, 2011). Lafleur and Newman (2013) caution there is limited applicability of U.S. findings to the Canadian context, in which baseline rates of crime are far lower. In addition, the spending cuts that have been implemented in England and Wales have not led to increased crime rates (HMIC, 2013b). This mixed evidence suggests that the implications of reducing police resources, particularly the impact on crime rates, still remain unclear.

3.2.6 More Research and Better Data on Policing Costs Are Needed

The lack of data and research on the cost of policing in Canada is affecting the quality of the national discussion on the subject. There are several sources of expenditure data, but the data are often incomplete or difficult to access. Statistics Canada's Police Administration Survey data are widely accessible, but exclude capital expenditures, do not provide police service-level data, and are not comparable across provinces (CCJS & SC, 2010). Local expenditures are provided in the federal government's Financial Management System, but only in aggregate for province or territory. Provincial expenditures are included in public accounts, but not pooled in a central location; this can create challenges in comparing expenditures since they may be estimated differently in different regions and different publications. Pulling together multiple data sources can lead to double-counting issues (PBO, 2013). A comparable data set of police-service level expenditures disaggregated by expenditure type would provide researchers and police management with a means to benchmark spending to other forces, and an avenue to explore practices in place in police services with lower expenditures.

Data on how police spend their time and resources are critical to understanding the drivers of growing police expenditures. Activity-based costing is a valuable tool that can be used to develop this data. It is used in the United Kingdom to develop an understanding of the cost of providing specific services and to inform decision-making (see Section 4.2 for further discussion of activity-based costing).

Canadian police service budgets are generally reported based upon allocated rather than actual expenditures. The Office of the Auditor General has conducted several audits of various RCMP activities since 2000. The Auditor General's

office notes that the RCMP does not have the information systems required to provide detailed costing of the services it provides to other police services (e.g., DNA data bank, fingerprint and criminal record repository). The costs of these services have been increasing as technology becomes more sophisticated. Resources have been redirected from other areas of the RCMP to fund these services. Better costing information would allow the RCMP to pursue cost recovery and also assess the costs and benefits of alternative delivery approaches (AG, 2011a).

In a related issue, the Panel found limited Canadian studies of how police officers spend their time. Few police services publish data and analysis on the time spent on tasks and, among those that do, there are differences in breakdown of time by category. For instance, during 2012, primary patrol response units of the York Regional Police Service spent 40% on proactive patrol work (PROAC), 38% on calls for service (CFS), and 22% on non-calls for service (Non-CFS) work such as administrative duties (Bellmio, 2013). In comparison, the Edmonton Police Service spent 49% on CFS, 28% on PROAC, and 23% on Non-CFS between 2005 and 2006 (EPS, 2007). Without a clear understanding of what police services are being called on to deliver across the country, it is difficult for policy-makers to prioritize areas for reform.

The Panel also noted that little recent research has been done, either in Canada or abroad, on the impact of police unions — not only on cost trends, but also on organizational structures and opportunities for reform (Walker, 2008) (see Section 5.2.1 for further discussion on police unions).

3.3 ACCOUNTABILITY AND LEGITIMACY

Having given police the powers needed to prevent crime, harm, and disorder — powers that the public does not possess — accountability becomes paramount to public trust (Morden, 2012). Accountability refers to the ability to demand explanations and justifications from the police for their actions and does not necessarily include a power by those demanding an account to control police behaviour (Stenning, 1995). Accountability is especially important in a liberal democracy such as Canada, where the public expects police to be answerable to Canada's democratic laws and ultimately responsive to public safety and security concerns and needs (Manning, 2010). Accountability also contributes to police legitimacy, which underpins public support for the police and the public's willingness to cooperate with police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

For this reason, various mechanisms have been put in place to hold police accountable to the public, governing bodies, inquiries or review bodies, government ministers, and courts of law. These mechanisms have also been

periodically reviewed and improved upon in response to pressures and problems that may arise. The 1976 Marin Commission *(Report of the Commission of Inquiry Relating to Public Complaints, Internal Discipline and Grievance Procedures Within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police)* is one notable example of a review that brought improvements to RCMP procedures for complaints and grievances (RCMP, 2009).

Structures and processes within police organizations also encourage officers to adhere both to laws and to departmental policies and procedures. These internal mechanisms, which include direction and supervision, discipline, and pre-service training, mostly concern accountability of the individual (Kelling *et al.,* 1988; Murphy & McKenna, 2008), and the transparency of any disciplinary sanctions is, at best, limited (Murphy & McKenna, 2008). To respect an officer's right to privacy, disciplinary records are only disclosed after careful consideration. Thus the public may never learn about actions taken within organizations to reinforce accountability (SCC, 2009).

Accountability of senior leadership is often established through provincial police services acts, which in many provinces make police chiefs accountable to the police services board. These civilian-governing authorities participate in the hiring and firing of Canadian police chiefs, as well as performance management and setting of strategic directions for them (see, for example, the *Police Services Act of Manitoba*, 2009). Concerns have, however, been raised about whether particular police service boards have been adequately discharging their policy-making duties (Morden, 2012). Increasingly, cameras used both by police and the public are serving as another layer of individual accountability (Goldsmith, 2010).

Yet, despite these wide-ranging structures and the efforts to improve them, accountability problems persist in Canadian policing and are revealing themselves with notable frequency. In discussions on the appropriate deployment of force, in the ability of police boards to contain police budgets, in the policing of major events such as the G20 Summit or the Olympics, in maintaining public confidence in the police, in holding private security personnel to account, or in growing public and government use of videos, accountability issues continue to be at the forefront of public concern. The main challenges are discussed below.

3.3.1 Performance Metrics Fall Short of Measuring Efficiency and Effectiveness

Police organizations in Canada are responding to the call to demonstrate the value of police services. Performance measurement, however, is currently largely at the initiative of each organization, with little coordination of comparable

metrics. Public Safety Canada recently commissioned a review of the efforts of police organizations across the country. Kiedrowski *et al.* (2013) found a wide range of performance indicators in use, with no common framework. Many police organizations are using non-standardized indicators, often focusing on inputs and outputs but failing to include measures of effectiveness and efficiency of outcomes (Kiedrowski *et al.,* 2013). The choice of indicators is not simple; some important dimensions of police performance do not lend themselves well to measurement, such as crime rates, officer ethics, service quality, constraint in use of force, and treatment of offenders (Gascon & Foglesong, 2010).

Performance measurement can be difficult to get right, creating unanticipated incentives and a heavy reporting burden. Some police administrators confuse statistics that capture inputs into policing (e.g., number of officers) or easily counted outputs (e.g., number of arrests) with performance measures; this is based upon the flawed logic that these numbers can somehow accurately assess police performance against the goals of the organization (Gorby, 2013).

Along with inconsistent performance measurement, there is also a general lack of evaluation undertaken and made publicly available to determine whether police practices are effectively and efficiently meeting objectives. Few police services perform such evaluations, hindering the sharing of knowledge about successful practices with other police services. This is the case even for the RCMP, which is required by the federal government to carry out evaluations of direct program spending. In its review of RCMP management practices, the Treasury Board Secretariat noted that the RCMP has not been in compliance with the TBS Policy on Evaluation, as a result of having evaluated less than 5% of its program spending each year and not having submitted any evaluations to TBS in either 2010–2011 or 2011–2012 (TBS, 2011, 2013).

3.3.2 Democratic Accountability Mechanisms Are Falling Short

Democratic governance involves representation of and reporting to community. Appropriate governance is central to generating policing according to societal values. One of the central concerns is respect for democratic accountability, often fulfilled with oversight and direction from elected representatives. The Ipperwash Inquiry (Linden, 2007) endorsed a model of democratic policing that stresses the legitimacy of elected representatives giving policy direction to the police.[7] One limit on democratic accountability is police independence. In the exercise of law enforcement activities of investigation and arrest, police should not take political direction (O'Connor, 2006). The Ipperwash Inquiry

7 Manning (2010) has developed a set of principles for democratic policing, which, in addition to democratic accountability, include being responsive to local community and citizen complaints and concerns, and fair in the management of police officers, as in delivery of service.

affirmed the importance of a limited law enforcement independence from political direction, while also noting the need for more accountability and transparency in the manner in which responsible ministers provide policy directions to police organizations (Linden, 2007). A subsequent study has found, however, that the responsible minister was reluctant to give policy direction to the OPP with respect to the policing of an Aboriginal protest at Caledonia in 2006 (Sancton, 2012).

These inquiries have provided some clarity in the interpretation of police independence in Canada. This concept, however, is interpreted variously. Roach (2007), for example, proposes four types of police–government relations that reflect variations. The matter of police independence may be relatively settled in Canada, but in other places, the debate continues about how to achieve functional separation from partisan direction (Sossin, 2004). Police independence is often characterized as protecting operational independence, which gives police executives the authority to make decisions about deployment and day-to-day administration (Murphy & McKenna, 2007). One proposal of note is to replace the concept of operational independence with "operational responsibility," as proposed in the *Report of the Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland* (Patten *et al.,* 1999) and more recently adopted in the *Report of the Independent Police Commission* (Stevens, 2013).

For governance, Canada has a variety of mechanisms in place. The RCMP and provincial police are generally accountable to a responsible minister, whereas municipal forces are generally accountable to police boards. Governance through a board mediates some of the concern about direct control by elected officials while also allowing some political direction of police policies (Morden, 2012). Independence and accountability can co-exist.

In Canada, democratic accountability can — in theory — be achieved with direction and oversight from elected representatives who are, in turn, accountable to voters. In many municipal police organizations, the chief is appointed by and responsible to the municipal council or to a board or commission (Hann *et al.,* 1985); the labels applied to this municipal governance tradition vary (Kiedrowski *et al.,* 2013). These institutions determine strategic direction and, by identifying objectives and priorities for the police service, may also provide a link to the values of the larger community in which the organization operates (LCC, 2006).

A recent report has raised concerns that boards have not been sufficiently proactive in developing policies related to policing protests (Morden, 2012). Boards also hold promise for improving the transparency of police organizations, providing them with a channel to the communities they serve, both for receiving direction and for responding to their needs. The Law Commission (2006) highlighted the

need for a board to reflect the community, with members selected by an open and transparent process. This echoes concerns from the Oppal Commission (1994) on the appointment and representativeness of board membership. Representativeness, however, does not have an objective definition for any community, whether defined geographically or by social or demographic features. This requirement may be particularly problematic for police organizations such as provincial and federal services that are not governed in consultation with local constituents, giving rise to a challenge for accountability.

Boards are one, but not the only, governance mechanism for democratic control and accountability of police. Although contracts can specify requirements that improve transparency and performance measurement, demands for renewal of governance of the RCMP have reflected a relative lack of local influence in a centrally controlled policing environment. Accountability of and for the RCMP is the subject of the most recent amendment to the *RCMP Act*, with changes to the internal and external oversight of the organization, including enhanced input from municipalities and provinces for tailoring contracts (DOJ, 2013). The *Enhancing Royal Canadian Mounted Police Accountability Act* does not, however, establish a means for civilian governance of the RCMP, as recommended by the Brown Commission (2007). (See Section 4.2 for further discussion of accountability through performance measurement.)

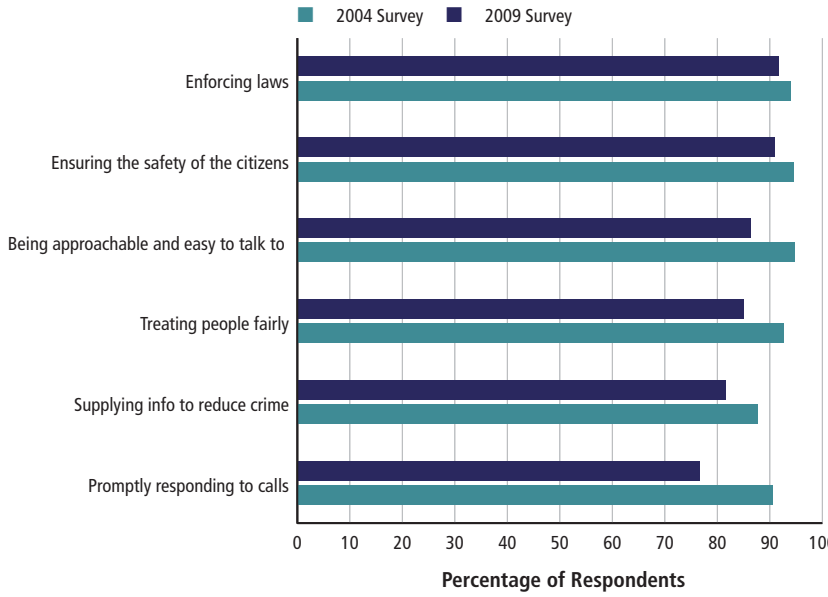
3.3.3 Public Confidence in Police in Canada Is High but Is Showing Signs of Decline

An overarching goal of enhancing accountability is to strengthen public confidence and, by extension, police legitimacy. Through this relationship, public confidence becomes a meaningful measure of whether police are viewed as a legitimate authority, complementing traditional approaches to measuring police performance that rely upon outputs such as crime and detection rates. Although public confidence in Canadian police has historically been high, surveys over the past decade show some decline.

Canadians report relatively high levels of confidence in police. The 2009 GSS on victimization included six questions related to respondents' perceptions of their local police force, along six dimensions: enforcing laws, responding promptly to calls, being approachable, supplying information on reducing crime, ensuring the safety of citizens, and treating people fairly. For all six dimensions, the majority of respondents indicated they perceived police were doing a good job. More than 80% of respondents selected answers of "good" or "average" for all questions but one (supplying information on reducing crime), which suggests an overall positive evaluation of the dimensions of public trust in police. Nevertheless, the 2009 survey responses indicate a decrease in public trust in police officers in

Canada when compared with results of the 2004 GSS (see Figure 3.4). For each item surveyed, fewer respondents indicated that police had done a good or average job over the previous time period. The largest decline was observed in "the police's ability to promptly respond to calls," with only 76% of respondents selecting "good" or "average," compared with 91% in the 2004 survey.[8]

In an analysis of the 2004 survey data, Cao (2011) suggests that several demographic factors, when considered as isolated variables, have a significant association with the public response to policing. Older people and women are more likely to respond positively to questions about their satisfaction with policing (compared with younger people and men respectively), while visible minorities tend to express lower levels of confidence in police than non-minorities.



Data Source: Cao, 2011; SC, 2011

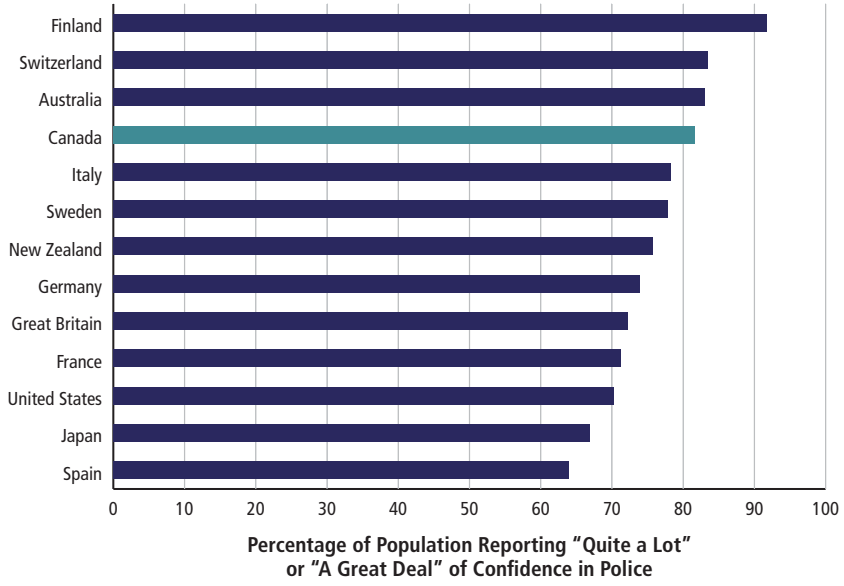
Figure 3.4

Public Perceptions of Local Police in Canada, 2004 and 2009

Individuals responding to the GSS on victimization were surveyed to ascertain public confidence in police. Respondents were asked to rate the performance of their local police on six dimensions as good, average, poor, or unknown. The 2009 survey responses indicate a decrease of public trust in police.

8 The Panel notes that this result might have differed if the question had focused on emergency calls. With call management policies, police services may direct more prompt responses to emergencies than to non-emergency calls.

Trend data from public opinion polls suggest a decrease in public trust in police officers in Canada. Ipsos Reid has examined public trust for a range of professions. Comparing 2003 and 2011, trust in several professions has fallen, including in pharmacists (-12%), teachers (-14%), and doctors (-10%). The largest drop was in public trust in police officers (-16%). In 2003, 73% of respondents ranked their trust in police officers as five or above on a seven-point scale; in 2011 that proportion fell to 57% (Ipsos Reid, 2011). These numbers imply a downward trend in public confidence in police, albeit one that is difficult to confirm without additional comparable numbers. A 2010 EKOS survey also points to some fragility in the public's confidence in police, finding a decrease over previous years (EKOS, 2010); the survey finds variation in public confidence across the country and between age groups, with older age groups tending to report stronger confidence. Nonetheless, confidence in police is high in Canada relative to international peers (see Figure 3.5). During the 2005–2008 round of the World Values Survey, more than 80% of Canadians reported having "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in police. This compares favourably with confidence levels in the United Kingdom and United States, and is on a par with those in Australia and Switzerland.



Data Source: WVSA, 2009

Figure 3.5

Public Confidence in Police, by Country, 2005–2008

Confidence in police is high in Canada relative to that in other countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Data from the World Values Survey (collected between 2005–2008) show that more than 80% of Canadians report having "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in police.

3.3.4 Private Security Providers Are Subject to Weaker and Less Consistent Accountability Mechanisms than Police

A number of mechanisms are in place to hold private security providers to account, including licensing, requirements to be insurable, labour legislation, and terms specified in contracts (Stenning & Shearing, 1979; Lewis & Wood, 2006). Like police, private security personnel are also accountable to their employers and subject to the constraints of criminal law, which, it has been proposed, holds private actors to account more effectively than public actors (Stenning, 2000; LCC, 2006).

Private security providers, however, are not subject to the same degree of civilian oversight as are police. Indeed, no transparent mechanism exists to call private providers to account for public complaints (Stenning & Shearing, 1979). Accountability gaps arise from inconsistencies between provinces, in collaborations between private and public providers, and from the diversity of different types of "private" security, which may have different levels of training and licensing.

Provinces, for their part, have approached regulation of private security in different ways, without consensus on regulatory standards for employers and their staff. This is described in detail elsewhere (LCC, 2006). The expectations, and thus the basic skills and training of personnel, are not the same across jurisdictions in Canada and not set according to a minimum standard.

In Canada, private security personnel also receive less training than police officers (Swol, 1998). Not all personnel need identical training, but they do need training appropriate for their roles. Thus the objective lies not in achieving the same qualification for all in the safety and security web, but rather in establishing some means to ensure the training is sufficient for the function. As such, not all private providers are employed and empowered with the same provisions, and not all who wear uniforms and assume the position of guard are, in fact, licensed or sufficiently trained.

In addition, different standards exist for private security employees versus individuals working on contract. Those employed by firms that supply services to multiple clients on a contractual basis (i.e., contract policing) must meet formal, statutory licensing requirements, albeit far less rigorous than the qualifications to act as a police officer. These requirements include good moral character or no criminal background (see, for example, Private Security and Investigative Services Act, 2005; GBC, 2007). This is in contrast to individuals hired by private

firms to operate in-house and who are not subject to licensing requirements, only having to meet the standards of qualifications required by their employers (Stenning & Shearing, 1979; Button, 2007).

Box 3.1
Accountability Challenges at the Interface of Private Security and Police

Brown & Lippert (2007) describe the decision of a neighbourhood in an unnamed Ontario city to hire private security as additional patrol on its streets.* In this case, the firm was contracted to monitor the homes of the subscribers, but, in effect, patrolled the entire neighbourhood. A private patrol can enforce the rights of property holders on those private properties, but they hold only the powers of private citizens in the public space between the boundaries of subscribers' territories. Despite their presence in the public space, the private patrols carried no power over the streets and sidewalks, although they used their symbolic power to encourage non-residents to leave the area. It was understood that the private security presence was a supplement to police patrol, and would turn over to police any issue concerning the public space.

Private security patrols, in such a circumstance, are accountable to their employer, who is responsible, through a contract, to the subscribing homeowners. The contract is evidence of homeowners, as self-appointed representatives of the community, demanding a different responsiveness and transparency than previously available through police patrols. However, this additional openness and influence are not accompanied by greater legal, democratic, and internal accounting for the actions of private security patrols in the public spaces between private properties. (See Section 5.3.1 for more information on the involvement of private security in police activities.)

* Police also (unsuccessfully) bid to deliver the requested services, using paid duty officers (Brown & Lippert, 2007).

Another challenge emerges when private providers are contracted by police organizations. Although police can and do outsource security functions to private providers, the accountability component cannot be delegated. Thus police organizations, or their governing bodies, still must meet the requirements and responsibilities for democratic accountability, even when the task of policing has been privatized. Ayling *et al.* (2009) suggest that this may moderate the overall efficiency gain of privatizing security.

The result is a complex, variable, and easily confused accountability structure for private security. Box 3.1 demonstrates how complex accountability can be, especially when private security interfaces with police.

3.3.5 The Safety and Security Web Challenges Existing Accountability Mechanisms

While there are specific accountability challenges with some parts of the safety and security web, such as private security, the web as a whole and the partnerships on which it is based also challenge current accountability mechanisms. In fact, governments often provide minimal direction on accountability in partnerships between various actors (Dupont, 2013). Therefore, debates persist on who is, and should be, accountable for the collective actions of the safety and security web (Loader, 2000; Ayling *et al.*, 2009).

For police, and for the safety and security web more broadly, demands for external oversight are met with myriad combinations of civilian, police, and hybrid arrangements in self-governance and regulation. Some arrangements satisfactorily meet the need for control and accountability, while others leave gaps in oversight. When the safety and security web is viewed as a system, it lacks assurance that accountabilities are uniformly met because the same accountability mechanisms are not available everywhere. At issue is the lack of clear standards for accountability across the web and concern that increases in private security powers have been realized without a corresponding emphasis on increased responsibility (Stenning & Shearing, 1979; Burbidge, 2005; Stenning, 2009).

The response following the G8 and G20 summits underscores the lack of a coordinated accountability mechanism for the safety and security web. After federal and provincial governments declined to conduct an inquiry, existing review bodies emerged to examine the events following the G8 and G20, alongside the investigations of various special investigation units, and civil and criminal court actions. The result was multiple accounts of the event from different sources, with sometimes diffuse and differing conclusions (Roach, 2014) (see Table 3.2). Can a single inquiry for centralized accountability provide the most effective oversight,

or is the variety preferable? Some argue that it may be better to have multiple and even overlapping venues for accountability (Salter, 2014). Determining the most effective approach is an area for further study, one that ultimately must fit within the broader organizational structures for safety and security.

Table 3.2

Selected Inquiries in Canada Following G8 and G20 Summits

Date	Organization or Agency	Report
June 2010	Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer	*Assessment of Planned Security Costs for the 2010 G8 and G20 Summits* (PBO, 2010)
June 2010	Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA)	*A Breach of the Peace: A Preliminary Report of Observations During the 2010 G20 Summit* (CCLA, 2010)
October 2010	Organization of American States	*Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights* (OAS, 2010)
December 2010	Ombudsman Ontario	*Caught in the Act* (Ombudsman Ontario, 2010)
February 2011	CCLA and National Union of Public and General Employees	*Breach of the Peace Public Hearings: A Citizens Inquiry into Policing and Governance at the Toronto G20 Summit* (NUPGE & CCLA, 2011)
March 2011	House of Commons Standing Committee on Government Operations and Estimates	*Effectiveness, Management and Operation of the Expenses Incurred for the G8/G20 Summits* (Parliament of Canada, 2011b)
March 2011	House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security	*Issues Surrounding Security at the G8 and G20 Summits* (Parliament of Canada, 2011a)
April 2011	Auditor General of Canada	*Expenditures for the 2010 G8 and G20 Summits* (AG, 2011b)
April 2011	Ontario Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services	Report of the Review of the *Public Works Protection Act* (McMurtry, 2011)
June 2011	RCMP	*After Action Report* (RCMP, 2011)
June 2011	Toronto Police Service	*After Action Review* (TPS, 2011)
November 2011	Ontario Provincial Police	Consolidated After Action Report (OPP, 2011)
May 2012	Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP	*Public Interest Investigation into RCMP Member Conduct Related to the 2010 G8 & G20 Summits* (McPhail, 2012)
May 2012	Office of the Independent Police Review Director	*Policing the Right to Protest* (OIPRD, 2012)
June 2012	Toronto Police Services Board	*Independent Civilian Review into Matters Relating to the G20 Summit* (Morden, 2012)

Following the G8 and G20 summits, which were marked by many problems in security planning and implementation, a significant number of organizations took it upon themselves to undertake reviews related to the policing of the summits. In listing the resulting reports, this table underscores the extent of fragmentation in accountability that can arise when the delivery of safety and security involves multiple organizations.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The internal challenges that police organizations are facing reflect a general weakness in the extent to which they have been able to adapt to the external changes that have reshaped the safety and security landscape. Police have managed to maintain their traditional organizational structure, funding model, hiring standards, and accountability systems, despite significant changes in the skills required for contemporary policing, the range of harms that police are called upon to address, the multitude of oversight bodies, and the need to collaborate and partner in responding to and preventing crime. Finding better ways of adapting to this external landscape will help alleviate these internal challenges. The next three chapters document opportunities in the areas of police accountability, police organization, and national level initiatives that can help police services participate most effectively in the safety and security web.

4

Opportunities to Enhance Accountability and Legitimacy

- Accountability for Police Propriety
- Accountability for Efficacy Through Performance Measurement
- Enhancing Accountability Across the Safety and Security Web
- Improving Police Legitimacy
- Conclusion

4 Opportunities to Enhance Accountability and Legitimacy

Key Findings

Most of the mechanisms established in Canada for ensuring police accountability are concerned with addressing police wrongdoing. These mechanisms continue to evolve through experimentation and exchange of ideas and are often tailored to specific needs of constituent communities. Although essential characteristics can be identified that underpin successful oversight mechanisms, there is no single best mechanism for this aspect of accountability.

Accountability mechanisms that oversee the range of actors and partnerships in the safety and security web are underdeveloped. Proposals for public security boards are deemed promising by the Panel, although it is recognized that they have not yet been tested through implementation. Such boards would not only have wider regional jurisdiction, but also responsibilities for providing civilian oversight of the multiple public and private providers of safety and security, and which could prospectively shape both propriety and efficacy across the safety and security web.

Research on police legitimacy identifies two ways in which it can be enhanced: by having police workforces that are culturally representative of the communities they serve, and by following through with positive actions such as community outreach initiatives.

Police in Canada are now subject to a range of accountability structures that may serve more than one purpose and that have been established at different levels and by different organizations. Structures have been established, for example, to address police wrongdoing (i.e., propriety), whereby police actions are reviewed in the context of legal and ethical standards. Other structures, like municipal police boards, focus mainly on police efficacy, whereby police services are reviewed against the policy objectives defined by governance bodies (Whitaker & Farson, 2009).

Structures are also differentiated by whether they are oriented primarily towards the accountability of individuals, as is the case with Ontario's Special Investigation Unit (SIU) and similar independent investigation units being established in other provinces, or towards the accountability of institutions

and organizations, which was recognized in the 1976 *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Relating to Public Complaints, Internal Discipline and Grievance Procedures Within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Accountability mechanisms may be concerned with bringing closer attention to past events, or focused on shaping future events with system improvements.

Collectively, all of these dimensions and structures reflect cumulative efforts made through various reforms and reviews over many years, aimed at addressing deficits in police accountability. The chapter looks at how accountability can be further enhanced, not just of police, but also of other actors in the safety and security web. Having appropriate and comprehensive accountability is important for increasing the legitimacy of all safety and security providers and, subsequently, the willingness of the public to cooperate with and support the safety and security web as a whole.

4.1 ACCOUNTABILITY FOR POLICE PROPRIETY

The attention and experimentation given to police accountability have yielded a range of structures suited to local contexts and concerns. The governance structures that provide means for shaping police operations, as described in Chapter 3, can also be involved in the review of issues or incidents. In addition, police work is overseen by both internal and external bodies whose role is the review of police (See Box 4.1). In many provinces, the law establishes structures for civilian review. In Saskatchewan, individuals may submit and hear responses to complaints about abuses of police power (Police Act, 1990).

Taken together, these form legal accountability, with structures established for responding to cases of misuse of power, determining disciplinary action, ensuring sufficient accounting by the leadership, and appropriate changes at organizational levels.

4.1.1 Common Characteristics Underlie Diverse Accountability Mechanisms for Propriety

Where laws are broken, police are accountable through courts and the *Criminal Code* (LCC, 2006; Murphy & McKenna, 2007). Public inquiries have raised concerns, however, about how police are held to account when laws are not broken but public confidence is breached. Although public confidence is generally high among Canadians (see Figure 3.5), public opinion does show some indication that police are not esteemed equally by all (Cao, 2011). The response to particular police practices can generate a direct response from those affected. For example, in the practice of collecting information about

Box 4.1
Holding Individuals to Account: The Ontario SIU

The SIU was established in Ontario in 1990. Under the provincial *Police Services Act,* the Director of the SIU or the Solicitor General initiates investigations of "serious injuries and deaths that may have resulted from criminal offences committed by police officers" (Police Services Act, 1990). The SIU is one example of holding individuals to account under criminal law. Staffed with full-time investigators from both civilian and police backgrounds, as well as a dedicated forensic team, the SIU leads investigations, with participation from other officers (Scott, 2013b). Alberta and British Columbia also have investigative offices that operate on a similar model (CACOLE, 2010). Some commentators have raised concerns that many criminal prosecutions of police result in acquittals and that regulatory offences with lower standards of proof may be a more appropriate means to ensure accountability for professional policing standards (Scott, 2004).

individuals, also known as "carding" and "street checks," police may record information about the individuals in a Field Information Report or contact card. Street checks have had a demonstrated negative impact on the individuals and communities that perceive themselves targeted by the activity (TPSB, 2013), reactions similar to those documented in the Kingston, Ontario, race data collection project (Closs & McKenna, 2006).

A crucial dimension of dealing with the perception of inequality is addressing public complaints of police misconduct, which ensures police and police organizations are held to account for learning from mistakes and missteps. This is to provide redress for a complainant and restore the broader public's trust in the police enterprise, but also to deter future abuse of police powers by imposing appropriate discipline where required (Whitaker & Farson, 2009; Ferdik *et al.,* 2013).

A mechanism for providing a counterweight to the legal powers granted to police to enforce the law is civilian oversight bodies. In 2010 the Canadian Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement (CACOLE) identified 18 unique agencies for civilian oversight at federal, provincial, and municipal levels (CACOLE, 2010). While CACOLE notes this structural diversity can be important in allowing for flexibility in meeting the needs of diverse constituent communities, it highlights a number of common characteristics essential to

successful civilian oversight (Tinsley, 2009).[9] These characteristics, discussed below, provide a useful framework for identifying how oversight mechanisms can be, and have been, improved upon in Canada.

Independence

Concerns have been raised since the 1980s about the legitimacy of police "policing" themselves. This has brought forward demands for oversight agencies to be free from real and perceived inappropriate political influence. To be autonomous, review bodies must also have sufficient distance from police chiefs (Sossin, 2004). Where police organizations used to investigate complaints concerning their own membership, the more recent trend is towards a separate and independent agency conducting reviews (Murphy & McKenna, 2008; Tinsley, 2009). This style of oversight involves "more direct and expansive civilian involvement" (Murphy & McKenna, 2008) because individuals from outside the policing culture are commonly perceived to be more independent as investigators, which improves the perceived legitimacy of the review. As such, these review structures are sometimes referred to as civilian or citizen oversight. Caution might be exercised in this labelling, however, as research shows that the category of "civilian" often includes people with police-related backgrounds, although independent of the organization in question (Savage, 2013). In Canada, one of the early experiments in civilian review was pioneered in Toronto in the 1980s and expanded to the province of Ontario before gradually spreading to other parts of the country (Murphy & McKenna, 2008).

Appropriate Empowerment by Law

Oversight bodies differ in important ways by virtue of their powers (Wortley, 2003), differences that can reflect whether police are to be held accountable or controlled. Some oversight agencies have the mandate to initiate inquiries, while others investigate when directed to do so by another authority, sometimes only on a time-limited mandate. In the conduct of investigations, some bodies have greater access and capacity to use information, while other structures may not have the authority to compel participation and responses (Whitaker & Farson, 2009). Some may adjudicate the decision following an investigation, and others may refer the decision to another authority (Wortley, 2003). The Civilian Review and Complaints Commission for the RCMP, for example, under new legislation can propose a remedy to the RCMP Commissioner (PIRS, 2012). The Commissioner must respond, but does not have to accept the proposed remedy.

9 There are other ways of classifying review mechanisms: Murphy & McKenna (2008), with five categories distinguished by role and degree of involvement of civilian and police; also Ferdik (2013), based on the responsibilities of the agency.

In a review of British Columbia's Civilian Police Complaints process, Wood (2007) found that the B.C. model of civilian review boards provides "responsibility without authority." In some cases where investigators lack the power to compel responses, or even to require participation in an interview, they rely upon the duty report related to the incident. Since that review, the Independent Investigations Office of British Columbia has been established and mandated to investigate police-related incidents of serious harm and death; under revisions to the *Police Act*, all police agencies must cooperate with investigations conducted by the Independent Investigations Office (IIO, 2013). Based on his experience with the Ontario SIU, Scott (2013a) similarly posits that an appropriate role for regulation is to shape the participation of witness officers and ensure the independence of their contributions. The recent decision in *Wood v. Schaeffer* (SCC, 2013) confirms the importance of police cooperation with a special investigation unit by preparing contemporaneous notes about a serious incident before consulting with a lawyer. It also stresses the importance of applying the rule of law to police and maintaining public confidence.

The *Enhancing RCMP Accountability Act* is the latest artifact of several years of tension over management reforms (for explanation, see Kempa, 2014). The Act continues to require an independent police complaints body with significant investigative authority, re-named the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission. It also provides that the federal Commission can conduct joint investigations and hearings with various provincial police complaints bodies. This is recognition of the interjurisdictional nature of policing, but stops short of hearing complaints about all security providers in the safety and security web. The Commission also empowers the Commissioner and managers to act in new ways for internal discipline and strengthens the influence of provinces that contract RCMP services in reviews of RCMP activities (PIRS, 2012; DOJ, 2013). Of note, the Commission hears complaints and can conduct public interest investigations of all RCMP officers, including those involved in contract policing.

In investigations, the public perception of fairness has been found to rely on the distancing of reviews from police organizations (Murphy & McKenna, 2008; Prenzler *et al.,* 2013). The Ontario SIU model of independent investigations and prosecutions has been emulated in other provinces (Scott, 2013a).

Transparency of Process and Fairness to All

Although the integrity of the inquiry or investigative process by an oversight body requires some confidentiality, it is important that all possible information be available to both complainant and police officer subject to the complaint (Tinsley, 2009). The use of digital cameras is aiding this aspect. Police organizations across Canada are exploring a new application of technology for increasing transparency of police actions. Calgary Police Service (CPS) is one of several early adopters in the use of cameras worn by police officers "to capture evidence, enhance officer and public safety, and provide transparency" (City of Calgary, 2013). The footage captured by the cameras, which are activated when officers respond to a call or come across an incident, is used to further investigations. In a pilot program conducted by CPS, video from the body-worn cameras contributed to early case resolutions and convictions (City of Calgary, 2013).

Sufficient Expertise and Experience of All Involved to Enable Credible Decision-Making

Non-police are perceived to be more independent from any vested interest in preserving police culture and structure than police. Therefore, their participation is proposed to improve the legitimacy of an investigation. A parallel argument is made for police involvement, as police have the legitimacy among officers to ensure buy-in and participation in investigations, positing that police should be meaningfully involved in review. Furthermore, police officers, especially from investigative roles, often have the skills necessary to effectively investigate complaints and concerns (Murphy & McKenna, 2008). In a study of informal complaint resolution processes, Young *et al.* (2005) highlight that facilitation and restorative justice, rather than criminal investigations, are the skills needed to achieve a satisfactory result.

Communication and Outreach with Broader Community

Appropriate mechanisms for responsiveness to a constituent community may be among the underdeveloped functions of police accountability, especially when compared to refined and deliberated options like board governance. The Missing Women Commission of Inquiry has stressed the need for transparency to ensure police act sufficiently and appropriately to address the needs of communities that might be marginalized (Buckley, 2012). However, since communities may not have the existing capacity to contribute to consultation, police organizations may face low turnout or high turnover when they try to mobilize partnership.

Community participation is an oft-cited component of democratic accountability, and police organizations may be expected to develop cooperative relationships with communities to achieve this objective. Low levels of citizen involvement may mean that communities have little influence over local policing priorities (Jones & van Steden, 2013). In these instances, accountability may be perceived as less important or less assured.

The use of body cameras is one example of police proactively engaging technology to increase accountability. Some tools, for example social media platforms, are being used by the public to put a spotlight on police and police actions, but several other channels for communicating have yet to be fully explored or engaged by many police organizations. This is shifting the emphasis of accountability, which — at one time — was mediated through more scripted media, to an evolving tradition of real-time communication (Huey & Broll, 2011). Knowing that the public has access to and can share its views of police, police can choose to share information directly with the public. Social media tools can also provide police with a vehicle for communicating with the public about police activities (Goldsmith, 2010; Stephens *et al.,* 2011).

4.1.2 Review by Independent Courts Enhances Accountability for Police Propriety

Accountability for police propriety is strengthened further by the independent courts, which review the work of police both in criminal and civil litigation. The Charter provides the accused with numerous opportunities to argue that police have violated a range of rights in the investigative process and to seek a remedy from the independent courts (Rosenberg, 2009). In addition, the Supreme Court in the last decade has recognized a number of new civil cases of actions relating not only to violation of Charter rights but also to negligence and misuse of authority in investigations (e.g., SCC, 2003, 2007, 2010). Attempts were made arising from the G20 in Toronto to use class actions that are based on these new cases of action. Research is lacking, however, on the effects of these forms of accountability on police organizations and on police behaviour.

4.2 ACCOUNTABILITY FOR EFFICACY THROUGH PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

While most accountability structures focus on issues of propriety, reporting on efficacy is also important through tools such as performance measurement, which can assist in dealing with declining budgets and providing more effective policing strategies. Efficacy-based review is important and could be a means of informing investments to make optimal use of limited police resources

(Spottiswoode, 2000). Central to efficacy-based review is performance measurement, whereby details are made available on whether police are achieving their objectives and providing value for public resources. The use of performance measures has risen in prominence as part of a broader trend in public-sector management, where it is intended to provide the motivation to improve outcomes. This is particularly important given that the people who use police services have limited options for taking their business elsewhere and only the more affluent may be able to supplement inadequate service from police with various forms of private security (Bayley & Shearing, 1996). Furthermore, the funding structures that pay for police may not create sufficient incentives for continuous improvement. The public may also not have the necessary information to know if they are receiving optimal performance for the taxpayer money spent on policing.

A range of outcome-oriented performance measures can be tracked to encourage efficient and effective policing (Vollaard, 2006; Shane, 2009) — for example, citizen sense of safety, response time for emergency calls, and clearance or detection rates. These metrics can be used by police executives, police service boards, and responsible ministers to manage resources, and can complement the use of up-to-date data on trends and patterns in crime for operational review and performance measurement, known as CompStat (de Maillard & Savage, 2012; HMIC, 2013a). Performance metrics can also be provided to external accountability bodies to make decisions (Murphy & McKenna, 2007).

Expected performance and the metrics for measuring performance currently vary by province and sometimes by organization in Canada. Provincial Police Acts set standards for police services and governance structures, including criteria for management and operations. These minimum standards do not include legislative requirements for specific performance measures, although some provinces have set requirements for reporting on selected performance indicators (Kiedrowski *et al.,* 2013). Notwithstanding the ad hoc nature of performance measurement, among the frameworks included in Public Safety Canada's review, coherence is emerging about elements that are important for a balanced evaluation of policing (Kiedrowski *et al.,* 2013). Although several reference texts and resources support organizations seeking to implement or enhance performance measurement efforts (Brady, 1997; Maguire, 2003; Shane, 2009), the sector as a whole could potentially benefit from consensus on approaches and metrics.

There are, however, established and generally accepted parameters for measuring performance in police services, which include:

- having a finite number of indicators that measure a common phenomenon and that are therefore comparable across organizations;

- ensuring that the data required to report on the measures are not too resource-intensive to gather; and
- ensuring that the focus of measurement is within the influence of the organization, pegged against expenditures, and linked to organizational goals, so that organizations can be responsible (Vollaard, 2006; Shane, 2009; Kiedrowski *et al.*, 2013).

An example of performance measures currently used for managing police resources is described in Box 4.2.

Box 4.2
Managing Resources with Performance Measures

Waterloo Regional Police Service (WRPS) has implemented a multifaceted system for deploying and managing patrols, combining a neighbourhood-based approach to policing with modelling software to track service delivery.

Patrol zones were redefined based on demand for service, to create geographic areas with equal demand. Officers were then assigned to patrol duty in these neighbourhoods to encourage building partnerships with the community and to foster local ownership of problems. WRPS uses a modelling software, Managing Patrol Performance, to measure, track, and report on factors related to calls for service, which reflects the level of need in the community. Based upon these factors, the program can calculate how many patrol officers are required to meet or improve upon performance goals. Retrospective information about police service delivery can also be used to provide data on patrol performance to supervisors and managers (WRPS, 2009).

WRPS has used the information from tracking to capture a baseline of use of police time and, based on these data, to build additional time for proactive policing and problem solving into shifts. The initial results from this system of resource management show shorter emergency response times, centralizing specialist services, improving balance in officer workload, and providing more equal policing based on neighbourhoods' needs (PSC, 2013b).

As in other areas of policing, performance measurement initiatives from other countries may offer opportunities for Canada. The Australian Productivity Commission uses a performance indicator framework that identifies output indicators for equity, efficiency, and effectiveness (e.g., staffing by gender, spending per person) and then overall outcome indicators (e.g., perceptions of safety, deaths in custody) (SCRGSP, 2012).

In England and Wales, where municipal policing is funded centrally, there is interest in assessing and improving services through the use of performance measurement. Some of the methods that have been applied to police performance data to improve reliability of comparative data are listed below. Three techniques can be used to combine performance indicators to assess relative performance across services:

- *Activity-based costing* compares certain aspects of performance across police services; it can identify inefficiencies in services where the costs of delivering particular activities are high, but it does not provide the data necessary to assess the effectiveness of services in achieving outcomes (Spottiswoode, 2000).
- *Stochastic frontier analysis* takes into account performance indicators for all police services and adjusts performance weights to find the best performance outcomes plotted against spending levels — the "frontier." For any given police service, the difference between the observed performance and the best performance can be analyzed to distinguish inefficiencies from possible measurement error.
- *Data envelopment analysis* looks at police services individually and identifies the best performance for each by adjusting the weights placed on each indicator (although it does not use weights that would give any other police service in the set a score over 100%). The police services with the best performance define the efficiency frontier (Spottiswoode, 2000).

4.3 ENHANCING ACCOUNTABILITY ACROSS THE SAFETY AND SECURITY WEB

The safety and security web is a reality of the present-day policing. Yet appropriate and agreed-upon mechanisms for holding it to account are largely undeveloped. This disconnect suggests a need for structures capable of governing all players in the safety and security web, with a view to ensuring cohesive and coherent coverage through enabling partnerships. At present, the majority of accountability structures focus on specific functions or organizations within the web, with emphasis on concerns about police propriety. Although research is limited, the Panel notes examples and proposals for expanding this oversight to the activities of the entire safety and security web, with an enhanced mandate to consider efficacy.

One example of an accountability structure that is expanding its scope beyond police propriety is the New South Wales Police Integrity Commission (PIC), a permanent standing commission that is independent from the police services. Although the PIC has a mandate to investigate serious police misconduct, it has authority to initiate investigations not just of police but also administrative officers of the police service and officers of the crime commission. The PIC exists within a network of national and state review bodies that are trending towards monitoring activity across the public sector.

This model of a standing anticorruption commission, itself accountable through a parliamentary committee, can contribute to the ability to identify and address more systemic corruption issues. A public-sector commission can also result in a more consistent approach to probity in the public sector, and is proposed by some as an efficient use of resources in fulfilling the review function. In the case of other such initiatives, such as the Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission, the same body conducts targeted reviews in response to public complaints, but also conducts prevention and research activities that include education of personnel and risk reviews (Prenzler & Faulkner, 2010; Prenzler, 2011). Another example of an oversight body having wider jurisdiction is the Manitoba Police Commission described in Box 4.3. With a provincial reach, the Commission provides policy support for municipal police boards, as well as support for investigations.

Box 4.3
Manitoba Police Commission: Leadership for the Province

The Manitoba Police Commission, established in 2009 after revisions to the provincial *Police Services Act*, is one example of a governance structure that is regional and has a wider mandate than that of a municipal policing board. The role of the Commission is outlined in the legislation and includes three main functions: helping to develop policing policy and regulations; assisting municipal police boards through training and developing policy, procedures, and an ethical code; and providing civilian monitors to observe investigations carried out by the new Independent Investigations Unit. In contributing to policy and procedures on training, conduct, and investigations, the Manitoba Police Commission has responsibilities beyond implementing retrospective complaints reviews (Police Services Act, 2009).

These examples are in line with recurring recommendations for public security boards or commissions. These boards not only have regional jurisdiction, but also responsibility for providing civilian oversight of the multiple public and private providers of safety and security, which could prospectively shape both propriety and efficacy across the safety and security web. The *Report of the Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland* (Patten *et al.,* 1999), for example, describes an entity that can monitor performance, set mid-term strategy, and negotiate and allocate policing budgets for the determined best mix of actors and activities, as well as provide appointments and discipline. In Canada, the Law Commission (2006) has suggested public security boards

to provide oversight of senior police officials and foster cooperation between police and other agencies. In this view, the regional- or municipal-level boards would include civilian representatives selected through a transparent process.

Stenning (2009) provides additional detail on how policing boards could be implemented in Canada; these would not replace the boards or commissions of individual police services, but oversee and encourage coordinated deployment with the ability to leverage across police organizations. Rather than controlling the day-to-day activities of the plural providers, a policing board would determine collective solutions to encouraging operational cooperation and sharing of expertise (Dupont, 2006). In this oversight role, a policing board could harmonize minimum training and service delivery standards (Dupont, 2006), and thereby serve as the regulatory body for the private policing industry. Such a board would institutionalize partnerships to ensure minimal duplication, by assigning the service with the best fit of training, capacity, or authority for a given task (LCC, 2006). Through control of the overall budget, the policing board could create incentives that shape interests such as cooperation and transparency (Dupont, 2006). Regional police boards have since been proposed from other commissions of inquiry to provide greater integration of services (Buckley, 2012).

This proposal stands out for its relevance to a multi-actored landscape such as the safety and security web, as it provides the means for central governance of diffuse partnerships. In addition, this board style of accountability is familiar to many in the Canadian context. The diversity of Canadian communities and the degree of experimentation in accountability mechanisms present a unique opportunity to explore governance for the safety and security web.

4.4 IMPROVING POLICE LEGITIMACY

For police to fulfill their role with public consent and cooperation, that public must be able to respect those who perform the policing function (Morden, 2012). As described by Tyler and Fagan (2008), a community gives police permission to operate based on a sense of legitimacy. If the police role is seen as legitimate and police are viewed as acting with justice in fulfilling their purpose, police actions will be more accepted and supported by the public, and therefore police will be better able to prevent and respond to crime and disorder (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

The research points to two ways in which police legitimacy can be enhanced: through a more culturally representative workforce, and by specific actions intentionally designed to enhance legitimacy.

4.4.1 A More Culturally Representative Police Workforce Can Help Improve Legitimacy

Having a police service that is representative of the population served is generally held to be important for legitimacy and police effectiveness. Indeed, greater community cooperation with police and less fear of police are understood to improve the impact of policing efforts (Jaccoud & Felices, 1999; Donohue & Levitt, 2001; Sklansky, 2006; Ben-Porat, 2008), and many Canadian police services have adopted these goals of representativeness through recruitment targets and strategies for recruiting from minority communities, along with stressing the benefits of diversity (LCC, 2006; Ben-Porat, 2008; Perry, 2010). As emphasized by Oppal (1994), "If police forces are to have the confidence and support of the public, they must represent the cultural, ethnic and gender diversity of the community at large."

In the case of Aboriginal peoples, who are significantly overrepresented both among crime victims and those incarcerated for crimes, representativeness of police services and police interactions has been an issue. The Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry found serious deficiencies in the police investigation of the murder of young Aboriginal women; concerns continue to this day about police responses to missing Aboriginal women (Oppal, 2012). There are also concerns about how police interact with Aboriginal persons who may be suspected of crime. Aboriginal police services are used in some communities, and pioneering initiatives have been implemented to realize restorative justice (Dickson-Gilmore & La Prairie, 2005). But in large urban centres, attention needs to be paid to police–Aboriginal relations and to the ability of police to partner with other public and private agencies that may provide services to Canada's growing urban Aboriginal population.

Although accepted as important for enhancing legitimacy, the representativeness of a police workforce does not necessarily have an impact on police outcomes. In a review of the impact of policing, sponsored by the U.S. National Academies of Sciences, Skogan *et al.* (2004) found no change to police behaviour associated with officer race. This suggests that the association between race and the public view of police is entangled with other concepts and that the evidence, although limited in the Canadian context, is insufficient to draw any conclusions about the link between police and population race.

Similar is the research on gender and policing, which has focused largely on the experience of female officers as a minority in police organizations. There is insufficient research to conclude that the impact of how female police officers conduct their jobs is any different from that of male officers (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

Although male and female officers may be more likely to engage in different community policing activities, the reason behind their differing practice is not clear, nor is its significance for policing practice and its outcomes.

4.4.2 Police Can Positively Influence Legitimacy Through Just Actions and Community Engagement

The premise of police legitimacy, as noted, is that the authority of both the institutions of policing and of their representatives is appropriate and that they act justly in the eyes of the public (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In principle, therefore, a professional police service that acts in a way that increases public confidence reinforces the public view of police as a legitimate authority.

A recent systematic review of research on legitimacy in policing has supported this view that public perception is amenable to police efforts to improve satisfaction with and confidence in police (Mazerolle *et al.,* 2013). The review examined studies of police interventions intended to enhance the public view of police legitimacy, such as training of police, routine patrol, and investigation activities. Examples include community-oriented or foot patrol initiatives and alternatives to traditional police complaints procedures. The authors conclude that efforts to improve legitimacy do increase public satisfaction and confidence and can also have positive impacts on compliance and cooperation with police.

Some evidence documents the influence of individual interactions with police on public perceptions. Tyler and Fagan (2008) investigated the public view based on a survey of New York City residents and found that individuals who experienced "procedurally just" encounters with police reported higher ratings of police legitimacy, even if the outcome of the encounter was unfavourable for the respondent. The authors also suggest that people who perceive police to be legitimate are more cooperative with police and in fighting crime. This suggests that the nature of an interaction can be separated from the substance of the outcome.

When police response concerns a high-profile incident, rather than an interpersonal interaction, evidence on the impact outside police organizations is sparse and some posit that findings are mixed (Hohl *et al.,* 2013). Some evidence suggests that following highly publicized incidents, confidence in police remains stable, while others point to an erosion of confidence. In one example of the latter, an EKOS poll (2010) examining Canadian public perceptions, attributed changes in public views to specific events from each locale. Hohl *et al.* (2013), however, propose that personal experiences with police, and vicarious exposure through close connections, are counterpoints to media portrayals of negative

incidents. In their investigation of the impact of the London riots on public opinion, the authors found that the disorder actually had a polarizing effect. Pre- and post-riot public confidence in police remained approximately the same (positive or negative) for 75% of the population. For some, the response of police increased their confidence, while others became more negative about police. The study also considers public opinion on the treatment of people who break the law; authoritarian and punitive views, as characterized by the authors, appear to strengthen following these incidents.

Because only a subset of the population regularly has direct contact with police, managing perceptions among a wider audience requires public outreach by design. One study examined the effect of police efforts to influence public confidence in police. The London Metropolitan Police Service has experimented with direct written communication (e.g., newsletters, leaflets) to inform the public about local policing initiatives (Hohl *et al.,* 2010). These outreach efforts are associated with an increased number of citizens reporting that they felt informed about activities of local police. In areas that received the communication, residents also reported more favourable views of police and perceived an improvement in police effectiveness. The authors suggest the outreach "was effective in communicating engagement with local concerns" and was additionally useful in buffering against negative developments concerning police; following high-profile incidents involving police, the confidence in police declined less in areas with ongoing communication efforts (Hohl *et al.*, 2010). This suggests that regular outreach from police services can contribute to maintaining public confidence, especially in times of crisis.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Opportunities for enhancing accountability of policing lie primarily with extending accountability mechanisms beyond police to cover the range of actors and various partnerships that comprise the safety and security web. Although not yet implemented, proposals for public security boards are viewed as promising due to the fact that they are designed to have a regional focus and be responsible for providing civilian oversight of the multiple public and private providers of safety and security. These boards have the potential, therefore, to address both propriety and efficacy across the safety and security web.

Improving accountability of both police and the safety and security web as a whole is important for their public legitimacy, as expressed through the willingness of the public to support and cooperate with policing actors. Police legitimacy can be further enhanced by building police workforces that are culturally

representative of the communities they serve and by following through with positive actions intentionally designed to enhance the public legitimacy of police, such as community-oriented outreach initiatives.

5

Opportunities to Leverage Change in Police Organizations

- Human Resource Practices for a New Workforce Culture
- Moving Beyond the Generalist Model of Policing
- Embracing Policing in the Safety and Security Web
- Conclusion

5 Opportunities to Leverage Change in Police Organizations

Key Findings

Police organizations are recognizing the need to balance the operational constraints of police work with the imperative of managing staff as a crucial asset, using a more adaptive suite of human resource practices.

Effective police organizations recruit and retain a variety of people who perform support functions to complement the essential front-line role. Evidence from practice shows several ways to adjust the business-as-usual management of human resources, to permit differentiation and specialization of roles.

Promising organizational practices can help police to adapt their institutions and ways of working to better meet the current demands for safety and security. The role of police in this web environment includes the ability to work in partnership with other organizations, often in an equal relationship and not always as the lead partner.

Police officers and organizations can effectively focus their contributions and leverage the specialized capability and resources of other actors in the safety and security web. Skills that enable fostering of relationships with other providers in the web must exist alongside the analytical and administrative capacities of police.

A persistent and pervasive challenge to responding and adapting to the trends identified in Chapters 2 and 3 is the very structure of most police organizations. Research has long identified structural characteristics, together with organizational culture, as resistant to change. The Panel notes, however, that the same structure and culture are also essential to a police organization's capacity to respond to critical incidents, which is a key component of the core role of police. The operational realities of police work, for example, put limits on the degree to which police organizations can adopt human resource management strategies used in other sectors.

Police organizations can, nonetheless, play a key role in navigating this tension, to build engaged, empowered, and effective workforces in the face of the changing nature of crime and the shifting public demands on police. The literature offers a number of proposals for organizational change aimed at

addressing not only the needs of the workforce but also the effectiveness of police in general in the face of the many challenges police now encounter. This chapter reviews these proposals, giving focus to those aimed at improving the management of human resources within an organization — for example, concerning deployment and hiring, as well as the practices for managing external relationships with other actors in the safety and security web. A central theme to emerge is that police will need to diversify beyond the "one-size-fits-all" model of the generalist police officer if they are to adapt effectively to the changing landscape.

The Panel notes that many of the proposals for change are framed as opportunities based upon evidence-informed understandings of the challenges, rather than clear evidence of effectiveness. This is due to the general lack of evaluative research carried out by police organizations in Canada and the fact that the experimentation that does occur with respect to new organizational models is not documented through publications.

5.1 HUMAN RESOURCE PRACTICES FOR A NEW WORKFORCE CULTURE

Police organizations are confronted with several demographic realities that challenge the supply of a professional workforce. An aging workforce and a new generation of employees with reservations about future career opportunities may presage difficulties in staffing police organizations. At the same time, police organizations must deal with operational realities that, in many ways, require command and control. Police organizations must retain the ability to command a nimble operational response to critical incidents. This imperative has translated into reduced flexibility in human resource management. These challenges can make implementing new practices more difficult. Field work for example requires officers to be fit for purpose and ready to respond in urgent situations. As a result it may never permit some of the working arrangements that are available to employees in other occupations. There are nonetheless options for adapting even patrol deployment.

The literature identifies a number of notable interventions: permitting earlier specialization of individual roles in place of requiring all recruits to start on patrol (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2000); compressed work weeks (Vila, 2006); job sharing (Silvestri, 2006); and flexible working arrangements for police employees (Charlesworth *et al.,* 2009; Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Organizations can also emphasize transparent and demonstrably equitable promotion systems based on merit rather than years of service, and encourage lateral movement within and between police organizations (Oppal, 1994). One example is the dual track system introduced by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The Dual Track Career Path is a system for promotions that allows the organization

to recognize specialist skills, in this case in patrol and custodial roles. Before the program was implemented, sheriffs were promoted to an available post, regardless of the function; in the new system, those with particular interest or expertise can seek promotion within their specialty (LACSD, 2013).

The need for change is real. In recent years, research has confirmed the direct and significant effect of the demanding conditions of police work on employee health and job performance, and importantly has also indicated possible changes to work situations that bring measurable improvements. Waggoner (2012) has shown the negative performance effects of police shift work conditions, such as the reduced capacities for driving, decreased vigilance, and impaired decision-making following consecutive night shifts. Night shift work is also associated with a higher risk of injury — and also long-term injury — than day and afternoon shifts, especially among those with fewer years of service (Violanti *et al.,* 2013). Evidence is emerging about the length of shifts that could optimally promote officer health (Amendola *et al.,* 2011); in one American case-controlled study, officers on 10-hour shifts reported improved quality of work life and more sleep, as well as less overtime, than those on either 8- or 12-hour shifts (Amendola *et al.,* 2011).

Addressing these issues is imperative for the continued ability of police organizations to staff their services, and offers promise for meeting operational realities in ways that improve the experience of employees. This research warrants further consideration to distill the findings on the length and scheduling of shifts, and access to supports like breaks and scheduled sleep during shifts (Waggoner, 2012).

The need for continuous coverage is an indisputable condition of police work. This requirement can lead to an operational approach in people management. Managing people strategically involves regarding them as investments, but, in this operational approach, human resources are regarded as an expense.

Recent studies show that, perhaps even as a result of this orientation, police employees in Canada are happy with the material reward their jobs provide. Duxbury *et al.* (2012) surveyed 4,500 police officers employed by 25 organizations across Canada, and found that a large majority of officers are satisfied with job security (95%) and pay (80%). That sort of extrinsic reward is necessary, but not sufficient, for cultivating an engaged workforce. Police employees are, however, more likely to express dissatisfaction with the intrinsic rewards offered within their police service (e.g., training, development, opportunities for advancement) (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). This finding supports the idea that police services in Canada could explore a more strategic view of human

resource management. In research on reducing work–life conflict, the same researchers point to the strong link between employee well-being and the behaviour of their immediate managers (Higgins *et al.,* 2008). Their recent survey of Canadian police demonstrates that only half report having a supportive manager, 55% say that their manager gives recognition for a job well done, and 50% say they are provided with challenging career opportunities (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). This further supports the opportunity for police services in Canada to prioritize people management.

These results reflect employees' experiences of their workplace reality. Organizations do have some leverage over the strained results that are described in Chapter 3, with the latitude to invest in training and development opportunities, enable managers and supervisors to provide positive feedback and recognition, and create conditions for career mobility. A growing body of research is also demonstrating the importance of, and potential for, police organizations to invest in engaging their workforce. Evidence from several studies shows that this motivation is informed by officers' perceptions of justice in the processes and procedures that make up day-to-day interactions. When officers perceive their supervisor and the broader organization to be acting justly and fairly, they express more confidence in their sense of authority and exhibit more motivation for taking on additional activities (Bradford *et al.,* 2014). They also are less likely to engage in misconduct (Wolfe & Piquero, 2011).

Police managers at many levels must be equally capable of regulating the tension between competing demands — not least, the pull between operational and strategic priorities (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Cultivating leaders with effective communication skills and the ability to engage and empower employees may require a comprehensive approach involving a promotion system for advancing promising leaders, as well as training and development for those already in supervisory roles and those seeking to fill them. Engel & Peterson (2013) highlight the critical role of front-line supervisors in directing and monitoring officers, as well as in communicating organizational goals. Although behaviours, attitudes, and preferences of supervisors are understood to be significant determinants of what front-line officers say and think about their jobs, Engel & Peterson point to a limited understanding of how to choose and train front-line supervisors with these capacities (Engel & Peterson, 2013).

To summarize, the structure of police organizations, which have evolved in response to particular pressures, presents both benefits and challenges. The strong command function required to fulfill the mandate in cases of disorder may compete with fostering an environment that values staff as an asset. While many police organizations have made many changes in recent decades, adaptability

has not been a strong suit of police organizations and the current situation is demanding adaptation to a different way of managing people. To recruit and retain highly skilled people, organizations must find strategies that recognize human resources as a vital component of effective policing.

The research on policing presents some options for balancing these demands by changing organizational policies and practices for managing human resources. Adapting structures is not a recent phenomenon; indeed, police organizations are continuing a long-standing trend towards a police workforce that encourages specialization, rather than requiring all things of police officers. Historically, this trend has been discussed as one of civilianization, while more recent conversations explore the idea of tiered policing, another approach for varying the ranks of police organizations.

5.2 MOVING BEYOND THE GENERALIST MODEL OF POLICING

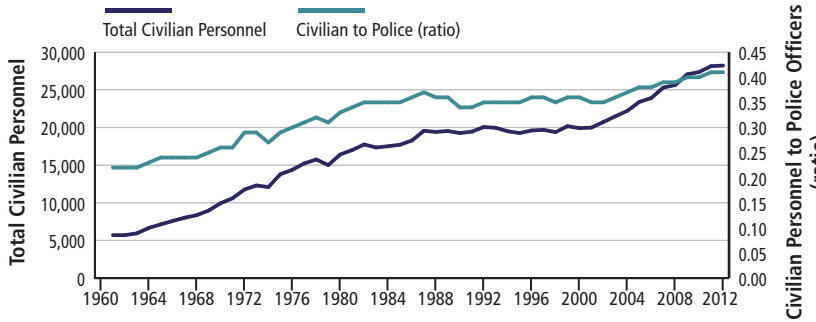
To better adapt to the shifting safety and security landscape, police organizations can benefit from reforms that lead the organization away from the generalist model of policing. To this end, police organizations can adjust the complement of skills and training, incorporating a mix of civilian and specialized personnel to address evolving challenges.

5.2.1 The Impact of Civilianization on Policing's Resource Mix is Expanding

Civilianization is the shifting of tasks formerly carried out by police officers to other employees. Patrol duty officers, of some description, may always be required to fulfill the response function expected of police. Assigning behind-the-scenes responsibilities to civilian staff may permit peace officers to focus on front-line duties. In this way, civilianization is an opportunity to optimize the use of peace officers in publicly visible activities (Kostelac, 2008). When "freed" from tasks such as administrative and clerical responsibilities, peace officers can fulfill functions suited to their training and authority. Furthermore, civilian staff can broaden the policing "talent pool" with specialized skill sets that may not be present among a police officer corps (Griffiths *et al.,* 2006).[10]

10 This is distinguished here from privatization, or outsourcing, which refers to the hiring of private contractors to perform tasks that were previously police functions. The two approaches may be pursued simultaneously, with a contract to an outside agency to provide civilian staff (Mawby *et al.*, 2009), but civilianization can also be achieved with direct hiring of civilian employees to a police service organization. For an exploration of variations on privatization, see Chapter 3.

In Canada the number of civilian employees in police organizations has increased over time and is increasing as a proportion of overall police strength. As currently collected and reported, data on employees of police organizations distinguish police officers from civilian staff (see Figure 5.1), but do not indicate the function of those employees. The distinction between civilian and police employees, however, is a hard line that belies the changeable nature of police functions. Police employees perform diverse tasks that are central to police work (OPP-MPB *et al.*, 2012).



Data Source: CCJS & SC, 2013b

Figure 5.1

Civilian Personnel in Canadian Police Organizations, 1962–2012

The number of civilian employees in Canadian police organizations has increased over time and is, in fact, increasing as a proportion of overall police strength; that is, the ratio of civilian employees to police officers has doubled since the early 1960s. The figure illustrates the increase in civilian personnel, from 5,600 in 1962 to more than 28,000 civilian personnel in 2012. After a decade of a relatively stable ratio of civilians to police officers, the number of civilians started to climb steadily from about 2002 onwards, resulting in a 17% increase in the ratio by 2012.

In an alternative and more informative approach to categorizing the workforce, reporting in England and Wales distinguishes front-line police work from middle and back office roles: "The police front line comprises those who are in everyday contact with the public and who directly intervene to keep people safe and enforce the law" (HMIC, 2011). The jobs in each category are illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Types of Functions in Police Organizations, England and Wales

Public Facing		Supporting Processes		
Visible	Specialist	Middle Office		Back Office
		Process Management	Process Support	
• Response • Neighbourhood • Community Safety/ Relations • Probationers (Student Officers) • Traffic • Dogs • Firearms (Tactical) • Mounted	• Air • Firearms (specialist) • Marine/ Underwater • Surveillance Unit • Ports/Special Branch/ Protection/ Immigration/ Nationality • Child/Sex/ Domestic/ Missing Persons • Fingerprints/ Photographic • Scenes of Crime • Technical Support Unit (80%)* • Asset Confiscation (80%)* • Burglary (80%)* • CID (70%)* • CID – Specialist Crime Unit (70%)* • Drugs (80%)* • Fraud (80%)* • Hate Crime (80%)* • Vehicle Crime (60%)* • Intelligence (40%)* • Vice (70%)*	• Custody • Enquiry/Station Counters • Coroners Officers • Operational Planning • Local Commanders • Chief Police Officers • HOLMES (Murder) Unit (30%)* • Control Room/ Call Handling (60%)* • Crime & Incident Management (60%)* • Police Standards Unit (50%)* • Criminal Justice (30%)*	• Intelligence (60%)* • Control Room/ Call Handling (40%)* • Criminal Justice (70%)* • Criminal Records Office CID (30%)* • CID Specialist Crime Unit (30%)* • Vehicle Crime (40%)* • HOLMES (murder) Unit (70%) • Hate Crime (20%) • Fraud (20%) • Burglary (20%) • Asset Confiscation (20%) • Technical Support Unit (20%) • Police Standards Unit (50%) • Crime & Incident Management (40%) • Drugs (20%) • Vice (30%)	• IT/Audio/ Communications • Corp Development • Finance • Personnel/HR • Press and PR • Property • Staff Associations • Buildings • Drivers • Staff Officers • Catering • Stores Supplies • Training • Other Admin/ Clerical • Vehicle • Workshop/Fleet • Occupational Health/Welfare

Data Source: HMIC, 2011

Police organizations perform a range of functions, as illustrated in the table. These categories, created in England and Wales, can enable comparisons between organizations' allocation of resources and prioritization of different functions. Those whose work is likely to be seen by the public are considered "visible," while "specialists" may also have contact with the public but their work is not generally publicly visible. The "middle office" comprises operational and support functions specific to police processes, while "back office" roles are those necessary for running large organizations more broadly. Where roles fall into more than one category, a percentage split is shown. These estimates may vary among police organizations. Asterisks indicate roles that cut across more than one category.

The emphasis on visibility refers to the importance of police presence in deterring crime and to the public perception of safety and security. In 2011, two-thirds of the U.K. police workforce were classified as front line. In subsequent reporting, this metric has been used to indicate the impact of resource changes on the overall availability of police services (HMIC, 2011).

Canada's tradition of distinguishing police officers from civilian staff does not allow this type of analysis. Rather, Canada's traditional model dominated by generalist patrol officers may be increasingly ill-suited to deal with the challenges of evolving crime, the complexity of the justice system, the diversity of Canadian society, and the landscape of a safety and security web.

Benefits of Civilian Staffing

Research estimating cost savings identifies positions that could be staffed by civilians and calculates the potential reduction in salary expenditures. In support of Vancouver Police Department (VPD) planning, Griffiths *et al.* (2006) completed a prospective exercise that provides a snapshot of the extent of civilianization and analyzes the potential for civilianization of positions within the organization. Based on their assessment, the authors recommended reclassifying 19 police officer positions for staffing with civilian employees. Savings from salaries and benefits were estimated to be close to $600,000 per year, amounting to 0.3% of operating expenditures.

Other organizations have conducted similar audit exercises. For example, Boyd *et al.* (2011) examined the role that police play in five policing functions in the United Kingdom: business support (e.g., IT); control room (e.g., call intake); criminal justice (e.g., administration of prosecution files); forensics (e.g., fingerprinting); and operational support (e.g., management, property maintenance). They concluded that 58% of the officers working in these areas do not need to be police officers to do the job. The authors pointed out that the "failure to ensure that officers were in the right roles commensurate with their warranted powers meant that 7,280 officers were being paid more than civilian staff to perform civilian roles in positions that made them invisible to the public."

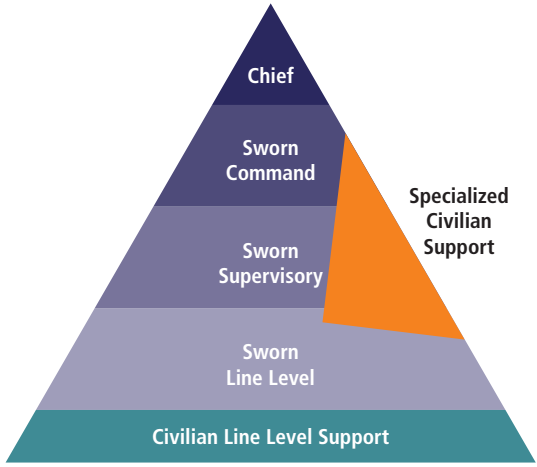
Difficulties with Differentiation

Boyd (2011) notes that, in some instances, desk work may provide a means for police officers to continue to work through injury. The need to accommodate police officers who are not able to fulfill front-line duties is an expressed concern with civilianization; if back office positions are staffed exclusively by civilians, accommodating police officers may be more difficult. In their examination of civilianization in the VPD, Griffiths *et al.* (2006) suggest separating the discussion

of civilianization from the need for "accommodation" of police officers. The authors posit there will always be vacant positions that can be filled temporarily with police officers who are not on front-line duty. Those could be classified as appropriate for civilian employees, but still be staffed temporarily by police officers. When filled permanently, positions should be staffed with civilian staff or police officers, as deemed appropriate by the duties of the role.

Kostelac (2008) examines the extent of civilianization in U.S. police organizations and identifies an emerging bifurcation of civilianized hiring. Figure 5.2 illustrates this segregation. Early recruitment of civilians was limited to staffing clerical and support positions, while a more recent trend sees them filling more specialized and highly paid positions in addition to entry-level ones; the author distinguishes the latter as a change more likely to be challenged by traditional hierarchies of police organizations.

Kostelac's (2008) findings suggest that although civilian employees can and often do fulfill a wide range of functions, they are not integrated effectively into the command structure of the police organization. Other research also underscores that civilian employees perceive their opportunities for career progression to be



Reproduced with permission from Kostelac, 2008

Figure 5.2

Integration of Civilians into U.S. Police Organizations

The figure distinguishes two types of civilian police employees, neither integrated fully with the sworn staff of an organization. Civilians in support positions are clustered at the bottom of a hierarchy, while civilians with more specialized skills and training are also a subset apart from the organizational hierarchy. Use of the term "sworn" is specific to the U.S. context, whereas in Canada the distinction is between peace officers and civilian employees.

more limited than that of their peers (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2000; Sheptycki, 2004). Furthermore, the demographics of the police workforce also reflect a separation by gender and race. Women and visible minorities are overrepresented among civilian employees and underrepresented among police officers (Kostelac, 2008), relative to their proportion of the overall population. A similar trend is evident among Canadian police organizations (Fiedeley-Van Dijk, 2005; Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). A public survey conducted in England and Wales revealed the view that, in decisions about cost savings, current numbers of police officers in front-line roles should be preserved (HMIC, 2011). A corollary is that middle and back office positions may be more vulnerable to cycles of workforce adjustment.

Research on police unions is notably limited, but a few studies have recognized the predominance of membership in associations among Canadian police (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012) and the common position of union leadership in promoting a traditional view of the unique police role (Marks, 2007; Walker, 2008). Marks (2007) describes the historic opposition from associations to tiered employment within police organizations, preferring emphasis on original notions of professionalism.

5.2.2 Tiering Within Police Organizations May Represent New Opportunities for Diversifying Resources

In current parlance, tiered policing is a distinct category of organizational arrangement that reflects the delivery of different police functions by individuals with corresponding skill sets, compensated at different levels of pay. This proposal is the subject of discussion among police administrators both in Canada and abroad, often in the context of exploring cost savings. There are examples of arrangements that match characteristics of tiered policing, such as special constables[11] appointed to police positions without all the qualifications of peace officers, although the Panel is not aware of any instances where peace officers have been assigned roles at different rates of pay under this label.

Whereas civilianization has a long history in Canada, tiered policing is a relatively new concept. Although there is very little evidence on tiered policing, the experience with civilianization and experiments with tiered policing in other countries may offer insights into how this shift in human resource management may be received in Canadian police organizations.

11 Special constables are employees of police organizations who possess limited law enforcement authority. They may fulfill a variety of functions, such as patrol, guard, or bylaw enforcement.

Evidence is emerging from tiered policing initiatives in the United Kingdom. Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) have been a common part of the police complement in England and Wales for about a decade. Employed by local police forces, the uniformed PCSOs perform a patrol function with limited powers of ticketing and detention (Crawford & Lister, 2004; Johnston, 2007). Early findings from a randomized controlled trial of patrol during peak demand times in Birmingham South demonstrate that uniformed community officers with limited powers who police anti-social behaviour in very specifically defined locations can contribute to significant reductions in all crime types[12] and anti-social behaviour (College of Policing, 2013a). Another recent study of PCSOs suggests they can generate cost savings for a police organization by working preventively to reduce future problems requiring police intervention (O'Neill, 2014).

There have been modest pilot projects of tiered policing in Canada, such as the Vancouver Police Community Safety Officers and the Calgary Transit Peace Officers (see review in McKenna, 2014).

5.3 EMBRACING POLICING IN THE SAFETY AND SECURITY WEB

In Chapter 2 the Panel explored how the role of police is increasingly embedded in a web of safety and security providers. This chapter has, thus far, explored adaptations that police organizations can leverage within their own human resources as part of web policing initiatives. However, meeting some of the demands for safety and security involves looking beyond the composition of a single police organization. In this context, police are working with other police organizations and agencies to achieve their goals. This section characterizes partnerships in the safety and security web focused on the role of and implications for the police organization, and highlights some examples of police organizations using those approaches effectively. It then points to principles that underpin effective partnerships for safety and security. Each example is a promising practice that demonstrates how police organizations can proactively navigate their landscape.

5.3.1 Police Organizations Engage in Different Types of Partnerships in the Safety and Security Web

Police organizations have a number of options for relating to other actors in the safety and security web. Collaborative arrangements in Canada offer the promise of increasing police resources, by way of increasing the numbers

12 This includes anti-social behaviour, criminal damage, theft, and vehicle crime. The study design excludes crime that does not occur in the public domain (e.g., domestic violence).

of personnel (police or otherwise) watching for risks and evidence of harm. Police cannot be in all places at once. Given ever-expanding demands on police time and finite budgets for resourcing the provision of safety and security, police organizations are finding myriad ways to work with other actors and the broader public to enhance safety and security for all. Recent research literature provides many examples of successful partnerships, all unique to their context (Ayling *et al.,* 2009; Dupont, 2009). In an exploration of different configurations of collaboration, Ayling *et al.* (2009) note that myriad structures, relationships, and ways of working are effectively entrenched in the provision of safety and security. Police cannot easily withdraw from any of these strategies. They can and must, however, manage the inherent risks, such as those to equity, the public purse, and legitimacy (as explored in Chapter 3) by, for example, being transparent and accountable. What is important is not so much the type of link, but rather the degree to which police are nimble and versatile in managing the relationships to engage resources involved in sustaining the safety and security web.

Transferring Functions

One of the methods for relating to other safety and security providers involves the transfer of functions traditionally performed by police. Police services have been engaging the private sector to deliver safety and security for many years. One of the ways that this is occurring is by contracting out some aspects of police work such as dispatch, prisoner detention, recruit training, or forensic investigations (Ayling *et al.,* 2009; Mawby *et al.,* 2009; Sahota, 2009). Assigning responsibilities to other agencies can bring cost savings for police, as the delegate can assume capital expenses. For example, Mawby (2009) analyzed the impacts of outsourcing the prison officer function in two U.K. custody suites, in which 10 police officers were reassigned with the goal of contributing to front-line duties. Annualized cost savings were estimated to be £250,000 (approximately C$430,000).

In another notable example from the U.K., the Lincolnshire Police have gone as far as transferring 18 operational and organizational services to private security firm G4S, along with 575 civilian police staff, as part of a 10-year outsourcing arrangement that could potentially save upwards of £5 million (approximately C$7.8 million) per year over the life of the contract. Under the contract, G4S and its staff — which now includes civilian staff transferred from Lincolnshire Police — conducts some publicly visible roles, including transfer of people in custody, and operates public inquiry desks in communities, in addition to performing back office functions (G4S Policing Support Services & Police and Crime Commissioner for Lincolnshire, 2013).

Selling Services

Police can collaborate through selling safety and security services as a consumer good. Both individual officers and police organizations can participate as sellers in the security market. Police sell their presence, and usually retain their police functions and powers, on a cost-recovery basis (e.g., OPP-MPB *et al.,* 2012) for instance, during sporting events or community celebrations. A familiar Canadian example is the contract policing that the RCMP and provincial services provide to municipalities (CCJS & SC, 2013b). On a smaller scale, in some jurisdictions police offer patrols under contract to neighbourhoods (e.g., Brown & Lippert, 2007) or provide a security presence at special events (e.g., Boyle & Haggerty, 2009). These fee-for-service arrangements can result in various combinations of payments to the individual and the organization, as well as an administrative burden for the police organization in navigating insurance, accountability, and even dispatch arrangements for officers on pay duty assignments (Lippert & Walby, 2013). In a study of three Ontario police services, Lippert and Walby (2013) found that pay duty added up to 64,000 hours worked in 2011 across all three services, with the work paid for by over 550 employers.

Requirements to consult with police or purchase security services are intended to encourage organizers to be proactive about reducing harms, in order to reduce the need for a police presence (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). In other jurisdictions, police levy charges for superfluous or avoidable use of police services; bylaws in Waterloo Region and Greater Sudbury permit police services to charge user fees for false alarm calls generated by home security systems (GSPS, 2013; WRPS, 2014).

Where the required skills are also available in-house, outsourcing often represents a cost savings due to more competitive labour rates of contract providers (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). Bayley and Shearing (1996) suggest that safety does increase to the extent that any policing presence (public or private) deters crime.

Other actors in the safety and security web can also sell their services. There are examples of private security hired by a public or private citizen to supplement available police services (Brown & Lippert, 2007). Although such instances may not implicate the police purse as directly as contracts with police organizations, they do change the landscape in which police fulfill their roles. Police must then navigate relationships with these other providers after terms of contracts have been established.

Receiving Gifts and Donations

Gifts and donations to police organizations can be motivated by a range of interests and with various expectations. People might volunteer their time, for example, to increase safety and security in their own neighbourhood;

private business might provide space to police organizations to encourage a closer presence to their own property; and a retailer or manufacturer might offer goods to police to enhance police capacity, simultaneously securing an implicit endorsement (Ayling *et al.*, 2009). In one notable example, Durham Regional Police received a bulletproof, 7-tonne Tactical Rescue Vehicle to be deployed in responding to high-risk calls, such as a hostage taking, as a gift from a military vehicle manufacturer (DRPS, 2013).

One area of police work that relies substantially on contributions from volunteers is identification and investigation of internet child pornography. The Canadian Centre for Child Protection operates Cybertip.ca, which has been designated as the portal for reporting potentially illegal material and activities regarding the sexual exploitation of children. Through its online platform and by telephone, Cybertip.ca receives information from the public and from internet service providers, details of which are passed on to law enforcement and child protection services for investigation and any required action. The organization does not itself search for illegal material, but depends upon contributions from individual reports (Cybertip.ca, 2013). The website encourages the involvement of citizens, harnessing the enthusiasm of "online civilian police" (Huey *et al.*, 2013).

Some police organizations have established structures for facilitating gifts. One example is the RCMP Foundation, which has directed more than $9 million in project funding (RCMPF, 2012) generated through donations, corporate and private partnerships, and sale of licensed RCMP products (RCMPF, n.d.). The Foundation supports initiatives run by community groups for youth at risk; in the past this has included playgrounds and sport equipment, drug and alcohol awareness programs, and online safety training (RCMPF, 2012). Since police organizations do have the option to refuse a gift, as argued by Ayling *et al.* (2009), police should exercise that power to ensure they only pursue relationships that enhance police legitimacy, steering clear of exchanges too closely tied to specific activities.

Exchanging Resources

Police services also trade in non-monetary and in-kind services with other organizations. These exchanges, which can involve sharing information, knowledge, human resources, and hardware, may equally be officially sanctioned with agreements or informal collaborations. One area in which police often turn to other professionals is in managing responses to persons with mental illness. As in integrated offender management (described in more detail in Section 6.3.2), handling of calls for service that involve people with mental illness will many times not involve applying tools of criminal law (Wilson-Bates, 2008). The issue may be an unmet medical need, rather than a criminal offence; however, because police are the most readily available service, they are tasked with

the response. Out of this reality, police have adapted several ways of drawing on the training and expertise of other professionals to improve the effectiveness of their reaction.

One model involves police and civilian mental health professionals jointly attending the first response, as do Mobile Crisis Intervention Teams (MCIT). While police officers ensure the safety of the interaction, their mental health counterparts can ensure an accurate assessment and referral as required, which may involve police apprehension under mental health legislation. Another approach involves specially trained police retaining the lead role. In various jurisdictions, police trained by mental health specialists (Cotton & Coleman, 2008) are first responders of choice. They then transfer the person with mental illness to medical institutions that, under agreements, swiftly accept them when brought by police (Wood *et al.*, 2011). The two variations involve pre-determined arrangements of roles and responsibilities, and recognition of the specialized functions of different agencies. Formalized agreements between police services and other agencies are increasingly recognized for providing a faster connection to necessary health services and potential resource-saving approaches to dealing with people in crisis situations (see, for example, BC, n.d.). Policing collaborations also extend to partnerships with other public agencies, with the mandate of providing safety and security services (see Box 5.1).

Box 5.1
Web Policing Through Multi-Agency and Multi-Level Collaborations

At the federal level, police services in Canada work with a variety of public agencies. On national security issues, for instance, local, provincial, and federal police work with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) on identifying, preventing, and charging individuals involved in terrorism. Similarly, police services, particularly at the federal and provincial level, work cooperatively with the Canada Border Services Agency. Although Correctional Services Canada (CSC), another federal agency, works primarily with federal and provincial policing organizations, it has also established enduring cooperative partnerships with municipal police services for a shared common purpose. For example, the Integrated Police/Parole Initiative, first implemented in Regina and Hamilton in 2005, designates specific police officers to work as community corrections liaison officers (CCLOs), tasked with monitoring high-risk/high-needs offenders released into the community. The CCLOs' function is to increase public safety through enhanced knowledge gathering and information sharing between agencies. Arguably, the bulk of inter-institutional interactions consists of small-scale collaborations relating to joint task forces on larger social issues that are carried out at the provincial level.

Encouraging and Requiring Safe and Secure Practices

Government policy can also create obligations for organizations and individuals to work with police, be it through mandatory disclosure rules for health care providers (e.g., in Ontario physicians are required to report some observations, including gunshot wounds (Government of Ontario, 2005)) or good Samaritan laws for the public at large (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). Similarly, the minimum standards for insurability of residential properties, in some cases, include having an alarm system (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). Mazerolle *et al.* (2005) characterize third-party policing as an arrangement in which an entity works with police — either willingly or otherwise — to achieve a police goal, and in which a legal lever creates crime control responsibilities for the non-police entity. Safety and security can be enhanced with mandatory requirements imposed on the users of particular goods and services, often embedded in municipal bylaw or legislation at the provincial, territorial, or federal level (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of how governments can leverage resources in this way). Without direct control over those actors who are under the authority of another auspice, police organizations are acting and reacting to many of the same issues and concerns as their partners in the safety and security web. At a minimum, police organizations need to cooperate with those who have been engaged to enhance safety and security through this type of regulation.

5.3.2 Police Organizations Can Be Guided by Partnership Principles

The Panel notes that particular tenets hold true for effective partnerships, regardless of which agencies are involved or the type of partnership. These guidelines, as proposed below, were developed by the Panel based on theory and experience of what works in successful partnerships. As described in the examples below, many police organizations are already using these principles in partnerships. The principles can be considered when establishing new relationships or in existing partnerships, as an approach for shaping the interaction.

Clarity in Roles

Working in partnership with other organizations brings additional challenges to the effective delivery of safety and security. Recall the case of securing the G20 Summit described in Section 2.3.2; a lack of clarity about who was in charge led to confusion among officers deployed in the outer zone, creating the potential for the issuing of conflicting orders (Morden, 2012). Clarity is also very important for integrated offender management practices. Police work alongside correctional services and parole staff, and health and social service workers, to create a comprehensive and tailored case plan for prolific or repeat offenders with an elevated risk of reoffending. Integrated offender management programs are popular in many places in Canada (see, for example,

BC Community Corrections, 2011; Yukon, 2013) and internationally. For example, the Birmingham South Local Policing Unit (United Kingdom) shares office space with the other members of the Offender Management Team (BSP, 2011). When offenders attend probation visits at the police station, they are given access to support for drug treatment, housing, and employment and training, and can also connect with housing services.

The degree of integration needed for these arrangements requires role clarity regarding which service comes from which agency. It has also involved a shift in the role itself. Integrated offender management involves police accepting that a reactive response to an offence itself (e.g., laying charges and sending the offender through the criminal justice system and to prison) may in effect only elevate the risk of that individual reoffending. A more preventive approach requires police to take executive action at particular points in the process, such as in contributing to the monitoring of probation conditions, but also to be prepared to support other agencies at other points in the process (BCSP, 2013).

An example of a wider-reaching, multi-agency initiative is Community Mobilization Prince Albert (McFee, 2014). Part of this initiative is a "Hub" discussion that brings together some 15 agencies, including the Prince Albert Police Service, the City of Prince Albert, the fire department and bylaw services, the Ministry of Social Services, and the RCMP, as well as agencies of the Ministries of Health and Justice and Education. Hub discussions provide partners with the opportunity to discuss, twice a week, high-risk situations and immediate responses aimed at reducing the risk associated with each situation. Supporting the Hub is a Centre of Responsibility, also known as the COR, a "full time centre for research, analysis, and long-term solutions to systemic issues, and root causes of social problems." In 2012–2013, 307 situations were discussed at the Hub. In that period, response teams involved an average of 4.8 agencies for each situation, with the lead agency determined by the nature of the issue. In this model, police have been involved in the initiatives more often as partner than leader. The Prince Albert Police Service was involved in responding to 69% of all situations, the most frequently assisting agency of all the Hub partners. Since launching the initiative in early 2011, Prince Albert has seen a notable drop in its violent crime severity index, with a decrease of 25% in 2012 alone, the largest reduction since 1998 (PACM, 2013).

Clarity of Shared Purpose

Relationships between agencies can be simplified and strengthened by ensuring that partners share and mutually agree upon objectives. For example, this principle was important to improving the effectiveness of the City of Vancouver's

coordinated approach to drug addiction that, for several years, had police focused on responding to calls on drug overdoses. The problem, however, was that witnesses to drug overdoses hesitated to call for help fearing prosecution for involvement with drugs, so the number of preventable deaths from drug overdoses was unnecessarily high. In response, police changed their policy to better align with the city's comprehensive approach to drug addiction and the roles of other agencies, and to fulfill the specific goal of reducing overdose deaths by viewing the situation as calling for a health intervention, rather than a criminal one (Wood *et al.,* 2013). Police now only attend overdose calls when demanded for a public safety purpose, referring all other calls to emergency medical services and awaiting further instruction (VPD, 2006; Vancouver, 2012).

The increasingly interjurisdictional and a-spatial nature of crime demands that police services work collaboratively on key issues. The RCMP maintains Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs) in five major Canadian city regions. These teams are set up to increase the capacity for collecting, sharing, and analyzing information among police services, build investigative capacity, and build the capacity of partners to enhance national security (RCMP, 2012b). They comprise representatives from the RCMP, Canada Border Services Agency, CSIS, and provincial and municipal police services. A similar collaborative approach is occurring in the Vancouver Lower Mainland: "Over the past decade or more, there has been a movement away from ad hoc joint forces operation and to formally structured multi-agency teams such the Integrated Homicide Investigative Team (IHIT)" (Buckley, 2012).

Governments are also increasingly pairing police with non-police actors from the public sector to enhance overall outcomes. Whole-of-government approaches have been applied to streamline administrative processes like procurement or in recognition of the need for a more holistic approach to crime reduction (Ayling *et al.,* 2009). The Crime Reduction Program in England and Wales took a pan-government approach to crime reduction, involving departments outside of the criminal justice system to address the economic and social contributors to crime (Homel, 2004). In the United States, state and local "fusion centres" bring together federal, state, local, tribal, and territorial officials, along with private-sector safety and security providers, to compile, analyze, and share intelligence information (DHS *et al.,* 2012).

Clarity in Risk Assessment

Risk-based approaches to improve safety and security, such as tools for assessing the risk of particular events, are applied in various settings and by many professions. Risk assessment tools for domestic violence, some of which were pioneered in Canada, are used across the justice system, in pre-trial recommendations, as well as in sentencing, treatment, and release decisions.

There are several categories of risk assessment tools. What each provides is a standardized — and therefore transparent — protocol for evaluating the risk of violence, assessed according to recognized and commonly available measures. This coherence may contribute to enhanced case prioritization and also protect the victim and accused, by ensuring decisions are reliable and evidence-based, across the different agencies and professions. Different risk assessment tools have emerged out of different professional traditions, and so are understood to be better suited to particular professionals' training and capacities (Northcott, 2012). Several tools are reported to be used by police in Canada, including the Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment, the Brief Spousal Assault Form for the Evaluation of Risk (B-SAFER), and the Spousal Assault Risk Assessment. Of note is the identified need for coordination among risk assessments as a precursor to providing comprehensive services for victims of domestic violence; use of evidence-based approaches is consistent, but fragmented (Millar, 2009).

5.4 CONCLUSION

Against a backdrop of the changing nature of harms and a diversifying web, police organizations have many levers for influencing safety and security. Organizations can respond with internal adaptations that shift the skill sets, which can then be deployed. And, in some circumstances, police services may adapt with external efforts, such as by engaging others in providing safety and security. In other cases, police may find themselves working alongside a complementary service authorized by another mandate. Police may not always be the ones to direct and implement safety and security services for a community, but they continue to play a crucial role. In this role, police organizations need to be nimble and able to engage using multiple methods. Among their ranks they must command a wide range of skills, both for traditional police functions and ever-changing analytical tasks, they must be team players, and they must be able to lead and manage partnerships to ensure effectiveness and legitimacy of policing efforts.

Although the structure and culture of police organizations are heavily influenced by fixed operational realities, the evidence provides examples of how, in the face of significant pressure to change, individual organizations are responding by strategically managing resources.

For many years, police organizations have been valuing a wider range of skills beyond the capacity for crime fighting on patrol. There is interest in understanding and acting upon the growing knowledge of how to manage police employees in a way that meets the expectations of professionals with diverse backgrounds and career interests. In this vein, police organizations are adapting reward and recognition, as well as promotion systems to motivate and recognize people with different professional pathways, in order to attract and retain the most highly qualified and committed staff.

In the emerging tradition of the safety and security web, police organizations are fostering many types of partnerships. These shared undertakings offer the promise of increasing policing resources, by increasing the numbers watching for risks and evidence of harm. Police cannot be in all places at once. Given ever-expanding demands on police time and finite budgets for resourcing the work of safety and security, police need to continue the pattern of enlisting other actors and the broader public to enhance safety and security for all. Managing working relationships with people of different training and professional backgrounds, and enhancing the training and professional capacities of police employees, are critical to continuing this approach. The next chapter introduces system-level strategies to enable this continuous professionalization of police and also to ensure appropriate governance of partnerships. Partnerships, like police work, are not simple undertakings, but can permit police and police organizations to focus their role. A professional police and appropriate partnership governance are central to ensuring that the safety and security web can, indeed, effectively and legitimately provide safety and security.

6

Opportunities for Supporting the Transition to the Safety and Security Web

- Towards the Accredited Police Professional
- Evidence-Based Police Practice
- Redefining the Role of Police for a Safety and Security Web
- A Whole-of-Society Approach
- Conclusion

6 Opportunities for Supporting the Transition to the Safety and Security Web

Key Findings

The future of successful Canadian policing requires increased professionalization of police practice, with standardized qualification and training, consistent evidence-based policing, and continuous effort to improve that practice. If realized and reinforced by the entire police system, these conditions can enable other changes across the system, helping police better manage challenges and more easily pursue opportunities to improve safety and security.

Evidence-based policing, a core component of police professionalization, depends on a robust, domestic police research capacity supported by effective linkages between police and research institutes that are conducive to knowledge development and transfer. Interest in improving the Canadian research base is growing, and examples developed domestically and abroad suggest possible paths forward.

To operate optimally within the safety and security web, police can benefit from understanding their role as being that of a team player, recognizing both their special powers and capacities for which they are trained, and the potential of other providers for delivering safety and security. This role allows police to steer safety and security, helping to coordinate among other providers while potentially freeing up resources to focus on their own core duties, do what they do best, and intrude when force is required.

Governance that welcomes the entire safety and security web, including the police sector and beyond, can contribute to ensuring coherent, effective, and legitimate safety and security in the public interest.

Because the opportunities for supporting the transition to the safety and security web are, to a degree, interrelated, with the effectiveness of each dependent on the effectiveness of the others, realization of these opportunities requires that they not be pursued in isolation. A system of accredited police officers, for example, requires research capacity that can generate and sustain a knowledge base upon which professions depend in order to fulfill their unique roles in the safety and security web.

As noted in previous chapters, police organizations adapting to new demands of a changing context face a number of impediments. Operational realities and legislative requirements, for example, limit the degree of change that is possible. In Canada change is complicated further by a federalist structure that diffuses responsibility for policing across three levels of government. Nonetheless, despite these factors, police reform does occur. In the United Kingdom the central government can drive major change; the existing structure of policing in Canada may require a more incremental approach to building the commitment of everyone involved in the safety and security web. The opportunities described in this report, both here and in earlier chapters, add up to more than a police effort. The sum of these opportunities is a whole-of-society response, one that requires careful coordination and clarity of roles.

These initiatives, broadly enabling change across the police system, can potentially help police in Canada to better manage their contributions to safety and security and more easily pursue available opportunities. In highlighting opportunities, the Panel has sought those best supported by the evidence. Even though new practices may be well-documented and indeed replicated across police services, they may not have been formally evaluated to assess their effectiveness in achieving intended objectives. This is particularly the case for new organizational practices, most of which have not been subject to the same degree of empirical scrutiny as crime control interventions.

6.1 TOWARDS THE ACCREDITED POLICE PROFESSIONAL

Meeting the demands of increasingly complex police work in a diversifying safety and security web requires a new degree of professional sophistication, with higher levels of education, training, and experience. This is giving rise to a second wave of police professionalization that is distinct from the initial shift following World War II to establish professional police (Fyfe, 2013). The recent shift is from police simply being *professional* about their work to becoming *accredited professionals*, with specialized skills and training, credentials to practice, and acceptance of a transparent link to accountability (Sklansky, 2011; Stone & Travis, 2011). The new professionalism emphasizes evidence-based practice supported by training and standards, with individual and organizational accountability for meeting those expectations. In the face of increasingly complex crime and the imperative to work through and with the safety and security web, police must respond by continually enhancing their skills to make their unique contribution to safety and security. Modern professionalized police recognize that minimum requirements and accreditation can contribute to the imperative of police legitimacy, reflecting public confidence.

A new professionalism is emerging in a number of jurisdictions. Its key elements can also be examined in the Canadian context:

- common and clear expectations about the qualification requirements for recruits;
- an educational approach that moves beyond the traditional reliance upon law and hard skills to encompass evidence-based policing and softer skills such as problem solving (explored in Section 6.2);
- continuous professional development linked to accreditation and reward, which provides a parallel route to traditional promotion systems; and
- renewed emphasis on leadership and management development.

In England and Wales this approach is supported by the world's first professional body for policing, a College of Policing whose membership is drawn from all ranks, breaking the traditional separation of unionized front line from management. The new accredited professional police officers are accountable for standards of practice set by the professional body, and responsible for their own training (this discussion is further developed in Section 6.1.2).

6.1.1 Standardized Training and Qualification of Police Can Better Match Common Needs of All Police Services

Police organizations have in common the need for a consistently highly trained workforce, but there is currently no shared designation for the qualification of police employees. In an accredited profession, members have the exclusive right to practice under a title, which is usually restricted to those with unique knowledge and skills. Those qualifications are initially evaluated in the course of formal education and training. Through continuing professional development, members maintain good standing in the profession (Schultze, 2007). The current requirements for police education and training in Canada are set provincially. In practice, the standards for police training vary widely between organizations in a province (Johnson *et al.*, 2007).

Training has emerged as an area of particular focus in several provinces for shaping changes to police practice. For example, an Ontario initiative examined in depth the possibilities for a "Police Learning System for Ontario" (Strategic Planning Committee on Police Training and Education, 1992). The Strategic Planning Committee on Police Training and Education considered the then-current human resource development practices in police organizations both in Canada and abroad, along with both private- and public-sector settings. Based on its investigation, the Committee proposed a Police Learning System and, in its recommendations, addressed some of the practical design elements required to change the way police learn to be police. The report recognizes the changing context that is affecting the delivery of police services and emphasizes the need

for organizational, systemic responses to implement requirements for more advanced learning. The proposal moves away from generalist initial training in favour of ongoing training related to requirements of specific roles. An employee would be eligible for transfer to a new position only when his or her individual skill profile matched, through a performance appraisal system, the occupational tasks of the new role. To acquire new competencies, employees could participate in modular training that focuses on particular skills. The competencies acquired in training are time-limited; if not applied in a relevant role within a set time period, the competencies lapse. In this way, training is designed to be individualized for the learner's needs, to avoid generic and unnecessary training (Strategic Planning Committee on Police Training and Education, 1992).

Another example, the Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia (Oppal, 1994), had a broader focus, but commented on opportunities in several dimensions of selection and promotion of police. A provincial role in recruit training was recommended, as well as in providing direction on the form and content of curriculum, on minimum standards, and on a requirement for requalification.

In both Ontario and British Columbia (Government of Ontario, 2010; Government of British Columbia, 2012), as in other provinces (see, for example, Nova Scotia, n.d.), many of these expectations are now articulated in provincial policing standards. Across the provinces, however, the use of standards differs. Some are standards for training programs (Government of Ontario, 2010; Government of British Columbia, 2012) and for evaluating candidate officers (Government of Ontario, 2010), while others articulate responsibilities of police organizations for fair process in selection and promotion (Nova Scotia, n.d.). Strengthening the consistency of training standards across the country could make a valuable contribution to creating opportunities for transfer of police personnel.

Consistent Requirements for Entry-Level Qualification of Police

Although research suggests that officers with more education are associated with better policing (see review in Murphy & McKenna, 2007), there is no consensus on necessary and sufficient educational qualifications for policing. Furthermore, the stated qualifications differ from the unspoken expectations of those hiring new police officers. While post-secondary education is not currently required in many places in Canada, 95% of respondents in a 2007 survey of human resource leaders in Canadian police organizations indicated that a college diploma is "essential" for police recruits (Murphy & McKenna, 2007). As such, many candidates will have previously completed one

of the many related college and university programs, such as police foundations, law and security administration, or criminology. These various programs may provide similar content — similar to one another and similar to the basic training. However, the material covered in post-secondary programs is not evaluated against a set standard. Because police organizations have little formal basis for determining what these programs may have covered, basic training may duplicate training already received. Early in a police career, most, if not all, police employees complete basic training at a police academy — a facility that offers initial instruction on the required knowledge and skills for policing (Johnson *et al.*, 2007).

In Ontario, for example, the formal education requirement for a constable is completion of secondary school or equivalent (ATS, 2013), although recruits may apply with a higher level of training. The Ontario Police College training is "post-hire" and thus only available to full-time employees of Ontario police organizations; as such, police organizations are in effect supporting students through basic training (OPC, 2013). According to the *Adequacy and Effectiveness of Police Services Regulation*, police chiefs must ensure employees meet appropriate standards of qualification to fulfill their roles (Government of Ontario, 2001; OPP-MPB *et al.*, 2012). The regulation assigns organizations with the responsibility, and often the cost, for ensuring employees are suitably trained for their roles before being placed (Blandford, 2004).

Quebec differs from other parts of Canada, with its requirement that candidates complete a dedicated three-year college diploma in policing at their own expense before joining the police academy, which is also at their own expense (Dupont & Perez, 2011). In some jurisdictions, the organization assumes the cost of recruit training, in whole or in part (Johnson *et al.*, 2007). The cost of this training is understood variously; some view organizational support for initial qualifications as an equalizer that removes potential barriers to applications, and as an added incentive for those considering a career in policing (Johnson *et al.*, 2007). Alternatively, applicant fees can be viewed as a screening tool that indicates commitment to the profession in the application stage (Dupont & Perez, 2011).

Initial qualification can establish the expectations for professional and ethical conduct by police; this is an important component to enable accountability, as clearly articulated expectations of the police role establish the foundation for appropriate accountability of the individual officer. England and Wales are developing, through a consultative process, a code of ethics for policing (College of Policing, 2013f) and a system for ensuring that officers dismissed for misconduct are prevented

from working in other police services (College of Policing, 2013h). In the United States, police services use a system for communicating across state borders about certification of law enforcement officers, to ensure minimum standards within the profession (Atherley & Hickman, 2013). Police Officer Standards and Training (POST) commissions, which also set the standards of conduct, receive reports from police services about the terminations of employment; the POST agency can investigate and suspend the certification, or decertify the police officer. Through the National Decertification Index, a voluntary reporting system, the POST agency can make information about employee termination and decertification available to police organizations from other states (Atherley & Hickman, 2013).

Ongoing Training and Professional Development

Each police organization in Canada is an autonomous employer and provinces have authority over the role of police within their jurisdiction (Johnson *et al.*, 2007). Notwithstanding this individuality, common demands on police across Canada may warrant careful consideration of investments in training — in particular, opportunities to share resources.

In the United Kingdom, the HMIC has emphasized that in times of austerity, with less staff time and smaller training budgets, the sector may be especially judicious with the use of resources (HMIC, 2013b). Several supports are available to the sector as a whole in Canada (see, for example CPC, 2013 and CPKN, 2013), but there are no minimum standards. For example, many organizations have defined competencies, with required skills, knowledge, and attitudes for different jobs. In response to this variation, the Police Sector Council, which lost funding in 2013, developed a competency-based management framework that is free for and available to all agencies. The suite includes model job descriptions and suggested competencies by rank (PC, n.d.). Also noteworthy, the framework was developed through a consensus exercise involving policing stakeholders across Canada. The framework, and the nature of the exercise by which it was established, could be used as a foundation for additional shared expectations, if the agreed-upon competencies are matched with designated opportunities for training.

Training can represent a significant investment for a police organization. At a recent conference co-hosted by Public Safety Canada, it was estimated that the cost of police training in Canada is approximately $1 billion per year.[13] It has been reported that much of the investment in training in Canada is spent

13 The Panel notes that this is likely a conservative estimate.

on meeting minimum and mandatory requirements, rather than on more specialized skill development (Johnson *et al.*, 2007). Further, this mandatory skills training is not necessarily recognized in provinces other than where initially delivered; in such cases, the training may need to be repeated. The result is duplication of effort, with organizations re-creating material for courses that already exist in other curricula, and students repeating content — sometimes in college and then in basic training, then again if they relocate or transfer between provinces. Smaller organizations, at the best of times, are not able to support training at the same level as larger organizations with the in-house capacity for instruction (Johnson *et al.*, 2007).

Some training programs and facilities are available to the safety and security web as a whole. For example, the provincial police college in Quebec offers tailored programs for correctional services employees, as well as for traffic and transport police (ENPQ, 2013). The Canadian Police College of the RCMP offers courses in specialized technological and scientific areas, such as computer forensics and fingerprinting, as well as courses in management (AG, 2000). The Canadian Police Knowledge Network provides online training for police and public security providers (CPKN, 2013). Many police services across Canada independently offer in-house courses for ongoing training, and certain organizations share resources and cooperate on delivery (Blandford, 2004). The Panel is aware of other non-classroom opportunities for increasing police skills — such as lateral transfers and secondments — although it did not identify any evidence of the effectiveness of these activities in practice. The lack of national standards, and the influence of local circumstances, may be creating inconsistencies in police professional practice.

Developing Police Leadership

The developmental needs of senior managers are unique among police employees. The tradition for establishing senior police leaders in Canada is to promote from within, through the ranks of the organization, rather than to recruit leadership or management ability from outside. In contrast, police services in England and Wales have made a practice of selecting leadership from the senior ranks of other police organizations (Hay Group, 2010); until recently the police service in England and Wales had a rule preventing officers from holding all three of the most senior roles in a single force. Leaders appointed from other local police units are familiar with the demands and opportunities of policing, but can also bring unique perspective from a slightly different context.

Some argue that the skills required to lead a police organization may not include experience as a peace officer (AG, 2000) but rather the ability to communicate with and earn the confidence of a range of stakeholders. This requirement points to a nuance in management competencies; the ability to command is distinct from leadership ability (Neyroud, 2011). Both are different again from the ability to be a responsive and supportive supervisor — one who helps employees solve work-related problems and encourages skill development (Maguire & Dyke, 2012). Senior police leaders require a combination of these relationship management capacities.

Although specialized leadership competencies are well-established in the professional management literature (see review in Murphy & McKenna, 2007), prerequisites and competencies are not defined and consistently applied for Canadian police executives. Canadian police executives currently do not have a specialized advanced degree program. A variety of programs from wide-ranging disciplines are available to and designed for police executives, both within Canada and abroad.[14]

A program focused on the Canadian context could provide a consistent qualification standard for police leaders and, at the same time, consolidate a Canadian effort to study and understand the unique challenges facing its police leadership. For the RCMP, Murphy & McKenna (2007) note an "immediate opportunity to set in place succession, staffing, and learning investments" at senior levels but also throughout the organization. Overall, Canadian policing is confronted by the apparent absence of any designated faculty or accredited learning programs, or any common practice guidelines.

6.1.2 The College of Policing for England and Wales Provides a Model for Professionalizing Police

The recently established College of Policing for England and Wales has been identified by the Panel as an opportunity that is applicable for the Canadian police sector. Following recommendations from a Review of Police Leadership and Training (Neyroud, 2011), the U.K. Home Office implemented a professional body for policing, whose mandate embraced the entire police service and was "responsible for leadership, learning and standards" (Neyroud, 2011). The recommendations, which resulted in the establishment of the College, stem from a systematic review of evidence on what is known about training and development, along with the evidence on change in professional behaviour from other sectors. Police service members supplemented the literature review with input on some of the challenges and opportunities in training and leadership.

14 See, for example, Dalhousie University, 2013; Rotman, 2013; Telfer, 2013 and Australia's Institute of Police Management (Herrington, 2014).

Proposed as an integrating factor for policing at local and national levels, the College is developing a training curriculum that links learning with practice and the creation of a single qualification framework. Initial qualifications, which will be required for membership in the College and for employment in a police organization, may be met with education, experience, or a suitable combination. The framework will allow for an incremental progression through the ranks. Specialist skills will be accredited through the same professional body, allowing individuals to make career choices within the profession of policing and develop areas of expertise with suitable training. Senior leadership development will also be differentiated, with specific knowledge requirements for front-line versus senior managers, and leadership for command will be distinguished from accountability management and business skills (Neyroud, 2011).

The College of Policing, which will oversee delivery of training through licensing, is establishing connections with higher education institutions for this purpose (College of Policing, 2013b). In addition to delivering specialist training, it will set professional development pathways, including options for fostering senior leadership (College of Policing, 2013e). Talent management tools provided by the College will include supports for career development planning, coaching and mentoring schemes, design of succession planning, and nurturing of underrepresented groups in the police workforce.

The College also aims to improve access to research (College of Policing, 2013d) and will seek to define evidence-based standards for authorized professional practice by consolidating and auditing available advice (College of Policing, 2013g).

The example of the College underscores several opportunities for the consistent professionalization of police in Canada. In particular, the framework for qualification and accreditation recognizes and reinforces the value of differentiated roles, including but not limited to competencies for leadership and management. The ongoing credentialing system, which encompasses all ranks including senior management, could bring about a shift in the culture of learning. The focus moves away from in-house police classroom training to practice-based learning in partnership with higher education. The police sector in Canada could explore shared standards for training to improve consistency and reduce duplication.

6.2 EVIDENCE-BASED POLICE PRACTICE

As in other professions, police operating in the safety and security web must be able to draw on a body of evidence-based police practice. Over the past four decades, the research community has increased its publication of police-related research, and this evidence has been used increasingly to inform police interventions. The cumulative impact has been significant. Although evidence increasingly directly influences management of police resources, the traditional one-size-fits-all model of random patrol, rapid response, and reactive investigations (the "3R model"), is as Sherman (2013) notes, "far from gone." Recent evidence also points to the increasing popularity of more elaborate and differentiated interventions that have been shown through research to work (Sherman, 2013).

6.2.1 Evidence-Based Police Practices Make Police Interventions More Effective and Underpin Professional Development

There is a growing consensus not only about what specific interventions have been shown to be effective but also about the general nature of effective interventions. In a review of 125 studies on various police interventions from different countries, Lum *et al.* (2010) developed an evidence-based matrix that highlights "realms of effectiveness" for different types of interventions based on whether they are: proactive or reactive; general or focused; and appropriate for the type of target (e.g., individual, place, or nation-state). The matrix reveals a clear case of using evidence to build and assess effective police interventions. "Hot spot policing" combines problem-solving techniques with patrol and other interventions on specific areas of crime concentration.

Sherman (2013) argues that there is now sufficient evidence of the shift from the 3R model of policing to a "triple T" model of targeting, testing, and tracking. In this model, research is incorporated at all stages of the intervention:

1. Police should conduct and apply good research to target scarce resources on predictable concentrations of harm from crime and disorder.
2. Once police choose their high-priority targets, they should review or conduct tests of police methods to help choose what works best to reduce harm.
3. Once police services use research to target their tested practices, they should generate and use internal evidence to track the daily delivery and effects of those practices, including public perceptions of police legitimacy (Sherman, 2013).

By consolidating knowledge of what works, police research can play a transformational role in the professional development of police officers. In England and Wales, the move towards an evidence-based standard of police

practice and accreditation, as described above, is integrally linked with research. The College of Policing includes a Research, Analysis and Information Unit, which synthesizes and shares evidence about effective practices in policing, identifies future trends, provides research advice, manages the National Police Library, and maintains a research map that inventories academic research underway on policing across England and Wales (College of Policing, 2013c). Moreover, from any jurisdiction police officers and those who develop police training have access to a growing international body of systematic reviews that have evaluated the effectiveness of various evidence-based policing interventions (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1

Systematic Reviews of Evidence-Based Policing Interventions

What Works?	What's Promising?	What Doesn't Work?
Hot spot policing (Braga *et al.*, 2012)	Information-gathering interrogation methods (Meissner *et al.*, 2012)	Second responder programs (Davis *et al.*, 2008)
Focused deterrence (Braga & Weisburd, 2012)	Programs to increase procedural justice and enhance legitimacy (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013)	Stress management programs (Patterson *et al.*, 2012)
Problem-oriented policing (Weisburd *et al.*, 2008)		Community policing to reduce crime (Gill *et al.*, 2014)
Directed patrol for gun violence (Goss *et al.*, 2008)		
Neighbourhood watch (Bennett *et al.*, 2008)		
DNA for police investigations (Wilson *et al.*, 2011)		

Some police interventions are more effective than others at achieving results. This table identifies a range of interventions that, from systematic reviews of research, have been shown to work or show promise. It also identifies those that have been found ineffective; for example, Gill *et al.* note that community-oriented policing has positively contributed to citizen satisfaction and police legitimacy, but has had limited impact, as practiced, on reducing either reported crime or the fear of crime.

Telep and Weisburd (2012) offer a few insights into the summary implications for police practice. Police can increase the effectiveness of their efforts by focusing on places and people that are high risk, and with proactive problem solving, rather than more focused approaches (e.g., drug enforcement) or traditional methods (e.g., arrest).

6.2.2 Linking Research to Police Services Can Be Strengthened Through Several Channels

How police are linked to research is an important factor in realizing the benefits of evidence-based policing. Research collaborations themselves are one option. The literature identifies a number of benefits for both sides from collaborations between academic researchers and police services. For police services, such collaborations can provide credible research results that are relevant to the policing community (Whalen, 2012), and can potentially reduce police research costs by involving students and leveraging academic research grants. For academics, police service involvement can support dissemination of research findings among practitioners, and can provide opportunities for university students to ground their research in real projects and gain experience (Whalen, 2012).

Looking abroad, several initiatives to improve the quality and value of police research point to other mechanisms. The Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR), for example, works to promote knowledge exchange between the police service and academia, expand the base of Scottish research, build capacity, and establish international links. SIPR brings together 12 Scottish universities and the Scottish police service to conduct work under three broad themes: police-community relations, evidence and investigation, and police organization (SIPR, 2013). SIPR is also part of a broader coalition, the Society of Evidence Based Policing (SEBP) (SEBP, 2012). This alliance of police officers, police staff, and academics encourages the creation and use of research evidence. Through conferences, an online forum and library, and professional development events, SEBP aims to facilitate an international network of research partnerships for sharing research and findings with the purpose of promoting evidence-based police practice.

The U.S. National Institute of Justice (NIJ) offers another approach, from within government, to support evidence-based practice. The NIJ is the agency of the Department of Justice focused on development and evaluation of criminal justice research. With the goal of informing practice, the NIJ supports both funding and dissemination of research and has an Office of Research Partnerships dedicated to building links within and outside of government on criminal justice practice (NIJ, 2012).

Partnerships between universities and police services are also in place to support additional post-secondary training of police officers. For example, as part of a wider collaboration between the Cincinnati Police Department and the University of Cincinnati, select members of the police service can pursue a Masters of Criminal Justice at the university free of tuition fees. In addition,

the Fulbright Commission offers grants to active U.K. police officers to conduct research and pursue training in the United States (Fulbright Commission, n.d.). Punch (2007) interviewed several U.K. officers who had completed a degree after joining a police service, and noted:

> The benefits of a university education for serving officers can be seen in terms of social capital (self-confidence and status) and generic skills (ability to analyse material, ease of communication, report writing) while some respondents saw more specific institutional benefits in bringing reflection to an action-oriented institution or to questioning quite critically the underlying assumptions of policy.

6.2.3 Evidence-Based Policing Requires a Strong Research Base Linked to Police

Although there are examples of Canadian police services adopting a more evidence-based approach to policing, there is considerable potential to do more. As Lum *et al.* (2010) point out, police services, at least in the United States, "are well-known for not using evidence-based practices in everyday patrol and investigations." Furthermore, they add, "police also continue to make widespread use of other strategies that researchers consider ineffective, such as the DARE program (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), reactive arrests, rapid response to 911 calls, and gun buybacks." This is shown further in a 2011 survey of officers from a U.S. police organization (Lum *et al.*, 2012). That study found that traditional beliefs about crime-fighting approaches persist, even when contrary to evidence of (in)effectiveness, and also identified barriers to use of research evidence. Officers reported using evidence disseminated by their own organizations more often than that from external sources, and also reported decisions to act based on their personal experience, even when aware of conflicting research evidence.

As an implication of their research, Lum *et al.* (2012) propose the need for a transition in the way police organizations do business, to increase the use of evidence through longer-term relationships with researchers and careful attention to receptivity and use of research. Rethinking the integration of practitioners and researchers is also proposed elsewhere; Neyroud and Weisburd (2014) call for a fundamental shift in the way police engage with science. Rather than participating in research as end users, police could move towards a more active leadership role.

Evidence-based practices should also be of interest to police service boards and responsible ministers, but, as discussed in Chapter 3, some observers have noted a lack of active policy engagement by these officials (Morden, 2012;

Sancton, 2012). Part of the problem is the lack of availability of relevant research. Of the 86 police randomized controlled trials that have been or are being conducted, none have taken place in Canada. Similarly, evaluations of effectiveness of police initiatives across Canada's police services are scarce. Public Safety Canada's Index of Policing Initiatives was established to profile initiatives that have been successful in improving police service efficiency and effectiveness (PSC, 2013c). The aim is for the database to evolve and expand over time, but it is unclear whether any of the initiatives profiled have been subject to evaluation.

Public Safety Canada also provides other forms of encouragement for research. In 2013 Public Safety Canada hosted a summit on the economics of policing that included many speakers and participants from the research community, providing a forum for information sharing; this was followed in spring 2014 by a symposium, at which a similar range of participants explored the issues related to the need for stronger coordination of research. The Panel notes, however, that several supports for policing-related research, such as the *Canadian Police College Journal,* the Canadian Police College Research Unit, and the Police Futures Group of Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, are no longer active initiatives contributing to the link between policing research and policing practice.

If Canadian police services are to benefit from research, the sector will need not only a stronger Canadian applied policing research capacity but also better mechanisms for linking the research community with police. What follows is a brief look at Canada's readiness for stronger evidence-based policing. There are two sides to this readiness: (i) the ability of police organizations to absorb research and be open and supportive of academic partnerships; and (ii) the capacity of the academic community to support evidence-based policing, which is determined by the breadth of researchers and institutions, together with funding.

Harnessing Police Research Capacity

Police departments often have an internal research capacity. These research groups may provide a range of functions including conducting original research, collaborating with academic researchers, reviewing existing research to inform internal decision-making, and disseminating research within the police service. Information about police research groups is scarce, although the Panel notes that much in-house research is operationally focused and not strongly evaluative. Several police services indicate that they have a research capacity (an example of one police service's approach is described in Box 6.1), but little information is available about their specific roles or research products (e.g., OPP, n.d.; SQ, 2012; VPD, n.d.).

Police oversight bodies have important information that can facilitate research. For instance, Ontario's SIU publishes detailed annual reports on its investigations and outcomes (SIU, 2013). This is one example of how public oversight bodies can repurpose their aggregated data to permit observations and analysis of trends. The Panel notes, however, that there is often no mechanism for translating even the results of in-house research and analysis to those who practice policing. Intentional knowledge mobilization is part of putting research into practice.

Box 6.1
Research in the Vancouver Police Department

The VPD's Planning, Research and Audit Section has issued public research reports on patrol deployment and civilianization. The public assessment of civilianization was used to inform a departmental review, identifying positions that could be civilianized so that police could be redeployed to front-line duties (Griffiths *et al.*, 2006), while the deployment study was carried out to assess staffing needs and the most cost-effective deployment options (Demers *et al.*, 2007). The department notes the benefits of collaboration with researchers outside the department, and has put in place a process to invite and review research proposals from the academic community. Researchers may be granted access to VPD data to inform their studies (VPD, n.d.).

Research Capacity of Public Research Institutes

Research on police is carried out in a number of universities and institutes across Canada, which suggests the existence of a reasonably strong foundation on which to enhance research capacity. Indeed, researchers engaged in police issues are based in a range of departments including sociology, criminology, law, and business. Assessing the number of researchers dedicated to policing is, however, made difficult by the multidisciplinary nature of the research area.

Nonetheless, several dedicated institutes focus on research relevant to police and police work, although not directly on police activities. Canadian institutions engaged in policing-related research include:

- International Centre for Comparative Criminology, Université de Montréal;
- Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies, Simon Fraser University;
- Institute for the Prevention of Crime, University of Ottawa;
- Police Research Lab, Carleton University;
- National Crime Prevention Centre, Public Safety Canada;

- Canadian Safety and Security Program, Defence Research and Development Canada;
- The Collaborative Centre for Justice and Safety, University of Regina; and
- University-based criminology centres across Canada.

Data on research funding dedicated to policing research suggest that Canada's research capacity is limited despite the breadth of institutions that can potentially engage in policing research. Most of Canadian academic research on policing is funded primarily through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). However, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) has funded relevant research related to population health, and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC) to technological developments. In the 10-year period between 2003/2004 and 2012/2013, SSHRC distributed $29.8 million in funding to criminology research projects, of which only $1.6 million was allocated to the police sub-discipline (SSHRC, 2013). When analyzing all SSHRC-funded projects that include the keyword "police" in project titles and descriptions, the total was $5.8 million over the 10-year period (SSHRC, 2013). SSHRC does, however, fund five Canada Research Chairs in Criminology, including one in Security, Identity and Technology and another in Surveillance and the Social Construction of Risk.

The RCMP also offers funding to support police-related research. It currently funds three university research chairs in British Columbia: computational criminology (Simon Fraser University), crime analysis (Simon Fraser University), and crime reduction (University of the Fraser Valley). In 2013 the RCMP and the University of Regina established a memorandum of understanding under which the RCMP will provide $315,000 in annual funding to the university through 2017 to support collaborative research projects in areas of interest identified by the RCMP. In 2013 the RCMP identified six areas of research including how changing economic and demographic circumstances in Saskatchewan may affect policing, how the Saskatchewan division of the RCMP can best organize its detachments, and public perceptions of police (University of Regina & RCMP, 2013).

Police training institutes appear to have limited research capacity, but offer library collections that can be of great value to the police research community. The Canadian Police College Library's extensive collection is available to students of the College, RCMP employees, employees of other Canadian police services, and others including the research community (CPC, 2011, 2013). Provincial police colleges including the Ontario Police College, the École nationale de police du Québec, and the Justice Institute of British Columbia also house library collections.

Associations play a role in boosting research capacity. The federally funded Police Sector Council published research to inform human resource management and planning, although, as noted earlier, federal government funding for all sector councils ended in 2013. Research projects supported by the Sector Council included the development of a competency framework (as described in Section 6.1.1), an assessment of the need for recertification in use of force training, and surveys gauging public perceptions of police careers (PC, n.d.). The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) is developing the capacity of its Research Foundation. In consultation with CACP members, the Foundation has identified five priority research areas: human resources, funding and financing, community engagement, operations, and policing models. The Foundation is working to develop a clearinghouse for police research and to provide funding to support original research (Chu, 2013).

With limited funding and few collaborations between academic researchers and police, little Canadian police research has been produced over the past decade. As such, there remains no reliable and comprehensive body of evidence-based knowledge on Canadian policing. Evidence suggests, however, a growing recognition of a need for more collaborative research between police and researchers to produce a more robust body of Canadian research-based knowledge on policing for a variety of operational and accountability purposes. The Panel notes in particular the need for cooperation and for some incentives to produce knowledge for policing practice from the evidence accumulated to date.

In summary, while Canada's research capacity might appear to be extensive, there remain significant gaps (summarized in Chapter 7) in the often project-specific and periodic efforts. In the absence of national coordination, the policing research community remains fragmented and focused on localized concerns specific to a jurisdiction or task.

6.3 REDEFINING THE ROLE OF POLICE FOR A SAFETY AND SECURITY WEB

To operate as effectively and efficiently as possible in a safety and security web, and manage the challenges identified in previous chapters, police require not only clarity of purpose but also clarity in the roles and duties carried out to realize this purpose. These roles and duties, however, are not so readily defined. Indeed, calls on police to refocus on core roles (e.g., CROPS, 2012; Millie, 2013) have been problematic because there is no clear consensus on what those core functions might include. There are three reasons for this.

First, the space that police uniquely occupy has been shrinking. Bayley and Shearing (2001) echo the sentiment of Johnston (1992) that other security providers are now carrying out all of the activities of police, as directed by those who purchase and authorize their services: "They patrol, guard, investigate, respond to emergencies, monitor, collect intelligence, work undercover, constrain, ameliorate crime-producing conditions, advise about crime prevention, and control disorder" (Bayley & Shearing, 2001).

Second, police authority to use force — long viewed as a defining feature that set police apart from other actors (e.g., Brodeur, 2010a; Reiner, 2013) — is no longer unique to police in Canada. In 2013 the *Citizen's Arrest and Self Defence Act* came into force, giving private security an expanded scope for permissible use of reasonable force. The Act, which modified Canada's *Criminal Code*, expanded the powers of citizen's arrest beyond a crime in progress, as permitted under the *Criminal Code*, to the arrest of a suspect within "a reasonable time" after a crime (Department of Justice Canada, 2013).

Third, police are called on to play many roles, as evidenced in the trends identified in Chapter 2. Today's police are doing more of what other actors *are not* doing, rather than what other actors *cannot* do. Given these difficulties, the Panel has sought to examine the main contours that delimit the range of roles and duties of police in Canada. With these contours defined, the police role is revisited for the purpose of identifying the best alternatives in context of the safety and security web.

6.3.1 Three Main Factors Will Continue to Define the Future Role of Police

Media and political coverage tends to reinforce the role of police as one of crime fighters, but evidence suggests that their role is far more complicated and wide ranging. First, police legislation enables police to play many roles and also leaves room for governments to articulate additional roles. Second, the public expects police to be available to help address a wide range of concerns. Third, as peace officers, police derive authority and power from state legislation, giving them a unique role that is enhanced through their role as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system and the courts. Together, these factors will continue to define the future role of police in Canada.

Statutory Authorities

As noted in Chapter 1, the fundamental role of Canada's various police organizations is established through legislation that is broadly similar on this issue: to preserve the peace; enforce the *Criminal Code*; and enforce other laws in their jurisdiction, such as federal laws, provincial regulations, or municipal bylaws.

While most police forces are required by statute to enforce the laws of their jurisdiction, the level of further duty statutorily required differs by act, ranging from nearly no enumerated further duties to a fairly detailed list of duties. The breadth of the roles articulated, such as "preserving the peace," combined with the discretion to assign additional duties afforded by much of the legislation, suggests that Canadian police services can be called on to play a wide range of roles.

For example, according to British Columbia's *Police Act*, the police service operating at the provincial level is mandated to perform the duties required for preservation of peace, prevention of crime and offences against the law, and administration of justice assigned to it under either the director of police services, provincial policing act, or any other relevant legislation (Police Act, 1996). Conversely, in Ontario the responsibilities of the OPP are enumerated in a more practical, jurisdictional capacity, including the requirement to provide police services in respect of certain areas, provide traffic patrols, and maintain investigative services (Police Services Act, 1990). In Manitoba the statute provides almost no insight into the duties of provincial police, besides enumerating the minister's responsibility "for ensuring that adequate and effective policing is provided throughout Manitoba" (Police Services Act, 2009).

Most provincial policing statutes set out officer duties including preservation of the public peace, prevention of crime, enforcement of relevant laws, execution of warrants, apprehension of criminals, and provision of assistance to victims, among others; however, these specific duties differ between provinces.

Perhaps most importantly, significant discretion is afforded to various actors, such as ministers, police chiefs, and police officers, to determine the duties of provincial and municipal police forces, and how these duties need to be delivered (Robertson, 2012). The federal *Police Act*, for example, permits the enumeration of further duties as identified by the Governor in Council or the Commissioner (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, 1985). Similarly, Manitoba's *Police Services Act* allows police chiefs to assign duties other than those identified in the Act (Police Services Act, 2009). As a result, the duties enumerated in statute are only the baseline, vague requirements, which are further developed by various actors.

Although there is no agreement on core duties at the provincial or national levels, this discussion has been proposed as a crucial input to progress on professionalization. In England and Wales, a process of policing reform program termed Workforce Modernisation has created a dialogue on role definition as a driver of performance. Through the program, police organizations have changed structures and processes to differentiate the skills required of uniformed and attested police from those appropriate for other police staff (NPIA, 2010).

Social Expectations

Public opinion surveys and calls for service suggest that public expectations of the police role are far more expansive than just crime fighting, and include responding to a range of social issues. When surveyed, the public consistently places crime first among police priorities (Beck *et al.*, 1999; Allen *et al.*, 2007; HAC, 2011). However, the public also identifies other police roles. A 1998/1999 survey of the Australian public and police officers identified a range of police functions including providing advice, investigating crime, carrying out administrative duties, and providing non-emergency assistance. Public respondents thought that police should put greater emphasis on all of their functions with the exception of traffic-related activities (Beck *et al.*, 1999).

Analysis from the 2004/05 Crime Survey for England and Wales, formerly known as the British Crime Survey (a survey of around 45,000 people), found that among the public who initiated interactions with police, only half of interactions were to report a crime. Other common reasons were: to report suspicious activity; disturbances; accidents; emergencies; missing persons or items; or to provide information (Allen *et al.*, 2007). Reiner (2013) calls for more up-to-date analysis of public calls for service in the U.K.: "The focus of policy, research and public political debate has been on crime and its control, unperturbed about evidence about what the public demand for policing in practice (as opposed to general imagery) is."

Popular media may also influence the public's expectations of, and attitudes towards, police. In the United Kingdom, public survey respondents identified local newspapers and television/radio news programs as the two top sources for information on local police and police in general (Allen *et al.*, 2007). Fictional programming may also create false expectations of police. According to Surette (2007), "the public is exposed to large amounts of crime-fighting content in news, entertainment, and infotainment, most of it terribly distorted if not plain wrong." Police dramas create an impression that crimes can be solved very readily (Huey, 2010): "[Investigators] call it the 'CSI effect,' a phenomenon in which actual investigations are driven by the expectations of the millions of people who watch fake whodunits on TV" (Surette, 2007).

What Police Can Do

Police roles are also shaped by legislation that sets out powers of peace officers. Canada's *Criminal Code,* which sets out these powers, provides an exemption for police officers to possess arms, and a set of similar exceptions for other firearm-related activities (Canadian Criminal Code, 1985). In addition it provides that "everyone who is required or authorized by law to do anything in the administration or enforcement of the law," which includes police, is

entitled to use reasonable force. Police means are also established through policy instruments and legislative tools that require police collaboration from other actors in society. For instance, good Samaritan laws or physician disclosure requirements increase police resources by coercing others to support police goals (Ayling *et al.*, 2009). Finally, the role of police is also influenced by their role as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system (see Box 2.5 for an explanation of the gatekeeper role).

6.3.2 Adopting the Role of Team Player will Allow Police to Better Interface with the Safety and Security Web

Although police legislation, public expectations, and police powers described above do little to establish priority roles, they do provide guidance on the direction that police could take in redefining their role in response to the safety and security web. What follows is an articulation of three basic role profiles that demarcate a continuum of possible roles ranging in scope from narrow to broad: police as law enforcers, as multipurpose generalists, and as team players.

Police as Law Enforcers

This role profile is circumscribed to correspond with crime control through law enforcement. It is a conventional role that emphasizes rapid response to emergencies and reactive investigations, leaving collaborative initiatives oriented towards prevention and community outside the purview of police. It is also a narrow conceptualization that appeals to calls for police to refocus on core roles (e.g., Commission on the Reform of Ontario's Public Services 2012) as a way to reduce cost. From the standpoint of the safety and security web, this role is one where police might dedicate fewer resources to fostering partnerships.

This is a direction that a number of U.S. police services have taken recently in response to severe cost cutting. From a 2011 survey of 23 major city departments in the United States, 39% of respondents who had experienced budget cuts reported that the cuts were made to preventative oriented community policing efforts (as cited in COPS, 2011). In one example, after having laid off close to half of its police officers, the police chief of Camden, New Jersey stated that officers are no longer sent out "if it doesn't need a gun and a badge at that location" (Goldstein, 2011).

The empirical literature is, however, widely critical of this role profile because it marginalizes proven prevention-oriented approaches in favour of less effective reactionary and law enforcement focused strategies. Research on police interventions is conclusive that the most effective interventions are those that are at least moderately proactive rather than reactive, and focus on specific places rather than being generic or random (Lum *et al.*, 2010).

The literature also shows, however, that effective prevention approaches need not always involve police. A growing body of work now points to prevention-focused partnership initiatives being used to address a wide range of inter-personal crimes, such as youth and gun violence, property crime, and alcohol-related violence (Waller, 2014). These initiatives often do not involve police and instead bring together other relevant safety and security actors including schools, community groups, and municipalities, to focus on pre-crime prevention programs that target vulnerable groups.

Police as Multipurpose Generalists

This role profile recognizes the reality that police are well-positioned to be first responders to a wide range of emergency calls and demands from the public and other safety and security providers. It also acknowledges the diversity of roles that police are often called upon to take, in areas of social work, crime fighting, and prevention and health.

This wider role is in keeping with legislative changes from Bill C-36 following 9/11 that gave police at all levels in Canada new legal powers to support a broader security mandate (Murphy, 2007). As Murphy notes, adding security to a police mandate brings with it a requirement for police to "shift from a legally limited and reactive crime control mode to a more anticipatory, proactive, and preventative security policing mode." Broad in scope, this role profile best characterizes the make-up of most police services in Canada, which continue to rely on the generalist, one-size-fits-all model of policing described in previous chapters. The multipurpose generalist police service enforces laws, but also continues as first responder to varied non-crime-related demands. A central challenge with this model is cost effectiveness. Having to ensure adequate training of staff and sufficient allocation resources to address the wide variety of problems that police are responding to is cost prohibitive especially with a core generalist human resource model.

Police as Team Players

This third role profile corresponds to a shift among some police services around the world to developing strategies for drawing on the assistance of a wider set of organizations in delivering security and crime prevention (van Steden *et al.*, 2013). It recognizes a core role for police that is defined by the powers and capacities for which they are trained, and the potential of other providers for delivering safety and security. In this respect, this role profile is a balance between a narrow enforcement focus and a broader generalist role. This role allows police to steer safety and security, helping coordinate among other providers, while potentially freeing up resources to allow police to focus on their core duties, do what they do best, and intrude when force is required.

In the Netherlands, this has been done by embracing a form of nodal policing that has allowed police to "identify, enhance, mobilize and integrate a wide variety of capacities — both local and national — [to] manage security risks" (van Steden *et al.*, 2013). They have done so in a "team play environment," whereby police establish and sustain the collaborative relationships by whatever works, be it hard or soft tactics, as the situation requires. The authors add: "In seeking to become a police organization with a nodal orientation, the Dutch police have not only continued to act as a crucial node themselves but fostered and steered the direction of nodal assemblages."

This role profile is most amenable to a safety and security web, and provides the flexibility for police to be the lead responder or simply be a participant. It is also a profile that is beginning to assert itself on the Canadian policing landscape. One area is police participation in responding to people with mental illness (see also Section 5.3.1). Joint responses involve police alongside professionals with other training and capacities, recognizing that the police specialty is not always well-suited as first responders, but as team players. Examples where police play a team role include: the Prince Albert initiative (Section 5.3.2); community initiatives such as that of the Waterloo Regional Municipality Crime Prevention Council; and the partnership between the Vancouver Police Department, the City of Vancouver and the Vancouver Coastal Health Authority, which responds to incidents involving people with mental illness.

6.4 A WHOLE-OF-SOCIETY APPROACH

Providing safety and security is much broader than a police role and well beyond the traditional confines of the government monopoly on security and safety. Federal, provincial, and municipal governments all provide policing but governments are no longer the only service provider in the safety and security landscape. In this increasingly diverse environment, the Panel sees a need for pan-Canadian governance of the Canadian safety and security landscape that is compatible with the existing structure of policing in the federal system and that can ensure a coherent safety and security web.

Some efforts have been made in this direction at the provincial level in Ontario where the government has collaborated with police leaders to articulate a framework for crime prevention in the province (Government of Ontario & OACP, 2012). The framework, based on evidence about effective approaches to reducing crime and victimization and improving health and social outcomes, recommends a multi-sector response and profiles the ongoing efforts in Ontario to broker collaboration between different agencies and mandates.

In a landscape of ever-changing harms, there is also a need to assess the risk environment and, in response, mobilize and leverage the wide array of nodes and connections in the safety and security web. A broader vision of both the risks and assets that can be engaged in response is required; effective safety and security depends on multiple providers, but some regulatory architecture will shape activity to ensure the right mix of capable guardians providing freedom from harms.

6.4.1 Government Regulation Contributes to Safety and Security

In the safety and security web, police work alongside individuals and organizations that are complying with regulations or requirements to enhance safety and security. This concept of having other agencies and their authorities enhance public safety and security is also known as "third-party policing" (Mazerolle & Ransley, 2005), and highlights how regulation contributes to harm reduction. In support of police mandates, regulations create the obligation for the public to self-police. Regulations that set standards for entry or membership create the expectation that members will comply with certain rules.

This type of encouragement, labelled by Ayling *et al.* (2009) as "coercion," may not result directly from police orders, but may be embedded in municipal bylaw or legislation at the provincial, territorial, or federal level. Compliance with regulations is often enforced. Since the failure to comply can result in some consequence for the individual, conscientious citizens assume responsibility for improving the safety of their own surroundings. Professional memberships may be terminated or access to privileges and services cut off.

For instance, as noted earlier (Section 5.3.1), physicians are required to report observations related to gunshot wounds as a condition of their professional designation (Government of Ontario, 2005), and minimum standards for insurability of residential properties can include an alarm system (Ayling *et al.*, 2009). In these cases, physicians who fail to report as required may lose the right to practice, while property owners who do not meet minimum requirements may be denied insurance.

Many industries have indirect power to enhance safety and security in Canadian society. By influencing the standards that are set as expectations for business and practice, governments can effectively leverage a range of resources outside the traditional police sector. The Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy, described in Box 6.2, is one noteworthy Canadian example of web policing involving a partnership between sectors to improve safety and security.

Box 6.2
Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy: A Comprehensive Approach

Between 2003 and 2008, the rate of automobile theft in Winnipeg was the highest in North America (Linden & Koenig, 2012). In addition to the cost of replacing property was the burden of personal injuries from collisions involving stolen vehicles. In 2004, the annual cost of insurance alone was $40 million (Waller, 2014). Enforcement tactics were not successful in addressing the problem. An effective response to what appeared as a local crisis required an understanding of the issue and a comprehensive strategy. The majority of auto thieves were young people, many of them repeat offenders. Target vehicles were mostly older models known to be easy to steal. The response that emerged over time, with the support of many contributors, addressed multiple factors behind these vulnerabilities.

The strategy, which resulted in an 80% reduction in auto thefts, addressed the human element of the problem and also the situational factors that provided the opportunity for the crimes. Social development involved programming in high-risk neighbourhoods to deter youth from choosing criminal activity. For those already involved, police, probation services, and prosecutors collaborated with a graduated approach: those "early involved" were offered diversion and other programming; repeat offenders were closely supervised to enforce the terms of probation; and those at high risk of reoffending were subject to intense supervision with zero tolerance for non-compliance (Manitoba Auto Theft Task Force *et al.*, 2010). Another dimension of the strategy saw Manitoba Public Insurance, the provincial auto insurer, provide immobilizers for at-risk car models; participation in the immobilizer program was optional at first, but later became a condition of registering a vehicle (Linden & Koenig, 2012).

Winnipeg's Auto Theft Suppression Strategy was a shared response to a shared problem. The social development programming for youth, the immobilizer requirement, and the elevated probation services were an effective suite of initiatives that required a collective effort by the community. Similarly, comprehensive strategies can be used to apply several types of intervention to many problems, each unique to their context (Waller, 2014).

6.4.2 Increased Coordination and Role Clarity Can Support an Effective and Functioning Safety and Security Web

Canada has no centralized authority responsible for coordinating the cooperation often needed to address the complexity of crime and security. In the absence of such a structure, Canadian policing relies on a loosely organized network of federal, provincial, and municipal police services to negotiate the required partnerships. Safety and security is provided by a web, but the partnerships that constitute the web are currently dependent upon local initiative, creativity, and capacity. The Panel notes the absence of a Canadian framework for encouraging, and continuously shaping, this way of working. This architecture must recognize and start from the structure of the existing system.

A decentralized system has both inherent advantages and distinct challenges. An advantage for this decentralized approach is that it allows for regional and local variation and innovation in policing that can be more difficult to achieve in centralized systems. One example is the development of a regional coordination policing structure for the Vancouver Lower Mainland, where multiple agencies formalized their collaboration in an Integrated Homicide Investigative Team, rather than relying on ad hoc joint operations (RCMP, 2013a).

A decentralized system, however, has also been the source of some of Canada's biggest policing problems. The four-decades-long struggle between CSIS and the RCMP over respective roles, communication, and information exchange is one notable example (Brodeur, 2010b; Roach, 2010), as is the competition between the RCMP and municipal police in many jurisdictions for contracts, which — the Panel observed — might undermine the rationale to cooperate. Coordination failures have also featured prominently in two Commission of Inquiries (Oppal, 1994, 2012) in British Columbia. In light of findings of major failures in police investigations, these inquiries have analyzed key issues concerning effective structures for cross-jurisdictional and inter-agency collaboration (Campbell, 1996; Gordon & Stewart, 2009; Buckley, 2012; Missing Women Commission of Inquiry, 2012). Finally, there are also many examples of a lack of police cooperation (e.g., G20 Summit in Toronto, etc.).

The lack of coordination has the potential to become a much greater concern in the future. Given the growing cross-jurisdictional nature of crime, the need for police to engage across a multi-actor security and safety landscape, and the increasing cost of policing, police organizations and governments have strong operational and fiscal reasons to collaborate and cooperate in a more integrated manner. Doing so, however, requires greater clarity of respective roles of all three levels of government, police, and other providers.

This is particularly evident for a number of Canada's international security agreements, which require local police to have the capacity to be part of a national system of policing. The larger international scale introduces added complexity with more players on both crime and policing sides. States have sought to extend the reach of domestic crime control systems by way of multilateral and bilateral agreements, building on practices that date back centuries (Andreas & Nadelmann, 2006; Bowling & Sheptycki, 2012). The difference is one of degree, whereby the complexity, sophistication, and comprehensiveness of international policing institutions are greater now than at any time in history (Andreas & Nadelmann, 2006). Many demands for international collaboration "are fairly general in nature and filled with virtuous intentions such as calls for better coordination, more intensive international cooperation, enhanced information sharing, etc., but very little specific details are being offered to explain how these strategies will be effectively implemented and how their success will be assessed" (Dupont, 2013).

An overview of recent policies related to border security between the United States and Canada, including the National Northern Border Counternarcotics Strategy and the Perimeter Security and Economic Competitiveness Action Plan, indicates the potential impact of these agreements on Canadian policing and the extent to which national, local, and regional capacities need to be harnessed. In the Counternarcotics Strategy, 41 new collaborative initiatives are to be rolled out. One such initiative is to "achieve operational fusion with Canadian partners in interoperable communications, technology, and activities"; this will require the ability to integrate Canadian and U.S. technology, including sensors, videos, radio communications, and radar feeds, to permit automated sharing of timely information. Another is to "integrate Northern border-related technical and non-technical intelligence collection capabilities," which involves deploying and coordinating technical collection capabilities such as thermal camera systems, License Plate Readers (LPRs), Mobile Surveillance Systems, and Unmanned Aircraft Systems (UASs) (Government of the United States, 2012).

These types of coordinating mechanisms will be deepened further with a forthcoming land-based version of the 2012 *Integrated Cross Border Law Enforcement Operations Act*. Collectively, these and other national and global mechanisms ultimately implicate police services across Canada at all levels — municipal, provincial, and RCMP.

Harnessing capacities across all three levels in this integrated environment, will, at a minimum, require clarity around respective roles of the different police services. This is, of course, not without its challenges. In the current environment, limited police collaboration and inter-agency operations are not

so much due to a lack of understanding of roles and responsibilities but rather, in part, to a refusal to concede roles and responsibilities to other agencies. Governments and police services guard their autonomy and are quick to seek collaboration without conceding autonomy or resources to others. In British Columbia, for example, the Oppal inquiry recommended the amalgamation of an assortment of municipal and RCMP detachments into a single Metro Vancouver Police Service. The consolidation was proposed as a solution to a number of policing problems, including the need for more coordinated collection and dissemination of criminal intelligence and more synchronized responses across the region, but has been vigorously opposed by mayors of affected communities (Gordon & Stewart, 2009).

Where the Oppal recommendation suggests combining police services, examples such as Community Mobilization Prince Albert illustrate the potential of reaching beyond the police sector to foster a whole-of-society response. Formalizing the partnerships across sectors, even when agencies retain their operational autonomy, acknowledges the partnerships required for a functioning safety and security web.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered pioneering initiatives for improving policing in Canada that are attuned to current trends facing police and to the reality of the safety and security web in which police operate. They are broad in scope and benefit from nation-wide implementation. These initiatives are, to a degree, interrelated, with the effectiveness of each dependent on the effectiveness of the others. A system of accredited police officers, for example, requires research capacity that can generate and sustain a knowledge base upon which professions depend to fulfill their unique role in the safety and security web.

These opportunities are significant to the extent that they foster improvements at the level of the police system, and this broader structure can enable changes at other levels. A system of police accreditation, for example, can give organizations added flexibility to experiment with civilianization of their police service or the introduction of tiered policing, while a stronger research capacity is a starting point for improved uptake of research findings within the policing community. A broader regulatory approach to safety and security that recognizes unique roles and formalizes responsibilities for safety and security among a broader range of actors is also likely to be supportive of police services, and individual police employees, engaging these other actors.

The Panel notes that the potential of these opportunities lies in developing a framework for policing in Canada, in which expectations are clearly defined, roles and relationships are clearly identified, operating processes are uniform, and education and training are tied to accreditation. This system would recognize and integrate the strengths of the variation and innovation in local policing within a decentralized, yet coordinated, national structure of consistent standards.

These opportunities also provide a strong starting point for understanding how the police sector can more efficiently and effectively realize the vision of safety and security in the 21st century. They are enabling of a future model of policing adapted to a more complex crime environment, and can potentially provide more cost-effective safety and security.

7

Conclusions

- Responding to the Main Charge
- Responding to the Sub-Questions
- Bringing Policing into the 21st Century

7 Conclusions

This chapter answers the main question and the three sub-questions that comprise the charge to the Panel, drawing on the evidence and analysis presented in the preceding chapters. It concludes with the Panel's final reflections on how policing can best be positioned in the 21st century to meet current and future safety and security needs of Canadians.

7.1 RESPONDING TO THE MAIN CHARGE

Given the evolution of crime, the justice system, and society, what do current evidence and knowledge suggest about the future of the public policing models used in Canada?

The Panel was charged with providing insight into what future policing models in Canada could look like, given the evidence on policing and safety and security today and the current and emerging challenges confronting police. Although extrapolating about the future is inevitably subject to uncertainty, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that future policing models will be shaped by the reality of police operating in the safety and security web. Police partnerships with local health professionals, community and municipal groups, and other government organizations, the growing presence of private security, and the role of internet companies and banks in fighting cybercrime are all acknowledgements of elements of this web, many of which feature frequently in new initiatives aimed to improve safety and security.

Viewing police from the standpoint of the safety and security web is therefore essential for understanding not only the imperative for change but also how police can best respond to the new realities while meeting expectations for legitimacy, efficacy, and performance. The safety and security web is a source of specialized knowledge, skills, and resources that can assist police in responding to internal and external trends and challenges in policing. The changing nature of threats requires police to work with a range of actors: for example, national and international security institutions in the case of terrorism threats, and transit authorities and other first responders in the case of environmental threats. Changes in society are also driving this need to respond through the safety and security web, as is evident in many initiatives such as the collaboration among the Vancouver Police Department, Vancouver Coastal Health Authority, and City of Vancouver in responding to incidents involving people with mental illness.

The safety and security web is, however, neither a system nor a network in the formal sense of organized and linked elements. Instead, it is geographically variable whose structure is determined by local conditions, available safety and security providers, and community capabilities and initiatives. As a result, no one specific model is universally applicable across the country.

Successful policing models of the future will therefore need to be flexible, tailored to local contexts, fulfilled in partnerships, and multi-actored, with police taking either a leadership role, acting as a supporting partner, or deferring entirely to other actors who may be better positioned to lead a response. These models will also require police to acknowledge, adapt to, and leverage the specialized capabilities and resources in the safety and security web. In adapting police practices, the future may also see police organizations relying less on generalist police officers, who remain necessary for first responder work, and more on accredited specialists with the knowledge and skills to both address new threats like cybercrime and effectively manage partnerships in the safety and security web. Governments, for their part, can provide governance of the safety and security web, with the goal of supporting the most efficient, effective, and democratically accountable ways of reducing harms.

7.2 RESPONDING TO THE SUB-QUESTIONS

What existing and emerging issues are identified as key, cross-jurisdictional challenges for Canada's policing models, e.g., service delivery models, public confidence, performance measures?

In its review of the evidence, the Panel identified a wide spectrum of challenges now confronting police across the country. These have been grouped as either external or internal to the police organization.

External Challenges

Although much media attention is given to statistics showing declining rates of crime in some areas as reported and recorded by the police, it is not at all clear that total crime rates in Canada are, in fact, diminishing. Victimization surveys, accounts of new types of crimes like cybercrime, and regional variation of crime data point to a much more complicated picture of crime, one that highlights the evolving nature of crime, a changing risk environment, and the inadequacies of current measures to reflect these changes.

Many of the new opportunities for crime (e.g., identity theft, cyber bullying, online fraud) are enabled by rapid growth in connectivity and new technologies that allow perpetrators of crime to cause harm at a distance from their own

geographic location. This is exposing weaknesses in the prevalent organizational emphasis on jurisdiction-based police responses, in which command structures and interventions are highly regionalized.

Police are also dealing with an evolving risk environment, with new threats arising from climate change events and from terrorism, both of which require more complicated and collaborative police responses. In the area of terrorism, countries like Canada have sought to extend the reach of domestic crime control systems by way of multilateral and bilateral agreements, which have increased in number and comprehensiveness in recent years. These require police services to engage more frequently with different levels of government, other security organizations, and international counterparts.

Changing public demands on police are another challenge emerging as a result of a number of conflating issues, including an aging and increasingly diverse Canadian population. Changes in social services have also resulted in the consistent involvement of police in a wide range of social problems. For instance, more police resources are now dedicated to incidents involving persons with mental illness. Police are also serving a public equipped with cameras and ready to record any police activity that suggests impropriety.

Finally, operating within the safety and security web brings additional challenges for police. As police reach out to organizations beyond their jurisdiction in response to crimes, and as partnerships with non-police organizations become more regularized in the provision of safety and security within specific regions, effective and efficient interoperability and coordination become bigger issues. The safety and security web, which is geographically variable in its capacities and in whom it serves, also introduces equity concerns, potentially creating a divide between those who have the means to engage non-police providers, and those who do not.

Internal Challenges

A number of the challenges arising within police organizations reflect a general weakness in the extent to which organizations have adapted to the external changes reshaping society, risks, and the safety and security landscape. The Panel identified three groups of internal challenges: human resources, policing costs, and the maintaining of police accountability.

The continued underrepresentation of women and minorities persists as a human resource challenge for police. Because women in police organizations tend to have more formal education than their male counterparts, their underrepresentation suggests that police services are not taking advantage

of the widest possible talent pool in their recruitment efforts. This may also have implications for the police response to violence against women. The underrepresentation of minorities exists despite evidence in the literature showing that police legitimacy is supported when the diversity of the population being policed is reflected in the composition of police services.

Another challenge for police services is the need to attract, integrate, and retain specialized skills in crime analysis and relationship management. The generalist model that now prevails in police services in Canada is characterized by bringing new recruits in at the bottom of the hierarchy, with training tailored for rapid response and patrol. Although suited for the demands of a 24/7 service that can handle critical incidents, this approach privileges promotion for time served over specialization and development of expertise. Thus, it is less suited to recruiting and retaining the specialized skills increasingly required for responding effectively to the new threats using a web policing approach. Because police rank structures have traditionally given priority to the peace officer both in career opportunities and in pay scales, civilians with specialized and sought-after skills are often left with limited career path options.

The second area of internal challenge regards the increasing costs of police services, which is particularly concerning for most jurisdictions given the current climate of fiscal austerity. Police costs have been on the rise in Canada for over a decade with no strong evidence of improving performance, prompting legitimate public and government concerns about police affordability and value for money. Of the various factors that have been driving up costs, salaries and benefits are the most significant. The salary arbitration process, along with the practice of linking pay scales to those of other police services, is part of the challenge in restraining salary inflation. The issue of police salaries and benefits is ultimately a matter for democratic debate on the perceived value of police in the safety and security web, given their unique role and powers. As other sectors in the safety and security web take on responsibilities consistent with their particular skills and as police officers are called upon to uphold professional standards and require professional credentials, this issue could dissipate.

Despite the range of structures in place to hold police accountable to the public and the efforts to improve these oversight mechanisms, accountability issues continue to arise on several fronts. In terms of basic reporting, use of performance measures has been shown to be nascent, with inconsistent use of indicators across police services and use of indicators that focus more on inputs and outputs rather than performance and outcomes. There is also a general lack of publicly available evaluations on police initiatives, which in addition to reducing the quality of performance reporting, limits the degree to which

other police services can learn from the successful practices of others. The lack of performance measures also inhibits review of the efficacy of police practices, as well as the assertion of democratic control and responsibility for them.

Accountability challenges stemming from the safety and security web make accountability for propriety, and especially for efficacy, more difficult to ensure. Private security, for example, is subject to weaker and less consistent democratic accountability mechanisms than police. Accountability mechanisms are also less strong for the collaborative arrangements between private security and police, and for the diversity of different types of private security and associated standards and training requirements. Finally, evidence shows that mechanisms for democratic accountability in Canada are not working well (Morden, 2012; Sancton, 2012), and there is a lack of performance measures and evidence-based Canadian studies to review the efficacy of police work, including within partnerships in the wider safety and security web.

All of these challenges give rise to opportunities for change in three broad areas: police accountability, police organization, and national level initiatives that can help police services respond to the safety and security web. The main opportunities that are most relevant to Canada are summarized below.

What are some of the best practices and changes in the policing models of other countries towards greater effectiveness and efficiency, and towards fostering public confidence in policing? What is the relevance and applicability of such ideas in Canada?

Globally, police services are in a period of growing experimentation with policing models. Decisions related to organizational change and related police practices are frequently made in the absence of hard evidence demonstrating their effectiveness and reproducibility. As such, a single model or set of organizational practices does not emerge from the literature with sufficient evidence to qualify as a best practice per se.

Discerning whether practices or models are relevant and applicable to Canada is a challenge not only due to the lack of evaluative evidence, but also due to the fact that the success of practices is determined in part by relevant context, whether local or national. This can limit the reproducibility of promising practices in other regions or countries. While many of the web policing approaches identified are considered generally relevant to all Canadian regions, their specifics — for example, which partners are involved and what actions are undertaken — are likely to vary, to account for different legislative contexts and the geographic variability in safety and security capacity. Research on police

interventions for combating crime appears to be the exception. Evidence is reasonably conclusive as to what types of police interventions work and which ones do not, irrespective, for the most part, of national differences. Targeting of problem places (hot spots), for example, has been shown to be effective in reducing some common street crimes, whereas an emphasis on reactive policing has been shown to have little impact on common street crime and even less on domestic violence.

What follows is a summary of the more significant emerging approaches and practices that, based on the Panel's review of the evidence, show considerable promise for improving the effectiveness and efficiency of police and policing in Canada, despite not always having been widely adopted.

Improving Accountability Through Public Safety and Security Boards

To earn and uphold the confidence of the Canadian public, the safety and security web would benefit from more coherent and comprehensive accountability that is responsive to all communities. The research suggests that this can be supported in several ways, including by implementing wider-reaching governance structures and by moving towards a stronger system of performance measurement for the entire web. Regional governance structures in the form of safety and security boards, which fully recognize the safety and security web and its related coordination issues, are therefore an opportunity for addressing the accountability gaps in Canada. With a regional rather than local focus, such boards could serve to identify collective solutions to emerging challenges and issues, encourage operational cooperation and sharing of expertise, harmonize minimum training and service delivery standards, and act as the regulatory body for the private security industry. Although it is not the first time that such structures have been proposed for Canada, the accountability issues arising from the safety and security web, involving both propriety and efficacy of policing, make this an increasingly attractive opportunity.

Moving Beyond a Generalist One-Size-Fits-All Model

The literature identifies a cluster of organizational attributes that can allow police organizations to move beyond the generalist one-size-fits-all model. Police services are continuing a trend, well-established in the engagement of civilian staff, towards diversifying the skills and powers of police employees. Promoting dual track career development and lateral points of entry may create a better balance of generalist and specialist police. This concept of tiers within organizations is expanding the available resources for safety and security. Further, an accreditation system, as described below, can assist more generally in helping police services adapt their workforces to meet the skills challenge.

Partnering with the Safety and Security Web to Improve Prevention, Efficiencies, and Effectiveness

Although partnerships between police and non-police organizations are by no means new in Canada, with examples going back decades, the notion that police need to partner consistently with the safety and security web in response to new challenges has yet to become fully reflected in organizational practices and resource allocation. Indeed, it is commonly acknowledged that when budgets are tight, investments in partnerships are often threatened.

The Panel has identified a number of promising web policing examples in which police engage effectively with the safety and security web, either as partners or leaders. And although many of the practices identified have not been reproduced systematically in other jurisdictions, they adhere to a common approach of collaborative problem-solving. Examples of note include the Community Mobilization Prince Albert initiative, which brings together some 15 social service agencies twice a week, including the Prince Albert Police Service, to discuss high-risk situations and immediate responses aimed at reducing the risk associated with the situation.

The report also recognizes safety and security web initiatives with a prevention focus, but that do not involve police. A growing body of evidence identifies these initiatives as being cost-effective, especially in the area of reducing interpersonal crime.

Accreditation of Police

The move to a system of accreditation of police now underway in England and Wales can potentially fundamentally change how police services hire staff, manage career development, and provide for training at all ranks. A professional body introduces the possibility of encouraging differentiation of roles within an organization, opening more varied career development pathways, promoting a culture of continuous learning, providing flexibility to recruit specialized skills, and introducing and maintaining professional standards — all important steps if Canadian police are to effectively develop a workforce attuned to the evolving challenges it faces.

Evidence-Based Police Practices

An important body of applied police and public safety research now exists that, if used by police services and by training colleges, has the potential to greatly improve the effectiveness of police interventions. The issue, however, is in the uptake of this research. Police need to make a concerted effort to be aware of useful research and to use it to inform not only their operations and interventions but also the cores of their training and skill development programs.

The U.K. College of Policing provides a possible pathway to remedy this problem. By integrating the development of police standards and accreditation with research and evidence, the College has placed research at the centre of police activities and training. In the absence of such a college, the lesson for Canada is to reflect the body of research in its police training programs. As discussed below, ensuring that more applied research is carried out in Canada and improving the links to Canadian research communities can also improve use of research.

What research/knowledge gaps exist respecting these identified challenges?

The Panel has identified several gaps in research and evidence on a wide range of issues related to its charge. The gaps are particularly evident in the Canadian context, creating an unavoidable over-reliance on research and data from peer countries. Although the findings of such research can be applied to Canada, some issues are inherently context- or country- specific and require Canadian research. One of the main related challenges recognized by the Panel is the inadequacy of the data collected on police, victimization, and the safety and security web. These are acknowledged below.

Inadequate Crime and Victimization Data

At a basic level, there are insufficient data on the incidence of crime to gain an accurate account of crime trends. Annual statistics compiled by Statistics Canada do not account for the full range of harms that occur, which has potential implications for resource allocation for policing as a whole. Data are needed on crimes currently not covered in official statistics, such as crimes against business and identity theft. Further, better victimization data are needed on an annual basis, along the lines of data collected in the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey and its National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, for example.

Research and Data on Policing Costs

The lack of data and research on the cost of policing make it difficult to arrive at a more detailed understanding of the problem. There are several sources of expenditure data, but the data are often incomplete or difficult to access. A comparable data set of police-service level expenditures disaggregated by expenditure type would provide researchers and police management with a means to benchmark spending to other forces, and an avenue to explore the practices of police forces with lower expenditures. Also lacking are data on how police spend their time and resources, an area that is critical to understanding the drivers of growing police expenditures. Better comparable data on calls for service at the level of police organizations would be of value in addressing this.

Such data could shed further light on the demand for police services and improve research on understanding police response trends. In addition, activity-based costing, which can be used to develop data on how police spend their time, is a valuable tool used in the United Kingdom to develop an understanding of the cost of providing specific services and to inform decision-making.

Research on Democratic Accountability and Review for Efficacy

While much work has been done in Canada on questions of review of police propriety, notably by commissions of inquiry, more work is needed, particularly on the interaction of the multiple accountability systems now in place. These systems range from special investigations units (SIUs) to police complaints boards and criminal and civil litigation. The most glaring gap in accountability research is in the related areas of review of the efficacy of police work and the operation of democratic modes of accountability as practiced by police service boards and responsible ministers. Such research could help inform the work of regional safety and security boards if they are established.

Research on the Safety and Security Web

There is a lack of research on the safety and security web as it exists in Canada, and how police can operate effectively and more efficiently within this web environment. The safety and security web is variable, with different groups of actors engaged in different crime and prevention issues in different jurisdictions. Responding effectively to cybercrime may involve retail companies and banks, while responding to common street crime may involve local community organizations interfacing regularly with police. Furthermore, promising web policing practices that work in some jurisdictions may not necessarily work in others due to national and regional variance in the set of actors who can be engaged to address crime and in distinctive internal features of police services. Understanding these differences is important to understanding the opportunities and challenges for Canada, and the transferability of promising initiatives.

In addition, a better understanding is needed of how the safety and security web in Canada can best be mobilized to respond effectively to the changing nature of crime. Several questions remain that, if answered, might contribute to efficient and professional services:

- How can police service organizations and governments foster and sustain productive working relationships within the safety and security web?
- What are appropriate standards for accountability of the safety and security web, and which mechanisms might most effectively provide oversight?
- What is the most appropriate role for police in the safety and security web?

Achieving consensus on roles, in acknowledgement of this complex multi-actored landscape, will allow police to continue the pattern of enlisting other actors and the broader public to enhance safety and security for all in a cost-effective and efficient way.

Research on Canada's Police System

Research has identified, but not successfully addressed, the adequacy and sustainability of Canada's police and policing system to meet the complex demands of the future. Although out of scope for this assessment due to the lack of research, the Panel observes that the distinctive tripartite (federal, provincial, and municipal) policing jurisdictions and responsibilities, and the influential role of the RCMP at all three policing levels, provide a unique context within which Canadian policing must evolve and one that requires more scrutiny. While providing diverse and sometimes dynamic national, regional, and locally based policing responses, this system of policing also presents some systemic challenges and limitations, many of which need more research especially given the trend towards increasing multijurisdictional crime and security issues, and the corresponding need for more integrated "national" policing responses. Important research gaps include the coordination and clarification of policing roles and responsibilities in cross-jurisdictional federal and municipal policing activities such as drugs, the internet, and terrorism, and the problematic issue of establishing "national" policing standards and policies.

What communities of expertise and other resources might best be utilized towards ongoing policing-related research?

Canada has a number of notable academic institutions that engage in police-related research, pointing to a solid foundation for supporting future policing-related research in Canada. The International Centre for Comparative Criminology at the Université de Montréal, the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies at Simon Fraser University, the University of Ottawa's Institute for the Prevention of Crime, and the Police Research Lab at Carleton University bring together academics based in university departments and schools of criminology, sociology, law, and business.

In addition, government support for research on crime prevention and safety comes from departments and agencies as diverse as the Canadian Institutes for Health Research, Defence Research and Development Canada, and Public Safety Canada. The latter co-hosted the 2014 National Policing Research Symposium to begin a discussion exploring issues of leadership, coordination, and expansion of evidence-based research that can inform policing practices.

Despite this foundation, very little applied police research has been carried out in Canada. Reasons for this include limited funding — SSHRC, the main funder of social sciences in Canada, allocates only a small share of the total funding for criminology to applied police research. Compared with the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States, Canada has limited applied police research capacity and supporting infrastructure, as indicated by lack of the following: designated government police research units, national public or private centres for police research, ongoing funded programs of police research, and a national police research agenda.

Police associations also have a role in improving the development of communities of expertise. For example, CACP is developing the capacity of its Research Foundation with the goals of creating a clearinghouse for police research and providing funding to support original research linked to key issues facing police. Examples from outside of Canada also point to ways in which police researchers can be better integrated with police. The Society of Evidence Based Policing and the Police Foundation in the United Kingdom, the Police Executive Research Forum in the United States, and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research are but a few examples of organizations that have an important role in disseminating findings among practitioners. Also notable is the National U.S. Institute of Justice, which is both a major funder and disseminator of police research. Canadian policing would benefit from a more robust research capacity that provides the distinctively Canadian evidence base required to successfully support the development of police professionalism and the development of effective Canadian police responses to the expanding demands of the safety and security web. Police services, for their part, have a role in being open to academic researchers conducting research in their organizations.

7.3 BRINGING POLICING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

Police services have been organized for an older reality. The fundamental changes that have taken place in the safety and security landscape over the past few decades have not been reflected in police institutions. From the changing nature of harms to changing demands on policing, to a wealth of new knowledge about how best to respond to and prevent crime, these changes define the present-day landscape to which police services must adapt if they are to improve the effectiveness and efficiency with which they deliver safety and security.

Police are, however, one of many institutions that maintain safe and secure environments. Indeed, as this assessment has underscored, the actions of police are often interdependent upon the actions of others in delivering crime prevention, deterrence, and enforcement. While many opportunities are linked

to this interdependence, the connectedness can also make change itself more challenging. Police cannot initiate change on their own if the institutions and organizations in the wider safety and security web are not flexible.

An effective transition by police to new models therefore needs to happen in concert with changes by other actors in the safety and security web, and in concert with all levels of government. Governments can play three important roles in supporting this transition. First, they can recognize and understand the extent of the safety and security web and the role of police therein. For police and policing to be sustainable, governments must understand where and when police can be most effective and where and when other actors may be more effective than police. Second, building on this understanding, governments can ensure that through policy and regulation police are governed as part of the safety and security web and not as an independent institution. Finally, the third role is ensuring effective governance of the safety and security web and its many components through regulation and incentives, so that this web can be made to work in the public interest.

For their part, police and other non-government actors can help initiate change by embracing three prominent themes that emerge from this assessment: adaptation, interdependence, and knowledge. Together, these themes characterize the opportunities for making 21st-century policing more effective, more efficient, and better aligned with the ever-changing environment in which police now operate.

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