EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

POLICING CANADA IN THE 21ST CENTURY:
NEW POLICING FOR NEW CHALLENGES

The Expert Panel on the Future of
Canadian Policing Models

Council of Canadian Academies
Conseil des académies canadiennes

Science Advice in the Public Interest

**POLICING CANADA IN THE 21ST CENTURY:
NEW POLICING FOR NEW CHALLENGES**

The Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models

THE COUNCIL OF CANADIAN ACADEMIES
180 Elgin Street, Suite 1401, Ottawa, ON, Canada, K2P 2K3

The Council of Canadian Academies
Science Advice in the Public Interest

The Council of Canadian Academies (the Council) is an independent, not-for-profit organization that supports independent, science-based, authoritative expert assessments to inform public policy development in Canada. Led by a 12-member Board of Governors and advised by a 16-member Scientific Advisory Committee, the Council's work encompasses a broad definition of *science*, incorporating the natural, social, and health sciences as well as engineering and the humanities. Council assessments are conducted by independent, multidisciplinary panels of experts from across Canada and abroad. Assessments strive to identify emerging issues, gaps in knowledge, Canadian strengths, and international trends and practices. Upon completion, assessments provide government decision-makers, researchers, and stakeholders with high-quality information required to develop informed and innovative public policy.

All Council assessments undergo a formal report review and are published and made available to the public free of charge in English and French. Assessments can be referred to the Council by foundations, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, or any level of government.

The Council is also supported by its three founding Member Academies:

The Royal Society of Canada (RSC) is the senior national body of distinguished Canadian scholars, artists, and scientists. The primary objective of the RSC is to promote learning and research in the arts and sciences. The RSC consists of nearly 2,000 Fellows — men and women who are selected by their peers for outstanding contributions to the natural and social sciences, the arts, and the humanities. The RSC exists to recognize academic excellence, to advise governments and organizations, and to promote Canadian culture.

The Canadian Academy of Engineering (CAE) is the national institution through which Canada's most distinguished and experienced engineers provide strategic advice on matters of critical importance to Canada. The Academy is an independent, self-governing, and non-profit organization established in 1987. Fellows are nominated and elected by their peers in recognition of their distinguished achievements and career-long service to the engineering profession. Fellows of the Academy, who number approximately 600, are committed to ensuring that Canada's engineering expertise is applied to the benefit of all Canadians.

The Canadian Academy of Health Sciences (CAHS) recognizes individuals of great achievement in the academic health sciences in Canada. Founded in 2004, CAHS has approximately 400 Fellows and appoints new Fellows on an annual basis. The organization is managed by a voluntary Board of Directors and a Board Executive. The main function of CAHS is to provide timely, informed, and unbiased assessments of urgent issues affecting the health of Canadians. The Academy also monitors global health-related events to enhance Canada's state of readiness for the future, and provides a Canadian voice for health sciences internationally. CAHS provides a collective, authoritative, multidisciplinary voice on behalf of the health sciences community.

www.scienceadvice.ca
@scienceadvice

Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models

Hon. Stephen Goudge, Q.C. (Chair)

Margaret Beare, Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University (Toronto, ON)

Benoît Dupont, Professor, School of Criminology, Director, International Centre for Comparative Criminology, Université de Montréal; Canada Research Chair in Security, Identity and Technology (Montréal, QC)

Linda Duxbury, Professor, Sprott School of Business, Carleton University (Ottawa, ON)

Laura Huey, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Western University (London, ON)

Ian Mackenzie, Associate Professor, Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of the Fraser Valley (Abbotsford, BC)

Christopher Murphy, Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University (Halifax, NS)

Peter Neyroud, Resident Scholar at Jerry Lee Centre for Experimental Criminology, Cambridge University (Cambridge, United Kingdom); Research Associate, Centre for Criminology, University of Oxford (Oxford, United Kingdom)

Kent Roach, FRSC, Professor and Prichard Wilson Chair in Law and Public Policy, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto (Toronto, ON)

Clifford Shearing, Professor, Institute for Humanities in Africa (HUMA), Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town (Cape Town, South Africa); Professor, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University (Brisbane, Australia); South African Research Chair in Security and Justice (Cape Town, South Africa)

Darrel Stephens, Executive Director, Major Cities Chiefs Association (Charlotte, NC); Faculty Member, Public Safety Leadership Program, School of Education, Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, MD)

Irvin Waller, Professor of Criminology, University of Ottawa (Ottawa, ON)
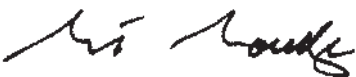
Message from the Chair

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

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

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

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

Justice Stephen T. Goudge, Q.C., Chair,
Expert Panel on the Future of Canadian Policing Models

Project Staff of the Council of Canadian Academies

Assessment Team: Tijs Creutzberg, Program Director
                       Suzanne Loney, Research Associate
                       Emily Maddocks, Research Associate
                       Kori St. Cyr, Research Associate
                       Michelle Auger, Program Coordinator
                       Andrea Hopkins, Program Coordinator
                       Rachel Savidge, Intern

With assistance from: Clare Walker, Editor
                       Aria Laskin, Consultant
                       Debora Holmes, Copyeditor
                       François Abraham, Certified Translator,
                           Communications Léon Inc.,
                           Translation English-French
                       Accurate Design & Communication, Report Design

Report Review

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

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

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

David H. Bayley, Distinguished Professor (Emeritus), School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York (Feura Bush, NY)

Melina Buckley, Lawyer and Legal Policy Consultant (Vancouver, BC)

Jim Chu, Chief Constable, Vancouver Police Department (Vancouver, BC)

Cal Corley, President, CorStrat Solutions Inc. (Ottawa, ON)

Jennifer Evans, Chief, Peel Regional Police (Brampton, ON)

Curt Taylor Griffiths, Professor of Criminology, Simon Fraser University (Surrey, BC)

Stéphane Leman-Langlois, Professeur agrégé, Université Laval (Québec City, QC)

Peter K. Manning, Professor, Northeastern University (Boston, MA)

Paul F. McKenna, Adjunct Professor, School of Graduate Studies, Dalhousie University (Halifax, NS)

Bernard Richard, Q.C., Lawyer; Former Ombudsman & Child and Youth Advocate (Cap Pelé, NB)

Philip C. Stenning, Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University (Queensland, Australia)

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

Executive Summary

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

Specifically, the Sponsor posed the following question:

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

Additional direction was provided through three sub-questions:

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

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

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

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

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

MAIN FINDINGS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BRINGING POLICING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

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

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

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

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