

# Bridges, Barriers and Building Communities: Policing in Edmonton



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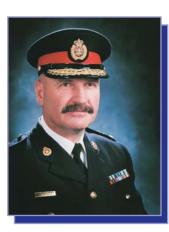
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#### Foreword

The Edmonton Police Service is recognized as a world leader in community policing. We've taken the best from the past, and built on that foundation to create a stronger future.

The strong foundations established by the early champions of the concept have helped community policing evolve as a dynamic engine of change in many neighbourhoods throughout the city. There are a wide variety of examples of excellence that continue to make an important difference in the daily lives of Edmontonians.



But, make no mistake, Edmonton in 2003 is not the same place it was over ten years ago when community policing became the philosophy and practice of the Edmonton Police Service.

The EPS continues to innovate and improve by expanding on what works and leaving behind what doesn't. Our commitment to helping communities deal with issues on their own turf and solve public safety problems before they become more serious has not changed – and it will not change.

This publication is intended to provide a concise history of community policing in Edmonton, identifying both the successes and the resource and workload challenges faced by police. It is our hope that it will not only answer questions about the past of community policing, but also illustrate where we are today and chart the course for continued innovation in this area for years to come. Working with partners in every community is our way of achieving our long-term goal of creating self-reliant communities.

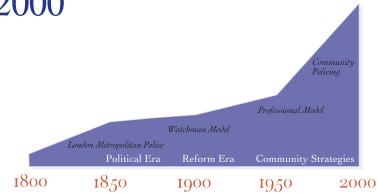
Bob Wasylyshen Chief of Police April 2003

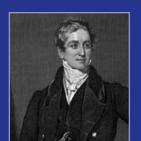
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# Evolution of Policing 1800 - 2000





Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850)

The origins of public policing lie in English statesman Sir Robert Peel's creation of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, which mandated publicly supported policing throughout England at that time.

The British model of policing, based on Peel's twelve principles, had a tremendous impact on North American policing, shaping the creation of public policing in both the United States and Canada as far back as 1845.

Police departments in such cities as New York, Boston and Philadelphia were initially created as reactive forces responsible for controlling crime and maintaining order in the streets, which were chaotic at the time due to burgeoning immigrant populations.

By the late 1800's, the mandate gradually changed as local police departments became allied with local politicians in a time that came to be known as the Political Era.

Due to widespread political corruption, the police became a target for reform during an era that lasted from the time of Prohibition in the 1920's until the early 1950's. During that time, reformers such as O.W. Wilson, August Vollmer and J. Edgar Hoover sought to wrestle control of the police from local politicians, with criminal law being touted as a primary source of legitimacy.

A centralized hierarchy of control, intended to prevent political corruption by enabling the close supervision of individual police officers, guided the operational strategies of the day. These newly formed *law enforcement* agencies, including the FBI, were governed by a bureaucratic model of policing that promoted a narrow emphasis on fighting crime. This movement ushered in the Professional model of policing, a hallmark of the Reform Era, symbolized by an emphasis on rapid response, technology, and a crime control orientation.

The Professional model of policing, which remained popular until the late 1960's, resulted in the entrenchment of bureaucracy, narrow spans of control, "top-down" authority, and an alienation of police from the public. With increased motorized police patrols, foot patrol was seen as an anachronism while the development of the 911 emergency telephone system was heralded as the future of policing.

Surging crime rates, rapid social change, and disenchantment with the inadequacies of the professional model led to the need for change. A large body of research that questioned prevailing police practices, including the use of random patrol and effectiveness of rapid response, was simultaneously being developed in the United States throughout the 1970's.

Somewhat obscured in the history books is the fact that community relations programs were instituted on a limited basis as early as the 1950's. However, it wasn't until the 1970's that the team-policing concept was developed and implemented to help reduce community alienation. More of a program than a philosophy, team-policing failed to evolve into a dominant policing paradigm.

However, a basis for the empowerment of front-line patrol officers was established, setting the stage for a redefinition of the police function in terms of community needs and interests. By the early 1980's, several factors had combined to form the impetus for a rebirth of foot patrol programs throughout North America. These include Herman Goldstein's early work on the concept of "Problem-Oriented Policing" (1979), as well as an article entitled "Broken Windows", written by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling, which was published in the March 1982 edition of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

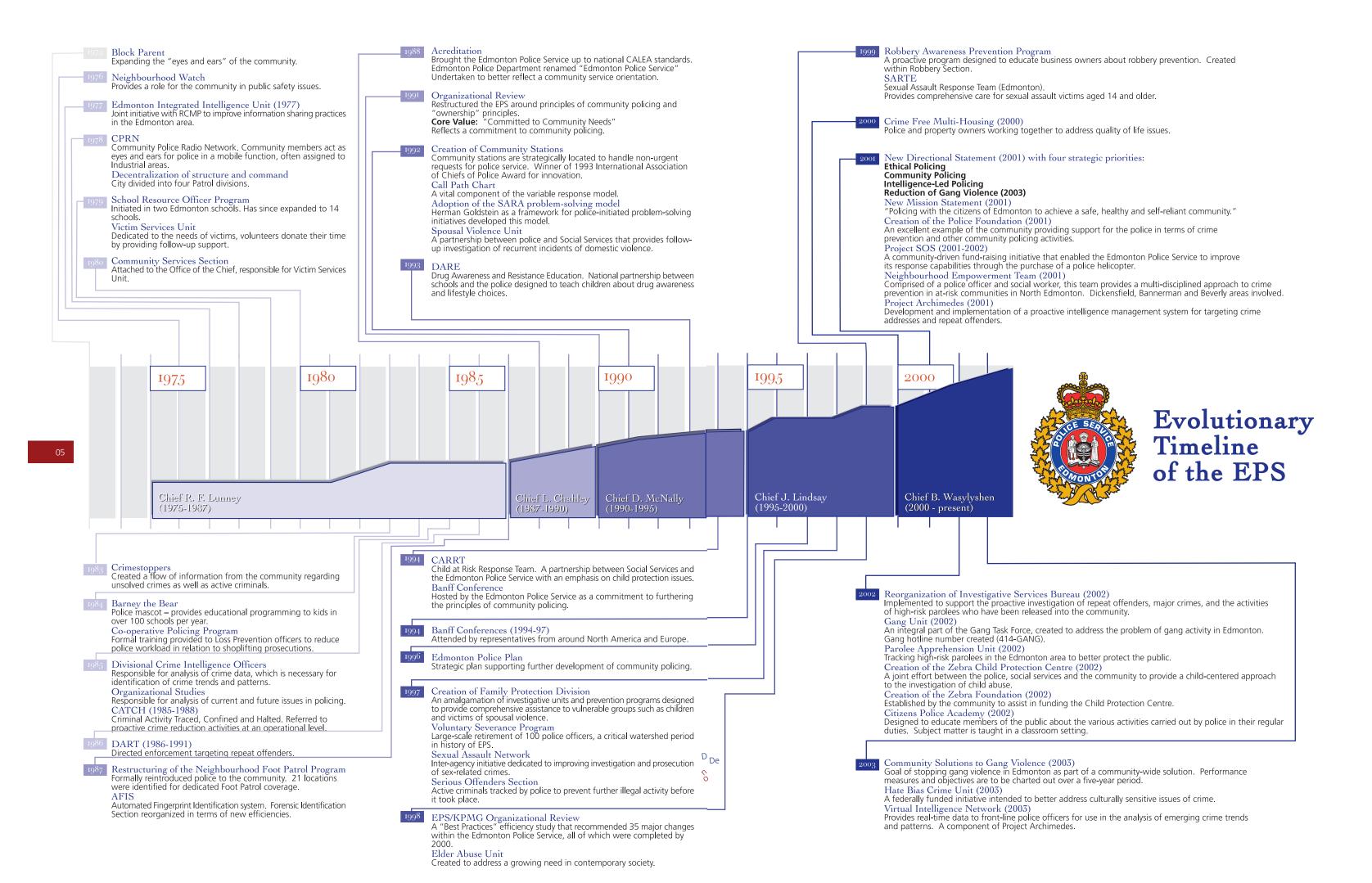
These ideas led to the recognition that the police had a role to play in reestablishing informal social controls within neighbourhoods shaken by high levels of crime and disorder. Research had also demonstrated that this could be accomplished through problem-solving efforts being conducted by individual police officers in direct contact with the community.<sup>1</sup>

As a result, by the mid-1980's storefront offices and foot patrol programs were introduced within a number of innovative police departments across the United States. The Edmonton Police Service took a leading role in Canada as early as 1987 by restructuring its Neighbourhood Foot Patrol program, formally integrating it within the existing service delivery model.

The Community Strategy Era, characterized in the United States by the problem-oriented policing model, evolved somewhat differently in Canada. While problem-oriented policing typically emphasizes a limited role for the community in solving crime-related problems, a somewhat more ambitious philosophy of "community policing" took root in Canada.

Community policing differs in terms of ideology and focus, with greater emphasis being placed on the need for community involvement. The primary focus is on the "regeneration" of healthy and self-reliant communities, to be achieved through a variety of partnerships and problem-solving initiatives rather then through strict adherence to traditional crime control strategies. It is accepted that by working with the community, regardless of whatever form "community" may take, police can gain insight into issues of concern while working with members of the community to address these problems in an effective manner.

Board - Probation Canadian





R.F. Lunney (1975-1987)



L. Chahley (1987-1990)



D. McNally (1990-1995)



J. Lindsay (1995-2000)



B. Wasylyshen (2000-Present)

# Evolutionary Timeline of the EPS

The evolutionary timeline of the Edmonton Police Service illustrates how policing has evolved since 1975. With a succession of traditionalist police chiefs, policing in Edmonton remained relatively unchanged until the appointment of Robert Lunney at that time.

The oil boom of the early 1970's contributed greatly to surging levels of crime and disorder in Edmonton while demands for police service grew at an alarming rate. As the population of Edmonton grew by almost 25 per cent from 1974 to 1982, Chief Lunney implemented a series of sweeping changes to better meet the needs of the community.

The first steps towards a community service orientation were taken with the introduction and expansion of such programs as Block Parent (initiated in 1973), Neighbourhood Watch (1976) and the introduction of School Resource Officers to two Edmonton schools (1979).

Decentralization took place throughout the latter half of the 1970's, which saw the creation of four Patrol Divisions. The strategic use of crime data was ushered in during 1985 with the creation of Divisional Crime Intelligence Officers and the CATCH program.<sup>2</sup> Crimestoppers was also introduced to Edmontonians during this time.

In 1987, Robert Lunney retired as Chief of Police and was replaced by Leroy Chahley, who built upon these accomplishments by reestablishing the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol program. He also introduced the name "Edmonton Police Service" to better reflect a community service orientation, and achieved fulfillment of accreditation standards as prescribed by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA).

Early results of the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol program seemed promising based on research conducted by Dr. Joe Hornick (1989), as well as anecdotal evidence provided by Katherine Koller in her publication Working the Beat (1990). The Edmonton Police Service remained committed to the future growth of community policing when Doug McNally assumed the position of Chief of Police in 1990.

In 1991 a service-wide reorganization of the Edmonton Police Service took place, during which time a number of significant structural changes were made to support community policing. A total of twelve community stations were opened by 1992, as well as the creation of a variable response model built around the Call Path Chart, which won the prestigious Webber-Seavey award in 1993.

A new core value, "Committed to Community Needs", was introduced, and with it came a number of specialized partnerships designed to better address issues of spousal violence and child abuse. By this time, the concepts of ownership and use of the "SARA" problem-solving model had been embedded within the organization, instilling in police officers an understanding of the importance of responsibility at the "point of first contact."

From 1995-2000 the Edmonton Police Service continued to evolve as a community-based organization under the guidance of Chief John Lindsay, although progress was tempered to a certain degree by resource issues. Improvements were made in the way investigations involving families were handled as a result of the creation of Family Services Division (1997). However, the sudden retirement of just over 100 police officers as part of the Voluntary Severance Program in 1997 affected front-line staffing levels, and community policing initiatives as a result.

The late 1990's were characterized by a "Value for Money" theme, which saw the EPS impose an internal efficiency audit on itself, working alongside KPMG to seek out cost-effective means by which a growing demand for police services could be met in the face of fixed staffing levels. Thirty-five major recommendations for change were carried out over a two-year period (1998-2000) that enabled the EPS to maximize internal efficiencies to better support the philosophy of community policing.

In 2000 Bob Wasylyshen was sworn in as Edmonton's twentieth Chief of Police. Since that time the EPS has continued to evolve in order to address new and increasingly complex issues like gang violence. Both the Edmonton Police Foundation and Zebra Foundation have been created in partnership with the community to provide funding for such things as the Child Protection Centre and the police helicopter AIR-1.

The Edmonton Police Service has also created a Hate Bias Crimes unit, a federally funded initiative intended to better address culturally sensitive issues of crime.

Ambitious ideas such as *Intelligence-led policing* (Project Archimedes) display an excellent understanding of the importance of crime analysis as a tool in crime reduction initiatives. This is why its development has been classified as a strategic priority within the Edmonton Police Service.

Other initiatives, such as *Community Solutions to Gang Violence* and the *Neighbourhood Empowerment Team*, have shown a continued commitment to the community, symbolized by the adoption in 2001 of a new mission statement, "Policing with the citizens of Edmonton to create a safe, healthy and self-reliant community."

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of India Societies & N

#### Paradigm Shift in Policing

#### Professional Model





Intellectual **Founders** 

Leadership

**Structure** 

**Function** 



Herman Goldstein J.Q. Wilson & George Kelling



Command & Control

J. Edgar Hoover



**Empowerment** 



Hierarchy





Law Enforcement Officer



Peace Officer



Crime Control



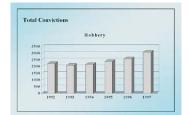
Strategic Objectives

Sources of Authority

Limiting

**Factors** 

Public Safety Quality of Life



Crime Rates Response Time Quantitative



Problem Solving Crime Prevention Qualitative



Legislation Policy





Community



Technology



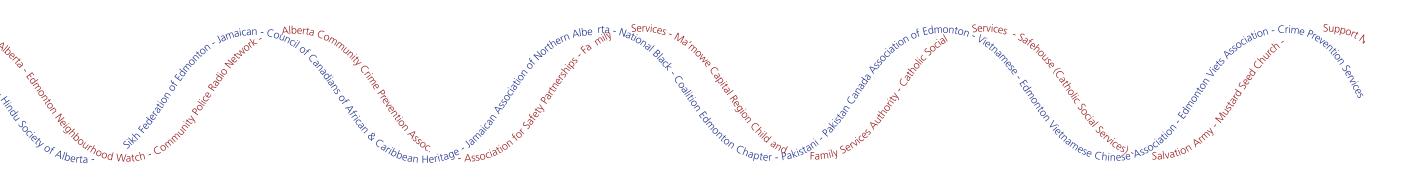
Relationships Information from the Community



Community Alienation



Shortage of Resources



#### Quality of Life



The primary goal of policing, regardless of the service delivery model being used, is to protect life and/or property while maintaining peace and order in the community.

This is achieved through a variety of means, including general deterrence, prevention, education and enforcement. Robert Peel was correct in stating that public safety can best be measured by the absence of crime and disorder, a fundamental principle that he first drafted while organizing the London Metropolitan Police in 1829.

The mission statement of the Edmonton Police Service recognizes the wisdom and importance of this principle:

Policing with the citizens of Edmonton to achieve a safe, healthy, and self-reliant community.

# C o m m u n i t y P o l i c i n g

In recent years, strategies and philosophies surrounding the relationship between the public and the police have been referred to in many different ways by many different people. Terms such as COPE (Citizen-Oriented Police Enforcement), COP (Community-Oriented Policing), COPP (Community Officer Patrol Program) and NPO (Neighbourhood Patrol Officer programs) have all been used throughout North America.

However, two distinct models have become predominant: *Community Policing*, developed and championed by researchers such as Robert Trojanowicz, and *Problem-Oriented Policing* (POP), refined by Herman Goldstein in his 1990 book of the same name. This model has become the standard in the United States, while the community policing model has become the primary model for policing in Canada.

Some of the distinctions between the two models have already been outlined. Essentially, community policing emphasizes community involvement in the policing process. This entails meaningful collaboration between police and community, geographic decentralization of the police, shared decision-making authority, and an expansive role or mandate for the police with respect to crime prevention and community safety.<sup>3</sup>

While a specific definition of community policing remains the subject of debate, the separate components of community policing can perhaps best be understood using a DNA analogy.

In the past, community policing has been viewed by some as a "box on the organizational chart", at best an exercise in community relations and at worst a ploy to secure additional funding. This perception can be attributable to confusion over terms of reference and miscommunication, comparing apples to oranges or salt to sugar.

Before meaningful discussion can occur between police and governing bodies, or even within police agencies themselves, three fundamental concepts need to be fully developed and explained: forms of police response, problem solving, and activities and partnerships between the public and police.

A DNA analogy is useful in simplifying this task, whereby the components of response and problem solving form both sides of the ladder. The rungs of the DNA ladder represent problem-solving activities and partnerships between police and the public.

All three components are vital elements of community policing.

#### The Community Policing Model



#### Response

#### Emergency Response

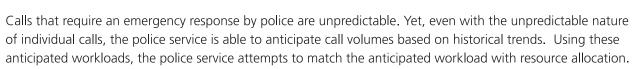
Emergency response is characterized as an urgent call for police involvement. The required police response cannot be deferred or attended to at another convenient time.

Although the vast majority of these calls are revealed as false or routine, the nature of these calls requires immediate police intervention for what the situation might entail.

For example, a 9-1-1 hang up call to police cannot be dismissed even if it is likely to be children playing with the telephone.

Under the scrutiny of a cost benefit analysis, emergency response would be shown as an ineffective use of resources. Regardless, the requirement for emergency police response is driven by the

small percentage of 9-1-1 calls that are genuine emergencies or crimes in progress and require crisis intervention.



#### Routine Response

The routine police response is a call for service where the nature of the incident or situation reported is not of an urgent nature and allows for a reasonable degree of deferral. While a quick response time is not essential to the intervention or investigation, a reasonable and timely response is nonetheless important for good customer service.

Often this may not require a physical police response, but rather citizens responding to community stations where service can be provided in a more efficient manner.

Required responses to routine calls are also unpredictable. Again, resources can be effectively deployed based on historical workload levels.





#### Preventative Patrol

Through preventative patrol, communities are reassured that the police are in their neighborhoods. The objective of preventative patrol is public visibility, traffic enforcement, and to observe criminal offences being committed. Often, through the course of a simple traffic stop for a minor traffic violation more extensive criminal activity and subjects of interest come to the attention of the police.



Preventative patrol is not necessarily

driving around in a random fashion. It should be purposeful and directed. Intelligence-led policing allows officers to focus patrols and provide visibility on "hot spots" of crime, such as drug trafficking, vehicle theft, disturbances, break and enters, high collision areas, and other significant community concerns.

Likewise, neighbourhood foot patrol officers are strategically assigned to areas of commercial activity and/or high population densities so they can most effectively interact with people on the street and various community stakeholders.

Preventative patrols can be discretionary and to some extent predictable. The police decide when to allocate and schedule directed preventative patrol. This type of patrol is conducted throughout a patrol shift between various calls, while enroute to routine calls or during slower periods of call volume.

For example, once it has been identified that a series of stolen cars were abandoned in a specific area, officers may be directed to patrol that area, query vehicle plates and conduct traffic stops. Through this directed patrol the suspects responsible may be identified and apprehended.

#### Crisis Intervention

Crisis intervention is an urgent response to a known incident or situation. The occurrence is unpredictable. The incident is typically isolated to a police response and can usually be dealt with by the current level of deployed resources.

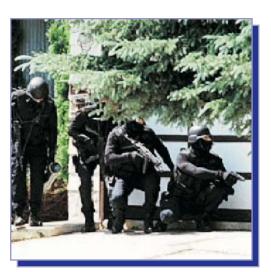
Urgent response for crisis intervention is required to deal with certain situations or incidents.

In 1989 at about 5:00 lone gunman Marc Lépine entered the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal and systematically began killing 14 women and wounding 13 others untill taking his own life with one last rifle shot into his face.

"The first calls to police came around 5:16 p.m. with squad cars arriving a minute later, followed by ambulances. But police hesitated, waiting for orders. Communications frequencies jammed with radio voices."

Generally, first responders deal with the incident using their training, tactics, and tools of negotiation. Prepared for all types of situations, officers have tasers, handguns, batons, pepper spray and carbines at their disposal in order for an effective and appropriate response to unpredictable and urgent situations.

When needed, specialized units such as Tactical Section and Canine Unit can be effectively employed with the highest possibility of success. However, where the luxury of waiting for specialized units is not possible, first responders must deal with the situation themselves.



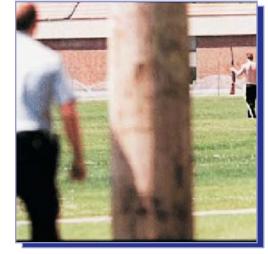
In 1998 Chad Yurko was walking around a schoolyard carrying a loaded shotgun. North Division patrol members, with support from Canine Unit, were able to resolve this crisis without loss of human life.

A constant source of frustration among front-line police officers is the perception that the ability to respond

to routine or even emergency calls for service is seen as being of secondary importance within the context of a communitypolicing paradigm.

Conversely, confusion arises when improvements in the capacity of the police to respond to critical (high-risk) incidents are seen as a "step backward" in terms of community policing. For example, misunderstandings can occur if the purchase of police carbines — which could understandably be seen as the antithesis of community policing — are not explained in the proper context. In essence, it must be remembered that a necessary component of community policing is the ability to respond to critical situations in a timely and effective manner. Indeed, the issuance of patrol carbines to ownership constables should be seen not as a step backwards but rather as evidence of form following function.

"Rapid Deployment" training has been adopted following the hard



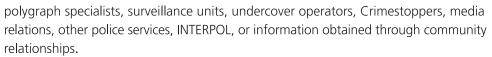
lessons learned from the tragedy that befell Columbine High School in 1999. The role of the front-line police officer was forever changed to meet a harsh new reality – the need to be properly trained and equipped to deal with such incidents at a moment's notice.

The Next Generation

#### Investigative Response

An investigative response flows from, and supports, the initial responses of emergency response, preventative patrols, and crisis intervention. While some incidents simply involve resolving conflict in a particular situation, others incidents require varying degrees of investigation.

Investigative responses include not only the efforts of the patrol officer, but may involve the support of forensic identification members, data analysts,



Major criminal incidents use an intense investigative response at the onset of an investigation (front-end loading). With the relationship between response time and the availability of evidence, a timely investigative response can be essential.

Not only is the investigative response time important, but the duration of an investigation may last indefinitely.

The Corinne (Punky) Gustavson abduction, sexual assault, and murder in 1992 took countless hours of

investigation involving every resource available. In 2003, an arrest was made, concluding an investigation that lasted over 10 years. Other historical homicides are currently being investigated.



Crisis management is a response to a major incident or natural disaster, which often occurs unexpectedly. The standard deployment of police resources is unable to handle the incident. Such incidents extend beyond being simply a police problem and required the coordination of resources from multiple city departments and/or outside agencies.



plans to the limit.

While extensive planning is dedicated to preparations for the possibility of significant events, the actual occurrence will inevitably have a severe impact on the city.

Incidents such as the Edmonton tornado (1987), Oklahoma City bombing, World Trade Center attack and possible biological or chemical weapons attacks like the Japan subway sarin gas attack will push even the most comprehensive and diligent disaster



oriented policing (with Goldstein having led

### Problem Solving

Just as response plays an important role in the community policing model, so too does "problem-solving" as an organized police activity. Herman Goldstein is frequently identified as a dominant influence in the historical development of the problem-solving approach, having written numerous articles and books about the problemoriented policing model.

#### The SARA Model

Three primary concepts fall under the broad heading of "problem-solving". The first concept is the SARA model, which was developed in the 1980's as a problem-solving tool. This acronym stands for scanning, analysis, response and assessment, and has been widely adopted as a fundamental analytical tool within both problem-

its development in the United States) and Collation community policing. The SARA model provides police officers with Scanning a basic set of tools for use in gaining a better understanding of the problem(s) facing a Analyse community. It remains a widely accepted model within the Edmonton Police Service and continues to serve as the basis of organization for community problem-solving efforts in our city. Response

Assessment

"National and

Elder Abuse

the country."

recognized

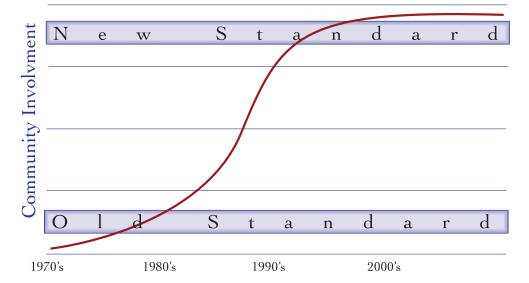
international experts attending the Ontario

Conference in 2002

Edmonton's Elder Abuse Intervention

Team as the leader in

#### "Rungs in the Ladder"



The figure above demonstrates a growing commitment by the Edmonton Police Service to work with the community in pursuing the goal of increased public safety. The level of such involvement, whether it is limited to short-term solutions or long-term partnerships, has risen dramatically over the past twenty years. This is directly correlated to the acceptance of the community policing philosophy in Edmonton, although its time consuming nature remains a major cause for concern in the absence of continued investment in public safety by all levels of government.

## Resource Allocation

Any discussion of community policing must be accompanied by an examination of available resources.

With unlimited resources, community involvement could be extensive and far-reaching.
Understandably, neither federal, provincial, nor municipal governments are willing to sign a blank cheque in the face of competing resource needs.

Police services are subject to the economic law of limited resources and unlimited needs. Therefore, any value statements made about community policing should be preceded by "given the available resources..."

# Intelligence-led policing: "a structured process for developing, collecting, analyzing and utilizing intelligence, at both the strategic and tactical levels..."

#### Routine Activities Theory

Routine Activities Theory, developed by Marcus Felson and Lawrence Cohen over twenty- five years ago, incorporates situational crime prevention principles, illustrating them in terms of a "crime triangle." <sup>6</sup> This is related to the work of other scholars such as C. Ray Jeffrey, who first outlined the concept of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) in 1971. <sup>7</sup>



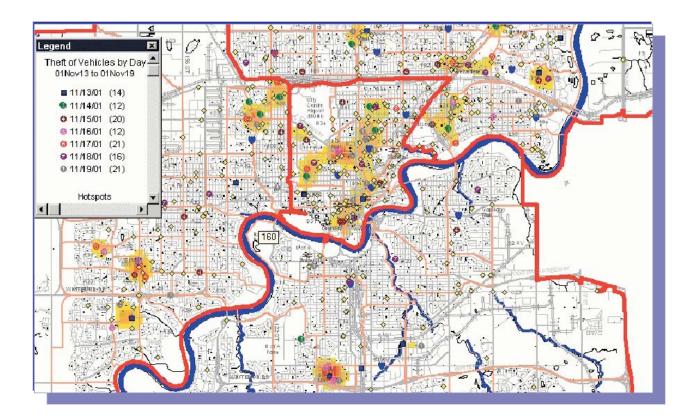
Shown above as a "crime triangle", Routine Activities Theory demonstrates how crime prevention initiatives have to address at least one of three critical points: the presence of a motivated offender, the absence of a capable guardian, and the presence of a suitable target, that being property or a person.

Therefore, situational crime prevention dictates that the police must do at least one of three things to reduce crime: focus on removing an offender from society (incarceration), ensure that a guardian is present (private security, dedicated police surveillance), or remove the "target" from harm's way through education or the use of CPTED audits — in other words, basic crime prevention programming. In fact, CPTED training is offered within the Edmonton Police Service to assist in this regard.

#### Intelligence-Led Policing

This initiative is one of the four strategic priorities of the Edmonton Police Service in 2003. Intelligence-led policing (ILP) serves as a means of organization that provides timely analysis of crime data to assist police officers in seeking out and identifying emerging crime patterns in a proactive manner.





#### Mapping Crime Hotspots in Edmonton

ILP is a useful means by which preventative patrol strategies and investigative responses can be better organized to achieve greater results. The slide shown above demonstrates how "hotspots" of criminal activity can be identified through the ongoing analysis of crime data.

Past research in Kansas City and Minneapolis revealed that 3 per cent of addresses produced over 50 per cent of all calls for service in a given year.<sup>8</sup> Intelligence-led policing incorporates elements of the SARA model as well as Routine Activities Theory, creating an effective link between operational strategies and crime statistics.

# Activities and Partnerships

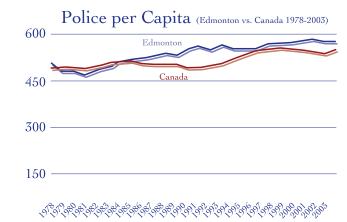
While "response" and "problem-solving" form the two sides of the DNA ladder, activities and partnerships between the police and community represent the rungs of the ladder. Problem-solving activities can be limited in scope and duration, and may or may not involve the public. Partnerships are more formal, involving a variety of community stakeholders such as specific residential community groups, social agencies, school boards, and other police agencies.



#### Police per Capita (Edmonton vs. Canada 1978-2003)

How many police officers does Edmonton need? When compared to the Canadian average, Edmonton has a higher ratio of population to police. This means that in Edmonton there are more citizens for every police officer, compared to the Canadian average.

"Canada has about 25% fewer police per capita than the United States and England and Wales" (Statistics Canada 2002)



Is this a good thing or a bad thing? If policing a larger number of citizens suggests greater efficiency, then on the face of it Edmonton's ratio is looked upon favorably.

However, such efficiency with respect to policing is void of any consideration for the level or quality of service being provided. Policing has,

in fact, moved away from the professional model, where a focus on efficiency reigned supreme. The focus on community policing and the pursuit of value-added service means that any conclusions based on simple ratios are incomplete.

An appreciation for both the efficiency and the level of service is essential to understanding police effectiveness. Police services must continually seek out new sources of efficiency while providing a value-added level of service delivery to the community.

The Canadian "police per capita" ratio includes everything from the most remote RCMP detachment to the densest urban centers of Toronto and Vancouver. The challenges of rural policing outside urban centers and in remote communities offers little in the way of a comparison for the circumstances of Edmonton.

While there are different interpretations of what the ratios tell us, acknowledging the inherent limitations of the comparison, the graph does illustrate the trend of changes over time as well as providing a reference point. The graph clearly demonstrates that the gap between the trend lines is not growing. Diverging lines and a growing gap would be a cause for concern and demonstrate a need for further analysis.

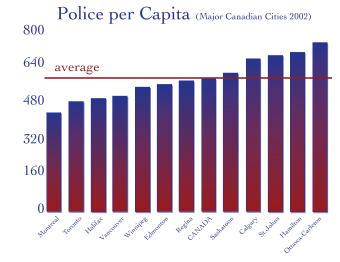
#### Police per Capita (Major Canadian Cities 2002)

How does Edmonton compare now? Not just with the whole of Canada, but with other comparable Canadian cities.

Edmonton sits slightly below the average of the selected cities. Again, we are challenged with the competing

interpretation of service quality and efficiency. The value in the illustration arises not from the disparity from the average, but rather that Edmonton is not an outlier amongst the group. If Edmonton were ranked lowest or highest there would exist cause for further analysis.

That is not to say, for example, that Montreal - being the lowest of the group - is either inefficient or is providing better service. Rather, there exists a need to understand the circumstances that have resulted in this police service being the lowest of the group before awards or condemnation can be considered. On the other extreme, Ottawa-Carlton has the highest

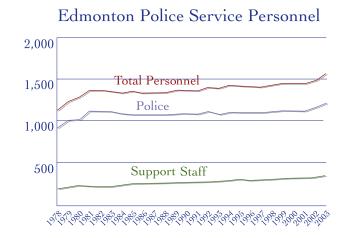


ratio of the group. The same test applies - why? One possible reason is that Ottawa-Carleton is the only regional police service included in the group and may be showing the positive effect of regionalization in terms of economies of scale.

#### Edmonton Police Service Personnel (1978-2003)

Regardless of the changes in police services delivery over time, the major resource and input remains to be personnel. By noting the levels of both police officers and support personnel over time, an understanding of this major input can be gained.

After a period of growth in the total number of police officers from 1978 to 1981, subsequent growth has been very conservative until the recent gains of 2002 and 2003. A notable feature of the graph is the number of support staff, which has grown steadily since 1978 to the present. Effectively, the number of support staff has increased by over 60% during the period.



While the number of police officers has not increased by a significant amount, the modest but steady growth of support personnel supports the reality of police officers being reallocated from support and administrative positions to the front line as these positions were civilianized. Over 100 such transfers have occured since 1973.



From 1992 to 2002

Alberta has realized

an 8.7% drop in their

police per capita ratio. (Statistics Canada 2002)

#### Population and Police (1978-2002)

Through efficiency gains, reallocation of police officers, and a steady growth in the number of support personnel, the Edmonton Police Service has been able to provide a value-added service through a community policing approach. This was accomplished in spite of a growth rate in total personnel that has lagged behind the growth rate of

the Edmonton population Service Personnel over the past twenty years.

Edmonton Police Service Personnel



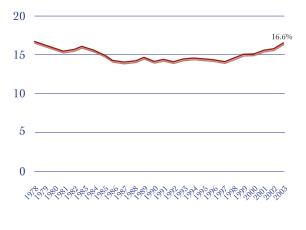
The population of Edmonton proper is used in this diagram, not the population of the census metropolitan area for the Edmonton region. This disparity is exacerbated by the effect of suburban communities that surround Edmonton. The tax base of each these

bedroom communities also have disproportionately lower policing demands, while experiencing population growth that matches or exceeds that of Edmonton.

#### Police Percentage of City Operating Expenditure

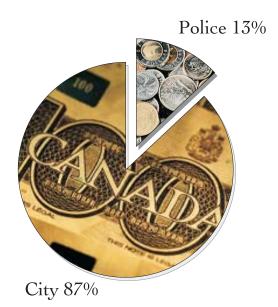
Public safety is a corner stone of any healthy and vibrant community, in terms of both

quality of life and economic prosperity. While policing costs seem to have consumed a larger share of operating expenditures in recent years, the trend line of the police portion of the City's operating expenditure has been relatively consistent with only marginal variability. Currently, the Edmonton Police Service portion of the City's total operating expenditures is 16.6% <sup>10</sup>



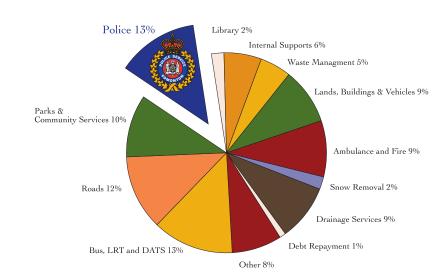
#### Police Percentage of Total City Expenditure

By analyzing the total city expenditures, which includes capital costs and operating costs, we see that the police portion of the total expenditure was 13%<sup>11</sup> in 2003. This is a smaller percentage compared to the operating expenditure, due to the fact that police expenditures are largely weighted as operating costs.



#### Distribution of Total City Expenditure 2003

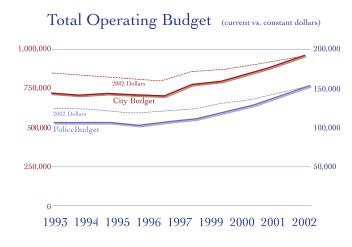
Policing, while similar to health care and education in terms of providing a public service that is essential to the health and prosperity of a community, differs in that it is funded almost exclusively by municipal governments, 12 rather than at the Provincial or Federal level.



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#### Operating Expenditure (Current vs. Constant dollars)

When examining and comparing expenditure or dollar amounts over time, the historical dollar amounts must be corrected for inflationary effects in order to obtain a valid comparison. By using constant (2002) dollars<sup>13</sup>, we can accurately compare expenditure changes over time.



Not only do we see that in constant dollars expenditures levels of both the City of Edmonton and the Edmonton Police Service decreased from 1993 to 1997, but also the constant dollar amounts for the years 1993 and 1998 were virtually the same.

Correcting for the

inflationary effects on money, we see that not only is the growth of the City of Edmonton's expenditures more conservative when the inflationary effect is factored out, but that the effect is paralleled by police expenditures.

#### Resource Allocation<sup>14</sup>

Dof Alberta

In a simple world, police resources can be described as being allocated along two streams: incident response (which is an allocation for the present), and crime prevention (future investment in social capital).

Taken to an extreme, if all resources were allocated to incident response, response times would drop significantly at first. Crime prevention and community problemsolving initiatives would be ignored until an incident occurs. When an incident occurs there would be a quick response to deal with the situation and it would be investigated to conclusion, which may or may not remedy the actual problem.

In the other extreme, if all available resources were allocated solely to crime prevention and social development, the police could build incredible relationships with the community, partnerships with outside agencies, and develop effective educational programs. However, if an incident occurred, the police would be limited in terms of ability to deal with the situation. The incident might not be resolved properly after it occurred, and subsequent investigations would likely fail to bring offenders to justice.

Fortunately, we do not live with such extremes, and resource allocation remains a balance of both crime prevention and social development initiatives.

The budget line prevents the police service from achieving the promises offered by both extremes of response and crime prevention.

Resources have been reallocated towards community involvement through partnerships, programs, and education, resulting in a reduced emphasis on preventative patrol and response time.

Realizing the importance of investing in self-reliant communities, community policing historically tended towards the reallocation of resources to increase community involvement, while compromising response times and a certain degree of patrol availability.

These sacrifices became clear choices after their effectiveness was examined.<sup>15</sup> However, the police must still respond to large numbers of situations and maintain an acceptable level of customer service. Response times cannot continue to increase beyond an acceptable level.

There is a point where further community involvement cannot come at the cost of the police service's ability to respond to critical incidents in an effective and timely manner.

To move further to the right in terms of community involvement, the police service must move horizontally.

Increasing Community Involvement

# Response Edmonton Police Service Emphasis on: Preventative patrol Response times Decreasing ability for crisis response

Crime Prevention Social Development

## Challenges

ith increasing call volumes and greater demands for value-added service, police agencies are striving to meet the challenge in the face of judicial and legislative changes.

Legislation and court decisions have gradually restricted the ability of police to conduct investigations, and have significantly increased the threshold for criminal convictions and obligations on police under threat of civil liability.

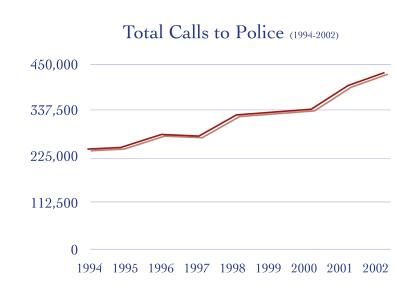
Efforts to expand community involvement, recognizing the value in building safer communities, have been restricted with the increasing resource requirements related to incident response.

#### Total Calls to Police (1994-2002)

Measuring workload is a nebulous task that invites criticism even before one can get started. To begin, one must face the daunting prospect of a barrage of forms and definitions of work that are of value but are difficult to quantify. The limitation of numbers of arrests, charges, and tickets as quantifiable measures arises from the inability to capture problem-solving or crime prevention activities.

How do you measure the quality or importance of a police officer's relationship with community members? Relationships are certainly not quantifiable. Anecdotal stories provide both positive and negative descriptions of individual relationships on a case by case basis, but fall short of a reliable, service-wide measure.

Using the simplest measure of workload, from 1994 to 2002 calls to the Edmonton Police Service have steadily increased. The police have had to answer, evaluate, and deal with each of these calls whether over the telephone, by referral to a community station, or by dispatching a patrol unit.



#### Evolving Complexity of Police Investigations

The ability of the police to investigate and resolve incidents, search for and collect evidence, and arrest subjects who commit criminal offences has become increasingly onerous in terms of workload and responsibility.

Most notably since the introduction of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, individual rights have become paramount, at the expense of the ability of the police to investigate offences and bring offenders to justice.

Charter rights and the case law that has flowed from them do not distinguish between a citizen who contributes to society and one who commits the most heinous of criminal offences. Police do not have the latitude, even if it is in the interest of the public, to deal with suspected criminals any differently than they would with any other member of the public. The result is that police have to work within the increasingly narrow and restrictive framework of the criminal justice system.

For example, until the late 1970's certain officers were issued a "writ of assistance", which when reasonable and probable grounds existed, provided them with the authority to enter any location at any time without a search warrant, to search for drugs. While certainly the level of accountability for such searches was lower than it is today, efficiency was high.



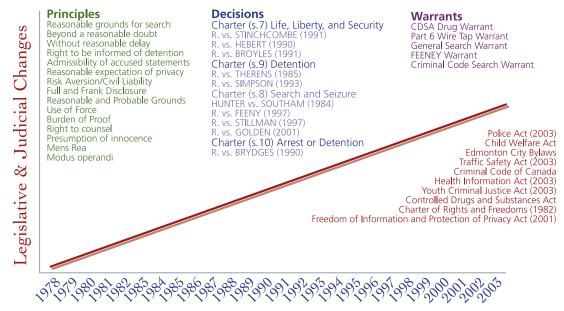
Today, as a result of the Supreme Court of Canada ruling R. vs. FEENEY in 1997, police officers require a warrant just to enter a residence to apprehend a person who is arrestable for a particular offence. In effect, the police need to obtain a warrant for a person who might already have an outstanding warrant for their arrest.

The requirements to enter a residence are no different than they were before the FEENEY decision. Officers still require reasonable and probable grounds that the subject is inside, refusing to come out. Reasonable and probable grounds could be obtained many ways, although in most circumstances the police would call the residence and ask for the subject. When he answered, the subject would be told to come out or police would enter to effect a lawful arrest.

Since the FEENEY decision, such standards pertinent to reasonable and probable grounds for arrest have not changed. However, the officer now has to utilize other officers to ensure the subject does not flee before driving to the station, typing out a warrant describing his or her grounds to believe that the suspect is still in the residence, and having it sworn by a judge or magistrate.

The need for a FEENEY warrant is independent of the existing warrant for any offence, be it shoplifting or homicide. This is but **one** example of how policing has had to adapt to the changing legislative and judicial requirements imposed upon it in recent years. Risk aversion, symbolized by the growing list of policy and procedures that must be adhered to by police officers, illustrates how the threat of civil liability results in reduced productivity.

#### Evolving Complexity of Police Investigations



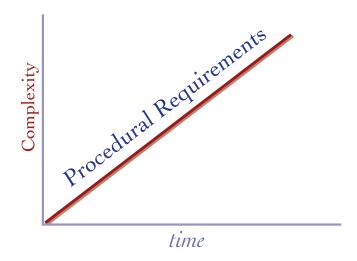
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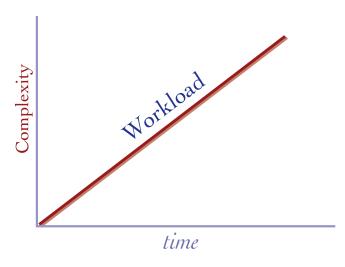
#### Increasing Workload

Through marginal increases in resources and the reallocation of personnel, the Edmonton Police Service has continued to meet the challenge of increased demands arising from crime prevention and social development initiatives geared towards building self-reliant communities.

In the face of increased demands for accountability brought about by legislative and judicial changes, police agencies in general have had to implement an increasing array of procedural requirements.

The increased workload arising from this trend has taxed the resources of police services, many of which struggle to maintain current levels of service delivery. The impact of increased demands brought about by procedural requirements, resulting in an increased workload on behalf of each and every front-line police officer, has created a gap between community expectations and the level of service police are able to provide.





Grant MacEwan and Familier

## Public Safety

n Canada, municipal police agencies are in most cases the "only game in town." Regardless of the seriousness of an isolated criminal act or widespread nature of a series of crimes, police response and investigation is typically limited, in terms of resources, by the capacity of whichever police agency has jurisdiction over the investigation.

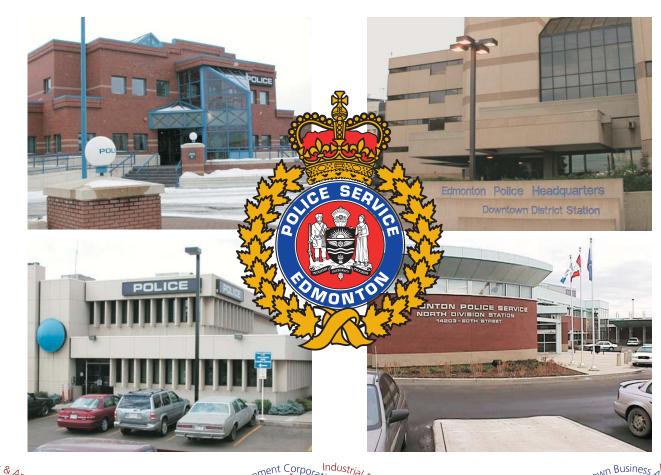
#### Canada: Policing is a Municipal Responsibility

Police agencies in Canada are primarily funded by the municipalities they serve. In some instances, provincial or federal government assistance is provided depending on population size and whether the policing contract involves the RCMP.

For example, a large city typically maintains its own police agency, while rural settlements and small towns contract out police service requirements to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). The federal government will cover a small portion of policing costs under these circumstances. Likewise, provincial governments assist in funding policing costs in rural areas.

It is important to remember that policing in Canada is largely decentralized. Although the RCMP is a national police agency with a federal mandate, its primary focus is rural policing, especially in Western Canada.

Large municipal police agencies, such as the Edmonton Police Service, therefore have to provide a wide array of services while maintaining an adequate response capability in the form of specialized units should a crisis or major investigation unfold, even if this occurs in a neighbouring municipality. In the case of complex, large-scale investigations there is little in the way of *reserve capacity* that can be readily drawn upon. This is an important issue when dealing with such investigations as the Paul Bernardo murders and the SwissAir crash near Peggy's Cove on September 12, 1998.



#### United States: A Multi-Jurisdictional Approach

In the United States, local municipal agencies can draw upon the resources of numerous federal agencies such as the FBI when dealing with high profile incidents. This was recently demonstrated during the series of sniper shootings that shook the states of Maryland and Virginia in October 2002.

In addition, the federal government has taken an active role in funding local community policing programs since the passage of former President Bill Clinton's Crime Bill in 1994. Financial grants to local police agencies at the municipal and state level have since resulted in the hiring over 100,000 police officers throughout the United States, with the commitment that they would be dedicated to community policing initiatives.

In 2003 alone over \$580 million has been earmarked for the hiring of additional officers, new technology, and crime prevention programs related to community policing, supplied through the Community-Oriented Policing Office of the Department of Justice.



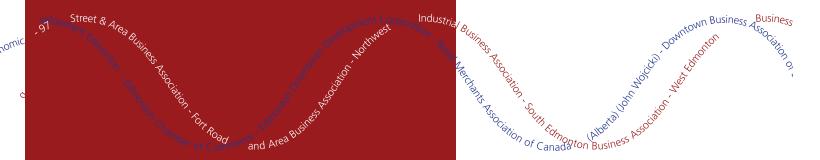
- Denotes federal agencies that add "reserve capacity" to State and local police agencies in the United States.

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## Bridges, Barriers, and Building Communities

"... the police are the public and the public are the police..."

Sir Robert Peel 1822



#### Conclusion

The *Bridges* of community policing refer to partnerships between police and the community, businesses, social agencies, and other public service organizations. Through these relationships, police agencies can work in a coordinated effort to build healthy, safe, and self-reliant communities.

*Barriers* to greater community involvement include increased demands for immediate police service, in addition to the growth in procedural requirements arising from legislative and judicial change. Police agencies also have to keep pace with advances in investigative techniques while expanding beyond traditional responsibilities into areas of emerging criminal activity such as identity theft and internet-related crime.

Increased workload results in reduced availability of police – a barrier to effective community policing.

Since due diligence must be paid to incident response and investigative capacity, efforts to expand community involvement are constrained by available resources. Through efficiency gains, partnerships and effective deployment strategies, the Edmonton Police Service has historically approached such barriers as hurdles.

*Building communities* is a solid investment in crime prevention. Shared ownership of problems, involving partnerships between police and the community, is the first step. Without such an investment, underlying problems typically lead to repetitive patterns of police response and investigation.

Community policing is not something achieved at a moment in time, or during a portion of time set aside during a patrol officer's shift. It is not a box on the organizational chart.

Community policing represents an evolution in policing – a paradigm shift from looking inwards for answers to an external focus on the long-term needs of the community.



#### Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See Herman Goldstein (1979) *Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach.* Journal of Crime and Delinquency (April).
- <sup>2</sup> Acronym for Criminal Activity Traced, Confined and Halted.
- <sup>3</sup> For a detailed comparison see Michael Scott (2000) *Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years*, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C.
- <sup>4</sup> http://massmurder.dyns.net/marc\_lepine\_05.htm
- <sup>5</sup> Herman Goldstein (1990) *Problem-Oriented Policing*. Temple University Press.
- <sup>6</sup>Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979) *Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach*. In American Sociological Review Vol.44, pp. 588-608.
- <sup>7</sup> C. Ray Jeffrey (1971) *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design*. Sage Publications.
- <sup>8</sup> See Lawrence Sherman (1989) *Hot Spots of Predatory Crime: Routine Activities and the Criminology of Place.* Criminology. Vol.27 No.1 pp. 27-55.
- <sup>9</sup> Statistics Canada 2002. *Police Resources and Expenditures in Canada 2002*
- <sup>10</sup> Operating expenditure \$163.1 million is 16.6% of the City's operating expenditure of \$984.2 million
- <sup>11</sup> City of Edmonton. Approved 2003 in Brief. Police\$174.7 million is 13% of the City's \$1329.0 million
- <sup>12</sup> City of Edmonton "Approved 2003 Budget in brief"
- <sup>13</sup> Bank of Canada: http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/inflation\_calc.htm
- <sup>14</sup> Von Wieser, Friedrich. 1889. *Natural Value*.
- <sup>15</sup> Kelling et al. 1974. *The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment*: A Summary Report. Washington: Police Foundation