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Canada

Crime and Crime Prevention in a Multicultural Society

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CRIME AND CRIME PREVENTION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SETTING THE CONTEXT

Albertans are increasingly diverse in terms of their place of birth, language, ethnic affiliation and religious belief. The 2006 census data showed that foreign-born residents and visible minorities accounted for 16.2% and 13.9% of the population respectively (Statistics Canada, 2007a, 2008a). Though Roman Catholic and Protestant have remained the two largest religious denominations in Alberta, other religions, such as Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism have grown substantially over time. In terms of language diversity, Albertans have contributed to the statistic that Canadian residents speak more than 200 languages (see Statistics Canada, 2007b). About 18.8% residents in the province reported that they have a mother tongue other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2007a).

The overall crime rate in Canada has steadily declined over the years. However, due to media headlines and reports on incidents of gang violence, there is a growing public perception that more ethnocultural community members are involved in criminal activity. Unfortunately, the lack of public crime statistics related to immigration status, race, and ethnicity has seriously impeded research efforts to inform the public about the prevalence, patterns of and changes in criminal involvement of individuals from the various ethnocultural groups. The emerging Canadian literature has thus far established that there is no evidence that immigrants are more likely than non-immigrants to commit crime, and yet there exist racial disparities in incarceration rates in the federal correctional system.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND DESIGN

This study examined crime and crime prevention in the context of changing diversity in Alberta. In February 2011, ten focus groups were organized for 70 participants in Calgary, Brooks, Lethbridge, and Red Deer. Multiple stakeholders were involved in these focus groups: ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel, and service providers. This study had several limitations. It focused on the perceptions and opinions of ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel and service providers. While their viewpoints were important and offered insights into criminality among ethnocultural groups, they might not always capture accurately and free of bias all aspects of the experience of crime- involved ethnocultural community members. The sample size for this study was relatively small, and results should be interpreted with caution.

FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS

Perceptions of Criminal Involvement

Stakeholders were cautious in articulating their perceptions of criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. According to their general assessment, the levels of criminal involvement on the part of immigrants and ethnoracial minorities are low overall. However, they observed increased criminality in some ethno-specific communities. Their perceptions illustrated a wide range of criminal activities that are parallel to those reported in the broad community. Stakeholders highlighted increased concerns about drug-related crime, domestic violence, and fraud in some ethnocultural communities.

Risk Factors

There was a general consensus among stakeholders that there are multiple, complex risk factors that have led some ethnocultural community members to commit crime. Stakeholders identified a range of risk factors related to home country experience (e.g., violence, false expectations), acculturation stress (e.g., practical and emotional challenges, gender roles, intergenerational

gaps), community interactions (e.g., social isolation, lack of access to community support, cultural insularity, racism and discrimination, lack of a sense of belonging), socioeconomic disparity (e.g., limited access to adequate employment opportunities; lack of support for children), the media (e.g., violence on television, video games, the Internet), and interaction with the criminal justice system (e.g., lack of understanding of Canadian laws).

Protective Factors
Focus group participants emphasized that, in spite of tremendous challenges, most ethnocultural community members are law-abiding citizens. They identified a number of protective factors that have prevented the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members, including: family support, the strengths of ethnocultural communities (e.g., role models, religion, values), community engagement and civic participation, and access to social services.

Practical Challenges
Law enforcement personnel and social services representatives noted certain practical challenges that have impeded their efforts to prevent criminal activity among ethnocultural community members. They articulated problems resulting from systemic challenges (e.g., lack of cultural competence), availability and coordination of resources (e.g., lack of sustained funding, restrictive regulations), and community relations (e.g., lack of trust, limited organizational capacity in some ethnocultural communities).

Suggested Strategies for Crime Prevention
Taking into consideration the identified risk factors, protective factors, and practical challenges, stakeholders recommended multi-pronged strategies to effectively prevent criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Their suggested strategies focused on support for families, support for children and youth, access of ethnocultural community members to educational and economic opportunities, citizenship education and public campaigns, community capacity building and development, support for service organizations and strengthening the justice system.

A FRAMEWORK FOR CRIME PREVENTION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Comprehensive, coordinated crime prevention, in the context of a multicultural society, ought to address primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention focuses on the social, economic, health, and educational policies, programs, and practices that enhance well-being and pro-social behaviour and that reduce risk factors associated with criminal behaviours. Primary strategies should thus promote access of ethnocultural community members to culturally responsive services and socioeconomic opportunities, social inclusion and cohesion, community capacity building and development, development of holistic and sustainable programs and responsive policy development. Secondary prevention focuses on working with ethnocultural individuals most at risk of committing crime and addressing the immediate surroundings and conditions that are conducive to unlawful activity. Secondary strategies ought to ensure adequate, effective family support (e.g., settlement, tutoring, family literacy, access to services, mentorship, community education and advocacy), community-based support (e.g., culturally specific programs, access to services, mentorship, community education, community development, advocacy) and school-based support (e.g., academic and literacy support, social opportunities, development of a sense of personal and cultural identity, mentorship, psychosocial support, preventive education). Tertiary prevention is concerned with the positive reintegration of ethnocultural community members with a criminal history into the community and with the prevention of recidivism. Tertiary strategies should focus on family-based support (e.g., involvement of family members, support which strengthens families and family relationships), community-based support (e.g., outreach, psychosocial support, practical support, employment, community connection and involvement, leadership and civic

engagement opportunities), and school-based support (e.g., psychosocial, academic and practical support, educational opportunities).

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INTRODUCTION

Growing diversity has transformed communities across Alberta. Albertans of today are diverse in terms of their racial, ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds. The province ranks fourth in Canada in terms of both its foreign-born and visible minority populations (Chui, Tran, & Maheux, 2007, 2008). This diverse population contributes to the vibrant economic, political, social and cultural reality of Alberta in the 21st Century.

In general, Albertans have enjoyed a strong sense of safety in their own homes and in the community (see Alberta Crime Reduction and Safe Communities Task Force, 2007). Their overall perception of safety is consistent with the social trends, which have shown declines in property and violent crime rates as well as in severity of crime (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). Still, in recent years, there have been recurring public concerns about the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Public discourse has focused solely on the reporting of and opinions on criminal incidents (CBC News, 2008; Cuthbertson, 2008; Fekete, 2008; McGinnis, 2009; Morgan, 2005; Rassel, 2006). There is a lack of an Alberta-based body of knowledge that can inform public debate, policy and service development to prevent crime in ethnocultural communities.

This report neither suggests an epidemic nor raises alarms about disproportionate criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Rather, it aims to examine crime and crime prevention in the context of changing diversity in Alberta. The report draws upon the existing literature, as well as input from the ethnocultural community members, law enforcement stakeholders and service providers in Calgary, Red Deer, Brooks and Lethbridge. Its two primary objectives are: (1) to gain understanding about criminological risk and protective factors that are specific to ethnocultural communities, and (2) to identify effective strategies that help prevent and reduce crime in ethnocultural communities.

The report is organized into three sections. Section One examines the overall trends and issues with respect to diversity, crime in Canada, criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members and theoretical perspectives that address the intersections of crime, immigration and ethnicity. Section Two focuses on the key learning from focus groups in which ethnocultural community members, law enforcement stakeholders and service providers in southern Alberta participated. Building upon the documented effective practices and recommendations from the focus groups, Section Three presents a framework for crime prevention among ethnocultural community members. The report also provides definitions of key terms and a list of references.

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1 | SETTING THE CONTEXT

This section establishes the context for the need to have an in depth understanding of the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members and to develop effective crime prevention strategies in the light of changing demographics. It begins with an examination of the sociodemographic patterns in Alberta and provides an overview of the complex social, economic and political realities facing ethnocultural community members in Canada. It then elaborates on the general crime-related trends and issues in Canada, and locates the criminal patterns that can be specifically related to immigration, race and ethnicity. This section also presents the contemporary theoretical perspectives on criminality among immigrants and racial minorities.

1. THE ETHNOCULTURAL POPULATION IN ALBERTA

1.1 Changing Demographics

The 2006 Census data revealed shifting demographic trends in Alberta. In 2006, the foreign-born residents in Alberta reached 527,030 or 16.2% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2007a). In fact, between 2001 and 2006, Alberta's immigrant population increased by 20.2%, compared with growth of 8.7% for the non-immigrant population in the same period (Alberta Employment and Immigration, 2008). Among all foreign-born residents in Canada, the cohorts of immigrants who arrived before 1991, between 1991 and 2000 and between 2001 and 2006 were 56.1%, 24.3% and 19.7% respectively (see Statistics Canada, 2008a). In 2009, Alberta, the province with the fourth highest national rate of immigration, received 10.7% (or 27,017 people) of all immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). Between 2000 and 2009, immigrants from Asia made up more than half of all newcomers to Alberta (70.1%), followed by those from Europe (12.1%), Africa (9.2%), United States (4.4%) and Caribbean, Central and South America (3.7%). These patterns were in sharp contrast with those prior to 1961 when at least 9 out of 10 immigrants (90.5%) arrived from Europe (Statistics Canada, 2007c).

Consistent with the shifting patterns of immigration, the visible minority[1] population in Alberta has steadily increased. In 2006, visible minorities accounted for 13.9% of the population in the province (Statistics Canada, 2008b). Overall, 1 in 2 foreign-born Albertans (54.7%) was a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 2008a). This ratio, however, has increased significantly among the recent cohorts of immigrants. For example, among those who arrived in the province between 2000 and 2006, 3 in 4 immigrants (74.6%) had a visible minority background (Statistics Canada, 2008a). Among immigrants from all visible minorities, Albertans of a Chinese background made up 26.5%, followed by those of South Asian (22.9%), Filipino (11.2%), African (10.4%), Southeast Asian (6.3%), Latin America (6.0%), Arab (5.8%), Korean (2.7%), Japanese (2.4%) and West Asian (2.6%) descent (Statistics Canada, 2008a).

Albertans are also diverse in their religious beliefs. Though Roman Catholic and Protestant have remained the two largest religious denominations in Alberta, other religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism have grown substantially over time. Among the major religions reported in the 2001 census were: Catholic (23.3%), Protestant (13.8%), Muslim (12.5%), Hindu (7.3%), Buddhist (6.9%) and Sikhs (6.9%) (Statistics Canada, 2003c). Notably, about 22.0% of Albertans indicated that they have no religious affiliation.

In terms of language diversity, Albertans have contributed to the statistic that Canadian residents speak more than 200 languages (see Statistics Canada, 2007b). About 18.8% of residents in the province reported that they have a mother tongue other than English or French

[1] Under the Employment Equity Act, members of visible minorities are "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour."

(Statistics Canada, 2007a). While most Albertans indicated that they have knowledge of the official languages, about 1.3% or 40,465 residents could communicate neither in English nor French (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Further, 1 in 10 Albertans (9.2%) indicated that they speak languages other than English or French at home (Statistics Canada, 2007a).

Looking into the future, Alberta will rely solely on immigration for its population growth. It is projected that by 2035/2036 the province will welcome as many as 39,200 immigrants (compared with 27,010 immigrants in 2009) (Statistics Canada, 2010d). Alberta will continue to maintain a visible minority population of about 15% of the total population (Bélanger et al., 2005). By 2017, Albertans of a non-Christian religious denomination will make up between 6.5% and 7.8% of the total population in the province (Bélanger et al., 2005).

1.2 Overview of Social, Political, and Economic Realities

Individual and collective experience related to immigration, visible minority status and generational cohorts has shaped social, political and economic realities for ethnocultural community members. In the social arena, immigrants generally have low rates of participation or membership in groups or organizations such as sports teams, hobby clubs and community organizations (Statistics Canada, 2003a). Many have encountered various barriers in gaining access to language training, housing and health care (Ng, Wilkins, Gendron, & Berthelot, 2005; Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007). Racial minorities are grossly underrepresented in the senior leadership levels of organizations (McBride-King & Benimahdu, 2004). They have disproportionately reported a lack of sense of social belonging, and experience of discrimination and unfair treatment because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion (Khanlou, Koh, & Mill, 2008; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2003a). Poor mental health among some visible minorities has been linked to their experience of racism and discrimination (Davies & Stevenson, 2006; Zayas, 2001).

Economically, ethnocultural community members have encountered barriers and inequities in their participation in the labour market. While immigrants are more than twice as likely as Canadian-born residents to have a university education, those who have been in Canada for less than 5 and 10 years have much higher rates of unemployment (11.5% and 7.3% respectively) than the national rate (about 4.9%) (Zietsma, 2007). Barriers to recognition of foreign credentials mean that many highly educated immigrants cannot find work commensurate with their qualifications. In fact, only 4 in 10 university educated new Canadians (42.0%) have found work in their intended occupations (Statistics Canada, 2005). They also earn significantly less than their Canadian counterparts (Corak, 2008). Surprisingly, the earning gap is much wider in Canada than in the United States (Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2011). Immigrants are more likely to be working in sales and service and manufacturing occupations than their Canadian-born counterparts (Chueng, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2003b). New Canadians are highly vulnerable to short and long term poverty (Fleury, 2007; Picot, Lu, & Hou, 2009).

Second generation Canadians born into immigrant families tend to achieve high secondary school and university completion rates, and as a group, their earnings are either equivalent to or better than those whose parents were born in Canada (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2008; Aydemir, Chen, & Corak, 2009; Boyd, 2002; Corak, 2008; Kučera, 2008; Palameta, 2007; Picot, 2008). However, second generation visible minority Canadians from differing ethnic backgrounds have achieved varying levels of educational attainment. For example, whereas children of Chinese and Indian immigrants demonstrate higher academic achievement than children of Canadian-born parents, second generation Portuguese and African Canadians have relatively low university completion rates (Abada, et al., 2008; Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Simmons & Plaza, 1998). Furthermore, second generation visible minorities are more likely to be unemployed and are less likely to participate in the labour force than those with parents born in

Canada (Wannell & Caron, 1994). Among those who are employed, earnings are not always commensurate with their levels of education (Mata, 1997). Those with parents from the Caribbean, Central and South America, Asia and Africa earned less than those with parents from traditional source countries in North America and Northern or Western Europe, despite having equivalent levels of education (Aydemir et al., 2009; Palameta, 2007).

In the political arena, the growing ethnocultural population is recognized as having an important role in Canadian politics. So-called ethnic voting has attracted significant public attention (Geddes, 2007; Jimenez, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Lapp, 1999). Nevertheless, ethnocultural community members have yet to achieve equitable participation in Canadian politics. Compared with all Canadians, eligible immigrant voters who have been in Canada for 10 years or less are significantly less likely to exercise their right to vote (Statistics Canada, 2003a). Furthermore, visible minority Canadians are less likely to vote, compared with the non-visible minority voter population (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). With respect to political representation, ethnocultural community members are under-represented at both the candidacy level and in the disproportionately small number of elected representatives in various levels of government (Black & Hicks, 2006a, 2006b).

2. OVERVIEW OF CRIME IN CANADA

Crime statistics come from three main sources: (a) police-reported data (i.e., Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, or UCR), (b) victimization surveys-reported (i.e., General Social Survey, or GSS), and (c) self-reported delinquency data (e.g., International Youth Survey, portions of the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth). Each of these sources is limited, but combining data from all three sources provides a more accurate and comprehensive measure of crime in Canada.

2.1 Police-reported Crime Statistics

General population

The Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (Statistics Canada, 2010c) gathers statistics on approximately 200 criminal offences reported by police services across Canada, and provides data on rates and severity of crime committed in Canada. Crime statistics are only indicators of crime, and all indicators have limitations. Doob and Cesaroni (2004) explain that crime statistics are derived from tabulating incidents at different points in the following process: (1) an event occurs; (2) someone notices it; (3) it is identified as a crime; (4) the incident is reported; (5) the police classify and report it as a crime; (6) a suspect is (or is not) identified; (7) a suspect is (or is not) charged; (8) the suspect is brought to court or referred for alternative measures; (9) the case is recorded in court documents; and (10) the accused is declared innocent or guilty. Multiple individuals may be charged with the same offence, and some offenders may be involved in multiple crimes.

Between 2008 and 2009, according to the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, the overall rate of crime in Canada declined 3%, continuing a downward trend of 17% over the past decade (see Table 1) (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). At the national level, all property crime rates decreased between 2008 and 2009, as did most other Criminal Code offences. The exceptions to the latter were child pornography (+13%); the trafficking, production, or distribution of cannabis (+7%) and other drugs (+8%); and impaired driving (+3%). Violent crimes accounted for 20% of all criminal offences in 2009, but the overall violent crime rate remained relatively stable over the previous year. All violent crimes decreased between 2008 and 2009, with the exception of extortion (+20%); the use, discharge, or pointing of firearms (+15%); and attempted murder (+10%). At the provincial level, despite the fact that Alberta's homicide rate was above the national average in 2009, the province recorded a decrease of 16% in homicides between 2008 and 2009, the largest decline of all the provinces.

Table 1. Police-reported crime for selected offences, Canada

Crime	Year	#	Rate per 100,000	% change 2008-2009	% change 1999-2009
Overall crime rate	2008	2,204,643	6,615		
	2009	2,161,313	6,406	-3%	-17%
Violent crime	2008	443,608	1,331		
	2009	443,284	1,314	-1%	-9%
Attempted murder	2008	721	2		
	2009	806	2	+10%	+6%
Firearms offences	2008	1,479	4		
	2009	1,716	5	+15%	-27%
Extortion	2008	1,403	4		
	2009	1,701	5	+20%	-28%
Alberta homicides	2009	95	2.6	-16%	n/a
Property crime	2008	1,415,572	4,247		
	2009	1,376,895	4,081	-4%	-24%
Child pornography	2008	1,389	4		
	2009	1,594	5	+13%	+64%
Impaired driving	2008	84,694	254		
	2009	88,630	263	+3%	-7%
Cannabis[a]	2008	15,025	45		
	2009	16,335	48	+7%	-28%
Other drugs[a]	2008	59,337	18		
	2009	6,519	19	+8%	+49%

[a]Trafficking, production or distribution
Source: Dauvergne & Turner, 2010

In 2009, the Crime Severity Index (CSI) (Statistics Canada, 2010a) was developed to assess the seriousness of crimes and to track differences in the seriousness of crimes across the country. Each offence was assessed using a severity "weight" related to sentences given by courts across Canada for that particular crime in the five previous years, based on both the proportion of individuals incarcerated for the crime, as well as the average number of days to be served in custody (Wallace et al., 2009). The Crime Severity Index fell 4% between 2008 and 2009 and was 22% lower than in 1999 (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). The violent CSI fell by 1% from 2008 to 2009, despite increased reports of attempted murder, extortion, firearms offences, and criminal harassment. The northern territories, followed by the western provinces, all had CSIs above the national average. Overall 2009 crime statistics from Alberta showed a drop in the Crime Severity Index of 7% since 2008 (the second largest drop in the country), although its CSI still slightly exceeded the national mean. Of all the metropolitan areas included

in the census, Calgary was the only one in western Canada to register a CSI below the national average.

Youth

The Uniform Crime Reporting Survey includes statistics on youth crime in Canada. Of all individuals over the age of 12, 15- to 22-year-olds had the highest crime rates, and rates for 17-year-olds were highest within that group. Approximately 165,000 youth (defined by the Criminal Code as 12- to 17-year-olds) were accused of committing a Criminal Code offence in Canada in 2009, down from 167,000 in 2008 and from 178,000 the previous year (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). These numbers include youth who were either charged or recommended for charging (42%), and those who were warned, cautioned, or referred to community programs (58%). The percentage of youth accused nationally of robbery, serious assaults, break-ins, and vehicle thefts decreased in 2009, but there was an increase in the number of youth accused of homicide (79 compared with an average of 56 since 1999). Nine homicides were committed by youth in Alberta (the third highest in Canada after Manitoba and Ontario), but overall, there was a decrease in the total number of violent crimes committed by youth in the province between 2008 and 2009.

The overall national youth 2009 Crime Severity Index (CSI) fell 2% since the previous year and 7% over the previous 10 years (Statistics Canada, 2010a). Although the youth violent CSI increased 10% over the previous decade, it fell slightly between 2008 and 2009. The national youth non-violent CSI dropped by over 18% over 10 years. The youth CSI for Alberta in 2009 showed decreases of 10% in overall crime, 9% in youth violent crime, and 10% in youth non-violent crime between 2008 and 2009. The reduction in youth CSI in Alberta was the second largest in Canada, after that of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The annual Uniform Crime Reporting Survey data are influenced by a number of other factors: demographics (e.g., high- vs. low-risk age groups); the ease with which crimes are reported (in person vs. by phone); societal attitudes towards certain crimes (e.g., intimate partner violence); changes to crime legislation (e.g., firearms offences); social and economic issues (e.g., unemployment), and technological developments that facilitate new crimes (e.g., cyber crimes) (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). Furthermore, with the exception of Aboriginal data, race and ethnicity statistics are not available to the public. Another factor that influences the UCR crime data is that, according to General Social Survey data (see below), more than two thirds of victimization crimes were not reported to police in 2009.

2.2 Victim-reported data

General population

The General Social Survey (GSS) randomly samples the general public every five years regarding criminal offences of which respondents have been the victim in the previous 12 months (Perrault & Brennan, 2010). These offences include incidents categorized as violent victimization, household victimization, and theft of personal property. The 2009 GSS reveals that, although approximately 25% of respondents over the age of 15 reported having been victimized in the past year, only 31% of these crimes were reported to police, down from 34% in 2004. Responses from the General Social Survey (Perreault & Brennan, 2010) outline some of the major reasons for this: 68% of crimes not reported were not considered sufficiently important; victims perceived that the police could not resolve 59% of them, 42% were dealt with in other ways; 36% of the incidents were personal issues; and a third of victims did not want to involve the police. The calculation of the Crime Severity Index is also subject to minor inaccuracies because data are not available on time served in remand. Nor are data available on recidivism, conditional sentences ("deferred custody") for youth, or on the varying length of life sentences (Wallace et al., 2009).

In 2009, 30% of victim-reported incidents of criminal victimization in the General Social Survey were classified as violent. Overall rates of violent victimization - primarily physical assault (19%), sexual assault (8%), and robbery (4%) - remained unchanged over the previous five years (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). According to Brennan and Taylor-Butts (2008), however, fewer than 10% of sexual assaults are reported to police. Household victimization rates remained stable; of these, the most common were theft of household property (35%), vandalism (31%), break and enter (20%), and theft of motor vehicles (14%) (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). Although the rate of victim-reported motor vehicle thefts dropped by 23% over five years, break-ins rose by 21%. Theft of personal property, which comprised one third of all victim-reported incidents, increased by 16% over 2004 rates. Reported rates of violent and household victimization were highest in the western Canadian provinces, all above the national average.

The 2009 General Social Survey also gathered information from victims about the perpetrators of crime. Responses indicate that 90% of violent offenders were male (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). One limitation of the GSS is that it is conducted only every five years and involves only a small sample (19,500 in 2009). It also excludes individuals living full-time in institutions, individuals who are homeless, or under 15 years of age, and businesses (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). Doob and Cesaroni (2004) report that victimization reports may also be influenced by under-reporting, by misrepresentation, and/or by faulty memory.

Youth

The results of the 2009 General Social Survey indicate that 15- to 24-year-olds were 15 times more likely to be the victims of a violent crime than individuals over the age of 65 (Perreault & Brennan, 2010). The GSS also gathers information from victims about perpetrators of crime. Although 18- to 24-year-olds constitute only 10% of the total population, they were implicated in the commission of more than 25% of crimes, according to victim reports (Perreault & Brennan, 2010).

The International Youth Survey is the Canadian equivalent of the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study that was administered to youth in more than 30 countries in 2006. In Toronto, more than 3,200 Toronto students in grades 7, 8, and 9 participated in the study (Savoie, 2007). During the previous 12 months, 40% of the students surveyed reported having been victimized one or more times; Zeman and Bressan (2008) reported that the most common forms of victimization were theft (27%) and bullying (21%).

2.3 Self-reported delinquency

The existing self-report surveys in Canada have focused on youth. The Toronto students surveyed for the International Youth Survey (see above) were asked to self-report delinquent behaviours (acts of violence, acts against property, and/or the sale of drugs) as part of the study. A total of 37% acknowledged having committed at least one offence in their lives, and 20% reported having engaged in delinquent behaviour in the previous 12 months (Savoie, 2007). Over the previous year, 13% of youth reported having engaged in violent crime; most of these were males (18% v. 8% females) and slightly more were in grades 8 and 9. However, boys were only marginally more likely than girls to self-report acts against property (30% v. 26%) (Savoie, 2007).

Interviews and questionnaires in the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) are administered every two years to track the development of children in Canada, in conjunction with Statistics Canada and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. In 2002, 4,293 youth between the ages of 12 and 15 were sampled. They self-reported crimes in responding to questions corresponding to Criminal Code offences and drug use. Latimer et al. (2003) reported that, according to responses to the 1998 survey, in the 12 months prior to the administration of the instrument, 39% of respondents had committed at least one

act of delinquency, and the majority of them had committed minor offences. Males self-reported delinquent behaviour more than females (43% v. 35%), and reported committing acts of violence and sexual assaults three times more than females. Both groups were equally likely to be involved in drug trafficking and property crimes.

There were limitations in both the International Youth Survey and National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. Zeman and Bressan (2008) pointed out a number of factors that could influence the data of the International Youth Survey. The data are cross-sectional, so the survey does not track respondents over time. Furthermore, it is administered only to youth who have parental consent and who were present in school at the time the survey was administered. It neither provides information on the socio-economic status of participants' families nor indicates ethnicity or visible minority characteristics. Similar to other self-report instruments, the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth is subject to misrepresentation in responses to sensitive questions, faulty memory, errors in translation of questionnaires, approximate answers, and non-response and coverage errors (Statistics Canada, 2010b). The data from the UCR, the GSS, and self-report delinquency surveys together, however, provide a more complete and accurate understanding of criminal activity in Canada than any one of the individual instruments.

2.4 Risk and protective factors

General population

Risk factors are specific characteristics or environmental conditions that increase an individual's likelihood of suffering negative outcomes. The World Report on Violence and Health (World Health Organization, 2002) provides an ecological framework for identifying risk factors associated with crime. It reported that individuals are affected not only by (a) their individual characteristics (e.g., mental health), prior victimization, and substance abuse, for example, but also by (b) their relationships (e.g., family violence, crime-involved friends), (c) the community in which they live (e.g., transient, high-crime neighbourhoods), and (d) society at large (e.g., socioeconomic disparity, lenient court sentences). Risk factors vary not only for vulnerable groups (e.g., individuals experiencing homelessness), but also according to types of crime (e.g., impaired driving), and geography (e.g., neighbourhood) (Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2007). Risk factors are dynamic and can exert varying effects, depending on the stage of life, social context, and circumstances in which they occur (Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2007). An interaction of multiple risk factors experienced for a longer duration of time increases the risk that individuals will become perpetrators or victims of crime, but risk factors are not in themselves the cause of crime: that is, not all individuals affected by the same risk factors will become involved in criminal activity.

Risk factors also affect the likelihood of criminal victimization. According to an analysis of the General Social Survey, risk of victimization was affected by marital status; age; race, country of birth, and socio-economic class. For example, single respondents reported higher rates of victimization than married members of the public, younger individuals were more vulnerable to victimization than older people, and rates were also higher for non-visible minorities and individuals born in Canada than for visible minority and immigrant groups. Residents with high household incomes were also more likely to experience theft of personal property than those with low incomes (Perreault & Brennan, 2010).

Protective factors are influences that moderate or diminish the potential negative effects of risk factors. (Public Safety Canada, 2009). Protective factors or assets may be the opposite of risk factors (e.g., employment v. unemployment, stable v. unstable housing), or they may be influences that counteract the effect of risk factors (e.g., strong family/social support that mitigates the effect of unemployment) (Farringdon & Welsh, 2007). As Blum, McNeely, and Nonnemaker (2002) explain, the relationships between protective and risk factors are intricate,

and "the ways in which protective factors work differ across contexts and across outcomes" (p. 38).

Youth

Most studies of risk and protective factors have been conducted with children and youth. The Search Institute (2006) identified 40 adolescent developmental factors that help youth thrive, and classified them as external protective factors (e.g., support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, constructive use of time) and internal protective factors (e.g., commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies, positive identity). Other researchers (e.g., Blum et al., 2002) categorized protective factors for adolescents according to six inter-related domains: the individual (e.g., high self-esteem), family (e.g., family cohesion), school (e.g., connectedness to school), peer (e.g., pro-social friends), community (e.g., access to role models), and society at large (e.g., macro-level economics).

Numerous childhood risk factors have also been empirically associated with the individual domain (e.g., aggressive behaviour, stress reactivity), the family (e.g., poverty, exposure to family violence), the school (e.g., suspension, poor academic performance), peers (e.g., bullying, social isolation), the social environment (e.g., poverty, exposure to violent media), and society at large (e.g., youth laws) (Blum et al., 2002). In their analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, (Latimer et al., 2003) revealed five concepts that correlated with incidents of delinquency for male and female youth: 1) poor parenting; 2) prior victimization; 3) anti-social peer group; 4) negative attitude to school; and 5) aggressive behaviour. Savoie's (2007) analysis of the International Youth Survey found that alcohol, drugs, and lack of parental supervision increased the incidence of self-reported delinquency.

3. CRIMINAL INVOLVEMENT OF ETHNOCULTURAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

3.1 Trends

The overall crime rate in Canada has steadily declined over the years. However, there is a growing public perception that more ethnocultural community members are involved in criminal activity. Fuelled by media headlines and reports on incidents of gang violence in Alberta and the reoccurring suggestion that gang activities have escalated (see CBC News, 2008; Chapman, 2006; D'Aliesio, 2008; Derworiz, 2005; McGinnis, 2006; Myers & Rassel, 2008; Rassel, 2005, 2006, 2008; Semmens, 2001; Toneguzzi, 1989; Zickefoose, 2008), the general public has expressed increasing fear of growing gang violence and concerns about criminal gang involvement of ethnocultural community members. In a survey of Calgarians commissioned by the Calgary Police Service, Environics Research Group (2008) found that, in spite of the downward trend in crime rates in Calgary, 73% of the respondents felt that crime in Calgary has worsened. In another poll conducted by CanWest News Service and Global TV in 2006 (see Rassel, 2006), 47% of Calgary respondents indicated that they feared that gang violence had increased in their community. About 67% of Calgary respondents also indicated that they believed some ethnic groups are more responsible for crime than others. Unfortunately, the lack of public crime statistics related to immigration status, race and ethnicity has seriously impeded research efforts to inform the public about the prevalence, patterns of and changes in criminal involvement of individuals from the various ethnocultural groups.

While the debate on the connection between crime and immigration and ethnicity has been lively and integral to the criminological literature in the United States (see Martinez & Valenzuela, 2006; Rumbault & Ewing, 2007; Sellin, 1938; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Taft, 1993; Tonry, 1995; U.S. Immigration Commission, 1991), it has received relatively scant attention in Canada (see Chan & Mirchandani, 2002; Wilkes, Guppy, & Faris, 2007; Williams, 1994; Wortley, 1996, 2004, 2009). In the US body of literature, Martinez and Lee (2000) reviewed the empirical literature from the 20th century on the topic of immigration and crime, and concluded that "the

bulk of empirical studies conducted over the past century have found that immigrants are typically underrepresented in criminal statistics" (p. 516). In their updated assessment of the scholarly landscape related to crime and immigration, Lee and Martinez (2009) maintained their earlier conclusion, and pointed out that the negative relationship between crime and immigration has been supported by recent research relying on more sophisticated analytical methods. This assertion has been echoed in various studies. For example, Stowell (2007) examined the various types of data on violence for the 1999-2001 period in several cities in the US, and found that immigration had a direct negative effect on violence overall, and that immigration from some countries was in fact associated with reduced violence. Reid, Weiss, Adelman, and Jaret (2005) examined the relationship between immigration and crime in a sample of metropolitan statistical areas in the United States and concluded that there is no evident crime-conducive effect of immigration in a variety of criminal offences, including homicide, robbery, burglary and theft.

Several studies showed that compared with native-born residents, first generation immigrants have lower rates of self-reported violent offending (Sampson, Morenoff, & Raudenbush, 2005), homicide (Kubrin & Ousey, 2009) and incarceration (Butcher & Piehl, 1998; Hagan & Palloni, 1998; Rumbault, Gonzales, Komaie, Morgan, & Tafoya-Estrada, 2006). Rumbault and colleagues, however, pointed out that the incarceration rates among immigrants increase with length of residence in the US, and they attributed the rise in incarceration to the process of Americanization. They also noted the incarceration is highest among those who have dropped out of school. Similarly, Morenoff and Astor (2006) examined the longitudinal data relating to violent crime among three generations of immigrants, and found that first generation immigrants are less likely to commit violent crime than second- and third generation children of immigrants. They further pointed out that among first generation immigrants, those who arrived at an early age (six years old or younger) reported higher rates of violent crime during adolescent years than those who arrived at a later age (10 years of age or older). Their findings also demonstrated that increasing linguistic acculturation is associated with increased reporting of violent behaviour and that neighbourhood disadvantage is associated with a high level of reported violence only among the third generation. Kubrin and Ousey (2009) further reported a significant and fairly strong positive relationship between immigration and gang-related homicides in large US cities.

With respect to criminality of racial minorities, there is strong evidence in the US literature that racial minorities, particularly those from African American and Hispanic American backgrounds, are faced with higher rates of imprisonment (see Shelden, Brown, & Listwan, 2004; Shelden & Shelden, 2004; Tonry, 1995; Western & Pettit, 2010). For example, according to the US Department of Justice (2004), between 1980 and 2003 the incarceration rate for black males was 4,834 prisoners per 100,000 black males, compared with 1,778 Hispanic males and 681 white males per 100,000. Western and Pettit (2010) examined the incarceration rates for black, Hispanic and white males with various levels of education between 1980 and 2008. They found that regardless of their levels of education, black males have the highest incarceration rates, followed by those of Hispanic and white males. Western and Pettit in particular pointed out the extraordinary incarceration rates among black males with little education: whereas about 10% of black males who have dropped out of high school were imprisoned in 1980, their incarceration rate climbed to 37% by 2008 (the incarceration rate for the general population was 0.76%). They attributed such racial disparities in incarceration rates to the lack of employment opportunities, stigma attached to criminal records, and intergenerational inequality (i.e., growing up in low income household with single parents, parental incarceration). Loury (2010) further linked racial disparities in incarceration rates to the subordinate status of African American ghetto-dwellers in terms of their social deprivation and spatial isolation, and inequalities and injustices in the justice system.

In Canada, the lack of official statistics related to immigrant status, race and ethnicity has hindered efforts to inform the public about the prevalence, patterns of and changes in criminal involvement of diverse populations or to guide responsive policy and service development. Only the federal correctional system publicizes statistics related to race and religion in its annual report on corrections and conditional release. This jurisdiction, however, is responsible for a small fraction of all offenders (those with aggregate sentences of two years or more). For example, in 2009, of 260,649 persons charged in Adult Court, 80,387 were in provincial/territorial custody and only 5,243 offenders were sentenced to federal jurisdiction (Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Portfolio Corrections Statistics Committee, 2010). In spite of their limitations, the statistics from the federal correctional system do provide some insights into representation of various racial and religious groups in the justice system. Table 2 provides an overview of the racial backgrounds of offenders in the federal correction system over time. Between 2001 and 2010, a significant majority of offenders identified themselves as Caucasian, followed by those who were Aboriginal, Black, Asian and Hispanic. Over this period of time, the offender population of Caucasian backgrounds decreased by 5.2%, while the Aboriginal, Black, Asian and Hispanic offender populations increased by 2.7%, 0.5%, 1.6% and 0.3% respectively.

Table 2: Federal offenders by race

	2001		2005		2009	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Aboriginal	3365	15.2	3636	16.6	3989	17.9
Asian	975	4.4	910	4.2	1091	4.9
Black	1390	6.3	1393	6.4	1746	7.9
Caucasian	15690	70.8	15233	69.5	14582	65.6
Hispanic	137	0.6	138	0.6	208	0.9
Other/Unknown	594	2.7	614	2.8	624	2.8
Total	22151	100	21924	100	22240	100

Sources: Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Porfolio Corrections Statistics Committee (2007, 2010).
Notes: "Aboriginal" includes offenders who are Inuit, Innu, Métis and North American Indian. "Asian" includes offenders who are Arab, West Indian, Asiatic, Chinese, East Indian, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South East Asian and South Asian. "Hispanic" includes offenders who are Hispanic and Latin American.

Racial disparities, however, clearly emerge when the offender population is compared with the general population. Table 3 illustrates the disproportionate representation of racial groups in federal penitentiaries. In 2006, Aboriginal people represented 5.4% of the total Canadian population. Yet, they accounted for 16.9% of the offender population. Their incarceration rate was 227.0 per 100,000, three times higher than the national rate (70.2). Similarly, black people represented 2.5% of the Canadian population, but accounted for 6.6% of the offender population. Their incarceration rate was at 188.6 per 100,000 or 2.7 times higher than the national incarceration rate. It should be noted that the incarceration rates for Asian and Hispanic were much lower than the national rate, at 25.7 per 100,000 and 47.7 per 100,000 respectively.

Table 3: Canadian Federal Incarceration Rates by Racial Group, 2006

	Population Size according to 2006 Census		Offender Population in 2006		Incarceration Rate (per 100,000)
	N	%	N	%	
Aboriginal	1,678,200	5.4	3,810	16.9	227.0
Asian	3,775,515	12.1	971	4.3	25.7
Black	783,795	2.5	1,478	6.6	188.6
Caucasian	24,494,740	78.4	15,440	68.7	63.0
Hispanic	304,245	1.0	145	0.6	47.7
Other minorities	204,540	0.7	638	2.8	311.9
Total	31,241,035	100.0	21,924	100.0	70.2

Sources: Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Portfolio Corrections Statistics Committee (2007); Statistics Canada (2008b).

In recent years, recurring concerns about the growth of immigrant gangs have been expressed in the media and public discourse in Alberta (see Klaszus, 2008; Morgan, 2005; Rassel, 2006). There is, however, no evidence in the research that shows that immigrants are more likely than non-immigrants to commit crime in Canada. In a survey of 3,393 high school students in Toronto, Wortley and Tanner (2006) found that Canadian-born high school students were slightly more likely to report current membership in a criminal gang (5%) than students born in other countries (4%), and that the likelihood of immigrant youth reporting current criminal gang membership increased with their length of time in Canada. Wortley and Tanner asserted that the issue of youth gangs is a domestic phenomenon with roots in the Canadian experience. The researchers, however, pointed out that although gang activity is not related to immigration status, gang membership is quite strongly related to racial background. Their data showed that black, Hispanic and Aboriginal youth were more likely to report gang activity than youth from other racial backgrounds. These findings are consistent with the results of the 2002 Canadian Police Survey on Youth Gangs, which indicated that a majority of gang members are visible minorities (about 60%) and Aboriginal (22%) (Astwood Strategy Corporation, 2004).

The assertion that crime is not imported from other crime-prone nations is further supported by the results of the 2006 International Youth Survey. McMullen (2009) examined self-reported delinquency among Canadian-born (both parents born in Canada), second generation (at least one parent born outside Canada) and first generation (born outside Canada) youth between 13 and 15 years of age in grades 7 to 9. The analysis showed that Canadian-born youth reported the highest rates of property- related delinquency, while immigrant youth who migrated to Canada after the age of 5 reported the lowest rates. With respect to violent delinquency, the results demonstrated that rates were highest for second generation youth, while both youth who migrated to Canada after the age of 5 and Canadian-born youth reported the lowest rates. The research, however, pointed out one exception: given similar relationships with families and friends, second generation youth remained at higher risk of reporting violent delinquency than their Canadian-born counterparts.

3.2 Theoretical Explanation of Criminal Involvement of Ethnocultural Community Members

There is a lack of contemporary theoretical explanations of the social phenomenon of criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members from the Canadian perspective. Among the few theoretical efforts to understand the connections between crime and ethnicity, race and immigration is Wortley's synthesis of four explanatory frameworks: the importation model, the cultural conflict model, the strain model, and the bias model (Wortley, 2004, 2009). The importation model focuses explicitly on the relationship between immigration and crime. It contends that some individuals, including those who belong to international criminal gangs or terrorist organizations, migrated to Canada with a clear intention to commit crimes, and that those individuals who came from crime-prone nations would be more likely engage in criminal activity in Canada. This theoretical standpoint has been resoundingly proven irrelevant in the existing academic literature (see Martinez & Valenzuela, 2006; McMullen, 2009; Wortley & Tanner, 2006). In public discourse, however, the importation model often has been used to disguise anti-immigration and racist sentiments. For instance, in his infamous speech delivered at the T.P. Boyle Founder's Lecture at the Fraser Institute in 2005, Gwyn Morgan, the former CEO of Encana, attributed gang violence to "lawless immigrants…from countries where the culture is dominated by violence and lawlessness" (Morgan, 2005). Another prominent public figure, Member of Parliament Lee Richardson, made a similar assertion during the 2008 federal election campaign:

> Crimes in Canada aren't committed by people that "grew up next door," but newcomers to the country…[who] don't have the same background in terms of the stable communities we had 20, 30 years ago in our cities…and don't have the same respect for authority or people's person or property. (MP Richardson as quoted in Klaszus, 2008)

The second explanatory framework, the strain model, focuses on tensions in relationships between immigrants and racial minorities and Canadian society at large that result in social, cultural, political and economic marginalization of immigrants and racial minorities, and subsequently push some toward criminal activity. This model argues that some immigrants and racial minorities, frustrated by lack of opportunities, racism and poverty, engage in criminal activity. An established body of literature has demonstrated the differential, unequal realities facing immigrants and racial minorities (see Fleras & Elliott, 2006; Ngo, 2009; Ngo & Schliefer, 2005; Wortley, 2004; also see section 2.2).

The third explanatory framework, the cultural conflict model, focuses on the intersection of immigration and culture. It asserts that some recent immigrants maintain cultural or religious practices that contravene the laws or customs of Canada. Proponents of this theoretical standpoint argue that some immigrants and racial minorities came from cultures that condone certain practices, such as violence, prostitution, and use or sale of drugs that are not legally accepted in Canada. This framework is problematic since it simplistically equates certain policies and practices condoned by the existing government in power (often through undemocratic means) and/or byproducts of political and social upheavals as cultural practices. It does not account for the fact that, in spite of coming from diverse countries where aspects of the law may be in conflict with Canadian legal standards, immigrants are generally less likely to commit crimes than their Canadian-born counterparts (McMullen, 2009; Wortley & Tanner, 2006). The cultural conflict model, like the importation model, has been used to promote anti-immigration and racist sentiments in public discourse.

The fourth explanatory framework, the bias model, argues that over-representation of certain ethnoracial groups in crime statistics is due to systemic discrimination and bias in the criminal justice system. Crime, in this theoretical context, is a racialized experience for some ethnoracial groups. Differential treatments of ethnoracial minorities in the criminal justice system have been well documented (Chan & Mirchandani, 2002; Currie, 1994; Henry, Hastings,

& Freer, 1996; Penn, Greene, & Gabbidon, 2006; Roberts, 2001; Roberts & Doob, 1997; Satzewich, 1998; Tonry, 1995, 1997). For example, the Commission on Systemic Discrimination in the Ontario Criminal Justice System established that Canadians of African descent are over-represented in the correctional system and are more likely to be stopped and detained by the police, and to receive differential outcomes in sentencing (Williams, 1994). In a survey of 251 officers in two cosmopolitan cities in Canada, Ungerleider (1992) found that 25% expressed confusion and irrationally negative attitudes toward minorities. A survey of residents of Ontario found that that the majority of Chinese, white and black respondents agreed that blacks are treated differently from whites by the police in Ontario, and that black respondents who reported having direct contact with the police were more likely to perceive injustice in the Canadian justice system (Wortley, 1996). The 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey further indicated that, among the 1.6 million Canadians who reported experiencing discrimination either sometimes or often, 12% felt that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment when dealing with the police or courts in Canada during the past five years (Statistics Canada, 2003a). The survey also found that among those who had sometimes or often experienced discrimination in Canada, visible minorities were twice as likely to report unfair treatment or discrimination by the police and courts as their non-visible minority counterparts (17% versus 8%).

Other theoretical efforts have also shed light on criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Drawing upon the experiences of 30 gang involved youth and former gang members in Calgary, Ngo (2011) proposed the theory of unraveling of identities and belonging. According to this theory, some youth from immigrant families became involved in criminal gang activity as a result of the unravelling of their self-concept, Canadian identity, ethnic identity and sense of belonging. Such unravelling occurred as the youth experienced gradual disintegration in their relationships with family, school and community. Ngo further described the complex pathways followed by youth from immigrant families towards criminal gang involvement. The gang involved youth either directly experienced pre-migration vulnerabilities or were indirectly impacted by their parents' pre-migration histories. Their life experiences in Canada involved gradual disintegration of their interaction with their families, schools and communities. Subsequently, the participants experienced crises of identity and belonging, which propelled them towards forming friendships with other socially disconnected peers. They became involved in social cliques, and progressed towards membership in criminal gangs.

In another Alberta-based study, Rossiter and Rossiter (2009) interviewed 12 representatives from social service agencies, community groups and the criminal justice and forensic mental health systems who frequently come into contact with immigrant and refugee youth involved in criminal and/or gang activity in Edmonton. The stakeholders identified a wide range of risk factors related to family functioning (settlement adaptation stress, family poverty, lack of family and social support, intergenerational gaps), individual experiences (pre-migration trauma, poor decision making and interpersonal skills, learning disabilities, risky behaviours, use of violence to solve problems, distrust of authorities, lack of personal and cultural identity, sense of powerlessness and hopelessness), peer relations (isolation and exclusion, peer pressure and influence), school challenges (academic, cultural and linguistic barriers, bullying) and community life (access to role models, intra-cultural differences and conflicts, lack of safe and affordable housing, inappropriate and inaccessible service programs).

In an analysis of in depth interviews with 125 known gang members of diverse racial backgrounds (mostly males) in Ontario, Wortley and Tanner (2008) identified racial differences in the reasons or justifications behind gang involvement. They found that the members attributed their gang involvement to neighbourhood, peer, and family influences; the need for protection; for support and companionship; for status and respect; and for money; and the

experience of racial injustice. Wortley and Tanner further pointed out that racial minority gang members were more likely to highlight racial injustice and social inequality as reasons for gang membership than their white counterparts. The authors concluded that the experience of racism was a crucial factor:

> Thus, it appears that gang membership for some minority youth may be more than a simple quest for material goods, protection, and status. Our results suggest that gang membership can also be experienced as a profound act of pride, defiance, and rebellion. It is a means of expressing a belief that society is fundamentally unfair – of demonstrating resistance to the rules of a racist, oppressive society. (p. 205)

4. SUMMARY

Albertans are increasingly diverse in terms of their place of birth, language, ethnic affiliation and religious belief. The future of Alberta is intricately linked to the well-being of all its citizens. Unfortunately, there have been persistent challenges and inequities facing immigrants and racial minorities in the social, political and economic arenas. With respect to crime and justice, public discourse has raised concerns about increased criminality among members of ethnocultural communities (Rassel, 2006). In spite of the lack of official crime statistics related to immigration, race and ethnicity, there is some evidence that certain racial groups, particularly those from African and Aboriginal backgrounds, have experienced disproportionately high incarceration rates in Canada (Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Portfolio Corrections Statistics Committee, 2007, 2010). The existing research has also demonstrated that even though first generation immigrants are overall less likely to commit crime than their Canadian born counterparts, their likelihood of criminal involvement increases with their length of time in Canada (McMullen, 2009; Rumbault, et al., 2006; Wortley & Tanner, 2006). Theoretically, Canadian literature has primarily focused on four perspectives, namely the importation model, the strain model, the bias model and the cultural conflict model (Wortley, 2009). Recent theoretical development has focused on the unravelling of identities of immigrant and racial minority youth as the underlying cause of criminality (Ngo, 2011).

2 | FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS

This section complements the existing body of literature on shifting demographics, contemporary trends and issues in criminology and theoretical explanations of criminal involvement of immigrants and racial minorities. Based on the analysis of data from the focus groups with ethnocultural members, law enforcement stakeholders and service providers in Southern Alberta, it elaborates on the perceptions of ethnocultural criminality, specific risk and protective factors related to criminal involvement or crime prevention in ethnocultural communities, and strategies for crime prevention in the changing diversity in the community.

1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Use of Focus Groups

This research study aimed to contribute to collaborative efforts to prevent and reduce crime in ethnocultural communities in southern Alberta. To facilitate this process, the research team used focus group interviews or 'group discussions' with representatives of ethnocultural communities, service providers, and law enforcement personnel in four locations in Alberta, namely Calgary, Red Deer, Lethbridge and Brooks. Focus groups are employed when gathering data on a range of ideas about a particular issue, comparing the perspectives of different groups, and investigating factors that affect attitudes or behaviours. Discussion groups are composed of individuals with particular common characteristics related to the topic of the interview; they usually range in size from 4 to 12 members and are led by an experienced facilitator. Participants may find it easier to be open in group discussions than in one-on-one interviews (Barbour, 2007) because members of the group have the opportunity to share ideas, reflect upon their own thoughts, and address differences of opinion. "As the discussion progresses (backwards and forwards, round and round the group), individual response becomes sharpened and refined, and moves to a deeper and more considered level" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 171). Focus groups are widely used in generating strategies to address specific issues, and it is for this reason that they were chosen as the method for this study. The purpose of the focus groups in this study was (1) to qualitatively elaborate on criminological risk and protective factors relevant to ethnocultural populations; and (2) to explore effective strategies to prevent and reduce crime in diverse ethnocultural communities.

1.2 Participants

In February 2011, ten focus groups were organized for 70 participants in Calgary, Brooks, Lethbridge, and Red Deer through existing community connections. Multiple stakeholders were involved in these focus groups: ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel, and service providers. In Brooks, Lethbridge, and Red Deer, one focus group was organized for ethnocultural members and another for service providers and law enforcement personnel; in Calgary, two focus groups were organized for each. Focus groups ranged in size from 6 to 9 (M = 8) for the law enforcement/service provider groups and 2 to 8 (M = 6). for the ethnocultural community groups. They ranged from 1 to 3 hours in length (M = 2.5 hours).

Ethnocultural community members

For the ethnocultural focus groups, the research team recruited participants who were (1) of African, Asian, South Asian, Middle Eastern or Hispanic descent; (2) 18 years or older; (3) residents of Alberta for at least 6 months; and (4) able to communicate in English. A total of 29 ethnocultural community members (12 women, 17 men) participated in the focus groups: 16 in Calgary, 4 in Brooks, 2 in Lethbridge, and 7 in Red Deer. Their average length of residence in Alberta was 7.2 years. Diverse ethnocultural communities were represented in the groups. The two focus groups in Calgary each consisted of 8 participants: the members of the first were of African (7) and Caribbean (1) descent, and participants in the second were of Southeast Asian (7) and Caribbean (1) descent. In Brooks, ethnocultural focus group participants were of African (3) and Hispanic (1) descent; in Lethbridge, they came from African (1) and South Asian (1) backgrounds, and in Red Deer, they were from Hispanic (4) and African (3) communities.

Service Providers/Law Enforcement Personnel
The inclusion criteria for law enforcement officers and service providers were to (1) be a law enforcement staff member (e.g., police, probation officer, correctional officer) or service staff member (e.g., in social services, health, education, justice); and (2) have had at least 6 months' experience working directly with ethnocultural community members in Alberta. Forty-one law enforcement personnel/service providers (17 women, 24 men) participated in focus groups in the four research sites. Eight law enforcement staff members participated in focus groups in Calgary, 2 in Brooks, 1 in Lethbridge, and 1 in Red Deer. Ten service providers attended one of two focus groups held in Calgary, 7 participated in Brooks, 7 in Lethbridge, and 5 in Red Deer.

1.3 Instruments
The research team designed the semi-structured facilitation guides for the focus groups with ethnocultural members and with law enforcement personnel/service providers. The interview schedules included questions regarding general perceptions of criminal involvement of ethnocultural members; risk and protective factors; challenges and successes in working with ethnocultural communities; and recommendations for strategies to prevent and address these issues (see Appendices A and B).

1.4. Procedures
Following the approval of the ethics board of the Mount Royal University, the research team distributed recruitment notices via professional networks to solicit focus group participants. Prior to the focus group meeting, the research team members communicated individually with the prospective participants of the focus group (via telephone, email, or in-person meeting). The research team members explained and clarified the nature of the study, the research process, and the format of the focus groups. They also explained the informed consent process and the oath of confidentiality to protect identities of other focus group participants. The research team emailed, faxed, or delivered to the prospective participants copies of the consent and confidentiality forms. Further, in advance of the focus group dialogues, the research team reviewed the forms and collected the signed copies before proceeding with the focus group questions.

The focus group interviews consisted of five main stages, as described by Ritchie and Lewis (2003). In the first stage, the researcher drew the participants together as they arrived, welcomed them, and put them at ease. When all the members had convened, the facilitator introduced himself, the topic of discussion, the purpose of the study, and the ground rules (including confidentiality) for the discussion. In the second phase, the participants introduced themselves and provided some brief background information (affiliation, etc.). Following this, the opening topic was introduced and participants were encouraged to voice their general opinions about the issue. Next, the members of the group engaged in fuller discussion of subsequent questions in the interview guide. When the interview questions had been fully explored, the researcher provided a final opportunity for participants to contribute additional information, thanked the focus group members for participating, and closed the focus group discussion.

In addition to the facilitator, a trained note-taker was allocated to each focus group, and the group dialogues were audiotaped. In addition to taking detailed notes, four third- and fourth-year students from the Justice Studies program at Mount Royal University were directly involved in coordinating focus groups (e.g., organization, invitation, outreach), providing practical support in focus groups, and transcribing focus group dialogues. All research assistants signed confidentiality agreement to keep confidential the identification of focus group participants and the information shared and recorded in the focus groups.

1.5 Data Analysis

The research team used qualitative data analysis software (Atlas.ti and NVivo) to analyze the transcribed qualitative data from the focus groups. The process of data analysis involved open coding, identification of key themes and concepts, and discovery of relationships among the categories. The research team members used member checking to ensure consistency and trustworthiness of data analysis.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This study had some limitations. It focused on the perceptions and opinions of ethnocultural members, law enforcement personnel and service providers. While their viewpoints were important and offered insights into criminality among ethnocultural members, they might not always capture all aspects of the experience of crime involved ethnocultural members, accurate and bias-free. The sample size for this study was relatively small, and results should be interpreted with caution. The limited time for the project did not allow broad recruitment of focus group participants, and participants thus did not represent the diversity of ethnocultural communities. The use of focus group as a method also had several limitations. As Sarantakos (2005) cautions, the group context may inhibit some members from displaying their real opinions if they anticipate that voicing divergent opinions may have a negative impact on their personal or professional relationships with others. Some members may be more dominant, others more reticent, and it may be difficult to keep larger groups engaged and focused. Our use of a skilled facilitator to moderate focus group interviews and to facilitate turn-taking, however, helped reduce these difficulties and enhanced the value of the data collected.

2. FINDINGS

2.1 Perceptions of Criminal Involvement of Ethnocultural Community Members

Stakeholders were cautious in articulating their perceptions of the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members. They were concerned about sensationalized media coverage and public discourse, and felt a sense of responsibility for their thoughts and opinions. Focus group respondents emphasized that their perceptions were based on anecdotal experiences and should not be generalized to all diverse communities. A few professionals with access to crime statistics reported that the levels of criminal involvement of immigrants and ethnoracial minorities are low overall; however, they observed the increased criminal involvement of some ethno-specific communities. Many professionals further pointed out that their interactions with ethnocultural members in the justice system reflect the population make-up of the various communities. For example, those who work in the Northeast neighbourhoods in Calgary, known for high concentration of immigrants and visible minorities, indicated that they have had more ethnocultural members in their caseloads. Some ethnocultural community representatives felt that residents hold negative stereotyped perceptions of their communities (e.g., Jamaicans as drug-dealers or gang members), and noted the presence of racial profiling in crime reports in the media. They were concerned that the minority of immigrants involved in crime were unfairly shaping perceptions of all other immigrants, and that these barriers were difficult to overcome.

Reflecting on their experiences working with or living in diverse communities, focus group participants observed a wide range of crime that parallels criminological trends in the so-called mainstream population: assault, sexual abuse, domestic violence, homicide, fraud, drug trafficking, drug production (grow-ops), senior abuse, property crime (including shoplifting, carjacking), and mischief (e.g. graffiti). By far, the largest number of references were to drugs, domestic violence, and fraud.

> *We see every gamut of crime coming to our caseload for sure. Regardless of whether they are ethnocultural or not, we are used to seeing every realm of crime - but so many more from assaults, to assaults with a weapon, property crimes. But I find that a lot of the ethnocultural kids*

get into a bit more of the violent crime. (Law enforcement representative)

I find that there's fair bit of violence within the family or charges against siblings. There is more parental-type physical abuse taking place within the family. A lot of siblings get charges for assaulting the other sibling. (Law enforcement representative)

I'm talking about doctors, lawyers, and accountants who doctor the books. A doctor will give a note to a patient in the same community so that they can go on disability or whatever. That's what I mean. Another big one is marriage fraud. Go overseas back to India, marry a woman, get a dowry of 100,000 dollars from the family. The man comes back with 100,000 dollars in his pocket, and comes as a rich man, brings the woman over with the expectation that they will also sponsor her family, and then after a couple years, he divorces her and it's the same thing again five years later. (Social services representative)

Several law enforcement officers opined that certain groups are known for particular types of crime. For instance, they observed the disproportionate involvement of Vietnamese people in grow-ops, South Asians in financial fraud and domestic violence, and individuals of African and South Asian descent in trafficking and use of so-called cultural drugs (i.e., khat in the African communities and Doda in the South Asian communities).

2.2 Risk Factors

There was a general consensus among stakeholders that there are multiple, complex risk factors that have led some ethnocultural community members to commit crime. As a service provider pointed out, "It is schwack of issues. It is like peeling an onion." Stakeholders identified a range of risk factors related to home country experience, acculturation stress, community interaction, access of services, knowledge, family interaction, cultural practice, socioeconomic disparity, the media, and interaction with the criminal justice system.

Home Country Experience and Pre-migration Preparation

With respect to home country experience, many respondents highlighted the exposure of some ethnocultural members to violence prior to their arrival in Canada. They pointed out the successive waves of refugees who escaped violent wars in Bosnia, Sudan and elsewhere. Several respondents had contacts with families who lost relatives to crime committed by members of another ethnic group or young men who were child soldiers in their countries of origin. They felt that these ethnocultural community members may suffer from post traumatic syndrome and are particularly vulnerable to violent crime.

If we look at what's happening around the world, there're wars. You know, like if we talk about Sudanese youth, what have they witnessed? A lot of them [immigrants] actually came from war-torn countries. So there's more and more layers in terms of issues - psychological, socioeconomic, and all that. (Social services representative)

Many participants in the ethnocultural focus groups felt unprepared for the struggles that they face here in Canada. They were told by the embassies that their children would have free schooling, but they did not anticipate that their expectations would not be met, that they would live in poverty, and that crime might thereby become part of their life in Canada.

We come and we don't get the fulfillment of what we are expecting, you know. It causes us to be disconnected from the society….A disengaged youngster… it seems that the only avenue they're put on is the avenue to commit crime. They're blocked off from every other opportunity, but the one to commit crime is wide open. (Ethnocultural community member)

Family Dynamics

A number of respondents pointed out that the experience of immigration itself can cause family disruption and tension. They observed that many workers who arrived in Canada alone have been challenged with practical and emotional hurdles to bring their families to Canada and to take care of their families once they are reunited. Further, limited employment opportunities place stresses on workers and their families. Many respondents contended that such challenges could create tensions in families, which in turn could result in domestic violence.

> *Typically the men come first for work and will be here for some time - whether that's six months to six years before the rest of their family is able to come over…I think the complexities of their lives when they get here, and they are dealing with employment, housing, you know, being away from family. You know that, there are just so many more things. You know the sense of being devalued because they came over with a certain degree and now they are working minimum wage. It is just immeasurable how much more complex…When their families come, they move into small apartments or they have to help their families adjust. They experience a lot of tension. (Social services representative)*

Several respondents observed that some ethnocultural families have struggled to accept changing gender roles. They contended that the inability of some male partners or parents to adjust their expectations of their spouses or daughters could result in domestic violence.

> *There is sometimes a change in the role of people. When someone was in Africa, the dad was there to take care of the family and everything stayed in the family. But when they come to this country, there is another change. Now they have to give more of the power to the woman… Coming to this culture - that whole business of role definition is put into question; that whole traditional definition of roles is being challenged. The male is no longer the head of the household. So how exactly are they going to exert their power and control? (Ethnocultural community member)*

Many respondents echoed the belief that the varying levels of acculturation and conflictual life perspectives among family members weaken familial bonds and interactions, which often results in inadequate parental guidance and the increased vulnerability of young people to negative influences, and experimentation of or sustainable engagement in unlawful activity. They were particularly concerned about the widened intergenerational gap between first generation immigrants and their Canadian-born children.

> *The parents are immigrants and the children were born and raised here. So I see that some of these children are having an identity crisis because they consider themselves as Canadians and their parents still hold onto the beliefs and the traditions and the culture. So that leads to a big gap, and it comes to a point that some of the kids are beyond parental control, because they just don't see eye to eye...As a parent from an ethno-cultural community, I have two teenagers and I am really emotional about that sense, because I see them changing, because they are not really holding onto the cultural beliefs and traditions that we have. It scared me in a way, as a parent, because in our tradition and culture, respect and following religious belief is so important. But they are saying that this is a free country and I can do what I want and I can be what I want. But this is something that leads to some kids losing their identity. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Indeed, many respondents were concerned about erosion or under-development of cultural identity among young ethnocultural members. They attributed such lack of an empowering cultural identity to rifts in family interactions, rejection of heritage culture, and internalization of negative cultural stereotypes.

> *I know these Muslim kids who have been in Canada for 3 or 4 years. They started to discover about drugs. I have parents calling kids into my office and said, "Look what I found in his room - marijuana." The strong Muslim faith is that you do not have sex until you're married. Now they discover that you don't need to be married to have sex…These young immigrants dive in headfirst. They haven't had the training in how to handle that kind of stuff. (Social services representative)*

> *Some of the young people don't even speak the same language as the parents now. They've lost this pride in their culture and they think that this is what they have to do [committing crime]…I talked to the young African males that were at the centre of this gang. They said "This is get rich or die trying. This is 50 Cent. This is what I'm supposed to be doing. This is so much easier than going to school, getting this education. It takes so long and then working my way up the job." (Correctional officer)*

Several respondents also observed role reversal in parent-child relationship, where young people take on leadership role to support their parents with language interpretation, understanding of new cultural norms, and, in some cases, financial needs. They rationalized that such changing power dynamics and sense of responsibility could set the stage for some young people to engage in illegal activity to support their families and to navigate through the underworld. Some respondents stated that young people also took advantage of their parents' limited English to mislead them regarding their trouble with the law.

> *Some parents don't speak English or have a very limited English, so the kid is the one who is doing the speaking or the translating, then we're not always sure whether the kid is translating exactly what he should be translating or not, so we're not sure what the parents are getting. (Law enforcement officer)*

Stakeholders further pointed out that practical demands of life in Canada and financial responsibility to other family in the home country have led many ethnocultural community members to overextend themselves with work. In their views, long working hours could hinder parents' ability to be actively involved in their children's lives, particularly in providing social opportunities and guidance to their children. Several respondents observed that a lack of parental involvement was most prominent among single parent households with limited financial capacity.

> *I am working with families that they are getting paid minimal wage and they are working constantly and so their children are unsupervised. Their children are pretty much alone to do a lot of things on their own. They tend to stray and seek approval from friends even if it's negative - so that's what I'm seeing. (Social services representative)*

Another participant explained the cultural consequences of not having extended family in Canada:

> *In our culture… we can bring kids to our sisters and siblings, family or relatives, leave them there and be assured they will be in good hands. Here, we have a different system and we don't have very much family support. So we have to depend on the caregivers and people who are paid.*

Having to depend on Canadian caregivers in daycares, etc. was reported to contribute to the acquisition of conflicting values, such as the development of independence at an early age, thus leading to cultural dissonance.

A few respondents observed that due to the different beliefs of acceptable parenting methods, many ethnocultural families have encountered serious trouble when parents use corporal discipline.

> *The kids have more authority than a parent….because in ESL [the kids] will report it to the school and now child services gets the [communication] and then in two weeks the whole family collapses. (Ethnocultural community member)*

They also pointed out that, due to a fear of involvement of child protection services, some parents simply avoid disciplining their children altogether, which in turn can encourage young people to continue undesirable behaviours and, in some cases, move toward involvement in delinquent activity. Furthermore, several respondents were alarmed that parents with a criminal history have exposed or involved their children in illegal activity, particularly in drug-related crime.

> *When I was young I had friends whose parents were involved in gangs and drug dealing. And then over the last 2 years, I have worked with youth that have come to my programs and have asked, "What do your parents enjoy doing at home?" and they say they just stay at home all day. I'm like "Okay, what do they do? Do they have interests?" They say, "Not really. They just really like to drive around in their Mercedes Benz and so on, but they don't work." So you start to piece the pieces together. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Community Interactions

According to stakeholders, complexities in the interactions between ethnocultural community members and the broader community have given rise to some criminological risk factors, including social isolation and lack of access to community support, cultural insularity, racism and discrimination, and a lack of a sense of belonging. Many respondents pointed out that the lack of English proficiency and unfamiliarity with Canadian norms and customs have hindered the abilities of some ethnocultural members to cultivate and maintain cross-cultural social networks. They noted a lack of knowledge among ethnocultural community members about community resources and support, as well as their limited access to existing services.

> *They haven't learned of the existing services out in their community. There is also a trust factor, of course. Some ethnic families do not feel comfortable to share their family issues with others. (Social services representative)*

A few respondents reported that in some instances, ethnocultural community members neither identify with professional support nor trust the existing services in the larger community. One social services representative explained: "The families are afraid to send their kids to after-school programs because they think they will come back corrupt." Respondents were quick to point out that many ethnocultural community members also do not receive or access social services and support in their cultural communities due to a lack of community capacity, or they choose not to access the existing support because of their fear of social stigmatization:

> *Saving face is a huge, huge thing in some cultures. The problem with saving face is that the parents or the family doesn't want to get the help. I remember one situation where I took an East Indian girl home, and she was hammered, she was drunk. I go, "She's been drinking. I had to bring her home. Just to make sure she's okay." "Oh no, she hasn't been drinking, she must be sick." And the telltale signs are there - she's been drinking. It's just one of those issues that they're hiding behind their parents now, but because their parents are trying to save face, they're getting more involved and their parents are trying to say, "No, my kids aren't involved in this or that," and they're kind of, not misguiding the police, but not working with us to improve the child, and the child is thinking that they're getting away with everything. (Law enforcement*

officer)

> *We don't usually learn about anger management or stress management. And we don't seek counseling because there is so much stigma there. It's just like you are going to go see a counselor because you are ill, you are crazy, in your mind. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Many respondents further asserted that racism and discrimination have alienated some ethnocultural community members. They shared incidents of racism and acknowledged the invisible cultural divide in their communities.

> *When we first moved here our bikes got stolen. When we asked the neighbourhood, their response was, "Go check this part of town, that's probably where you'll find it." We kinda got a lot of newcomers and that's kinda the perception that that's where the criminal activity, petty crime would be - those youth or in that area of town. We have teenagers in the high school and it's really shocking to hear them come home with the stories that go on in the high school that are perspectives of racism. When it comes to crime, you know an automatic perception is that it's these kids and those kids and it was pretty shocking for them, so I think there's a lot of perception issues coming from the members of this community. (Social services representative)*

Some respondents perceived cultural insularity in some ethnocultural communities as a hindering factor to crime prevention.

> *I find that if you have a community that is so tight and united, it in some way presents challenges. As Canadians we are not doing a very good job trying to help people integrate into the larger community. Often you can say you can take the person out of the country, but you cannot the country out of the person. So what you find is that they have the bond, the trust, they have built upon themselves within their own communities. They literally shelter themselves, and, good or bad, they stand by it. So the challenge is actually being able to go in, going back to the trust, and how do you break in? How do you get them to buy in and the huge piece and how do you get them to engage? (Law enforcement officer)*

Inequitable Socioeconomic Realities

Stakeholders further attributed the criminal involvement of some members to inequitable socioeconomic realities facing ethnocultural populations. Ethnocultural members, law enforcement personnel and social services representatives observed that many immigrants have limited access to employment opportunities and well-paid positions due to a lack of recognition by employers of foreign credentials and experience, or, on the part of some ethnocultural community members, due to a lack of language and limited access to education and training. They contended that disenchantment with their economic prospects in Canada, compounded by financial responsibilities to their extended families in their home country, could make profitable illegal activity an appealing option for some ethnocultural members.

> *There is money to be made [illegally], so why not get a good part of that? As opposed to going and working at Lakeside and getting up early and wrecking your body. What also leads some people to get involved in criminal activity is unemployment. They lose the one job that they can do here due to their limited English skills; they get unemployed. That again makes drug trafficking very attractive. I've seen family situations where someone has got an undergraduate degree, say from a foreign country, but their credentials are not recognized here. They come home, they're frustrated, they're not living their purpose, they get upset and angry with family members. The last thing I see is the lack of education, especially in ESL, English training, they do not have the language skills to earn a living in a legal way. (Social services representative)*

> *I had some friends growing up that did work hard to try and start up a family business and make*

> *money in a very legit and honest way, and then at some point there was this real difficulty for a lot of families running businesses to keep their family businesses running. There are all these issues of how do we support our families? And we're trying our best - what can we do? So then some of these other ideas and alternatives come to mind and so from my own personal experience and I'm just speaking from close to my experience…[they] came here, tried to start their family business, it didn't work out for whatever reason and then they just didn't have the education to then go out and seek other jobs and so... How do we get food on the table was their concern, you know? (Ethnocultural community member)*

Hard work takes a toll on family life. Said one ethnocultural community member:

> *Five o'clock you wake up to prepare yourself to be able to reach work at six twenty. From 5:00 AM to 5:00 PM you are booked. When you arrive home you're very, very tired. You don't have enough time really to spend with your kids. And if working overtime, he also doesn't have time to spend on his kids….When I'm thinking about just making money – money, money, money, money - and not spending a fair time with my wife to understand my wife or enough time to visit my kids, problems are going to happen.*

Several respondents were concerned that not only many ethnocultural community members do not have their fair share of employment opportunities, but their children are not adequately supported to have an improved future. They reported the lack of access of children of ethnocultural community members to responsive education and services. Stakeholders were concerned about the age-appropriate placement practice in schools that put young people with little prior education in high grade levels without adequate specialized educational and social support; the lack of support to develop English language proficiency; and an overall lack of advocacy for ethnocultural learners in the education system.

> *There are kids that came from countries like Somalia and Kenya. They put them into grades by their age. I have clients that say, "We have never been to school before", and they are put into grade ten, and they missed from grade one to grade ten. So just imagine what happens to that person psychologically. And then the next person that he sees is a gang member or a street person, and they're gonna associate, they're gonna make poor choices. (Social services representative)*

> *Absolutely, when someone comes to this country when they're 14, say, and our school systems are not really set up to help them enhance, or to provide the type of language skills training they need, and what does the research say? Something like 3 years…to try and catch up just for one year, so they're in a losing battle. (Ethnocultural community member)*

> *What I'm seeing is that there's not a lot of advocacy, especially in the school systems. Some of these moms don't know how and a lot of these youths don't have any advocates that are banging on the school saying, "What is this, why is this going on with my child?" The group of young people don't have any advocates for them at all, so it's easy for them just to jump on the other side, where it's easy to be accepted into a gang. (Social services representative)*

A few respondents asserted that discriminatory practices and limited socioeconomic and educational opportunities have perpetuated a sense of disconnect and marginalization among some ethnocultural members. They observed that many immigrants have become disillusioned after some time.

> *It's not easy to come to Canada, but you come to Canada because of the opportunity. So you have your opportunity for your dream and your kids to have a better life, compared to where you came from. But when you come to the end, and this is the end of it, you… become hopeless. You don't*

> *know what to do. You become isolated, you become confused. You just don't care. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Many respondents identified poverty as a major risk factor for becoming involved in crime. A major basic need for newcomers is housing. Some ethnocultural members stated that those newcomers who bring money with them spend it on housing and utilities within the first few months and then become destitute. They also pointed out that some low income families may be granted subsidized housing by the government. In some cases, one respondent explained, members of one ethnic community are housed in the same complex to create social cohesion in the community, but they end up living in a ghetto. According to the assessments of several respondents, after the financial support from the federal government ends, income of some immigrant families may decrease, and criminal activities may become more common in the neighbourhood. In addition, some respondents argued that homelessness is a stressor that leads to intentional criminal acts for some ethnocultural members. One respondent learned that some homeless immigrants eat at drop-in centres and sleep in the park in the summer, but when winter comes, they need a place to stay, so they commit a crime in order to find refuge in jail. He explained:

> *So people are not even criminal. They're doing it intentionally, and then they end up misleading justice, and the justice gives them a criminal record. But they don't care because they get food for free…. They just need a place to stay.*

A few respondents cited repayment of the refugee transportation loan as a motivation for gang involvement. They pointed out that loans may amount to $10,000 plus interest for families (with additional loans to children over the age of 18).

> *A lot of refugee families are working to repay the loan, and there were some cases that they decided, "Okay, we have a big family and we have a big loan to repay. We first need to sacrifice by sending one or two children to the gang or to commit some crimes so that they can make money quickly and repay the loans." (Ethnocultural member)*

Ethnocultural focus group participants also noted the "cool factor" associated with criminal involvement: "I mean, you see drug dealers, you know – you're cool and you're popular. You have that power and the prestige, right? You've got that drug money – carrying around a big wad of cash rolled up, right?" This becomes an attractive temptation for many youth.

Influence of Media

Several community members also identified particular elements of television, video games, and the Internet as risk factors for criminal involvement:

> *Black Ops - it's all about killing and it's really bloody scenes and it really influences. They play it almost every day, like they're addicted….They love that kind of experience, so they probably want to experience it in life.*

In other shows of Southeast Asian origin,

> *The men are very violent… they show a lot of strangling the women, like slapping… and it's really sickening, it's very disturbing to me. And I think it shows this is how you respond, this is how you react to women, your wife, your sister, whatever, if you don't get what you want.*

Other newcomers were reported to be heavily influenced by "pop culture and rap, and they dress like gangsters… and they could be easily swayed and start committing crimes and…dealing drugs".

Interaction with the Criminal Justice System

In the justice arena, stakeholders observed a lack of knowledge of some ethnocultural community members about Canadian law.

> *Some immigrants don't have enough knowledge of what legal system is, and nobody educate them. Not many are educated in mainstream schooling, so they lack knowledge and if you do not know you cannot abide by it. (Ethnocultural member)*

Several respondents recounted incidents where some newcomers have struggled to understand complex legal language and procedures, as well as nuanced assumptions in law enforcement in Canada.

> *The barriers are things like language. The criminal justice system is confusing. Half of my job is trying to explain the process to youth or to parents because it's a very confusing system if you have never been in the system before and know what's going on. The system is so complex. (Social service representative)*

To complicate matters, stakeholders pointed out that some ethnocultural community members came from countries where the law regarding certain offences, such as domestic violence or drinking and driving, was not reinforced. A few participants insisted that many foreign-born residents perceive leniency in the Canadian criminal justice system, and thus do not find judicial sentencing a stern deterrent to criminal involvement.

> *[Gang activity] is a high risk business in itself, but you know, in Canada there is no death sentence, so who cares? And you can get bail easily, and it's so easy for people to be offered, for example, the grow-op business. You can get a few hundred, tens of thousands of dollars within a month or so, so why not? It's so easy. Maybe I'll just take the risk this time…. There's no other way to get money that easily. Like if you go to work a find a job, how long will it take you to be able to pay for a mortgage? (Ethnocultural community member)*

Some ethnocultural community members, however, disagreed. They felt that the criminal justice system does not take into account the lack of understanding of Canadian laws and that it fails to give newcomers a second chance.

> *Our system makes us criminals from day one because, for example, someone arrives in this country. Within one week, they don't know… how the law functions here. And then drives a car without maybe having a license one day and, some days, drink and drive, and the license is confiscated. That would affect him not to get a job, because a vehicle is very important here. And if he fail to get a job, the only activity could involve drugs. And the same people who are calling us criminals are the same people using us…because we sell drugs to them… We don't plant drugs. Drugs are just brought to us ready and then because I'm in need, then I have to sell it. (Ethnocultural community member)*

A few respondents saw contact with the correctional system itself a criminological risk. They encountered young people who learned from other inmates and became more skillful in their criminal activity.

> *Even getting caught and thrown in jail is a bit of a status symbol for some of these kids. They go in for a month right and then they come out better skilled. They actually receive a bit of respect from their peers, right? Because now they're a bad person- they've been in jail. (Youth worker)*

2.3 Protective Factors

Focus group participants emphasized that, in spite of tremendous challenges, most ethnocultural community members are law-abiding citizens. They identified a number of effective factors that have prevented the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members, including: family support, strengths of ethnocultural communities, community engagement and civic participation, and access to social services.

Family Support

Stakeholders identified active parental involvement and effective parental guidance as key to crime prevention. They noted that many ethnocultural community members are family-oriented and enjoy strong bonds and support from immediate and extended family members. Several respondents observed that in healthy families, parents pay a great deal of attention to their children and provide them with guidance, structure, and plenty of opportunities for positive social development. They also pointed out that young people look up to other family members for life choices and inspiration.

> *My parents kept us very busy with sports and were very diligent with keeping us in our routine. Like, who takes out the garbage. They were on top of us for pretty much every minute of our day, with either sports or chores. And in the summer, they didn't want us watching TV; they said, "You get out there and play. Dinner is at this time, the plates better be set, the rice better be cooked." And that was bang bang bang, all through high school, and that's why pretty much, I think it was a perfect fit for me when I joined the military. Plus my grandpa, he retired as a judge in the military in the Philippines. And that was like, "Oh, wow, cool." (Ethnocultural community member)*

> *For me, it was a lot of sports and keeping us busy with daily routines like homework. He [father] would always sit down and he just literally just watched me and my brother do our homework until we were done. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Family values, with emphases on family honor and family togetherness, were also seen as a protective factor. Respondents from Southeast Asian communities in particular explained that youth who commit delinquent acts brought collective shame on their family and their community. Even adults who had been here for thirty or forty years were reported to be negatively affected in this way by crimes committed by members of the family. Expectations of good behaviour are impressed upon youth from the outset. As one participant stated, "If I were to commit a crime, it's like I would feel so embarrassed that I probably couldn't even look my dad in the eye." Some respondents pointed out that the tradition of children living with their parents until marriage in some cultures can also serve as a protective influence.

According to some respondents, effective parental discipline and supervision could discourage young people from getting involved in criminal activity. They believed that respect for parents and understanding of parental expectations help children and youth to think about the consequences of behaviour. A parent explained, "I didn't beat my children and they were given a lots of warnings, lots of reasoning." Another respondent stated that if parents do not pay attention to where their children go, what they do, or who they spend time with, their children may get into trouble. This individual felt that parental supervision helped to lower the risk of criminal involvement, although it created cultural conflict for youth who espoused the independence promoted by Canadian culture.

Strengths of Ethnocultural Communities

Stakeholders identified the strengths of ethnocultural communities as protective factors against criminality. Several respondents recognized that the close-knit nature of various ethnocultural communities and their strong communal values have discouraged individuals from engaging in activity disapproved of by their communities, and, at the same time, have enabled community leaders and members to stay abreast of challenges facing individuals and to provide them with timely support.

> *The men that I've talked to feel like it is their responsibility when they see fellow countrymen behaving poorly. We don't talk that way, when you're from Canada. I came from Manitoba, another person I went to college with from Winnipeg, was misbehaving. I'm not going to step up because I'm also from Winnipeg; we don't do that. (Social services representative)*

Some respondents cited the availability of mentors and role models in ethnocultural communities as a strong deterrent to crime. Drawing on their own experiences, several ethnocultural community members recalled how they received support and guidance from other community members in their cultural adaptation and in their dealing with life challenges. They pointed out that an informal network of mentors and role models provides natural community support that is more readily understood and embraced by many ethnocultural community members.

> *In our culture we always come together and talk about our problems. We don't go to a counselor. We don't have counselors in our culture. If you have a problem, you have your aunty or eldest in the family…come together. They talk to you, they solve the problem…. You don't have to go to a counselor or someone that is not a relative. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Many participants, particularly those from various ethnocultural communities, asserted that religion provides a protective influence. In their view, religious institutions provide natural community gathering places where ethnocultural community members readily benefit from moral guidance and practical and psychosocial support for positive integration. They pointed out that many immigrant families from Middle Eastern or South Asian communities have accessed services through religious organizations. Some respondents believed that religious teaching serves to remind individuals of ethical choices and the consequences of their behaviour. An ethnocultural community member explained, "Karma. You know, if you do good, you get good. What comes around, goes around." Another respondent explained that members of his church had been very supportive: "It has been a blessing for us because they have become our friends, our family, and everything…like we used to have in our country….People who we share our problems, our worries."

Broad Community Engagement and Civic Participation

Respondents agreed that active participation in all aspects of Canadian life would mitigate the risk of ethnocultural community members committing crime. They particularly highlighted the importance of volunteerism in cultivating a commitment to the well-being of the community, in utilizing skills and potential in positive ways, and in creating meaning in one's life. Several respondents pointed out that at a practical level, participation in volunteer activity enables many immigrants to improve their English and to gain Canadian experience, and thus to broaden their access to legitimate employment opportunities.

> *Volunteerism, especially for youth, will help deter them from doing crime. Some of these youth have good leadership and organizational skills. Volunteerism gives them new vocabulary, and opportunities to show what they are good at. This empowers them. (Social services representative)*

Some respondents shared the view that accessing positive community gathering places

could deter criminal involvement. They observed that many communities have used community centres and public libraries as safe, open spaces to provide after-school activities to young people and opportunities for all community members to socialize and learn with others.

> *One of the things we do at the library is we have some interactive video games in the basement. We have the Friday afternoon after-school program for teens and they just come and play games. At one point, we had over 30 Sudanese boys come in. And how many times do you hear about boys coming to the library with a purpose (group laughter) and so it keeps them busy. And so if you have a way to keep them engaged, to keep them involved. (Librarian)*

Further, several participants identified integrated residence as a factor mitigating social solitude and ghettoization, which can make some members vulnerable to recruitment from organized criminal groups. A respondent from Lethbridge took pride in the city's success in achieving proportionate distribution of ethnocultural members in all communities.

> *I am very proud that Lethbridge doesn't have neighbourhoods like Calgary...In Northeast of Calgary, that's where many immigrants live. We do not have that in Lethbridge yet, and I hope we never do. I think that [integrated residence] breaks down those stereotypes. (Social services representative)*

Access to Social Services

There was a general consensus among stakeholders that access to timely, effective social services steers some ethnocultural community members away from criminal activity. Respondents recognized that in spite of funding restraints, agencies have managed to provide a wide range of integration services to immigrants, ranging from language and life skills training to after-school programs for youth and classes on parenting and Canadian law.

> *It [Brooks] is not the same place it was 2 years ago. I'd [like]to put a plug in for all the agencies sitting around this table. Our language training centre here in town does a lot to help immigrants…Certainly we're trying to organize to make this a place where we're going to catch people who are at risk; I think we're doing some things right. (Social services representative)*

Respondents also noted the benefits of various organizations' employing more staff from diverse cultural backgrounds, who can provide culturally responsive services and serve as positive role models for young people.

There was an emphasis on availability of early prevention and after-school programs as a protective measure. Respondents pointed out that, through these programs, young people are involved in recreational activities and receive educational and social support. They recognized the importance of early prevention and intervention programs that provide outreach and support to disadvantaged, behaviourally challenging children and youth. A few service providers found that leadership programs for youth with a criminal history can prevent recidivism.

> *We have some programs for youth with some sort of leadership qualities to make them community ambassadors. When the kids are told, "You've been identified by someone in the community as a leader", and the kids say, "I just got out of jail and now you want me to be a leader." You know it just changes that whole perception of how they feel about themselves. (Social services representative)*

2.4 Practical Challenges

Law enforcement personnel and social services representatives shared the practical challenges that have impeded their efforts to prevent criminal activity among ethnocultural community members. They articulated problems resulting from systemic challenges, availability and coordination of resources, and community relations.

Systemic Challenges

Respondents recognized that a lack of cultural competence among institutions limited their capacity to work effectively with ethnocultural members. Several indicated that they had yet to develop a working knowledge of the cultural beliefs and practices of certain cultural groups, as well as the specific issues facing ethnocultural community members. Some felt constrained from developing cultural competence due to a lack of system support and their demanding workload.

> *One of the challenges as police officer is a lack of time to spend actually dealing with the problem. We are going to put a bandaid on whatever problem there is and we are going to the next problem. So, lack of time and lack of understanding, as we do not have the time to sit down and really find out who they are, what their story is. (Law enforcement officer)*

> *A lack of cultural sensitivity, like I am pretty okay working with Africans. But in terms of the Middle Eastern or Arabic community, I am not confident enough to go in. Even though I have some similarities in background, I don't know the culture enough to be like, culturally appropriate, at least like I could engage with them. Of course the language is one of the barriers that I encounter. (Social services representative)*

Many respondents were frustrated with the lack of official crime statistics related to immigration and ethnicity. They felt that the lack of statistics left them unprepared to address misconceptions about the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members and restricted organizational capacity to be responsive to social trends.

Resource Challenges

There was a recurring concern about the lack of funding resources to support stakeholders' efforts to work with ethnocultural communities. Though respondents recognized some good programs for immigrants in their communities, they felt that the not-for-profit sector and public institutions have overall struggled to find adequate resources to provide meaningful services to ethnocultural communities.

> *The parents don't speak English or have very limited English, so their kids are the ones who are doing the speaking or the translating. Then we're not always sure whether the kid is translating exactly what he should be translating or not, so we're not sure what the parents are getting. And it's also very hard to get translators because we don't have the money to pay them, and unfortunately there are not too many of them around that will volunteer. Occasionally, someone from one of their churches will come, but not too often. (Social service representative)*

Some respondents were frustrated by a lack of resources to support sustainable collaboration among service providers to support ethnocultural community members.

> *Some disciplines actually carry on routine inter-agency types of meetings and that's why they are able to collaborate on projects and support initiatives. But they always seemed to fall apart because [it] then becomes a burden on one agency at the table that [is] trying to keep all this inter-agency thing going. There is no sustainable type of funding, investment to keep something like that going. (Social services representative)*

Still, several respondents were critical of bureaucratic barriers that have prevented the development of coordinated services and meaningful collaboration among service providers and ethnocultural community groups. They found that rigid policies, regulations, and restrictions have too often stifled collaborative efforts to address emerging community needs.

> *I would say that bureaucracy and red tape would be a huge challenge for me. The moment that you think of a really coordinated, seamless way of providing a holistic approach to services or support problems or whatever, there is always bound to be something that says, "You know, your mandate doesn't align with this mandate and our operational plan doesn't align with yours", and suddenly that's just kiboshed. It's disheartening for everybody. The people agree that this would be the perfect model to address this emerging issue, yet, for whatever reason, whether it be regulations, policy, the people at the table, it doesn't happen. (Social services representative)*

Community Challenges

Law enforcement personnel and service providers recognized the importance of working with culturally diverse stakeholders to address criminological risks. Yet, they found that many ethnocultural community groups, particularly those who have a short history of settlement in Alberta, lack the organizational capacity to provide services to their members.

> *I think also a lack of organizational skills for some of the ethnocultural communities. It has been super hard to get them involved…I used to do my practicum with an XXX Association. There is nothing happening now after 4 or 5 years, so I just want to sum it up as a lack of organization, like they are not organized they have nothing going on. (Social services representative)*

A few respondents observed that leaders in some ethnocultural communities cannot rise above home country politics in order to focus on local issues, and are incapable of responding to community needs.

> *The leadership, people want to do something, but they are so caught up in their own political views, and when I say that I am not talking about our Canadian political views. I am talking about they are stuck in the back 30 years ago political views, and because of that they don't agree, they spend the majority of their time disagreeing and putting each other down, versus collectively working together to support some of the stuff that is happening in our society here locally. (Social services representative)*

Several law enforcement personnel shared the fact that they have struggled to gain the trust of ethnocultural community members. They attributed the lack of trust to prior negative experiences of immigrants with the police in their home countries, and felt that the lack of trust in authority has hindered the ability of the police to investigate crime and pursue justice.

> *I think that you come from some country where police aren't trusted, where they are very corrupt. Then you know, encounter the cops here and when you have a police force that is willing to help, there is no communication, there's no talking. I do want help out, but no one is willing to provide anything. They came from a country where you are not to be with anyone in...They don't think in this new country the police service is there for the victims and there to help. So that's kind of frustrating to deal with that, for sure. I think that might be, you know, almost like an iron curtain has fallen; there is a code of silence, for people won't talk, won't speak out about what happens, so it's to the point where it's hard to figure out some crimes, because there's no victims and even if there is, they just kinda don't wanna deal with the police at all. (Law enforcement officer)*

Relationships between law enforcement personnel and ethnocultural community members are further compromised by language barriers and cross-cultural miscommunication. Some

respondents indicated that mutual lack of understanding about cultural nuances and implicit social contracts have caused confusion and frustration for both law enforcement personnel and ethnocultural community members.

> *When I think about, even with law enforcement, the social contract between citizen and law enforcers. Like, you know, a police officer pulls me over for speeding. What's the first thing the police officer always says, "Do you know why I have pulled you over?" Well, yeah, every single time I have been pulled over I have known exactly why I have been pulled over...But the police officer is relying on my inherent understanding of Canadian law. I just know what the rules are, I get them, I break them, I feel bad, I pay the fine, whatever. When you pull over someone where that is not the case, and you say, "Do you know why I pulled you over?" and the guy just won't know. I heard a story about a guy who didn't pull over because he didn't know he had to. The police officer was like, "Why didn't you pull over?", and the guy was like, "I didn't know I had to." So that social contract is missing. (Law enforcement officer)*

A lack of trust of ethnocultural community members in the police could lead to under-reporting of crime.

> *From my policing experience, it [domestic violence] is generally an unreported occurrence a lot of the time…Generally the involvement of police is through third parties. It's rarely first-party reporting. (Law enforcement officer)*

A respondent cautioned that some ethnocultural community members who are in trouble with the law pretend to speak no English to hinder the criminal justice process.

> *We do undercover drug buys where we will communicate with the person three or four times all in English and will meet with them and everything will be in English. If they are arrested for all this, they don't speak English anymore, and they don't speak English in the court system, and don't speak English anywhere. It is actually a huge burden to the process and court. They're well aware that they are committing a criminal offence. (Law enforcement officer)*

Some respondents from the justice and social services sectors were frustrated with what they perceived as "political correctness" and racial hypersensitivity. They felt that some ethnocultural community members play the "race card" to avoid the consequences of their criminal behaviour.

> *You know, in our case, we have two problems: one, it's hard because you're a colour person coming from Africa; another is that there is Islamophobia, I don't know what the reason is, but someone might look and say, eww that's an issue. The fact is there are bad people in every community, in every society. We deal with the same thing at XXX all the time, and in the office, from drugs, from alcohol, from abuse to their wife. Someone abuses their wife, the police come to their house. They come to me and they say, "The police come to my house and they tell me I have to leave because I'm black", and I say, "No, it's not because you're black, it's because you beat your wife - it has nothing to do with your colour." (Social services representative)*

2.5 Suggested Strategies for Crime Prevention

Taking into consideration the identified risk factors, protective factors, and practical challenges, stakeholders recommended multi-pronged strategies to effectively prevent criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Their suggested strategies focused on support for families, support for children and youth, access of ethnocultural community members to educational and economic opportunities, citizenship education and public campaigns, community capacity building and development, support for organizations, and strengthening the justice system.

Effective Social Support and Services for Families

Stakeholders suggested a wide range of strategies to strengthen family cohesion and to improve the quality of life of vulnerable ethnocultural families. Across the focus groups, respondents pointed out that many ethnocultural families would benefit from coordinated support to access existing services. They encouraged service providers to ensure the availability of information in different languages and to arrange interpretation through partnerships with diverse communities and existing language banks. For those families with low incomes, stakeholders recommended transportation support for families to access programs.

With respect to programming, several respondents suggested that service providers, including those organizations focused on youth, should offer ethnocultural community members family-oriented, holistic support. They recommended recreational programs for entire families and free events available to the whole community on long weekends. They believed that such family-focused programs would help narrow the intergenerational gap and provide young people with beneficial opportunities to talk, to listen, and to learn "the value of life within their culture", thereby reducing the likelihood of criminal involvement. Stakeholders agreed that parental education and outreach support can be effective in promoting parental involvement among ethnocultural families, and in helping parents to recognize warning signs of their children's involvement in unlawful activities.

> *There's a need to educate parents to identify the risk factors. For example, if John is coming home with Armani shirts, what are they? They need to know that if the school calls about attendance, they [children] have been absent. What's going on and what kind of follow-up do they need to do? There's a process. John didn't just go and commit crime. There's the little things that happen and they need to learn how to flag those and how to access resources. (Youth worker)*

A few respondents emphasized that for some cultural groups, it is important for service providers to extend their support beyond the immediate family and consider interactions between ethnocultural community clients and the members of their extended family.

> *So when you are talking about families, are you just talking about mom and dad or are you also talking about extended, as well? In ethnocultural families, not just mom and dad, and sometimes sadly, there have been cases where I have had a lot of kids that I work with, they don't have immediate family… If I focus on Sudanese family for example, there are several 16-year-olds that came from different families. So there families are not even their mom or dad, their families their aunties or uncles, maybe not even related by blood, maybe by tribe, maybe even neighbours, they were leaving so they were sent with them. (Social services representative)*

Many respondents urged service providers to support vulnerable women, particularly those who are single parents or socially isolated.

> *From my experience in the Somalian community, there are women who are in the house and they don't see people for days. The only time they see people is when they go out to buy food and that's it. They don't communicate with anybody. Their family members are either in Somalia or in*

Africa, so they stay in this environment, and they don't know what's going on outside their gate. So for those people, too, I think they need outreach support. (Community worker)

Ethnocultural community members cautioned that for those families who are in contact with the justice system, it is important that interventions should attempt to preserve family cohesion.

The cohesiveness or strength of the immigrant family is very important….So when mom or dad or child calls 911, the family should not be broken in one minute, but we should have a system that should understand exactly what happened in that particular family unit….I would really encourage the cohesiveness of the ethnocultural families. That would reduce crime as families work together with the system. (Ethnocultural community member)

Support for Young People

In addition to programs and services for the family as a whole, stakeholders encouraged specialized programs and services for young ethnocultural community members. Respondents agreed that access of youth to supervised out-of-school programs, such as recreation, sports, arts-based programs and talent shows, would be an effective preventive measure against criminal involvement. They stressed that these must be affordable for all, or free of charge, to facilitate access for struggling families. From the accounts of several respondents, many service partners have used recreational programs strategically to engage the young people and provide outreach to their families.

Diversity Cup is a two-day soccer tournament that the police sponsors. Well, all the kids get a T-shirt, and it is entirely funded. None of the teams has to pay anything, and we have grown...We started with 6 teams, and last year I think we had 27, and this year we will probably push 35 teams. So just in terms of numbers, it has been successful. We will do a resource fair, and the resource fair will be huge this year. We will have like 20-30 agencies….Agencies that want to be involved and want to get the message out are more than welcome to get involved. And I see it as a success that way, because you're reaching the kids and you're reaching the parents. (Law enforcement officer)

The Sudanese youth talent show, fashion show, and resource fair that's been happening, it's once a year. The whole idea is to give these youth something to do. But the whole idea is to bring these parents out and give them a reason to come, so that they are with their children. The teens come out and perform. The first year we had about 50 kids involved in performances and the fashion show. The idea of the resource fair is to give the parents a chance to learn a little bit more about their community. And they're going to be out there with their youth and we [are] going to support them through the resource fair.

Indeed, parental involvement in out-of-school activities was also cited as a means of enhancing the success of those programs.

An overwhelmingly large number of respondents advocated for more mentorship programs as an effective strategy to prevent first-time criminal offending and recidivism among young people. In their view, informal and structured mentorship could provide emotional and social support as well as guidance to struggling youth, particularly those who do not have a positive relationship with their family or access to role models in their social networks. Additionally, mentorship can serve as a means to inspire young people to engage in civic activities, such as volunteering. Several respondents pointed out that for newcomers, mentorship would provide cultural orientation and support to adapt to and integrate into Canadian society.

I like the idea of mentoring. I think that those youth particularly who are struggling in their

> *homes can be connected somehow, set up with someone mentoring. You [referring to another respondent] are doing that [mentorship] on an informal basis, but to get a program in place for identifying youth particularly, I think it makes a huge difference. (Social services representative)*

> *One student's at XXX school; it's an outreach school for students that can't go to a normal school due to behaviour problems, or for some reason they just don't think it's necessary. And there's one student up there- he was arrested and charged for B and Es [break and enter] and thefts, and I actually have a really close relationship with him. He looks at me as an older brother and he will confide in me problems, and he has not broken the law in the last year and a half that I've been up there, and we became friends. (Law enforcement officer)*

> *You're only going to buy into that volunteering thing if you have, you know, some mentor or some people within the community that are showing you that this is not only good for you, but this is also good for the community. Whether that be within their own ethnocultural group, but that goes for the school, too. There has to be those positive role models. And I don't think that there's enough of that being promoted within the communities themselves, or within the schools, or within any of the structures that we have out there. (Ethnocultural community member)*

A number of respondents raised the importance of life skills coaching for young people of diverse communities. They suggested life skills programs and support could help young people to access community resources, to enhance their abilities to adapt to Canadian life, to achieve positive relationships with their family and peers, and to take responsibility for their actions. They saw life skills coaching as an effective strategy to prepare young people for responsible adulthood and citizenship.

> *[Through life skills support], they learned, as well as applied, in terms of using community resources, in terms of what is available - I think that is the central piece - they learned to advocate for themselves. (Social services representative)*

> *Well, I'm thinking about three kids who are in the open child protection files, and there has been some issues with the family from previous child services, and they happen to be some of the ones that were subsidized and attended the circus camp that we hosted. But after they learned some skills at that camp, they were able to start to get part-time jobs and speak to the social worker afterwards. She felt that there was a total shift in their optimism about life, and they were less violent, they were industrious. She felt that it prevented them from going down the wrong path because they did not have the proper supports before that. (Social services representative)*

There was a general consensus among stakeholders that even though there are scattered programs and support for ethnocultural youth, there is a need for early and continuous intervention. In an age of fiscal constraints, they called for more
long-term investment in prevention programs with an explicit focus on children and youth.

> *If you look at the kids, a lot of the younger kids will be waving at you, but wait till middle school and they will be giving you the finger. So, you know (laughter). But I mean, I think a lot would help if you get in younger and let them know that you are there to help, instead of waiting until they are older and maybe they have already dealt with someone who wasn't necessarily as much of a positive experience. That can absolutely just ruin the trust. But if you go out younger, like you go there and talk to them and you show an interest in them and what they believe in and what they are doing, to show that you are caring can go a lot towards, you know, future things - they are always gonna remember that. (Law enforcement officer)*

Stakeholders recognized tremendous, exceptional leadership skills and talents among young ethnocultural community members that could be nurtured and supported in order to

make a positive contribution to their communities, and thus deter them from criminal offending or recidivism. Several respondents suggested asset-based programs that identify the talents and interests of youth and support them to be successful in pursuing their interests in school, sports, arts, and so forth.

> *People who are involved in gangs and especially organized crime are very creative. We can say on the negative side that they are very daring… But if we flip it to the positive side, they are very creative, they are risk-taking. Can we somehow use their level of energy and flip it from doing bad things to doing some business, which also would require all that kind of creativity and put it into action and get a good result?…. It might have to involve something that is challenging so that they can feel the sense of accomplishment or sense of achievement. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Some respondents highlighted programs such as Thrive, Calgary's Community Economic Development Network, which harnesses youth energy and creativity:

> *We can really help to boost the sense of community and at the same time bring in some economic benefits. (Social services representative)*

They also recommended programs to assist members in exiting a gang when they don't know how. One participant asserted that these individuals need programs to provide them with the courage to break away:

> *Some programs like maybe having some former gang members become champions and talk about… the testimony of their life. But there must be good incentives for those to come forward and become champions in the field. (Social services representative)*

Improved Access to Educational and Economic Opportunities

Across focus groups, stakeholders strongly agreed that improved access of ethnocultural community members to educational and economic opportunities would prevent crime. Several respondents called for coordinated strategies and funding investment to strengthen language and literacy training for immigrants for adults and young people. They considered that English language proficiency and a functional level of literacy would not only enhance skills, but also raise self-esteem and serve as a stepping-stone to job opportunities and social integration.

> *I think there's a dual role there for language services. I mean incorporated in your language lesson but also through the settlement agency, if we improve people's literacy and education levels. I think that we have some initiatives going on in our schools and in our adult learning centre, and it really is designed to try and get people that leg up and try and get them to get some job opportunities that maybe will help them to get into the mainstream. (Social services representative)*

More flexible access to English as a second language education in the community was recommended for those who work. One participant, who had formerly lived in Quebec, argued for community schools:

> *In Montreal you have… public schools; they are open until eleven at night and people come after their jobs. And they go there for proficient teachers and they are improving language so they are part of the community. So probably that kind of policy must come not from NGOS, but politically, from municipalities. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Beyond language and literacy training, respondents recommended coordinated support for ethnocultural community members to access diverse educational programs. A respondent

explained, "When there is a lack of education, when there is no job, people have a tendency to steal because they have no hope." Another respondent pointed out that goal-setting is an important part of educational programs. A few individuals expressed the opinion that being informed and self-aware enhanced healthy opportunities and lowered the temptation to become involved in crime. They called for skills development programs that help some ethnocultural community members to improve their employment opportunities, so that they can obtain better paying jobs and are not forced into multiple jobs to support their families, thereby diminishing time available to support their children in their development. Stakeholders also recommended occupational training as a strategy for preventing crime among youth:

> *Because they come at a disadvantage, academics won't work for the majority of them. So why not have skills training and send them to a school to learn skills... meaningful internships? (Social services representative)*

Stakeholders emphasized the need for equitable access of ethnocultural community members to the labour market. They urged professional associations and employers to respect, recognize, and fairly assess international credentials. They called for availability of funding for the re-training of immigrants for employment, and supporting those with extensive skills and experience in their fields to obtain credential equivalencies.

> *People need money to put food on the table. We need to find a sustainable alternative way for these people to achieve these needs. We don't support the economic integration of the professionals who come from other countries…As far as policies go, the province needs to address the equivalencies for people. So often their previous training is not recognized to the same level here. (Social services representative)*

For young people, several respondents stressed the importance of providing ethnocultural community members with employment opportunities rather than simply workshops and programs. Employment would keep youth busy rather than leaving them isolated, abandoned, and vulnerable to criminal activity. In addition, it would show them how difficult it is to earn money and would help them to value what their parents are doing to support the family. Part-time jobs after school and on weekends were also credited with teaching youth the hands-on value of money and giving them the opportunity to manage their finances.

Citizenship Education and Public Campaigns

Stakeholders raised the importance of providing citizenship education to ethnocultural community members. There was general consensus across focus groups regarding the need for communicating to newcomers an awareness of Canadian laws and the legal system, and rights and obligations in Canada, as well as having immigrants reflect on differences between the laws in Canada and their home countries, in particular regarding domestic violence:

> *Definitely education is very key, just to remind people what's going to be tolerated and what's not going to be tolerated. I mean, just because you can, unfortunately, beat your wife at home if she disagrees with you, you can't do it here. A lot of people get away with doing that because they haven't been told, but you can't do that. (Social services representative)*

> *One program that we have in Calgary is called "You and the Law", and an officer goes around to classes and speaks to the children about the law. I believe it's been running for about 20 years and I think it's an excellent program. Right off the bat, the kids see a friendly police officer and get acquainted with law in Canada and it's a really good program. (Law enforcement officer)*

Several respondents suggested public campaigns to raise awareness among ethnocultural community members about gang membership, drug use and trafficking, and domestic violence.

They identified public libraries and other community gathering places in ethnocultural communities (i.e., mosques, temples, community halls, grocery stores, etc.) as potential locations in which to share information.

> *I will say more social marketing. Health Canada had a curriculum a while ago, which dealt with the issues of cannabis and marijuana. I haven't seen anything since then. They actually had a curriculum, they had really neat posters and did a bunch of focus group sessions with the children and the youth themselves. I think there needs to be a little more investment to pursue that kind of social marketing. (Social services representative)*

Community Capacity Building and Development

Stakeholders promoted the community development approach in dealing with community safety issues. In their view, community-based services and neighbourhood support provide more natural protective influences than institutionalized services, enhance community engagement of members, and prevent and mend community breakdowns. They looked to the community development approach for creative solutions to building safe spaces, social inclusion, neighbourhood connectedness, and outreach support to vulnerable community members. An ethnocultural member, for example, showcased a women's support group in her community, where women seek support and advice for issues such as domestic violence. Another respondent described a community initiative that has involved elders as mediators and counselors to families who have experienced conflict.

Respondents contended that effective crime prevention is intricately linked to the capacity of ethnocultural communities to play an integral part in efforts to address emerging community issues. They recommended ethnocultural leadership programs that support community leaders in efforts to organize their cultural community, to influence public policies that impact their members, and to enhance the organizational capacity of cultural associations and groups in order to provide meaningful integration support to members.

> *I remember having a meeting with a gentleman, who is the self-professed president of one of the associations, knowing there are six different [ethno-specific] community associations in Calgary, because they couldn't sit around a table and get a common consensus, and they were competing with each other; they kept tribal issues and all this stuff. But it's having the ability to organize, and get past some of this stuff, and organize as a community association, and, you know, to educate them on how to go about funding an organization, facilities, venues, and all this kind of stuff. And then mentorship programs for the youth and so on. Some of my community associations are very well organized; they have mentorship, they have youth programs, etc. Others are struggling with how to get there. And again, this comes with time. You get more established communities - the Chinese community, for example, has been here for 100 years. The Sikh community - I mean, a lot of them are very proactive. The Ismaili community - they've got things pretty switched on in a lot of ways. Other, newer communities are struggling to try to find an identity within the city, as a community, and need some direction and guidance on how to get there. I find that once they get established, they promote themselves, they promote their culture, and they promote citizenship within their organizations or associations. They're very, kind of, conscientious citizens. But it's helping get them there. (Social services representative)*

Several respondents saw the need to promote a career in human services among ethnocultural communities. They felt that an increased number of trained ethnocultural human service professionals and funding support for their work would address the over-reliance of community associations on volunteers, often overextended in their personal lives, to provide core services to their members.

> *We really make it [community work] a career for them [ethnocultural community members] to*

> *build cultural associations, not something they do for volunteer only. Certainly, it's a vested interest for them, but it's not something they do aside from their 14-hour work day. (Ethnocultural community member)*

A respondent shared the work of her organization in supporting ethnocultural members to develop leadership capacity:

> *What we are doing is we are trying to train the leaders, and give them information, and get them to actually represent the community and address the issues within the community. So, if you feel that by approaching the parents, you are not able to understand their culture, you're not able to reach out to the parents, it is good for us to continue developing leaders in the community associations, who go out to the community and get the parents to address, I mean, help the parents to address these issues and help the community as a whole. That means they are almost like a broker, or it works like a tribal way, right? (Social services representative)*

Some respondents asserted that community capacity building should not always focus on what one should do *to* or *for* ethnocultural communities. Rather, they encouraged the celebration of community strengths and successes.

> *I think one of them is just validate their strength from a community perspective. You see on the news, Asians commit crime, but they never talk about Asians doing school well, and people are actually successful. And I think that they need to validate and also celebrate to highlight that. (Ethnocultural community member)*

> *Strict communities have really good protective factors, they have good collectiveness, and they work together. But how do we enhance that in their communities or in spreading it? So whether it's good things that are working or that communities are doing to protect their [members] or that families are doing, how do we enhance that to take it up a notch? (Law enforcement officer)*

Recognition of strengths among ethnocultural community members could serve as a catalyst for creative ideas about how to engage members in volunteerism and civic activities, and how to leverage diversity in order to build a vibrant community.

> *We know that volunteerism is critical, especially for the newcomer population because it gives them an opportunity to practice their English, to get involved, to get out of the house, so like we mentioned with community…We don't do a good job of bridging our diversity; we look at issues, we look at problems, but we don't leverage it, especially the business community. We don't leverage the diversity and what that brings to our community, whether that be expanding multicultural business, whether that be employers opening the doors. I don't think the business community looks at the strategic opportunities of having the diverse communities here. So I would say one strategy is to leverage the diversity rather then just to perceive the negatives, especially for the youth as well. (Social services representative)*

One ethnocultural participant noted that a settlement agency has established an award for immigrants who have succeeded or distinguished themselves positively in some way (e.g., volunteerism). The participants saw this as very encouraging, as the recognition comes not only from the immigrant group but also from the whole community, and provides positive role models for others in the ethnocultural community to emulate.

Further, focus group participants called for funding investment to support cultural maintenance and heritage languages. They felt that cultural maintenance would foster strong cultural communities that can ensure availability of culturally responsive support to their members and reduce the risk of criminal involvement. Ethnocultural community members also

promoted heritage languages, as well as English, as an advantage for children. Respondents believed that children who maintain their culture and first language are more likely to have higher confidence and self-esteem.

Beyond ethnocultural communities, respondents urged the government to regulate the violence in video games: "Our kids are spending two or three hours killing people and being part of a team of killers." They also called on municipal governments of growing cities to be thoughtful in social planning. In their view, rapid population growth has compromised cohesion and the social fabric.

> *I think that politicians need to play a much bigger role in terms of social planning - not social engineering, but social planning. This city [Calgary] of half a million people was a very safe city, one of the safest cities in North America. Then we started to grow, got the boom, right, oil flowing, people getting rich, people coming. Everyone's excited we're going reach a million. That's not a good thing; that's not a good thing for us. Why don't we calm down? Bigger is not better. Bigger is worse in a lot of ways. Because once we hit that million mark, boom, crime just exploded, people became alienated from each other. (Social services representative)*

Some respondents encouraged decision makers to explore made-in-Canada solutions to crime, rather than simply using the existing approaches to crime prevention and criminal justice in other countries. A respondent was particularly critical of the borrowing of practice from the United States:

> *We keep following these same models that have proven disastrous in other countries, especially the United States. We're paving the way for disaster and a lot of us are just following blindly and we wonder what's going on - how can we have an explosion? Well, what's going on with all this crime? Open your eyes! (Social services representative)*

In spite of heated debate, respondents recognized that community forums, such as the focus groups held as part of this study, can indeed provide meaningful opportunities for people to engage in community dialogue on crime and to explore solutions for crime prevention.

> *Well, policies start with discussions like this, and they lead to, you know, good information into the hand of the policy makers, the bureaucrats, and the different levels of government that are going to follow their citizens and work for their citizens. They usually start from the grassroots. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Respondents suggested that cultural awareness be promoted in schools and in the community, where students and community members can share with others their own cultures and customs. They reminded the group that Canada is a country of immigrants, and it is thus important to be bi-directional in the understanding of cultures.

> *We should help the whole society to take some good elements from our culture. That will help this society prosper. But otherwise, it only goes one way, it doesn't go two ways, and I think that puts multiculturalism in jeopardy. (Ethnocultural community member)*

> *Well, I think the communities have to step up, too. Forrest Lawn Library has Diversity Day, where they invite different cultures to bring their food and their dress and whatever they want to. And anybody can go - it's absolutely free - and find out about different countries' culture as part of the communities. And I think that other communities need to step up, too. (Social services representative)*

They felt that communities in Canada would benefit from a return to the traditional sense of

close knit community.

> *It takes a village to raise a child. That's the way that it usually is in a traditional community. But here it is very individualistic. People are very isolated. And we don't value that part of community. So, as a prevention measure, you have another system that teaches you to go to a counselor. Because for you, from the beginning, if you know that you have certain problems – family problems – you go to a counselor here. In the cultures that we are coming from…there is no counselor….So whatever problem that you are having with your child or with your husband, you keep it to yourself if you don't have a sister or a friend that you can go and talk to. Because usually our counselors are our families or our friends. So that's one of the isolation problems…. I don't know how we can…develop a wider vision of who our community is. It's just not a nuclear family that we have in North America, but it's the wider neighbourhood, it's the wider community. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Support for Organizations

In the changing landscape of cultural diversity, stakeholders saw that cultural competence in organizational practice would promote responsive support to vulnerable ethnocultural community members and thus contribute to the reduction of criminological risk factors. They recommended that cultural competence be integral to all systems, from the justice system to education and social services.

> *We need more cross cultural communication training. I think that we need continued cultural competency training for police officers and teachers…having proper tools and personnel. People have to really understand what it [cultural competence] is. Just because they come from a certain culture doesn't mean that they know everything about all cultures. (Ethnocultural community member)*

Stakeholders advised organizations to collaborate with ethnocultural groups to ensure access to cultural knowledge and practical support, such as translation and interpretation. They encouraged service providers and institutions to use cultural mediators who can provide culturally responsive support to families and, at the same time, help mainstream organizations to appreciate cultural practices and nuances. Some respondents felt it important that service organizations consult and involve ethnocultural community members in their work.

Several respondents noted that service providers ought to coordinate and collaborate in meaningful ways to provide coordinated multiple services and thus address the complexity of the challenges facing ethnocultural community members. They pointed out that coordinated collaboration would also ensure efficient sharing of information and effective practices. Respondents highlighted some effective practices that involved coordinated services for high risk immigrant youth, as well as all community members.

> *I want to chime in on one sort of concrete example of something that works; it was between Stepping Out and the Youth Inclusive Neighbourhood programs…the way in which they were developed…We have two age groups here: we have like 12 to 15 and then 16 to 25. They were like "You apply for funding to this one, and you apply to this one, and let's get this program up and running instead of that competition between organizations." So I think that is a good example of when two agencies got together and got something done. (Social services representative)*

> *We should consider building a genesis model in the North East area [Calgary]. There're the wellness center or small libraries, so that service providers, when working together, are really providing a holistic and seamless approach to service delivery. We're sharing caseloads. I think we really need to start seeing families and children as holistic people and not just saying it's a crime issue and a health issue and an education issue - it's all of us, right? And sometimes it's*

that shared space that leads the way for shared case management, as well. (Social services representative)

Stakeholders were realistic about what it would require to provide coordinated, comprehensive services to address all aspects of crime prevention. They called for increased, sustainable funding from all levels of government for crime prevention services. Ethnocultural community members suggested that crime prevention resources for families and individuals should be comprehensive, extending from providing early childhood services to building healthy communities. One ethnocultural respondent asserted that funding for programs should not always be directed to the largest ethnic groups, because even in smaller groups, the effects of crime, such as family violence, extend beyond the family and have repercussions for the entire community (e.g., bullying).

Strengthening the Justice System

Stakeholders suggested strategies to help the justice system be responsive to cultural diversity in contemporary Canadian society. Several respondents asserted that, at a basic level, our justice system needs to establish infrastructure to keep track of crime statistics related to immigrant status and ethnicity. They felt that this information would provide concrete data to dismantle misconceptions, to stimulate informed public debate, and to inform the development of policies, programs, and services for ethnocultural community members. A few individuals cautioned that crime statistics based on ethnicity could be misused to stigmatize groups.

Some respondents applauded the practice of community-based probation services, where those individuals who are on probation meet their probation conditions through positive contribution to their communities. They recognized and encouraged more collaboration between probation services and ethnocultural communities to support individuals on probation.

Yeah, it [community-based probation] works perfect. I don't want to send him [individual on probation] downtown to the food bank when he can go to his mosque or his temple. I think that is totally perfect to build relationships. (Probation Officer)

Respondents were divergent in their recommendations on responses to crime. Some respondents suggested that the justice system should introduce strong deterrent measures to prevent and reduce crime.

Our job is to identify criminal offences and do a proper investigation and ensure that those people are dealt with by the criminal justice system, so preventing and addressing a lot of it is through successful prosecution. They'll be shipped out - usually getting 3 to 5 years for trafficking at this point in time….We get a lot of displacement out of that, so upon release we get a lot of people who decide not to come back to the community, leaving the people who want to live here and are committed to being successful participants in the community. People that want to have that kind of activity, that kind of criminal activity, they move on to greener pastures. Although it hasn't completely solved the problem, it has displaced the person, just like making your house unattractive to someone who wants to break into it, yet your neighbour's house might get broken into because there's no lights, there's no deterrent to that. But your house has lots of deterrents, so although the crime's still occurring, it's not occurring where you live. So that's one of the things from our point of view that's had success in addressing the concerns in the community through proper investigations and removing them from our streets and displacing them to other communities to be, unfortunately, other persons' problems. (Law enforcement officer)

On the other hand, several respondents called for more leniency toward first-time offenders. They pointed out that some ethnocultural community members have committed minor crimes out of necessity or through a lack of knowledge of Canadian law and that having a criminal

record, for shoplifting, for example, makes employment difficult to obtain. They also suggested creative sentence options rather than a cookie-cutter approach, working with perpetrators to understand the consequences of their actions and to find a creative way to address them. Jail was seen as a last resort for immigrant youth who have come into conflict with the law. Participants recommended that they be placed with their families under house arrest or alternative measures.

Furthermore, stakeholders encouraged the police to focus on strategies to reach out to and build relationships with ethnocultural communities in order to overcome mistrust and resistance to collaboration. They felt that community relations and education programs that introduce ethnocultural members of all ages to the work of the police would serve as an effective bridge and foster understanding of the Canadian justice system.

> *Another good program in Lethbridge that has won numerous awards is called "It's a Crime Not to Read," and that is in the elementary grades, usually grades 1, 2 or 3, where there is a police officer who goes once a month with library staff. And the idea is just to read some books with the kids. And they get to see a friendly face and someone down-to- earth and so on. And we usually use someone off duty, as well, as part of a full-year program, but that has helped a lot to create trust. But if you have kids who are 6, 7, 8 who are from other cultures or new cities or new to the country, and, in their past life, the police have been a very negative, fearful factor in their lives, it tends to just humanize the police. (Law enforcement officer)*

> *The programs that CPS [Calgary Police Service] offers, for example, established programs and networking, getting the word out, a lot of people are aware of some of the services that are provided to them and making awareness and gaining the contact information and making the regular contact. All these programs that the CPS has offered, a lot of people in my community, especially my Latin community have grabbed onto, have gotten their youth involved; they're involved, they're very appreciative of it, and it shows well for the CPS, getting involved in the community and vice versa, very reciprocal kind of arrangement….The Hockey Power Play program, that has about 80 kids come out, a lot of them come from the northeast, southeast, a lot of the Sudanese kids, but I've got people from the Latin community coming out to that, as well. The Police Cadet program, that's now full again. And a lot of the community associations take pride in offering somebody from the community, especially when asked for somebody who's going to be taking on a leadership role, because around one of the Cadet programs, they're going to be trained and, essentially, they're going to be the mentors for the next cadets coming in. So again, there the community took their own pride in being represented with the Calgary Police Cadet program, and this goes with pretty much everything that we offer. (Law enforcement officer)*

Many respondents put forward the recommendation that the criminal justice system should have representatives from a variety of ethnocultural backgrounds. They advocated for more immigrants in the police force, especially women from minority communities.

2.6 Summary

Based on analysis of the discussions held in 10 focus groups with ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel and service providers in Calgary, Red Deer, Brooks and Lethbridge, this section has presented the perceptions of stakeholders about the criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. Their perceptions dealt with a wide range of criminal activities that are parallel to those in the broad community, and at the same time highlighted increased concerns about drug related crime, domestic violence and fraud. Stakeholders identified a wide range of risk factors related to home country experience, family dynamics, inequitable socioeconomic realities, strained community interaction, the negative influence of the media, lack of knowledge of Canadian law and previous experience with the criminal justice system. They also noted the unique protective factors that have mitigated

criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members, including favourable family influence, positive interaction within ethnocultural communities, active participation in the broad community, and access to responsive integration services. Law enforcement personnel and service providers expressed frustration with some practical challenges in their crime prevention work with ethnocultural community members due to systemic inadequacies, scarce funding and human resources as well as the limited organizational capacity in some ethnocultural communities. Stakeholders recommended a wide range of strategies for preventing crime among ethnocultural community members that address effective support and services for families, support for ethnocultural youth, improved access of ethnocultural members to educational and economic opportunities, citizenship education and public campaigns, community capacity building and development, support for service organizations and strengthening the justice system.

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3 | A FRAMEWORK FOR CRIME PREVENTION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Our learning from the focus groups held with ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel, and service providers in Southern Alberta provided insights into the criminological risk and protective factors, practical challenges, and strategies for crime prevention in ethnocultural communities. The multiple, complex factors contributing to criminal involvement of some ethnocultural community members require a comprehensive, multi-pronged approach to crime prevention. This section examines approaches to crime prevention and key ingredients for success, and it suggests a proposed framework for crime prevention in a multicultural society.

1. APPROACHES TO CRIME PREVENTION

1.1 Social and Environmental Prevention

Crime prevention encompasses policies or activities designed to prevent, reduce, or eradicate criminal behaviour, and to lessen the fear of crime and the impact of crime on victims (Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2011). There are two broad approaches to crime prevention: *social* and *environmental* (Stowell, 2007). Social prevention deals with socioeconomic risk factors that contribute to crime. It focuses on reduction of the likelihood that individuals or groups will engage in criminal activity through strengthening informal incentives (e.g., immediate and extended family, neighbourhood networks, peer groups) and institutionally based incentives (e.g., education, work, culture and sport) to avoid criminal involvement. Environmental prevention, on the other hand, is concerned with reducing the opportunities for offenders to commit crime. It emphasizes law enforcement, correction, and increased personal and property security.

1.2 Levels of Prevention Strategies

A comprehensive approach to prevention must include three levels of strategy: primary, secondary, and tertiary (see Brantingham & Faust, 1976; Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2007). Primary prevention focuses on the social, economic, health, and educational policies that enhance well-being and pro-social behaviour and that reduce risk factors associated with criminal behaviour. Secondary prevention involves working with individuals most at risk of committing crime, and with neighbourhood conditions that are associated with crime and victimization. Tertiary prevention involves working with offenders, through correctional responses, the reintegration of offenders into the community, and the prevention of recidivism or the risk of reoffending. Vallée (2010) notes that since the mid-1980s, crime prevention initiatives in Canada have focused on the development of multi-dimensional, integrated crime prevention strategies to develop strong, healthy communities, and these approaches have been undertaken with the combined support of law enforcement personnel, service providers, and residents themselves.

1.3 Requirements for Successful Crime Prevention

According to the Institute for the Prevention of Crime (2007), evidence-based crime prevention should meet five key requirements for success. First, communities need to engage in effective planning and collaboration with multiple partners to enhance goal achievement. In other words, care must be taken to identify strong partners and to plan the efficient coordination of projects. Second, resources must also be invested in areas of greatest need where they will have the greatest effect. This requires needs analysis and the subsequent identification of priorities. Next, all stakeholders from the community, human service, public, private and government sectors must be mobilized to develop the capacity for addressing problems, in order to maintain both the breadth and depth of crime prevention initiatives. Fourth, sufficient resources must be invested to plan, implement, and sustain effective prevention strategies. Short-term funding of projects

may not be effective if the objectives of the project can realistically be achieved only over a longer period of time. Finally, public education regarding crime prevention is necessary; community members must take responsibility for preventing crime and actively support effective programs and services that have been implemented. The National Crime Prevention Centre (2008) also identifies four elements that are instrumental to successful crime prevention programs: (1) clear identification of risk and protective factors; (2) development of strategies based on effective, evidence-based programs and practices to address the identified risk and protective factors; (3) emphasis on partnership building; and (4) effective mechanisms for program monitoring and evaluation.

1.4 Effective practices

Effective practices are activities that, based on research and experience, are most likely to reliably achieve set goals. Many programs have demonstrated success in preventing or reducing crime or fear of victimization. Research from the National Crime Prevention Centre (Welsh, 2007) identified effective evidence-based programs for four types of prevention strategies. *Family-based* prevention initiatives include home visitation, preschool programs, parent education, and multi-systemic therapy. Effective *community-based* strategies are exemplified by gang member intervention programs, community-based mentoring, and supervised recreation. Examples of *school-based* programs to prevent crime include bullying reduction (through awareness campaigns), and social competency instruction that includes a cognitive-behavioural component (e.g., feedback, role play). Effective *place-focused* strategies to reduce crime include the following types of activity: nuisance abatement (e.g., on abandoned property), closed-circuit television surveillance (e.g., in car parks), and better street lighting. In some cases, a combination of strategies was found to be most effective in preventing and reducing crime.

In 2008, the NCPC published a compendium of promising and model programs for preventing crime. These included specific programs for Aboriginal communities (e.g., Domestic Violence Treatment Option), offenders (e.g., Multisystemic Therapy), at-risk children aged 6 to 11 (e.g., Boys & Girls Club of Canada), at-risk youth aged 12 to 17 (e.g., Strengthening Families Program; Leadership and Resiliency Program), at-risk youth aged 16-24 (e.g., Job Corps), and youth gang members (e.g., Gang Prevention through Targeted Outreach). These programs address primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of crime prevention strategy. Other resources offer strategies for addressing gang violence (e.g., Erickson & LaRocque, 2009; National League of Cities, 2010) and youth crime (e.g., Chettleburgh, 2007; Green & Healy, 2003; Smandych, 2001) in particular.

2. A FRAMEWORK FOR PREVENTING CRIME AMONG ETHNOCULTURAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

As illustrated in the findings of the focus groups with ethnocultural community members, law enforcement personnel, and service providers in Southern Alberta, there are multiple risk factors related to home country experience, family dynamics, community interaction, socioeconomic opportunities, media influence, and interactions with the justice system that have contributed to the criminal involvement of some ethnocultural community members. At the same time, various protective factors, including family support, strengths of ethnocultural communities, broad community engagement and civic participation, and access to services, can mitigate unlawful activity. Comprehensive, coordinated crime prevention, in the context of a multicultural society, thus ought to comprise primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention. Figure 1 provides an overview of a proposed framework to prevent crime among ethnocultural community members.

2.1 Primary Prevention

In the context of Canadian multiculturalism, primary crime prevention ought to meet the demands of building social harmony and cohesion, and ensuring access of communities from diverse backgrounds to services and socioeconomic opportunities. First, primary prevention strategies should promote both the availability of and access of ethnocultural community members to culturally responsive services in health, education, social services, and justice. There should be specialized programs and services that address issues related to settlement and the integration of ethnocultural community members, including: language, literacy, employment, mental health, translation and interpretation, cultural adaptation, and citizenship education. At the same time, services that are available to all citizens should be examined through the lens of cultural competence to ensure their effectiveness in supporting diverse community members. This would require Canadian institutions and organizations to critically examine and transform their structures and practices in order to remove systemic barriers and ensure equitable representation of diversity, as well as individual and organizational competency in responding to our changing society.

Second, primary strategies should promote cross-cultural understanding and acceptance, social inclusion, and cohesion. Celebrations of multicultural food and traditions are instrumental in enhancing cultural awareness and cross-cultural interaction. Communities could offer meaningful, respectful opportunities to discuss and address individual and systemic discrimination, and to build and take action to work toward a shared vision of an inclusive society. For example, the recent development of the Welcoming Community Policy by the City of Calgary, with municipal commitment to take action to address social and economic integration, intergovernmental relations, service access and equity, advocacy, communication, public awareness and education, and support for special populations, demonstrates a coordinated, citywide effort to promote social inclusion and cohesion. Furthermore, public education could play an important role in shaping positive public discourse on and sharing solutions to issues related to cultural diversity. Creative use of community gatherings and social media could offer forums for creative ideas on how to build a vibrant multicultural community. Meaningful partnership between ethnocultural communities and the media could lead to increased visibility and positive portrayal of immigrants and ethnoracial minorities, as well as their meaningful participation in public discourse. Targeted public education and support in ethnocultural communities could also enable members to develop understanding about Canadian culture and to have opportunities to interact with people outside their ethnocultural communities.

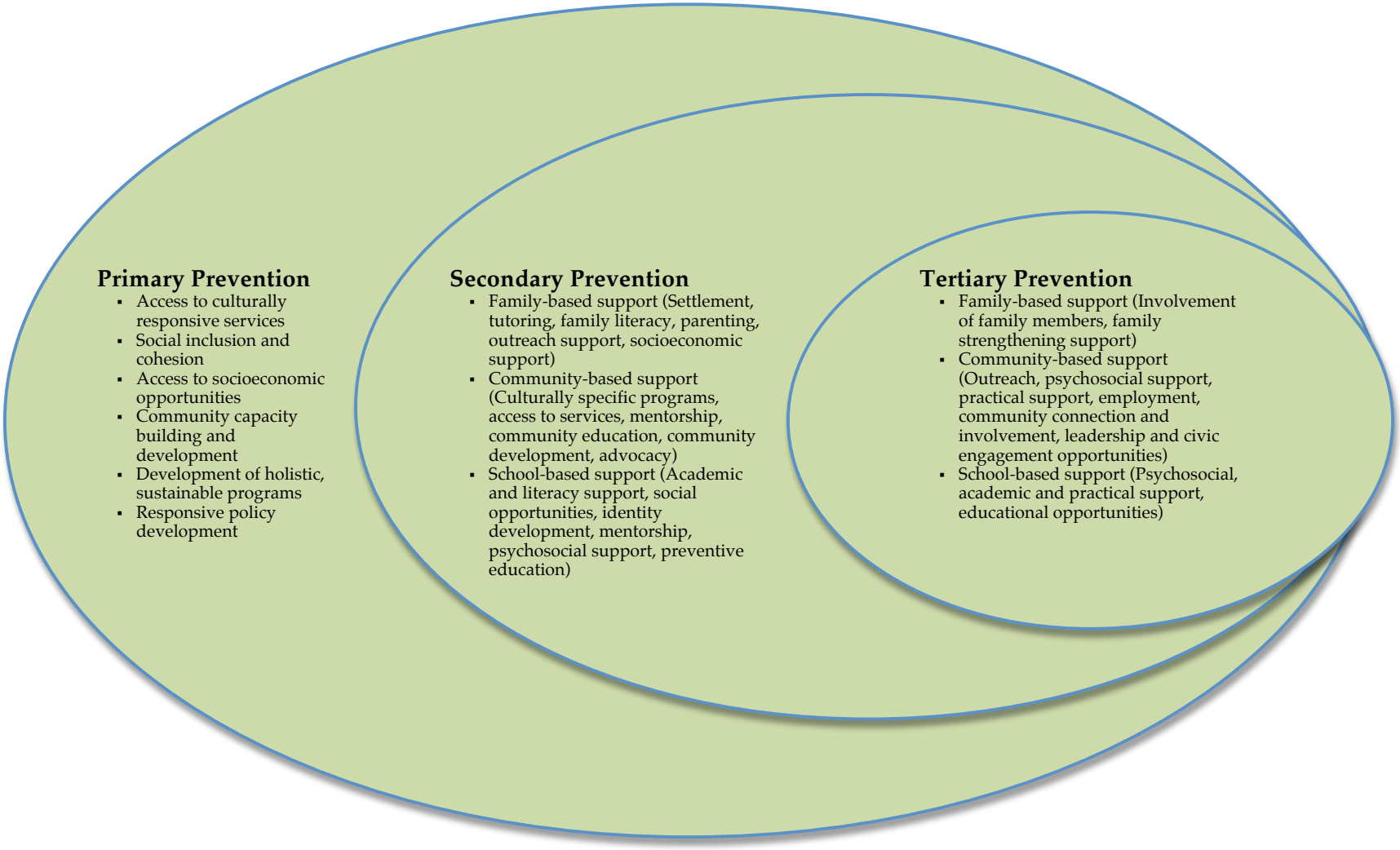
Third, primary strategies should promote socioeconomic opportunities for ethnocultural community members. They should support those with limited English language skills, and a low or basic level of education and/or employability skills with educational and skills training opportunities in order that they can achieve a standard of living comparable to that of other Canadians. Government, professional associations, academic institutions, and employers could facilitate the professional re-entry of internationally trained immigrants through fair recognition of their credentials and experience, and ensure their success in the Canadian workforce through mentorship and professional development opportunities. For young ethnocultural community members, primary strategies ought to address their access to quality English language instruction and quality education to facilitate their equitable educational and economic outcomes.

Fourth, primary strategies ought to support ethnocultural organizations and leaders to enhance their capacity to address emerging community issues and to build vibrant cultural communities. Leadership development opportunities could promote

empowerment, community ethics, and practical skills among emerging ethnocultural leaders. Community development efforts should mobilize and engage diverse community stakeholders and build upon the strengths of ethnocultural communities. There should be a coordinated effort to promote and support civic participation of ethnocultural community members.

Fifth, primary strategies should have a strong emphasis on the development of sustainable, holistic programs. There is a need to give greater priority to the life course approach to services that is attentive to healthy childhood and adolescent development, individual growth, cultural identity, family functioning, social interactions, and citizenship. Services should be responsive to cultural nuances, such as the extended definition of family in some cultural groups, and be readily available in home, school and community. They should promote the well-being of ethnocultural community members in all social, cultural, spiritual, economic, and political spheres of life.

Figure 1: Overview of a framework for preventing crime among ethnocultural community members



Finally, a focus on process and substantive areas of public policy development should be integral to primary prevention. With respect to process, development of public policy must ensure equitable consultation with and participation of ethnocultural community members. Those charged with developing public policy should consider carefully the impact of public policy on the well-being of diverse communities. Policy strategies should address affordable public housing, the need for a living wage, quality language training and education, and employment equity. Policies that intentionally or unintentionally disadvantage ethnocultural community members, including those related to transportation loans for refugees, the temporary workers' program, restrictions on family reunification and citizenship rights, and the provision of only limited English language training, should be subject to public debate, followed by their removal or revision.

2.2 Secondary Prevention

Secondary prevention focuses on working with ethnocultural individuals most at risk of committing crime and on the immediate surroundings and conditions that are conducive to unlawful activity. This approach would ensure effective family-based, community-based and school-based support to vulnerable ethnocultural community members. Family-based strategies ought to be holistic and support high risk ethnocultural individuals *and* all other family members. Service organizations could incorporate effective practices to provide family members with comprehensive resettlement support, including orientation to cultural, community, and other resources, English language education, and employment training. They could provide or connect family members affected by past trauma to specialized counseling. Those young people with limited English proficiency, interrupted prior education, a history of academic struggles, and parents without literacy skills and/or English proficiency would need frequent in-home or neighbourhood-based tutoring and family literacy support.

In addition, service providers could support vulnerable ethnocultural individuals and family members to strengthen their family unit through active parental involvement and healthy family interaction. They could help parents and caregivers to gain effective parenting skills and specific tools enabling them to recognize early signs of the psychosocial struggles of their children, to provide those children with responsive parental support, and to help them access appropriate resources in the community to deal with their challenges. All family members should also have ready access to educational workshops and family coaching to deal with parenting issues, intergenerational/acculturative gaps, sibling influence, and interpersonal conflicts. Family members with known histories of poor mental health, addiction, and behaviour problems would need specific professional services to deal with their personal challenges. Those family members who have experienced marital discord or committed domestic violence would require timely, sustainable intervention to resolve their conflicts and to manage their anger and behaviour. At the same time, affected family members would benefit from counseling and support to deal with the psychological aftermath of family traumas.

In providing family-based preventive services to ethnocultural community members, service stakeholders should tap into social support from immediate and extended family members, as well as from members of their ethnic communities. Those individuals who come from socially isolated families and do not readily make use of community resources and services would require service providers to invest in intensive family outreach efforts. They would benefit from positive ethnic-based and cross-cultural family mentorship enabling them to develop strong, meaningful connections with their ethnic communities and the general community, and thereby receiving help to navigate through their life challenges.

Effective preventive strategies ought to be attentive to the socioeconomic needs of high risk individuals and their families, particularly with respect to their means and conditions of

living. Service and community stakeholders could work with the municipal government to ensure access of disadvantaged youth and families to quality, affordable housing. They could support socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals and their families to attain a good standard of living through meaningful employment opportunities and public assistance programs. Those family members with limited employment-related skills would also benefit from access to employment training and job placements.

In terms of community-based support, service providers could coordinate their existing programs and develop new initiatives to ensure access of high risk individuals to a wide range of general services and immigrant/culturally specific programs. High risk ethnocultural individuals would benefit from specific programs that offer specialized support to address their immigrant/ethnoracial experience, particularly in the areas of identity development, trauma, resettlement, cross-cultural exchange, and heritage language development. They should also be encouraged to use general community services, such as team sports, recreational opportunities, arts programs, and leadership training. In addition, service providers could collaborate to offer cross-cultural and ethnic-based mentorship programs that connect high risk individuals to positive role models from diverse cultural backgrounds. These mentorship programs would help high risk individuals to overcome social isolation, to develop a positive identity, and to receive individualized guidance to deal with their personal challenges.

Effective community-based strategies ought to pay due attention to the well-being of neighbourhoods where high risk individuals and their families live. Community and service stakeholders could use the community development approach to reduce negative social influences and promote healthy community living. They could use public education as a tool to inform and engage community members in dialogue on issues of shared concern, including crime, drug use and addiction, and social inclusion. There should be services and support in place for those who have experienced at first hand or been impacted by the identified social issues. Furthermore, service and community stakeholders could support community-driven initiatives that arrive at solutions to the specific issues of the community, such as drug use, prostitution, gang violence, racism, cultural solitude, and community disengagement. They could also encourage and support coordination and collaboration among community groups, and initiatives to develop coherent, comprehensive community action plans to deal with such complex and interrelated issues. The existing socioeconomic inequities among neighborhoods would demand that community and service stakeholders support community action to promote investment and quality living in all communities. Service and community stakeholders could play an important role in organizing and facilitating public awareness, advocacy, policy forums, and dialogues with policy- and decision-makers, community-based research and action, and proposals for community revitalization and development.

For those young ethnocultural community members who are at risk of criminal involvement, school-based strategies could help facilitate academic success, positive social support, and opportunities. Educational stakeholders would need to develop and strengthen specialized programs to support students with limited English and literacy skills, learning disabilities, and interrupted prior education. These programs ought to be comprehensive, structured, and pedagogically sound. Such programs should also receive adequate resources to ensure accurate assessment, program delivery by qualified staff, and evaluation. Schools could work with relevant service partners to provide frequent specialized literacy and homework support after school, especially in high needs neighbourhoods.

The educational experience of high risk ethnocultural youth should include ample opportunities for positive, empowering social interactions and responsive social support. These young people would benefit from meaningful cross-cultural exchanges, validation through

ethnic-based peer support, and active participation in multicultural sports and recreational activities. They should have ready access to school personnel and peers of diverse cultural backgrounds who can serve as positive role models and mentors. Schools could involve students, school personnel, and service partners of diverse backgrounds to develop social opportunities and programs that promote a positive self-concept, and both a Canadian identity and the ethnic identities of students. All schools should have outreach strategies to identify and provide timely, relevant psychosocial support to youth who have a history of behavioural problems or may be involved in unlawful activity. They would also need to regularly review and take proactive measures to promote access of vulnerable and socially alienated youth to school-based social opportunities and programs. In recent years, a selected number of school-based initiatives, such as the Wellness Centre in Forest Lawn High School in Calgary, have drawn upon the strengths and expertise of various service providers in diverse sectors (health, justice, social services, community, and so forth) to offer coordinated, interdisciplinary support to students in high needs communities. Those collaborative programs should be expanded to schools in similar communities.

Finally, school-based preventive strategies ought to include explicit, proactive educational strategies that meaningfully address contemporary social challenges, particularly criminal gang involvement, drug use and addiction, and bullying, and racism. Schools should tap into the existing services and resources in the local police department, service organizations, and ethnocultural communities to help young people gain a realistic understanding about crime, gang life, drug use and addiction, and bullying and racism, and to prepare them with skills to deal with related social pressures and risk factors. They could invite inspiring people with relevant lived experience to share their insights into the issues, and to give practical advice to young people. To complement preventive education, schools and service partners need to have in place school-based services to support those who have experienced or been affected by issues related to criminal gangs, drug use and addiction, and bullying and racism. Schools could involve students, school personnel, families, and service partners to strategize, create and promote a positive school environment for all students.

2.3 Tertiary Prevention

Tertiary prevention focuses on family-based, community-based, and school-based strategies to ensure positive reintegration of ethnocultural community members with a criminal history into the community and to minimize their risks of recidivism. Family-based strategies should focus on family safety, especially for those with previous involvement in criminal gang activity. Service and community stakeholders could support ethnocultural community members to reconnect with their families and resolve difficult family issues and conflicts. They could work with parents, siblings, and extended family members to provide them with encouragement, guidance, a sense of security, and practical support. They could help strengthen the family unit through culturally responsive counseling, family mentorship, and coaching. They should also assist all family members to access services and resources in the community. Ethnocultural individuals with a criminal record and their family members would further benefit from the family-based preventive services and support discussed under Secondary Prevention.

With respect to community-based support, tertiary strategies should focus on outreach, dissociation from negative social influences, psychosocial support, practical support, connections to communities, and opportunities to make a positive contribution to the community. Community outreach support could start long before the re-entry of ethnocultural offenders into the community. Law enforcement and service stakeholders could collaborate with respected community leaders from diverse ethnic communities, encouraging them to visit inmates regularly and to provide them with support and guidance as they explore and prepare for a new future in the community. Relevant information about resources for post-criminal life

should be readily available to all inmates. Outside the correctional setting, professionals and respected leaders in ethnic communities could work with families to reach out to ethnocultural offenders.

In post-criminal life, many ethnocultural individuals would require intensive psychosocial and practical support. Service providers from the different disciplines can collaborate to offer multi-faceted programs that support ethnocultural community members during their transition into community life, offer sustained crisis intervention, and connect them to relevant community resources. They could provide professional counseling to help former offenders to reframe and develop healthy social and cultural identities. Treatment for drug addiction should be readily available. In addressing the practical needs of former offenders, service providers could offer life skills and employment readiness programs. In addition, service providers could facilitate access of former offenders to legitimate employment. They could work with the private and public sectors to develop specific employment opportunities for community members with history of prior criminal involvement who desire to make a new start in life.

Reintegration of former offenders into the community would involve meaningful reconnection to their ethnic communities and the broader community. Service and community stakeholders could offer ethnic-based and cross-cultural mentorship programs that connect ethnocultural community members with positive, inspiring individuals of diverse backgrounds. These mentors could support former offenders to develop positive identities and to navigate through life challenges. Service and community stakeholders could provide former offenders with leadership and civic opportunities, such as participation in a speakers' bureau to educate the public about crime issues. This would enable former offenders to fully merge with and contribute to their ethnic communities and the broader Canadian society. Other community-based strategies outlined in Secondary Prevention should also be incorporated in the overall support for ethnocultural members in their post-criminal life.

For ethnocultural individuals who choose to return to school in their post criminal life, school-based strategies should facilitate their educational success and career readiness. Those individuals who return to school after a long period of absence would benefit from support for their transition. Education stakeholders could provide school reorientation to help returning individuals to understand school curriculum, student services and resources, effective learning techniques, school expectations and codes of conduct, graduation requirements, and effective learning skills. They could connect returning youth to positive, supportive peers, school personnel, and volunteers to inspire them and help them navigate school life. Returning students should be able to readily access homework support and specialized services to address their learning challenges. There should be plenty of opportunities for them to participate in school activities, where they could develop a healthy sense of belonging. Collaborative efforts between schools and service partners should ensure the availability of responsive personal counseling, life skills coaching, and career planning.

Ethnocultural individuals over the age of 18 who wish to return to school should have opportunities to continue and complete their secondary education in an adult high school or college that offers upgrading. Those who complete their high school education should receive support to attend post-secondary education or vocational training. Service providers and education institutions could offer readiness programs to those who consider returning to school to help them plan and prepare for their school career. They could help those individuals to access financial assistance and scholarships to pay for their education and living expenses. Educational institutions could work with government and business partners to invest in

educational programs for individuals with complex life histories. The school-based strategies identified in Secondary Prevention could be integrated into the overall support for returning individuals.

3. RECOMMENDED NEXT STEPS

The focus of this study on the perceptions of diverse stakeholders about criminal involvement of ethnocultural members, specific risk and protective factors related to criminal involvement or crime prevention in ethnocultural communities, and strategies for crime prevention in a multicultural society complements the existing research. Learning from this research can be used as a catalyst for thoughtful public discourse, sound policy development and the development of responsive services and effective practices to prevent criminal involvement of ethnocultural community members. We would recommend that stakeholders consider the following next steps:

1. Acquire and clarify a shared understanding about the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members.
2. Adopt the suggested framework for crime prevention in a multicultural society as a starting point for collaborative planning, and develop and implement a coordinated action plan for primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention.
3. Establish a sound multi-stakeholder, multi-sectoral infrastructure with a clear mandate and adequate resources to support the implementation of the action plan, and to ensure effective communication, coordination, and collaboration among participating stakeholders.
4. Ensure big-picture, balanced emphases on prevention and intervention; family-based, school-based, and community-based support; and policy, practice, and research.
5. Address specific programming for ethnocultural community members, as well as their access to general services and resources in the community.
6. Advocate for access of ethnocultural community members to educational and economic opportunities.
7. Integrate into programming an explicit focus on support for the development of positive self, Canadian and ethnic identities among ethnocultural community members, especially among young people.
8. Support institutions and organizations in all sectors to review their existing policies and services to ensure an explicit focus on diversity, cultural competence, and support for ethnocultural community members.
9. Involve ethnocultural community members in all collaborative efforts.

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GLOSSARY

Crime/Criminal activity The term “crime,” refers to behaviour deemed to be an “offence” by the Criminal Code of Canada (see "Criminal Code," 1985).

Criminal gangs The term “criminal gangs” refers to those groups that are highly organized or semi-structured with identifiable leadership structures, and engaged in criminal activities. This definition does not include social gangs, which encompass social groupings without any involvement in criminal activity,

Ethnicity The term "ethnicity" refers to the characteristic of a people, especially a group with a common, distinctive culture, religion, and language. Ethnic origin (also known as ethnic ancestry) refers to the ethnic or cultural origins of an individual's ancestors.

Ethnocultural community members The term "ethnocultural community members" describes both immigrants and ethnoracial minorities.

Immigrant The term “immigrant” refers to those who were born outside of Canada. For the purpose of this study, the term also covers refugees who arrived in Canada and were granted refugee status on humanitarian grounds.

Immigrant youth The term “immigrant youth,” refers to young individuals between the ages of 12 and 17 years who were born outside of Canada.

Second generation Canadian youth The term “second generation Canadian youth” refers to Canadian-born individuals between the ages of 12 and 17 years of age with at least one parent born outside of Canada.

Third generation Canadian youth The term "third generation Canadian youth" refers to Canadian-born individuals between the ages of 12 and 17 years of age with both parents born inside Canada.

Visible minority The term "visible minority" refers to persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.

Youth The term “youth” refers to individuals between 12 and 17 years of age inclusively. The selected age group is consistent with the definition of youth, as outlined in the Youth Criminal Justice Act (see "Youth Criminal Justice Act," 2002).

Youth from immigrant families The term “youth from immigrant families” encompasses both immigrant youth and second generation Canadian youth.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUPS WITH ETHNOCULTURAL MEMBERS:
A SEMI-STRUCTURED FACILITATION GUIDE

Part One: Welcome, Introduction and Logistics
Welcome and introduction

- Overview of the research (purpose, objectives, process, anticipated outcomes, impact)
- Overview of the focus group (objectives, process, where it fits into the overall research)
- Role of facilitator; focus group 'ground rules'; questions and clarification
- Ethics (informed consent, right to withdraw, confidentiality); demographics, written questions.
- Clarify crime as determined by the Canada's Criminal Code

Part Two: General Assessment
What are your general perceptions of the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members in (town/city)? What are your perceptions of petty crime and serious crime?

Part Three: Risk and Protective Factors

- What are the things that have led some members in your own ethnocultural communities to commit crime?
- What are the things that have prevented criminal involvement among ethnocultural members?

Part Four: Recommendations of Strategies

- What strategies would you suggest to address the identified risk factors?
- What strategies would you suggest to enhance the identified protective factors?
- What other strategies would you recommend to prevent the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members? What policies, programs or services would you recommend? Who should be responsible for each?
- What strategies would you recommend to address the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members? What policies, programs or services would you recommend? Who should be responsible for each?
- What strategies would you suggest to involve ethnocultural communities in efforts to prevent and reduce the criminal involvement of some ethnocultural members?

Part Five: Closing

- Reassuring confidentiality
- Letting people know about the release of the report
- Invitation for follow-up/debriefing if needed; thank you

APPENDIX B

FOCUS GROUPS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT STAKEHOLDERS AND/OR SERVICE PROVIDERS: A SEMI-STRUCTURED FACILITATION GUIDE

Part One: Welcome, Introduction and Logistics

- Welcome and introduction
- Overview of the research (purpose, objectives, process, anticipated outcomes, impact)
- Overview of the focus group (objectives, process, where it fits into the overall research)
- Role of facilitator; focus group 'ground rules'; questions and clarification
- Ethics (informed consent, right to withdraw, confidentiality); demographics, written questions.
- Clarify crime as determined by the Canada's Criminal Code
- Clarify that stakeholders speak from their perspective as professionals

Part Two: General Assessment

What are your general perceptions of the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members in (town/city)? What are your perceptions of petty crime and serious crime?

Part Three: Risk and Protective Factors

- What are the things that have led some members of ethnocultural communities to commit crime?
- What are the things that have prevented criminal involvement among ethnocultural members?

Part Four: Challenges and Successes in Working with Ethnocultural Communities

- What are the challenges that you have faced in working with ethnocultural communities to prevent and address the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members?
- What are the successes you have experienced in working with ethnocultural communities to prevent and address the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members?

Part Five: Recommendations of Strategies

- What strategies would you suggest to address the identified risk factors?
- What strategies would you suggest to enhance the identified protective factors?
- What other strategies would you recommend to prevent the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members? What policies, programs or services would you recommend? Who should be responsible for each?
- What strategies would you recommend to address the criminal involvement of ethnocultural members? What policies, programs or services would you recommend? Who should be responsible for each?
- What strategies would you suggest to involve ethnocultural communities in efforts to prevent and reduce criminal involvement of some ethnocultural members?
- What can be done to help you to enhance your work with ethnocultural communities to prevent and reduce criminal involvement of some ethnocultural members?

Part Six: Closing

- Reassuring confidentiality
- Letting people know about the release of the report
- Invitation for follow-up/debriefing if needed**;** thank you