



# ***The dollars and sense of policing and community safety***

**A white paper commissioned by the  
Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police  
Research Foundation (1982) Inc.**

## **Foreword**

The Canada Association of Chiefs of Police Research Foundation (CACP RF) is pleased to have worked in cooperation with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) in the creation of this White Paper. It was undertaken with the goal of providing police chiefs with a perspective on the primary Canadian studies addressing the economic challenges of policing. Having access to current information and analysis about this topic will help chiefs as they prepare for stakeholder discussions about the financial and service delivery challenges they face and the solutions they are considering.

The White Paper also aligns with the CACP RF's key purpose which is to contribute significantly to the creation and use of research into policing issues that will:

- Lead to better decision making. Today's police leader works in an increasingly complex environment. They require access to research in order to make informed decisions.
- Promote a broad approach to problem solving. Today's police leader encounters problems and issues that are closely linked to community safety, health, housing and social service matters. They require access to research from a broad range of experts in order to develop strategies and solutions to the problems they face.
- Advance the profession of policing. Each generation of police leaders needs to add to the body of evidence based research that it passes on to its successors. This is one key way that a profession develops and matures.

We believe this paper will not only inform police leaders but will also significantly contribute to the public dialogue on the broader discussion of community safety in Canada. Our communities, our elected officials and our police leaders must be well informed and collectively we all must be involved in creation of solutions and in the planning of our way forward. Our safety and security involves and impacts all of us.

We would like to thank the author of this paper, Astrid Ahlgren, for her creativity in developing the framework, for her thorough review of the research cited and for her thoughtful insight. She took on the significant challenge of working with a multi-person advisory group and worked tirelessly to incorporate our views. She has earned the authorship credit for this document and has the full support and endorsement of the both the CACP RF and the CACP Boards of Directors. As is the ever present challenge with a national organization, it is recognized that this paper may not represent the personal or professional views of each member.

**Synopsis:**

Governments at all levels in this country are grappling with the question of financial sustainability of policing in the context of a federal-provincial-territorial initiative that aims to develop a Shared Forward Agenda for Policing in Canada. Stakeholders are entering into spirited debate on whether policing service levels are adequate and appropriate, whether current service levels can be maintained, whether crime statistics tell an accurate and complete picture of policing activity and public safety, whether statistics are reliable and interpreted in the appropriate context, and myriad other questions about current policing arrangements, structures, policies and practices in Canada. It is in this context that parties are examining the three “pillars” of sustainability in policing as identified by Public Safety Canada: 1) efficiencies within police services, 2) new models of community safety, and 3) efficiencies within the justice system (2013 Summit on the Economics of Policing: Strengthening Canada’s Policing Advantage. Public Safety Canada. Summit Report. Ottawa, January 15-17, 2013; 2015 Summit on the Economics of Policing and Community Safety: Innovation and Partnerships, March 2-4, 2015).

Of the three policing pillars identified in the Shared Forward Agenda for Policing in Canada, “efficiencies within police services” is the one over which police agencies have the most control. Examples of efficiencies that have been achieved through the use of technology, changes to the demographics of the police work force and other strategies demonstrate the potential for efficiencies that result in cost savings. Business cases can be made for up-front investment in efficiencies that result in positive returns and cost savings for the police and the community as a whole.

The second policing pillar, “new models of community safety”, is more complex. The position of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police is that policing is one among many components of community safety. Empirical evidence is clear that services such as health and mental health, housing, education, addictions treatment, offender re-integration, recreation, and others are equally important in creating safe communities. Decisions to reduce investment in social services result in increased costs for police services, which become the first responder by default. Expenditures in these areas are investments, proven to have a preventive effect on crime and social disorder, to reduce “down-stream” costs borne by the criminal justice system of police, courts and corrections, and to attract businesses, all of which contribute to community safety and sustainability. In addition, expectations of police partnerships can only be realized if non-police partners are able to contribute to the partnership on a sustained basis. To examine the economics of policing and community safety without factoring in the socio-economic conditions that contribute to public safety is to operate in a vacuum. The CACP has urged governments at all levels to undertake a more holistic examination of the “economics of community safety and well-being” (resolution 2014-02).

The third policing pillar, “inefficiencies within the justice system”, has a direct impact on policing costs while lying beyond the control of police agencies. A system is as efficient and effective as its component parts allow, and examples abound of police costs incurred because of inefficiencies elsewhere. Examples also exist of initiatives, many within jurisdictions and

those at a national level that have resulted in greater effectiveness, equity, efficiency and cost savings to the tax-payer. National Police Services is one of the most important.

The CACP proposes that “effectiveness” be identified as a fourth pillar of Canada’s “policing advantage”, because it is arguably one of the most important dimensions of policing from the perspective of communities, civilian governance bodies and the tax-payer. The CACP urges consideration of effectiveness, measured in terms of effects, outputs or impact, as a critical element of current discussions. Other stakeholders expressed this view at the 2015 Summit.

There is a generic trio of pillars required for sustainability of communities: socio-cultural, political and economic (*The Economist*, *The World in 2015*, p.68). The policing pillars, therefore, are themselves dependent upon the foundational pillars of sustainable communities. Discussions about sustainability must recognize this foundation and the many players that contribute to and support it—chiefly the tax-payer.

The CACP urges decision-makers to think beyond policing in isolation and to engage all government sectors that have a role in keeping communities safe and well-functioning by reducing and preventing crime and social disorder. The CACP also encourages governments to invest in developing measurement methodologies and data collection, in order to capture information not only about policing costs, efficiencies and effectiveness, but also about the social and economic well-being of individual communities and the country as a whole. Only by considering the broader context can decision-makers arrive at informed decisions about what constitutes affordable, effective and sustainable policing—what kind and how much and who is accountable for what.

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## 1) *What is policing?*

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Dictionary definitions are not particularly helpful in describing “policing” in Canada. Definitions of “policing” vary from a narrow definition that assigns the roles of state control, coercion and enforcement to police, to a wider definition that assigns the role of control and regulation to any person who conducts oversight over an activity, situation or condition. Many would posit that, in a democratic environment, policing begins with the self.

The United Nations uses the terms “police action” and “police powers”, and in its *United Nations Criminal Justice Standards for United Nations Police (2009)*, sets out principles that apply to those serving as police and other law enforcement officials who exercise police powers. These wide-ranging principles include the duty to act in the public interest; to serve the community...by protecting all persons against illegal acts; to respect and protect human dignity and maintain and uphold the rights of all persons; to be attentive, fair and impartial, in particular in their relations with the public; to enforce certain special measures designed to address the special status and needs of women, children, the sick, the elderly, persons with disabilities and others requiring special treatment; and to cooperate with and involve the community, meaning civil society at the local level, in crime prevention.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, in its *International Rules and Standards for Policing (2014)*, sets out the responsibilities of law enforcement officials as maintaining public order, preventing and detecting crime, and providing aid and assistance in all kinds of emergencies. They are given specific powers including the power to use force and firearms, to arrest and detain, and to carry out searches or seizure. They must respect human rights when exercising those powers by observing four fundamental principles: legality, necessity, proportionality and accountability.

Policing in Canada has its origins in the nine principles set out for the Metropolitan Police of London, England in 1829 by then-Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel, considered the father of modern policing. Of those nine principles, which remain as fresh and relevant today as when they were first expressed, two in particular resonate:

*7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence.*

*9. To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.*

The Criminal Code of Canada does not define “police” or “policing”. Rather, it includes “police officer, police constable, bailiff, constable, or other person employed for the preservation and

maintenance of the public peace or for the service or execution of civil process” as one of the categories of “peace officer”. Provincial legislation is hardly more precise. However, despite the lack of clear and uniform definition, but in light of public and government expectations of the roles of police, the CACP position is that policing in Canada today entails:

- maintaining public order and public safety
- enforcing the law
- monitoring those suspected of planning criminal acts
- detecting and investigating crime
- preventing crime (in all its forms: primary—social development, secondary—situational, and tertiary—use of the justice system)
- responding to civic emergencies and events of natural and human cause
- protecting people, especially vulnerable persons such as indigenous and trafficked females, and children vulnerable to abuse, sexual exploitation and bullying
- protecting property and property rights
- respecting constitutional rights and freedoms
- supporting victims of crime
- serving the community with attention to its cultural, linguistic and demographic characteristics
- partnering with other police services, security agencies, first responders and social agencies
- communicating with the public
- conducting criminal records checks for companies, volunteer organizations and institutions
- demonstrating accountability to authorities and the public
- training and professional development
- efficient and effective use of resources, including tools and technology

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### *2a) Policing in the context of community safety and wellness*

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At the heart of the matter is “what constitutes community safety”. International authorities define this as a concept that “seeks to operationalize human security, human development and state-building paradigms at the local level” (United Nations Development Program). It includes individual and group security, and focuses on ensuring that community members are free from fear. "Community" refers to all actors, groups and institutions within the specific geographic space, and therefore includes civil society organizations, the police and the local authorities that are responsible for delivering security and other services in that area. It is not achieved, therefore, through top-down legislation but on short- and long-term solutions to security problems in specific communities.

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, in its *International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Trends and Perspectives 2010*, funded by Public Safety Canada, notes that “security” has different meanings in different parts of the world. The ICPC uses “security” to encompass “safety”, thereby including the prevention, reduction or removal of risks for an environment in which ordinary citizens live and move free of fear. It acknowledges the mandates of the social sector, health, education, sports, arts and culture as contributing to safety, quite beyond the government-led national security sector. Indeed, the mandate of Public Safety Canada, spanning national security, intelligence, policing, the federal corrections system and community-based crime prevention, is founded on the view that many elements together create safety and security.

The Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models states that “the production of safety and security in a whole-of-society affair involving multiple jurisdictions and many mandates beyond the policing system.”

There is consensus that, in the Canadian context, policing is only one part of security, safety and wellness. This has become abundantly clear in several very recent events (2014-2015) linked to a wide range of acts including suspected terrorism, gang violence, victimization of indigenous females, “lone-wolf” shootings and incidents of family violence.

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### *2b) Community safety and wellness in northern and remote communities*

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A unique feature of policing and community safety in Canada is the challenge of providing an equitable level of service to communities that are remote from the population centres largely concentrated proximal to the Canada-United States border. Socio-economic conditions in many of these communities, particularly those that are home to First Nations, Métis, Inuit and Aboriginal peoples, do not compare favourably to those of more southern areas. In many isolated northern communities basic needs of housing and potable water are lacking. Services for those with health, mental health, substance abuse and addictions issues are often absent, inadequate or sporadic. Education and training opportunities are limited. Unemployment is high, as are poverty levels. Conviction rates for Aboriginal peoples are higher than for the non-Aboriginal population, a reality illustrated by an incarceration rate that is greatly disproportionate to the Aboriginal population as a percentage of the Canadian population. First Nations police services are precarious, funded through a cost-shared annual contributions program that makes their sustainability questionable. As a result, many communities do not have the capacity to provide a safe and healthy environment for their members.

Individuals who leave remote and isolated communities for larger urban centres gain greater access to the educational, medical and social services they require. At the same time they may become increasingly vulnerable by virtue of a transient lifestyle, racism, family disruption, and separation from the broader community with its familiar social networks. Some of these factors



contribute to an elevated risk for young people who leave their communities in order to attend secondary and post-secondary school, for children and youth in the care of child protection agencies, and for women who work in the sex trade.

Police services are only one element of the safety and security that every community requires. Nowhere in Canada is this more obvious than in our northern and remote communities.

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### 3) *Summary of recent reports on the “economics of policing”*

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Given the growing numbers of police officers and declining crime rates, for the past several years many have questioned whether the most efficient use is being made of policing resources across the country. The situation has been characterized in the national news media as the “exploding cost of policing in Canada” (CBC News, January 15, 2013) and local news media have reported on municipalities’ efforts to reconcile police budgets and service levels with crime rates and citizen expectations. A number of studies and reports released in Canada in 2014 focused on the issue of policing costs, in particularly their increase at a time when the reported crime rate is falling. The following briefly summarizes and comments on each.

#### **Christopher Leuprecht (March 2014). *The Blue Line or the Bottom Line of Police Services in Canada? Arresting Runaway Growth in Costs.* MacDonald-Laurier Institute.**

This document begins with the provocative statement that Canadians are “not getting all the police they pay for”, pointing to the discrepancy between police budgets that have increased at a rate double that of GDP, and numbers of calls for service that have remained stable over the same decade. The paper calls for a new debate about the provision of police service, focusing on the perspectives of police as compared to those of taxpayers and politicians. The author identifies three specific areas that warrant a focused debate around how governments provide police services to Canadians: 1) cost drivers such as the changing nature of policing, public expectations and inefficiencies related to the role of police within the criminal justice system; 2) economies of scale that could result in cost savings from shared services and operations, common provincial standards and greater use of technology; and 3) the potential for alternative service delivery through civilianization and outsourcing as a means of reducing police salary budgets. He also makes general recommendations, including spending less time reactively fighting crime and more time on proactive intervention, mitigation and prevention.

The author points to the increasing scope of policing that has resulted “because governments and the public have either intentionally or inadvertently placed under police authority an ever-expanding array of activities, many of which are really social or medical measures, not law enforcement” (page 3). He alludes to the financing and policy complexities that result from Canada’s criminal justice jurisdictional reality: “Courts and Crown are provincial or federal agencies, whereas police tend to be municipal or municipally contracted. Outsourcing court

costs to police amounts to an indirect municipal subsidy of the judicial process” (page 18). He cautions against unrealistic expectations of cost savings from incremental changes, when up to 90% of municipal budgets for policing are taken up by human resources costs (page 8). And he opines that the federal government could be instituting national systems (for case files and evidence, for example) that would reduce costs for all police agencies.

The author sets out a number of recommendations that he deems achievable, including: 1) measure quality rather than quantity, so that the effectiveness of police activities can be captured; 2) dispense with reductionist cost-benefit analyses and look instead to ways of achieving the agreed-upon outcomes; 3) implement cross-training programs between services to improve public safety; 4) shift the emphasis of police work away from law enforcement and towards “peace officer”; and 5) raise the bar on professionalism through accreditation or provincial benchmarking.

### Commentary\*

In proposing solutions the author comes up against an important and fundamental fact—that police services are established not by themselves or by the communities they serve but by federal and provincial governments, and that “the responsibility lies with legislators to provide legislative frameworks that constrain cost escalation on the one hand, and provide greater latitude in service delivery on the other” (page 5). He cites Quebec as an instructive example of police reform and legislative renewal and notes that provinces are responsible for medical and social service interventions that increasingly fall to police by default. He concludes that “Canada needs to debate which policing duties are core (and which are discretionary) and divide labour more functionally among federal, provincial, and municipal levels” (page 26). He does not address the costs and benefits of prevention in its various forms.

Many of the points raised in this report echo the messages conveyed by the CACP in its resolutions 2004-11 (Police Governance), 2005-01 (Integrated Policing Policy Framework) and 2008-07 (Framework for Progressive Policing), which call for all orders of government to jointly address current policing structures and arrangements.

\* commentary may not reflect the views of all CACP members

### **Livio Di Matteo (September 2014). *Police and Crime Rates in Canada: A Comparison of Resources and Outcomes*. Fraser Institute.**

The author of the Fraser Institute study reviewed selected literature on the relationship between police resources and crime rates and then examined trends in crime rates and police resources in Canada. The author then estimated the “efficiency” of police staffing across Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) using a “determinants approach”; this is based in the first instance on an estimate of the relationship between police officers per 100,000 population and the crime rate (controlling for other factors), and in the second instance, using that relationship to estimate the predicted number of officers. This predicted number was then

compared by the author to the actual number, to determine whether Canadian CMAs have more or fewer officers than predicted. The author concluded by naming the 10 CMAs considered to be the most efficiently resourced (i.e. with fewer officers per 100,000 population than predicted) and the 10 considered most inefficiently resourced (i.e. with more officers per 100,000 population than predicted).

It is important to note that the report focuses only on efficiency and contains several relevant disclaimers that have received far less attention in the news media. The author acknowledged this up front: “Policing has evolved beyond just dealing with crime and includes a wider range of problem social behaviours, which are factors in police resource and expenditure growth. As well, there are changes in the technology of both crime and policing as well as other factors affecting staffing such as operational load due to service demand and response time, socio-economic factors such as demographics and crime trends, and strategic directions of police forces in terms of governance and policing methods” (page iii). He continued: “After controlling for crime rates and other explicit socio-economic confounding factors, substantial differences in staffing remain that can be attributed to local circumstances and conditions that are not easily identified. Some of these differences may reflect inefficient use of police resources while others may reflect other *more difficult to quantify* [my italics] local socio-economic differences that raise unique challenges to policing” (page iv).

#### Commentary\*

The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police has endorsed a document commissioned by the Chief of Police, Peterborough Community Police Service, entitled “A Critical Assessment of the September 2014 Fraser Institute Article *Police and Crime Rates in Canada: A Comparison of Resources and Outcomes*”. This critical assessment picks up on the disclaimers of the Di Matteo report, and in addition points to data deficiencies and limitations. One of the most significant data deficiencies is the use of the CMA as the basis for analysis, since a CMA does not necessarily equate to a police service (for example Vancouver, Edmonton, the National Capital Region). Within one CMA, community safety priorities may differ greatly, based on factors such as demographics, socio-economic conditions and others. The Peterborough Community Police Service assessment concludes that the De Matteo study does not constitute a valid resource for those involved in police governance, management and policy development.

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#### **The Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models (November 2014). *Policing Canada in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: New Policing for New Challenges*. Council of Canadian Academies.**

The international expert panel prepared this report at the request of the federal Minister of Public Safety, in the context of “mounting concern over the rising costs of Canada’s police, costs that many believe are increasingly difficult to sustain”. The panel was assigned the following question: “Given the evolution of crime, the justice system, and society, what do current evidence and knowledge suggest about the future of public policing models used in Canada?” In

support of this main question, the panel was asked to identify 1) key existing and emerging issues; 2) some of the best relevant practices used in other countries that aim for greater effectiveness, efficiency and public confidence; and 3) research and knowledge gaps and potential communities of expertise and resources to fill those gaps.

At the outset, the panel placed policing in the wider context of what it called the “safety and security web” of interdependent police and non-police organizations ranging from security agencies to local health service providers, which together contribute to safety and security. The report points to growing evidence that non-police crime prevention initiatives are cost-effective, especially in reducing interpersonal crime. The panel pronounced that the central challenge and opportunity for police is to work effectively within and through this locally-structured and geographically variable web. From there, the panel identified as challenges the changing nature of crime, the demand for greater cost-effectiveness and the need for a more robust body of knowledge/evidence on what works best in a safety and security web.

The panel places responsibility for an effective transition at the feet of police and other actors “in concert with all levels of government”. It states that the role of police and other sectors in a transition process is to help initiate change by embracing adaptation, interdependence and knowledge. The roles of government, according to the panel, are 1) to recognize the extent of the safety and security web and the appropriate role of police within that web; 2) to ensure that through policy and regulation the police are governed as part of the safety and security web rather than as independent institutions; and 3) to ensure effective governance of the web through regulations and incentives so that it can be made to work in the public interest. The panel acknowledges that the shared responsibility for policing (federal, provincial, municipal) presents systemic challenges, particularly given the trend towards cross jurisdictional crimes and safety and security threats.

### Commentary\*

The panel essentially presents problem definition rather than concrete suggestions for solutions to the challenges of multiple jurisdictional responsibilities. The question that arises from the panel’s conclusion is a fundamental one: where does responsibility reside for the creation, regulation and governance of public institutions? While acknowledging that police alone cannot initiate change, the panel nevertheless places this at the feet of police and those other institutions, many of which contribute to preventing crime that otherwise would require a police response. The panel also fails to recommend a stronger focus on crime prevention measures which are less costly than police activities and yet contribute in a vital way to the safety and security “web” that the panel espouses. It pays scant attention to the role of governments: in the first instance to enact laws and establish the machinery and broad policy objectives for the institutions that deliver public services, and in the second instance to address federal-to-provincial and provincial-to-municipal/regional financial arrangements. Neither the police nor other institutions can pass laws, set public policy or change the machinery of government. They can merely work within current structures and attempt to find ways to bridge institutional silos that exist within and across jurisdictions.

There are many local examples where this occurs despite practical and operational barriers to interdependence. Some jurisdictions, such as British Columbia, are addressing this challenge on a policy basis within the province by adopting evidence-based recommendations from its 2012 and 2013 White Papers on Justice Reform and its December 2014 reports on crime reduction and safety within the provincial corrections system. The province alludes to the limitations of its work within the national context: “While respecting constitutional roles, we need to adopt a common set of measures and goals” (White Paper on Justice Reform Part 2, page 4). Incremental change within jurisdictions and within and among police and other public service agencies is positive and responsive to cost concerns; however, a wider and deeper and comprehensive examination of how policing, safety and security are provided to Canadians appears to remain elusive.

\* commentary may not reflect the views of all CACP members

**Gary Bass, Bryan Kinney & Paul J. Brantingham (November 2014). *Economics of Policing: Complexity and Costs in Canada*. Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies.**

This study updates the 2005 *30 Year Police Costing Study* by the University of the Fraser Valley and the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies (ICURS), which focused on British Columbia and found that police work had increased and become more expensive over the previous three decades because of the increased complexity of investigations, the impact of case law and policy changes, and advances in technology. The 2014 report expands the 2005 scope by exploring the assumption that policing costs have been increasing out of control at a time of declining police-recorded Criminal Code offences.

The current report examines the reported crime rate as a measure of the work undertaken by police, the measure that police, politicians, academics and media commentators focus on when discussing the costs of policing and public safety. It also notes the tendency to interpret all crimes as being equal in terms of resource draw, and points out that the Crime Severity Index relies for its measure on sentencing outcomes rather than activities of police agencies. The 2014 findings are germane:

- 1) property crime reports have dropped dramatically in comparison to reports of violent crime, which require more investigative resources, with the result that the resources needed by police have not declined to the extent often assumed;
- 2) the drop in police-reported crime is not matched by a decline in calls for service;
- 3) only 30% of calls for service relate to offences that are tracked in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR);
- 4) many Internet-based crimes, frauds and crimes against children may not be uniformly reported to the UCR by the police;
- 5) there has been increased demand for police to respond to mental health and social disorder issues;

- 6) police are conducting activities that traditionally have been carried out by other criminal justice agencies (such as parole, curfew checking);
- 7) the increased use of technology has resulted in uniformed officers spending time on data entry, an activity previously done by clerical staff at lower cost; and
- 8) there are increasing resource implications stemming from reporting requirements and accountability to oversight bodies.

With respect to costs, the ICURS report demonstrates that for those BC municipalities that pay directly for police, the aggregate costs have remained relatively stable within a range from 14% to 19% of total operating expenditures over a thirty-year period. When compared to other components of British Columbia's provincial budget, policing is one of the smaller units. At a national level, increases in expenditures for policing have been in line with increases for education and health expenditures.

### Commentary\*

The factors contributing to increased policing costs are comprehensively set out in this report, with flow charts demonstrating in a cut and dried manner the increased complexity and number of stages in handling specific Criminal Code offences. Similar flow charts illustrating the police response to non-criminal incidents, data collection, evidence preparation and other activities would further explain the reasons for cost escalation and potentially point to areas of policing cost containment. The study relies heavily on British Columbia data sources, but the factors that are highlighted as having an impact on policing costs are undoubtedly applicable in jurisdictions across Canada. This study, supplemented by a piece on prevention as investment in reducing crime and social disorder, could serve as a useful template for local analyses of policing costs and the factors that contribute to their increase or containment.

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### **Natalie Davison. *College of Policing analysis: Estimating demand on the police service.* (2015). College of Policing.**

The UK College of Policing is a new policing professional body for policing, awaiting its establishment by Parliament as a statutory body independent of government. Its mandate is to set standards, promote evidence-based good practice, accredit training providers, support partnership working and lead on ethics and integrity. This report examines demand on police services in England and Wales, in response to the misperceptions that may arise from relying on levels of recorded crime as the main measure of police workload. Two areas of demand are noted: 1) demand from the public through calls for service or incidents to which the police respond and 2) demand for proactive work the police are required to undertake in order to safeguard the public, such as managing registered sex offenders in the community, child protection, preventative patrolling, community meetings and intelligence gathering. The report notes that there is very limited information on the amount of time police spend on activities

that are not reflected in counts of crime, and warns of a decreasing ability of the police to be visible and proactive in the community.

### Commentary\*

Although from the UK, this report identifies issues germane to policing in Canada: limited information on police activities, including those undertaken as a result of legislation and policy and those that respond to community expectations; and a lack of measurement of time spent on those activities and on different crimes, particularly new categories of crime.

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#### 4a) *Currently-used measurements and methodologies for policing*

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**The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada**, collects and makes publicly available statistical information relating to policing and crime; there is no national collection of data relating to crime prevention. Two main complementary surveys, the annual *Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey* and the *General Social Survey (GSS) on Victimization* conducted every five years, are the main sources for capturing information on crime and victimization in Canada on a national basis. The traditional metrics available on a national basis are crime rate, crime severity index, clearance rates, police strength, cost of policing, police officers per 100,000 population, Criminal Code incidents per officer and public satisfaction with police work as per the General Social Survey questions. These data are supplemented by other reports that provide statistics and analysis.

The *UCR Survey* reports on all federal statute offences substantiated and reported by Canadian police services. The *UCR* collects detailed data on all *Criminal Code* violations, including *Criminal Code* traffic violations, as well as other federal statute violations such as drug offences. Traditionally, the *UCR Survey* has reported on crime rates, calculated by summing up all *Criminal Code* incidents reported by the police and dividing by the population to arrive at a rate per 100,000 population. An important limitation is that it counts all offences equally, not accounting for their seriousness or frequency; as a result, the rate can fluctuate easily as a result of variations in high volume but less serious offences. In response to this limitation, Statistics Canada, in collaboration with the policing community, developed the *Crime Severity Index (CSI)*. The *CSI*, which is also based on the most serious violation in the incident, takes into account not only the volume of crime, but also the seriousness of crime based on court sentences.

The *GSS on Victimization* is a self-report survey whereby individuals aged 15 and over are interviewed about their experience with a subset of offences—sexual assault, robbery, physical assault, breaking and entering, theft of motor vehicles or their parts, theft of personal property,

theft of household property, and vandalism. The survey does not include crimes against businesses. Individuals living in institutions are also out of scope for the survey. The *GSS on Victimization* is also relied upon for measures on victims reporting to police and reasons for not reporting.

Through its flagship publication, *Juristat*, Statistics Canada explores special topics using its existing data, in order to contribute to a deeper understanding of specific crime-related issues. These include analyses of homicide, family violence, police-reported hate crimes, police-reported cyber-crimes, police-reported sexual offences against children and youth, police-reported youth crimes, fraud against businesses, violence against women, police resources and many more topics.

**John Kiedrowski, Michael Petrunik, Todd Macdonald, Ron Melchers (February 2013). *Canadian Police Board Views on the Use of Police Performance Metrics. Compliance Strategy Group.***

This group conducted research into publicly-available police performance metrics and how they are interpreted and applied by civilian police boards. As a starting point, the authors note that there is no legislation in Canada dictating the use of performance measures or standards, although some provinces (Ontario is cited) have put in place regulations that require reporting on specific indicators, including community-based crime prevention, community satisfaction and assistance to victims. The result is that some police agencies (generally the smaller and rural ones) do not measure performance and those that do (generally large urban jurisdictions) use measurement models that vary considerably. Furthermore, “key dimensions of performance such as effectiveness and efficiency, which are essential to any well-designed performance management model, were rarely applied” (page 4). In many cases what is measured is input and output/activities, with scant attention to the outcomes, effects or impact of those activities. The authors note that the use of traditional measures such as crime rates, clearance rates, arrest rates and response times are not always the most appropriate measures to understand the scope of policing activities. And even these traditional indicators are not applied consistently, bringing into question their validity and reliability.

Responses from police board members reveal that those police agencies whose use of performance measures is most effective capture the following:

- 1) reducing criminal victimization,
- 2) calling adult and youth offenders to account in appropriate ways,
- 3) reducing fear of crime and enhance personal security,
- 4) increasing safety in public spaces,
- 5) using financial resources fairly, efficiently, and effectively
- 6) using force and authority legitimately, fairly, and effectively, and
- 7) satisfying citizen demands for prompt, effective and fair service.



However, these measures are not standardized or clearly focused on core policing outcomes, with the result that Canada cannot attain “meaningful national or provincial quality control or cost management standards” (page 36).

### **Standards on Urban Police Function (1980). ABA Standards for Criminal Justice: Volume I, 2nd Ed. The American Bar Association**

The American Bar Association publication, dated more than three decades ago but prescient and equally relevant today, notes at the outset that “effectiveness in dealing with crime is often largely dependent upon the effectiveness of other agencies both within and outside the criminal justice system”. The ABA makes the case that police perform complex and multiple tasks in addition to identifying and apprehending persons committing serious criminal offenses. These include protection of rights, participation with other public and social agencies in the prevention of criminal and delinquent behavior, maintenance of order and control of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, resolution of conflict, and assistance to citizens in need of help such as the person who is mentally ill, the chronic alcoholic, or the drug addict. The document predicts “that this diversity of responsibility is likely to continue and, more importantly, that police authority and skills are needed to handle appropriately a wide variety of community problems” (standard 1-1.1).

It states that the tasks currently assigned to police (by the 1980s) have come to them, not through any coherent planning by state or local governments of what the overriding objectives or priorities of the police should be, but on an *ad hoc* basis by a number of factors that influence their involvement in responding to various government or community needs. These factors include the legislative mandates of police, their authority to use force lawfully, their investigative ability, their 24/7 availability, community pressures and court decisions.

The document does not prescribe specific performance measures; rather, it establishes principles and standards for: setting police objectives and priorities, recognizing methods and authority of police for fulfilling their assigned tasks, law enforcement policy making (with recognition of the role of governments), establishing accountability mechanisms, ensuring adequate resources, effective relationship with other criminal justice institutions, gaining and maintaining public understanding and confidence, and evaluating effectiveness. Significantly, the report acknowledges that these standards are recommended to form the basis of locally-developed expectations.

### **State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/14 (November 2014). Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Constabulary**

In the context of police reform in the United Kingdom, Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Constabulary is required to table in Parliament an annual report on the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of police forces in England and Wales:

- the effectiveness of a force is assessed in relation to how it carries out its responsibilities including cutting crime, protecting the vulnerable, tackling anti-social behaviour, and dealing with emergencies and other calls for service;
- the efficiency of a force is assessed in relation to how it provides value for money; and
- the legitimacy of a force is assessed in relation to whether the force operates fairly, ethically and within the law (page 227).

Although related to the policing state of affairs in policing in England and Wales, many findings in the 2013-2014 report are nevertheless instructive to the current Canadian discussion on the sustainability of policing. Beginning with a discussion about the roles of police, the report moves to the changing demands being made of them; the nature and extent of unreported crime, especially in a culturally diverse population in which traditional norms may prevail; technology that has produced new forms of crime that require police to have specialized equipment and skills to match those used by criminals; the challenge of interoperability among police and other agencies so that they can respond in the coordinated fashion to prevent and investigate offences against children and situations of social disorder; the costs and challenges of often invisible work by police on issues such as terrorism threats and organized crime; the move towards greater evidence-based responses that depend on a body of empirical data; increased accountability measures; and the competing demands of national and local policing priorities (keeping in mind that the United Kingdom is a unitary state and therefore less complex than Canada's federation).

The demands made of police in the United Kingdom are essentially the same as those made of police in Canada, with additional complicating factors in the Canadian context (geographic realities, population distribution and multiple government jurisdictions sharing responsibility for policing, safety and security). The UK encountered challenges in assessing how well the police performed in preventing, investigating and detecting crime and anti-social behaviour, and in protecting victims and those in vulnerable sectors. The report notes the challenges arising from limited data sources, the not-infrequent discrepancy between national goals and targets and those of local communities, and service demands made of police because budget reductions in other agencies caused those agencies to withdraw from partnerships with police. The result is that police are increasingly being used for functions such as transporting patients to medical facilities and using police cells as safe places for individuals detained under mental health provisions.

From the examples cited, and as recognized by the CACP, it appears that performance indicators to measure effectiveness must go beyond policing metrics to capture other measurements germane to the broader notion of community safety and wellness. Internationally, there are sound principles that have been put forward to form the basis for a comprehensive set of measurements that will accurately assess the efficiency and effectiveness of police and other institutions whose complementary mandates are designed to provide Canadian communities with safety and security in the broadest sense.

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4b) *Currently-used measurements and methodologies for community safety and wellness*

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There is very limited information on which to form assessments of community safety and wellness, and yet such measures are as important to the current discussion as are costs of policing. Measures of community safety and wellness are particularly relevant at a time when governments are looking to police agencies to develop new models of community safety, which inevitably involve non-police partners. Work done in this area is instructive and may inspire governments at all levels to consider the value of quantifying, measuring and assessing from local to national levels the effectiveness of police and non-police activities that contribute to community safety and wellness.

**Canadian Index of Wellbeing. (2012). *How are Canadians Really Doing? The 2012 CIW Report*. Waterloo, ON: Canadian Index of Wellbeing and University of Waterloo.**

The Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) was developed by the Faculty of Applied Health Sciences, University of Waterloo following the economic recession of 2008, and launched in 2011, to fill a gap in Canadians' knowledge and awareness of their quality of life and changes over time. In part the CIW serves as a complement to the measurement of economic productivity provided by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The GDP "only tells us about our economic productivity, assuming that all growth is good when in fact, spending on crime or natural disasters contributes to productivity. Further, GDP tells us nothing about our people, our environment, our democracy, or other aspects of life that matter to Canadians."

The Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) is a composite index with a single number that moves up or down, like numbers on the stock exchange. The CIW uses eight indices, each of which has eight measures. It provides a quick snapshot of whether the overall quality of life of Canadians is getting better or worse. Results for 2011 and 2012 show that the gap in inequality is growing in Canada, with negative impacts for society as a whole. While safety is not a separate index, several of the indices are relevant to any discussion about community safety and security: healthy populations, living standards, democratic engagement, community vitality, education, time use, leisure and culture, and environment.

**Community Foundations of Canada**

The Governor General of Canada is the patron of Community Foundations of Canada (1992), a non-profit umbrella organization with a broad mission to build stronger communities by enhancing the philanthropic leadership of individual community foundations. The first community foundation was established in 1914 in Cleveland, Ohio and the first Canadian community foundation was formed in Winnipeg in 1921; there are now over 170 across Canada.

Community foundations conduct “check-ups” on their cities or communities, by assessing their vitality, which is measured by how well people’s needs (sustenance, shelter, health care, safety, and opportunities for recreation, learning and creativity) are being met. The first Vital Signs® report was done in Toronto in 2001, as a tool to generate discussion about the city’s priorities and to tackle quality of life issues such as housing, youth safety and environmental quality. The Ottawa report of 2010 included safety as a chapter, noting for example a dramatic increase since 2001-2002 in the percentage of the pre-trial population in the local detention centre that was identified with mental health issue and this population’s limited access to treatment or education programs.

**The British Columbia Atlas of Wellness, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (2011). Leslie T. Foster, C. Peter Keller, Brian McKee, Aleck Ostry. University of Victoria.**

The British Columbia Atlas of Wellness uses the World Health Organization definition of wellness as “complete physical, mental and social well-being”, rather than the absence of disease and infirmity. Many models for measuring wellness have been developed, and the Atlas summarizes both international and Canadian examples. Most have been developed to replace or complement the Gross Domestic Product that was previously used to measure a country’s standard of living. Many of these new common dimensions include crime, safety and security explicitly, and in most the measure of safety and security is allied with community vitality, citizenship and civic engagement, and trust and belonging.

The Atlas cites the following Canadian examples of indicators to measure well-being:

- the Federation of Canadian Municipalities’ *Quality of Life Reporting System* (1999, 2010);
- the Conference Board of Canada’s 2011 *Report Card on Canada*;
- Human Resources and Skills Development Canada’s 2010 series of indicators to measure well-being, which includes social order as a societal asset and considers security and social participation as key domains for measuring well-being; and
- the Canadian Index of Well-being (2010).

The BC Atlas of Wellness sets out a comprehensive framework, based on extensive research, and identifies and defines social wellness, environmental wellness, economic wellness and cultural wellness as related to safety, security and well-being. Notably, the Atlas identifies governance and social justice wellness as a separate dimension, citing the application of the law and the treatment by others as important factors in well-being.

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### *5) Developments in Refining and Expanding Metrics Around Policing and Community Safety*

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- **Public Safety Canada** issued a Request for Proposals (RO19U: Professional Services/Program Research Analysis) for “empirical insight into the benefits and

challenges associated with civilianization of police in at least four police services”, and specifically whether a move to civilianization within police services does in fact result in cost savings for tax-payers. The analysis is to focus on the areas of 1) administration, 2) services such as traffic control and community control, 3) investigative assistance such as responding to non-threatening calls, and 4) specialized support such as forensic science and accounting.






The study is to include an analysis of quantitative data from internal police data, reports and interviews with police, as well as non-quantitative benefits and challenges associated with civilianization; this is where one might expect an analysis of the impact that civilianization has had on the effectiveness of the police services being studied. The metrics for capturing results and effectiveness are not stated. The research is to be completed by July 2015.

- **The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada**, is in the midst of working with the **CACP Police Information and Statistics (POLIS) Committee** and other stakeholders to develop a national framework with metrics focused on both efficiency and effectiveness. This initiative is in recognition of the limitations of traditional metrics and the proliferation of alternative, often innovative performance measures being developed by police services to respond to their communities’ need for information on police efficiency and effectiveness. The work is planned in four phases:
  - Preliminary research: establishing the bases
    - I. Environmental scans of the literature as a point of departure
    - II. Identify and establish connections with
      - i. key justice partners (PSC, **LOC**, POLIS)
      - ii. individuals and working groups currently undertaking work on police performance metrics
  - Phase I: identifying police service needs and feasibility
    - I. Consultation with POLIS members under Calls for Service (CFS) working group in aim of identifying and aligning call type categories and priority levels
    - II. Consultation with POLIS working group members to identify current police practices for collecting and reporting high-level performance indicators
    - III. Pilot project examining the feasibility of CFS data collection
  - Phase II: solidifying the framework
    - I. Disseminate results of consultations to respondents and key stakeholders for feedback
    - II. Recommend preliminary short-term and long-term national indicators
    - III. Engage in discussion with partners on costing measures associated with indicators

- Phase III: delivery of framework (pending ongoing jurisdictional support and collaboration)
  - I. Establish national data requirements for new indicators
  - II. Begin to build and test processes and systems to collect data from police services
  - III. Launch new uniform police performance metrics and present in framework that supplements traditional metrics
  - IV. Undertake continual data quality evaluations to ensure the validity, reliability and relevance of the framework

These phases are scheduled on the following achieved and planned timeframe, as reported by CCJS to the Shared Forward Agenda Steering Committee Meeting of December 2014:

## Project status: Where we are now

Current stage:			Future stages:				
Preliminary Research		Phase I		Phase II	Phase III (dependent on collaboration with jurisdiction partners)		
Environmental scan		Undertake CFS classification consultation		Distribute results of consultation for feedback	2014/15	Establish national data requirements (requires collaboration and in-kind effort)	2015/16
Establish connections with key partners		Undertake police performance metrics consultation		Recommend preliminary short-term and long-term indicators	2015/16	Begin data collection (dependent on readiness of police services)	2016/17
		Pilot examining feasibility of CFS data collection		Engage in discussion with partners on costing measures associated with indicators	2015/16	Launch framework (dependent on jurisdictional collaboration)	2016/17
						Ongoing data quality assessments	2016/17

Dates are tentative and represent the estimated period when the project component reaches completion.

The new potential police workload metrics, currently under review, are:

- workload distribution by administrative, proactive and reactive activity model
- time spent on and/or number of officers allocated to each activity model component
- volume of calls for service
- calls for service by priority level, call type, dispatch
- response time to calls for service
- mental health calls for service
- additional measures of public satisfaction with police work and perceptions of public safety

**What remains to be developed are robust metrics for community wellbeing.**

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## 6) *Factors for communities to consider when setting police budgets*

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The CACP advises that decision-makers take a number of factors into account when determining police service budgets for their jurisdictions, above and beyond the standard statistical sources that quantify crime rates, crime severity, victimization, officer complement in relation to population, arrest rates, clearance rates and other traditional metrics at a national level. For example, the Crime Severity Index related to violent crime ranks almost all communities served by First Nations Police Services to be the highest in Canada in comparison to police serving non-Aboriginal communities. The CACP advises that decision-makers take into account the well-being of their communities, using existing measures or developing metrics to convey the state of community safety, security and wellness from several perspectives. It is also recommended that jurisdictions acknowledge the need to develop valid performance metrics and commit to investing the necessary resources to establish what these are and how they are weighted in the local context. For each of the factors listed below, examples have been drawn from Canadian police agencies to illustrate the need for factual and relevant data as an ingredient in decision-making around budgets for policing services.

### **6.1 Police costs compared to other public service costs**

There are differing views on how policing costs compare to other public sector costs, and little analysis to break down the nature of these costs as discretionary or non-discretionary, routine or exceptional, etc. The Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models reported that “over the past decade, police costs have been rising at a faster rate on average than total public expenditures and gross domestic product (GDP)” (page 45). The Macdonald-Laurier Institute study states that police budgets have increased at a rate double that of GDP over the last decade (page 2) and reports that the percentage of municipal budgets that policing represents has remained fairly stable even though real growth in salaries exceeds inflation and is about twice the growth in salaries in the rest of the public sector (page 9). The Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies states that the increases in policing costs from 1986 to 2010 in British Columbia were consistent with [and in the case of health, lower than] the rise of costs in other sectors such as health and education. The report also noted that in British Columbia the proportion of municipal expenditures committed to police services had remained relatively stable for the past 30 years” (pp 7,8,12).

There is ample agreement that the most significant factor driving up policing costs is salaries and benefits, which are established through arbitration and lie outside the scope of local governments. Costs of overtime are part of this cost, but there is a dearth of information about what impact regular overtime costs have on police salary envelopes, with the exception of extraordinary events such as the G-20 and massive police responses to shooting incidents such as occurred on Parliament Hill and Moncton in 2014 where individual police agencies have calculated them.

It is not only difficult to draw conclusions from a comparison of police costs to other public service costs, but also challenging to compare police costs in 2015 to those of 2005 or any earlier period. One reason is that there are no obvious baselines that would ensure consistent comparators either within policing or with other sectors. For example, in discussions about the rising costs of policing, there is no correlating data on what proportion of those costs are related to salary, overtime, administration, operational costs, etc. It is therefore difficult to determine whether and how efficiencies might be achieved by the individual police service, and what costs are beyond the ability of the police service to influence. Nor is there any apparent discussion about the relationship, if any, between reduced costs in some areas of public expenditure and increased costs in policing. Reports that make comparisons appear to do so based on assumptions of comparability.

## **6.2 Funding mechanisms and arrangements for policing**

Police services in Canada are currently funded by a variety of mechanisms, including regular government appropriations, grants and contributions, special allocations (front-line officers), reimbursement (following large international and unplanned extraordinary events) and cost-shared arrangements of long (RCMP contracts) and short-term (First Nations Policing Program) duration. The equity of this array of arrangements has been questioned and is tied to sustainability. It is unclear whether current discussions about the economics of policing and community safety will address, in the first instance the variety of ways in which police services in Canada are now funded and by which level(s) of government, and in the second instance, what options might exist for the future—whether through general tax revenues, through municipal tax bases, or through some other mechanism or arrangement. This is a discussion that is the responsibility of those who govern and fund policing services in federal, provincial, regional, municipal and First Nations forms.

## **6.3 Look beyond statistics to understand what the police do, how much is responding to crime, and the impact of other social service activities**

There has been considerable attention focused on the revelation in the 2014 Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies report that only some 30% of calls for police service in British Columbia relate to offences that are tracked in the Uniform Crime Reports. This estimate is replicated in other jurisdictions. There is currently no means of determining categorically and nation-wide how much uniformed police officer time is spent on which policing functions.

In fact, most police services in Canada are unable to separate out the time their officers spend on various actions (such as school and community liaison and consultation; proactive prevention and special community initiatives; dealing with incidents where alcohol and addictions are a factor; focusing on youth at risk and gangs before and after crimes are committed; administration, report writing and data entry; accompanying suspects, accused and victims to health facilities, court and safe houses; investigating frauds, internet crime, major crime and organized crime; and large event planning and deployment) because their records management systems do not capture this level of detail. Police activities related to



provincial statutes and municipal by-laws do not appear in the Uniform Crime Reports. Despite data system limitations, several police services have carried out an analysis of their officers' time and provided the results to the CACP.

- The Brandon Police Service reports that 22% of 2014 calls for service resulted in criminal charges.
- The Vancouver Police Department in 2014 responded to 177,678 calls for service, of which 45,923 (26%) were criminal incidents; of the 20 most common call types, 13 were not of an apparent criminal incident.
- Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, Moncton, Toronto and Quebec City have all experienced extraordinary policing costs resulting from large events, as diverse as international gatherings that are planned in advance, others that predictably or unexpectedly arise from public expressions following sporting and other events, and incidents of violent acts linked to radicalized individuals. Many smaller communities experienced actual or potential public order incidents related to the 2011 Occupy movement. Some costs are offset by the federal government following negotiations, but others fall to the local taxpayer.
- The Régie de police Thérèse-De Blainville notes that 50%-60% of officer time is spent on policing responsibilities, largely responding to calls for service and writing reports on the interventions taken.
- Medicine Hat Police Service reports that officers in 2014 spent 57% of their time on calls for service, 35% on administrative duties and 8% on proactive policing.
- Halton Regional Police Service front-line officers spent 36% of their time on duties other than responding to calls for service (15% on administrative duties, 3.7% on follow-up investigation of crimes and 1.7% in court) and 55% of their time on calls for service. Of time spent on calls for service, only 7.4% was related to a criminal offence, with the remainder of time spent on frontline response to social disorder, emergency management and non-criminal related activities including a 27% increase in attempted suicide/suicide and a 30% increase in responses to mental health apprehensions and dealing with persons in crisis.
- Camrose Police Service reports 30% of officer time spent on calls for service and investigations, 30% on report writing and data entry and 40% on mental health matters, child custody matters and school and community liaison.
- The Service de police de la ville de Québec reports a 20% increase in non-criminal files between 2010 and 2014, driven by an increase of calls involving individuals with mental health problems. Maintenance of the sex offender logbook and monitoring of the growing number of offenders requires a full-time resource. Security clearances of individuals applying for positions where they will have contact with the public are increasing.
- The First Nations Chiefs of Police Association reports that the majority of calls for service in self-administered First Nations police services are linked to substance abuse and are serious in nature (sexual assaults, child abuse, violence, aggravated bodily harm and suicide), all of which are complex, lengthy to investigate. Stress leave and post-

traumatic stress disorder increasingly affect police officers investigating these violence crimes.

- The Saanich Police Department reports that of the top ten categories of calls for service, over 17% of uniformed officers' calls relate to assisting the public, with decreasing percentages of time dealing with non-criminal matters such as suspicious person/vehicle occurrences, false alarms, driving complaints, by-law infractions, missing persons and others. Some 40% of patrol officers' time is spent being deployed to activities captured in PRIME, the Province's police records management system, and preparing reports; some 5% is spent on each of administrative duties and proactive patrols.
- The Winnipeg Police Service reports that officers spend 10% of their time responding to calls that result in a charge, 25% on administrative work and data entry, and 45% on report writing.
- Responses to mental health incidents have increased rapidly in all police jurisdictions and is a major driver in police workload and therefore cost. In 2014 the Vancouver Police Department attended to over 15,000 calls where mental health was a key component, and played a role at the call in almost 20% of those cases. The same department made more than ten apprehensions per day under the *BC Mental Health Act* that year, and has estimated the costs of officer time waiting for apprehended individuals to be admitted to hospital as approximate \$1 million annually.
- An independent research project, using the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) "K" Division (Alberta) as a case study, analysed the operational response to calls for service in 2012 and proposed how the policing models might change in order to remain economically viable. The study used a formula applied to five variables (frequency by call type, average cost per hour of an RCMP member, time spent on each call, average travel time by call type and total time) to arrive at the total estimated cost. This analysis shows that the top five most numerous types of calls to which officers responded were impaired operation of a vehicle, disturbing the peace, traffic collisions, assault and mischief. The most costly calls for service were cases of aggravated assault, sexual assault, arson, assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm and criminal harassment. This analysis shows vividly the limitations of simplistic reliance on statistics relating to crime rate.

#### **6.4 Criminal justice system inefficiencies that drive police costs up**

- A lack of communication between Crown counsel and defence counsel frequently results in police being subpoenaed to testify in court, appearing, but then not giving evidence because the trial did not proceed on the trial date. Halifax Regional Police Service recently reviewed eight months of court call-outs and found that this occurred in more than 90% of cases. The Régie Intermunicipale de police Thérèse-De Blainville expressed frustration at officer time lost when cases are dismissed or discharged and police testimony is not required.
- The Brandon Police Service noted that overtime costs are often incurred for officers called to court on cases that are subject to last minute pleas or that are remanded. In

addition, repeated breaches of undertakings or recognizances occur before the accused is held in custody or has a final disposition, resulting in costs to police, civilian and court resources.

- The practice of police representing the Crown during evening and weekend provincial bail hearings is another factor that results in increased police costs. The Edmonton Police Service conducted over 15,000 bail hearings in 2014, an average of 41 per day, an administration of justice responsibility that falls to the province.
- Preparation of transcriptions of audio and video tape statements for court purposes is a cost frequently borne by police services because the courts are not equipped to handle these newer formats. In addition, while it is the responsibility of the Crown to provide disclosure to the defence, in reality the Crown often relies upon the police to prepare the multiple copies of the extensive, relevant file material, often in hard copy. The Medicine Hat Police Service reported that the average transcript takes 4 to 6 hours to complete, often requiring the use of external services to meet Crown requirements.

## 6.5 Police workload, driven by a) legislation, b) court and c) policy decisions

### a) Legislation as a workload driver

- Among the significant changes that have taken place in policing is oversight and accountability in several forms, resulting from legislation. One such form relates to professional standards, in which police agencies are required to have investigations conducted of alleged misconduct by police officers within an established timeframe. In British Columbia, the number of complaints to the Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner doubled between 2007 and 2013 following enactment of the BC *Police Act* in 2007 and changes in 2010 that allowed complaints to be filed without an official form and by third parties who had witnessed as incident. Another form of accountability is BC's reporting on use of force in cases where a subject is injured. The Saanich Police Department noted that reporting is excessive, spurred by a concern to avoid potential liabilities. Civilian police governance bodies are increasingly recognized as an important form of police oversight, and are being established in many municipalities; this is placing additional reporting requirements upon police agencies and increasing overall policing costs.
- Manitoba's *Youth Drug Stabilization Act* requires police to deliver detained youth to a treatment facility located in Winnipeg; this requires the police service to absorb travel expenses and overtime costs for a 2-member escort for the young person.

### b) Court decisions as a workload driver

- Many police services noted that, whereas at one time probation services completed checks on individuals released on probation, today many conditional sentences handed down by the courts require that police conduct these checks, resulting in thousands of checks for the Halifax Regional Police Service alone.

- The decision of the Medicine Hat Provincial Court to hold only one morning sitting rather than two throughout the day has resulted in police officers having to be available for that one set time and to remain until released; this has resulted in overtime because proceedings continued into the afternoon, because the officer was present and was dismissed before testifying, and because the officer's presence was cancelled on short notice.
- Supreme Court of Canada decisions have had a significant impact on policing costs. In addition to the landmark Supreme Court of Canada decision in R. V. Stinchcombe (1991) requiring the disclosure of all relevant information, and in R. V. Feeney (1997) that affects how police conduct investigations and handle arrests and search warrants, other decisions of the courts come into play and increase the costs of policing.
  - The Supreme Court of Canada judgement in R. V. McNeil (2009) obligates officers to disclose any disciplinary records, placing an onus on both police and the Crown to review and disclose those records.
  - In R. V. Spencer (2014), the Supreme Court ruled that law enforcement requests made pursuant to the *Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act* can no longer be used to obtain customer information from internet service providers and that police must have a search warrant to obtain the IP address. This is resulting in considerable workload increases and concern among police that investigative work related to online child exploitation, fraud and other financial crimes, organized crime, requests for international law enforcement assistance and national security matters may be adversely affected.
  - As a result of the Supreme Court of Canada decisions in R. V. Fearon (2014) and R. V. Polius (2009), the police are now required to obtain a search warrant to conduct thorough searches of items such as smart phones and computers that have lawfully been seized; only limited searches can be done upon arrest.
- The acceptance by the court of evidence from new technologies (such as radar, breathalyser and drug detection) often depends upon the Crown proving the effectiveness and reliability of the device or method.

### **c) Policy decisions as a workload driver**

- Domestic violence and child abuse cases are a policy priority in all police services, reflecting the importance placed on these issues by the community and governments. In the past 30 years protocols, roles and responsibilities for police and other service providers have been developed and refined as these acts are viewed as criminal rather than private social matters, and as attention has turned to the needs of victims. As first responders, police actions in these cases are today more complex, more meticulously investigated, more carefully documented and reported, and more expensive than ever before. The Vancouver Police Department in 2013 spent approximately \$4.2 million in wage costs for 4,585 domestic disturbance or domestic violence calls, of which over 25% resulted in criminal charges.

- The Winnipeg Police Service noted that, whereas in the past young people would often be returned home with a verbal warning and no police paper trail, following enactment of the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* the police maintain a record of formal warnings, ensuring that subsequently officers will have a clear history of criminal involvement.
- Requirements for advanced and continuing police training, as decisions of government policy, have an impact on police budgets, desirable and important as these requirements are. Current requirements for police to be trained in responding to incidents where mental health is a factor also carry a cost not previously borne by police agencies and not provided as special allocations by governments. The Halton Regional Police Service notes that crisis intervention training of 4-5 days per officer is a new requirement stemming from officer-involved shootings and more contact with persons in crisis. The Régie Interne Municipale De Police Thérèse-De-Blainville has noted that some police training previously covered by the province has been down-loaded and is now the responsibility of the police service. The Medicine Hat Police Service reports that, with the use of conducted energy weapons now mandated by the Province of Alberta, annual expenses for the police to equip and train its officers will total over \$47,000 over a two-year transition period, with ongoing costs for training and instructor certification.

#### **6.6 Impact of tools and technology: technology-based criminal activity, costs for policing capacity, benefits**

There are a number of dimensions to the impact of tools and technology. Foremost is the increased ability for individuals and groups to engage in criminal acts and activities that threaten the safety and security of individuals, communities and the nation. The extent of harm that results from cases of cyber-bullying, on-line frauds, conspiracies to threaten communities and radicalization of youth, among others, is staggering. Second, a significant and perennial challenge is for governments and the police to maintain an adequate and acceptable level of technological proficiency and capacity, when restraints on public expenditure are pitted against the non-discretionary and growing need to detect, investigate and deter crime. Third, expenditures in technology and tools are both discretionary and non-discretionary but in either case they benefit community safety and security.

- The Service de police de l'agglomération de Longueuil invested \$25,000 in training alone to equip officers with an in-car electronic ticket system. The results are positive: faster writing of tickets, lower risk of mistakes, greater legibility, faster transfer and less risk of losing tickets, less expensive printing costs, an information bank that is easy to consult, fewer personnel required for administration of the ticketing process, and officer satisfaction with being successful at this task.
- Information technology is a relatively new line item in police budgets. The proliferation of IT-related projects, such as in-car cameras and terminals, enhancements to communications systems, the capacity to meet digital media demands, including data storage, come with costs that may or may not be offset by efficiencies. For example, the

Saanich Police Department acknowledges that BC PRIME, introduced in 2003 to provide more robust and rapid information to police, has also resulted in a paperwork burden that officers cite as causing an increase in their workload.

- The Winnipeg Police Service has found the inclusion of photographs in the digital record of suspect information to be a vital improvement that gives officers important data at the touch of a screen.
- Following the Stanley Cup riot of 2011, the Vancouver Police Department was flooded with information and tips from the public, in the form of Crime Stoppers tips; responses to the public relations website; phone calls and voice messages; and e-mails containing witness statements, attached video files, still images, YouTube links, and links to Facebook and other social media sites. All of this information required review and processing even before being used for investigative purposes. Quite apart from this exceptional event, the Department had already experienced a 114% increase in the number of exhibits submitted to its Technological Crime Unit between 2007 and 2011, and each exhibit contained approximately 500% more data, because of the increased technological capacity.
- The addition in 2008 of several offences for which DNA profiles could be collected, through amendment to the *DNA Identification Act*, resulted in an increase of 72% in the number of convicted offender samples processed and a 29% increase in DNA casework submissions to the RCMP forensic laboratory. While cost savings as a result of this change have not been quantified, it is accepted that the legislation has resulted in an overall decrease in the costs of investigations, more effective police work and greater community safety.
- The creation of the RCMP-managed National Police Services, of which the national DNA data bank is one component, is a prime example of investment in effectiveness and efficiency for the benefit of police services across the country. Its national programs are an integral component of policing that serve to level the “playing field” in a country of multiple jurisdictions, diverse regions, distinct communities and widely varying economic conditions.

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## 7) Key messages to be delivered by police executives in their communities

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- **Policing is more than law enforcement**

Police perform many activities that do not show up in the Statistics Canada Uniform Crime Reports that provide information related to the crime rate and the Crime Severity Index that measures the volume and severity of crimes. Police responses to criminal incidents take up only a percentage of total police worktime—30% in a British Columbia study, and not all responses result in a charge. Brandon Police Service reports that 22% of calls for service in 2014 resulted in criminal charges. Calls for service where mental health is a factor are increasing dramatically;

Vancouver police made 10 apprehensions per day under the BC *Mental Health Act* in 2014. The majority of calls to First Nations police services are related to substance abuse.

What do police do that does not show up in crime statistics? All police services have responsibilities that include

- maintaining public order and public safety
  - monitoring those suspected of planning criminal acts
  - detecting and investigating crime
  - preventing crime
  - responding to civic emergencies and events of natural and human cause
  - protecting people, especially vulnerable persons such as indigenous and trafficked females, and children vulnerable to abuse, sexual exploitation and bullying
  - protecting *Charter* rights
  - protecting property and property rights
  - supporting victims of crime
  - serving the community with attention to its cultural, linguistic and demographic characteristics
  - partnering with other police services, security agencies, first responders and social agencies
  - communicating with the public
  - conducting criminal records checks for companies, volunteer organizations and institutions
  - training and professional development of officers
  - efficient and effective use of resources, including tools and technology
  - demonstrating accountability to authorities and the public
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- **Use statistics with caution—they do not present the whole picture**

Statistics quantify only some information about crime and victimization, but do not capture the effects or impact that the actions of police and other community agencies have on the safety, security and well-being of individuals, families and entire communities. They do not tell us about crimes and suicides that are prevented, people who are not victimized by others or rights that are respected.

Statistics at a national level may not reflect the reality in a local community, especially in Canada with its vast geographic mass, cultural diversity and variation in size and nature of communities. The GTA cannot be compared with a remote Aboriginal community in northern Canada. Moreover, even at a local level statistics alone can present a false picture of the situation in a community.

Many communities have data on demographics and socio-economic conditions by neighbourhood. We encourage the use of other information about the health and vitality,

strengths and weaknesses of communities, to complement statistics about crime. A more complete picture leads to more informed decision-making about where public money is best spent, where cost savings can be achieved, and where partnerships are part of the solution.

- **Police agencies are finding internal efficiencies and more are needed in the justice system**

Police agencies across the country are seeking, and finding, internal efficiencies that will result in cost savings. We are all cognizant of our communities' economic conditions and are all operating under budgetary constraint.

Other efficiencies in the criminal justice system would also help to contain costs of policing, and these are not measures that the police can take on their own. Every day, police officers spend hours in hospital waiting rooms awaiting admission of apprehended individuals, in court rooms awaiting the call to give testimony for cases that are then dismissed or delayed, and checking up on individuals on parole, a responsibility that should reside with parole officers. These activities take police away from their other duties and incur salary and overtime costs.

- **Police are only one sector of many that contribute to community safety and wellness**

Communities know that police and the criminal justice system alone do not create community safety, security and wellness. It takes many component parts in both government and private sectors to create a healthy community—institutions such as schools and training facilities; health, mental health and addiction services; recreation centres; the faith community; organizations that serve vulnerable populations such as children and youth, women, immigrants, sex trade workers and those released from correctional institutions; and businesses that provide employment. When these sectors are robust, so is the community.

- **Police are the default position for lack of capacity in other sectors**

Very often it is a lack of capacity in other sectors that results in police taking on, or being assigned responsibilities that go beyond enforcing the law and investigating crime. Social disorder cases, threats of self-harm and situations of family conflict and violence are prime examples. In many of these cases substance abuse or mental health are factors. Police, by virtue of their 24/7 availability and presence in the community, are the default responders. Police are increasingly required to act in place of other sectors that may be better equipped and have the appropriate expertise. As demands are made on police there is a need to develop and implement specialized training such as dealing with cognitive impairment and mental health conditions and illnesses.

- **In order for police to partner with other community agencies, those agencies must be adequately funded and viable**



Police are challenged to seek new models of community safety, usually understood to include partnerships with other agencies. This is an effective approach, proven by research and practice in communities world-wide. However, sustainability of partnerships does not simply happen. Many promising partnerships falter after time and rely upon continuing police financial and human resource support. Consider the focus on gang shootings in several cities: in an environment of community fear, police and city officials agree that the criminal law is the last resort and turn to the often volunteer community sector to work on prevention and exit strategies. Winnipeg's Gang Action Interagency Network noted that Regina's anti-gang strategy "was really successful until funding dried up".

- **Community mobilization is a key to success**

There are many examples of communities in Canada and elsewhere mobilizing around both chronic and sudden crises of community safety, security and wellness. These examples are recognized in the work of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (funded by Canada and located in Montreal), the National Crime Prevention Program of Public Safety Canada, the learnings from the CACP's decade-long Coalition on Community Safety, Health and Well-being, and local examples such as the Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council that dates from 1994 as an initiative of the Chief of Police, Crime Prevention Ottawa, and the HUB model now being applied in Western Canada. Community mobilization, perhaps the most vivid example of effective community safety and wellness, promises success if 1) structures are created to support partnership work that includes clear and shared accountability, 2) legal barriers to sharing of personal information among police, the education system and other social agencies can be addressed and overcome and 3) mobilization efforts are funded to the extent and for their duration that their sustainability can be ensured and results realized in an enduring way.

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## 8) Conclusion

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Canada is not alone in facing political, economic and social pressures that have an impact on the nature and extent of policing and community safety, security and wellness. There are lessons to be learned from jurisdictions that are experiencing these pressures and finding appropriate responses to them. However, one country's solution may not be the answer for another.

The CACP urges, first, a made-in-Canada-for-Canada response to this country's current concerns about policing costs and their relation to other costs and cost drivers.

A review of current literature reveals a consensus that Canada is not well served when it comes to evidence about the current state of crime, its prevalence, impact, cost and other dimensions. There is some information about the health and socio-economic well-being of Canadian communities, but it is usually centred on larger and established urban centres, leaving mid-

sized and remote communities undocumented. Without sound data reflecting the Canadian reality, sound decisions are elusive.

The CACP therefore urges, second, investment in comprehensive data collection at local, provincial/territorial and national levels to allow sound analysis based on the multiple factors that together present the most accurate picture of the state of community safety, security and wellness.

When contemplating efficiencies and effectiveness expected of new models of policing and community safety, it is essential to examine current models and their strengths and weaknesses. Policing in Canada is funded through a variety of mechanisms, varies considerably from community to community, is dependent upon resource levels and capacity of other social agencies, is subject to unanticipated costs caused by exceptional and extraordinary events, and is increasingly accountable to governance bodies and the public. Municipalities have noted their disproportionate burden of policing costs juxtaposed against their limited revenue sources. First Nations policing is an example of particular concern. Police agencies in all communities are stretched to respond to demands that are increasing in number and complexity and not related to criminal activity.

CACP urges governments at all levels to, jointly and with stakeholders, review current structures and funding mechanisms for policing and other services that contribute to community safety and well-being, develop optional models, analyze the relative advantages and disadvantages of these options, and work together with a view to providing Canadians with affordable, effective and efficient services.

The CACP is poised to be an active participant in discussions about the future of policing in Canada and committed to the safety, security and well-being of our collective communities.