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**COMMUNITY POLICING IN CALGARY – A REVIEW OF FOUR  
INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS**

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## **Abstract**

The Calgary Police Service (CPS) appears to have committed itself to a profound shift in policing strategy, embracing more than two-dozen community policing programs. This article examines the CPS's approach to community policing by analyzing four such programs. It assesses the prospects of those initiatives, drawing on original research and analysis to evaluate the ability of community policing to sustain democratic policing and social change. The assessment is used to evaluate the police organization's adherence to its stated philosophy and formulate recommendations for future support of community policing.

## Introduction

The social upheaval that spawned the civil rights movement in the 1960's also served to expose the weaknesses of the traditional policing model that was prevalent at the time. Community policing evolved out of that crisis in police-community relations. Though its development over the past forty years has been influenced by a wide variety of factors, the precise nature and scope of this transformation is still the source of much debate and considerable ongoing academic research. What is for certain is that since the 1960's, and in the last twenty-five years in particular, the concept of community policing has quietly revolutionized law enforcement globally.

The history of modern policing is rife with demands for reform. So much so, that change evolved as the only true constant theme in police operations. Community policing is arguably the most influential development in the history of global law enforcement. The discourse surrounding its efficacy continues to dominate debate on contemporary policing issues. The crux of the debate revolves around the complexities of crime and the severe limitations traditional policing methods place on the police role and function. While traditional policing focuses on crime control and reduction as its primary function, community policing is revealing that reducing citizen's fear of crime and improving overall quality of life in neighborhoods are more important to citizens.

Any radical redefinition of policing will result in some opposition. Nonetheless, the pervasive influence of community policing cannot be denied. Almost every major police service in North America and Europe has implemented one kind of community policing initiative or another, including the Calgary Police Service (CPS), which serves the citizens of Calgary, Alberta—Canada's fourth largest city, with a multicultural population of over one million people. The CPS boasts in excess of two-dozen community policing initiatives, which are aligned along a progressive continuum emphasizing education, prevention, early intervention, treatment and enforcement. This paper will examine four of those programs.

## Community Policing

### Definition

In 1964, US Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart uttered the famous adage “*I know it when I see it*” in an attempt to define obscenity. This famous turn of phrase also succinctly encapsulates the difficulty academics and practitioners have in defining community policing. One of the reasons for this descriptive ambiguity concerns the development of these programs. Community policing has evolved by halting increments rather than by the bounding leaps of a grand theory or strategic design. As such, it is most often viewed as a general organizational strategy rather than a set of definable police operational methods (Terpstra, 65).

In general terms, the community policing model is not characterized by any overarching design or strategy (Wiatrowski & Vardalis, 46). Some descriptions of the term have even occasionally included some divergent elements. For example, despite its moniker, community policing is most often defined and thought of as a strategy of the police, not of the community (Wisler & Onwudiwe, 428). Further, though espoused as a fundamental philosophic shift by some police services, closer scrutiny usually reveals only a set of distinct community policing initiatives rather than a wholesale organizational change (Pelfrey, 579). That reputational disparity notwithstanding, most definitions of community policing share the idea that the police and the community must work together to define and develop solutions to problems (Terpstra, 65). Some police organizations have attempted to reconcile various aspects of its broad description into their own definition.

The Calgary Police Commission (CPC) is the governing body of policing in Calgary. It endorses a fairly inclusive definition of community policing. The CPC considers community policing a philosophy, management style and organizational strategy that promote a strong partnership between the community and its police. Community policing (hereafter, “CP”) fosters a partnership in which the community has both the right and the responsibility to assist in the development of efficient and effective policing policies, priorities and practices. As comprehensive as this definition attempts to be, a thorough understanding demands delving deeper into the fundamentals of the concept.

Despite a history of inconsistent definition, understanding and application, there are four main tenets commonly acknowledged to constitute CP. First, there must be clear and agreed upon lines of *accountability*. Police and partners must know and agree upon their roles and reporting lines. Secondly, efforts to reduce crime and address neighborhood issues must be done

in *collaboration* with citizens and community partners. Meeting and knowing the stakeholders is absolutely imperative. Thirdly, the big bureaucratic systems involved in the collaboration must tolerate sufficient *decentralization* to allow for the use of discretion to solve neighborhood issues. And finally, the goal of all collaborative efforts is ultimately *problem-solving*. All efforts must focus on the underlying issues, and not solely on the symptoms (Connell et al, 128, quoting Cordner, 2001; Fridell, 2004; Greene, 2000).

Based upon these tenets, the following CP definition seems most appropriate: “a philosophy and an organizational strategy which emphasizes effective partnerships with the community in order to identify, prioritize and solve conflict” (Anand, 9).

### **Characteristics of Community Policing**

At the foundation of CP is an often unstated admission by police that they alone cannot solve the problem of crime and that direct participation from the citizenry is required for success (Vito et al, 493). While historically, police have been the primary arbiters of what constitutes crime, law and social order (Walsh, 17), CP requires a shift away from that traditional mode of thinking towards a focus on citizen-oriented problem definition and a corresponding concentration on those problems as being the primary police focus (Vito et al, 493). However, as the customer service focus of CP is relatively foreign to the traditional policing model, most police organizations implement CP on a somewhat trial-and-error basis (Williams, 123).

Another characteristic of CP is its emphasis on proactive, rather than reactive, policing. The goal of a proactive approach to policing is to move from being driven by calls for service to moving towards preemptive efforts to target problems. This change in focus will necessitate the identification and implementation of a wide range of non-traditional police approaches (Vito et al, 493). The CP philosophy thus “involves a broadening of the nature and number of police functions compared to traditional policing models” (Scheider et al, 364).

It is accurate to state that police have neither the resources nor the expertise to handle the myriad problems that can be prevalent in a community at any given time. This reality leaves police with few effective strategies to address such issues. For example, the seemingly misogynistic gender-based roles and norms that foster honour-based violence is an ongoing concern in the South Asian communities worldwide. One available strategy is to have those in positions of authority engaged in political discussions as a means of pressuring/influencing those in higher elected or bureaucratic roles to expand inadequate services. Another strategy is to

simply refer citizens to already available community resources. However, the most effective strategy to deal with the increased demand for service is to coordinate policing activities with the activities of related government and community-based agencies (Peaslee, 118 quoting Goldstein, 1990, p. 106). This strategy is a significant departure from the traditional policing model.

In the professional or traditional model of policing, it is the police who've solely accepted responsibility for the control of crime in a community (Vardalis, 37). However, the traditional model has failed to control the crime rate. Bayley has argued, "The police do not prevent crime. This is one of the best-kept secrets of modern life. Experts know it, the police know it, but the public does not know it" (Connell et al, 144, quoting Bayley 1994, 3). The myriad behaviours that constitute crime are, by and large, beyond the realm of police control in traditional practices. "Crime is influenced by many factors outside of law enforcement, including family, community, and economic characteristics; yet the police are often held responsible for managing behavior that, under traditional policing practices is beyond their control" (Peaslee, 117). In comparison, CP recognizes crime as a complex problem that requires solutions with community involvement (Vardalis, 37).

Traditional policing philosophies focus on controlling crime through punishment and do little to alleviate community disorder (Kerley and Benson, 48). In fact, the "methods and tactics associated with the professional model of policing have not had the intended effects of reducing the incidence of crime in the community" (Wiatrowski and Vardalis, 46, quoting Kelling, 1975). A possible reason for this lack of effectiveness might be the history of alienation policing has engendered.

Many democracies with colonial roots have had to address an underlying history of alienation between public and police. Some colonial police forces were borne out of the desire to protect the person and property of the colonizing authority and to impress on the inhabitants the might of the occupying power. This often resulted in a highly politicized police force, sometimes prone to violence, usually unaccountable, and invariably biased in favour of one ethnic, racial or religious group over another. Canadian history is rife with such examples. For example, at different points in Canadian history French speakers and various aboriginal groups, amongst others, have been socially marginalized and subsequently alienated from police. Unfortunately, this estrangement continues to this day for some communities.

Modern Western liberal democracies are increasingly diverse societies where culture, religion and economic disparity challenge the existing social order. Policing in such an

environment provides numerous challenges; the most pressing of which is developing the capacity to engage with diverse communities and overcoming organizational biases and prejudices in order to better serve those minority communities. Modern policing has employed three primary strategies to reduce the alienation some parts of society still feel towards the police:

- Targeted recruitment of minority citizens to the police
- Specialized cultural training of police officers
- Institutionalizing police-community relations (CP)

To the average citizen, police remain the most visible and prominent agents of governmental authority and power. What the public thinks about police and their work corresponds directly to police efficacy. Further, police public opinion serves as a significant social indicator of the political health of the society as a whole. It's important to understand that police are neither the last-ditch defenders against anarchy nor the instruments of class rule and repression. They are something in between those two dichotomies.

Historically, the criminal justice system has been primarily involved in tertiary crime prevention, which "deals with intervening with offenders to prevent further recidivism. These efforts include the activities of the criminal justice system which arrest, prosecute, incarcerate and rehabilitate the offender" (Wiatrowski and Vardalis, 49). The promise of CP is that primary and secondary crime prevention is far more effective and should in fact be the focus of police practices (Wiatrowski and Vardalis, 49). Thus, the CP model moves away from "police-dominated crime control through reactive responses to calls for service and moves toward proactive problem solving centered on the causes of crime and disorder and on fostering partnerships between the police and the community" (Scheider et al, 365, quoting Goldstein, 1990; Scott, 2001; Wilson&Kelling, 1982). However, that is not to say the implementation of CP is without its challenges.

Apart from the resource limitations police perpetually face, one of the most daunting obstacles to the implementation of CP is police culture. Despite CP existing in one form or another for more than four decades, police organizational norms are still grounded in traditional notions of the police role. These norms are often reinforced by demands from the community. For example, there are four primary types of patrol responses/approaches:

- Visible patrolling/deterrence
- Proactive targeting of criminals
- Prevention and advice



- Responding to incidents

Notwithstanding considerable academic research indicating the inefficacy of visible patrol as a means of deterrence and crime control, this strategy is still considered by the community as reassuring, and thus continues to exist (Skogan & Frydl, 226, quoting Kelling, 1974). These and other long-held aspects of police culture make the redirection of officers from their cruisers into more direct contact with the community, much more difficult. These two barriers quite often result in the bureaucratic isolation of community programs within police agencies (Vito et al, 495, quoting Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). As formidable an obstacle as limited resources and a static police culture are to the implementation of CP, a more fundamental issue is the definition of *community*.

The shift from a traditional law enforcement model to CP requires a fundamental redefinition of the concept of *community* (Correia, 229). In general terms, police commonly limit their definition of what constitutes a community to jurisdictional or administrative parameters. Bureaucratic constraints such as personnel management needs, limited resources and calls for service often result in police delineating communities where non-homogenous social structures such as income, culture or ethnicity exist (Flynn 4, quoting Manning 1997). This is done for efficiency's sake, with division of labour and reporting area the main rationales for this methodology. However, sociologists point out that it is not sufficient to suggest that a community is merely a group of people who work or live in the same geographical area; they must also share some characteristic, such as ethnicity, age, economics or religion that causes them to identify with one another (Flynn, 5).

Many cities, Calgary included, have developed rapidly and thus have not formed what sociologists would consider true communities (Flynn, 5). Some sociologists note that an inherent "depersonalization dominates larger cities and militates against the cohesive sense of community" (Flynn, 4 quoting Fessler 1976, 7). The definition of *community* exists beyond geographical boundaries and is best defined as "networks of human interactions and social ties" (Correia, 221, quoting Gusfield). To a certain extent, sense of community varies from one individual to the next, based on each person's background, socialization, education and general perceptions of society (Flynn, 3). The elements of a sense of community include "membership, influence, reinforcement and emotional connection" (Wiatrowski and Vardalis, 47). An effective definition of the term *community* must thus encompass not only geographic, economic and social ties but also psychological. To further complicate matters, there are segments of society that

exhibit characteristics commonly associated with a given community that neither “recognize their commonality nor realize they are part of a discernable group” (Flynn, 4).

Further barriers to effective implementation of CP include the development of policing capacity and the ability to accurately identify groups and treat them as communities. Success is thus contingent on developing a firm understanding of the unique dynamics that form the communities in a given jurisdiction. It is imperative that police take a leadership role in organizing “homogeneous segments of the population into communities to serve as focal groups for localized community-policing initiatives” (Flynn, 3). It is also crucial for police to recognize that these non-traditional communities are more than simply special interest groups formed around a singular issue. Communities will consist of various groups that share multiple common concerns and are not restricted to artificial constraints such as police districts. For the purposes of CP, groups of people who share a collective perception must be considered a community (Flynn, 7). This new way of looking at what constitutes a community does have some advantages over traditional police definitions.

Community problems typically affect citizens beyond the confines of traditional police delineated boundaries. Adhering strictly to a ‘community’ as defined by an artificial police construct commonly results in police-community partnerships that don’t involve complete groups of affected citizens. This reality significantly undermines the legitimacy of CP efforts. Inadequately defining community has an even more insidious effect: the shortcomings of this strategy aren’t always readily apparent. For example, increased attention by police to a community-defined problem invariably results in feelings of empowerment amongst citizens. Holding to traditional delineations of community often allows for an easy positive outcome resulting in short-term public satisfaction (Flynn, 4).

Though a short-term enhancement to stakeholder perceptions of police efficacy might be politically expedient, this strategy fundamentally undermines the real promise of CP: authentic sustainable change. In order to affect long-term constructive social change, diagnosis of the root cause of the identified social issue must involve a comprehensive assessment of the target community to allow for participation of the greatest number of stakeholder groups as possible. A perfunctory assessment of the composition of the community will result in some stakeholders being excluded. Any solutions developed subsequently “are likely to be short-lived and superficial” (Flynn, 4). Such a poorly conceived understanding of this fundamental aspect of CP invariably provides fodder to its many critics.

CP emerged from the 1960's as a re-legitimizing strategy for beleaguered police. Critics contend the promise of CP is built on a myth – at its core is the small-town USA illusion (Crank, 189). CP is often sold as a means to reintroduce the small-town type network of families and friends that allegorically serve as a means of effective social control for small-town citizens. The fiction of rural virtue and urban vice ignores the very real impact of joblessness and substance abuse that underscore the majority of criminality. These issues are as prevalent in small towns as they are in cities. But this is hardly the only criticism offered.

Along these same lines, CP is sometimes criticized as being little more than a public relations campaign. It has been suggested that CP is not a reform movement at all, but rather a “realignment of the police institution’s language and symbols to better fit changes in society” (Kappeler & Kraska, 293). From a postmodernist perspective, CP has been criticized as being an exercise in the adoption of corporate metaphors, community rhetoric, and the authority of science in an effort to extend and expand formal social control mechanisms in modern society (Kappeler & Kraska, 294). For example, adherents of CP commonly reduce their usage of crime fighting rhetoric and replace it with what amounts to “corporatized democratic ideals” like enhancing their accountability to their clients, customers or consumers (Kappeler and Kraska, 295). Some critics of CP insist that it continues to allow police to serve the interests of the privileged while suppressing those who would threaten the status quo (Anand, 15).

Another common criticism leveled at attempts to incorporate CP is the often-poor job police do at publicizing their efforts adequately. This lackluster effort often results in citizens not being exposed to CP initiatives and thus not buying-in to the efforts. This lack of community acceptance ultimately results in CP programs failing (Chermak & Weiss, 137).

Regardless of the validity, or lack thereof, of any of these criticisms, CP continues to struggle with a fundamental dilemma of equity. Police cannot be truly responsive to community needs when the whole community rarely, if ever, chooses to participate in the collaborative process (Thacher, 3). This results in police making decisions based on pressures by their partners, which can mean unrepresented or under-represented groups are unequally served.

There are however some strategies that are effective in mitigating the lack of participation of some segments of the community. Key amongst those strategies aimed at ensuring successful CP integration are efforts at securing the ongoing commitment to the philosophy by those entities euphemistically known as the Big Five: media, political leaders, social welfare agencies, community residents and police (Kerley & Benson, 63). It remains to be seen if a

strategy focusing on enhancing the involvement of these social actors can stimulate police-community dialogue that is able to assist in arriving at just outcomes in a real world of unequal demand (Thacher, 3). Nonetheless, there are other viable tactics.

For community equity to be achieved and maintained, police should focus on the following three strategies. First, it is imperative that police make efforts to focus the attention of its various partners on issues that are for the good of the general public. In order to do this, police must embody the ethical and moral values of the community. Demonstrating this is relatively simple: treat the public fairly and with dignity (Jackson & Sunshine, 221). The criminal justice system relies heavily on public motivations that generally tend towards cooperation and support (Bradford & Jackson, 494, quoting Hough, 2007). At the heart of this impulse towards collaboration is the public need to believe police act appropriately, properly and justly (Bradford and Jackson, 494, quoting Tyler, 2006).

The second strategy in developing community equity involves building awareness of those social groups not present in dialogues and actively investigating their needs. "People look to the police to typify and represent community values (Jackson & Sunshine, 216). Police will lose legitimacy if decisions made do not reflect the values of all community groups. It simply isn't appropriate for police to solely define, and strive to enact, a posited common good without first seeking community input (Fielding, 460). After all, CP strives to be more than just law enforcement, it recognizes that sharing power and responsibility with community members and non-state social agencies is a far more effective long-term strategy than traditional policing methods.

The third strategy for developing community equity involves paying attention to the method and conditions of the community dialogue. Consensus decision-making is the goal of CP. This process seeks to secure the consent of community members and the mediation of disputes but not necessarily their full resolution. This requires community members to trust and have confidence in the police. It is very important that police are seen to not only typify community morals and values but also treat the public with dignity and fairness (Jackson & Sunshine, 214). CP demands police become agents of social change by actively consulting and engaging with communities. The best way to do this is to develop the capacity and ability to appreciate the public perspective and learn to "see like a citizen" (Innes et al, 99).

Developing this skill in any sustainable manner requires an acceptance of the fundamental paradox of policing. To paraphrase Durkheim, not all policing lies with the police.

The less necessary police actually are the more successful they appear. The majority of sources of social order lie well beyond sphere of police influence. “When these informal control processes are successful, the police will appear highly effective in crime prevention and deal effectively and legitimately with the crime and disorder that do occur” (Bradford & Jackson, 494, quoting Reiner 2000: xi). That is not to say CP will result in police redundancy. Researchers commonly accept self-regulation as the most efficient route to cooperation and rule-observance. As formal agents of social control, police provide the public with compliance of rules necessary for the functioning of a society. Society still needs “laws to govern human behaviour; and we need state force to ensure compliance with those laws” (Bradford & Jackson, 494, quoting Hough 2003, 2004). What needs to change however is the manner in which the state seeks that compliance.

“CP promises to change the role of law enforcement and the relationship between police and citizens” (Anand, 8). As appealing as that promise is, it does little to mitigate the conflict that exists between CP as envisioned by academics and theorists and CP as interpreted and practiced by police organizations. The disparity between the theory and application of CP partly lies in the differing utility the concept holds for practitioners and researchers. Theoretical models of CP, although helpful, do not sufficiently recognize the limitations inherent in real-world policy implementation. Academic models of CP are constructs of ideal types.

Because of this, expectations invariably fall short when theory is translated into real world practice. Even when an academic theory can find life in practical application, as CP has, it can still remain under-supported by the public. CP cannot be successful if the public does not adequately support it. Whether CP is arguably needed or wanted, it will forever fall short of expectations unless the community is behind it.

This paper will attempt to reconcile some of the differences between theory and application of CP by specifically examining the following question:

**Has the Calgary Police Service’s implementation of its *community-policing* model successfully positioned it as agent of democratic social change?**

Such an examination is important as it fosters further discourse into a sometimes-contentious issue. This study is focused on examining the efficacy of four CP pilot projects in order to gain foresight into the application of the principles of CP. Further, this examination will attempt to provide critical analysis of these projects in order to foster insightful and knowledgeable decision-making processes around them. The overarching goal of this research is to provide relevant,

value-added commentary and critical analysis that will assist both practitioners and theorists in assessing the worth of these programs.

This proposed research question alludes to the existence of democratic policing, which is not necessarily equivalent to 'policing in a democracy'. There is no simple or widely agreed upon definition of democratic policing. It is tempting to simply provide an apophysis indicating it is far easier to define non-democratic police and non-democratic police behavior than their opposites. In general terms, all democratic police systems share the ideal that police powers are to be used according to the rule of law and not according to the whims of the police. The powers granted police must therefore be used in proportion to the problem. Police must also consistently demonstrate neutrality regardless of the context or characteristics of the persons or group involved. Democratic police must not act in an explicitly political fashion. Nor can they serve partisan interests of the ruling political party.

To a great degree, both its means and its ends define democratic policing. Even in democracies, police are mandated to use undemocratic means such as secrecy and violence to obtain democratic ends. This ethical paradox makes defining democratic policing difficult. Nonetheless, I offer the following as the definition against which my inquiry will be analyzed:

***All democratic policing activity must involve public accountability and be subject to the rule of law. Equity and respect for the inherent human dignity of all people must guide interactions with every citizen.***

As indicated earlier, it is my contention that the conventional norms of police professionalism as embodied by the traditional model of policing can no longer satisfy “the core democratic principles of equity, effectiveness, accountability and efficiency” (Correia, 218). CP is the potential remedy for the stagnancy of traditional policing methods. It is the “actualization of the concept that in a democracy, the police are not supposed to be insular, self-contained, or cut off from the communities from which their power derives” (Vito et al, 491, quoting Skolnick, 1999). The evolving reform in the public complaint system is one example of the slow march towards more democratic policing.

The process and practice of police investigating public complaints about the police is demonstrably undemocratic. This practice grew out of two arguments. The first encompasses a long held police claim that this privilege is afforded them via their special legal powers as a means to ensure autonomy and self-regulation in order to guard against undue political control. In fact, Provincial statutes in many Canadian provinces, including Alberta, do bolster this assertion. In

other words, the police are mandated to undertake the complaint process as outlined by law.

The second common argument supporting police investigating police has to do with the long held desire to attain professional status. The traditional or professional model of policing has always asserted that credibility relies on effective, fair and appropriate regulation and control of the activities of its members. Thus, the creation of units of sworn police members assigned to investigate complaints against other police officers. The reality is that while police may share some aspects of a “profession”, they lack a scientific and academically verified knowledge base that consistently guides their practice, such as found in medicine or science.

Of course it has been many years since police alone were the sole arbiters of complaints against their fellow officers. That model was neither effective for addressing public complaints nor adequate at satisfying public demands for accountability. It became increasingly difficult for police to justify their traditional accounting of the exercise of their discretionary powers. The conventional practice of police investigating complaints regarding their own behaviour was simply not fair. In Alberta, the response to this realization was not antithetical whereby the complaint process became wholly civilianized, but rather a hybrid process was adopted.

The Alberta Police Act mandates the responsibility for the investigation of public complaints against police with the Chief of Police. In effect, this means that police services must have a Professional Standards unit that will investigate all public complaints against the police. In Calgary, this unit consists of sworn police investigators and civilian lawyers, managers and analysts. Both the Calgary Police Commission and the Professional Standards Section can receive complaints. While the Professional Standards Section investigates complaints, the Public Complaint Director of the Calgary Police Commission provides audit and oversight of all investigations to ensure they are appropriate, fair and thorough. Complainants not happy with a decision made by the Professional Standards Section or the Public Complaint Director may also appeal to the civilian Law Enforcement Review Board. It is a quasi-judicial body of the Solicitor General comprised mainly of lawyers who hear appeals from both citizens and police officers named in complaints.

It is fair to say that there has been a paradigm shift away from the traditional model of police controlled investigation and oversight towards a collaborative civilian-police investigation and oversight ideal. While it would be beyond the scope of this paper to fully analyze the new model’s adherence to democratic principles and practices, it is fair to state that democratic policing would encourage more effective accountability and the development of collaborative

civilian oversight and investigative models.

## **Research Design and Methodology**

Numerous prior evaluations of CP initiatives have used calls for service as the primary dependent variable in their analysis; however, I have chosen not to replicate that approach, because both an increase and a decrease in calls for service could be interpreted as results of a successful intervention. For example, an increase in calls for service could be interpreted as the community becoming more comfortable with officers and therefore more willing to report crime. Similarly, a decrease in calls for service could be interpreted as a decrease in the crime rates. Both of these circumstances could be interpreted as evidence of the efficacy of any of the CP interventions I chose to study. Ultimately, using calls for service as a measure of effectiveness would invariably bias results. The same potential exists with the use of arrest rates, so I have chosen not to examine those either, and instead have analyzed data from a series of other sources including qualitative and quantitative data (Connell et al, 137).

The hypothesis of this research paper has been tested by examining data gathered from the following 5 sources:

- The 2009-2011 & 2012-2014 CPS Business Plans
- Citizen surveys from 2009-2011
- CPS employee surveys from 2009-2011
- Interviews of police officer and community partners involved in four CP programs
- CP program evaluation and progress reports

The content analysis of the 2012-2014 CPS Business Plan was based upon an assumption that words and phrases mentioned most often within a text reflect the most important concerns of the organization issuing the communication. A quantitative content analysis focusing on keyword frequency was completed. This was undertaken as a means of quantifying and analyzing the presence, meanings and relationships of words and concepts associated with either CP or traditional policing. An inference on the organization's true philosophic allegiance was then made based upon the messages within the text.

A review and analysis of the past three years of Calgary Police Commission sponsored citizen and employee surveys (2008-2010) examined the items in the bulleted list below and the analysis and results are presented further on in this report in narrative form:

- Whether or not the four CPS programs noted above deal with matters considered being priorities by Calgary residents
- Whether or not members of the CPS support the strategic direction of the CPS



- Whether or not the public relations narratives of these programs correspond to the actual experiences of police officers and civilians on the street.

The principal data-gathering technique for the selected four CP programs was an interview based upon a structured 14-question survey and personally administered to workers who voluntarily chose to participate. The main objective of this survey was to elicit qualitative information in the guise of participants' perceptions based on first-hand experience as to program efficacy, strengths, weaknesses, and challenges. One quantitative question focused on gathering basic demographic information. Sworn police members and civilian partners working directly within the parameters of one of the following four CP programs were the target populations of this survey:

- Domestic Conflict Response Team (DCRT)
- High Risk Management Initiative (HRMI)
- Multi Agency School Support Team (MASST)
- Youth at Risk Development (YARD)

Data collection was conducted from December 1, 2011 to April 10, 2012. Responding to this survey was voluntary. All targeted participants of the survey were contacted via an email, which included an introduction to the research initiative, an explanation of the survey and solicitation to participate in the survey. Data were collected directly from survey respondents. All respondents were interviewed either in person or by telephone. Since this study involves a single-contact survey study, which gathered information at one point in time, there are no data provided in this study to indicate whether police opinions would change if their job assignments were different. The survey resulted in a 56% participation rate with a total of 18 useable interviews from the available 32 workers and supervisors in these programs. The gender mix of the completed surveys was 55% female and 45% male. The actual gender mix of all 32 possible participants was 60% female and 40% male.

A review of progress and evaluation reports of the above CP programs was also undertaken. Analysis and results were presented in narrative form.

## **Analysis and Discussion**

One cannot establish adherence to a CP philosophy by simply listing and evaluating an organization's operations, tactics and programs. It is best analyzed by also examining the organization's core set of beliefs (Kennedy & Moore, 279). To that end, an assessment of the CPS's Business Plans and the Calgary Police Commission's Citizen and Employee Surveys was

undertaken to extrapolate the presence or absence of the fundamental CP values. Attached as **Appendix A** is the CPS's mission statement and guiding principles, which clearly indicate a philosophic and operational dedication to CP.

### **Setting Policing Priorities in Calgary – Business Plan Review**

One of the most challenging processes any organization must undertake is the setting of business plan priorities and objectives. Some of the challenges police face in this process includes limited resources, competing political agendas, and public opinion. Despite these impediments, the importance of this guiding document is well founded. Having clearly defined and communicated goals at an organizational level helps supervisors and managers translate these goals into unit level priorities more easily. In turn, employees are able perform at higher levels than they do when such priorities and goals are not defined and communicated as clearly (Colbert & Witt, 790).

Typically, this process is driven in either a top-down (traditional) manner or a participative approach. The CPS uses a somewhat mixed approach. At a February 22, 2012 strategic planning meeting, CPS Deputy Chief Murray Stooke outlined the business plan process. It is driven by and reflects the following:

- Concerns of Calgarians as reflected in the City of Calgary public consultation process
- Key trends and emerging issues as identified by internal subject matter experts
- Ongoing support of the Chief's crime prevention and reduction continuum
- City Council's fiscal plan for Calgary
- Concerns of citizens as reflected in the latest Calgary Police Commission (CPC) citizen survey

The first criterion guiding the development of the latest CPS business plan involves data gleaned from a City of Calgary sponsored citizen engagement process. During the last round of budget planning, the City of Calgary retained Ottawa-based stakeholder engagement facilitators, Dialogue Partners, to implement a comprehensive engagement process on budget, services and priorities for the City of Calgary. They discovered that, when it comes to policing in Calgary, citizens most definitely want an increase in CP type activity. Citizens who participated in the Dialogue Partners public consultation wanted police to:

- Continue to work at building relationships with community partners
- Increase their presence in the community
- Improve tolerance and cultural awareness of officers
- Improve officer accountability and better document performance

The second set of criteria assessed involves employee engagement. The various internal subject matter experts in the CPS consulted during the business plan process identified numerous key trends and emerging issues they felt would impact future operations and thus required attention. Amongst the issues recommended for attention in the business plan was:

- Increasing workload & complexity of investigations
- Increased court disclosure demands and subsequent resourcing
- Increasing prevalence of technology-based crime
- Impending end of external funding for some successful CP pilot projects focused on youth, elder abuse, mental health & addictions
- Delays in implementing the Provincial records management system “API3”
- Recruiting/retention challenges and the increasingly junior CPS workforce

The next criterion driving the business plan process involves staying true to the organizational commitment to CP. The CPS’s CP effort, also collectively known as the Chief’s crime prevention and reduction continuum, focuses on education, prevention, early intervention, treatment and enforcement. The stated goal of this progressive continuum of programs and services is to keep individuals out of the formal justice system when appropriate, and to treat the underlying causes of their criminal behavior. This strategy focuses on working with community partners to develop comprehensive programs that will provide appropriate intervention at the right time. Attached, as **Appendix B**, is a chart listing some of the programs involved.

The fourth criterion guiding the CPS business plan process involves ensuring it is aligned with the Calgary City Council's Fiscal Plan and its priorities. The overarching guiding principle involves efforts to ensure that every citizen lives in a safe community and has the opportunity to succeed. Of course, becoming a more effective and fiscally efficient organization is also relevant.

The fifth and final criterion guiding the CPS business plan process involves incorporating concerns raised by citizens in the latest Calgary Police Commission citizen survey. These annual surveys are ostensibly undertaken in order to keep in touch with the needs, experiences, concerns and motivators of Calgarians. These examinations are predicated on the stated CP philosophy that when policing services are administered in a fair and accountable manner, the quality of life of the community is enhanced. I will exam the last three years of Citizen and Employee Surveys later in this paper. Now, I will undertake a cursory examination of the CPS Business Plan.

It is important to understand the connection between the content of an organization’s fundamental communication products, such as the CPS’s Business Plan, and their practices. Every piece of content in the CPS Business Plan is a decision, that is, a choice made by the Executive

committee. These decisions represent the CPS’s values and priorities. Content analysis shows, in raw numbers and in patterns of word usage, what an organization’s values truly are and where it puts its resources. Content analysis will reveal whether the elements of communication reflect the organization’s stated mission and values. In this regard, content analysis can show the organization’s stakeholders – employees, partners and citizens- the values and priorities that guide the Executive’s decision-making processes.

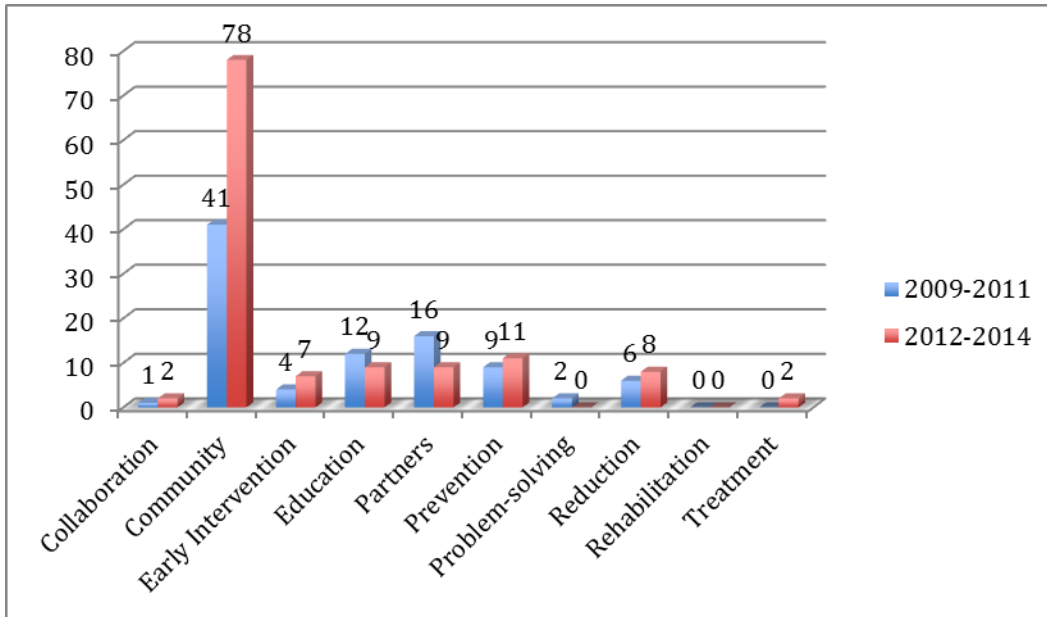
For this research project, the content analysis undertaken is low-level and has some limitations. As there was only a sole researcher on this project, a full content analysis with coding was not attempted due to time and resource constraints. While a comprehensive content analysis would look at all media and communication created by an organization during a set period, a simplified keyword frequency analysis of an organization’s fundamental decision-making tool, its business plan, can still yield useable results. As a business plan is predicated upon a clear declaration of vision and strategy, in theory, it represents the basis for the organization’s direction and decisions. Therefore, an analysis of the CPS business plan was considered a good resource to offer an indication of the organization’s true philosophical orientation.

Like most North American police organizations, the CPS claims to espouse CP. In theory, this organizational philosophy has replaced or at least supplemented traditional policing practices. I chose to analyze the CPS’s last two business plans for words associated to CP and traditional policing. The tables and graphs below show the words associated with each practice and their resultant frequency of use in the last two Business Plans.

**CP Terms**

<b>Words Associated to CP</b>	<b>Occurrences: 2009-2011 Business Plan</b>	<b>Occurrences: 2012-2014 Business Plan</b>
<b>Collaboration</b>	1	2
<b>Community</b>	41	78
<b>Early Intervention</b>	4	7
<b>Education</b>	12	9
<b>Partners</b>	16	9
<b>Prevention</b>	9	11
<b>Problem-solving</b>	2	0
<b>Reduction</b>	6	8
<b>Rehabilitation</b>	0	0
<b>Treatment</b>	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>126</b>

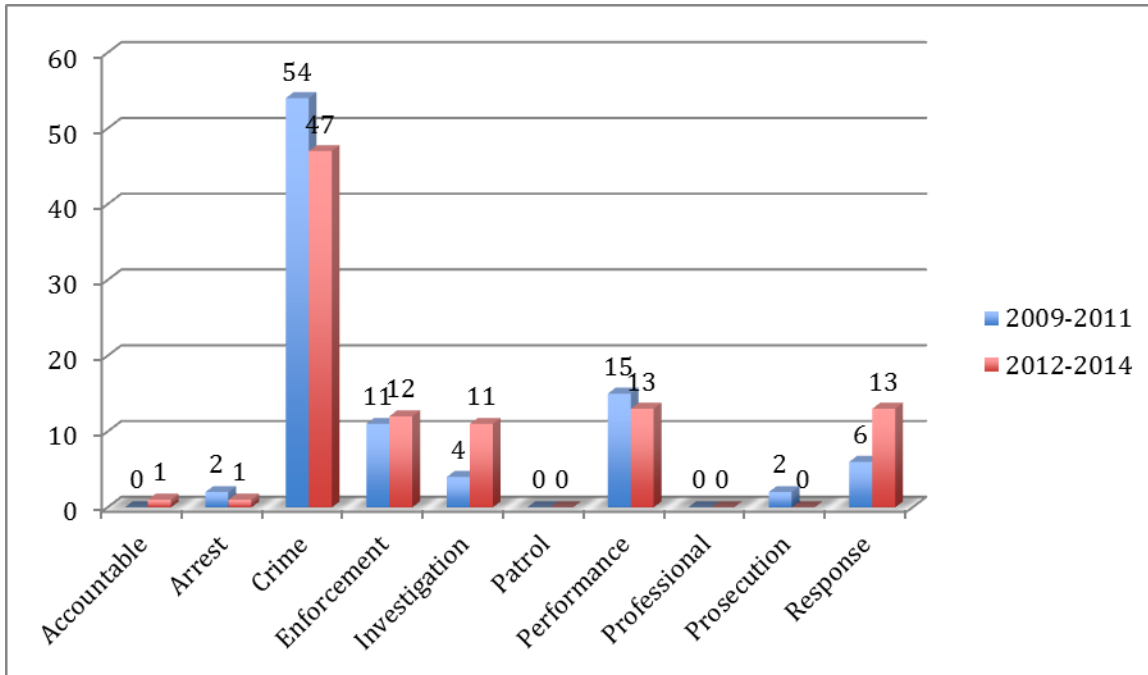
**CP Terms**



**Traditional Policing Terms**

Words Associated to Traditional Policing	Occurrences 2009-2011 Business Plan	Occurrences 2012-2014 Business Plan
Accountable	0	1
Arrest	2	1
Crime	54	47
Enforcement	11	12
Investigation	4	11
Patrol	0	0
Performance	15	13
Professional	0	0
Prosecution	2	0
Response	6	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>98</b>

### Traditional Policing Terms



This keyword frequency analysis shows that in the 2009-2011-business plan, words associated with traditional policing outnumbered those associated with CP by 4%. A reversal was evident in the next business cycle. In the 2012-2014 Business Plan terms associated with CP far outnumbered those associated to traditional policing by 38%. Keyword frequency analysis is simply a diagnostic tool – a means and not an end. This type of breakdown indicates a consistency in messaging and little more. Solely using a simple word frequency count to make inferences about an organization’s adherence to a certain policing philosophy is insufficient, and therefore requires assessments of other data, such as Citizen Surveys, prior to making any assertions.

### The Calgary Police Commission Citizen Survey

The CPS is directly accountable to the Calgary Police Commission (CPC), a civilian body appointed by Calgary City Council. The CPC acts as a link between citizens and its police, making decisions and issuing instructions in their efforts to oversee policing in Calgary. The CPC’s primary role is to ensure police maintain their accountability to the citizens they serve as they pursue their mandate of addressing the community’s crime and safety concerns. In order to ascertain those ongoing citizen concerns and community priorities, the CPC conducts an annual Citizen Survey. The results of this survey ostensibly set priorities and influences police policy.

The annual Citizen Satisfaction Survey measures the needs, experiences, concerns and motivators of Calgarians. Apart from directly influencing the direction of the business planning process, the Citizen Survey examines:

- how citizens perceive the quality of police services
- citizen expectations of police services;
- which community concerns are at the forefront
- what steps are necessary to build safer communities

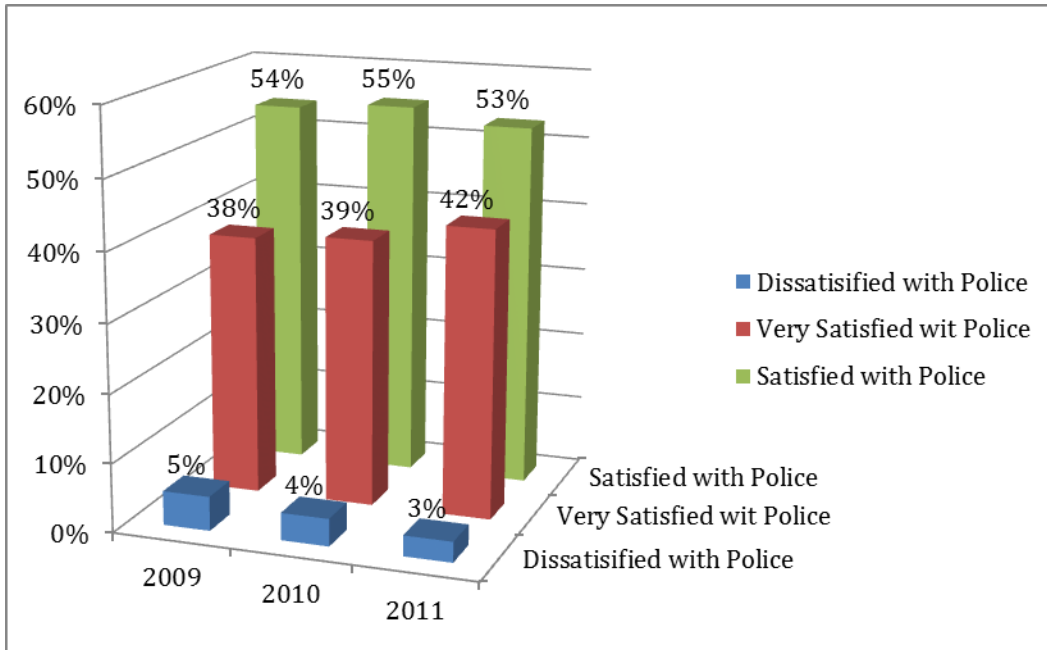
Though the research agency retained to perform the annual Citizen Survey has changed over the past three years, basic methodology has not. Approximately 1000 15-20 minute taped telephone interviews are conducted with a randomly selected sample of City of Calgary residents 18 years of age or older. The surveys are distributed citywide in proportion to the population of the 8 Calgary police districts. The interview process extends over an eight-week time frame in order to minimize the impact of point-in-time events.

One of the most publicized finding of the annual Citizen Survey deals with the overall perception of satisfaction the citizenry has for police in Calgary. According to the results, most citizens perceive the CPS in a positive manner. Generally, they believe the CPS is doing a good job and is efficient, competent, helpful and reliable. Based upon the question “Overall, how satisfied are you with the services provided by the Calgary Police?” the table below seems to indicate general satisfaction with the CPS.

Year	Overall Satisfaction (Very Satisfied/Satisfied)
2011	95%
2010	93%
2009	92%
2008	89%
2007	90%
2005	92%
2003	91%
2000	96%
1997	95%
1995	96%

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report, p.17

**Overall Citizen Satisfaction with the CPS – Chart 1**

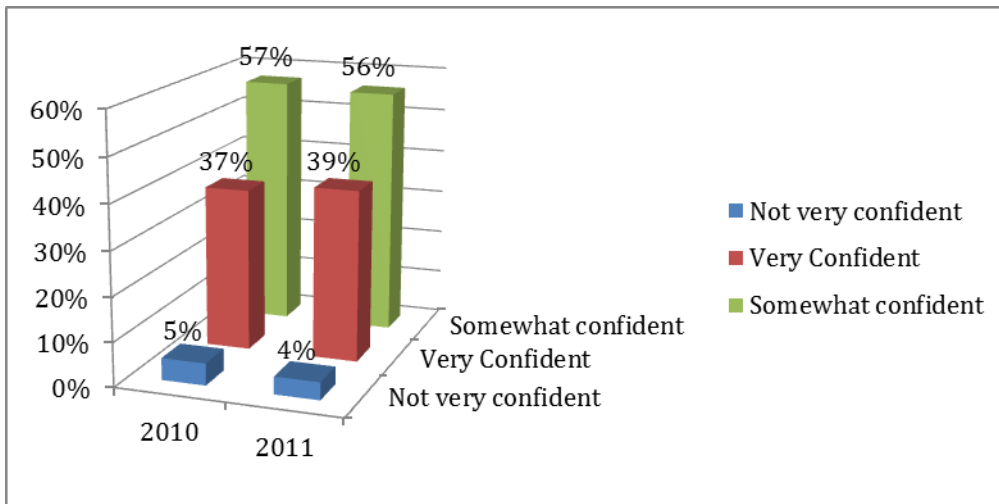


Source:

Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report, p.17

Although the question “How confident are you that the CPS can deliver the services needed to make sure Calgary is a safe place to live?” is a fairly new addition to the Citizen Survey, it demonstrates a similar finding to overall satisfaction results.

**Confidence in the CPS – Chart 2**

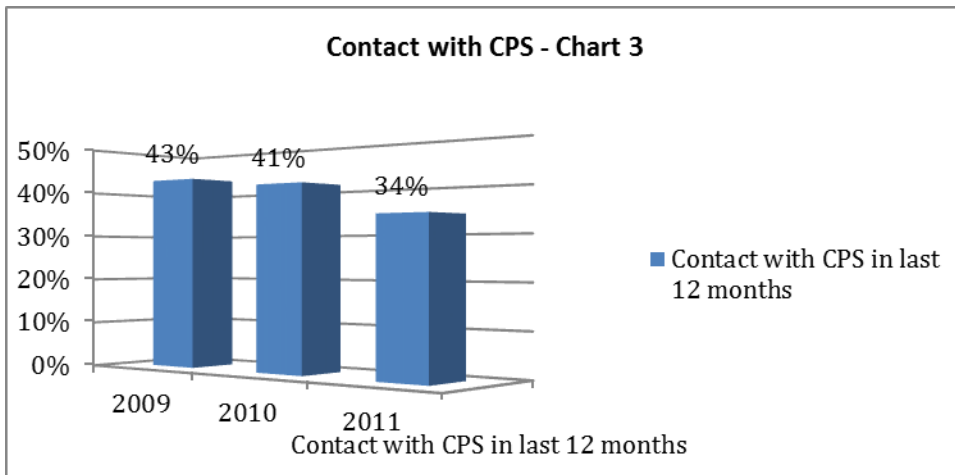


Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report, p.20

The data in the above two charts seems to indicate a general trend of citizen approval of and confidence in Calgary police. This is the case despite findings in another part of the survey that suggest a somewhat different story. The chart below shows that there has been a significant



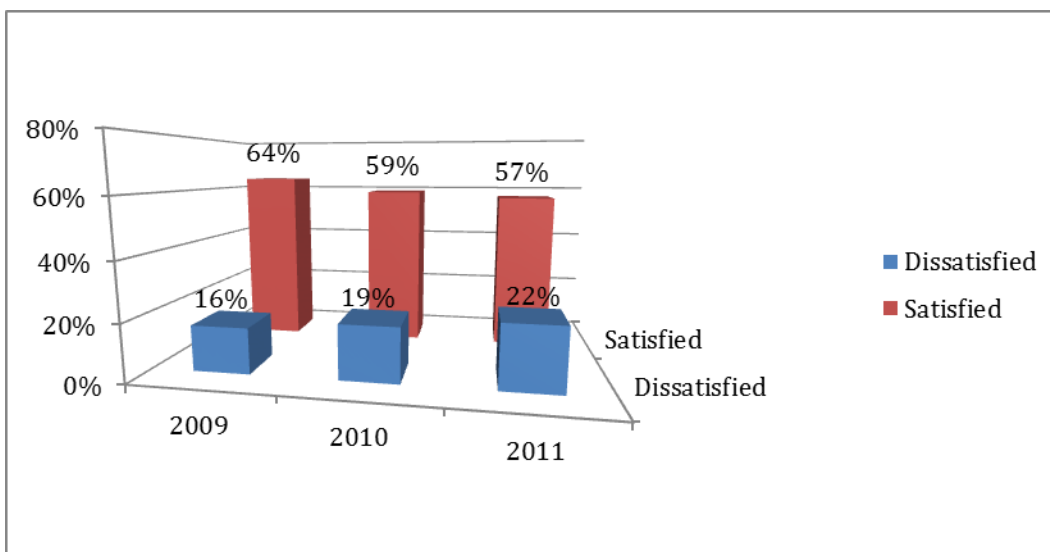
decline in the number of citizens who have had contact with the CPS the last three years. It is commonly believed that community-policing programs should increase police contact with community members, not decrease it. However, the quality of police contact matters over the quantity (Vardalis, 38).



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report, p.27

Further, although over half of citizens who had contact with CPS in the last year were satisfied with that contact, this level of satisfaction is on a decline and dissatisfaction is on an upward trend.

#### Satisfaction with CPS – Chart 4



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report p.28

An easy assumption as to the cause of decreased satisfaction with police contact would be discriminatory behavior on the part of the police. However, the findings of the Citizen Survey show that less than 1% of those Calgarians dissatisfied with their police contact attribute their

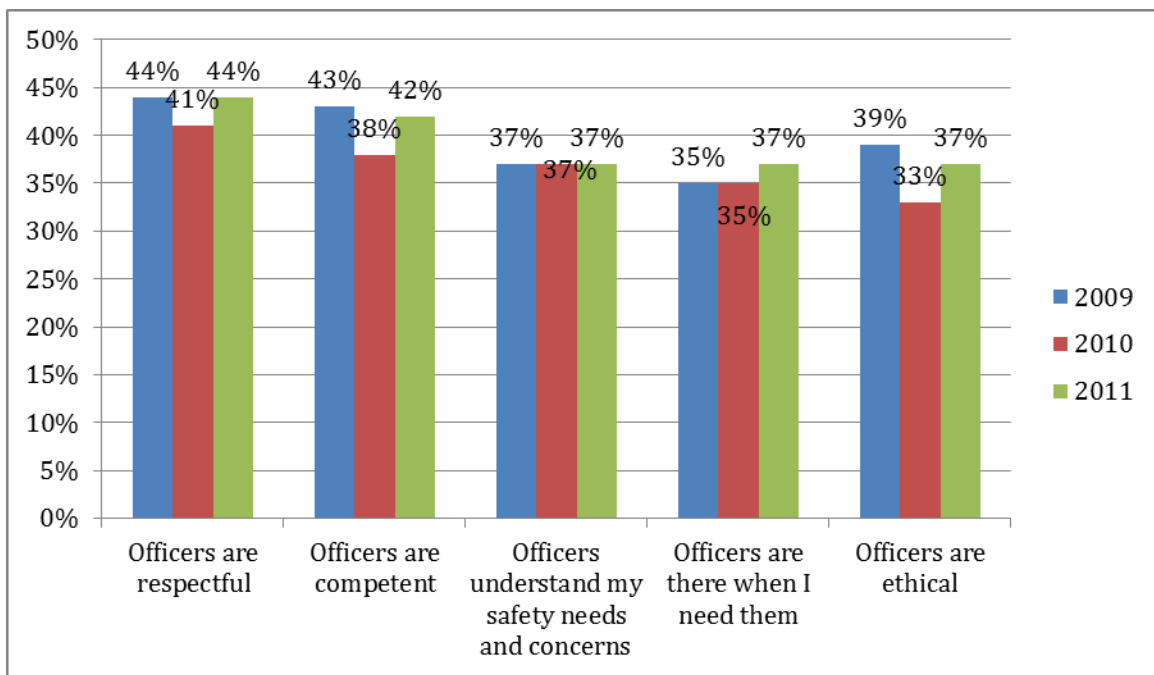
assessment to discriminatory behavior. Some of the more common causes ascribed to the dissatisfaction include:

- Perceived lack of concern
- Non-attempt at issue resolution
- Perception that police action was incorrect
- Perceived rude or aggressive attitude

Most of these issues can be attributed to lack of experience and seniority of frontline officers. This is a current reality of frontline policing in Calgary, and one of the issues internal subject matter experts indicated needed addressing in the CPS business plan.

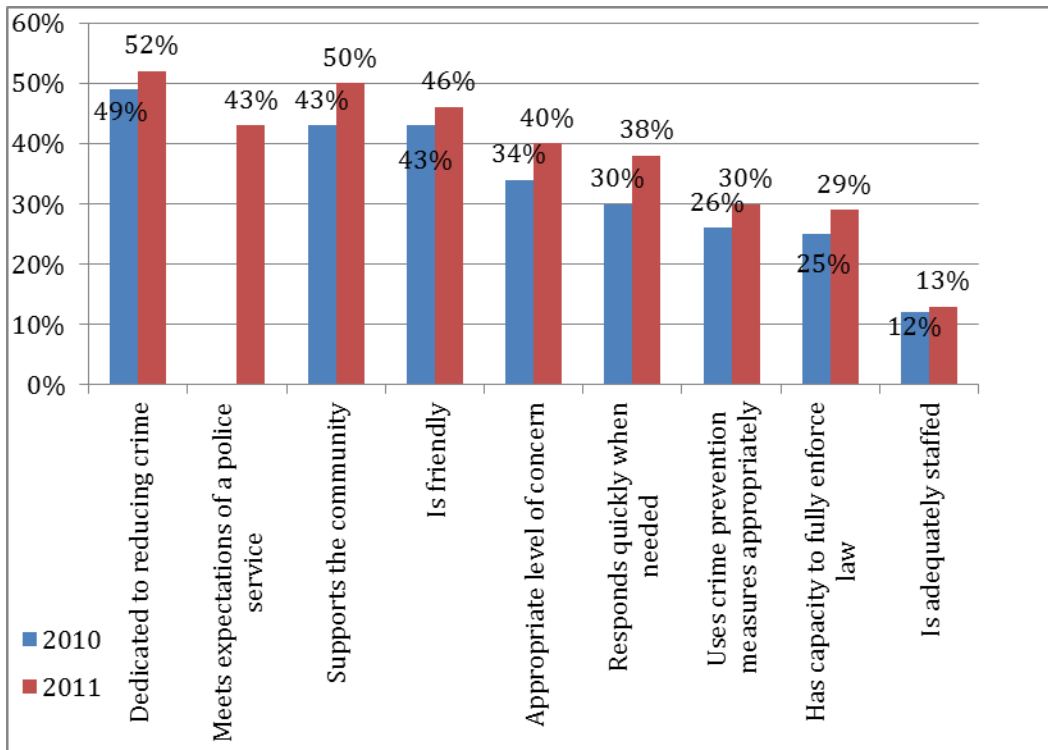
The last two charts specifically address citizen perception of both individual officer and organizational adherence to values associated with the CP philosophy. Citizens were presented with a series of statements and asked to rate them on a scale of 1-10 with a score of 1 indicating strong disagreement and 10 indicating strong agreement. The charts below illustrate percentage of scores rated 9 or 10.

**CPS Officer Attributes – Chart 5**



source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report p.22

**Performance of the CPS – Chart 6**



Source:

Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report p.23

According to the perceptions captured by the Citizen Survey, the CPS still has room to improve both at organizational and employee level attributes to more closely align with CP values. However, it is also evident that the public does perceive that both levels of this organization do in fact subscribe, in a substantial degree, to values associated with CP. This survey shows that the perception of what makes a good police officer “is not a set of methodologies, tactics or processes but rather strong interpersonal skills, analytical thinking and a set of strong personal values”(Anand, 66).

The last aspects the Citizen Survey examines are which community issues are at the forefront of citizens’ concerns and what steps they believe are necessary to build safer communities in Calgary.

Calgarians say the city’s greatest crime and safety issues are:

- House B&Es
- Illegal Gang Activity
- Illegal Drug Activity
- Traffic Violations
- Assaults Causing Injury

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report p.23

Calgarians say that the CPS should focus on the following:

- Illegal Gang Activities
- Hiring more officers/ more funding
- Illegal Drug Activity
- General Crime Prevention activities
- Status quo – Keeping up the good work
- Safety in public places

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Citizen Survey – Data Report p.12

Of interest in these findings concerning crime and safety issues is the fact that the 2011 results were the first time in more than three years that the crime rate was perceived as decreasing, which in fact it is. The responses concerning future focus were solicited with the research question “Thinking about everything the Calgary Police Service does and everything we have talked about today, what do you think the Calgary Police should focus on going forward?” Of note in these findings is the single generic mention of CP activities centering on crime prevention. It would seem that although the public wants individual police officers to have attributes consistent with CP values, they aren’t fully ready for their police service to abandon traditional policing practices. It is probably indicative of a need for police to place greater emphasis on publicizing those community-policing related initiatives they currently are undertaking.

Ultimately, it is important to understand that attitudes toward “crime and policing are shaped more by lay assessment of non-criminal symbols of social order and control than by instrumental concerns about safety and crime” (Bradford and Jackson, 496). What citizens think of their police is far more important to them in terms of how they perceive the safety in their communities than the actual rates of crime and disorder.

### **The Calgary Police Commission Employee Survey**

It is common practice for employers in both the public and private sector to conduct regular employee surveys. Enhancement of employee engagement and efforts at ensuring an efficient, effective and respectful workplace are commonly cited as rationale for the use of employee surveys. They are used in the hopes that they will shed light on a broad range of current issues that concern the workplace and relationships between employers and employees. Employee surveys are also used as an effective communication tool, signaling to employees the desire to know what they think.

According to Harwood, well-established organizations realize that the diagnostic measurement function represented by a formal survey gives them the most objective picture as to (3):

- the presence of any danger signals
- the magnitude and scope of any existing problems
- employees' perceptions of the state of people management in their organization
- organizational strengths
- managing change

Surveys ultimately facilitate targeted action, which is often considered the most likely to be effective. Properly interpreted data also offers the most credible, consensus-based rationale for new policies and initiatives (Harwood, 5).

The CPC Employee Survey targets all CPS sworn and civilian members with a twenty-minute online survey with multiple-access points for convenience. Access to the questionnaire was available via work or personal computers. The table below illustrates the make up of the last three years' survey sample size.

**Sample size**

	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>
<b>Total CPS Employees</b>	2442	2551	2585
<b>Sworn members</b>	1794	1872	1905
<b>Civilian members</b>	648	679	680
<b>Total Completed Surveys</b>	1138	1272	1475
<b>Sworn Members</b>	710	818	952
<b>Civilian Members</b>	428	454	523
<b>Response rate</b>	47%	50%	57%

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.5

The tables below provide a breakdown of the demographics of those employees who completed the employee survey.

**Demographics**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>
<b>Male</b>	61%	61%	61%
<b>Female</b>	33%	32%	30%
<b>No answer</b>	6%	6%	9%

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.60

Age	2009	2010	2011
24 years & under	2%	1%	1%
25 to 29 years	9%	10%	8%
30 to 39 years	31%	32%	30%
40 to 49 years	33%	33%	33%
50 to 54 years	11%	10%	10%
55 years or older	7%	7%	7%
No answer	8%	7%	12%

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.60

Position	2009	2010	2011
Civilian member	38%	36%	35%
Manager	3%	3%	4%
Non Manager	34%	33%	32%
Sworn member	62%	64%	65%
Constable	43%	45%	43%
Non-commissioned	15%	15%	17%
Senior officer	4%	4%	4%

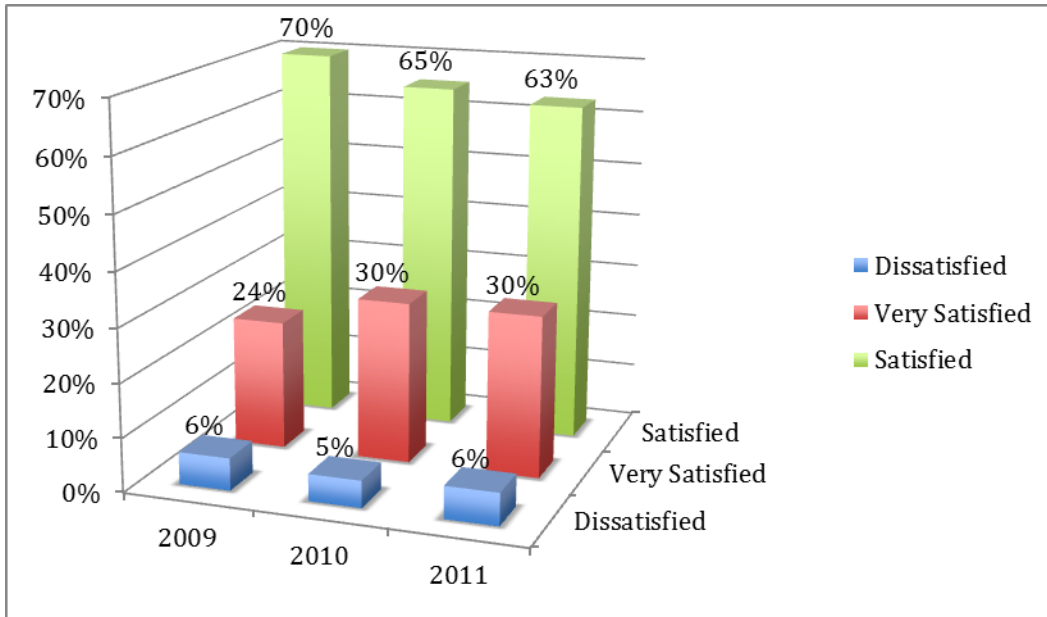
Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.60

Length of employment	2009	2010	2011
3 years or less	28%	29%	24%
4 to 10 years	34%	32%	35%
More than 10 years	38%	40%	41%
Prefer not to answer	<1%	<1%	<1%

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.60

The annual Employee Survey shares two questions with the Citizen Survey. The first one asks employees and citizens about their perceptions of Calgary as a safe place to live in. Perceptions of both groups are very similar and continue to improve. The second question asks “Overall, how satisfied are you with the services provided by the Calgary Police to the citizens of Calgary?” When compared with the Citizen Survey illustrated in **Chart 1**, the Employee Survey results below show somewhat more dissatisfaction and fewer responses indicating ‘very satisfied’. Overall member satisfaction with the services provided by the Calgary Police remained constant between 2011 and 2010. However, the decrease in “satisfied” responses from 2009 might be attributed to the rumours about budget cuts and job losses that permeated the service in late 2010 and most of 2011.

### Overall Employee Satisfaction with the CPS – Chart 7

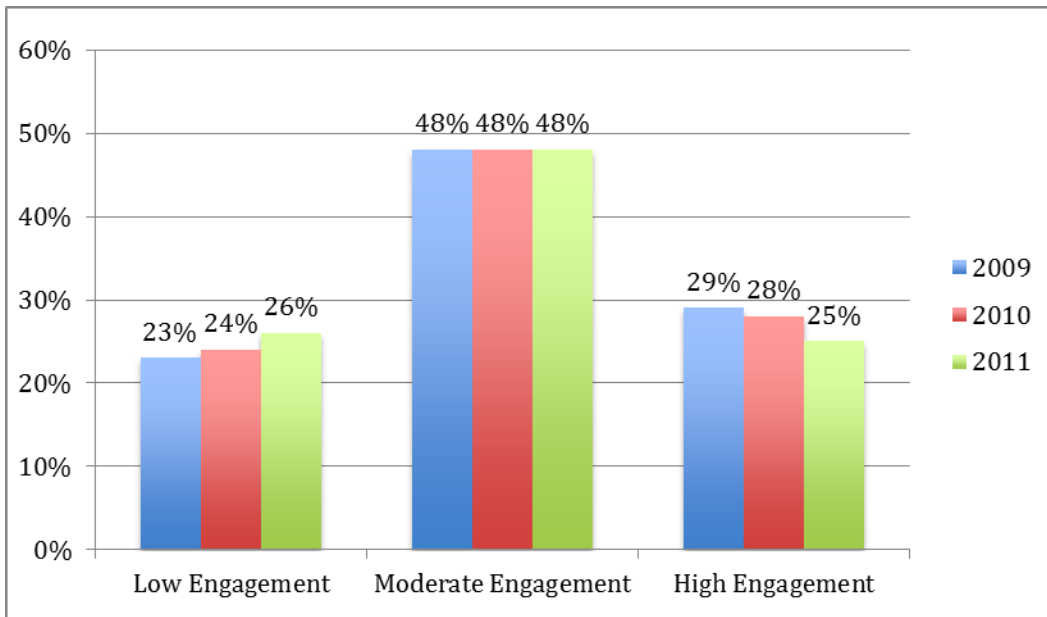


Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.9

Employee satisfaction results are invariably linked to the level of engagement they feel in their work. Once little more than an HR buzz phrase, employee engagement has been researched extensively for the past twenty years. Similarly to the concept of CP, employee engagement has been defined variably over the years each with different implications. The Conference Board of Canada offers the following definition: “A heightened emotional connection that an employee feels for his or her organization, that influences him or her to exert greater discretionary effort to his or her work”. A variety of research seems to indicate employee engagement correlates to individual, group and organizational performance in areas such as retention, turnover, productivity, and loyalty.

The Employee Engagement Index (EEI) is an overall measure of CPS employee engagement. It is a summary that takes into consideration variables such as satisfaction with current job, probability of maintaining employment with the CPS in the next year, and likelihood of recommending CPS as an employer.

**CPS Employee Engagement Index – Chart 8**



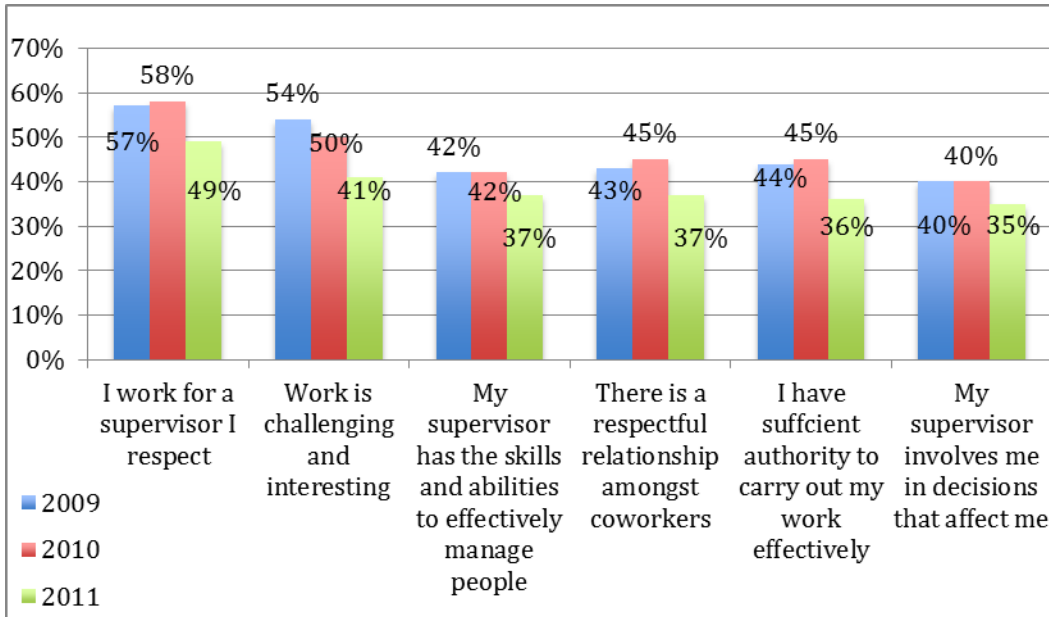
Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.14

In his 2004 study of the differences between police officers in traditional versus CP roles, William Pelfrey found that officers assigned to CP roles report “higher levels of satisfaction than those officers assigned to reactive patrol” (Pelfrey, 597). He concluded that, while this approach might not be feasible for all police organizations, “assignment of more officers to CP positions is likely to produce a more satisfied, motivated, and productive worker, which would almost certainly heighten the efficiency of police work” (Pelfrey, 597).

According to the results of the Employee Survey, there might be another way to increase employee engagement. When asked what they like least about working for CPS, employees resoundingly stated poor management and supervisors. When asked what they like most about working at the CPS, employees responded “coworkers” and “variety”. This result is corroborated in Wang’s 2005 research into how CP motivates police officers. He found that officers’ job satisfaction was associated with perceptions of leadership and co-workers (70). Pay, promotion and recognition had little connection to the officers’ satisfaction with work (70). Wang concluded that “improving management can promote officers’ job satisfaction, and designing motivating work for them can serve the same purpose” (Wang, 72). The charts below illustrate some of the findings in terms of percentage of respondents agreeing with statements about specific work attributes.

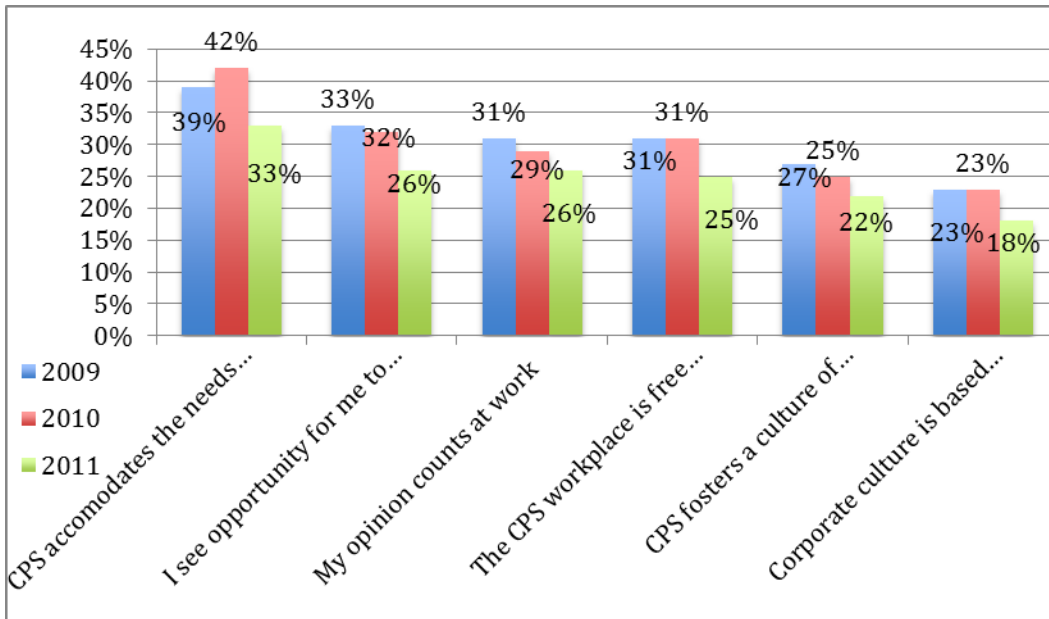


**Specific Work Attributes Part 1 – Chart 9**



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.31

**Specific Work Attributes Part 2 – Chart 10**



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.32

As illustrated in the above charts, several specific work attribute ratings fell significantly in 2011. Many of these attributes centre on leadership development, potential for advancement, corporate culture and performance assessment. Recognizing a deficit in these areas the CPS

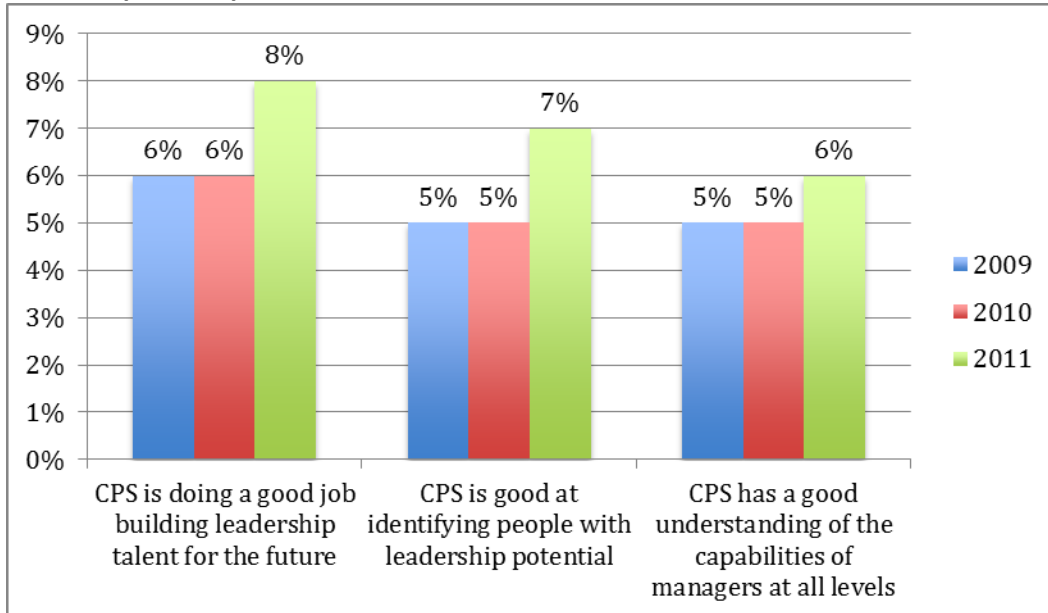
implemented the following programs in order to address the issues:

- Developed and Implemented the Respect Matters Program
- Created the Leadership Development program
- Developed the Education, Assessment and Intervention Program
- Reviewed and revamped the performance assessment software
- Developed and implemented the Telework Option for employees.

Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.67

The following three charts show that only two of the efforts to address deficiencies raised in Employee Surveys have resulted in any positive increases, and they are quite small. The results indicate the percentage of respondents who answered a 9 or 10 (indicating strong agreement) with the statements posed.

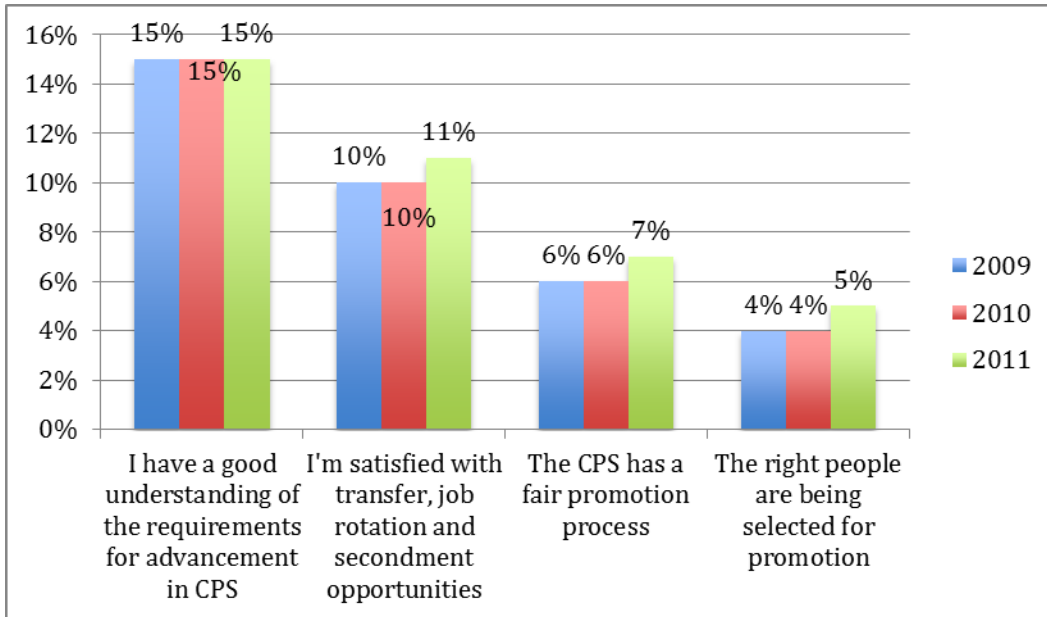
**Leadership Development – Chart 11**



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.48

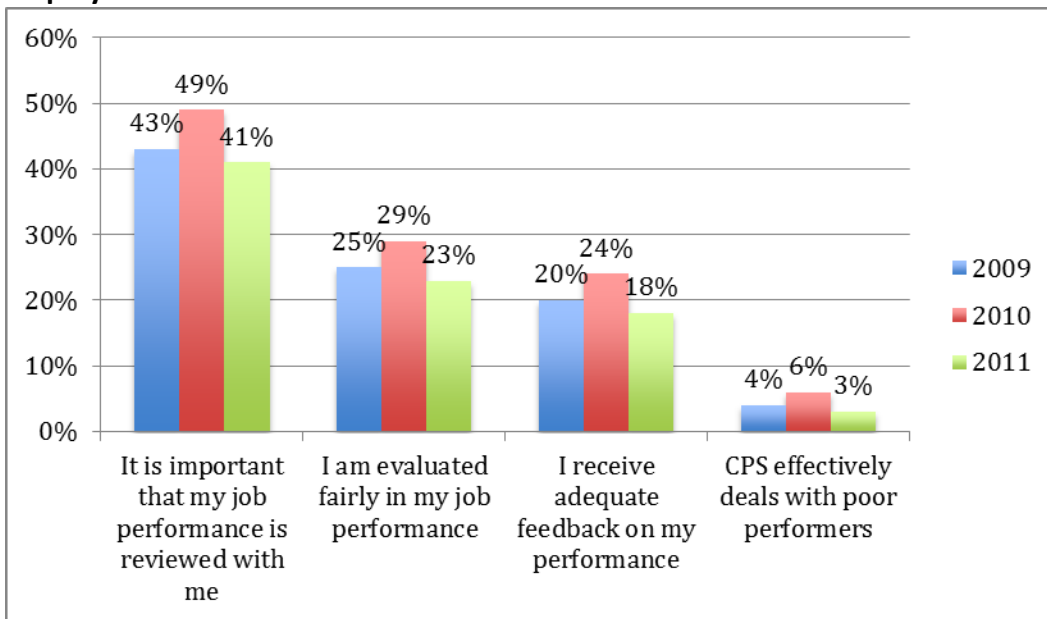
Although leadership development ratings continue to be very low, there were increases in the areas of building leadership talent and identifying people with leadership potential.

**Promotion and Advancement – Chart 12**



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.49

**Employee Performance and Feedback – Chart 13**



Source: Calgary Police Commission 2011 Employee Survey – Data Report p.52

Direct questions about CP are asked in neither the Citizen Survey nor the Employee Survey. Rather, both use indirect questions and statements aimed at gathering details as to the existence or non-existence of values and practices that support CP. For example, in the Citizen Survey Calgarians are asked if they believe CPS members are ethical, respectful and competent.

All three are fundamental community police officer attributes. In the Employee Survey, CPS members are asked if they have sufficient authority to carry out their job. CP organizations modify traditional reporting structures to allow for the flexibility requisite of the new paradigm. It would seem both survey tools are in fact investigating, amongst other things, the perception of the existence of CP in Calgary. They are also discovering underlying issues that need addressing if the organization intends to support ongoing development of CP in Calgary.

Effective organizations create behavioral change in their employees by altering the structural components that support the targeted behaviors (Williams, 121). In other words, they address the issues uncovered in their various stakeholder engagement processes. Successful implementation of CP requires elemental behavioral changes in a police organization's officers. Not all the programs and efforts to address the deficiencies raised in the surveys will be successful. But the key is to continue trying to address issues and communicating the results to all stakeholder – citizens and employees.

#### **Police Response to Priorities: Four CPS Programs**

Building meaningful partnerships between police and various state and non-state social actors in a concerted effort to improve overall public safety is arguably the core ideal of CP (Peaslee, 116 quoting Thacher, 2001, p. 765). This strategy is an admission by law enforcement officials that they are unable to effect lasting social change without community collaboration. Collaborative policing is based upon a realization that no matter how effective crime fighting techniques are, the results are longer lasting when working with community agencies (Anand, 12).

The adoption of a CP philosophy necessitates expanding the traditional police mandate of arrest and deterrence to include “responsibility for crime prevention, problem-solving, community engagement, and the formation of community and interagency partnerships” (Peaslee, 115). This strategy of collaborative policing allows for the connection of professionals with resources to address the root causes of crime. This permits the police response to evolve beyond the traditional ‘Band-Aid’ solution to the problem (Peaslee, 117). Though the shift from traditional to community/collaborative policing blurs the boundaries between law enforcement, crime prevention, and social service provision, it is not without its benefits (Peaslee, 118).

CP demands a change in the organizational values of police services. The transparency and accountability required to support collaborative partnerships can help accelerate this evolution of values. Collaborative partnerships offer an opportunity to move away from an

organizational culture “that manages through rules and procedures to one that fosters a culture of creative problem solving by espousing a ‘plural policing’ view of the world” (Wood & Bradley, 138). As collaborative policing encourages police to coordinate a wide array of governmental agencies for solving community problems, a whole range of new referral sources for police can be developed (Kappeler & Kraska, 307). A further benefit is that partner agencies not only increase their access to information about clients, they also become more familiar with the overall criminal justice system. There are however some criticisms and limitations to collaborative policing.

Police-community partner collaborations often fight the stigma that they are created for economic reasons rather than altruistic ones. This allegation is normally followed with the implication that the collaboration amounts to little beyond a transfer of power and responsibility from one agency to another (Anand, 19). Along similar lines, a common criticism involves police inviting participation but retaining power in their own organization thereby not transferring enough power to the non-state social actor to make the partnership viable (Anand, 19). There is also the very real net-widening possibility whereby the partnerships subject more people to formal justice system intervention than previous strategies (Peaslee, 126).

Regardless of any limitations or criticisms of collaborative policing, many police agencies are experimenting with a variety of programs based on the rationale that it is essential to engage the community in order to co-produce safety and security (Walsh, 19). This reality means that individual programs rather than organizations as a whole are the most appropriate unit of analysis in assessing that organization’s adherence to the fundamental principles of CP.

Of note, is the fact that non-police civilian respondents to the survey (results below) are not lay members of the community but rather civilian employees of community agencies. In the Calgary Police Service model of CP, the community at large sets the agenda through ongoing outreach and stakeholder engagement conducted by various Calgary Police Service units, the Calgary Police Commission and the City of Calgary. Actual service provision is still the purview of trained community organizations.

### ***Domestic Conflict Response Team*** **Overview**

The Domestic Conflict Response Team (DCRT) is a pilot project that offers a community-based approach to addressing domestic conflict. The mandate of the project is to provide a collaborative, timely and effective assessment, intervention and referral service for people dealing with chronic and/or high-risk incidents of domestic conflict where criminal charges are not

present. The DCRT is comprised of a team of specialized police officers, HomeFront domestic violence expert caseworkers and Child and Family Services Authority (CFSA) caseworkers. HomeFront is a community coordinated justice organization that strives to create an enhanced community response to families experiencing domestic violence. CFSA is an Alberta Provincial Government agency whose focus is supporting families and communities in order to break the cycles of family violence, abuse and poverty.

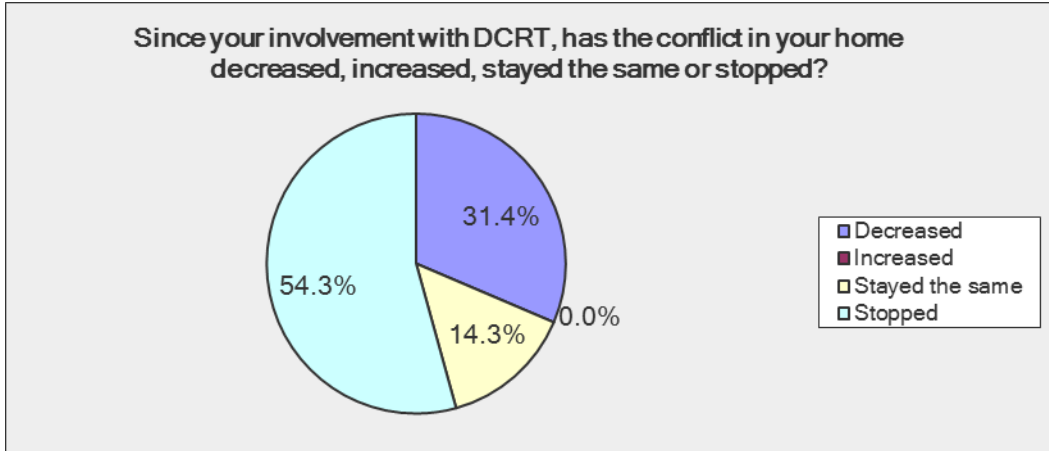
The DCRT attempts to proactively address all individuals and families impacted by domestic conflict that do not meet the current thresholds set for intervention by either CFSA or CPS. DCRT does this in a variety of ways. The team, consisting of a uniformed police officer and a HomeFront caseworker, assists frontline police officers in investigation of domestic violence incidents, following-up to ensure supports have been accessed and safety plans, court orders and interventions have been implemented. The HomeFront caseworker ensures that safety planning and risk reduction strategies are provided. They also assist in connecting the victims and family members to support services in the community, such as housing, food, counseling, and legal services. Their focus is providing advocacy by removing barriers that may prevent families from accessing those services. These services are provided via on-site visits and follow-up meetings and phone calls. Comprehensive information sharing agreements between the three partners allow for timely and informed responses by the DCRT. This agreement allows the operational team to access CFSA records through the designated caseworker and vice versa.

The theoretical foundation of the DCRT is based on emerging academic research on early intervention strategies, in particular second responder models, as an effective means of combatting domestic violence. Though the scope of this paper precludes an in depth analysis of the theory behind the implementation, a limited bibliography of selected research outlining the theoretical basis of the DCRT, including official abstracts, is included as **Appendix C**.

#### Review of Evaluations

Since the program's inception in September 2009, the DCRT has served 403 clients. Though client participation in the project is voluntary, approximately 95% of those contacted accept the offer of assistance by DCRT. A 2010 assessment of the first 153 DCRT clients showed that 48% of the families receiving services had 3 or more police calls for service prior to DCRT intervention. Those families had reported a total of 338 incidents of domestic conflict in the 24 months prior to DCRT involvement. In the 12 months following DCRT intervention, this same

client group reported only 59 new domestic conflict incidents. This correlates to an 83% reduction in domestic conflict incidents.

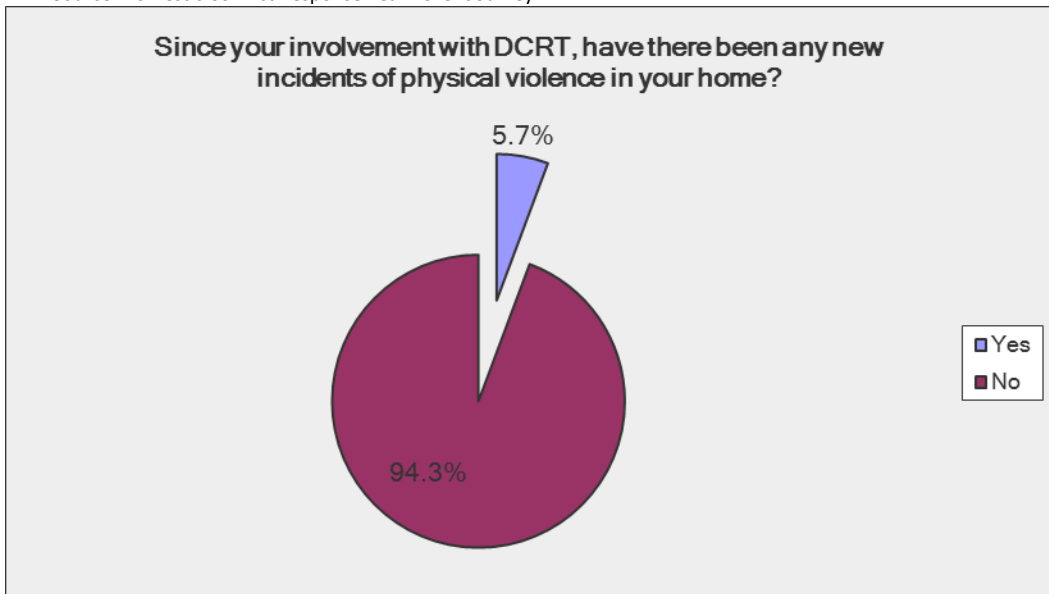


Source: Domestic Conflict Response Team Client Survey

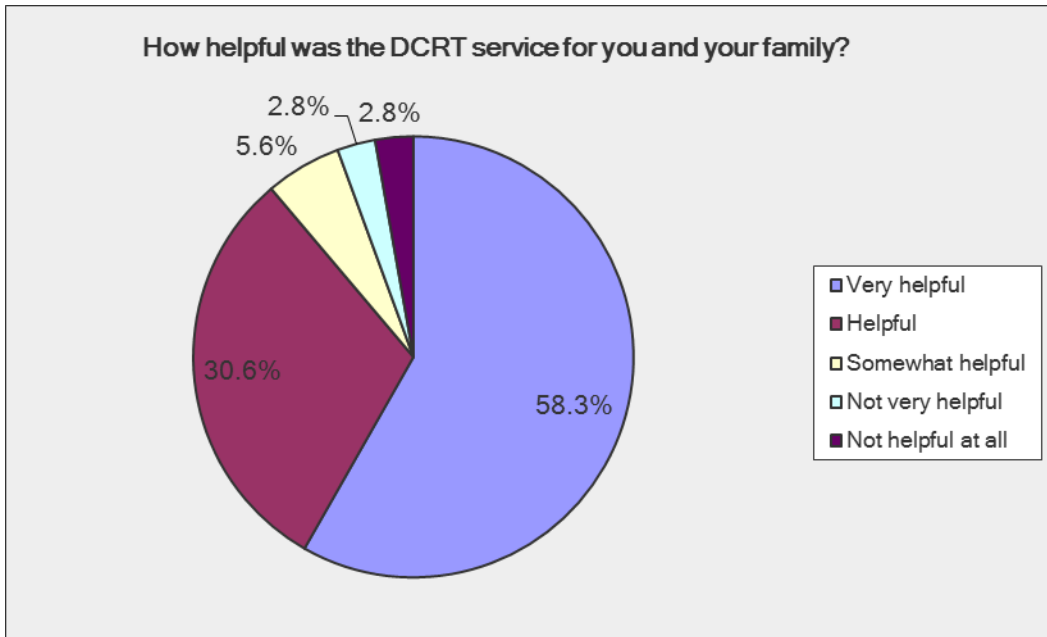
The following constitutes the DCRT's primary achievements with the clients it served:

- Reduction in criminal re-offence
- Reduction of CFSA involvement
- Reduction in repeat and chronic domestic violence calls for service
- Improved victim resiliency to abuse/violence by increasing protective factors and reducing risk factors in the home
- Improved referral to proven prevention and rehabilitation services for family members
- Reduced sense of isolation for the victim
- Improved sense of confidence in justice and child welfare systems
- Increased safety for victims
- Greater accountability for offenders

Source: Domestic Conflict Response Team Client Survey



Source: Domestic Conflict Response Team Client Survey



Source: Domestic Conflict Response Team Client Survey

### Survey Results

The DCRT has a total of 7 people working directly in the program either as frontline workers or supervisors. This number includes 3 police officers and 4 civilians from partner agencies. The participation rate in the survey was 100%. The gender breakdown for DCRT workers is 85% female and 15 % male. The age range of workers is from 33 to 61 years old.

I directed the analysis toward understanding each participant’s experience working in a collaborative policing program. I abstracted the key storylines in each survey and present the findings under the general headings of program observations, best practices and training.

### Program Observations

All participants in the survey indicated difficulty navigating the bureaucracy of the partner agencies during the early phases of the program. One DCRT member likened the early post-implementation days to childbirth – painful and arduous but definitely worth it in the long run. Another used the analogy of ‘having too many hands in the cookie jar’ to explain the early feeling-out process amongst the different partners. Several surveyed DCRT members mentioned that rigid interpretation of individual organizational mandates contributed to the early difficulties. Several respondents echoed a wish for a clearer mandate and roles. Several DCRT members mused about the organizational commitment of the other partners, though indicating that on individual levels, this wasn’t a concern. This issue lessened as partners learned their own bureaucracies and each other’s more intimately. Knowing your own system is crucial to



developing cross system intelligence required of collaborative projects. One participant observed that conflict is inevitable and not necessarily to be avoided as it offers an opportunity to work through difficulties. Keeping focused on doing what needed to be done to meet the needs of the family, helped several respondents work through these early growing pains.

Authority to act does not seem to be equal amongst the partners. There is a perception that partner agencies are less empowered to make decisions and take action than CPS members. These observations led at least one respondent to conjecture that some partner agencies seem more process driven than results oriented. There is also an issue around definitions. For example, one respondent suggested that the concept of risk assessment is not understood to be the same thing amongst all partner agencies.

Several respondents stated a belief that the police officers chosen for the program need to be the 'right kind'. Having had considerable exposure to police culture during their tenure, they felt that not all cops were suitable for collaborative policing. This led to another early difficulty in the program. Creating buy-in from frontline officers was difficult as not all could readily grasp the value of the program. Time and exposure apparently reversed this early trend.

Half the respondents wondered if a well-placed internal champion within the partner agencies might have alleviated some of the early issues. All DCRT members expressed frustration about being limited to a set geographic area. Seeing situations within other parts of the City that could have benefitted from their assistance and not being able to extend that service was particularly irksome to all respondents. All believed that more personnel and resource could alleviate that issue. Several DCRT members noted a perception that there was a lack of internal promotion of the DCRT program within partner agencies. And all shared the hope that the police and partner Executives would commit to the viability of the program beyond the initial pilot project funding.

The civilian partners indicated a primary strength of the DCRT program was its partnership with police. They felt it offered them a sense of built-in legitimacy that greatly assisted in making it safe for victims to disclose. One respondent noted that it was helpful having police partners because they never hesitated to ask the hard questions. Further, police presence seemed to have a calming effect on situations rather than an anxiety raising one as was expected by at least one respondent. For one caseworker, DCRT's greatest strength is the success of major systems working together seamlessly to offer the community an enhanced level of service. For one caseworker, the greatest strength of this collaboration was its ability to change peoples'

perspective of what can be done about a situation-community, client, caseworker and cop included.

DCRT's police supervisor noted an interesting and unanticipated outcome of this collaboration. She observed a marked improvement in the quality of domestic related investigations by frontline officers in the pilot project District. She attributed this to the collaboration unexpectedly emerging as an investigative resource to the District.

### Best Practices

Several respondents suggested that the notion of using best practices was generally subjective and had not been defined in the original program mandate and guideline. Best practices grew through experience and trial and error. All DCRT members believed they tried to use best practices. For example, the police officers indicated they felt attending to clients in uniform was generally best practice; however there were situations that demanded a plainclothes approach. One officer suggested that "This is real life; there are no scripts" meaning each situation is unique and having officially mandated best practices might encumber the requisite flexibility of the program.

One caseworker was particularly pragmatic indicating that the client dictates what the best practice is and thus will differ from client to client. She went on to state her personal rule about best practices, "Use what works discard, what doesn't". Tactics and strategies are driven by situation. Creating best practices is a fluid process that must allow for discarding those practices that aren't as efficient as others with the caveat that, in the future, those discarded practices might require resurrecting.

### Training

There was some overall reticence by the civilian partners to comment on training standards of police. In general, they indicated that training is sufficient to the job. One caseworker thought most cops were well educated and trained, but they shouldn't be expected to be experts in policing, addictions, mental health and counseling. Thus the most efficient way to address crime issues is in partnership with community organizations. There was a general consensus that beyond training, officers in this program need to be hand-chosen amongst those who show both a capacity and passion for collaborative policing. Several caseworkers indicated a need for police to be open to learning from their caseworker partner. Training of partner agencies was not seen as being on par with that available to CPS. However, all partners have been able to take advantage of CPS training, which is a fairly new development.

One of the caseworkers observed that she was finally comfortable offering advice to frontline police officers in the District and that they were regularly coming to her for that advice. Asking for help is difficult for cops as it presumes that they are not in control of the situation, which they are taught to be. Another caseworker said, “When the student is ready the teacher will appear”. All DCRT members indicated that they believe their ability to provide training to District police officers and members of partner agencies was significant but only recently being accessed sufficiently. Simply letting people know about the resources that are available to help victims of domestic conflict would be an excellent start. DCRT members are now regularly attending police start of shift meetings (parade). Several respondents mentioned a need for mentorship to be stronger as it is the natural evolution of training. Several respondents indicated a need for cross-system training for all partners In particular; they would like to see more safety training for caseworkers. Overall, training should focus on creating a culture of team players – getting cops to understand that collaboration offers them a whole new set of tools for their policing toolbox.

### ***High Risk Management Initiative*** Overview

The High Risk management Initiative (HRMI) HRMI is modeled on a 2001 Winnipeg program that brought Police, Probation Officers and Crown Prosecutors as a specialized unit to expedite the arrest, prosecution and supervision of serious high risk offenders. The HRMI is a Calgary collaborative community partnership program that targets high-risk domestic violence cases where it is determined that there is imminent risk of injury or harm to the victim. Several of the following conditions must be present for eligibility in this program:

- Offender is on Probation or a Conditional Sentence Order
- Offences have involved extreme violence
- Offender has been assessed as high-risk to re-offend in a violent manner
- Offender has a history of non-compliance with court orders
- Offender has a lengthy history with the criminal justice system
- Offender has a serious substance abuse issue
- Victim has heightened vulnerability
- Offender has a mental illness/disability
- Offender used or threatened to use weapons
- Children are involved

The HRMI was envisioned as a means to deliver proactive, specialized and intensive case management to chronic, high-risk domestic violence offenders. Its objectives are to create

stabilization of the client, increase safety for the victims, increase the effectiveness of system resources, and reduce chronic and severe incidences of domestic violence.

The HRMI works at achieving these goals by providing targeted risk assessment and management at key decision points in family violence cases. These include the evaluation of legal, clinical, mental health, substance abuse and victim safety issues and any subsequent intervention deemed necessary. The initiative follows a case management model, which brings together Probation, CPS Domestic Conflict Unit, Child and Family Services Authority, various domestic violence treatment agencies, HomeFront caseworkers, a Mental Health Liaison, and Mental Health and Addictions services. The primary HRMI strategies include the timely exchange of information, regular case management meetings, integrated intervention planning and regular outreach with victims and offenders.

Once offenders have been accepted into the HRMI they are assigned to a case management team which creates a risk reduction and rehabilitation plan tailored for each high-risk offender and their victim(s). The individualized plans provide intensive supervision and rehabilitative support and interventions for the offender while creating a conduit for the exchange of information in regards to the offender's progress. The overall goal of these plans is to establish stability, safety and accountability for all involved.

The theoretical foundation of the HRMI is based on emerging academic research on coordinated monitoring and treatment strategies for violent domestic offenders. Though the scope of this paper precludes an in depth analysis of that research, a limited bibliography of selected research outlining the theoretical basis of the HRMI, including official abstracts, is included as **Appendix D**.

#### Review of Evaluations

The HRMI complements an existing continuum of specialized responses to domestic violence in Calgary. This coordinated, specialized response to high-risk violent offenders is recognition that a "one-size-fits-all" style of intervention is not as effective as tailored interventions dependent upon the situation. Academic research indicates that the coordinated approach appears to exert a positive impact on both recidivism and victim satisfaction (Bridgeman & Hobbs). The HRMI augments this specialized response to domestic violence by targeting those individuals who are high-risk to re-offend against their partners or family members in a violent and lethal manner.

Since its inception in early 2010, the HRMI has had between 13 and 20 active offenders in

the program at any one time. The program’s formal evaluation is under way and will include a description of the best practice program delivery model that emerges, an examination of the program model effectiveness, as well as a report of impact on clients/families and on key service system partners. Though the program’s evaluation is currently in progress, there is another potentially valid measure to assess its efficacy. Since the HRMI targets domestic violence offenders with a high risk for lethality, a look at domestic homicide rates in Calgary prior and after its establishment might offer a limited indication of its efficacy.

**Domestic Homicides**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Number of Homicides in Calgary</b>	<b>Number of Domestic related Homicides</b>	<b>Percentage of Domestic Related Homicides</b>
<b>2012</b>	3	0	0%
<b>2011</b>	11	1	10%
<b>2010</b>	16	5	31%
<b>2009</b>	24	9	38%
<b>2008</b>	35	8	23%
<b>2007</b>	32	8	25%

Highlighted row denotes HRMI inaugural year

The HRMI and other programs that form the continuum of response against domestic violence in Calgary are predicated on the simple premise that integrated and collaborative efforts are key to saving peoples’ lives. An aggressive and thorough law enforcement response to domestic violence is essential. Domestic violence generally develops and escalates slowly over time. If law enforcement and other community members intervene adequately, the violence is stopped or at least mitigated. Though it may be difficult to draw a direct correlation between a reduction in the number of domestic homicides and the existence of HRMI or any of the other programs that make up the continuum of services, the numbers are dramatic.

Survey Results

The HRMI has a total of 10 people working directly in the program. This number includes 2 full time police officers and 8 civilians from partner agencies who work part –time in the program. The participation rate in the survey was 50%. The gender breakdown for HRMI workers is 50% female and 50% male. The age range of workers is from 35 to 65 years old.

### Program Observations

Though the program partners theoretically share a common agenda in the collaborative project known as HRMI, individual organizations' internal agendas seem to occasionally surface to create difficulties. One of the respondents indicated that some partners feel so muffled by their bureaucratic rules and mandates they rarely speak in case management meetings. They do communicate with one of the partners who in turn suggest some course of action loosely based on the confidential disclosure. This occurs despite signed memorandums of understanding and information sharing agreements. It should be noted that several of these partners chose not to participate in this survey. Acknowledging that different partners had conflicting concerns exacerbated by internal politics, another HRMI member noted that though the silo effect is often difficult to reconcile, it is not impossible. Sitting at the same table and speaking to one another face to face often mitigated the tendency to safeguard or hoard information. Managing reasonable expectations is key.

Along the same vein, one respondent stressed the importance of timely sharing of information. She noted several case management processes needed streamlining. For example, the acceptance of new offenders in the program needs to be quicker. She also saw the need to revisit speeding up the evaluation timeline. Several partners also indicated an unforeseen increase in their organization's administrative load caused some internal capacity problems. The police partners were identified by several respondents as needing to work on communicating better with the other partners.

Police respondents to the survey indicated several specific criticisms of the HRMI program. They indicate frustration over some of the partners' lack of understanding concerning what 'monitoring' offenders means to police and what real capacity is. For example, several partners assumed that monitoring strictly meant physically following offenders on a daily basis. The police respondents indicated a certain amount of dissonance over their inability to specifically reveal tactics and strategies used by police for fear of them being inadvertently revealed to an offender.

Further, they expressed deep frustration over differing offender management goals amongst the partners. For example, some partners saw little wrong with allowing offenders multiple chances to self-correct behaviour. The police partners felt that given the high-risk nature of offenders they were dealing with, a swift and consistent response from the criminal justice partners was essential. They based this response on the rationale that offenders need to understand the

consequences of their actions if they are expected to change their behaviours. This frustration led one police officer to wonder if the criteria for lethality were actually commonly understood amongst the partners.

Because many of the HRMI partners focus on the treatment of the offender, client confidentiality often hinders their ability to participate in the case management, as fully as some other partner would appreciate. One partner mused that each client/offender should get a full psychiatric assessment that could be disclosed to the group. He also suggested the program could benefit from the services of a psychiatrist/psychologist and that a member of the judiciary sitting on the board would also be a good idea.

Though the survey revealed some serious issues, one respondent put it into perspective commenting that working together while focusing on offender management and treatment is a novelty that hasn't happened in the past. Assumptions are continually being broken down and conversations are still taking place. A police respondent lauded the flexibility the program allowed him. Police reaction to domestic violence has historically been primarily reactive, while the HRMI allows for a proactive monitoring of offenders. He commented that 'This is real CP'.

Several of the partners indicated that HRMI was working well and they had anecdotal evidence of victims' reduced risk and enhanced safety. The reduction in the number of domestic homicides over the last two years was mentioned several times as potential evidence of their efforts starting to come to fruition. Several respondents mentioned the social return on investment (SROI) of the HRMI as being significant. And despite the challenges indicated earlier, at least one respondent indicated learning a great deal about navigating the various bureaucracies. How you ask and whom you ask apparently makes a big difference. Asking in a way the partner can answer is key to communicating effectively in a collaborative project.

### Best Practices

The issue of best practices was as equally contentious in the HRMI program as it was in the DCRT. While many of the standard operating procedures utilized in the HRMI stem from the Winnipeg program, others are common to CPS units such as the Serious Habitual Offender Program (SHOP) and the High Risk Offender Program (HROP). Some of the unique dynamics surrounding domestic violence mean that best practices continue to evolve. One police respondent lamented that, in his opinion, the HRMI had neither the funds nor resources to adopt best practices from a police perspective. He believed the severity and chronic nature of the

offenders more than warranted deploying a full surveillance team, which would mean increasing police staffing by three officers and equipment. He did indicate that supervisors allowed sufficient flexibility to somewhat mitigate the understaffing.

Several respondents mused about what exactly constitutes best practice. Those partners focused on offender treatment would invariably suggest client confidentiality is a best practice. Conversely, those partners focused on offender management would surely decry that practice. No one has really ever established what the best practice would be for such collaboration, as it's never existed before. Flexibility is required but in general partners should aspire to practices that are supported by academic research. All partners surveyed using the best risk assessment tools known are an essential best practice.

### Training

The non-police respondents were again somewhat reticent to respond to suggestions for improving CPS training. One partner indicated a need for a more robust mental health and addictions training regimen. But she also stated the inherent limitations of this training, noting that it had taken her nearly twenty years of training, education and experience to attain professional status in her specialty, so there are definitely limitations as to feasible levels of police training. Higher officer awareness of programs like HRMI would be an asset.

One respondent noted that he would like to see the threat assessment course be mandatory for all HRMI members. The police respondents all indicated that the way they do business is the future of policing. Recruit training needs to emphasize proactive and collaborative policing skills. Based on their personal experience, they believe that an emphasis on report writing and improved communication is essential in creating the next generation of police officers who are comfortable working in a collaborative setting.

### ***Multi Agency School Support Team***

#### Overview

The Multi-Agency School Support Team (MASST) is a partnership between the Calgary Police Service (CPS), The Calgary Board of Education (CBE), The Calgary Catholic School District (CCSD) and the City of Calgary's Community and Neighborhood Services (CNS) - Children and Youth Services Division. It is an early intervention initiative that supports children ages 5-12 years old, who are exhibiting behavior that puts them at risk for criminal involvement or increased risk for victimization (MASST Evaluation Report, 2).



Though its collaborative approach is unprecedented in Canada, the MASST program is grounded in sound academic research. It is based on the developmental prevention approach to crime prevention principle. This approach is designed to inhibit the development of criminal potential in individuals (MASST Evaluation Report, 8). Researchers such as Tremblay & Craig contend that the roots of criminality are complex, cumulative and ultimately embedded in personal social histories (MASST Evaluation Report, 8). By striving to uncover risk factors that might facilitate entry into criminality and then provide an in depth assessment and intervention plan, MASST members hope to steer children away from considering crime a viable life option.

The MASST program is a voluntary initiative that receives referrals primarily from the participating school boards. The program provides family oriented and culturally appropriate interventions. Every effort is made to involve parents at all levels of planning, implementation and evaluation. Each participant is enrolled in the program for an average of 12-15 months (MASST Evaluation Report, 7). MASST is comprised of 4 teams, each consisting of a police officer and a registered social worker, who work closely with the school boards and identified families in establishing the best possible supports for the child, whatever that entails. The program makes referrals for the participant and his or her family to relevant local social supports and community resources or other programming with the support of the MASST Team. The program has operated with an average enrollment expectation of 12-15 months for each participant.

Some of MASST's goals include increasing the collaboration among police, schools and social agencies in addressing youth crime prevention. Though the existence of the CPS School Resource Officer is several decades old, the collaborative approach to crime prevention embodied in the MASST program has never been attempted. Ultimately, MASST strives to positively affect young people and their families.

The theoretical foundation of the MASST program is based on emerging academic research on multidisciplinary school based intervention strategies. Though the scope of this paper precludes an in depth analysis of that research, a limited bibliography of selected research outlining the theoretical basis of the MASST program, including official abstracts, is included as **Appendix E.**

#### Review of Evaluations

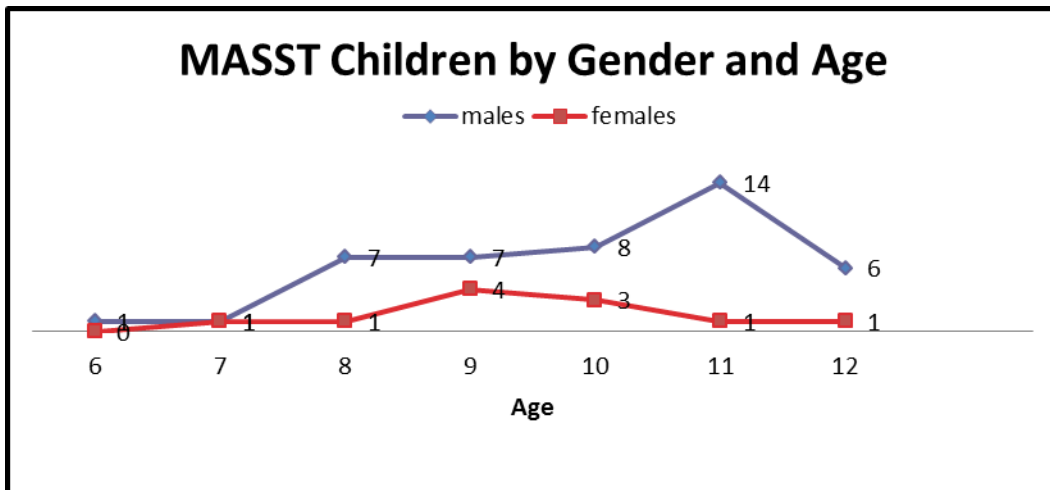
While MASST is still in the pilot phase, data from both child and parent questionnaires from the first full year of operation show promising results in the following areas:

- Significant positive change is reported in the identified risk factors

- School attendance and performance has improved for the vast majority of MASST children
- Most parents welcome support and believe that MASST assists their family
- Children and parents identify the value of referrals to community resources, such as counseling, recreation and summer camps

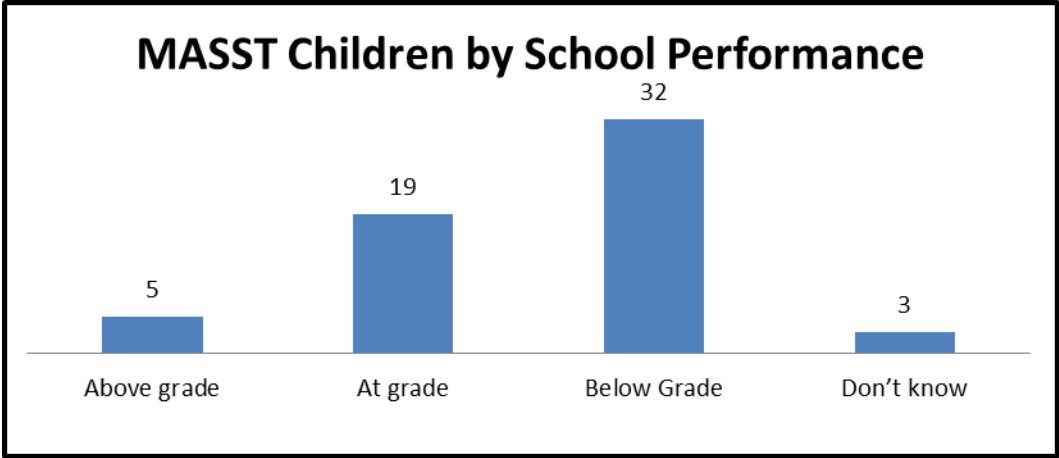
Source: MASST Evaluation Report, p. 5

During the evaluation period, up to the end of January 2011, MASST received 124 referrals and consults. Twenty of the individuals referred to MASST refused to participate in the program. Of this number three reconsidered and subsequently accepted enrolment. MASST has accepted and completed intake assessments for 62 young persons (51 males; 11 females). Of that number 55 had completed the second stage of the process, the Child Assessment; 44 males and all the females (MASST Evaluation Report, 25). The information presented below was collated and analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and represent data from initial child and parent assessment, six-month follow-up assessments and program files.



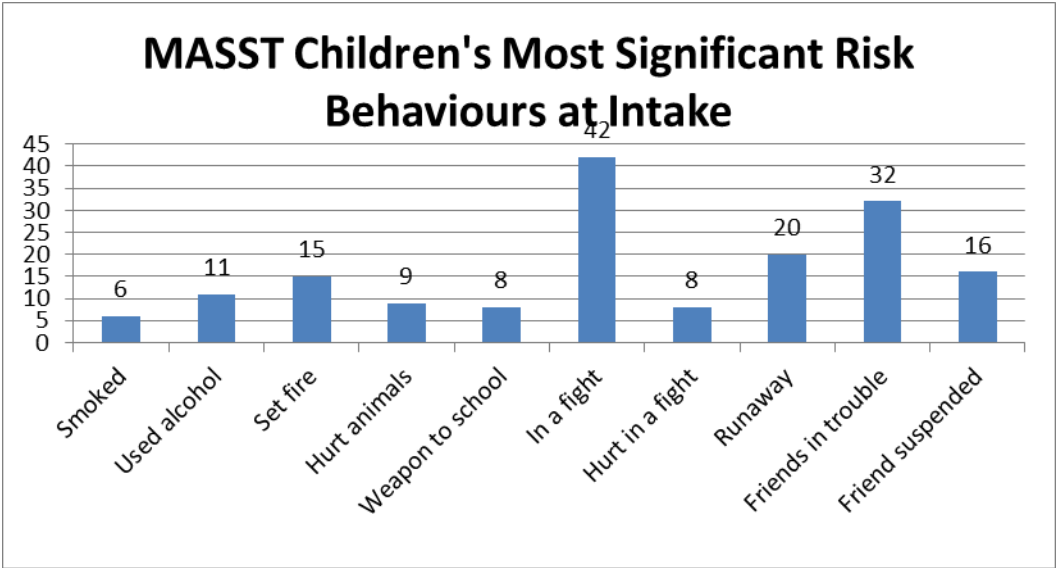
Source: MASST Evaluation Report, p. 26

There seems to be a correlation between poor performance at school and perceived risk for future criminality and victimization. For example, 58% of males 55% of females accepted into the program performed below the grade standard (MASST Evaluation Report, 28).



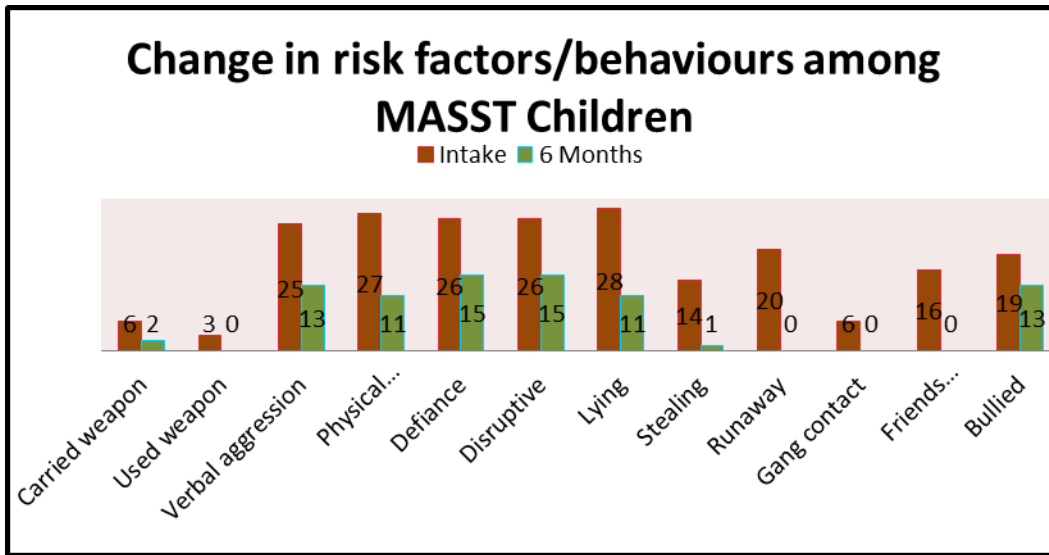
Source: MASST Evaluation Report, p. 28

The table below illustrates the behaviours presented by children accepted into the program.



Source: MASST Evaluation Report, p. 32

The chart below shows various key indicators of change. Of note is an overall decline in risky behaviours and risk factors. Of particular interest is the significant decline in verbal and physical aggression, incidence of runaways, defiance, being punished for lying or stealing or being disruptive. In fact, during the six-month assessment period, MASST recorded no new incidence of runaway, use of a weapon or gang contact (MASST Evaluation Report, 28).



Source: MASST Evaluation Report, p. 37

#### Survey Results

The MASST has a total of 10 people working directly in the program. This number includes 4 full time police officers, 4 full time social workers, one police supervisor and one social worker supervisors. The participation rate in the survey was very low with only one police officer, one social worker and one supervisor participating, resulting in a 30% participation rate. The gender breakdown for MASST workers is 50% female and 50% male. The age range of workers is from 39 to 62 years old.

#### Program Observations

According to the respondents, data collection and the evaluation process were initially problematic. Little elaboration was offered, however an inference as to issues around refining data content and responsibility for collection is probably fairly accurate. Given the scope and breadth of the subsequent evaluation reports produced by the program, these initial concerns seem to have been addressed.

All respondents indicated that the MASST program's greatest strength was the collaboration that allowed for efficient information sharing between the partners. The collaboration's overarching forte is seen as the depth and breadth the partners' skills, abilities and expertise bring to bear upon the issues. For example, a teacher with a child acting out in class could use a MASST to ascertain any issues at home. Conversely, teachers regularly provide information about program participants' school performance which occasionally differs from parents' self-report.

Other factors indicated by several respondents as vital to the program's success are its early intervention mandate and long-term focus. Getting to kids before they develop serious behavioural issues is indicated as a key strategy by the respondents. The program's long-term focus allows MASST members to offer services beyond simple 'band-aid' solutions. One respondent used the medical analogy of being able to treat the cause instead of just the symptom to illustrate the expansiveness of their program. Of note, both indicated positive factors are foreign to the traditional policing model and certainly suggest a CP philosophy basis.

Another engaging aspect of the MASST program indicated by all respondents is the opportunity to serve as positive role models for children. The mentorship aspect of their work was universally cited as both rewarding and invigorating. The chance to work with an entire family, not just the child in program gave MASST members a sense of being able to effect real sustainable change. Being able to build up a child's and a family's self-esteem and self-confidence is beyond what traditional policing allows and was indicated as immensely gratifying.

Some of the success of the program must be attributed to MASST members' dedication to 'their kids'. Team members ensure kid and parents have their cell phone numbers and they understand they are always available. The spirit of this level of dedication is summed up by one of the respondents when she said, "We don't leave kids hanging!" This level of dedication is not often seen in traditional policing practices.

When prompted to discuss supervision, respondents indicated that the program's mandate is expansive enough to allow them to cover a wide range of circumstances. Their respective supervisors encourage sufficient latitude to do what they need to do to connect with kids. None of the respondents indicated any roadblocks or impediments to success attributed to supervisory action or inaction

#### Best Practices

Unlike the two previously reviewed programs, the MASST program actually engaged CPS analysts to research best practices prior to implementation. Though it has no North American benchmark to compare to, some general guidelines did evolve. One in particular was the necessity for MASST members to engage with the wider community in order to fulfill their mandate. Respondents indicate that they make concerted efforts to develop and maintain a relationship not only within the wider social services community but also amongst the business community. For example, MASST members regularly leverage the relationship already in place between the Forzani Group (sports equipment retailers) and the Power Play sports program, a

CPS initiative aimed at introducing underprivileged youth to sports they might not have had an opportunity to participate in previously. Similarly, MASST members have developed relationships with other organizations such as the FoodBank and the YWCA and YMCA.

### Training

Very little was suggested to enhance CPS training beyond publicizing the existence of MASST to frontline police officers. In general terms, increased training for all CPS members as to youth intervention strategies, recognition of students at risk, and mental health issues were cited as being helpful.

In contrast to the two previous programs examined, the MASST respondents report very few criticisms or shortcomings of their program. I'm unsure as to the exact reasoning behind this reticence, though there might be a political reason behind it. The Chief of Police has touted MASST on numerous occasions as the flagship program in his crime prevention and reduction continuum. He has publicly extolled its virtues on numerous occasions. It is widely believed that MASST will continue to exist beyond its pilot project phase, which is significantly more than can be said of the other programs examined in this paper. That being said, it is conceivable that this tacit endorsement has somehow coloured MASST respondents' low participation rate and responses. However, there is nothing overtly stated or implied in any recorded response that would indicate this.

### ***Youth At Risk Development***

#### Overview

The Youth At Risk Development (YARD) program is the only one of the four reviewed in this paper to have evolved beyond the pilot project phase. It began in 2006 as part of the CPS gang strategy, which focused on education, prevention, disruption, and investigation. By February 2008, YARD had become a permanent addition to the CPS. The YARD program was created to address and proactively deal with youth who are gang-involved or at risk of engaging in gang-related activity. It is a voluntary program that targets youth between the ages of 10 and 17 in Calgary. To participate, youth do not need to be involved in the criminal justice system or have committed a criminal offence. The YARD program is not time-limited, and program duration varies by participant.

The YARD model features two police officers teamed with two registered social workers who are also youth probation officers from Community and Neighbourhood Services Children and

Youth Services Division. This collaboration focuses on providing direct support as well as referrals to community supports to eligible youth and their families.

The YARD program uses a social development approach to provide a range of prevention and intervention programming to Calgary youths at risk of becoming gang-involved. Its overall goal is to prevent or reduce youth gang membership and thus enhance public safety. YARD program workers develop partnerships with various community agencies in order to offer a wide-range of programming targeting youth gang members and youth at risk of gang involvement (YARD Final Evaluation Report, 10). These efforts are targeted at helping youth make smart choices that will prevent further criminal activities and gang involvement.

The theoretical foundation of the YARD program is based on emerging academic research on multidisciplinary school based intervention strategies focused on reducing future gang involvement. Though the scope of this paper precludes an in depth analysis of that research, a limited bibliography of selected research outlining the theoretical basis of the YARD program, including official abstracts, is included as **Appendix F**.

Review of Evaluations

As of January 31, 2012 YARD has 69 participants (YARD Activity Progress Report, 2). Based on a series of assessment forms targeting the youth, parents and teachers, the following table illustrates the various risk factors present in YARD’s participants.

<b>Gang-related risk factors</b>		
	<b>Have risk factors (n=69)</b>	
	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>
Gangs present in community	54	78%
Friends or associates involved in gang activity	50	73%
Gang presence in school (previous or current)	39	57%
Youth wears items/has tattoos with gang insignia	12	17%
Parental gang involvement	5	7%
Sibling gang involvement	5	7%

Source: YARD Activity Progress Report, 2

Since YARD completed its pilot phase and became a regular unit of the CPS, it has amassed the following statistics:

<b>Overall Statistics since 2008</b>	
Referrals to YARD	272
Refused to participate	111
Closed	82
Successful/Graduated	15
Other (Waitlist, Assessment, Active)	72

Source: YARD Activity Progress Report, 5

YARD evaluators do not analyze it, however it might be interesting to compare pre and post criminality of the group who were referred to the program but refused to participate and those participants who graduated from the program. Instead evaluators conducted a series of 14 case studies with participants who had been in the YARD program for at least 6 months. The evaluation consisted of a review of the case files and over 40 interviews with the youths, parents and YARD team members. Despite some significant limitations to the validity of the study including lack of a comparison group, the study compiled the following results:

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Result</b>
Average length of time in YARD	471 days
Average Age	16.7 years
Male	14
<b>Gang Status</b>	
Gang-Involved	4
At risk of gang involvement	8
<b>Status In Program as of December 31,2010</b>	
Active	10
Graduated	1
Dropped Out	3

Source: YARD Final Evaluation Report, 22

### Survey Results

The YARD program has a total of 5 people working directly in the program. This number includes 2 full time police officers, 2 full time social workers, and one police supervisor. The participation rate in the survey was 50%. The MASST police supervisor is also the YARD program



supervisor. The gender breakdown for YARD workers is 60% female and 40% male. The age range of workers is from 40 to 49 years old. Only police officers chose to participate in this survey.

### Program Observations

For both respondents, the bureaucracy of the partner agencies was sometimes difficult to understand and navigate. It occasionally resulted in some minor difficulties maintaining strong partnerships. Unlike traditional police partnerships, these collaborative ones needed constant attention to sustain. From time to time, this ongoing need to nurture partnerships became a distraction. Though this issue has largely resolved itself, organizational culture differences remain at the forefront of their attention. One of the respondents mused at the practicality of partner agencies having input into the hiring practices or decisions of the other partners. Though this is a principle of CP, this level of trust and cooperation is probably quite rare. And it would appear as if this collaboration hasn't reached that level yet. True collaboration must foster partnering which involves genuine negotiations between the partners about power.

The program's waiting list is also a concern for both respondents. They once had a nine-month waiting list to get into YARD. Though this wait-time has now been reduced significantly, the constant demand for service means YARD still has a waiting list of several months. This is unacceptable to both respondents. Though they conjectured that increased funding might solve that issue, other efficiencies might reduce the waiting list. Streamlining information flow with the creation of a database was one suggestion.

Sustainability of ongoing funding is an overarching concern for both respondents. The uncertainty of where the net round of funding will come from is somewhat stressful. They would like to see the partners commit to resourcing the program regardless of the funding source, as the CPS has.

Despite some fairly substantial issues being raised, the respondents thoroughly enjoy the flexibility to meet the various needs of their clients that their positions allow. They feel that they have plenty of leeway to make decisions without having to run them by a supervisor first. This flattening of reporting requirements is absolutely critical to any community-policing program.

The respondents also appreciate the YARD program's latitude in assessing individual participant success. For some youth, simply graduating from high school is a huge success. For others getting a job is a success. Though absence of criminal behavior is the best overall indicator of success, keeping kids out of gangs is the ultimate goal. What was quite surprising was the respondent's overall enthusiasm and love for what they were doing. Even after it was pointed out

that they couldn't possibly control a youth's family influence, peer influence or economic status, they maintained their belief that the diversion options they were providing were successful. One respondent indicated that it is ill advised to discount the strength of simply providing youth with positive adult male and female role models.

### Best Practices

As with the other programs reviewed, best practice remains subjective in the YARD program. A meeting several years ago with workers in other similar programs across Canada proved to YARD members that they had by far the most professionally organized and run program. In fact, YARD has spun off a program called Youth Quest, which is being administered by the Centre for Newcomers. It offers services similar to YARD to young adults.

The respondents were quick to indicate that YARD was in fact modeled on best practices supported by academic research. For example, prevention and intervention is allegedly a more efficient strategy for reducing gang activity than suppression. The same goes for offering treatment and using a variety of available resources. Ultimately, both respondents believe that the wrap-around resourcing and intervention they provide is best practice and key to success.

### Training

One respondent indicated he would like to see a focus on teaching recruits the value of recognizing the innate dignity of all human beings. This would take a true culture shift but believes it is possible. Simply getting to know a person can have such a positive impact on future behavior, however this isn't commonly practiced. His experience in YARD has unequivocally proven this to him. He further suggested that a greater awareness of the tools and programs available to the frontline officers would be a great asset. He suggested that, based on his experience and observation, the current frontline deployment model called 'Community Team' policing doesn't seem to allow personnel to get to know their community very well.

Another respondent suggested that frontline officers are generalists and cannot expect to have the same knowledge base as officers in specialty units. The key to increasing service capacity in all aspects of policing is to have supervisors in specialty positions strive to hold frontline personnel responsible for their decision and actions.

**Section Conclusion:** Based on the responses to the survey, it is clear that efforts to sustain meaningful and innovative partnerships with community organizations remain profoundly challenging for the police. Moving away from an organizational culture that manages via rules and procedures to one that "fosters a culture of creative problem solving by espousing a 'plural

policing' view of the world" is problematic at best, but not insurmountable (Wood and Bradley, 138). That reality should not impede ongoing efforts to expand the CP philosophy. A commitment to policing through partnerships firmly expresses a commitment to democratic ideals (Wood & Bradley, 142).

## Conclusion

For the CPS, the movement towards CP has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary. CP remains an add-on, "not a replacement for traditional policing structures and practices" (Mastrofski et al, 233). Like many other police services, the CPS adheres to the belief that the implementation of change must proceed incrementally to maximize the chance of success. Some academics doom this approach to failure insisting, "fundamental change cannot be accomplished piece-meal, slowly, gradually, and comfortably" (Williams, 123 quoting Gersick, 1991: 34).

Some of the information uncovered suggests that new programs are sometimes grafted onto old philosophies, organizational designs, and management practices (Williams, 121). While traditional policing activities remain at the core of the CPS these practices are not at odds with CP. Rather, the findings of this study suggest that "CP has caused a second layer of concepts to be placed on top of" traditional policing practices (Pelfrey, 597). Community and traditional policing practices are not, after all, mutually exclusive.

The CPS operates more than two-dozen programs that qualify as CP endeavors. The four that I examined illustrate numerous issues inherent in collaborative efforts:

- Some staff may resist giving up or sharing power
- The rules and regulations of partner agencies sometimes make it difficult to coordinate services, information, and staff
- Differences in training and corporate culture can make it difficult for staff from different agencies to work together
- The development of collaborative partnerships with community agencies should not be rushed-partnership building takes time

The review of those same programs also provided examples of numerous strengths in collaborative policing:

- Reduces the fragmentation of services
- Builds a comprehensive support system for victims or people at-risk for becoming involved in crime
- Increases the knowledge of service professionals working within the collaborative projects

Any single strength uncovered in this survey far outweighs the sum of the problems uncovered. The findings offered in this paper lead me to conclude there is little doubt that the CPS is philosophically and operationally committed to expanding its CP practices. The fundamental issue surrounding the majority of these CP programs is one not explored within this paper, that of sustainability. The CPS currently has 14 different CP projects being externally funded. This means that those programs draw their funding not from the CPS budget but from other sources. Though I was unable to discover a specific plan to address the eventual funding deficit, I'm hopeful one exists and the various programs are not doomed to stall at the pilot stage. In the end, the true measure of adherence to the CP philosophy will be gauged in the commitment the CPS shows to these programs and its various partners.

The question I posed at the start of this paper asked if the CPS's implementation of its community-policing model had successfully positioned it as agent of democratic social change. During the course of my discussion I suggested that democratic policing must involve public accountability and be subject to the rule of law. Further, equity and respect for the inherent human dignity of all people must guide interactions with every citizen. Based upon everything I've learned, from the CPS business planning and stakeholder engagement process to the CP programs themselves, I conclude the CPS practices democratic policing. The inherent transparency and accountability of the various programs and processes leads me this conclusion. Unfortunately, I cannot correlate the existence of democratic policing in Calgary facilitating or even inspiring social change.

When change makes its way through a social system, it is likely to generate a chain reaction and to progressively affect all the elements of the system (Boudon, 145). The degree of change needed to provide an affirmative answer to the research question is significantly greater than that which CP has so far achieved. It takes not only a cultural change within the police organization but also throughout the larger society. While I still believe citizen empowerment is the eventual potential of community-based policing, we are still decades away from that goal (Wang, 69). I do believe that each police officer can be an agent of cultural change who has the potential to spread new ways of thinking and doing to the rest of society (Wood & Bradley, 143). That kind of cultural change takes place "one person at a time" (Wood & Bradley, 139).

The persistence of police culture has been considered a serious obstacle to reform such as CP. It has been theorized that aspects of police work such as its ambiguous and often futile nature have resulted in cultural adaptations of isolation, suspicion and extreme group cohesion (Manning

& Skolnick). In other words; police officers operate in a highly dangerous and demanding environment. To deal with the strains created by their work environment, they develop coping mechanisms. This has given rise to the stereotypically cynical and dogmatic police personality that television and movies like to portray. Without a doubt, this type of culture is inconsistent with the values of CP. But changing police culture is not as difficult as some researchers would suggest.

Any organization's culture comprises the sum total of its goals, roles, processes, values, communications practices, attitudes and assumptions. All of these elements are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Because of this, any attempts to change organizational culture with a single-fix change are doomed to failure. No one program or practice can hope to effect lasting cultural change in a police organization. Fundamental cultural change must stem from a clear and concise mission statement that embraces CP principles. That philosophy should strive towards continuous learning and improvement while accepting only respectful leadership. Management must only make decisions that are in line with the mission statement and the underlying CP philosophy. When business is done internally in the spirit of CP, it becomes simple to motivate officers and employees to embrace a CP philosophy and practices. In a perfect situation, culture change should precede adoption of a CP philosophy. However, experience has shown me that culture change is often predicated on our ability to develop meaningful partnerships with the community. The one begets the other.

## **Recommendations**

It takes a deeper understanding of the social meaning of policing to offer solutions that don't automatically jump to getting tougher on crime as the only answer. CP reminds us all that the "public good is best served when present-day police services promote future-oriented crime prevention" (Kerley & Benson, 48 quoting Thurman, 176: 1995).

## **Future Research**

This evaluation shows that the promise of CP in Calgary have only been realized to a limited extent. There continues to be a gap between the theory and implementation of CP. Further studies into this area are called for in order to bridge the distance between the theory and practice of CP. Police have traditionally had difficulty translating technical research findings into operational decisions (Rosenbaum, 144).

## **Police Training and Recruitment**

Building a CP organization takes a great deal more than simply having CP programs; you also need administrative innovations in police training and recruitment. Overall, recruit selection and training programs recruitment should focus on the spirit of service (Williams, 125). Changing recruit training from the military-oriented to a curriculum more in tune with the new role demanded by CP is essential. Recruit and in-service training must focus on helping officers develop the new skill sets needed in collaborative problem solving. Thus training in problem solving, mediation, and leadership will help police officers be “more accepting of and confident in new approaches to police work” (Peaslee, 123).

The police officer of the 21st century will become recognized as a knowledge worker. Overall organizational effectiveness will depend more and more on the intellectual capabilities of employees. Information gathering and processing will emerge as the core duty of police officers. Even now the capacity to acquire and apply theoretical and analytical knowledge in their work is emerging as a fundamental requirement of the police role (Walsh, 21).

Traditional recruitment processes feature systems designed to exclude rather than select candidates. For example, the relevance of traditional disqualifying factors such as credit history is questionable. The most effective recruitment and selection processes are those that are completed quickly and allow a candidate to move swiftly from application to employment decision points. Those police services burdened with cumbersome recruitment and selection processes will frustrate applicants and drive them to seek employment elsewhere. That is not acceptable in an increasingly competitive labour market.

An underlying goal of heightened community engagement is the improvement of police recruitment of minority officers. A major impediment in creating interest amongst visible minority groups to work for police is their past experience with police systems in their home countries. Concerted and ongoing community outreach is the only cure for that issue. The written examination process of police recruiting is often cited as discouraging to minority candidates as well. The prospect of taking a test in their second language is often very daunting. A simple fix for that issue would be to alter the time restrictions for immigrant candidates as compared to Canadian born ones.

An interesting long-term effort to break down some of these barriers with minority communities in Calgary is the Power Play program. The Calgary Police Service has partnered with Hockey Calgary to provide a hockey training program for youth who have barriers that would

otherwise keep them from learning to play hockey. Ice time, coaches and equipment are provided free of charge. The majority of participants are from minority communities. Another community program that might have long-term positive repercussions for police recruiting in Calgary is the Police Cadet Corps program.

Based on the Canadian Military Cadet system, this program was developed as a means to engage youth in a positive way. While most of the program's activities are focused on policing, the underlying goal is to foster leadership ability and cultural tolerance amongst Calgary youth by focusing on the ongoing development of social, academic and physical skills. Further long-term strategies such as these two are needed to increase recruitment amongst minority communities.

### **Policy and Procedure**

CP demands the redefinition of roles and responsibilities for both citizens and police. This is probably the greatest challenge to successful implementation of CP; citizens aren't being adequately apprised of their new roles. It's no longer sufficient for citizens to report crimes and provide information. CP requires citizens become part of the problem-solving process. To that end, CPS needs to devise and implement a broad marketing strategy to increase public awareness and involvement in CP activities (Chermak and Weiss, 156). This will invariably mean additional personnel and resources will be needed to market CP.

Any type of organizational reform, such as CP, must be accompanied by a corresponding change in organizational structure (Zhao et al, 225). Traditional paramilitary bureaucratic management structure often "imposes a punitive style of supervision that is a disincentive to risk-taking and creativity necessary for the problem-solving orientation of CP" (Williams, 125). The current paramilitary management structure must evolve to "de-emphasize discipline and focus on leadership" (Williams, 125). This must include avoiding the use of performance management systems that may have considerable negative side effects. There has to be an overall organizational emphasis on "pushing decision making down to the lowest level of responsibility" (Williams, 125).

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## **Appendix A**

### **Calgary Police Service Core Values**

"All members of the Calgary Police Service are expected to adhere to the core values of the Service, conducting themselves at all times with honesty, integrity, respect, fairness and compassion, and courage."

#### **Honesty**

Tell the truth with candour in a way that is clear and to the point.

#### **Integrity**

Display actions and express oneself in a manner consistent with the values of the Service.

#### **Respect**

Treat all people with value and decency. Listen to the views of others and maintain open communication.

#### **Fairness and Compassion**

Deal with people fairly and in a manner that displays empathy and understanding.

#### **Courage**

Take a stand on issues of value and importance to oneself and the Service. Make decisions and take action regardless of the possible consequences, to maintain public safety.

#### **Mission - "To maximize public safety in Calgary with vigilance, courage and pride"**

The Calgary Police Service, in concert with other agencies and the citizens of Calgary, is instrumental in preserving the quality of life in our community by maintaining Calgary as a secure place in which to live. In so doing, we are dedicated philosophically and operationally to the concept of community-based policing.

CP is, quite simply, police officers and Calgarians working together, in partnership, to prevent crime, and finding long-lasting solutions to the problems that threaten safety and order.

CP emphasizes; peacekeeping

- problem-solving
- crime prevention
- constructive alternatives to law enforcement for some offences or offenders
- the participation of the community

What is the Key to CP? Consulting with our communities. We work with Calgarians in many ways, and in many places, to learn:

- community priorities

- the needs of crime victims
- the best way to deliver services
- the effectiveness and quality of our services
- the requirements of the law enforcement and criminal justice environment

Our primary focus is on crime prevention, crime detection and apprehension, and traffic safety. Our most effective tools are:

- positive community relations
- education
- problem-solving and
- use of current technology to analyze conditions, project trends and deploy resources

### **Our Guiding Principles**

To promote an understanding that the true measure of police effectiveness is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

To secure the cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of laws by encouraging understanding and communication between the citizens of Calgary and their Police Service.

To maximize individual and collective skills within the Service in terms of crime prevention, crime detection and traffic safety.

To promote a professional police image by demonstrating impartial service to the law, and by offering service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to gender, race, religious beliefs, colour, ancestry or place of origin.

To use only the minimum force required on any particular occasion, and only when persuasion, advice, and warning are found to be insufficient to obtain public observance of the law.

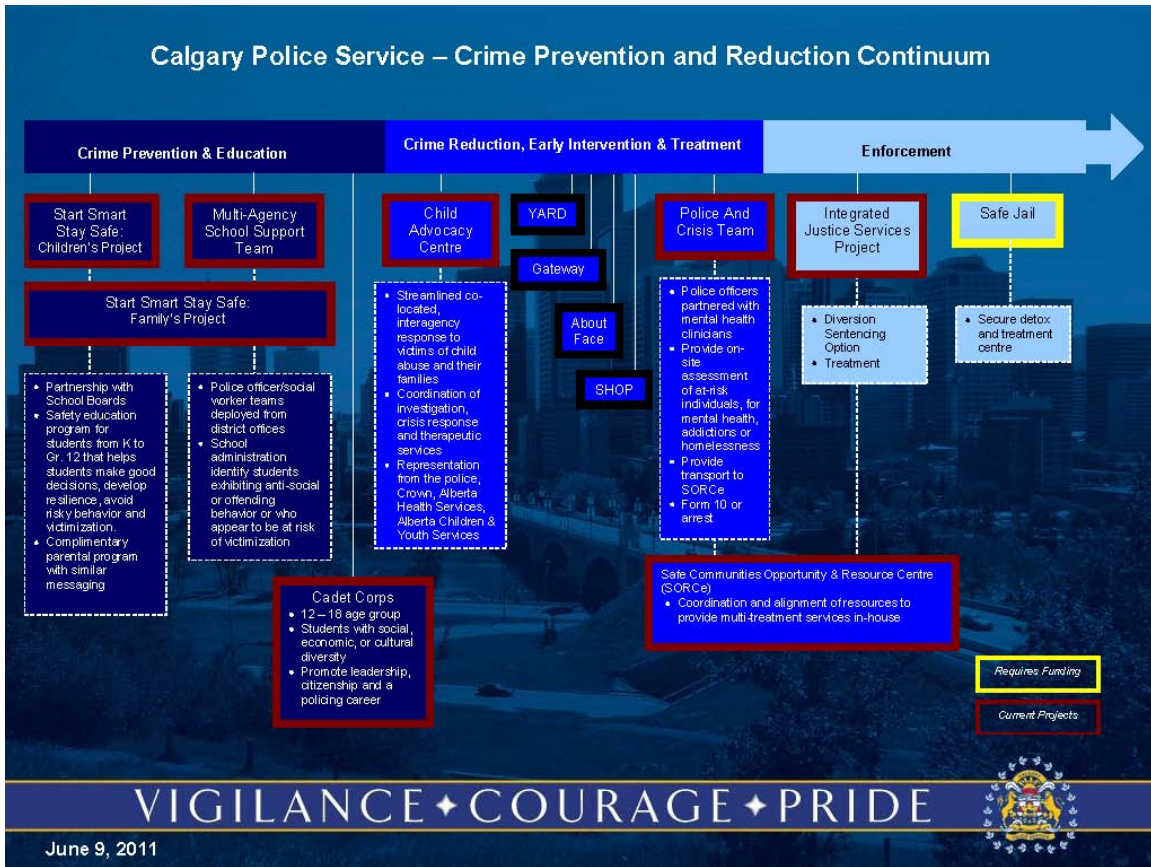
To recruit qualified candidates who reflect the diversity of the community.

To provide training, education and developmental capability within the Service that maximizes the potential of all members.

To achieve the foregoing within an acceptable cost framework.

Source: Calgary Police Service Website - <http://www.calgarypolice.ca/about-corevalues.html>

# Appendix B





## Appendix C

### Domestic Conflict Response Team

**Baldry, Anna C. (2003). Bullying in schools and exposure to domestic violence. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 27(7):713–732.**

**Abstract:** The study aimed to investigate the relationship between bullying and victimization in school and exposure to inter-parental violence in a nonclinical sample of Italian youngsters. **Methods:** A cross-sectional study was conducted with a sample of 1059 Italian elementary and middle school students. Participants completed a self-report anonymous questionnaire measuring bullying and victimization and exposure to inter-parental violence. The questionnaire also included measures on parental child abuse and socio-demographic variables. **Results:** Almost half of all boys and girls reported different types of bullying and victimization in the previous 3 months, with boys more involved than girls in bullying others. Exposure to inter-parental physical violence and direct bullying were significantly associated especially for girls: girls exposed to father's violence against the mother and those exposed to mother's violence against the father were among the most likely to bully directly others compared with girls who had not been exposed to any inter-parental violence. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed that bullying and victimization were predicted by exposure to inter-parental violence, especially mother-to-father violence, over and above age, gender, and child abuse by the father. **Conclusions:** Exposure to inter-parental violence is associated with bullying and victimization in school, even after controlling for direct child abuse. Violence within the family has detrimental effects on the child's behavior; schools, in this regard, can play a fundamental role in early detection of maladjustment.

**Campbell, Jacquelyn C. & Linda A. Lewandowski (1997). Mental and physical health effects of intimate partner violence on women and children. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 20(2):353–374.**

**Abstract:** It is well recognized that the battering of female partners is a significant health problem that affects at least 4.4 million women in this country each year according to a recent national random survey. That survey, however, does not include women battered but not actually living with the abusive intimate partner, those either in a "dating" relationship or having separated from him (or her) and still being abused. Both of those categories also involve significant numbers of battered women. Battering is defined here as repeated physical or sexual assault by an intimate partner within a context of coercive control. The emotional abuse that is almost always part of the coercive control also has serious psychological consequences according to women themselves, but the actual effects on women's health seldom have been measured separately. The increased health problems and health care seeking of physically battered women, however, are well documented. Plichta<sup>109</sup> found that women physically abused by a spouse or live-in partner were significantly more likely than other women to define their health as fair or poor, to have been diagnosed with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and other gynecologic problems, and to say they had needed medical care but did not get it. The University of New Hampshire national random survey data showed the same finding of fair or poor health status, and also demonstrated that severely battered women had almost twice the number of days in bed due to illness than other women.<sup>61</sup> In the survey by Brendtro and Bowker of self-identified battered women who had successfully ended the violence, the majority of women had sought help from

medical professionals, a higher proportion than from other sources of help. In the few recent studies of primary care settings, incidence (assaulted within the past year) of battered women from self-report (rather than record review) has ranged from 5% to 25%. The strongest risk factor for identification of battered women in one of the primary care settings was depressive symptoms found that not only the battered women in the HMO studied but also their children used health services six to eight times more often than did controls. Thus, it is important for scholars and clinicians in both the physical and mental health fields to understand, further investigate, and recognize the physical and mental health effects of intimate partner violence on battered women and their children. This article reviews the pertinent research in the field and makes suggestions for better health care services for this vulnerable population.

**Casey, R.L., Berkman, M., Stover, C.S., Gill, K., Durso, S., & Marans, S. (2007). Preliminary results of a police-advocate home-visit intervention project for Victims of domestic violence. *Journal of Psychological Trauma, 61: 39-49.***

**Abstract:** A police-advocate home-visit intervention project was conducted with 204 women who were victims of domestic violence requiring police intervention. These women, who resided with their children at the time of the incident, received law enforcement-advocacy services through a home-visit project conducted by neighborhood patrol officers and battered women's advocates. A comparison group of battered women, receiving the intervention, and a matched group of battered women, receiving standard police intervention, revealed a significant reduction in calls for police service for the intervention group, for a 12-month period following the intervention. Additional investigation is required to fully understand the reason for this difference and the potential utility of this type of domestic violence intervention.

**Davis, Robert C., David Weisburd & Bruce Taylor (2008). Effects of Second Responder Programs on Repeated Incidents of Family Abuse: A Systemic Review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews: 15.***

**Abstract:** Second responder programs are based on the premises that family violence often recurs and that victims are likely to be especially receptive to crime prevention opportunities immediately following victimization. A team usually consisting of a police officer and a victim advocate follow-up on the initial police response to a family violence complaint provides the victim with information on services and legal options and may warn those perpetrators present at the follow-up of the legal consequences of continued abuse. The purpose of the intervention is to reduce the likelihood of a new offense by helping victims to understand the cyclical nature of family violence, develop a safety plan, obtain a restraining order, increase their knowledge about legal rights and options, and provide shelter placement or other relocation assistance. A secondary aim of the intervention with victims may be to establish greater independence for victims through counseling, job training, public assistance, or other social service referrals. The intervention has spread widely, with support from the U.S. Department of Justice. Objectives: To assess the effect of second responder programs on repeat incidents of family violence. Main results: The second response intervention increased slightly the odds that a household would report another family violence incident to the police. No effect of the intervention was found on reports of new abuse based on victim surveys. Conclusions: The results suggest that the second response intervention does not affect the likelihood of new incidents of family violence. However, the intervention slightly increases victims' willingness to report incidents to the police, possibly as a result of greater confidence in the police.

**Davis, R.C., Weisburd, D., & Hamilton, E.E. (2001). Preventing repeat incidents of family violence: A randomized field test of a second responder program in Redlands, CA. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.**

**Abstract:** Second Responders programs were originally developed in the 1980s to help victims of repeat incidents of family violence (including intimate partner abuse, abuse within families or households, and elder abuse). Second Responders programs follow from the understanding that incidents of family violence are often recurring and that victims are likely to be receptive to opportunities to prevent recurrence immediately following victimization. Second responders (usually social workers and police officers) visit the homes where family violence incidents were recently reported to the police. They work with victims to help them find long-term solutions to recurring abuse.

This model was adopted for use with the Redlands (Calif.) Police Department. The goal of the Redlands Second Responders program was to ensure that victims had information about and access to available resources and services, to answer any questions victims may have had about the complaint or the justice process, and to encourage a sense of trust in the police and criminal justice system as a whole.

**Davis, R.C. & Taylor, B. (1997). Evaluating a proactive police response to domestic violence: The results of a randomized experiment. Criminology, 35: 307-333.**

**Abstract:** Recent British work has focused attention on preventing repeat victimization as part of an overall crime prevention strategy. Because domestic violence victims are among those most likely to suffer multiple victimizations, they are logical candidates for programs targeted at reducing repeat victimization. This article reports on a joint law enforcement-social services approach to reduce the incidence of repeat domestic violence. The research design randomly assigned households reporting domestic incidents within two public housing police service areas in New York to receive or not receive a follow-up to the initial patrol response. (The follow-up visit was conducted by a police officer and a social worker.) In addition, housing projects in the same area were randomly assigned to receive or not receive public education about domestic violence. Neither treatment produced a reduction in violence. However, households in projects that had received public education and households that received the follow-up visits were both more likely to report new violence to the police than households that did not receive the treatments. Moreover, the effect of the follow-up visit was most pronounced among households with more serious histories of violence. The results suggest that the interventions increased citizens' confidence in the ability of the police to handle domestic situations.

**Davis, R.C., Maxwell, C. & Taylor, B. (2006). Preventing repeat incidents of family violence: Analysis of data from three field experiments. Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2: 183-210.**

**Abstract:** Preventing repeat victimization is an area of criminology that has shown particular promise in recent years. Based on the premise that persons once victimized are at higher risk than others for future victimization, British officials developed successful programs that focus crime prevention efforts on victims. Of all crimes, family violence may have the highest repeat rate, especially in the first weeks after an incident is reported to the police. Accordingly, New York City officials developed an intervention program to reduce repeat incidents of family abuse. Three field experiments conducted during the 1990s evaluated whether or not this program, targeted at public housing residents who reported family violence to the police, reduced the rate of

subsequent victimization. The findings produced within each study were not consistent across the studies; rather, these three experiments, separately analyzed, produce varying results. Since the composition of the samples varied across studies, however, one possible explanation is that this program has different effects within different populations. This paper reports outcomes from a series of analyses of pooled data from these three studies to address the inconsistencies. The results indicate that the intervention brought about greater reporting of subsequent abuse both to authorities and to research interviewers. The results are invariant across the three studies, indicating that greater reporting of abuse is not idiosyncratic to one particular population, and are consistent across the nature and source of outcome measures. These findings suggest the need for careful monitoring by the advocates and agencies that operate these types of programs and among those designing and testing future programs.

**Hovell, M.F., Seid, A.G., & Liles, S. (2006). Evaluation of a police and social services Domestic violence program: Empirical evidence needed to inform public health policies. *Violence Against Women, 12*: 137-159.**

**Abstract:** The Family Violence Response Team (FVRT) responded to police calls for domestic violence and provided services to victims. Police records were followed for (a) 327 FVRT clients with an index police visit in 1998 and (b) 498 non-concurrent controls with an index visit in 1997. Except for marriage, no demographic characteristics were associated with batterer recidivism, as measured by police calls. The between-group odds ratio (OR) suggested that FVRT clients experienced a 1.7 (95% Confidence Interval [CI]: 1.2 to 2.5) times greater recidivism rate than controls. Although increased reporting cannot be ruled out, results raise concerns about the effects of domestic violence interventions. Keywords: domestic violence programs; Family Violence Response Team (FVRT); police; social services Much of the early research on domestic violence (DV) focused on shelter program clients, though the degree to which shelter programs prevent re-victimization is yet to be demonstrated (Wathen & MacMillan, 2003). More recent research has focused on assessments of prevention of DV events, at least after an initial attack. Studies have been conducted on two main types of programs: (a) police interventions and (b) police and social service interventions. This report describes an evaluation of a program of the latter type, the Family Violence Response Team (FVRT). The FVRT was created and members trained to provide social services to victims and children following a police call for DV.

**McIntosh, Jennifer (2003). Children living with domestic violence: Research foundations for early intervention. *Journal of Family Studies, 9*(2): 219-234.**

**Abstract:** The impact of violence between parents or caregivers on a child's inner world is complex. Over recent years, researchers have gained vital knowledge about the workings of trauma in children induced by family violence. Of particular, power has been definitive evidence about the potential for inter-spousal trauma to disrupt neurological and biochemical pathways in the developing child. From their respective vantage points, clinicians and researchers name the imperative for the early identification of children traumatized by domestic violence, in the service of preventing acute trauma symptoms from becoming embedded in development, at all levels of the child's functioning. This paper reviews recent evidence about the developmental impact on children of living in violent homes, with the aim of establishing a research-based rationale for early intervention.

**Shepard, Melanie F., Dennis R. Falk, Barbara A. Elliott (2002). Enhancing Coordinated Community Responses to Reduce Recidivism in Cases of Domestic Violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(5): 551-569.**

**Abstract:** This study evaluated the effectiveness of a project designed to enhance coordinated community responses by examining recidivism rates. Project enhancements included expanded danger assessment and information sharing among criminal justice practitioners and advocates. When compared to a baseline period, results indicated that offenders had significantly lower rates of recidivism after the project was implemented. There were steady declines in the number of recidivists over 3 years of the project, beginning in the pilot year and decreasing significantly during the intervention years. Logistic regression procedures found two variables that were significantly related to offenders not having recidivated during all years of the study: the offender having been court mandated to attend the Men's Nonviolence Program and the offender having completed the program. There was evidence to support the use by probation officers of a danger assessment tool to predict recidivism

**Stover, C.S., Poole, G, & Marans, S. (2009). The domestic violence home visit Intervention: Impact on police reported incidents of repeat violence over twelve months. *Violence and Victims*, 24(5):591-606**

**Abstract:** The domestic violence home-visit intervention (DVHVI) provides home visits by police-advocate teams within 72-hours of domestic incident to provide safety, psycho-education, mental health, legal, or additional police assistance. Clinical and police record data were collected for 512 cases, and repeat calls to the police were tracked for 12 months. Analyses revealed that women who engaged with the DVHVI were more likely to contact the police for subsequent events than those who received no or minimal DVHVI contact. Hispanic women served by Spanish-speaking advocate-officer teams were the most likely to utilize services and call the police for subsequent incidents.

**Wolfe, David A., Claire V. Crooks, Vivien Lee, Alexandra McIntyre-Smith and Peter G. Jaffe. The Effects of Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence: A Meta-Analysis and Critique. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 6(3): 171-187.**

**Abstract:** A wide range of children's developmental outcomes are compromised by exposure to domestic violence, including social, emotional, behavioral, cognitive, and general health functioning. However, there are relatively few empirical studies with adequate control of confounding variables and a sound theoretical basis. We identified 41 studies that provided relevant and adequate data for inclusion in a meta-analysis. Forty of these studies indicated that children's exposure to domestic violence was related to emotional and behavioral problems, translating to a small overall effect ( $Z r = .28$ ). Age, sex, and type of outcome were not significant moderators, most likely due to considerable heterogeneity within each of these groups. Co-occurrence of child abuse increased the level of emotional and behavioral problems above and beyond exposure alone, based on 4 available studies. Future research needs are identified, including the need for large-scale longitudinal data and theoretically guided approaches that take into account relevant contextual factors.

**Wolfe, David A. & Peter G. Jaffe (1999). Emerging Strategies in the Prevention of Domestic Violence. *The Future of Children*, 9(3): 133-144.**

**Abstract:** Responses to domestic violence have focused, to date, primarily on intervention after the problem has already been identified and harm has occurred. There are, however, new domestic violence prevention strategies emerging, and prevention approaches from the public health field can serve as models for further development of these strategies. This article describes two such models. The first involves public health campaigns that identify and address the underlying causes of a problem. Although identifying the underlying causes of domestic violence is difficult--experts do not agree on causation, and several different theories exist--these theories share some common beliefs that can serve as a foundation for prevention strategies. The second public health model can be used to identify opportunities for domestic violence prevention along a continuum of possible harm: (1) primary prevention to reduce the incidence of the problem before it occurs; (2) secondary prevention to decrease the prevalence after early signs of the problem; and (3) tertiary prevention to intervene once the problem is already clearly evident and causing harm. Examples of primary prevention include school-based programs that teach students about domestic violence and alternative conflict-resolution skills, and public education campaigns to increase awareness of the harms of domestic violence and of services available to victims. Secondary prevention programs could include home visiting for high-risk families and community-based programs on dating violence for adolescents referred through child protective services (CPS). Tertiary prevention includes the many targeted intervention programs already in place (and described in other articles in this journal issue). Early evaluations of existing prevention programs show promise, but results are still preliminary and programs remain small, locally based, and scattered throughout the United States and Canada. What is needed is a broadly based, comprehensive prevention strategy that is supported by sound research and evaluation, receives adequate public backing, and is based on a policy of zero tolerance for domestic violence.

## Appendix D

### High Risk Management Initiative

**Babcock, Julia C., Charles E Greena, & Chet Robieb (2004). Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytic review of domestic violence treatment. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 23(8): 1023–1053.**

**Abstract:** This meta-analytic review examines the findings of 22 studies evaluating treatment efficacy for domestically violent males. The outcome literature of controlled quasi-experimental and experimental studies was reviewed to test the relative impact of Duluth model, cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), and other types of treatment on subsequent recidivism of violence. Study design and type of treatment were tested as moderators. Treatment design tended to have a small influence on effect size. There were no differences in effect sizes in comparing Duluth model vs. CBT-type interventions. Overall, effects due to treatment were in the small range, meaning that the current interventions have a minimal impact on reducing recidivism beyond the effect of being arrested. Analogies to treatment for other populations are presented for comparison. Implications for policy decisions and future research are discussed.

**Babcock, Julia C. & Steiner, Ramalina (1999). The relationship between treatment, incarceration, and recidivism of battering: A program evaluation of Seattle's coordinated community response to domestic violence. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 13(1): 46-59.**

**Abstract:** Men who batter were followed over 2 years using a quasi-experimental design. "Batterers" were court-mandated into domestic violence (DV) group treatment, DV treatment plus chemical dependency treatment, or were incarcerated in lieu of treatment. Official criminal records of treatment completers, treatment non-completers, and incarcerated batterers were compared 2 years after sentencing. Batterers who completed DV group treatment had fewer DV re-offenses at follow-up, and incarcerated batterers had a greater number, as compared with DV treatment non-completers, after controlling for criminal record and demographics. The number of DV sessions attended was negatively correlated with recidivism. This study provides suggestive evidence that the coordinated domestic violence intervention may have a statistically significant but small impact on reducing domestic violence.

**Davis, Robert C. & Bruce G. Taylor (1999). Does Batterer Treatment Reduce Violence? A Synthesis of the Literature. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 10(2): 69-93.**

**Abstract:** This paper reviews three questions based upon the research literature on group treatment programs for batterers: (1) Does treatment reduce violence relative to the absence of treatment, (2) Do some forms of treatment work better than others, and (3) Does treatment work better for some batterers than for others? While there exist several dozen evaluations of batterer treatment programs, few have employed methodologies which are appropriate to addressing the issue of whether treatment is effective. However, among the handful of quasi-and true experiments there is fairly consistent evidence that treatment works and that the effect of treatment is substantial. Regarding the second question, we have little evidence to date that one form of treatment is superior to another or that longer programs turn out less violent graduates than shorter ones. Regarding the last question, there are bases for hypothesizing that some batterers may fare better in treatment (or fare better in certain types of treatment) than others.

However, empirical verification has been highly limited to date. The paper concludes with lessons drawn from the literature on designing future research.

**Epstein, Deborah (1999). Effective Intervention in Domestic Violence Cases: Rethinking the Roles of Prosecutors, Judges and the Court System. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 11(1):3-50**

**Abstract:** Despite over two decades of reform, fundamental failures persist in the justice system's response to domestic violence. Society now widely accepts elimination of intra-family abuse as a crucial goal, and it has been illegal in most states since the late nineteenth century. But the problem remains one of epidemic proportions. As documented in Part I of this Article, battering by husbands, ex-husbands, or lovers is the single largest cause of injury to women in the United States, and accounts for approximately thirty percent of all murders of women. Physical aggression occurs in at least one out of four marriages, and comparable rates exist among couples who are living together, engaged, or dating.<sup>1</sup> Domestic violence is also a major contributing factor to other social ills such as child abuse and neglect, female alcoholism, drug abuse, mental illness, attempted suicide, and homelessness.

**Feder, Lynette & David B. Wilson (2005). A meta-analytic review of court-mandated batterer intervention programs: Can courts affect abusers' behavior? *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1(2): 239-262.**

**Abstract:** Court-mandated batterer intervention programs are being implemented throughout the United States to address the problem of domestic violence. Prior reviews of research on the effectiveness of these programs have arrived at conflicting conclusions. This study is a systematic review of the extant research on this topic. Experimental and quasi-experimental studies that used matching or statistical controls were included. The results were mixed. The mean effect for official reports of domestic violence from experimental studies showed modest benefit, whereas the mean effect for victim reported outcomes was zero. Quasi-experimental studies using a no-treatment comparison had inconsistent findings indicating an overall small harmful effect. In contrast, quasi-experimental studies using a treatment dropout design showed a large, positive mean effect on domestic violence outcomes. We discuss the weakness of the latter design and raise concerns regarding official reports. The findings, we believe, raise doubts about the effectiveness of court-mandated batterer intervention programs.

**Kindness A, Kim H, Alder S, Edwards A, Parekh A, Olson LM(2009). Court Compliance as Predictor of Post adjudication Recidivism for Domestic Violence Offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24: 1222-1238.**

**Abstract:** This study evaluated pre- and post-adjudication behavior of 220 male defendants convicted of a domestic violence-related offense using court records and police department data. Our goal was the identification of possible predictors for continued criminal behavior that could pose a risk of further harm to victims. Factors identified as significant predictors of defendant recidivism were having two or more court reports of noncompliance with domestic violence treatment, two or more warrants issued by the court for noncompliance, and two or more reports to law enforcement of new criminal activity involving the defendant. Law enforcement reports were the strongest predictor of recidivism, with an odds ratio of 7.7 and confidence interval of 3.0-19.7. These results illustrate the importance of monitoring multiple dimensions of defendant



behavior while under court supervision and of communicating information on noncompliance with victims and advocates to assist in safety planning efforts.

**Mears, Daniel P. (2003). Research and Interventions to Reduce Domestic Violence Re-victimization. *Trauma Violence Abuse*, 4(2): 127-147.**

**Abstract:** Despite decades of research on domestic violence, considerable challenges must be addressed to develop sound, theoretically and empirically based interventions for reducing domestic violence re-victimization. Many basic and applied research issues remain unaddressed by existing studies, and evaluations frequently do not sufficiently highlight their limitations or program or policy implications. Nonetheless, progress has been made, and practitioners and policy makers increasingly have a wide range of promising interventions from which to select. This article reviews research on domestic violence and focuses particular attention on interventions aimed at reducing re-victimization among individuals known to have been abused. It also provides a conceptual framework for practitioners and policy makers to situate existing evaluation research and highlights the need for better data to understand and assess efforts to reduce domestic violence re-victimization. The author concludes by discussing directions for future research and recommendations for practice and policy.

**Murphy, Christopher M., Peter H. Musser & Kenneth I. Maton (1998). Coordinated Community Intervention for Domestic Abusers: Intervention System Involvement and Criminal Recidivism. *Journal of Family Violence*, 13(3): 263-284.**

**Abstract:** This study examined prosecution and post-prosecution elements of a coordinated community intervention approach to male perpetrators of adult domestic violence. In a sample of 235 cases, recidivism was assessed from official criminal justice data during a 12- to 18-month period after cases were initially handled by the Baltimore, Maryland State's Attorney's Domestic Violence Unit. Court orders for domestic violence counseling were associated with significantly lower criminal recidivism for battery or violation of a civil order of protection. Lower criminal recidivism was also associated with the cumulative effects of successful prosecution, probation monitoring, receiving a court order to counseling, attending counseling intake, and completion of counseling. Individuals with greater involvement in this intervention system had lower recidivism rates, even though offenders with more extensive abuse histories experienced more intervention. Results provide qualified support for coordinated community intervention for domestic violence perpetrators.

**Rempel, Michael, Melissa Labriola, & Robert C. Davis(2008). Does Judicial Monitoring Deter Domestic Violence Recidivism? Results of a Quasi-Experimental Comparison in the Bronx. *Violence Against Women* 14(2):185-207.**

**Abstract:** A growing number of courts mandate convicted domestic violence offenders to ongoing judicial monitoring. However, the effectiveness of monitoring has barely been examined with this population. Accordingly, matched samples were created between 387 offenders sentenced to judicial monitoring in the Bronx and 219 otherwise similar offenders whose sentences did not include monitoring. Propensity score matching techniques were used to balance the samples on arrest charges, criminal history, relationship to victim, and other case characteristics. The study found that judicial monitoring failed to reduce the re-arrest rate for any offense, for domestic violence, or for domestic violence with the same victim.

**Winick, Bruce J., *Applying the Law Therapeutically in Domestic Violence Cases* (2000). *University of Missouri-Kansas City Law Review*, 69(1):33-91.**

**Abstract:** This Article applies the approach of therapeutic jurisprudence to the processing of domestic violence cases. It explores selected topics and controversies in domestic violence law, analyzing them through the lens of therapeutic jurisprudence. In addition to proposing changes in the law in this area, it offers suggestions about how the various legal actors that deal with domestic violence cases - police, judges and other court personnel, prosecutors, and defense lawyers - can perform their roles in ways that can help to rehabilitate offenders and bring about healing for their victims.

## Appendix E

### Multi-Agency School Support Team

**Catalano, R. F., Loeber, R. & K. C. McKinney. "School and Community Interventions to Prevent Serious and Violent Offending". *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, 1-12; 1999.**

**Abstract:** Although youth who commit serious violent crimes are small in number, they account for a disproportionate amount of juvenile crime. How then can we best intervene with this difficult—even dangerous—population? A major study, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and conducted by its Study Group on Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders, sheds new light on promising strategies to prevent and control serious violent juvenile offending. The study concludes that timely comprehensive school- and community-based interventions hold the greatest potential for preventing such delinquency and finds that programs involving a juvenile's family, school, and community are most effective in minimizing factors that contribute to serious violent juvenile offending and maximizing those that prevent delinquency.

**Dodge, K. A. (2001). The science of youth violence prevention: Progressing from developmental epidemiology to efficacy to effectiveness to public policy. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 20(1S), 63–70**

**Abstract:** Public policy in the United States has historically considered youth violence as a moral problem to be punished after the fact, but growing scientific evidence supports a public health perspective on violent behavior as an interaction between cultural forces and failures in development. Prevention science has provided a bridge between an understanding of how chronic violence develops and how prevention programs can interrupt that development. Articles in this journal supplement provide yet another bridge between efficacious university-based programs and effective community-based programs. It is suggested that yet one more bridge will need to be constructed in future research between community-based programs that are known to be effective and community-wide implementation of prevention efforts at full scale. This last bridge integrates the science of children's development, the science of prevention, and the science of public policy.

**Fagan, A. A., Hanson, K., Hawkins, J. D., and Arthur. W. (2008). Implementing effective community based prevention programs in the community youth development study. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 6, 256–78.**

**Abstract:** There is mixed evidence regarding the extent to which communities can replicate science-based substance use and delinquency prevention programs with high implementation fidelity, that is, in close adherence to the theoretical rationale and specifications of the program. This article examines implementation of 16 tested and effective preventive interventions replicated during 2004–2006 by 12 communities participating in the Community Youth Development Study. Results revealed that across all programs the majority of required material, core components, and lessons were delivered; implementers were prepared, enthusiastic, and used a variety of teaching practices to convey material; and high levels of engagement by program participants were observed. The results indicate that, using a comprehensive system to proactively monitor implementation, community coalitions can ensure high-quality replication of effective prevention programs.

**Gottfredson, D. C., and Gottfredson, G. D. (2002). Quality of school-based prevention programs. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 39, 3–35.**

**Abstract:** A national probability sample of 3,691 school-based prevention activities operating in the spring of 1998 is used to describe the quality of implementation of typical school-based prevention practices, compare the quality of implementation of prevention practice with what is typical in prevention research, and test hypotheses about predictors of the quality of implementation. Results indicate that the quality of school-based prevention practices as they are implemented in the typical school is low. The examination of correlates of prevention quality suggests that the level of implementation of prevention practices can be improved through better integration of these activities into normal school operations; more extensive local planning and involvement in decisions about what to implement; greater organizational support in the form of high-quality training, supervision, and principal support; and greater standardization of program materials and methods. Implications for practice are discussed.

**Kratzer, L., & Hodgins, S. (1997). Adult outcomes of child conduct problems: A cohort study. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 25, 65-81.**

**Abstract:** The present study assessed the mental health and criminal records of 6,449 males and 6,268 females who presented conduct problems as children by examining an unselected birth cohort followed up to age 30. Conduct problems were defined by teacher ratings of behavior problems and/or antisocial behavior in the community. There was little overlap in the children identified by teachers and by the community. These two groups of children were at differential risk for adult mental disorder. Seventy-six percent of the males and 30% of females with childhood conduct problems had a criminal record, a mental disorder, or both by age 30. Risk ratios for adult criminality and/or mental disorders, however, were greater for females than for males with a history of childhood conduct problems. Almost all of the mental disorders were severe substance abuse. Mental disorders and crime were strongly associated among males with a history of childhood conduct problems.

**Lipsey, M. W. (1999a). Can intervention rehabilitate serious delinquents? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 564, 142–66.**

**Abstract:** Much contemporary discussion of the future of the juvenile court revolves around the balance between rehabilitation and punishment, especially with regard to the most serious juvenile offenders. Political forces increasingly press the direction of punitive approaches, while the historical orientation of the court has been rehabilitative. This article addresses the question of whether rehabilitative treatment can be effective for the most serious offenders. Meta-analysis techniques were used to synthesize the large body of empirical research on the effects of rehabilitative programs in community and institutional settings. The results show that well-designed rehabilitative strategies do reduce recidivism for such offenders and cannot be dismissed on the grounds that they are ineffective.

**Mayer, G. R. "Preventing Antisocial Behaviour in the Schools". *Journal of Applied Behavioural Analysis*, 28 (4), 467-478; 1995.**

**Abstract:** Multiple correlates and determinants of antisocial behavior within the home, community, and school are reviewed. Due to the school's pivotal role in our society, an emphasis is placed on how our schools contribute to antisocial behavior, and what educators can do to prevent antisocial behavior and related attendance problems. A variety of contextual factors and setting events within our schools appear to be major contributors to antisocial behavior, and some of the same factors identified within the schools also have been identified within the home. These setting events, rather than quick restrictive fixes, must be given more attention if we are to provide safe school environments—environments that durably prevent antisocial behavior and related attendance problems.

**Skiba, R. J. & R. L. Peterson. "School Discipline at a Crossroads: From Zero Tolerance to Early Response". *Exceptional Children*, 66 (3), 335-347; 2000.**

**Abstract:** Dramatic incidents of school violence have thrust school discipline to the forefront of public consciousness. Despite a dramatic increase in the use of zero tolerance procedures and policies, there is little evidence demonstrating that these procedures have increased school safety or improved student behavior. Moreover, a punitive disciplinary climate may make any attempt to include more students with behavioral problems a cause for conflict between general and special educators. A preventive, early response disciplinary model increases the range of elective options for addressing violence and disruption across both general and special education. Ultimately, the effectiveness of any disciplinary system may be judged by the extent to which it teaches students to solve interpersonal and intrapersonal problems without resorting to disruption or violence.

The shocking and tragic violence that has played out in our nation's schools in the last 2 years has elevated the status of school discipline from an issue of perennial concern to one of national urgency. No longer can small rural districts assume that violence is an inner-city issue and that they are immune from problems of school disruption or violence. No longer can we expect special educators working alone to solve all problems of emotional and behavioral disorders. Rather, it has become clear that the threat of school violence cuts across class, geographical location, and the presence or absence of a disability label.

Faced with disruptive and aggressive behavior, a typical response has been the punishment and exclusion of students exhibiting challenging behavior (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Well-defined disciplinary requirements and attention to school security have a place in schools in maintaining order and ensuring safety. Yet harsh and punitive disciplinary strategies have not proven sufficient to foster a school climate that can prevent the occurrence of school violence. Rather, a broader perspective, stressing early identification, comprehensive planning, prevention, and instruction in important social skills, is necessary if schools are to prevent the tragedies that happen too often in our schools. This article explores new perspectives in school discipline and violence prevention, and suggests effective strategies for dealing with disruptive and violent behavior in schools.

**Van Acker, R. & J. H. Wehby. "Exploring the Social Contexts Influencing Student Success or Failure". *Preventing School Failure*, 44 (3), 93-96; 2000.**

**Abstract:** Introduces several articles about social contexts that influence the student's success or failure. Influence of family on the risks of academic and social failure; Role of peers in the promotion of school success; Impact of the neighborhood and community on the child's sense of well-being, safety and acceptance.

## **Appendix F**

### **Youth At Risk Development**

**Barnoski, R. (2004) Outcome Evaluation of Washington State's Research-Based Programs for Juvenile Offenders.**

**Abstract:** In 1997, the Washington State Legislature passed the Community Juvenile Accountability Act (CJAA). The primary goal of the CJAA is to reduce juvenile crime, cost effectively, by establishing “research-based” programs in the state’s juvenile courts. The basic idea is straightforward: taxpayers are better off if their dollars fund programs that have been proven to be effective in achieving key policy outcomes, in this case reduced re-offending. The CJAA funded the nation’s first statewide experiment concerning research-based programs for juvenile justice. Because selected treatment programs had already been researched elsewhere in the United States, usually as small scale pilot projects, the question here was whether they work when applied statewide in a “real world” setting. This report indicates that the answer to this question is yes— when the programs are competently delivered

**Esbensen, F., and Osgood, D.W. (1999). Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.): Results from the national evaluation. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 36(2):194-225.**

**Abstract:** Although youth delinquent gangs have received considerable academic and media attention during the past decade, there has been a paucity of research evaluating prevention and intervention programs. In this article, the authors report the results of the National Evaluation of the Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program, a school-based gang prevention program in which uniformed law enforcement officers teach a nine-week curriculum to middle-school students. Results from a survey of 5,935 eighth-grade students in 11 sites indicate that students completing the program had more pro-social attitudes and lower rates of some types of delinquent behavior than did students in the comparison group. Although the evaluation is limited to a cross-sectional design without random assignment, it gains internal validity from a low rate of sample attrition and from comparable treatment and comparison groups. The geographically dispersed and demographically diverse research sites support the external validity of the study as well.

**Farmer, T. W. & T. W. Cadwallader (2000). “Social Interactions and Peer Support for Problem Behaviour”. Preventing School Failure, 44: 105-109**

**Abstract:** Discusses how social contextual factors contribute to the development and maintenance of antisocial behaviors among children. Selective association of children with peers; Description of classroom and school social structures; Social roles that students can take within their peer group and within the classroom.

**Fisher, Herrick, Paul Montgomery, & Frances Gardner (2009). Opportunities provision for preventing youth gang involvement for children and young people (7-16)**

**Abstract:** Research has shown that youth who join gangs are more likely to be involved in delinquency and crime, particularly serious and violent offences, compared to non-gang youth and non-gang delinquent youth. Opportunities provision is a commonly used gang prevention strategy based on anomie and strain theories and the belief that giving youth educational and

employment opportunities, such as tutoring or job training and placement, will reduce gang involvement. This systematic review found no randomized controlled trials or quasi-randomized controlled trials of the effectiveness of opportunities provision for gang prevention. There is an urgent need for rigorous primary evaluations of gang prevention and intervention program to justify current program funding and guide future interventions.

**Hill, Karl G., James C. Howell, J. David Hawkins, Sara R. Battin-Pearson (1999). Childhood risk factors for Adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social development project. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36(3):300-322.**

**Abstract:** Adolescents who join gangs are more frequently involved in serious delinquency compared with those who do not, yet few studies have conducted a prospective examination of risk factors for gang membership. The present study uses longitudinal data to predict gang membership in adolescence from factors measured in childhood. Data were from the Seattle Social Development Project, an ethnically diverse, gender balanced sample (n = 808) followed prospectively from age 10 to 18. Logistic regression was used to identify risk factors at ages 10 through 12 predictive of joining a gang between the ages of 13 and 18. Neighborhood, family, school, peer, and individual factors significantly predicted joining a gang in adolescence. Youth exposed to multiple factors were much more likely to join a gang. Implications for the development of gang prevention interventions are discussed.

**Howell, James C. (2000). Youth Gang Programs and Strategies National Criminal Justice Reference Services**

**Abstract:** The document describes programs and strategies in seven sections: Prevention Programs, Intervention Programs, Suppression Programs, Strategies Using Multiple Techniques, Multiagency Initiatives, Comprehensive Approaches to Gang Problems, and Legislation. In addition, it assesses youth gang programs and examines stereotypes versus modern youth gangs. The report recommends 12 principles for effective youth gang programs and strategies. It concludes that, despite recent progress in preventing involvement in gangs during childhood and adolescence and in reducing serious and violent gang crime, the complexity of the youth gang problem defies an easy solution or single strategy. The most effective program model will likely prove to be a combination of prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies integrated in a collaborative approach, supported by a management information system, and validated by rigorous evaluation. It suggests that State and local governments systematically examine their youth gang programs to determine what is or is not effective, data that will benefit communities across the Nation. Tables, notes, figures, references, resources, index

**Pajer, K. A. (1998). What happens to "bad" girls: A review of the adult outcomes of antisocial adolescent girls. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 155, 862-870.**

**Abstract:** The purpose of this article is to review critically the data on the adult outcomes of adolescent girls with antisocial behavior. **METHOD:** Five literature databases were searched for studies on the adult outcomes of girls with either conduct disorder or delinquency. **RESULTS:** Twenty studies met the inclusion criteria. As adults, antisocial girls manifested increased mortality rates, a 10- to 40-fold increase in the rate of criminality, substantial rates of psychiatric morbidity, dysfunctional and often violent relationships, and high rates of multiple service utilization. Possible explanations for these findings include a pervasive biological or psychological deficit or



baseline heterogeneity in the population of antisocial girls. CONCLUSIONS: This review establishes that female adolescent antisocial behavior has important long-term individual and societal consequences. At present, there are insufficient data to enable us to prevent these outcomes or treat them if they occur. Future research should include cross-sectional studies detailing the phenomenology of female antisocial behavior and longitudinal investigations that not only track development into adulthood but also explore the role of potential modifying variables such as prefrontal lobe dysfunction and psychiatric comorbidity

**Suman, K. Sirpal (1997). Causes of gang participation and strategies for prevention in gang members' own words. *Journal of Gang Research* 4(2): 13-22.**

**Abstract:** A study considers the social and criminal roles played by gangs in the lives of their members from their own perspectives. Open-ended interviews were conducted with 30 adjudicated delinquents housed in 2 facilities in an urban U.S. county. Providing financial and emotional support to the families of young children may be a primary step in preventing gang recruitment. School personnel, community leaders and neighbors can coordinate with law enforcement officers and form support groups to help youths who are confused and are facing crisis-like situations. Programs that take a positive approach and emphasize opportunities for healthy social, physical and mental development have the greatest probability of success. Programs that provide skills and prepare youths for the workplace can also be effective in discouraging gang membership. Gangs can be persuaded to perform all of their social functions (self-worth, identity, self-preservation, companionship) minus the illegal and undesirable activities.

**Thurman, Quint C., Andrew L. Giacomazzi, Michael D. Reisig, & David G. Mueller (1996). Community-Based Gang Prevention and Intervention: An Evaluation of the Neutral Zone. *Crime & Delinquency*, 42(2): 279-295.**

**Abstract:** This article presents an assessment of the Neutral Zone, a community-based gang prevention and intervention program developed in Mountlake Terrace and now operating in several other Washington communities. The Neutral Zone offers youths at risk of joining a gang or already gang-affiliated an attractive and safe alternative for productively spending their time. An evaluation suggests that this late evening program provides viable recreational and social service activities to some 190 youths each Friday and Saturday night. Data from direct observation, focus group interviews with participants and program staff, and official crime statistics indicate that the Neutral Zone is an effective alternative to traditional law enforcement approaches which typically rely on police crackdowns and curfews to regulate gang activity.