

**Getting Serious About Reducing Crime:
Report of the Blue Ribbon Panel**
- Plain Language Version -
Draft #2 August 6/14

Introduction

In the last decade, British Columbia's crime rate has fallen dramatically. s.13 countless individuals and organizations have played a role s.13 the greatest contribution has come from police – who, faced with a spike in gang-related crime in the early 2000s, made a fundamental change in the way they do their work. Instead of focusing primarily on crimes, they focused on offenders. And the outcomes speak for themselves.

s.13, the drop has been steeper here than anywhere else in North America, s.13 the way to a new approach for our justice system overall. Simply put, s.13
– from primary prevention activities s.13 to improved offender management s.13
– in an integrated, coordinated way. This is the key to bringing B.C.'s crime rate down even further.

Background

In February 2012, the B.C. government launched the Justice Reform Initiative to identify actions that government, the judiciary, the legal profession, police and others can take to give British Columbians more timely and effective justice services. The ministries of attorney general and solicitor general were merged in a new Ministry of Justice s.13 And Geoffrey Cowper, QC - one of Canada's most respected litigators – was appointed to identify long-term, fiscally responsible solutions that improve outcomes and accountability.

Cowper's report, *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century*, recommended a broad suite of changes, including the development of a province-wide crime reduction plan. Crime reduction is also singled out as a priority in the Province's *White Paper Part Two: A Timely and Balanced Justice System*, as well as in the s.13 *B.C. Policing and Community Safety Plan*.

In June 2013, Abbotsford South MLA Darryl Plecas was appointed to the new role of Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction, drawing on his 34 years as a criminologist and researcher. In September 2013, Plecas convened a blue-ribbon panel of experts to study crime reduction opportunities and recommend ways to drive B.C.'s record-low crime rate down even further – recognizing the broad range of strategies and actions already underway. For the panel's terms of reference, see Appendix A.

About the Panel

Chaired by Parliamentary Secretary Plecas, the Blue-Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction had five members:

- Jean Fournier, a former federal deputy solicitor general who s.13 on the board of the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse
- Yvon Dandurand, a s.13 senior associate with the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy
- Geri Ellen Bemister, a criminology instructor at North Island College in Courtenay
- Beverley Busson, the first female commissioner of the RCMP
- Gary Bass, a s.13 RCMP veteran and research fellow with the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies in the Simon Fraser University School of Criminology.

For detailed biographies of panel members, see Appendix B.

What the Panel Heard

Between September 2013 and March 2014, the panel conducted an exhaustive consultation process, meeting with the broadest range of stakeholders imaginable. We held roundtable meetings in s.13, received 36 written submissions and met with more than 600 individuals – including judges, prosecutors, defense lawyers, police, front-line service providers, local elected officials, First Nations leaders, prolific offenders and people in treatment for addictions.

The panel's consultations made it clear that a wealth of experience exists in our communities, where local leaders are implementing innovative crime reduction initiatives tailored to their own specific needs and priorities. Every community expressed a determination to take action, a growing realization that crime reduction is not only a law enforcement problem, and a s.13 high level of consensus about what needs to be done. We also heard unanimous support for an integrated province-wide approach; otherwise, we risk displacing crime from one community to another.¹

While it is impossible to do justice here to all the suggestions and recommendations we heard, the following summary highlights the themes most immediately relevant to the panel's terms of reference. For a more complete summary of what the panel heard, see Appendix C.

Sidebar: Some promising local practices the panel became aware of are not discussed in detail in this report or made the object of a specific recommendation. We did not mean to exclude from further consideration any evidence-based approach that can produce significant crime reduction outcomes. On the contrary, the panel acknowledges that all promising initiatives deserve consideration, whether or not they are mentioned in the present report.

Focusing on offenders

The panel heard a strong consensus that significant reductions in crime can be achieved by focusing on prolific offenders – the very small proportion of the total population that's responsible for most of the crime in B.C. These individuals have been in and out of the provincial corrections system for years, committing crimes over and over again, s.13

The panel heard support for the Province's recently-completed Prolific Offender Management pilot project, along with a number of concrete suggestions for improving approaches to incarceration and sentencing.

More broadly, the panel heard that shifting the focus from crimes to offenders has been fundamental to B.C.'s success in driving down the crime rate in the past 10 years. Experience in other jurisdictions suggests that this approach – s.13 – could generate even more impressive results if adopted across the B.C. justice system.

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Alternatives to incarceration

The panel heard strong support for effective diversion mechanisms and, in particular, greater use of the restorative justice approach; this was reiterated at nearly every roundtable meeting. Successful programs are in place in a number of communities. However, many stakeholders said that the quality of programs across the province is s.13 and could be improved with, for example, provincial standards.

¹ Other consultations across the province also confirm that there is a need to ensure that those crime reduction efforts are coordinated and crime is not displaced to other communities, *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, p. 34.

Support was often expressed for establishing problem-solving courts (drug courts, community courts, family violence courts, etc.). There were many views about what these courts could actually accomplish or the desirability of establishing them in various parts of the province. It was clear that many stakeholders were attracted by the model because of its apparent promise to “resolve problems” in a more effective and efficient way than the regular justice system.

Corrections officials frequently indicated that many of the inmates in custody should be receiving treatment instead of a custodial sentence. We also heard concerns about inadequate supervision of offenders in the community under court-ordered conditions. Stakeholders generally supported the idea of improving current community supervision programs and finding ways to deal more effectively when court-imposed conditions are breached.

Support was expressed for making greater use of surveillance technology to enforce court orders and protect victims, including electronic monitoring of offenders in domestic violence cases. Some stakeholders said that the role and functions of B.C. probation officers should be [s.13](#) reconsidered.

Addictions and mental illness

Many of those who presented to the panel noted the link between crime rates and the unaddressed addiction issues of chronic offenders. Some said we need to place a greater emphasis on providing recovery services, and presenters were virtually unanimous in citing a shortage of effective drug and alcohol addiction treatment and recovery programs. [s.13](#) people expressed concern about unlicensed “recovery homes” which operate outside the health-care and justice systems, often providing little more than housing.

Another key concern was the lack of local access to services for people with mental illness. Police told the panel that, on average, one in five calls for service they receive relates to unaddressed mental health issues. Along with consuming police resources, this situation is unhelpful for those in need. As noted in a recent House of Commons report on the economics of policing, front-line police officers are not best equipped to deal with mental health problems.

Inter-agency collaboration

Time and time again, the panel heard from people who were frustrated by the lack of collaboration among those leading crime reduction efforts. While many presenters were proud of the results they saw in their communities, there was frequent mention of disjointed approaches, fragmented interventions, and the propensity of many professionals to work in “silos” isolated from each other. Many stakeholders advocated for a “whole of government” approach to crime reduction with related measures to hold local managers accountable for their agencies’ performance.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence and sexual violence against women and children were consistently mentioned as an urgent priority. Many of those who spoke to the panel expressed great concern about the number of violent crimes against children and women that go unreported and unaddressed. Stakeholders also commented on the success of existing provincial initiatives, including the Domestic Violence Unit (DVU) and the Interagency Case Assessment Team (ICAT).

First Nations communities

The panel heard concerns about the over-representation of First Nations peoples in the criminal justice system and the need for comprehensive, community based, culturally sensitive and effective interventions. Many First Nations draw on their healing programs to address crime and reintegrate community members involved with the justice system. The role of native court workers and the progress made in implementing First Nations Courts and Elders’ Justice Councils were frequently noted as important steps forward.

Rapid economic development

Many stakeholders voiced concern about the rapid development of large natural-resource projects in northern communities, such as Fort St. John. The panel heard that local law enforcement and community resources are clearly insufficient to deal with the large influx of workers and related public disorder and crime issues. There were some suggestions that, as the Province moves forward with intensified resource development, planning should account for the increased pressures on police and other public resources.

Prevention

Many stakeholders emphasized the need for early interventions and prevention programs for at-risk children and youth, including those whose parents are in conflict with the law, incarcerated or struggling with addiction, as well as those who themselves experience mental illness, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorders and substance abuse disorders. Stakeholders generally agreed that s.13 prevention programs are a sound and necessary investment, even if their immediate impact on crime is not always noticeable.

Funding

Issues related to funding were mentioned frequently in the panel's consultations. Presenters were most concerned about funding for community-based crime reduction programs and for the non-profit organizations whose work is often crucial. Some raised concerns about continuity as well. For example, the panel heard of cases where pilot projects got good results, but could not be built upon due to lack of funding. The Ministry of Justice confirms that s.13 of crime prevention initiatives have been funded in the last decade. However, they have typically been supported via time-limited or one-time funding.

Overview of current crime reduction initiatives

As noted in the introduction, British Columbia has had unparalleled success in driving down its crime rate over the past 10 years. A vast number of initiatives are already underway, with work taking place at three levels, generally referred to as “strands,” reflecting the fact that they work most effectively – and are strongest – when woven together.

Those led by municipalities.

For example, the City of Surrey has a Crime Reduction Strategy based on extensive consultation and collaboration with partners across the government and law enforcement agencies. The City of Prince George has also taken a multi-faceted approach to crime prevention that actively engages s.13 partners such as School District 57, the RCMP, the Ministry of Children and Family Development and a range of community agencies to work collaboratively to create an environment where all citizens feel safe.

Many other communities have worked to improve their safety by identifying risk factors, situations and circumstances that negatively impact that safety and taking action to address these factors and reduce crime.

The most successful crime reduction initiatives are those that build on community strengths and resources, reflect local priorities, and are owned and led by the community – with sustained and coherent leadership, including sustainable funding sources.

Crime reduction initiatives led by police.

These exist in every community, with varying degrees of partnership and support from local and provincial agencies. Many police-led efforts target ‘hot spots’ or geographic areas with high crime, while others focus on apprehending prolific offenders.

Police are also instrumental in organizations such as the BC Crime Prevention Association - an integrated team of citizens and police, providing ongoing province-wide education and awareness through community partnerships.

Crime reduction initiatives led by the provincial government.

These include the Justice and Public Safety Plan 2014 – 2017, which provides a central vision and strategic plan for the sector overall, delivering on a key recommendation of the Cowper report. They also include the various dedicated strategies developed to address specific issues, including human trafficking, domestic violence, sexual exploitation of children and youth, and the recruitment of young people into gangs.

The Province is also working to address First Nations issues. For example, recent initiatives of the Ministry of Justice have focused on delivering First Nations policing services and programs that are culturally sensitive and responsive to the needs of First Nations communities. And the BC Justice and Public Safety Council is establishing an Aboriginal Advisory Board to help improve outcomes for Aboriginal peoples as sector-wide reform continues.²

Along with initiatives in these three strands, the panel reviewed the evidence base for the relative success of various crime reduction initiatives in other parts of the world. These are described and referenced throughout our report with details provided in appendices.

² British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council (2014). *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector - April 2014 to March 2017*.

Recommendations for crime reduction opportunities

Many of the issues raised in the panel's consultations are already being addressed to varying degrees through existing programs and strategies. With that in mind, we've chosen to focus our recommendations on a few select areas where heightened attention and additional actions can deliver better outcomes. It is our intention that the recommendations will be implemented in concert with the broader reforms underway across the justice system to take our crime-reduction efforts to the next level.

Recommendation #1: Manage prolific offenders more effectively.

A relatively small proportion of habitual or "career" criminals accounts for the majority of offences committed.³ While there is variation across samples, most evidence supports the Pareto principle that about 80 per cent of offences are committed by 20 per cent of offenders.⁴ In fact, it is likely that this 80:20 ratio is an underestimate due to experienced offenders' abilities to evade detection. Using U.S. data, Cohen⁵ estimated that "the average costs imposed on society by one male high-rate chronic offender is greater than \$1.5 million." In other words, targeting prolific offenders can improve public safety while reducing total costs to society.

In 2008, the Province launched a pilot Prolific Offender Management Program in Prince George, Williams Lake, Kamloops, Surrey, Greater Victoria and Nanaimo. Bringing together resources from enforcement agencies (police, corrections and Crown) and health and social services, the project focused on a small group of prolific offenders, providing more intensive supervision and timely interventions, including links to public services. An independent evaluation of the program by Simon Fraser University found a "significant association" between the program and reduced recidivism. It also found that offenders increased their use of physical-health services, housing and other social services, while having fewer negative police contacts and spending less time in custody. In the first-year follow-up period, the overall re-offence rate fell by 40 per cent.

The Province has made a commitment to continue the best practices learned in the pilot and incorporate them throughout British Columbia. The panel strongly supports this direction and urges the government to take decisive action to ensure co-ordinated supervision, enforcement and access to services for chronic offenders. Specifically, the panel recommends a comprehensive, province-wide Integrated Offender Management (IOM) program that brings together criminal justice agencies, local authorities, health services and the voluntary sectors – for use as an alternative to short sentences or to help offenders reintegrate with communities after serving their time.

In developing a province-wide IOM program, the panel urges the Province to:

- develop a comprehensive, evidence-based model for sentencing, managing, rehabilitating and supervising offenders, and supporting them to change their behaviour
- improve rehabilitation and treatment programs for offenders serving time in provincial institutions
- increase the effectiveness of pre-release programs and re-entry management interventions
- **s.13** wider use of proven, cost-effective methodologies such as electronic monitoring
- advocate for amendments to the Criminal Code of Canada that increase flexibility for sentencing judges
- support and encourage police throughout B.C. to build on their success in offender-focused crime reduction, in partnership with other provincial and community-level service providers.

³ Croisdale, T. E. (2007). *The Persistent Offender: A longitudinal analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

⁴ Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., and A. Blumstein (2003). "The criminal career paradigm". In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: An annual review of research* (Vol. 30). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁵ Cohen, M. (1998). "The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5–33.

For a more comprehensive discussion of prolific offender management, including the experience of other jurisdictions, see Appendix D.

Recommendation #2: Make quality mental health and addiction services more accessible.

A high proportion of criminal activity is related to substance abuse, either directly or indirectly.⁶ And the link between mental illness and addiction is now so undeniable that many professionals consider addiction a form of mental illness and no longer draw clear distinctions between the two. Regardless of their diagnoses, a significant proportion of addicts cannot work, which means that criminal activity becomes their primary revenue source. From the victim's perspective, this is particularly costly. Addicts can spend anywhere from \$70 to \$1,000 per day on their substance of choice; supporting that habit through stolen property drives them to steal goods worth up to 10 times that amount.

Drug treatment is also expensive. However, according to the US National Institute on Drug Abuse, "every dollar invested in addiction treatment programs yields a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs, and theft. When savings related to healthcare are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12 to 1."⁷

Therefore, while there would be a cost to expanding mental health and addiction services, the evidence suggests that these investments would lead to significant savings in the future. To help ensure that service enhancements would help reduce crime, the panel urges the Province to:

- **s.13** of treatment options available, including to offenders in custody
- increase access to aboriginal-led treatment programs for aboriginal offenders
- prioritize funding for programs focused on sustainable long-term recovery
- develop provincial guidelines and standards for addiction treatment providers
- establish a taskforce to identify ways to address the issues related to unlicensed recovery homes.

For a more comprehensive discussion of addiction and mental health treatment programs and their role in crime reduction, including the experience of other jurisdictions, see Appendix E.

Recommendation #3: Make greater use of restorative justice.

In his report to the Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Cowper recommended that the government develop a province-wide plan for diversion, including restorative justice, along with education, quality assurance and control, performance measures, reporting and evaluation.⁸ The panel reiterates that recommendation and urges the Province to consider in particular making greater use of restorative justice in particular.

For some offenders, a formal criminal sanction is neither necessary nor useful to facilitate their social integration and prevent reoffending. Other, more effective and less stigmatizing interventions are possible in the community, including diversion programs that redirect offenders from the criminal justice process to other, more appropriate, interventions.⁹

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⁶ While the focus here is on the use of illicit drugs, some authors (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) note that crimes attributable to alcohol appear to have twice the costs associated with them when compared with drugs.

⁷ <http://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/principles-drug-addiction-treatment-research-based-guide-third-edition/frequently-asked-questions/drug-addiction-treatment-worth-its-cost>

⁸ Cowper, D. G. (2012). *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 12.

⁹ The *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures* state that the development of new non-custodial measures should be encouraged and closely monitored (Rule 2.4). It is also stated that consideration should be given to dealing with offenders in the community, avoiding as far as possible the use of formal proceedings or trial by a court, in accordance with legal safeguards and the rule of law (Rule 2.5). The development of a wide range of community-based measures is also advocated. The *Bangkok Rules* advocate the same for women offenders.

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In B.C., restorative justice is most commonly used for less serious offences such as mischief, assault, and theft. However, a restorative justice process can s.13 be used for any s.13 in which harm has occurred. This can happen where the offender is s.13 willingness to make amends, and where the victim would like an opportunity to be heard, to have questions answered, or to seek restitution.

There are currently about 50 RJ programs across B.C., taking on low-risk cases referred to them by local police departments, schools, First Nations and Crown counsel. The Union of BC Municipalities and many other stakeholders would like to see this approach used more widely. The panel concurs and, after reviewing a number of different models, believes that RJ is a cost-effective and promising approach.

Evidence is limited, but recent reviews indicate that, “a focus on reoffending outcomes alone fails to capture the extent of other benefits, such as victim satisfaction, offender responsibility for actions and increased compliance with a range of orders, among others”.¹⁰ A review of restorative justice conferencing using face to face meetings of offenders and victims showed that, on average, this approach can cause a modest but highly cost-effective reduction in repeat offending, with substantial benefits for victims.¹¹ In other words, like expanded access to mental health and addiction treatment programs, any further investment in RJ is likely to produce savings in the long-term.

For a more comprehensive discussion of diversion programs in general and restorative justice in particular, see Appendix F.

Recommendation #4: Support an increased emphasis on s.13

Many types of crime, particularly property crimes, are opportunistic and can be prevented through activities such as improved security, surveillance and planning. The growing body of research and evidence about this approach¹² tells us that success relies on a systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems and the application of proven measures in selected spaces. Broader planning initiatives, including “crime prevention through environmental design” and urban renewal can also have a significant impact.

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¹⁰ Joudo Larsen, J. (2014). *Restorative Justice in the Australian Criminal Justice System*. Canberra: Australian institute of Criminology

¹¹ Strang, H., Sherman, L.W., Mayo-Wilson, E., Woods, D., and B. Ariel (2013). *Restorative Justice Conferencing (RJC) Using Face-to-Face Meetings of Offenders and Victims: Effects on Offender Recidivism and Victim Satisfaction. A Systematic Review*. Campbell Systematic Reviews 2013:12

¹² For example: Marzbali, M.H., Abdullah, A. and N. A. Razak (2011). “A Review of the Effectiveness of Crime Prevention by Design Approaches Toward Sustainable Development”, *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 4 (1): 160-172. Also: Armitage, R. and L. Monchuk (2011). “Sustaining the Crime Reduction Impact of Designing Out Crime: Re-evaluating the Secured by Design scheme 10 years on”, *Security Journal*, 24 (4), 320-343.

For a more comprehensive discussion of crime prevention in general and particular, see Appendix G. s.13 prevention in

Recommendation #5: s.13

Perhaps the clearest message that came through in consultations was the need for improved coordination and leadership across the wide range of crime reduction initiatives in B.C. communities. s.13

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Recommendation #6: Re-examine funding approaches to provide better outcomes.

In the current fiscal environment, it is imperative to change the way we allocate resources to reduce crime. For example, the panel heard many examples of one-off or time-limited funding approaches that left communities frustrated. Some existing funding could be redirected to support new approaches to dealing with persistent offenders, managing short incarceration sentences and supervising offenders in the community – all of which have significant potential to reduce costs over time.

Several jurisdictions are working on this type of reinvestment process. For example, the UK is taking a new approach¹³ to managing offenders. It relies on private sector service providers, paying them in full only if they successfully reduce reoffending. In addition to providing performance incentives, this approach is expected to deliver savings, which will be directed to expanding rehabilitation support for offenders.

Closer to home, the Justice Policy Centre at the Urban Institute in Washington D.C. has developed a “justice reinvestment toolkit” for local leaders in which jurisdictions align the use of scarce criminal justice resources with public safety priorities.¹⁴ These and other tools could be helpful in prioritizing funding for crime-reduction initiatives in British Columbia.

For a further discussion of funding approaches, see Appendix H.

¹³ U.K., Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation - A Strategy for Reform*, London, May 2013. See also: House of Commons Justice Committee (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A Co-ordinated Approach?* - Interim report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation Program, 22th Report of Session 2013-14, London, 22 January 2014.

¹⁴ Ho, H., Neusteter, S. R., and N. G. La Vigne (2013). *Justice Reinvestment - A toolkit for local leaders*. Washington (D.C.): Urban Institute, Justice Policy Centre. See also: Council of State Governments Justice Centre (2013). *Lessons from the States - Reducing Recidivism and Curbing Corrections Costs through Justice Reinvestment*. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

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Appendices:

- A: Panel Terms of Reference
- B: Biographies of Panel Members
- C: What the Panel Heard
- D: Integrated Offender Management
- E: Mental Health and Addictions
- F: Diversion and Restorative Justice
- G: [s.13](#)
- H: Funding – Reconsidering Our Investments
- I: Measuring and [s.13](#) Progress

Appendix A

Blue Ribbon Committee on Crime Reduction - Terms of Reference

Implementation of justice reforms to ensure a cost-effective justice system that has the confidence of the public is a key priority of government. One aspect of that reform agenda is crime reduction.

Crime reduction programs generally have two goals: to reduce crime and disorder, and to increase public confidence in the ability of the justice system to keep communities safe.

In his report A Criminal justice System for the 21st Century, Geoffrey Cowper QC recommended the development of a province-wide crime reduction plan. Crime reduction is identified as a priority item in White Paper Part Two: A Timely and Balanced Justice System, as well as in the proposed British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan.

Specifically, Action Item #8 of the British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan states:

In support of enhancing community safety, the Ministry of Justice will work with stakeholders to develop strategies to:

- a) support crime prevention efforts;
- b) support province-led crime reduction initiatives; and
- c) support further development of civil/administrative law strategies to enhance community safety

At present, there are three strands of crime reduction activities in BC:

- ☐ Those led by municipalities. For example, the City of Surrey Crime Reduction Strategy, which is based on extensive consultation and collaboration with partners across the government and law enforcement agencies.
- ☐ Crime reduction initiatives led by police. Many of these initiatives target 'hot spots' or geographic areas with high crime and disorder activities, while others focus on apprehending prolific offenders.
- ☐ Crime reduction initiatives led by the provincial government, such as the Prolific Offender Management program and Vancouver's Downtown Community Court.

Name of Committee

Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction (referred to as 'The Panel')

Purpose and Scope

On June 7, 2013, Dr. Darryl Plecas was appointed as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General for Crime Reduction. His mandate is to chair a blue-ribbon panel to study crime reduction opportunities. The Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction will:

- ☐ Through consultation with stakeholders, review existing crime reduction initiatives and identify potential gaps, challenges and issues.
- ☐ Make recommendations for crime reduction opportunities and next steps including a plan for implementation.
- ☐ Deliver a report to the Minister of Justice by June 14th 2014.

Membership

The Panel will be chaired by Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction, Darryl Plecas.

The Panel consists of the following 5 members

Beverley Busson
Gary Bass
Jean Fournier
Yvon Dandurand
Geri Ellen Bemister
Mandate / Responsibilities

The primary functions of panel members are to:

- ☐ Conduct a series of roundtables to elicit feedback from around the Province
- ☐ Provide advice and recommendations to Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction about possible evidence led crime reduction opportunities.
- ☐ Identify individuals with subject matter or other expertise that could assist and provide advice to the panel members
- ☐ Liaise with Ministry staff as required
- ☐ Create and approve a report and recommendations regarding crime reduction opportunities.

The roundtables will bring together relevant stakeholder groups to discuss crime reduction opportunities, as well as current initiatives, approaches (such as environmental design that contributes to crime reduction), successes, gaps or challenges. Roundtable participants will be invited based on their specialized backgrounds and interests in this topic.

The Panel's work will inform the content of a report, from the Chair to the Minister of Justice that includes the following:

- ☐ Results from the stakeholder consultation;
- ☐ Identification of opportunities for effective evidence-led crime reduction initiatives;
- ☐ An overview of current crime reduction initiatives around the province and other jurisdictions and,
- ☐ Recommendations for crime reduction opportunities

Meetings

Regular meetings of the Panel on Crime Reduction will be held at least once a month for the duration of the project until June 2014 at the call of the Chair.

Support such as arranging meeting date and times, agendas, minutes and distribution of documents to Panel members will be coordinated by Ministry staff.

Communication and confidentiality

Unless otherwise authorized Panel members will not publically share sensitive information about the Panel's work. Requests to release information must be directed to Ministry staff.

Support

The Ministry of Justice will provide appropriate support to the Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction. The Ministry of Justice will reimburse travel expenses to members of The Panel for their attendance at meetings and roundtables, in accordance with applicable Treasury Board directives.

Appendix B

Blue-ribbon crime reduction panel member biographies

Darryl Plecas (chair)

Darryl Plecas was elected MLA for Abbotsford South on May 14, 2013, and appointed Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction on June 10, 2013. Previously, Plecas was the RCMP research chair and director for the Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research at the University of the Fraser Valley (UFV), where he ^{s.13} worked for 34 years. He holds two degrees in criminology from Simon Fraser University (SFU) and a doctor of higher education degree from the University of British Columbia (UBC).

Plecas has volunteered on advisory committees to the Correctional Service of Canada and the Justice Institute of BC, and on the selection advisory committee for the appointment of the Chief Justice of the Provincial Court of B.C. He has also served as a campaign cabinet division chair for the United Way, chair of the Long-Term Inmates Now in the Community (LINC) Society, a member of the Abbotsford Police Department's scholarship committee, a director on the Fraser Valley Child Development Foundation Board, and an appointee on the board of the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

Jean Fournier

Over his 46 years with the federal government, Jean Fournier oversaw important and sensitive government initiatives related to substance abuse, Aboriginal and northern affairs, the DNA Data Bank, land claims negotiations, pension reform, official languages amendments and agreements, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre (FINTRAC) and the senate ethics and conflict of interest regime. At the international level, Fournier chaired a committee of the Organization of American States to strengthen member states' capacity to deal with drug abuse and trafficking. He served as a deputy minister from 1986 to 2000 - the latter half of this time as deputy solicitor general. He also worked on two royal commissions.

Fournier joined the board of the non-profit Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse in 2006; he currently chairs its finance committee and is involved with nominations and governance. Previously, he served as a member of the board of the Vanier Institute of the Family from 1997-2000 and 2005-11, where he had been vice-president and chaired the executive committee for several years.

Yvon Dandurand

Canadian criminologist ^{s.13} Yvon Dandurand has decades of experience in justice policy and law reform. His work has involved law reform and criminal justice capacity-building and evaluation projects in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. His current areas of interest include ^{s.13} juvenile justice, violence against women, organized crime, human trafficking ^{s.13} ^{s.13}

For the last ^{s.13} years, Dandurand has worked and published in international criminal justice co-operation, treaty implementation, rule of law, human rights, criminal justice and law enforcement reform, capacity building and technical assistance, and post-conflict reconstruction. He has led numerous criminal law reform initiatives as a senior associate of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy, an affiliate of the United Nations. He has taught criminology and sociology of law at various Canadian universities and is currently associate ^{s.13} at UFV and senior associate, International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.

Geri Ellen Bemister

Geri Ellen Bemister is an instructor in the Department of Criminology at North Island College in Courtenay. Previously, she worked in research and analysis with the RCMP research chair at UFV's Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research. She holds an MA from UFV - where she received the Wally Oppal Endowment Leadership Award in 2011 - and a range of certificates in counselling and addiction services.

An expert on substance abuse issues, Bemister has undertaken addiction consultation for a wide range of agencies, including the Correctional Service of Canada. She owns and operates a practice providing counselling to individuals, groups and families, and has served as team lead at Kinghaven Peardonville House Society, an Abbotsford treatment centre. She has also volunteered widely, including as board chair with Recovery Day Nanaimo, and with the Kids4Kids Afterschool Program and Edgewood Treatment Centre in Nanaimo.

Beverley Busson

Bev Busson joined the RCMP with its first class of female members in 1974. Initially stationed in Salmon Arm, she later served in Kelowna and North Vancouver. Following studies in criminology, completion of a law degree at UBC in 1990 and work at RCMP headquarters in Ottawa, she eventually returned to Vancouver in 1995, where she led an elite team dedicated to covert surveillance.

In 1997, she became the first woman to serve as chief superintendent in charge of criminal operations for Saskatchewan. The following year, she became the first female commanding officer, also in that province. In 1999, Busson returned to B.C. to head the newly designated British Columbia Organized Crime Agency. She returned to the RCMP in 2000 as B.C.'s commanding officer and received an additional role - deputy commissioner for the Pacific Region, which included the Yukon - in 2001. In 2004, the University College of the Fraser Valley awarded her an honorary doctor of laws; a second, from SFU, followed in 2010. In 2006, she became the 21st commissioner of the RCMP and the first woman in that position, as well as the first police officer awarded the Order of British Columbia. She retired from the force in 2007.

Gary Bass

Gary Bass served nearly 40 years with the RCMP, including as Deputy Commissioner Canada West. During his RCMP career, he developed expertise in drug and organized crime investigations, terrorism and homicide investigations, major case management and crime reduction strategies. He has been extensively involved in the international development of training in advanced investigative techniques and has been qualified as an expert witness in relation to several of these activities. His many awards include two Commissioner's Commendations, Commanding Officer's Commendations, and awards from the lieutenant governor for outstanding service and meritorious service.

Bass holds an MA in criminal justice and is currently a senior research fellow with the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies in SFU's School of Criminology. His research interests include developing meaningful performance measures for policing and integrated criminal justice system structures, understanding the impact of falling crime rates on the future of policing, effective drug treatment programs, and First Nations, rural and northern policing.

Appendix C

What the Panel Heard

While it is impossible to do justice here to all the suggestions and recommendations the panel received, the following summarizes those suggestions most immediately relevant to a comprehensive crime reduction strategy. Although the panel heard from a wide range of parties, there was a remarkable degree of consistency throughout the provincial roundtables in terms of both the problems identified and the solutions suggested. (The summary of findings below is followed by a list of the organizations that participated in the panel's consultations.)

People did not always agree on how much crime is in their community or whether crime rates are going up or down.

There is evidence that the nature of crime is changing rapidly and that new forms of crime are not always fully captured in official statistics. Victims' crime reporting behaviour is evolving and this may affect the kinds of crime that come to police attention. Police have sometimes changed the way they record criminal incidents for statistical purposes and that affects the picture depicted by crime statistics. People can certainly point at these and other reasons for being sceptical about official crime statistics and whether they always can be trusted as an indicator of the prevalence of crime in a given community. Official crime data does not capture the full extent of people's victimization in the province and victimization survey data is only sporadically available.

People's views on the prevalence of crime in their community and feeling of insecurity are not necessarily related to crime statistics.

Regardless of statistics, local perceptions of crime are obviously based on other factors. Local media reports and people's own experience of crime and insecurity play a far greater role in shaping their views on the risk of victimization.

Many stakeholders emphasized the need for early interventions and developmental prevention programs for at-risk children and youth.

The vulnerability of children in care and children of parents in conflict with the law, incarcerated, or struggling with addiction issues was frequently mentioned. The frequently unaddressed needs of children with school adaptation issues or learning disabilities, and children suffering from mental illness, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorders, and substance abuse disorders were also mentioned.

Stakeholders generally agreed that early prevention programs are a sound and necessary investment even if their immediate impact on crime is not always noticeable. ^{s.13} frequently emphasized the importance of education programs, and programs to give children and youth the skills to succeed.¹⁵ The evidence on ^{s.13} early intervention programs on adult criminal offending only provides for "cautious optimism".¹⁶

Also frequently mentioned was the need for targeted prevention programs to address the situation of individuals and groups at-risk before they engage in criminal activities. In particular, stakeholders emphasized the need for more effective interventions and coordinated action to provide assistance to people

¹⁵ For some of the scientific evidence, see: Ross, A., Duckworth, K., Smith, D.J., Wyness, G., & Schoon, I. (2011). *Prevention and Reduction: A review of strategies for intervening early to prevent or reduce youth crime and anti-social behaviour*. London, UK: Centre for Analysis of Youth Transitions.

¹⁶ Dekovic, M., Slagt, M. I., Asscher, J. J., Boendermaker, L., Eichelsheim, V.I., and P. Prinzie (2011). "Effects of Early Prevention Programs on Adult Criminal Offending: A meta-analysis", *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31: 532-544.

suffering from a mental disorder or illness, people with substance abuse issues and, in particular, people who face both a substance abuse disorder and a mental disorder. This need, the Panel was told, is particularly acute in remote communities.

Domestic violence and sexual violence against women and children were consistently mentioned as a pressing community concern and an urgent priority for crime reduction.

Many stakeholders expressed great concern about the fact that many violent crimes against children and women go unreported and unaddressed. The need to improve the support and assistance provided to domestic violence victims and women and child victims of serious crimes was repeatedly emphasized. Stakeholders commented on the success of Domestic Violence Unit (DVU) and the Interagency Case Assessment Team (ICAT) s.13 a collaborative approach s.13, to review the risk of serious bodily harm or death to victims of domestic/intimate partner violence or stalking, provide an enhanced safety and support system to the victim, and control the offender through proactive interventions.¹⁷

The Panel visited the offices and met with the staff of the Greater Victoria Regional Domestic Violence Unit, a co-located team that includes police, community based victim services, and the Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD) providing timely follow-up services in select domestic violence cases where high risk factors are present or in cases where there is an elevated level of risk to victims, and/or their children, accompanied by a need for intensive victim support.¹⁸

There were frequent references during the Panel's consultations to the lack of community-based programs for domestic violence offenders. The province has adopted an action plan on domestic violence and many communities have implemented successful programs to prevent and respond to domestic violence, but much more remains to be done.

The BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS also argued that the decriminalization of sex work, or the removal of sanctions targeting sex workers, clients, and managers/third parties, is critical to reducing rates of violence and assault for sex workers and communities, and removing barriers for sex workers to access critical health, social and legal support services.¹⁹

"Northern BC has special challenges and opportunities as we grow our economy and the population. We must continue to reduce crime through public education and awareness as well as innovative programs aimed at early prevention and deterrence."

Shari Green
Mayor, Prince George

Many stakeholders voiced their concern about the specific crime problems associated with rapid development of large natural resources projects in northern communities.

In Fort St. John and other northern communities, local law enforcement and community resources are clearly insufficient to deal with the large influx of workers and some of the related public disorder and crime issues. The matter is a very urgent one given plans for expanded and significant growth in the natural resource sector in northern and remote communities.

¹⁷ Unlike the DVU, the ICAT is not an investigation unit. Domestic violence cases that are potentially high risk are referred to the police ICAT contact. The police ICAT contact then circulates the victim and suspect names and birthdates for the next ICAT meeting. If the situation is urgent an emergency meeting may be arranged as soon as practicable. ICAT individual members then research their agency for relevant risk related information about the victim and suspect. This information is brought to the ICAT meeting where data is reviewed for presence of BCDVS 19 Risk Factors. When the risk level is determined, information sharing proceeds and a report is created. An enhanced safety plan for the victim and a monitoring and support plan for the suspect are developed. This description is taken from: Community Coordination for Women's Safety (2014). "What are domestic violence interagency assessment teams and what do they do?" *Information Bulletin*, Vancouver, May 2014.

¹⁸ Laidman, J. (2013). *Regional Domestic Violence Unit - Third year report to the joint management team*. Victoria, October 25, 2013. See also: Wood, J. and L. Johnson (2013). *The Capital Regional District Domestic Violence Unit: An Evaluation Framework*, unpublished.

¹⁹ Submission of the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction, prepared by J. Montaner, with input from I. Day, E. Wood, B. Nosyk, S. Goldenberg, K. Shannon, M-J. Milloy, and T. Kerr, April 30, 2014.

The issue of lack of services or lack of local access to services for people with mental illness or substance abuse disorder was a central concern for many communities. The panel heard widespread concern about the lack of community-based resources to assist individuals with mental health issues and noted the impact of this lack of services on the number of calls for police services, on public order and people's feeling of insecurity. Police reported that, on average, a fifth or more of the calls for service they receive relate to unaddressed mental health issues.

In its report on the economics of policing²⁰ the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security of the House of Commons noted that front-line police officers are not best equipped to deal with mental health. The Committee recommended that "governments constitutionally responsible for health care work in collaboration with local police forces through the health care system to achieve better practices when dealing with persons having mental health problems and illnesses, outside of the police being the first and only line of response."²⁰

On the other hand, many stakeholders commented on the apparent success of the Ministry of Health's Assertive Community Treatment teams deployed in many parts of the province and providing community-based, client-centered, recovery-oriented outreach mental health services for adults with serious and persistent mental illness and significant functional impairments who have not connected with, or responded well to traditional mental health and rehabilitation interventions. Stakeholders only deplored the fact that, because of their cost, only 15 such teams are currently deployed, when approximately 60 would be required for the whole of the province.

Many communities realize that much of the property (acquisitive) crime and some of the violent crime they face are fueled by the unaddressed drug addiction issues of chronic offenders.

There is a perceived need for greater emphasis to be placed on providing recovery services and timely access to recovery programs for offenders who want a drug-free life. Recovery is a way to facilitate the effective rehabilitation and social reintegration of individuals regardless of the legal status of the drug. Recovery programs, it was often mentioned, need to be integrated into the criminal justice response to offenders with substance abuse and addiction problems.

The lack of access to effective drug and alcohol addiction treatment and recovery support programs was unanimously identified as a major issue throughout the province. For example, a delegation from Port Hardy indicated they had 500 individuals in that community needing treatment and only a six-bed facility. The lack of funding for abstinence-based and other recovery support programs was described as a serious issue everywhere and as one of the main reasons for the high rates of recidivism observed across the province among offenders suffering from substance abuse disorder. The province's Public Health Officer and many other stakeholders also emphasized the great and persistent gaps in available psycho-social support services for people in treatment or in recovery.

The Panel heard about the Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program (MMTP) and its role in achieving some of its public health and treatment objectives. On the other hand, the Panel also heard frequent and very vocal criticisms about the MMTP and how it is currently administered.

The Panel heard from individuals in recovery about their negative experience with the MMTP. The Panel heard that the costs of the program are significant (in excess of \$45 million per year) and that, notwithstanding its potential impact in terms of other harm reduction objectives²¹, its impact on crime reduction is minimal. It was frequently suggested to the Panel that the time has come to consider a completely different approach to the treatment of offenders with opium addiction s.13, reconsider the extensive use currently made of "addiction management programs" and "opioid replacement programs" to deal with these offenders, and involve the Ministry of Health in ensuring that adequate treatment and recovery programs are offered to offenders in both the custodial and the community environments.

²⁰ Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security (2014). *Economics of Policing - Report of the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security*. 41st Parliament, Second Session, House of Commons, Canada, May 2014, p. 17.

²¹ See also: BC Methadone Maintenance System – Performance Measures 2011-2012, Ministry of Health 2013.

Support was also expressed for offering more programs for offenders with addiction issues based on the therapeutic community (TC) model, for example the TC program offered by BC Corrections at Guthrie House in Nanaimo, and for community-based residential recovery programs.

There is an issue in some communities with the proliferation of unlicensed and, in some cases, predatory recovery houses. The Fraser Health Authority reported that there were 240 “recovery houses” in the area it serves with only eight of them properly licensed. British Columbia, it was argued, is the only jurisdiction in Canada allowing these types of recovery houses. There was a clearly articulated need for a regulatory scheme around recovery houses due to the perceived corruption and abuse by many of their operators.

The Panel has received a written submission advocating in favour of replacing the current drug prohibition regime by a regulatory policy as a means of reducing crime. They argued that the increase in crime generated by drug prohibition is not offset by any decrease in drug usage or supply.²²

A consistent frustration expressed at nearly every roundtable about the lack of collaboration amongst the relevant Government ministries and between them and local community leaders and organizations. Disjointed approaches, fragmented interventions, and the propensity of many professionals to work in isolation from others (“silos”) were held responsible for the lack of success of many local crime reduction initiatives. Many stakeholders advocated for a “whole of government” approach to crime reduction with related measures that hold local managers accountable for their agency’s performance with respect to crime reduction.

The lack of effective information sharing practices was of serious concern everywhere, with most stakeholders reporting how utterly difficult it is in the present environment to get information from each other, and in particular from the health sector. Many of the professionals consulted spoke of the lack of clarity within their own agency and among stakeholders about what information can be shared, when and how while complying with privacy protection laws and policies. It was frequently suggested that the Government should publish clear guidelines on information sharing, under existing laws, for the purposes of public safety, child protection, and crime reduction, or even legislate in that area if necessary.

In spite of the perceived obstacles to inter-agency collaboration, many communities have forged ahead and developed promising offender management and problem solving approaches to reduce crime. There is much to be learned from the experience of these communities and the role of local leadership, in particular police leadership, in bringing various agencies to work collaboratively toward crime reduction and public safety goals.

A concern was frequently expressed about the lack of effective diversion programs. Support was generally expressed s.13 meaningful programs and services to which offenders can be diverted when appropriate, and, s.13 for a greater use of the restorative justice approach. The lack of referrals to existing diversion programs, s.13 restorative justice programs, has hindered their further development s.13 However, some programs have found ways to successfully address that issue.

The importance of effective restorative justice programs was reiterated at nearly every roundtable meeting. The Ministry of Justice currently support community-based restorative justice responses through funding for Community Accountability Programs. The need to provide adequate funding for these programs was frequently raised and it was suggested that a different funding formula should be adopted. Municipal governments often contribute to the funding of these programs and are apparently willing to continue s.13 It is clear that some impressive and valuable restorative justice programs are already in place in a number of communities. However, it was also clear to many stakeholders that the

²² Submission to the Panel by Law Enforcement Against Prohibition, “Towards Effective Crime Reduction: The urgent need to end drug prohibition”, May 2014.

quality of existing programs across the province is s.13 and that provincial standards should be adopted and their implementation monitored.

Support was often expressed for establishing problem-solving courts (drug courts, community courts, family violence courts, etc.). There were many views about what these courts could actually accomplish or the desirability of establishing them in various parts of the province. It was clear that many stakeholders were attracted by that model because of its apparent promise to “resolve problems” in a more effective and efficient way than the normal justice process.

Concerns were frequently expressed about the general ineffectiveness and the social and financial costs of short-term incarceration sentences and sentencing practices that seem to set people up for failure. Some stakeholders articulated a need for more effective sentencing practices focused on encouraging desistance from crime. In particular, a real concern was prevalent throughout the province about prolific and priority offenders and the criminal justice system’s apparent inability to manage these offenders and encourage their desistance from crime. In communities where a police-based Prolific Offender Management (POM) initiative had been implemented, stakeholders often mentioned the importance of building on this foundation, learning from that experience, and designing an effective integrated offender management system for the whole province.

The problem of funding for community-based crime reduction programs was raised countless times during the consultations. This included the need for adequate funding for non-profit organizations and community partners whose work with offenders is often crucial to the success of crime reduction initiatives. Some stakeholders complained bitterly about the absence of funding for and adequate follow-up to successful pilot crime reduction projects. It was suggested that a fundamental change is required to the manner and basis upon which crime reduction initiatives are currently funded in the province.

Overwhelming concern was expressed about the staggering rates of recidivism among offenders under the authority of provincial corrections. This was seen as relating directly to the lack of re-entry planning and supervision for offenders serving short prison sentences and the absence of consistent strategies and effective programs to facilitate their social reintegration. Some stakeholders believed that a greater use should be made of non-governmental agencies already involved in facilitating the social reintegration of offenders and that the Ministry should develop more effective partnerships with them. The limited availability and poor quality of community corrections programs in remote areas and in First Nations communities was also highlighted.

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The Panel heard about the continuing over-representation of First Nations children and adults in the criminal justice system. Many spoke of the need for comprehensive community based, culturally sensitive and effective interventions for First Nations. Many First Nations communities draw on their own healing programs and are experimenting with different ways of dealing with members of their community involved with the justice system and reintegrating them successfully. The valuable work of native court workers and the progress made in implementing First Nations Courts and Elders Justice Councils were frequently noted.

The Panel also heard about the perceived ineffectiveness of treatment programs and interventions in provincial correctional facilities. Corrections officials frequently indicated that many of the inmates in custody should be receiving treatment instead of a custodial sentence. A linked issue was that of the perceived inadequate supervision of offenders in the community under conditions imposed by a court order. Stakeholders generally supported the idea of improving current community supervision programs and finding ways to deal more effectively with situations where a court imposed condition is being breached.

Support was expressed for making greater use of surveillance technology to enforce court orders and protect victims, including electronic monitoring of offenders in domestic violence cases. Some

stakeholders believed that the role and functions of probation officers in this province should be completely reconsidered.

The following organizations participated in the panel's roundtables and consultations:

Abbotsford Community Services Society
Abbotsford Downtown Business Association
Abbotsford Police Department
Abbotsford Restorative Justice and Advocacy Association
Aboriginal Community Justice Councils
ACR Programs Ltd.
Alano Club of Courtenay A&D Committee
Alert Bay Community Justice Program
Aspirational Youth Partners Association
BC Association of Community Response Networks
BC Association of Police Boards
BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS

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BC Crime Prevention Association
BC Crime Prevention Association (New Westminster Police)
BC Housing Management Commission
BC Hydro
BC Institute of Technology
BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation
BC Ministry of Child and Family Development
BC Ministry of Children and Family Development, Youth Probation
BC Ministry of Education
BC Ministry of Education School Districts
BC Ministry of Health
BC Ministry of Justice

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BC Ministry of Justice, Aboriginal Programs & Relationships

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BC Ministry of Justice, Community Safety and Crime Prevention
BC Ministry of Justice, Corrections Branch
BC Ministry of Justice, Criminal Justice Branch
BC Ministry of Justice, Security Programs Division
BC MLA Liberal Caucus
BC MLA NDP Caucus
BC Schizophrenia Society
BDO Consulting
BMO
Business Improvement Associations
Canadian Bankers Association
Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse
Canadian Mental Health Association
Capital Region Action Team
Cariboo Action Training Society
Cedars at Cobble Hill
Centre for Safe Schools and Communities, UFV
Chambers of Commerce
Children and Youth BC
Children of the Street Society
Chilliwack Restorative Justice and Youth Advocacy Association

Circle of Eagles Lodge Society
 City of Abbotsford
 City of Burnaby
 City of Campbell River
 City of Coquitlam
 City of Courtenay
 City of Cranbrook
 City of Fort St. John
 City of Ladysmith
 City of Langley
 City of Pitt Meadows
 City of Port Coquitlam
 City of Prince George
 City of Richmond
 City of Surrey
 City of Surrey Fire Services
 City of Terrace
 City of Vernon
 City of Victoria
 City of White Rock
 City of Williams Lake
 CKR Global
 CKR Global Risk Solutions
 Communities Embracing Restorative Action
 Comox Valley Citizens on Patrol
 Comox Valley Restorative Justice Society
 Correctional Service Canada
 Cowichan Tribes
 Cowichan Women Against Violence
 Crime Stoppers Advisory Board - BC
 Delta Police Department
 District 69 Family Resource Association
 District of Central Saanich
 District of Delta
 District of Kent
 District of Maple Ridge
 District of North Vancouver
 Douglas College
 Downtown Community Court Team/Mental Health Program
 Duncan Youth Inclusion Program
 East Kootenay Addiction Services Society
 Edgewood
 Elizabeth Fry Society
 Ending Violence Association of BC
 Esk'etemc First Nation
 Esketemc Restorative Justice Program
 Fraser Health Authority
 Government of Saskatchewan
 Haida Health Centre
 Harvest Discovery Homes
 Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies and School of Criminology, SFU
 Insurance Corporation of BC
 Interior Health Authority
 John Howard Society
 Justice Institute of British Columbia
 K4K Nanaimo

Kinghaven Treatment Centre
 K'omoks First Nation
 Ktunaxa Nation Council
 Kwadacha Band
 Kwantlen Polytechnic University
 Langara College
 Legislative Assembly of BC
 London Drugs
 Lower Similkameen Indian Band
 Lulumexun (Lands & Governance)
 McCreary Centre Society
 Metro Vancouver CrimeStoppers
 Mount Royal University
 Nak'azdli Alternative Justice Centre
 Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of BC
 Nelson Police Department
 New Westminster Police Board
 New Westminster Police Service
 Nisga'a Lisims Government
 North Island College
 North Island Crisis and Counselling Centre Society
 North Peace Justice Society
 Northern Health Authority
 Northern Lights College
 Oak Bay Police Department
 Office of International Diplomacy
 Pacific Centre Family Services
 Police Victim Services of British Columbia
 Port Kells Community Association
 Port Moody Police Department
 Port of Vancouver
 Prince George Activators
 Prince George Native Friendship Centre
 Prince George Urban Aboriginal Justice Society
 Prince Rupert Aboriginal Justice Program
 Private Family Practice MD
 Private Law Firms
 Provincial Association of Residential and Community Agencies
 Provincial Office of Domestic Violence
 Public Safety Canada
 RCMP "D" Division
 RCMP "E" Division Head Quarters
 RCMP Districts and Detachments in BC
 Regional Domestic Violence Unit
 Restorative Justice Society of North Okanagan
 Restorative Justice Victoria
 Ridge Meadows Youth Diversion Program
 Saanich Police Department
 Secwepemc Community Justice Program
 Simon Fraser University
 South Coast BC Transportation Authority Police Service
 South Okanagan Restorative Justice Program
 Stepping Stones Recovery, Alano Club
 Stl' Atl' Imx Tribal Police Service
 Surrey Board of Trade
 TD Bank Group

The M2/W2 Association
Thompson Rivers University
Tillicum Lelum Aboriginal Society
Tl'azt'en "Healing Circle" Justice Program
Town of Comox
Township of Esquimalt
Township of Langley
Township of Spallumcheen
Tsilhqot'in Community Justice Program
UCL Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science, UK
Union of BC Municipalities
University of the Fraser Valley
Vancouver Board of Trade
Vancouver Coastal Health Authority
Vancouver Foundation
Vancouver Island Therapeutic Community
Vancouver Police Department
Victoria Police Board
Victoria Police Department
Village of Ashcroft
VisionQuest Recovery Society
Welcome Home Society
Wet'suwet'en Nation
White Buffalo Aboriginal and Metis Health Society
Wilfred Laurier University
Williams Lake Band
Women's Contact Society
YMCA/YWCA

Appendix D

Reducing Recidivism: Integrated Offender Management

In his 2011 report, the BC Auditor General found that Community Corrections had not sufficiently analysed the role it plays in decreasing the reoffending rate by those who serve community sentences. The way in which this rate is measured makes it difficult to confirm a trend. The report noted that, at that time, only 35% of interventions designed to reduce reoffending were ever completed. It also noted that “the lack of completion means potential increased risks to public safety and costs to taxpayers and victims, should offenders re-offend”.²³

Some of the most significant reductions in crime are likely to be achieved by focussing on offenders at high risk of reoffending. A focus on reducing recidivism, particularly among prolific and priority offenders must be one of the cornerstones of the province’s crime reduction strategy. The current approach to reducing recidivism among these offenders is too often limited to a patchwork of disjointed punctual interventions in their life without a significant impact in terms of their desistance from crime. This must change.

Many offenders spend years in the care of one juvenile or adult justice agency or another. Significant resources are expended investigating the crimes they commit, processing them through an expensive and encumbered criminal justice process, and submitting them to countless ineffective interventions s.13. These offenders are collectively responsible for a large proportion of the crimes committed each year. They are well known within the criminal justice system: they were assessed, punished, treated and assisted in various ways. Yet, in the end, very few of these interventions have produced the outcome that society has a right to expect: desistance from crime. This “revolving door” type of intervention does not really contribute to public safety and is simply not sustainable. A different approach to managing these offenders is required.

An obvious goal of all criminal justice interventions is to deter offenders from committing further crimes, in other words to compel or encourage the offender to desist from crime, to stop reoffending. One of the justice system’s performance measures suggested in the Justice and Public Safety Council’s Strategic Plan is the “rate of reoffending among higher-volume offenders”.²⁴

Reducing the number of individuals who reoffend means fewer victims, greater community safety and less pressure on law enforcement agencies. The successful

²³ Auditor General of British Columbia (2011), *Effectiveness of BC Community Corrections*, 2011- Report 10.

²⁴ JPSC’s Strategic Plan, p. 18.

reintegration of offenders means that fewer of them will appear again before criminal courts, come back to prison and contribute to prison overcrowding, and generally increase the costs of the criminal justice system. Currently, little if any services and supervision are offered to offenders after their release following a short-term prison sentence. s.13 the UK is introducing a program which will guarantee that all offenders, s.13 receive statutory supervision and rehabilitation upon their release. The Panel can think of a lot of arguments and evidence in favour of such an approach.

A. Supporting Desistance from Crime

Studies of criminal careers and various program evaluations have brought criminologists to understand “desistance from crime” not as a single event or moment in the life of an offender, but as a process by which, with or without the intervention of criminal justice agencies, offenders terminate their offending activities and maintain crime-free lives. It is usually achieved over a period of time. Programs based on desistance theory emphasize long-term change over short-term control, recognizing that that progress is unlikely to be direct or continuous. In many ways and for many offenders, desistance from crime resembles the process of recovery from addiction.²⁵

People desist from crime for a variety of reasons. The evidence is quite clear that desistance can be supported by focusing on factors that are directly linked to criminal behaviour, such as attitudes, lifestyles, and substance abuse and offering assistance s.13 including housing, employment, relationships, and education or acquiring marketable skills. In many cases, assistance is also needed to help offenders deal with previous trauma, sometimes related to their own victimization.

Desistance from crime is facilitated by helping offenders address their criminogenic (offending-related) needs/factors. However, the challenge of turning a convicted offender away from crime is often considerable and often requires a form of integrated offender management.

s.13

1. This is the major focus of the Panel’s s.13 recommendations. The Panel came to the conclusion that significant changes need to be brought to the way we manage offenders and intervene to prevent them from reoffending. This is why it proposes changes to current offender management practices and programs.

²⁵ For example, see: McNeill, F. and B. Weaver (2010). *Changing Lives? Desistance Research and Offender Management*. Glasgow School of Social Work and the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research.

B. Integrated Offender Management

A variety of programs have emerged in several countries based on inter-agency collaboration as a means of improving offender outcomes, (i.e. reducing reoffending). There is conclusive evidence that successful crime reduction strategies must include, as a matter of urgent priority, proven (evidence-based) offender treatment, rehabilitation and supervision practices.

At present, in this province, release planning and programs to facilitate the successful social reintegration of offenders are apparently minimal.

Correctional interventions need to be coordinated between correctional services, the police, community service agencies, and when necessary mental health and addiction services. This is what is normally understood by the “integrated offender management” (IOM) approach, this is what inspired some prolific offender management programs, but this is, by and large, what fails to happen consistently in this province.

There currently is a limited Integrated Offender Management program in place within BC Corrections, linking community corrections with custody in selected cases (where an offender is sentenced to a minimum of 90 days with a community corrections sentence following the custodial sentence). The program essentially demonstrate that managing the offender re-entry process can produce crime reduction outcomes, but the rates of reoffending within that particular program are still in the 50 to 60% range.

Building on the success of Prolific and other Priority Offenders (PPO) programs, Integrated Offender Management can provide a strategic framework to bring together representatives from criminal justice agencies, local authorities, health services and the voluntary sector, to address locally determined offending priorities through targeted interventions. Specific guidance, based on experience and research, should be given province-wide on the implementation of an offender management scheme involving the criminal justice system as a whole and its key partners. IOM can be successfully applied as an alternative to short sentences²⁶ or as a form offender re-entry management program.

“Ensuring offenders abide by court orders, attend court and abide by their bail or probation conditions is a fundamental step in offender management to reduce recidivism.”

Chief Constable Bob Rich and
A/Commissioner Norm

²⁶ See for example: Revolving Door Agency (2013). *Integrated Offender Management - Effective alternatives to short sentences*, London.

a. Administration of Justice Offences

The Government's White Paper on Justice Reform notes that administration of justice offences are used to help manage offenders and accused in the community, and may be laid when an offender or accused violates terms set out in a court order. They include such offences as failure to appear in court, breach of a probation order, or being unlawfully at large.

An effective community-based offender management approach involves intensive surveillance and supervision of offenders via coordinated police and community corrections activities, supported by assistance and supportive interventions including referrals to employment, housing programs, mental health and addiction treatment and recovery support, and cognitive retraining programs. The approach is further supported by prompt investigation, apprehension and conviction following reoffending or breach of bail or sentence conditions. Swift re-conviction can be facilitated by the appointment of a dedicated prosecutor to manage files generated as a result of the targeting and increased supervision.

Effective supervision is achieved by coordinating the enforcement of release conditions, probation orders, or bail supervision orders and by ensuring the offenders' immediate return to the courts upon breaching these conditions or reoffending. This involves proactive and effective interventions on behalf of the police, probation officers, prosecutors and the courts to ensure that a meaningful and swift response is given in all cases where offenders reoffend or breach the conditions attached to a court order.

However, the evidence to date is also pretty clear that intensive supervision alone does not produce appreciable results in terms of desistance from crime and, consequently, crime reduction. On the contrary, when unaccompanied by effective interventions to address needs and risk factors, it only leads to breaches of conditions, and re-offending and contributes to little else than further clogging the criminal justice system and trapping these offenders in the revolving door cycle of reoffending.

s.13

c. Capacity of Community Corrections Services

The Panel has heard repeatedly about the many limitations of BC Corrections in ensuring that effective community supervision is offered in all cases where offenders are serving a community-based sentence and to participate fully in Integrated Offender Management with s.13 other relevant agencies. The Panel was not in a position to review existing programs and analyze the province's community corrections capacity, but that should be done urgently. s.13

s.13 s.13 Immediate measures should also be taken to improve the capacity of BC Corrections to provide a greater range of effective community supervision services.

The Panel, during its consultations s.13 became acquainted with some valuable community resources as well as many of the dedicated professionals and volunteers from non-governmental organizations working to assist the reintegration of offenders. Their efforts need to be better mobilized and supported.

Under that enhanced system, offender management would be ensured not only by B.C. Corrections, but also by capable community agencies and, in some instances, First Nations agencies. In all cases, B.C. corrections should be expected and, perhaps also mandated by law, to integrate its activities with law enforcement and other relevant agencies.

The enhanced system would obviously require some investments in community corrections and in services and treatment programs to help offenders address the risk and needs factors associated with their criminal behaviour. The non-governmental sector would need to be helped to contribute to a much larger extent than it currently is.

d. Electronic Monitoring

s.13 is the use of electronic monitoring (EM) through the use of GPS-enabled anklets. s.13 Some individuals with EM devices commit crimes while being monitored just as some people on bail, probation or parole commit offences. Occasionally, offenders escape "secure" custody and re-offend. The issue, however, is the relative effectiveness of EM in comparison with the alternatives. Furthermore, the technology underlying EM devices is evolving quickly. Where specialized networks were once required, some current EM devices take advantage of the ubiquity of cell phone towers for tracking. In London, the Ministry of

Justice has already acquired some experience with contracting out electronic monitoring and the community payback scheme.²⁷

Electronic monitoring is successfully used in many jurisdictions to increase the effectiveness of offender supervision programs. For example, a large study of Florida offenders placed on electronic monitoring found that monitoring significantly reduced the likelihood of failure under community supervision. The observed decline in the risk of failure was about 31 percent compared with offenders placed on other forms of community supervision.²⁸

Earlier this year, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation containing a set of basic principles related to “ethical issues and professional standards enabling national authorities to provide just, proportionate and effective use of different forms of electronic monitoring in the framework of the criminal justice process in full respect of the rights of the persons concerned.”²⁹

Victim protection is also a very important aspect of this approach. In its draft recommendation to the Committee of Ministers, The European Committee on Crime Problems offered some principles to guide the use of electronic monitoring and noted that:

“Individual victims of specific crimes (such as victims of domestic violence, stalking or sexual assault) can in principle be protected (in the framework of victim-protection schemes) by particular configurations of electronic monitoring technology, all of which entail giving the victims an alarm which they carry on themselves and which simultaneously informs them and the police if a particular tagged offender comes within defined radius of proximity. (...) Current evidence from the USA suggests that former women victims of domestic violence, notwithstanding a degree of anxiety at the outset, derive benefit from well-run GPS tracking schemes used to protect them at the pre-trial stage.”³⁰

The Panel strongly recommends that the Province s.13 develop a comprehensive GPS electronic monitoring system in order to protect women and children victims of violence and to facilitate the treatment and reintegration of offenders in the community.

From a cost perspective, EM would seem to be an outright winner. One way of looking at this is to consider that a 600 person prison holding people on remand with its accompanying staff and physical plant could be replaced by ankle bracelets and a

²⁷ See: Justice Committee, House of Commons (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A co-ordinated approach? Interim Report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation Programme*, London, 22 January 2014.

²⁸ National Institute of Justice (2011). *Electronic Monitoring Reduces Recidivism*. Washington, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, September 2011. See also: Bales, W. et al. (2010). *A Quantitative and Qualitative Assessment of Electronic Monitoring*. A report prepared for the National Institute of Justice. Florida: Centre for Criminology and Public Policy Research, Florida State University.

²⁹ Council of Europe, *Recommendation CM/Rec (2014)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on electronic monitoring*, (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 19 February 2014, at the 1192nd meeting of the Ministers' Deputies).

³⁰ European Committee on Crime Problems, Ministers' Deputies, CM Documents, CM (2014)14 add2, 21 January 2014.

monitoring station with three shifts of two people per shift. Typically, EM is used in conjunction with an order that an individual either remain in their own residence or that they avoid certain locations, such as the home of a former spouse. Some US states are mandating that child molesters be monitored for indefinite periods to ensure they do not go to locations that children typically frequent.

A recent study by Yeh³¹ in the United States, strongly supports the value of EM. The costs of equipment and monitoring vary by the type of technology, the level of supervision and the vendor. According to Yeh, however, the cost of leasing a passive EM device for the Florida system is about \$4US per day per person. Personnel monitoring costs for active GPS systems is about \$11.13 per day per person with an average total cost per person of about \$19US. He also reports that the cost of electronic monitoring of home detention in the UK was about £14 (\$21.95) per offender per day. These values are not inconsistent with those experienced in Canada.³² Yeh's conclusion is that, in the American context, there is a return of about \$12.70 for every dollar spent on electronic monitoring.

Similar support for electronic monitoring is provided by Roman et al. in their cost-benefit analysis for Washington, DC.³³ The Roman study cites a broader set of advantages for EM. Included in these is the assertion that "EM reduces arrests by 24 percent for program participants." Furthermore, the estimate that the "average number of arrests prevented per participant can be expected to generate \$3,800 in societal benefits per participant." The total per participant cost for EM in Washington was about \$750 with a range of \$460 to \$1,070. This resulted in saving of about \$580 per participant for local agencies and \$920 for federal agencies.

Canadian experience with electronic monitoring has been mixed. Some provinces such as BC have limited EM programs.³⁴ Currently, the largest program in Canada appears to be that in Ontario where about 230 people are under EM supervision (Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security, 2012). A Correctional Service Canada (CSC) pilot project in 2008 proved problematic. Overall, it would appear that, given the relatively positive experience with EM in the United States and other jurisdictions, CSC's difficulties were related to an inadequate vetting of existing vendors and the application to small samples which resulted in a low rate of amortization of the fixed costs associated with the system.

The clear advantage of a GPS-based system is cost. Based on both the US and UK experiences, the daily cost of the equipment and the monitoring of offenders is under \$25

³¹ Yeh, S. (2010). "Cost-benefit analysis of reducing crime through electronic monitoring of parolees and probationers", *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38: 1090-96.

³² Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security (2012). *A Study of Electronic Monitoring in the Correction and Immigration Settings*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament: Parliamentary Information and Research Service.

³³ Roman, J.K., A.M. Lieberman, S. Taxy and P.M. Downy (2012). *The Costs and Benefits of Electronic Monitoring for Washington, DC*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

³⁴ In fact, BC was the first jurisdiction in Canada to use EM when it introduced a pilot study in 1987.

per day. In British Columbia, the average daily cost of incarceration per person is about \$209. Given that a high proportion of inmates are on remand (hence, not convicted), the use of EM would clearly be a significant financial benefit to the system. This is exclusive of other cost factors such as people's inability to support either themselves or their families while in prison.

Reducing Recidivism Among Priority and Prolific Offenders

A relatively small proportion of habitual or "career" criminals account for the majority of offences committed.³⁵ While there is variation across samples, most evidence supports the Pareto principle that about 80 percent of offences are committed by 20 percent of offenders.³⁶ In fact, it is likely that this 80:20 ratio is an underestimate due to experienced offenders' abilities to evade detection.

Using U.S. data, Cohen³⁷ estimated that "the average costs imposed on society by one male high-rate chronic offender is greater than \$1.5 million." Among chronic female offenders, the cost was estimated to be more than \$750,000. More recent estimates by Cohen and Piquero³⁸ suggest that averting a 14-year-old high risk offender from a lifetime of offending would save somewhere between three and five million dollars. In estimating the costs associated with high risk offenders, Cohen notes that there are various components to be considered. Beyond the costs assumed by the individual offender (such as incarceration time), there are external costs and social costs. Economic externalities are costs that individuals bear inadvertently. For example, for a mugging victim, these would include the loss of possessions plus medical costs associated with the mugging, potential lost wages, and pain and suffering. Social costs are related to externalities but include such factors as the loss of productivity among offenders, costs associated with treating drug addicts as well as costs associated with the criminal justice system.

There have been several police-based initiatives in this province, other parts of the country, the UK and other countries to focus on the management of priority and prolific offenders. They are referred to as "prolific offender management" (POM) or "priority and prolific offender management" (PPOM) programs. What these programs have in common is the identification of one or more cohort of offenders in order to subject them to a more intensive supervision in the community. Generally speaking, these programs aim to reduce crime by dealing more effectively with a small number of offenders who are

³⁵ Croisdale, T. E. (2007). *The Persistent Offender: A longitudinal analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

³⁶ Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., and A. Blumstein (2003). "The criminal career paradigm". In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: An annual review of research* (Vol. 30). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³⁷ Cohen, M. (1998). "The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5-33.

³⁸ Cohen, M. A., and A. Piquero (2009). "New evidence on the monetary value of saving a high-risk youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 25: 25-49.

responsible for a large number of crimes, often property crimes. There is quite a lot of variation in the way these programs are conceived and managed. However, there are several examples in this province and in other jurisdictions where this offender-focused approach to law enforcement has produced noticeable results.

The approach can be applied to prolific offenders, but also to other groups of persistent offenders, such as domestic violence offenders, gang members, prolific property offenders, juvenile offenders, and others for whom the risk of recidivism is high and a significant concern to the community. A wide range of labels are used to designate the offenders officially targeted by these initiatives, including chronic, persistent, priority, and habitual offenders. These terms vary depending on the particular focus of the program.

Generally speaking, the offender management approach in question consisted of: selecting offenders, usually multi-recidivists, using clear selection criteria reflecting local crime reduction priorities; initiating contact with these offenders and engaging them in the initiative, keeping in mind that many of them are already under the care in one way or another of a correctional agency; assessing the individuals when an assessment has not already been conducted and identifying their needs and risk factors; providing priority access and coordinating services to address the needs and risk factors; and active supervision of these offenders by police and correctional authorities. The local initiatives usually include as well the proactive supervision and policing of prolific offenders who do not participate in the program and their swift and effective prosecution as soon as they reoffend.

The experience acquired in the Province in managing certain groups of prolific and priority offenders can pave the way to more comprehensive and systematized offender management strategies. Existing programs are far from perfect and their crime reduction outcomes have not always been validated.³⁹ However, they can be regarded as a promising practice that needs to be pursued. The next logical step is to build on that experience, expand the approach beyond the parameters of the initial programs and implement it systematically across the province with both a degree of consistency and enough flexibility to respond to local circumstances.

To date, that model has predominantly been applied to chronic property crime offenders, many of them with a substance abuse problem. The model, however, can be applied to any type of offenders where there is a substantial risk of reoffending. For example, a Multi-Agency Preventative Program, involving a number of service providers as well as the police and other criminal justice agencies, is used with some significant results in the case of young offenders.⁴⁰ A similar approach to offender management is applied in various parts of Canada and in some parts of British Columbia to manage federal

³⁹ For a critique of similar programs, see: Hopkins, M. and J. Wickson (2012). "Targeting Prolific and Other Priority Offenders and Promoting Pathways to Desistance: Some reflections on the PPO programme using a theory of change framework", *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 13 (5): 594-614.

⁴⁰ DeGusti, B., MacRae, L., Vallee, M., Caputo, T., and J. P. Hornick (2009). *Best Practices for Chronic/Persistent Youth Offenders in Canada: Summary Report*. Ottawa: Public safety Canada.

offenders released on parole where police, parole supervisors and dedicated prosecutors manage the offender re-entry into society and work to reduce re-offending.⁴¹

One can identify several major categories of offenders requiring the sustained and consistent attention of the criminal justice system to ensure that they desist from crime and do not reoffend. However, the Panel noted the frequent absence in existing programs of a rigorous and clear process for determining priorities. As a result, programs initially designated as "Prolific and Priority Offender Management" programs quickly drifted towards the most obvious group of prolific property offenders (typically dealing with a substance abuse problem). Going forward, it will be important to provide consistent guidance on how, at the local level, priorities can be set for identifying offenders subjected to the management program.

A preliminary assessment of s.13 Prolific and Priority Offender Management Programs operating in six British Columbia communities, using linked administrative data for services administered by health, justice and social services and analyzing pre-post changes in offender behaviour indicated that the programs were associated with a significant decrease in recidivism, alongside significant increases in health and social service use.⁴²

Research also shows that the most significant reductions in recidivism are associated with treatment programs that adhere to the well-established Risk/Needs/ Responsivity (RNR) model of offender assessment and intervention. Although, as at least one researcher has noted, "the risks and needs of prolific offenders may be so diverse that the only thing that they have in common is their volume of crime"⁴³

The Panel concludes that there is compelling evidence that this type of offender management approach is s.13 effective s.13 to preventing reoffending s.13 s.13. However, efforts to fully implement such an approach have often met some significant obstacles, including a lack of effective coordination among service providers, law enforcement and other justice system agencies, the paucity of services available in the community, ineffective leadership, and a failure to address counter-productive attitudes and cultural factors.

Some offenders should be considered as priority offenders because they represent a risk of serious crimes (gang involved offenders, sexual offenders, child molesters, domestic violence offenders, offenders repeatedly involved in serious fraud and economic crime, etc.). From time to time these priority offenders may call for specific initiatives, coordinated across the province. There are many examples of programs that can s.13 s.13. One of those examples is the Integrated Case

⁴¹ Axford, M and R. Ruddell (2010). "Police-parole Partnerships in Canada: A review of a promising programme", *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 12 (2).

⁴² Rezansoff, S., Moniruzzaman, A. and J. M. Somers (2013). *An Initiative to Improve Outcomes Among Prolific and Priority Offenders in Six British Columbia Communities: Preliminary Analysis of Recidivism*, Burnaby (B.C.): Faculty of Health Sciences, Simon Fraser University.

⁴³ Idem, p. 3.

Assessment Teams (ICAT). That initiative, although designed for domestic violence, offers a problem solving method that can be adapted to any recurring crime issue for which interagency collaboration is needed.

e. Violence against Women in Relationships

Effective action to prevent violence against women in relationships is one of the Province's major crime reduction priorities. s.13

s.13 provides a framework for action to reduce this type of crime and protect victims.⁴⁴ It emphasizes that s.13 supervision of the accused/offender by community corrections is critical for monitoring adherence to court imposed conditions and the management of risk and needs.

In high risk cases, justice and child welfare personnel are expected to provide a heightened, co-ordinated and collaborative case management response that includes monitoring of the accused/offender and comprehensive safety strategies for the victim and others as appropriate.

Effective supervision and enforcement of protective conditions are essential while the offender is serving a community-based sentence. When area restrictions and no-contact conditions are imposed, the use of GPS electronic monitoring should be an option, as part of a comprehensive victim safety strategy.⁴⁵

f. Violence against Children and Youth

Reducing violent crimes against children is another s.13 priority that must be integrated into a province-wide crime reduction strategy. Criminal justice institutions need to strengthen and focus their efforts to prevent and respond to violence against children and to increase their diligence in investigating, convicting and rehabilitating perpetrators of violent crimes against children, so as to effectively protect children

s.13

Under the *Child, Family and Community Service Act* (CFCSA), child welfare workers receive reports from a person who has reason to believe that a child or youth has been or is likely to be physically, sexually, or emotionally abused and/or neglected. In these situations, child welfare workers must report allegations of child physical harm, sexual abuse and neglect to the police in accordance with existing protocols and collaborate on the investigation s.13 The *Act* also contains provisions for information sharing and sets the tone for what should be a very close cooperation between law enforcement and child protection agencies to prevent and reduce the incidence of violence against children.

⁴⁴ Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General, Ministry of Attorney General, and Ministry of Children and Family Development (2010). *Violence against Women in Relationships: Policy*, December 2010.

⁴⁵ See: *Violence against Women in Relationships: Policy*, "Appendix Two - Best Practices and Principles for Conditions of Community Supervision for Domestic Violence".

It is important to take into consideration the complementary roles of the justice system on the one hand, and the child protection, social welfare, health and education sectors on the other, in creating a protective environment and in preventing and responding to violence against children. It is also important to ensure that decisions on the apprehension or arrest, detention and terms of any form of release of an alleged perpetrator of violence against a child take into account the need for the safety of the child and others related to the child through family, socially or otherwise, and that such procedures also prevent further acts of violence.⁴⁶

In several of her reports and submissions, the Representative for Children and Youth highlighted the need for supervised bail orders that can effectively enhance victim safety by careful monitoring of the behaviour of the accused. She noted that improvements to bail supervision practices are necessary to enhance family safety in this Province. In domestic violence situations, any reported bail violation should receive an immediate enforcement response. Yet, there remain issues in this Province with the enforcement of conditions attached to court orders and the way violations of bail conditions are currently dealt with

s.13 There are reported cases of serious violence against children related to the failure of the justice system to respond when breaches of bail conditions occurred. The Panel and the Representative for Children and Youth support introducing the use of GPS enabled electronic monitoring to s.13 protective conditions attached to bail supervision and probation orders.

Sentencing and Prolific Offenders

Short prison sentences applied to persistent offenders do not support desistance from crime. They are particularly ineffective in the cases of offenders dealing with severe substance abuse or mental illness issues. Yet short sentences are imposed by the courts in a very large percentage of cases

s.13 s.13 The yearly median sentence length in 2012 was 51 days. Current sentencing patterns do not seem to achieve the objective of preventing recidivism. However, it would be unfair to blame the judiciary for failing to order more effective measures to prevent reoffending or encourage desistance from crime, particularly if they have very few effective alternative measures at their disposal.

s.13 s.13 The Panel recommends that, in order to limit the unnecessary recourse to short prison sentences that have little if any effect on crime reduction, measures should be taken to ensure that a variety of effective sentencing options, supported by credible and effective programs in all communities, are made available to sentencing judges.

⁴⁶ See: *United Nations Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Children in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice*, Vienna, UNODC, 2014.

It has become abundantly clear to the Panel that the current response to the chronic criminal behaviour of many prolific offenders is completely ineffective and fails to reduce crime in a way that meets with public expectations. It seems to the Panel that the *Criminal Code* s.13 already contains provisions that allow courts to suspend a sentence of imprisonment of less than two years while an offender is meeting conditions set by the court, such as participating in a treatment program. The development of much broader

Quote from judge

To be confirmed

integrated offender management supervision based on conditional prison sentences and strict enforcement of conditions is one of the avenues that should immediately be explored in collaboration with the judiciary and prosecutors as envisioned in section 742.1 of CC.

"Conditional sentences work because they minimize the collateral damage caused by a jail sentence: loss of employment, break down of families, increased poverty for wives, mothers and children. Conditional sentences also work because every day an individual with proper conditions is rewarded for behaving appropriately – he or she is permitted to remain in the community. Offenders know that if they don't respect their conditions they will be back in jail very quickly."

Richard Fowler
Barrister of Fowler and Smith

An improved system to manage and render more effective conditional sentences s.13 with real consequences for failure to abide by the conditions imposed by the court, s.13 give correctional and law enforcement authorities an opportunity to help an offender desist from crime and allow them to monitor his/her progress that some of the better POM programs have already managed to do in this province. The approach, if properly implemented would have many of the benefits of problem solving courts without the added expenses of that solution and the further clogging of provincial courts. It would also allow the prolific offender management

program to be implemented province-wide without having to rely on local and disjointed law enforcement initiatives.

"When considering the terms of conditional sentences and probation orders, it is important to tailor s.13

s.13

s.13 with appropriate and certain consequences for

non-compliance."

Lori Ackerman

Mayor,

The City of Fort St-John

That enhanced system of conditional prison sentences should be primarily focused on the rehabilitation and social reintegration of those offenders who are ready to desist from crime and not on punishment. It should be managed in a

manner which acknowledges that desistance from crime is a process and that offenders are expected to have difficulties in complying with the court imposed conditions. To be effective, the system would have to more broadly implement an Integrated Offender Management approach. This would have the potential to s.13 transform the way Community Corrections operates in the Province.

In order to maximize the impact of community-based interventions as part of a sentence, where appropriate, and encourage offenders to desist from crime, the Ministry of Justice should consider proposing, at the federal/provincial/territorial level, amendments to the Criminal Code of Canada that increase the flexibility of s.13 judges to order conditional sentences of imprisonment and/or allow for a more effective utilization of suspended sentences and probation orders for chronic offenders.

In addition, in order for the enhanced conditional s.13 system to be operationalized on a province-wide scale s.13 the judiciary would have to be convinced that effective programs are in place to assist and supervise these offenders.⁴⁷ Some stakeholders have suggested also that, for conditional sentences to work as intended judges may need to be more involved in a person's ongoing rehabilitation, with a requirement that the person report back to the sentencing judge on occasion during the term. This would serve to enhance the court's authority over the process and also serve to generally inform judges on the impact and outcomes of their decision to suspend a prison sentence.

⁴⁷ For an international comparison of the use of conditional prison sentences, see: Armstrong, S., McIvor, G., McNeill, F., and P. McGuinness (2013). *International Evidence Review of Conditional (suspended) Sentences: Final report*. Edinburgh, Scotland: The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research. See also: Bewley, H. (2012). *The Effectiveness of different Community Order requirements for Offenders who Received an OASys Assessment*. London: Ministry of Justice Research series 17/12, October 2012.

Appendix E

Mental Health and Addiction Issues

Assisting Offenders with Addiction Issues

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A. Substance Abuse and Crime

The evidence is clear, a high proportion of criminal activity is related to substance abuse, either directly or indirectly.⁴⁸ A significant proportion of addicts are not gainfully employed which means that criminal activity becomes a primary source of revenue to support their habit. Addicts are typically volume offenders since they require a constant supply of their substance of choice. Consequently, they must either provide a high rate of service (as in the case of sex trade workers), engage in the marketing of illegal substances (drugs as a pyramid scheme), or steal large amounts of “cash” or even larger amounts of commodities. Commodities are particularly costly for the victim since offenders typically get less than 10% of the market value of a stolen item from a fence. Consequently, from the victim’s perspective, substance abuse is a particularly costly activity. Depending on the type of substance they are using, can spend anywhere from \$70-\$1,000 per day; Supporting that habit through stolen property would require an addict to obtain merchandise at about ten times that value.

g. The Social Costs of Drug Use

In Canada, there is no recent data on the national costs of illegal substance use. However, data gathered a decade ago by the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse estimated that cost in 2002 at about \$8.2 billion.⁴⁹ It is reasonable to assume that the costs today are substantially higher. According to that study, law enforcement costs account for about \$2.3 billion while direct health care costs account for about \$1.1 billion. The social costs associated with drug use, such as the loss of productivity, accounted for about \$4.6 billion.

A large portion of those costs are underwritten by social welfare budgets. When broken down by Province, the study estimated that the total cost of illegal drugs in British Columbia was approximately \$1.5 billion. This translates into about 1% of the Province’s

⁴⁸ While the focus here is on the use of illicit drugs, some authors (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) note that crimes attributable to alcohol appear to have twice the costs associated with them when compared with drugs.

⁴⁹ Rehm, J. et al. (2008). *The Costs of Substance Abuse in Canada, 2002*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

GDP. The biggest single cost was borne by the health care system with law enforcement following second. Rhem and his colleagues generated costs based on the population of the Province at \$364 per capita. For our purposes, however, a more useful estimate would be *per drug user*. Unfortunately, we were unable to find any such estimates for either BC or elsewhere in Canada.

"The three conditions (namely abstinence, improved personal health and improved citizenship) that define recovery are measurable entities. Healthcare systems fail completely to recognize or even acknowledge that literally millions of people have successfully accomplished these three objectives since the 1930s."

Dr. Michael O'Malley
Prince George

As with overall crime rates, recent patterns show a slight downturn in the use of drug and alcohol in Canada. While legal, alcohol is considered by many in the field to pose a greater social cost than the use of illicit drugs.⁵⁰ According to the 2011 Canadian Alcohol and Drug Use Monitoring Survey (CADUMS), rates of alcohol consumption in British Columbia are slightly lower than the rest of Canada while rates of illicit drug use are higher.⁵¹ Still, about 12.1 percent of the BC population exceed the threshold for *chronic* low-risk drinking guidelines⁵², and 7.1 percent exceed the threshold for *acute* low-risk drinking.⁵³

As for illicit drugs, 12.1 percent of the population reported having used cannabis in the past year. A total of 13.8 percent of British Columbians report having used at least one illicit drug in the past year.⁵⁴ Due to small sample sizes, it is difficult to generate an accurate estimate for the proportion of the population that have experiences a social harm as a consequence of illicit drug use.⁵⁵ At the national level, however, it is estimated that about 1.8% of the population experienced some form of social harm from their drug use in the past year. Among drug users, however, 17.6% of the national population report their drug use resulting in some form of social harm in the past year. Restricting the sample to those who use cocaine, speed, hallucinogens including salvia, and ecstasy or heroin, results in 46.1% reporting their drug use has resulted in a social harm. While these are national figures, it is unlikely that the results for British Columbia will differ substantially.

⁵⁰ Nutt, D. J., King, L. A. and L. D. Phillips (2010). "Drug harms in the UK: Multicriteria decision analysis", *The Lancet*, 9752: 1558 – 1565; Thomas, G. and C. G. Davis (2007). *Comparing the Perceived Seriousness and Actual Costs of Substance Abuse in Canada*, Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

⁵¹ See <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hc-ps/drugs-drogués/stat/2011/tables-tableaux-eng.php#t2> for a summary of results.

⁵² The low-risk threshold for chronic alcohol consumption is defined as "People who drink within this guideline must drink no more than 10 drinks a week for women, with no more than 2 drinks a day most days and 15 drinks a week for men, with no more than 3 drinks a day most days."

⁵³ Here, the low-risk threshold for acute alcohol consumption is defined as "Those who drink within this guideline must drink no more than 3 drinks (for women) and 4 drinks (for men) on any single occasion. Plan to drink in a safe environment. Stay within the weekly limits outlined in Guideline 1".

⁵⁴ These include: cannabis, cocaine/crack, meth/crystal meth, ecstasy, hallucinogens, salvia, inhalants, heroin; abuse of pain relievers, stimulants; sedatives to get high.

⁵⁵ "Drug related harms include harms in any of the following 8 areas: physical health; friendships and social life; financial position; home life or marriage; work, studies or employment opportunities; legal problems; difficulty learning; and housing problems."

Needless to say, the CADUMS

s.13

many users are either not captured by the survey, refuse to answer or underestimate their consumption.

While alcohol abuse is not illegal in itself, it obviously constitutes significantly to criminal behaviour particularly with regard to motor vehicle incidents and assault (domestic and otherwise).

h. Quality Addiction Treatment Can Prevent Crime

There is evidence that individuals who complete a therapeutic community program in custodial centres have a lower rate of recidivism and drug use and higher likelihood of successful social reintegration. For example, according to a preliminary impact analysis, offenders who completed the program offered through the Therapeutic Community (TC) pilot project program at Nanaimo Correctional Centre (NCC), under the name of Guthrie House, reoffended significantly less than those who did not complete the program. 38% of them reoffended as compared to 56% for the comparison group.⁵⁶ The argument is often made that effective addiction treatment programs cannot be offered in a custodial setting when the sentence served is a very short one. There is however some evidence short-term intensive drug treatment (particularly if it is followed up with psycho-social support during the re-entry process) can produce desirable outcomes and limit future recidivism.⁵⁷ There remains also the question of the role of offender motivation in rehabilitation and reintegration which, in many instances, may play a more prominent role in the success of drug treatment than the treatment itself.⁵⁸

People in recovery have fewer problems and commit fewer crimes than people who are in active addiction.⁵⁹ Treatment cuts crime and improves public safety. The lack of available treatment has huge costs. It affects public safety. It is important to divert non-violent drug offenders into treatment and offer effective re-entry programs. Treatment in custodial institutions must be enhanced and made more effective.⁶⁰ Some important changes in current practices are necessary and the Ministry of Health also has an important role to play.

Drug addiction is a chronic s.13 disease of the brain that can be prevented and treated. The goal of treatment should be recovery, and funds should be directed towards this. The recent report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health

⁵⁶ Gress, C. L. Z. and S. Arabsky (2010). *Therapeutic Community - Preliminary Impact Analysis*. Victoria: B.C. Corrections, Performance, Research and Evaluation Unit.

⁵⁷ See, for example: Bahr, S. J., Harris, P. E., Strobeil, J. H., and B. M. Taylor (2013). "An Evaluation of a Short-term Drug Treatment for Jail Inmates", *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 57 (10): 1275-1296. See also: Bahr, S.J., Masters, A.L., and B. M. Taylor, B.M. (2012). "What works in substance abuse treatment programs for offenders?", *The Prison Journal*, 92 (2): 155-174.

⁵⁸ See: Gideon, L. (2010). "Drug offenders' perceptions of motivation: The role of motivation in rehabilitation and reintegration", *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 54 (4): 597-610.

⁵⁹ Laudet, 2013, *Life in Recovery – Survey Findings*. For a discussion of the concept of "recovery", see also: The Betty Ford Institute Consensus Panel (2007). "What is Recovery? A working definition from the Betty Ford Institute", *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33: 221-228.

⁶⁰ National Institute of Drug Abuse (2012). *Principles of Drug Abuse Treatment for Criminal Justice Populations*. Also: National Institute of Drug Abuse (2012), *Principles of Drug Addiction Treatment - A research-based Guide*.

mentioned that the general public, health care professionals and law enforcement officials lack knowledge and awareness of addiction as a chronic disease of the motivational system in the brain, as well as the role of opioid substitution therapy in its treatment. This lack of awareness of addiction as a brain disease means that individuals who become addicted to prescription drugs and other substances experience negative judgements from others and feel ashamed of their illness. In order to address this issue, the Committee recommended a public awareness campaign which would both raise awareness of the nature of addiction, as well as celebrate stories of recovery from addiction.⁶¹

We need to commit to an approach based on science, evidence, and research. Treatment can help patients addicted to drugs stop using, avoid relapse, and successfully recover their lives. People can recover and contribute to our communities. We are not currently doing a good job at breaking the cycle of drug use, crime, incarceration, and arrest. We need to focus on treatment and recovery.

The relationship between substance use and crime drives significant social and health costs at all levels. Untreated, active addiction has huge human, social and financial costs. Treatment is not evenly distributed in British Columbia nor does it always provide an entire continuum of responses. Those involved with the criminal justice system often have lower access to services. Treatment needs to be readily available to all (as a crime prevention measure) and in particular to offenders.

i. Harm Reduction

Harm reduction strategies seek to minimize the adverse health and social consequences associated with drug use. Over the years various harm reduction programs have been implemented such as needle exchange programs, methadone maintenance programs, s.13 s.13 injection sites. This approach recognizes that, any given time, many drug users are unable or unwilling to abstain from drug use and that other options are necessary to minimize the harm to themselves and others that will likely result from their continued drug use. Some of the harm reduction strategies are highly controversial and the Panel had first-hand opportunities to observe how polarized and emotional this particular aspect of prevention policies has become. In that regard, the Panel would like to quote the thoughtful conclusions of a paper on “harm reduction” published by the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse:

“Drug abuse and addiction are truly chronic, multifaceted societal problems that require a range of policies, programs and interventions. However reasonable or objectionable certain measures may be to some people, our collective endorsement of specific programs should be based on objective, scientific evidence of effectiveness, with an appreciation of the intent of the intervention and whether it is the best course of action for specific problems. We should neither unilaterally accept nor reject measures because of where they fit within

⁶¹ Report of the Standing Committee on Health (2014). *Government's Role in Addressing Prescription Drug Abuse*. Ottawa: House of Commons Canada.

our ideological perspective or because of the way the term "harm reduction" colours our perceptions of their intent."⁶²

j. A Variety of Treatment Options Must Be Made Available

No single treatment is appropriate for everyone. Treatment options must be made available. It should be clear also that medically assisted detoxification is only the first stage of addiction treatment and, by itself, does little to change long-term drug abuse. Effective treatment attends to multiple needs of the individual, not just his or her drug misuse. Medications are important for managing the physical aspects of addictions.

"I would like to re-emphasize my support for what the Panel has deemed to be a "gap" and that is the lack of psycho-social support available to individuals in treatment or in follow-up."

P. R.W. Kendall,
Provincial Health Officer

Completing a treatment program is one of the most important factors for long-term sobriety. Medication may help individuals dealing with withdrawal symptoms, support them to enter treatment at an early stage, and in some cases increases the chance that they will complete treatment phases. Particularly crucial is the need to provide individuals in treatment or in recovery with the psycho-social support they need for their effective social reintegration. The gaps

in the availability of such services throughout the Province are quite evident.

k. Drug Treatment: Costs and Benefits.

Often, we hear two arguments against the expansion of drug treatment programs. The first is that they are simply too expensive and we cannot afford them. The second is that programs tend to have low success rates. Both experience and the scientific literature suggest these arguments are not valid. Despite its up-front costs, treatment is highly cost-effective in the long run. Treatment programs, despite having less than ideal success rates, are successful for a significant proportion of those afflicted with substance abuse disorder.

Clearly, substance abuse is an expensive societal issue. Drug treatment is also an expensive enterprise. This raises the immediate question as to whether treatment is worth the cost. According to the US National Institute on Drug Abuse, "every dollar invested in addiction treatment programs yields a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs, and theft. When savings related to healthcare are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12 to 1."⁶³

Drug treatment programs vary considerably in cost by modality and location. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, the cost of methadone maintenance in the US is about \$4,200 US per person per year. The retail cost of methadone in Canada is about

⁶² Beirness, D. J., Jesseman, R., Notarandrea, R., and M. Perron (2008). *Harm Reduction: What's in a Name?* Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

⁶³ <http://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/principles-drug-addiction-treatment-research-based-guide-third-edition/frequently-asked-questions/drug-addiction-treatment-worth-its-cost>

\$6.00 plus dispensing fees which are typically less than \$10.00. On an annual basis, the dispensing cost of methadone in Canada is about equivalent to that in the US. What is not covered in this estimate is physicians' fees to supervise the addict. While methadone maintenance programs are appropriate for many individuals, they have limitations. First, many of them who do not have subsidiary treatment support remain dependent on methadone for years rather than weaning off the substance. Second, many drug users become cross-addicted and complement their methadone intake with other substances such as cocaine or amphetamines.

Several EU countries have detoxification and treatment programs as an extension of their national health care systems.⁶⁴ Information on actual daily costs is limited but for inpatient detoxification, the cost in England is about £165 or \$300 per day. For Germany, the equivalent is about €247 (\$375 CDN) per day. The costs of psychosocial treatment vary greatly depending upon the treatment, but estimates for the UK range from €59 to €288 (\$89 to \$436) per day. Other countries such as Norway are at the upper end of that range for inpatient treatment. These values contrast with many private clinics in the US and Canada which often charge \$1,000 per day or more.

A big question concerning drug treatment is the degree to which it is successful. Despite years of research, it is not at all clear what constitutes an optimal treatment program or how long that program should last. Hard data are sparse and, for many programs, nonexistent. Part of this is understandable since there are many different treatments and matching treatment modality with an individual's diagnosis is difficult. Furthermore, many if not most addicts, have a multiplicity of social issues that confound their attempts to remain drug-free.

In this morass, the Guide to Substance Abuse Services for Primary Care Clinicians provides perhaps the best synopsis of what we might expect.⁶⁵

All the long-term studies find that "treatment works"—the majority of substance-dependent patients eventually stop compulsive use and have less frequent and severe relapse episodes. The most positive effects generally happen while the patient is actively participating in treatment, but prolonged abstinence following treatment is a good predictor of continuing success. Almost 90 percent of those who remain abstinent for 2 years are also drug- and alcohol-free at 10 years. Patients who remain in treatment for longer periods of time are also likely to achieve maximum benefits—duration of the treatment episode for 3 months or longer is often a predictor of a successful outcome. Furthermore, individuals who have lower levels of premorbid psychopathology and other serious social, vocational, and legal problems are most likely to benefit from treatment. Continuing participation in aftercare or self-help groups following treatment also appears to be associated with success.

Returning to our original question of whether the cost of treatment is *economically* efficient, it is worthwhile considering the estimated lifetime costs associated with drug

⁶⁴ European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2011). *Cost and Financing of Drug Treatment Services in Europe: An Exploratory Study*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

⁶⁵ Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (2008). *A Guide to Substance Abuse Services for Primary Care Clinicians*. Rockville, MD: US Department of Health and Human Services.

violators. From their analysis, Delisi and Gatling estimated the average *annual criminal justice cost* per offense per career criminal at \$208,000 US. This does not include externalities and social costs which most will likely double this value. Compared with this, a \$25,000 treatment program seems like a bargain.

There are a few international reviews of the cost-effectiveness of treatment programs, but none that we could find for Canada. The most recent and comprehensive review in North America is that by Belenko, Patapis and French.⁶⁶ In summary, they reviewed 99 treatment programs and concluded the following (Belenko, Patapis and French, 2005: v; all figures in 2004 US dollars):

- Across 99 programs, the costs per abstinent case (\$6,300) and per reduced drug use case (\$2,400) were lowest for outpatient clients, and highest for residential (\$14,900 and \$6,700) and inpatient (\$15,600 and \$6,100) clients.
- Enhanced outpatient services were more cost effective than standard services. In other words, the extra cost of enhanced services yielded a lower cost per unit improvement in outcomes.
- In a randomized trial, the incremental cost effectiveness of methadone maintenance versus 180-day methadone detoxification was \$15,967 per life-year gained, well within the standard accepted threshold of \$50,000 per life-year gained.
- For alcohol- involved clients, studies suggest that less intensive brief interventions may be more cost effective in certain settings.
- Several CEA studies of correctional treatment concluded that residential prison treatment was cost effective only if aftercare services were completed. [It was also] found that cost effectiveness was greater for high-risk inmates who receive prison treatment plus aftercare.

In the United Kingdom, the National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse (NTA), the Home Office (HO) and the Department of Health (DH) developed a Value for Money model for estimating the crime prevention and health improvement benefits of treatment and recovery.⁶⁷ They estimated that drug treatment and recovery systems in England may have prevented approximately 4.9m crimes in 2010-11, with an estimated saving to society of £960m in costs to the public, businesses, the criminal justice system and National Health Service (NHS). The model also helped estimate the potential impact of disinvestment in adult drug treatment: it estimated that, all else being equal, for every £1m taken out of the system there could be an increase of approximately 9,860 drug-related crimes per year at an estimated cost to society of over £1.8m.

The LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy reviewed the literature on cost-benefit analysis of drug treatment and suggests that there is an average benefit-to-cost ratio of about 8.9.⁶⁸ Furthermore, as the World Health Organization notes,

⁶⁶ Belenko, S., Patapis, N. and M.T. French (2005). *Economic Benefits of Drug Treatment: A critical review of the evidence for policy makers*. Philadelphia: Treatment Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

⁶⁷ National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse (2012). *Estimating the Crime Reduction Benefits of Drug Treatment and Recovery*. London: NHS.

⁶⁸ LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy (2014) *Ending the Drug Wars*. London: London School of Economics.

“According to several conservative estimates, every dollar invested in opioid dependence treatment programmes may yield a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs and theft alone. When savings related to health care are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12:1.”⁶⁹

Essentially, we cannot afford not to expand our treatment efforts.

B. Methadone Maintenance Treatment

The Panel recognizes that there is a place for Methadone Maintenance Treatment (MMT) in the range of treatment options.

The University of Victoria Centre for Addiction Research review of the “Methadone Maintenance Treatment in British Columbia, 1996-2008” recommended a “coordinated approach to MMT funding that ensures value for money is being achieved, fiscal irregularities or abuses are addressed and a multidisciplinary system is supported.”⁷⁰ A comprehensive qualitative review of BC’s methadone maintenance treatment program (from the perspective of a wide variety of stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in the program) mentioned the need to dramatically ramp up the capacity for services to respond more effectively to the range of health and social s.13 problems experienced by MMT clients. In particular, integrated services critical to addressing complex needs were reported to be rare⁷¹

The authors of that report refer to the potential to engage offenders on MMT while in corrections settings as something desirable, because of it offers “important public health possibilities”. They also identified issues with the delivery of methadone treatment in prisons:

“Despite progress, problems for people accessing methadone in correctional settings still exist. Identified issues include: unpredictability in responding to people currently enrolled in MMT; poor access to methadone when the person was already stable on a regular dose; unclear policies and guidelines around methadone access and distribution; challenges in initiating methadone in provincial corrections settings because a person’s stay is often very short; and an anti-methadone sentiment amongst some corrections staff, including some physicians and nurses”.⁷²

The review also noted that:

“Correctional facilities can be a very difficult place for people on MMT. It is widely acknowledged that illegal drugs are available within the prison system, and so the

⁶⁹ World Health Organization, Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and UN Office on Drugs and Crime. ‘Position Paper: Substitution Maintenance Therapy in the Management of Opioid Dependence and HIV Prevention,’ Geneva, United Nations, 2004.

⁷⁰ Reist, D. (2010). *Methadone Maintenance Treatment in British Columbia, 1996-2008*. Victoria: University of Victoria, Centre for Addiction Research, p. 2.

⁷¹ Parkes, T. and D. Reist (2010). *British Columbia Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program: A Qualitative Systems Review*. Victoria: Centre for Addictions Research, University of Victoria.

⁷² Idem, p. 18.

proximity and accessibility of heroin may be a difficult temptation to resist. Methadone may be used as a currency in corrections settings, being diverted and traded. Methadone patients may be pressured or bullied by other inmates to divert their methadone, yet may be punished by prison staff if they are discovered doing so".⁷³

The Panel also noted that an opioid replacement treatment program is widely used within federal correctional institutions with provisions for continued access to treatment after the offenders' release.

Many of the clients of the MMT program experience concurrent health and social needs requiring a range of services and supports. Mental illness, physical injury and disability, diabetes, and neurocognitive disorders were described as common among clients of the provincial program. Many have a history of violence and complex trauma.⁷⁴

C. Promoting Recovery

Recovery should be the explicit aim of services for offenders in British Columbia.

"What do we mean by recovery?"

We mean a process through which an individual is enabled to move on from their problem drug use, towards a drug-free life as an active and contributing member of society. Furthermore, it incorporates the principle that recovery is most effective when service users' needs and aspirations are placed at the centre of their care and treatment."

The Scottish Government (2008).
The Road to Recovery - A New Approach to Tackling Scotland's Drug Problem.
Edinburgh.

Although in practice recovery will mean different things for different people, it should be encouraged as an achievable goal for offenders: a goal directly related their eventual complete desistance from crime.

Some studies have looked at whether drug users are looking to treatment to reduce their risk behaviour or to become abstinent from their drug use. One such study

s.13 based on a survey of 1007 drug users starting a new episode of treatment, established that there was widespread support

for abstinence as a goal for treatment with 56% of users identifying 'abstinence' as the only change they hoped to achieve on the basis of attending the drug treatment program.⁷⁵ Only relatively small proportions of drug users identified harm reduction in their aspiration from treatment.

The prioritization of s.13 was consistent across settings (prison, residential and community), gender, treatment type (with the exception of those receiving methadone) and severity of dependence. The

⁷³ Idem, p. 19.

⁷⁴ Idem, p. 4.

⁷⁵ McKeganey, N., Morris, Z., Neale, J. and M. Robertson (2004). "What Are Drug Users Looking for When They Contact Drug services: Abstinence or Harm Reduction?" *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 11 (5): 423-435.

Panel's meeting with chronic offenders in recovery revealed similar views and aspirations from treatment among these individuals.

Putting resources into evidence-based strategies that can improve rates of recovery from addiction has the potential to dramatically reduce crime and improve public safety. However, creating an effective system will require training addiction treatment providers and setting guidelines and standards that have for too long been absent in the area of addiction care.

Dr. Evan Wood
Canada Research Chair in Inner City
Medicine, UBC
Medical Director, Addiction Services
Vancouver Coastal Health

"Treatment and recovery are complementary. Ongoing support and continuing care are essential parts of a comprehensive, evidence-based, treatment system"

Michel Perron
Chief Executive Officer
Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse

Using the definition adopted by the Scottish Government, recovery refers to a process through which individuals are enabled to move from their problem drug and alcohol use, towards a drug-free and alcohol-free life as an active and productive member of society.⁷⁶

The Panel recommends that measures be urgently taken to enhance access to effective substance abuse treatment programs focussed on sustainable long-term recovery. The Panel recognizes that access to treatment and recovery programs cannot be improved without reconsidering the current methods of funding

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and ensuring that consistent and evidence-based standards are developed and attached

to all relevant provincial funding schemes. There is a need also to invest in training physicians and other allied health professionals in the prevention, early identification and treatment of alcohol and drug addiction. As part of this, investments are also required to develop provincial standards and therapeutic guidelines for the treatment of alcohol and drug addiction aimed at supporting patients into recovery.

D. Accreditation of Programs

Many of the stakeholders consulted have also emphasized the need for a consistent and coherent evidence-based accreditation system for community-based treatment and recovery programs. There should be an inventory of existing programs and facilities in each health region and an assessment of the services they offered against national standards.

Accreditation of an addiction treatment centre refers generally to a quality assurance process whereby the centre is assessed against national standards of excellence. These standards measure clinical, operational, and governance-based performance. The accreditation process can establish the extent to which a centre complies with national standards and measure the quality of services that clients receive.⁷⁷ The accreditation

⁷⁶ The Scottish Government (2008). *The Road to Recovery – A New Approach to tackling Scotland's Drug Problem*. Edinburgh.

⁷⁷ Health Canada, Assembly of First Nations, and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation (2011). *Honouring Our Strengths: A Renewed Framework to Address Substance Use Issues among First Nations People in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada, p. 92.

process does not usually prescribe a particular approach to offering any addiction treatment.

Many stakeholders have also expressed concerns about some of the abuses that take place in unlicensed recovery houses and their sometimes disruptive and negative impact on communities. The Panel suggests that a Task Force be convened by the Province involving relevant government ministries, the Canadian Association for Substance Abuse, members of the Union of BC Municipalities and the BC Association of Chiefs of Police and Health Authorities to examine effective means of addressing this issue without damaging the fragile web of community-based treatment and recovery services.

E. Access to Treatment by Aboriginal Offenders

The Panel heard that the best programs for Aboriginal offenders with substance abuse problems are those that are Aboriginal-led, recognize the importance of cultural identity and self-determination, and integrate traditional knowledge and the wisdom of elders with non-Aboriginal approaches.⁷⁸ They must be grounded in an understanding of the close relationship between mental health, addictions, and inter-generational trauma. In First Nations and remote communities, access to a continuum of care for offenders with mental illness or substance abuse problems continues to be an issue. First Nations people access substance use and mental health-related services from various sectors throughout the health care system, as well as various other systems and sectors, including social services, child welfare, justice, housing, education, and employment. Substance abuse treatment programs are also offered by the federal government.⁷⁹

The Panel is not in a position to comment on the quality of the substance abuse and mental health programs available to Aboriginal people in BC or on whether they are accessible in a timely manner by Aboriginal offenders seeking help to support their own recovery process. However, the Panel has certainly heard about the need to integrate existing programs and facilitate access to them. As was acknowledged in a report prepared by Health Canada, Assembly of First Nations, and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation, with diverse systems and increasingly complex needs, the challenge for communities and service providers is to coordinate a broad range of services and supports to ensure First Nations have access to a comprehensive client-centred continuum of care.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See also: Mental Health Commission of Canada (2009). *Toward Recovery and Well-being – A Framework for a Mental Health Strategy for Canada*. Ottawa: Mental health Commission of Canada, p. 18.

⁷⁹ In particular, the First Nations substance use issues are addressed through the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program (NNADAP).

⁸⁰ Health Canada, Assembly of First Nations, and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation (2011). *Honouring Our Strengths: A Renewed Framework to Address Substance Use Issues among First Nations People in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada.

Appendix F

Meaningful and Effective Diversion and Restorative Justice Programs

The purpose of diversion is to address the factors associated with the risk of reoffending by providing immediate and effective interventions without submitting the offender to the whole criminal justice process. For some offenders, a formal criminal sanction is neither necessary nor useful to facilitate their social integration and prevent reoffending. Other more effective and less stigmatizing interventions are possible in the community, including diversion programs that redirect offenders from the criminal justice process to other, more appropriate, interventions.⁸¹

Diversion programs are based on the discretionary authority of criminal justice officials, such as the police and prosecutors, to refer offenders to suitable programmes as an alternative to the criminal justice process. In appropriate circumstances, and in particular for young offenders or people suffering from mental illness or substance abuse disorders, diversion programs can ensure that offenders receive the most suitable and effective interventions while avoiding unnecessary exposure to a prison environment.

However, it should be obvious that diversion is an effective option only to the extent that credible and effective community-based interventions to which offenders can be diverted are present in a given community. It should be equally obvious that officials are unlikely to support diversion unless they can rely on credible offender assessments, up-to-date information on available programs, clear criteria on which to base their decisions and regular feedback on the success of the interventions offered

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In his report to the Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Cowper recommended that a Province-wide plan for diversion, including restorative justice, be developed to include education, quality assurance and control, performance measures, reporting, and evaluation.⁸² The Panel reiterates that recommendation.

The Justice and Public Safety Council's Strategic Plan acknowledges the need to address the following performance gap: "Coordinated efforts are required to ensure appropriate triage of mentally-disordered individuals, including adequate accommodation and treatment availability". The Plan encourages everyone to work across all levels of government to understand and address root causes of crime, and to support and participate in effective alternative interventions and innovation. Success could be

⁸¹ The *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures* state that the development of new non-custodial measures should be encouraged and closely monitored (Rule 2.4). It is also stated that consideration should be given to dealing with offenders in the community, avoiding as far as possible the use of formal proceedings or trial by a court, in accordance with legal safeguards and the rule of law (Rule 2.5). The development of a wide range of community-based measures is also advocated. The *Bangkok Rules* advocate the same for women offenders.

⁸² Cowper, D. G. (2012), *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 12.

measured in terms of reducing the “proportion of provincial inmates with diagnosed (a) major mental disorders and (b) substance dependency.”⁸³

It is important to move towards integrated planning, delivery and evaluation of services to reduce the risk that people with substance abuse and mental disorders become unnecessarily involved with the corrections system.⁸⁴

The Panel heard a lot of support expressed in various communities for a proactive approach to the management of mentally ill offenders in the community. Examples of the King Street Mental Health Clinic in Kamloops, and the Street Nurse Outreach Clinic also in Kamloops were very encouraging. A lot of support was expressed for the Ministry of Health “Assertive Community Treatment” (ACT) teams and the importance of supportive housing was also emphasized.

It needs to be understood that the typical short stay in custody (i.e. less than 60 days) is an expensive intervention that is unlikely in most cases to have a significant effect on subsequent offending (desistance) and does not contribute in any significant way to crime reduction. A large number of individuals in provincial correction institutions arrived there with a multiplicity of issues and needs which could be more effectively dealt with in other ways.

An integrated offender management initiative should have, as one of its objectives, **s.13** and use various alternatives to the criminal justice system (and to imprisonment). This would include enhancing diversion to restorative justice programs, addiction treatment and recovery programs, and mental health care and treatment. The goal would be to reduce the numbers of individuals in provincial corrections facilities, particularly those sentenced to short sentences that do not contribute in any meaningful way to the offenders’ eventual desistance from crime.

The community has an important role to play **s.13** Most offenders considered for diversion programs face significant social adaptation issues, which can include family and community stigmatization and ostracism, and the ensuing negative impact on their ability to find jobs or housing, return to formal education or build or rebuild individual and social capital. Unless they receive help to face these issues, they frequently become caught up in a cycle of failed social integration, reoffending, reconviction and social rejection. Communities need to understand and accept the importance of ensuring the successful reintegration of offenders and take active steps to facilitate that process.

As a matter of priority, clear provincial guidelines should be established and enforced to encourage diversion to accredited treatment and recovery programs and other meaningful interventions.

⁸³ JPSC Strategic Plan, 2013, p. 20.

⁸⁴ Julian Somers et al. (2008), “Corrections, Health and Human Services”.

Diversion Programs for Aboriginal Offenders

Statistics show that Aboriginal people continue to be over-represented in the justice system as both offenders and victims. Effective diversion programs for them are particularly important and currently insufficient. It is important to focus on developing those alternatives in cooperation with aboriginal communities. The Justice and Public Safety Council's (JPSC) Strategic Plan proposes to address the following performance gap: "Meaningful options need to be available to courts in support of alternatives to incarceration consistent with *R v Gladue*." A proposed performance measure is the rate of aboriginal incarceration as a result of a sentence.

A recent study conducted in New South Wales, Australia, identified some of the characteristics of diversion programs for aboriginal offenders that seem to be more promising. Among them, were programs involving on-the-job work experience and mentoring and culturally appropriate treatments and rehabilitation initiatives that involve aboriginal elders and facilitators.⁸⁵

Such programs already exist in different parts of the Province.

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s.13, utilizes restorative justice processes as a culturally appropriate and traditional way in balance with the legal system. The interventions include, among others, alternative measures and extrajudicial sanctions for both youth and adults, a responsible relationship program, as well as victim-offender mediation.

Correctional Programs

More than two-thirds of offenders in 2012 had been previously involved in the criminal justice system; s.13 of these offenders had a history of ten or more convictions, and 5% had s.13 or more convictions within s.13 ten years.

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⁸⁵ Closing the Gap Clearinghouse (2013). *Diverting Indigenous Offenders from the Criminal Justice System*. Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare.

Page 53 redacted for the following reason:

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A large proportion of offenders go through the provincial corrections system often for relatively minor crimes, serving successive and relatively short terms of imprisonment. Although the crimes in which they are involved are relatively less serious, primarily small property crimes, the impact of these repeat offenders on communities and public safety, as well as public confidence in the justice system, is substantial. Much of these offenders' behaviour can be linked to substance abuse and addictions, mental disorders, lack of job skills and other issues. Because they tend to serve short-term sentences, their access to treatment and other programs while in detention is quite limited and they remain at high risk of reoffending. None of this cycle of meaningless interventions makes any difference in terms of crime reduction.

"The correctional system offers a critical opportunity to facilitate access to life saving infectious s.13 and drug use treatment by inmates in the interest of optimizing their own health outcomes, as well as public health outcomes, in a cost effective

The success of initiatives to prevent reoffending is dependent on implementing effective and proven correctional interventions. By definition, an effective rehabilitation program is a program that has been systematically and independently shown to reduce re-offending. Reoffending is the single most important measure of effectiveness of correctional interventions. Since correctional interventions are ordered by the courts as part of the sentencing process, reoffending should therefore be the most important measure of the effectiveness of fair sentencing practices.

fashion.”

Dr. J. Montaner
BC Centre for Excellence in
HIV/AIDS

Correctional interventions must directly address the factors in the life of an individual that relate to offending. The Risk/Needs/Responsivity assessment protocol in use in our correctional institutions is meant to identify those factors and help design the risk management (supervision) and risk reduction (rehabilitation) interventions.

F. Offender Re-entry Management

Our prisons generally fail to break the cycle of crime and reoffending. More effective programs are needed. Provincial Corrections has a limited integrated offender management (IOM) program the success of which has not been fully evaluated. The principles that have inspired that program reflect best practices. However, there is still a concern that the majority of s.13 do not get much help dealing with their issues and preparing for their return to the community. Efforts to motivate s.13 s.13 offenders to desist from crime and help them connect with services in the community and prepare themselves for post-release are limited.⁸⁶

The evidence shows that factors, such as attitude, self-control, mental and physical health, drug and alcohol abuse, employment and housing can have a huge impact on the likelihood of reoffending. For example, being in employment or having stable accommodation can significantly reduce the risk of reoffending and increase the likelihood of successful social reintegration. More effective and accessible vocational training and trade certification programs should be developed.

s.13 a system that can reduce the level of recidivism is a major undertaking. It requires long term changes to the way the criminal justice system and other stakeholders operate in order to ensure that they all make the maximum possible impact on recidivism. To do so they must jointly focus on that shared objective, work together, focus on the right people and issues, use proven methods of intervention, and be accountable for delivering measurable outcomes.

We must urgently identify programs and strategies that will help prisoners successfully reintegrate their community and desist from crime. A successful crime reduction strategy

⁸⁶ A similar situation is addressed in a 2010 report of a U.K. Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General on “Managing Offenders on Short Sentences”, National Audit Office, London, March 10, 2010. The report offers some valuable suggestions.

must address factors contributing to the large number of crimes committed by individuals who have served one or several terms of incarceration and failed, upon their release, to integrate the community as law-abiding citizens.⁸⁷ Some effective programs and strategies already exist for offenders serving long-term sentences in federal institutions; they are based in part on sound programs, a conditional release system and effective supervision after release. Similarly robust programs still need to be implemented in British Columbia for offenders serving short sentences.

Crime reduction includes effective measures to prevent recidivism and to stop the cycle of failed adaptation by repeat offenders. Offenders released from custody face a variety of challenges that may hinder their ability to become law-abiding citizens. The period of transition from custody to community can be particularly difficult for offenders. In the absence of material and psychological support and access to treatment, lodging and employment, few offenders can break the cycle of prison, release and reoffending.

Positive reintegration outcomes can be produced when factors predisposing an individual to criminal behaviour are addressed in a holistic fashion and when the physical and social needs of offenders are supported both within the prison and after the offenders' release. In recent years, more emphasis has been placed on designing comprehensive interventions, based on a continuity of care, to provide consistent assistance and supervision to offenders within and beyond prison. Managing the offenders' re-entry process can reduce crime. Developing programs to support their reintegration may offer a cost effective way of preventing crime.

BC Corrections implemented and evaluated a pilot IOM program dealing with a limited group of recidivist offenders serving a sentence of incarceration of a minimum length (90 and 120 days) and period of community supervision of at least six months. The IOM project provided an environment where BC Corrections custody and community staff worked collaboratively with the offender to develop a comprehensive and integrated case plan addressing the offender's criminogenic factors and needs while in custody. An internal program review showed that it produced a significant reduction in the rate of recidivism of participants as compared to that of a control group.⁸⁸ This has led to suggestions that the program should be turned into a comprehensive approach to manage the re-entry of all offenders.

There is likely a need to reconsider current programs offered by BC Corrections to ensure that they focus on re-entry planning and preparation and re-entry management. For a long time, the non-governmental sector played a very important role in facilitating the successful reintegration of offenders. The fact that financial support for and collaboration

⁸⁷ Griffiths, C. T., Dandurand, Y. and D. Murdoch (2007). *The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention*. Ottawa: National Crime Prevention Centre, Public Safety Canada. See also: Myers, D.L., & Olson, J. (2013). "Offender Re-entry and Reintegration: Policy and research", *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 24 (1): 3-8.

⁸⁸ BC Corrections, Performance, Research and Evaluation Unit, "Integrated Offender Management (IOM) - The Case for Working Together", *Revealing Research & Evaluation*, Issue #5, December 2011.

with this sector is now often minimal is possibly responsible in part for the high rate of failed re-entry and re-offending.

In 2011, BC Corrections embarked on the province-wide implementation of the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) and training is rolling out across the province over a span of three years. Probation officers are being trained to apply evidence-based principles of offender rehabilitation in all aspects of client supervision. To some extent, these new skills should help probation officers deliver more effective re-entry management and social reintegration interventions as part of an amplified IOM approach.

G. Effective Social Reintegration Programs

The social and economic costs of the offenders' failed reintegration should be a serious concern for British Columbians as tax payers. When an ex-prisoner does not successfully reintegrate there are direct and indirect costs to the community.⁸⁹ The Province can ill afford not to invest in social reintegration programs for offenders. Such programs form an essential part of a comprehensive crime reduction strategy and can be delivered at a fraction of the cost of detention and deliver cost-effective results. Investments in prisons, without a complementary investment in rehabilitation and reintegration programs, do not produce a significant reduction in crime. They may in fact compound the problem. Social integration programs refer to various forms of interventions targeting individuals to reduce the likelihood that they will reoffend.

Social integration interventions are therefore attempts by various components of the justice system, in partnership with social agencies, NGOs, educational institutions, communities and the offenders' family, to support the successful social integration of individuals at risk of offending or reoffending. They are very often supported by effective supervision of the offender in the community and cognitive training and other interventions to support the offender's desistance from crime.

In general, there are two main categories of social reintegration programs: (a) programs and interventions offered in the institutional setting itself, in advance of the offenders' release, to help them resolve issues, address risk factors associated with their criminal behaviour and acquire the necessary skills to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives, as well as to prepare them for their release and re-entry into society; and, (b) community-based programs, sometimes part of a conditional release scheme, to facilitate the social reintegration of offenders after their release from custody. In that second category, programs typically rest on some form of community supervision as well as various forms of support and assistance to offenders and sometimes also to their family. A period of incarceration, while offenders are under strict control, can be used to stabilize and rehabilitate them, but those gains are often short-lived without reintegration programs.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ M. Borzycki and T. Makkai (2007), *Prisoner Reintegration Post-release*. Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology, p. 25.

⁹⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012). *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. New York: United Nations

Reintegration programs must address risk factors associated with recidivism, the needs of offenders and the challenges they encounter upon their release from prison. Interventions must vary according to the risk factors and the type of social integration challenge they are designed to address. Programs can focus on particular challenges confronting offenders, such as drug use, drug dependence or unemployment. Specific programs are required in order to deal with specific categories of offender, such as repeat offenders, drug-dependent offenders, young offenders, mentally ill offenders or dangerous sexual offenders.

To successfully reintegrate into the community offenders need help in finding and retaining employment. The Panel heard with interest of a Correctional Service Canada program which provides offenders with a 3rd party trade certification that is valuable to employers, gives offenders an opportunity to compete with other applicants, and builds their confidence to apply for employment.⁹¹ Certification is one of the most valuable tools that can help an offender get a job. It is an independent assessment showing that the candidate has the skills necessary s.13 . Some certification is accessible after a short training program. In other instances, the training leads to red seal certificates that are recognized across Canada. The certification does not identify the individuals as having a criminal record. It is important for the offenders to know that the qualifications they are getting from the training are at par with those which they would gain from a program taken in the community. This levels the playing field and builds confidence for the offender. Certification helps to turn the focus away from an unstable work history and put focus on the current certified skills s.13 . In many, instances, the training is offered on the basis of funding programs that are already available. s.13 s.13 that similar programs could be developed by BC Corrections to facilitate the social reintegration of offenders serving a term of probation.

Given the Province's expected great need for trained workers for its rapid economic development and the anticipated shortage of trained workers, the strategy should be treated as a priority.

Various interventions can be designed to prepare offenders for their return to the community. Such interventions tend to be more effective when delivered in partnership with community-based agencies so as to ensure some continuity of intervention after the offenders' release. The weeks immediately preceding and following the release of an offender from custody are particularly important. What happens during those few weeks often determines whether the offender's reintegration will be successful or not. During the consultations, the Panel was frequently reminded of the crucial importance of "supportive housing" and the importance of shelters, transitions houses and other programs to support the reintegration of offenders and limit the impact of their incarceration on their family.

A report of the Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver emphasizes the need for safe shelters for women and their children and viable transition houses for women. It outlines

⁹¹ Holeczek, A. (2014). *Employment and Vocational Training Proposal*. Presentation to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction, May 29, 2014.

the particular gaps in services in rural and remote communities and the specific needs of Aboriginal women. It also emphasizes the need to recognize women shelters as part of a continuum of care and healing, not only a continuum of housing.⁹² In this and other

s.13 areas it is important to design gender-responsive programs and services, including gender-responsive addiction counselling and treatment. The social reintegration support for women is offered by the Elizabeth Fry Society and a few other NGOs, whether the offender is on probation or not, but these essential services are not publicly funded.

It was suggested that making better and more efficient use of “third party administration” for social assistance would likely provide gateway access to other supports and services. Some key agencies working with offenders should be enabled to refer offenders through expedited pathways to health, s.13 and the BC Housing Registry. This would greatly facilitate the establishment of the continuum of care which, as part of an IOM approach, is clearly necessary.

H. Conditional Release Programs

Early conditional, supervised release of offenders is a very effective tool in supporting the successful reintegration of offenders. s.13 that particular tool is not used very effectively in our province. In fact, the use of parole has declined significantly over the last few decades and has reached an all-time low, particularly for provincially sentenced offenders.⁹³ According to the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*⁹⁴ the Parole Board is not required to review applications for day parole from offenders serving a sentence of less than six months. The majority of offenders in provincial institutions are therefore not eligible for day parole due to short sentences. To address the issue of provincial offenders not qualifying for parole, it is sometimes proposed that a mandatory period of community supervision should follow all short sentences of incarceration so that offenders might benefit from the same gradual and structured return to the community.

⁹² Bayes, S and A. Brewin (2012). *Bridging the Divide: Building Safe Shelters for Women and Families in BC*. Vancouver: Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver

⁹³ Dauvergne, M. (2012). “Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada, 2010/2011”, *Juristat*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, CCJS.

⁹⁴ *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*, s.115 (2).

Appendix G

1. Broad Prevention Measures

There are many proven strategies to target the social and economic factors that increase the risk of crime and victimization. Approaches vary in terms of the focus of intervention, the types of activities undertaken, the agencies and people involved, and their demonstrable results.⁹⁵

Along with other Provinces and Territories, British Columbia has benefited from a strong partnership with Public Safety Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC). Since its inception in 1998, the National Crime Prevention Centre has supported dozens of provincial, regional and local crime prevention projects and activities in British Columbia. Communities in British Columbia have both contributed to and benefited from the tools and resources developed through the NCPC. The Ministry of Justice Community Safety and Crime Prevention Branch has worked closely with the NCPC to identify priority issues and areas of focus.

Although national and provincial policies do have an impact on the prevailing social and economic situation of most communities, it is generally acknowledged that the most effective social prevention measures are generally community-based measures taken at the local government level, building social cohesion, promoting community development, and addressing local circumstances and factors associated with crime. It is important to ensure that crime prevention is integrated across sectors and agencies, and that approaches are evidence-led, focused on priority issues and have measurable results. During the consultations held in preparing the BC Policing and Community Safety Plan, participants expressed a need for increased leadership, direction and consistency in crime prevention programming from one community to the next. They also identified a lack of metrics and measures for assessing the effectiveness of crime prevention approaches. Participants expressed the importance of identifying and communicating what works as well as a need to balance provincial leadership with the flexibility to meet local needs.⁹⁶

2. Reducing Opportunities for Criminal Behaviour

Situational crime prevention is based on the notion that certain types of crime are largely opportunistic and can be prevented by modifying and planning contextual factors in a way that limits the opportunities for offenders to commit certain types of crime. There is a growing body of research and evidence about the effectiveness and limitations of this approach.⁹⁷ Situational prevention activities may include improved security, more

⁹⁵ For example, see: World Health Organization (2010). *Violence Prevention: The evidence*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

⁹⁶ *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, 2013, p. 33.

⁹⁷ For example: Marzbali, M.H., Abdullah, A. and N. A. Razak (2011). "A Review of the Effectiveness of Crime Prevention by Design Approaches Toward Sustainable Development", *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 4 (1): 160-172. Also: Armitage, R. and L. Monchuk (2011). "Sustaining the Crime

intensive surveillance and the deployment of surveillance technology, reducing the reward for committing certain types of crime (taking the benefit out of these crime), and better planning of spaces and movement of people to remove opportunities for crime. Much more could easily be done in the Province to disseminate information on best practices to all concerned and to facilitate the systematic application of these methods where warranted.⁹⁸

The secret to the success of this approach usually lies in a systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems and, after consultation with stakeholders, the application in selected spaces of proven measures to reduce criminal opportunities. The private security sector, well developed in this Province, can and does play an important role in the deployment of these measures.

Some broader planning initiatives, including “crime prevention through environmental design” (CPTED) and urban renewal projects, can also have a significant impact on certain types of crime. The B.C. Association of Police Chiefs, for instance, is strongly suggesting that a civil process be implemented for ensuring that problem premises which create a focal point for criminal activity and create a safety risk are dealt with.⁹⁹

A comprehensive crime reduction strategy should identify where and how situational crime prevention measures can be most successfully applied by communities, promote evidence-led programming in that particular area, and provide ways to identify and disseminate information about best and promising situational crime prevention practices. Some communities will need technical support to apply situational crime reduction measures and to integrate crime prevention in local planning. This is an area where there can be many opportunities for initiatives based on public-private partnerships. There is in fact a considerable amount of expertise already available on this subject in British Columbia.

3. Early or Timely Interventions for Individuals at Risk

The Justice and Public Safety Council’s *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Sector 2014-2017* includes a crime prevention goal stated as follows: “We offer early, appropriate and effective interventions to reduce antisocial behaviour, assisting people in rebuilding healthy, productive lives”.¹⁰⁰

The Government has established an Inter-ministry Committee on Crime Prevention to develop a provincial crime prevention strategy to address underlying cyclical, cultural, and generational factors that lead to crime. The plan is meant to balance provincial

Reduction Impact of Designing Out Crime: Re-evaluating the Secured by Design scheme 10 years on”, *Security Journal*, 24 (4), 320-343.

⁹⁸ See for example: P.J. Brantingham and P.L. Brantingham, (2012) “Situating Situational Crime Prevention: Anchoring a Politically Palatable Crime Reduction Strategy.” In Nick Tilley and Graham Farrell (Eds), *The Reasoning Criminologist: Essays in Honour of Ronald V. Clarke*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 240-251. Also: P. L. Brantingham, P. J. Brantingham, and W. Taylor, (2005) “Situational Crime Prevention as a Key Component in Embedded Crime Prevention”, *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 47: 271-292

⁹⁹ A reference is made here to the *Community Safety Act* which is not yet in force.

¹⁰⁰ See: British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council, *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector – April 2014 - March 2017*, Victoria. See also: *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, p. 33.

leadership with local coordination to ensure communities have the flexibility to tailor approaches to their own unique needs.¹⁰¹

1. Early Intervention and Developmental Crime Prevention

There are many local programs in the Province, s.13 focussing on developmental crime prevention strategies. Intervening early and at significant points in the life of a child or young person at risk of developing behavioural issues can help prevent future offending. These interventions are usually designed to enhance protective factors and address risk factors that may impact upon the likelihood that the young person may engage in criminal activities.

There are many examples of programs which deserve further consideration. s.13 of the Youth Inclusion Program (Kamloops), the Community Prevention Education Continuum (CPEC), the Kids-4-Kids program (Vancouver Island) and D.A.R.E. The Panel has also received a submission from the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of the Fraser Valley emphasizing the role of mentoring, as a form of prevention, to help steer children away from behaviours and situations that negatively affect their academic, social and economic well-being. Mentoring is a commonly used intervention to prevent, divert, and remediate youth engaged in, or thought to be at risk for delinquent or anti-social behaviour. Mentoring for high risk youth can lessen the risk of involvement in delinquent behaviour. It is an approach that deserves further attention and research.¹⁰²

British Columbia has invested over the years in FASD prevention, support and intervention. Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) has been identified as a major public health concern in both Canada and the United States. s.13

s.13 FASD is the most common form of preventable brain damage to infants in the Western world. The brain damage is irreversible and results in life-long challenges in learning, behaviour, employment, and socialization.

Adversity experienced by children and youth may affect their development and place them at risk for a range of maladaptive outcomes, including antisocial and delinquent behaviour. A child's early formative years will affect his/her future development and early interventions are therefore recommended. A lot is already known about the risk factors to be addressed as part of evidence-based programs.¹⁰³ This needs to be translated into effective and sustainable programs across the Province.

"Research has consistently indicated that the

¹⁰¹ British Columbia, Ministry of Justice (2013). *White Paper on Justice Reform, Part two: A Timely, Balanced Justice System*, Victoria, February 2013, p. 17.

¹⁰² For a review of the effect of mentoring programs, see: Tolan P., Henry D., Schoeny M., Bass A., Lovegrove, P., and E. Nichols (2013). *Mentoring Interventions to Affect Juvenile Delinquency and Associated Problems: A Systematic Review*, Campbell Systematic Reviews 2013:10.

¹⁰³ See for example: Day, D. M. and S. G. Wanklyn (2012). *Identification and Operationalization of the Major Risk Factors for Antisocial and Delinquent Behaviour among Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada, National Crime Prevention Centre.

likelihood of children and adolescents becoming serious and violent young offenders can be reduced by early and comprehensive programs directed at the distinctive profile of risk and protective factors for the separate pathways. Also, these programs, when funded and implemented appropriately, are highly cost-effective."

Dr. Raymond Corrado, Professor
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University

In its profile of BC youth in custody, the McCreary Centre Society found that 70% of youth had at least one family member who was criminally involved and for 29% of youth this was a parent. The study revealed that the majority of youth in custody in 2012 (65%) had lived in a foster home or group home, or had been placed on a youth agreement at some point in their lives. 32% of youth entering a custody centre were living in government care at that time.¹⁰⁴ The 2009 joint special report of the Representative for Children and Youth and the Provincial Health Officer revealed that children in care had a much higher rate of involvement in the criminal justice system than other children (35.5 per cent as compared to 4.4 per cent) and that nearly three quarters of the youth in care involved in the youth justice system suffered from a serious mental illness or intensive behavioural problems.¹⁰⁵ No matter how one looks at these statistics, they do not say much about the effectiveness of the interventions and assistance currently offered to this at-risk group.

A recent study in this Province also indicated that children of parents in conflict with the law or children of incarcerated parents s.13 are specifically at risk both in terms of their own healthy development and s.13 of the likelihood that they may engage in criminal behaviour.¹⁰⁶ Programs that specifically address the needs of these children are virtually nonexistent in British Columbia.

It is necessary to offer effective interventions and programs to provide support for vulnerable populations, including Aboriginal children and youth in government care and children whose parents are involved in the criminal justice system. When, according to normal assessment practices, a child is not directly at risk of neglect or maltreatment, the official child protection response (MCFD) is usually not to intervene. However, many children who are not at risk of abuse or neglect belong to fragile families and face issues that will not only affect their development but also put them at risk of becoming embroiled in crime, addiction or other forms of problem behaviour. The Panel heard that

¹⁰⁴ McCreary Centre Society (2013). *Time Out III - A Profile of BC Youth in Custody*, Vancouver, updated February 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Representative for Children and Youth, Provincial Health Officer. Joint special report. *Kids, Crime and Care: health and well-being of children in care: youth justice experiences and outcomes*. Victoria, BC: Representative for Children and Youth and the Provincial Health Officer; 2009.

¹⁰⁶ McCormick, A., Millar, H., and G. Paddock (2014). *In the Best Interests of the Child: Strategies for Recognizing and Supporting Canada's At-Risk Population of Children with Incarcerated Parents*. Centre for Safe Schools and Communities. University of the Fraser Valley

s.13 support programs targeting these families are poorly funded and typically insufficient.

The National Crime Prevention Centre estimated the enormous social and economic costs of failing to intervene in a timely manner in the lives of young people at risk. The savings produced by early crime prevention programs include not only reductions in the costs of future crimes, but also reductions in the costs of welfare assistance, legal aid, special education, and addiction treatment services.

These findings are supported by a range of studies. For example, Cohen¹⁰⁷ estimated (in 1997 US dollars) that the typical career offender who starts off as a juvenile, accrues approximately \$1.5 to \$1.8 million in costs, with about \$1.4 million of that associated with future adult criminality. Of the total lifetime costs to society, it was estimated that “25% are tangible victim costs, 50% lost quality of life, 20% criminal justice costs, and 5% offender productivity costs.” Cohen also attempted to estimate lifetime costs associated with heavy drug users. He reported that the “total lifetime cost of drug-related crime and homicides for the average heavy drug user is estimated to range from \$283,000 to \$781,000.”

Other research, such as Delisi and Gatling’s¹⁰⁸ study of 500 habitual offenders, shows values of similar magnitudes. A key point that Delisi and Gatling note, however, is that the costs borne by victims is too often overlooked. As they conclude from their research, “the victimization wrought by the worst offenders carries a hefty price tag averaging \$1.14 million”.

Here again there is a considerable amount of expertise available in British Columbia in designing, managing and evaluating such prevention programs. There is also a considerable amount of reliable knowledge on how to plan and ensure the success of such programs. They need to be readily accessible in all communities and implemented in a manner that avoids stigmatizing young people at risk or their family. Most of these programs would normally be implemented outside of the criminal justice system, usually without the participation of local law enforcement. Responsibility s.13

s.13 tends to rest with the education, child welfare and health sectors. The evaluation of many of these programs, in Canada and elsewhere, shows that they improve the life-course development of children at-risk and reduce the risk of offending.

s.13 well planned early intervention services and support s.13

s.13 have many advantages. For individuals and families, these advantages include reduced duplication of services, fewer people to meet, earlier identification of problems, more direct access to services, more timely response by agencies, and improved quality of services. For departments and agencies, the benefits include access to a broader source of knowledge to draw from, enhanced clarity of respective roles and function, more efficient and effective use of scarce resources, and

¹⁰⁷ Cohen, M. (1998). “The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth”, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5–33.

¹⁰⁸ Delisi, M. and J. Gatling (2003) “Who Pays for a Life of Crime? An empirical assessment of the assorted victimization costs posed by career criminals.” *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society*, 16: 283–93.

increased capacity to work effectively with each other. In some cases, integration of services may also produce some reduction in workloads and operational costs (e.g., fewer calls for police services).

In Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, a model was developed to facilitate interagency information exchange and collaboration in situations which, left to themselves, would likely lead to criminal offending and victimization. The PA Hub model is a partnership approach that draws on the combined expertise of community agencies to address complex social and human situations before they become policing problems. Specifically, the Hub's focus is on timely identification of individuals and families at risk, early recognition of the worsening of situations and the initiation of prompt action by the responsible department or agency to manage and mitigate the risk. Members of the Panel attended a Hub meeting and were able to observe first-hand how the interventions are planned and executed.

Drawing lessons from the multiagency model taking shape in Scotland, the Hub itself is a twice-weekly, ninety minute review of specific cases among front-line professionals representing twenty departments and agencies, including Addiction Services, Adult and Youth Probation, Bylaw Services, Child Protection, Corrections, Housing, Mental Health, Public Health, PA Grand Council, Police Services and Social Services. Since 2011, when the PA Hub was established, most situations for discussion s.13 were brought forward by Social Services, the Police and the schools. The Hub model connects individuals and families at risk to the services that can help them as quickly as possible, when they need it the most. It is not a policing model. It is a community safety model in which police has an essential role to play, alongside others, from which police has much to gain. It is designed to address social issues and improve outcomes, including general public safety and community wellness. Most importantly, the Hub model draws on the resources and insights of multiple agencies, allows for the sharing of the relevant information, is "risk-based" rather than "incident driven", proactive and preventative, and its outcomes can be continually measured and assessed. The goal is to stop crime before it happens and keep individuals out of the criminal justice system.

There are indications that the Hub model is improving general public safety and community wellness in Prince Albert. It is being emulated in several Saskatchewan communities and versions of the model are being considered or introduced in other jurisdictions. A formal evaluation of the Hub initiative in Prince Albert is currently underway.

The Panel's consultations have certainly confirmed the real interest among stakeholders and in most communities in seeing the Government demonstrate strong leadership through the development and implementation of effective developmental prevention strategies.

J. Timely Interventions for Vulnerable and At-risk Individuals

The importance of developmental crime prevention programs and early interventions focussing on at-risk children and youth is now well accepted. However, an obsessive focus on early interventions can prevent communities from understanding the need for timely interventions to help people who become vulnerable or at-risk at some later point in their lives.

It is also important to recognize that offering services, support and assistance to people who find themselves at critical junctures in their life or in very vulnerable situations, and not just early in life, is also critically important ^{s.13} People who lose their jobs or their home, homeless people, people who are victimized or have experienced a traumatic incident, people who suffer from mental illness, people with addiction issues, and undocumented migrants can all find themselves in a situation that puts them at risk of committing crime. They should of course be helped, whether they are at risk of becoming criminals or not. There is really no point in waiting until people have committed a crime or have been caught in the criminal justice and correctional system for years before providing them with assistance, support or treatment. For example, there can be substantial cost savings in offering people with addiction issues ready access to treatment before they begin to commit a large number of property crimes to support their addiction or turn violent ^{s.13}

In its submission to the Panel, the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS insisted that early intervention in substance use disorder can dramatically reduce future healthcare costs (e.g., costly hospitalizations) and costly social harms (e.g. drug crime). Therefore, Dr. Montaner argued, there is an urgent need to expand investments in early intervention for substance use disorders on a Province-wide level. The lack of accessible care for patients with substance use disorders and the inability to intervene early when patients present to physicians or emergency departments create missed opportunities to prevent costly infections and mental health sequels of untreated substance use disorder.¹⁰⁹ In 2010, the Government adopted a ten-year plan to address mental health and substance use in British Columbia: “Healthy Minds, Healthy People”.¹¹⁰ The plan acknowledges that “(...) people with severe mental disorder and substance use disorders must be actively supported in their own recovery process and supported to achieve their individual potential and independence”.¹¹¹ The following priorities for action were identified with respect to people with severe and complex mental disorder and/or substance dependence: enhancing evidence-based community interventions across the lifespan; enhancing housing supports; strengthening community-residential treatment options; ensuring appropriate access to hospital and socialized bed-based treatment; and, developing improved coordinated responses for people with complex challenges.

¹⁰⁹ *Submission of the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction*, prepared by J. Montaner, with input from I. Day, E. Wood, B. Nosyk, S. Goldenberg, K. Shannon, M-J. Milloy, and T. Kerr, April 30, 2014.

¹¹⁰ There are also annual reports (in 2011 and 2012) monitoring progress in implementing the plan.

¹¹¹ British Columbia, Ministry of Health, *Healthy Minds, Healthy People*, p. 31.

At present, there is no Province-wide strategy to support crime prevention programs targeting various groups of individuals at risk or to relate these programs to specific crime reduction goals. Funding for these programs tend to be short-term and limited.

Appendix H

Funding: Reconsidering our Investments

The Cost of Inaction

The most recent study on the cost of crime in Canada dates back to 2008. It estimated that the total (tangible) social and economic costs of Criminal Code offences in this country were approximately \$31.4 billion.¹¹²

Estimates of the social and economic costs of crime can increase the awareness of both policy-makers and the public of the full impact of crime on society and the potential gains that could result from reductions in crime. Such estimates can play an important role in ensuring that crime reduction initiatives achieve the greatest impact on crime for the money spent.

In the UK, an attempt was made over the last decade or so to measure the social and economic costs of crime as a performance measure for the criminal justice system and to provide information for crime reduction programs so that they may achieve the greatest impact on crime for the money spent. We currently do not have the equivalent capacity in British Columbia to engage in such cost-benefits analysis. However, at a time where resources for new programs and initiatives are limited, it becomes important to develop that capacity to base programming decisions on credible measures of their costs and their impact. At present, local partnerships, local government officials, and stakeholders are not equipped to carry out cost-benefit analyses that are comprehensive and consistent.

What the Panel tried to consider most specifically is the cost of reoffending by individuals who have already been convicted and processed through the criminal justice system. Some of the costs are not quantifiable. They can nevertheless be devastating and long-term. There is the impact on communities and on victims, many of whom will be repeat victims, and on their families, as well as the impact on the offenders themselves and their families. The financial cost of re-offending can be staggering.

Justice system and law enforcement costs in B.C., mirroring national trends, continue to increase and impact provincial and municipal budgets.¹¹³ While there is some debate as to whether all crime is decreasing and at what rate, the available data suggest that there has been an overall decrease in rates of aggregate crime over the past decade, both nationally and in British Columbia. There is no debate, however, that the cost of responding to crime has increased.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the quality of life component is typically not considered in direct cost studies but is a significant element. Not only is the quality of life of the victim affected, but society as a whole suffers. High crime areas generate lower

¹¹² Costs of Crime in Canada, 2008: http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/crime/rr10_5/rr10_5.pdf

¹¹³ See: British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council, *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector: April 2014 - March 2017*, Victoria, p. 30.

¹¹⁴ Story, R. and T.R. Yalkin (2013). *Expenditure Analysis of Criminal Justice in Canada*. Ottawa: Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer.

property values, displace business activity, cause residents to invest inordinately in security devices and reduce the value of public places such as parks and recreational areas.

Reconsidering our Investments

The Panel believes that British Columbians can get better results for their investments. s.13 the Community Safety and Crime Prevention Branch of the Ministry of Justice, dozens of crime prevention initiatives have been funded in the last decade across the province, typically via time-limited or one-time funding. The projects have varied considerably in scope and objectives, and usually sought to address crime prevention issues at a community level. The Panel did not review these projects in detail. However, it appears that the funded projects and activities have had mixed results s.13

s.13 The funded programs were developed from a grass-roots perspective, but did not always consider and integrate research and evidence on best practices. s.13

s.13 the Civil Forfeiture program since its inception has returned approximately \$15 million from s.13 forfeiture actions to crime prevention and victims' programs in British Columbia. Grant priorities and criteria are determined annually. Priority streams have included Gang Prevention, Sexual Exploitation of Youth, Community and Youth Crime Prevention, Violence against Women, Domestic Violence Units and Restorative Justice.

During earlier consultations held by the Ministry of Justice, stakeholders indicated that: "they have difficulties determining what works in crime prevention and how to measure success. Without measures in place it can be complicated to make important decisions on where best to make investments, what programs should be supported and which ones might not be having the kind of impacts expected. This was identified as increasingly important in light of ongoing economic challenges and the increasingly complex needs of communities." The JPSC's strategic plan refers to the need to ensure that the whole sector is sustainable and acknowledges that measures are necessary to ensure that "all significant public investments, in cash or in kind, need to be evaluated against expected outcomes identified in advance". It also adds that: "Savings or efficiencies created from reforms should be clearly identified through planning and measurement, and be reallocated where resources are most required".¹¹⁵

Some jurisdictions are looking at different funding models for crime prevention and offender rehabilitation programs. In the United Kingdom, the government has been introducing an integrated offender management system based on a new funding approach,¹¹⁶ which relies on private sector service providers who are only paid in full if

¹¹⁵ Idem, p. 22.

¹¹⁶ U.K., Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation - A Strategy for Reform*, London, May 2013. See also: House of Commons Justice Committee (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A Co-ordinated Approach?* - Interim report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation Program, 22th Report of Session 2013-14, London, 22 January 2014.

they reduce reoffending. The new payment incentives for service providers are meant to encourage them to “focus relentlessly on reforming offenders”. Through the savings that are expected, rehabilitation support will be extended to offenders serving short-term sentences and have in fact the highest reoffending rates, are the hardest to reach and are the most prolific offenders. Legislation will guarantee that these offenders, approximately 50,000 of them, are not left to their own devices on release. The goal is to reform the delivery of offender services in the community to reduce reoffending while delivering improved value for money for taxpayers. Once the scheme is fully operational, all offenders released from custody will receive statutory supervision and rehabilitation on release. Needless to say, this approach is getting a lot of attention in various countries and generates a lot of discussion on how to define and measure “returns on social investments”.¹¹⁷

Similarly, in the United States, the idea of “payment for success” approaches to government contracting or the idea that government could pay only for proven success is gaining some momentum, although the modalities of such an approach have yet to be fully articulated. During the Panel’s consultations it was suggested that expanded crime prevention programs could thrive under such an approach. In particular the “social impact bond” (SIB) was brought to the attention of the Panel as something that is being implemented and funded in the United States, at various levels, and something that should be considered in this Province. It was suggested that a “Social Impact Bond” approach could be used to finance the expansion of prevention-focused social services that are expected to save money for the government in the future.¹¹⁸

The Panel believes that it is imperative that we change the way in which resources are currently allocated to reduce crime, in particular the resources expended to deal with persistent offenders and offenders with a substance abuse disorder, to manage short incarceration sentences and to supervise offenders in the community.

The Panel noted the work done in several American jurisdictions to support the “reinvestment process”. The Justice Policy Centre, at the Urban Institute, in Washington (D.C.), has developed a “justice reinvestment toolkit” for local leaders based on an iterative process in which jurisdictions align the use of scarce criminal justice resources with public safety priorities.¹¹⁹

In considering ways to invest available resources in more effective crime reduction activities, existing criteria and mechanisms for investing some of the civil forfeiture funds currently available should be reviewed and aligned more tightly with the crime reduction priorities identified at both the provincial and the local levels.

¹¹⁷ For example, see: Jardine, C., and B. Whyte (2013). “Valuing Desistance? A social return on investment case study of a throughcare project for short-term prisoners”, *Social and Environmental Accountability Journal*, 33 (1): 20-32.

¹¹⁸ See: Lower-Basch, E. (2014). *Social Impact Bonds: Overview and Considerations*. Washington (D.C.): CLASP. See also: Fox, C. and K. Albertson, K. (2011). “Payment by Results and Social Impact Bonds in the Criminal Justice Sector: New challenges for the concept of evidence-based policy?”, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 11: 395-413.

¹¹⁹ Ho, H., Neusteter, S. R., and N. G. La Vigne (2013). *Justice Reinvestment - A toolkit for local leaders*. Washington (D.C.): Urban Institute, Justice Policy Centre. See also: Council of State Governments Justice Centre (2013). *Lessons from the States - Reducing Recidivism and Curbing Corrections Costs through Justice Reinvestment*. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

There is a need for a mechanism to ensure that our crime reduction and prevention investments focus on priority issues, use proven strategies, reduce competition between organizations, foster coordination, and clarify the role the roles of various agencies, including the police, in these crime prevention initiatives.

Appendix I

Promoting and Measuring Success

Support Local Partnerships to Reduce Crime

Local crime reduction partnerships are needed in which every aspect of the justice system and all relevant human services governmental and non-governmental agencies contribute, in deliberate and co-operative ways, to the implementation of local crime reduction initiatives.

The Panel became very aware of the importance of supporting municipalities and municipal leaders in their effort to reduce crime and set priorities for local crime prevention activities and programs. Provincial crime reduction initiatives should provide guidance but refrain from competing with local priorities. ^{s.13} mechanisms to encourage municipalities to develop and implement crime reduction strategies and monitor their impact.

It is also important to address the ^{s.13} lack of coordination at the local level and to provide a structure, as well as guidance and support, for the development of effective and sustainable local partnerships to reduce crime.

In doing so, all stakeholders need to reaffirm their commitment to an evidence-based crime reduction approach, supported by program evaluations and the dissemination of evaluation results.¹²⁰

Local Partnerships

There have been several local crime reduction initiatives. For example, in the City of Surrey, the Mayor's Task Force on Crime was created to analyze, develop and implement initiatives to deal with some of the contributing factors of homicides. The Task Force is identifying different strategies to prevent people from engaging in criminal lifestyles and to disrupt this activity in the community. Recognizing that the vast majority of Surrey's 2013 homicides stemmed from high-risk lifestyles involving drugs and other criminal activity, the Mayor's Task Force has been focusing its efforts on targeting high risk locations in the city. This "High Risk Location Initiative" (HRL) is a coordinated approach between the Surrey RCMP, City By-Laws, and Surrey Fire Services. The initiative targets locations that mirror those where some homicides have occurred in the

¹²⁰ The Panel readily acknowledges that there are some challenges in evaluating crime reduction initiatives, but these could be systematically addressed. See for example: Morgan, A. and P. Homel (2013). "Evaluating crime prevention: Lessons from large-scale community crime prevention program", *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, No. 458, Australian Institute of Criminology.

past. It is generally these types of locations where those living high risk lifestyles come together and create an increased risk to public safety and potentially violent crime. The Task Force has been active in disrupting criminal activity since December 1, 2013. In addition to enforcement, a shared data bank was developed with information on high risk locations in order to improve information sharing and early identification of these locations.

Many communities have worked to improve their safety by identifying risk factors, situations and circumstances that negatively impact that safety and taking action to address these factors and reduce crime. The most successful crime reduction initiatives are those that build on community strengths and resources, reflect local priorities, and are owned and led by the community. Notwithstanding this simple truth, the Panel also heard that local and provincial governments need to support these initiatives and provide sustained and coherent leadership. In particular, leadership is required to build consensus around priorities for action and community capacity to take effective concerted action.

The development of local coordination structures should be explored. For example, a collaboration model could be developed to support the establishment of an "Interagency Community Wellness and Safety Partnership" mechanism at the local level, or "Interagency Community Partnership" for short (ICP).¹²¹ Innovative and collaborative community-driven arrangements, including those referred to earlier in Prince Albert or other hub-inspired approaches, should be considered seriously to further reduce crime and victimization, and enhance community wellness.

Community-based and non-profit organizations along with volunteers play essential roles in every British Columbian community. They are engaged in a range of social, economic and charitable activities that touch every aspect of life. They include many organizations that serve as intermediaries between government and people in the delivery of public services. The Panel, for example, met with the B.C. Crime Prevention Association which remains eager to play an even more active role in supporting crime prevention initiatives throughout the province.

The role of these organizations would be enhanced under the new partnership arrangements. There should be regular and frequent meetings between ICPs and community organizations. The ICPs should not replace or reduce the role that community organizations play. The nature of the relationship will become clearer when the pilot projects are evaluated after two years. The ICPs and community organizations would be expected to work closely together to achieve shared crime reduction and public safety goals. This could be one of the distinctive features of the BC model of interagency and community partnerships.

¹²¹ Alternatively the term "Hub", as in the Abbotsford Hub, could be used. The term originated in Scotland and has some currency in Canada, notably in Saskatchewan.

Supporting Evidence-based Programs

Virtually all of the major initiatives on justice and police reform in recent years, whether from here in Canada or abroad, have recognized the need for evidence based policy decisions. The Government's White Paper on Justice Reforms stated that: "A balanced justice system, where resources are applied proportionate to the risks presented, must be one in which reforms are measurable, sustainable, and grounded in rigorous analysis of system data. Reforms must be evidence-based."¹²² This obviously applies also to programs and reforms aimed at reducing crime.

Although nearly every stakeholder group consulted by the Panel seemed to subscribe to the idea that our crime reduction programs and strategies must be based on strong empirical evidence, very little of the relevant "evidence" seems to reach local communities. The Province and, in particular the Ministry of Justice, still has a long way to go in building a capacity to support program evaluations, disseminate the results of these evaluations, articulate their implications for programming, and generally sustain a capacity for evidence-based decision making in the area of crime reduction.

The Crime Reduction Chairs established in British Columbia and the research centres they are attached to represent a significant provincial resource in that area with a particular focus on policing strategies. The concept of establishing Crime Reduction Chairs for British Columbia evolved from an international criminology conference in 2004 at which time it was evident from a variety of leading criminologists

s.13 that work on criminological theory and research was being hampered by the inability of s.13 to access highly relevant and recent data from policing. It was felt, from a policing perspective, that much of the theory being developed was being done without a great deal of input from police and did not meet the immediate needs of providing guidance and tools to deal effectively with existing and evolving policing issues. There was an impression from both sides that there was a critical lack of understanding by the other as to what was important for research.

Over the next year, the concept was developed into a Memorandum of Understanding between the Province of BC, Simon Fraser University, the University of the Fraser Valley and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, signed in September 2005. The MOU was for a period of five years and was renewed for another five years in 2010. As intended, the MOU led to the development of a large number of mutually agreed research projects, which met the needs of both academia and policing. It should be noted that the projects included studies on policing and mental health, the impact of growth and change in the province on need for police primary and secondary services, repeat victimization with emphasis of vulnerability and rural/ remote needs, and repeat offending. These and other projects point directly towards the need to understand better the evolving dynamics of local city context, the linkage between police services and other justice system and social services and, with that, the complexity of policing in BC.

¹²² Ministry of Justice of British Columbia (2013). *White Paper on Justice Reform, Part two: A Timely, Balanced Justice System*, Victoria, February 2013, p. 22.

In a largely unforeseen positive development, the arrangement also led to a positive relationship between criminology students and police that lead to job placements for students, many resulting in full time employment. Collaborative research ^{s.13} in addressing important public policy issues ^{s.13} producing a new generation of highly skilled and experienced public service researchers. The research chairs have already fulfilled an important role in this province and they deserve continued support.

The Panel believes that greater attention must be given to the goal of making relevant research evidence and other information on best practices and successful crime reduction approaches available to communities across British Columbia.

Monitoring Performance

Measuring Crime and Victimization

We must rigorously measure and track our successes and learn about the challenges we face in reducing crime. As Geoffrey Cowper noted in his report, ^{s.13} the suggestion that public goals for the reduction of crime be established and publicly reported across the province implies that system-wide information gathering and reporting exists alongside system-wide goals.”¹²³

Crime statistics are not as reliable as one might assume in measuring how much crime is being committed in a community. Measures should be taken immediately to address issues that have already been identified in relation to criminal incidents coding and reporting by the police and ensure greater consistency in measuring crime and producing official crime statistics. Policy makers and the public must have confidence in the statistics which result from the recording of crime by police forces. Pressure on law enforcement to take action to reduce crime and efforts to use crime statistics to measure police performance should not create a situation where there are strong incentives to produce self-serving crime statistics.¹²⁴ As the Province gets serious about measuring progress in reducing crime, a robust monitoring and auditing system should be put in place to protect the integrity of official crime data.

Official crime statistics, by themselves, do not provide a satisfactory measure of criminal activity in the province or in any given community. ^{s.13} conduct regular and rigorous victimization surveys and make their findings readily available to all stakeholders and every community.

¹²³ Cowper, D. G. (2012). *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 71.

¹²⁴ Consider for example the difficulties experienced in other jurisdictions where official crime data loses its credibility in the eyes of policy makers and the public. See, for example: House of Commons, Public Administration Select Committee (2014). *Caught Red-handed: Why We Can't Count on Police Recorded Crime Statistics*. London: UK, House of Commons, April 9, 2014.

Measuring Recidivism

Recidivism is a very important and central measure of performance for the criminal justice system. Preventing reoffending, whether it is expressed in terms of specific deterrence, incapacitation or rehabilitation, are among the main objectives (with retribution and denunciation) of the criminal law and the whole criminal justice system. There may be some disagreement about exactly how recidivism is to be measured ^{s.13} but there is rarely any dispute about the fact that a criminal justice intervention or program that is unable to significantly prevent reoffending is a failure. Yet many of these failures persist and continue to burn our public resources. Operational definitions of recidivism vary considerably depending on who is measuring and why they are measuring it. Some of these definitions are trivial or even defy logic, while others are self-serving or loaded in a particular way to support a particular argument.

We are setting the bar so low: a reduction in recidivism of a few percentage points is something to celebrate while the overall recidivism rates continue to demonstrate the utter failure of the system as a whole. People in the system itself have frequently abandoned the idea.

One basic problem responsible for this state of affair is the insistence on defining reoffending in terms of a singular event. A program in which an offender successfully participates is meant to have failed if the offender commits a new offence (no matter what the offence) within a set period of time. This demonstrates a total lack of understanding of what is already known about desistance from crime. Desistance from crime is a process and not a moment (or a single event). Behaviour patterns that have been years in the making and have been consistently reinforced by both the environment and failed criminal justice interventions cannot be eradicated overnight and replaced spontaneously by new, more pro-social patterns.

There is no standardized method of measuring recidivism in the province and it would be important to develop and impose consistent ^{s.13} Measures of recidivism are also measures of performance and accountability for many criminal justice and law enforcement agencies.

Monitoring the Success of Crime Reduction Initiatives

The Ministry of Justice is currently working with key stakeholders and academia to develop a performance management framework and enhance the quality and availability of police data to measure policing in a consistent manner across the province and support better performance management practices. The recently released JPSC's Strategic plan tentatively suggests a number of potential performance indicators that could be developed with respect to crime reduction and public safety.

The Panel hopes that the Ministry will build a robust and valid 'basket of measures' that can be consistently applied across the province and in each of its cities and communities to measure crime reduction efforts and do so in a manner which will reflect provincial as

well as local crime reduction priorities. Such a basket of measures could provide an indicator of police performance, but it should not be reduced to that.

"Shining the spotlight on the crime rates in BC provides motivation for change. As part of putting in place a crime reduction initiative, setting stretch targets and then reporting on outcomes will help hold all our feet to the fire and put pressure on communities where more work is needed."

Chief Constable Bob Rich and
A/Commissioner Norm
Lipinski, on behalf of the BC
Association of Chiefs of
Police

The Panel heard from individuals and groups who suggested that people have stopped reporting certain kinds of crime. In the absence of data from a proper survey of victimization ^{s.13} it is impossible to confirm whether, and if so, on what scale this poor public reporting of crime by victims and members of the public is really occurring.

It would be important to link specific crime reduction objectives and outcomes to provincial policing priorities and reflect them consistently in the Province's Policing and Public Safety Plan.

Confidential Draft

Getting Serious About Crime Reduction

Report of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction

Chair: Darryl Plecas, MLA

Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction
Ministry of Justice, Province of British Columbia

Members of the Panel

Gary Bass
Geri Bemister
Beverly Busson
Yvon Dandurand
Jean T. Fournier

To: The Honourable Suzanne Anton
Attorney General and Minister of Justice

I am pleased to present the report of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction for consideration by the government. As instructed, the Panel consulted extensively with stakeholders across the province, reviewed existing crime reduction activities and identified their strengths as well as potential gaps, challenges and issues. Many exciting opportunities for effective evidence-led crime reduction initiatives were identified.

The consultation process generated a lot of interest. Stakeholders were proud of the various crime reduction initiatives taken locally and eager to share their experience. Many concrete suggestions were made which we have tried to reflect in the report. However, a lot of frustration was also expressed about the absence of a comprehensive crime reduction strategy and the difficulties encountered in fostering genuine and sustained collaboration among the various agencies and sectors involved. I sincerely wish to thank all individuals and groups who participated in our consultation or presented written submissions.

Because crime reduction is a fundamental objective of the public safety and justice sector as a whole, our recommendations are broad and far-reaching. We have right now a great opportunity to build on the strengths of existing programs, integrate crime prevention and reduction approaches at various levels, engage local communities and their leaders, and produce measurable public safety outcomes.

Taking into account the concerns raised and suggestions made during the consultations, as well as the evidence available on crime reduction approaches, the Panel makes six recommendations, not only to reduce crime, but also to minimize its impacts on citizens and communities. These include a comprehensive, evidence-based model for dealing with prolific and priority offenders across the justice and public safety sector in sentencing, managing, rehabilitating, supervising and supporting them to change their behaviour, desist from crime and successfully reintegrate with society.

I appreciated the opportunity to work with the distinguished Panel members and lead a process that has engaged so many British Columbians. I believe that the Panel's recommendations are based on the best evidence available and current knowledge of effective approaches to crime reduction.

I want to thank the Panel members for volunteering their time, and for their unfaltering commitment to this project. Their contribution was truly outstanding. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to the dedicated staff of the Policing & Security Programs Branch, in particular Clayton Pecknold, Assistant Deputy Minister; Shabnem Afzal, Crime Reduction Project Lead; Justine Herman, Program Assistant and Dominique Leclair, Administrative Assistant, who supported our work, along with the research staff of the Corrections Branch. I am also very grateful for the research and other support provided by Jordan Diplock who was seconded to the Panel by the RCMP "E" Division.

Together we have developed a plan for driving B.C.'s crime rate lower — and achieving better outcomes for the tax dollars spent across the justice and public safety system.

Respectfully submitted,

Darryl Plecas
Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction

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Getting Serious About Reducing Crime: Report of the Blue Ribbon Panel

Introduction

In the last decade, British Columbia's crime rate has fallen dramatically. And while this is consistent with wider trends, the drop has been steeper here than anywhere else in North America. Countless individuals and organizations have played a role in driving down crime. But perhaps the single greatest contribution has come from police – who, faced with a spike in gang-related crime in the early 2000s, made a fundamental change in the way they do their work. Instead of focusing primarily on crimes, they focused on offenders. And the outcomes speak for themselves.

In some jurisdictions, such as Abbotsford and Burnaby, crime rates have fallen by more than 50 per cent and it's clear that crime reduction initiatives have made a difference. This points the way to a new approach for our justice system overall, especially in a time of fiscal restraint. Simply put, all partners in the criminal justice system need to put the focus on offenders at every level – from primary prevention activities to improved offender management – in an integrated, coordinated way. This is the key to bringing B.C.'s crime rate down even further and, at the same time, improving efficiency to make sure we get the best results from every dollar invested.

Background

In February 2012, the B.C. government launched the Justice Reform Initiative to identify actions that government, the judiciary, the legal profession, police and others can take to give British Columbians more timely and effective justice services. The ministries of attorney general and solicitor general were merged in a new Ministry of Justice. And Geoffrey Cowper, QC - one of Canada's most respected litigators – was appointed to identify long-term, fiscally responsible solutions that improve outcomes and accountability.

Cowper's report, *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century*, recommended a broad suite of changes, including the development of a province-wide crime reduction plan. Crime reduction is also singled out as a priority in the Province's *White Paper Part Two: A Timely and Balanced Justice System*, as well as in the B.C. *Policing and Community Safety Plan*.

In June 2013, Abbotsford South MLA Darryl Plecas was appointed to the new role of Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction, drawing on his 34 years as a criminologist and researcher. In September 2013, Plecas convened a Blue-Ribbon Panel of experts to study crime reduction opportunities and recommend ways to drive B.C.'s record-low crime rate down even further recognizing the broad range of strategies and actions already underway. For the Panel's terms of reference, see Appendix A.

About the Panel

Chaired by Parliamentary Secretary Plecas, the Blue-Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction had five members:

- Jean Fournier, a former federal deputy solicitor general who s.13 on the board of the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse
- Yvon Dandurand, a professor at the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of the Fraser Valley, and a fellow and senior associate of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy
- Geri Ellen Bemister, an expert on substance abuse issues who teaches criminology at North Island College in Courtenay
- Beverley Busson, the first female commissioner of the RCMP and former commanding officer for British Columbia
- Gary Bass, a former commanding officer of the RCMP in British Columbia and senior research fellow with the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies in the Simon Fraser University School of Criminology.

For detailed biographies of Panel members, see Appendix B.

What the Panel Heard

Between September 2013 and March 2014, the Panel conducted an exhaustive consultation process, meeting with the broadest range of stakeholders imaginable. -We held roundtable meetings in Abbotsford, Campbell River, Cranbrook, Fort St. John, Kamloops, Kelowna, Maple Ridge, Nanaimo, Prince George, Prince Rupert, Surrey, Vancouver, Victoria and Williams Lake; received 36 written submissions; and met with more than 600 individuals – including judges, prosecutors, defense lawyers, police, front-line service providers, local elected officials, First Nations leaders, prolific offenders and people in treatment for addictions.

The Panel's consultations made it clear that a wealth of experience exists in our communities, where local leaders are implementing innovative crime reduction initiatives tailored to their own specific needs and priorities. Every community expressed a determination to take action; a growing realization that crime reduction is not only a law enforcement problem and a high level of consensus about what needs to be done. We also heard unanimous support for an integrated province-wide approach; otherwise, we risk displacing crime from one community to another.¹

While it is impossible to do justice here to all the suggestions and recommendations we heard, the following summary highlights the themes most immediately relevant to the Panel's terms of reference. For a more complete summary of what the Panel heard, see Appendix C.

¹ Other consultations across the province also confirm that there is a need to ensure that those crime reduction efforts are coordinated and crime is not displaced to other communities, *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, p. 34.

Focusing on offenders

The Panel heard a strong consensus that significant reductions in crime can be achieved by focusing on prolific offenders – the very small proportion of the total population that’s responsible for most of the crime in B.C. These individuals have been in and out of the provincial corrections system for years, committing crimes over and over again, in spite of their experience with the justice system. According to BC Corrections, more than two thirds of offenders in the system in 2012 were repeat customers; 40 per cent had 10 or more convictions, and five per cent had 24 or more convictions over 10 years.

The Panel heard support for the Province’s recently-completed Prolific Offender Management pilot project, along with a number of concrete suggestions for improving approaches to incarceration and sentencing.

More broadly, the Panel heard that shifting the focus from crimes to offenders has been fundamental to B.C.’s success in driving down the crime rate in the past 10 years. Experience in other jurisdictions suggests that this approach could generate even more impressive results if adopted across the B.C. justice system.

Alternatives to incarceration

The Panel heard strong support for effective diversion mechanisms and, in particular, greater use of the restorative justice approach; this was reiterated at nearly every roundtable meeting. Successful programs are in place in a number of communities. However, many stakeholders said that the quality of programs across the province varies and could be improved with, for example, provincial standards.

Support was often expressed for establishing problem-solving courts (drug courts, community courts, family violence courts, etc.). There were many views about what these courts could actually accomplish or the desirability of establishing them in various parts of the province. It was clear that many stakeholders were attracted by the model because of its apparent promise to “resolve problems” in a more effective and efficient way than the regular justice system.

Corrections officials frequently indicated that many of the inmates in custody should be receiving treatment instead of a custodial sentence. We also heard concerns about inadequate supervision of offenders in the community under court-ordered conditions. Stakeholders generally supported the idea of improving current community supervision programs and finding ways to deal more effectively with situations where court-imposed conditions are breached.

Support was expressed for making greater use of surveillance technology to enforce court orders and protect victims, including electronic monitoring of offenders in domestic violence cases. Some stakeholders said that the role and functions of B.C. probation

officers should be reconsidered with an eye towards reducing administrative duties in favour of spending more time one-on-one with offenders.

Addictions and mental illness

Many of those who presented to the Panel noted the link between crime rates and the unaddressed addiction issues of chronic offenders. Some said we need to place a greater emphasis on providing recovery services, and presenters were virtually unanimous in citing a shortage of effective drug and alcohol addiction treatment and recovery programs. In some communities, people expressed concern about unlicensed and “predatory” so-called recovery homes, which operate outside the health-care and justice systems, often providing little more than housing.

Another key concern was the lack of local access to services for people with mental illness, and for those with both addictions and mental illness. Police told the Panel that, on average, one in five calls for service they receive relates to unaddressed mental health issues. Along with consuming police resources, this situation is unhelpful for those in need of services from qualified health professionals. As noted in a recent House of Commons report on the economics of policing, front-line police officers are not the best equipped to deal with mental health problems.

Inter-agency collaboration

Time and time again, the Panel heard from people who were frustrated by the lack of collaboration among those leading crime reduction efforts. While many presenters were proud of the results they saw in their communities, there was frequent mention of disjointed approaches, fragmented interventions, and the propensity of many professionals to work in “silos” isolated from each other. Many stakeholders advocated for a “whole of government” approach to crime reduction with related measures to hold local managers accountable for their agencies’ performance.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence and sexual violence against women and children were consistently mentioned as an urgent priority. Many of those who spoke to the Panel expressed great concern about the number of violent crimes against children and women that go unreported and unaddressed. Stakeholders also commented on the success of existing initiatives, including the Domestic Violence Unit (DVU) and the Interagency Case Assessment Team (ICAT).

First Nations communities

The Panel heard concerns about the over-representation of First Nations peoples in the criminal justice system and the need for comprehensive, community based, culturally sensitive and effective interventions. Many First Nations draw on their healing programs

to address crime and reintegrate community members involved with the justice system. The role of native court workers and the progress made in implementing First Nations Courts and Elders' Justice Councils were frequently noted as important steps forward.

Rapid economic development

Many stakeholders voiced concern about the rapid development of large natural-resource projects in northern communities, such as Fort St. John. The Panel heard that local law enforcement and community resources are clearly insufficient to deal with the large influx of workers and related public disorder and crime issues. There were some suggestions that, as the Province moves forward with intensified resource development, planning should account for the increased pressures on police and other public resources.

Prevention

Many stakeholders emphasized the need for early and timely interventions and prevention programs for at-risk children and youth, including those whose parents are in conflict with the law, incarcerated or struggling with addiction, as well as those who themselves experience mental illness, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorders and substance abuse disorders. Stakeholders generally agreed that prevention programs are a sound and necessary investment, even if their immediate impact on crime is not always noticeable.

Many also spoke of the need for early intervention with offenders and potential offenders, recognizing that crime can be prevented by responding as early as possible when people have risk factors such as addiction, loss of employment or mental illness.

Funding

Issues related to funding were mentioned frequently in the Panel's consultations. Presenters were most concerned about funding for community-based crime reduction programs and for the non-profit organizations whose work is often crucial. Some raised concerns about continuity as well. For example, the Panel heard of cases where pilot projects had good results, but could not be built upon due to lack of funding. The Ministry of Justice confirms that hundreds of crime prevention initiatives have been funded in the last decade. However, they have typically been supported via time-limited or one-time funding.

It must be noted that some promising local practices the Panel became aware of are not discussed in detail in this report or made the object of a specific recommendation. We did not mean to exclude from further consideration any evidence-based approach that can produce significant crime reduction outcomes. On the contrary, the Panel acknowledges

that all promising initiatives deserve consideration, whether or not they are mentioned in the present report.

Overview of current crime reduction initiatives

As noted in the introduction, British Columbia has had unparalleled success in driving down its crime rate over the past 10 years. A vast number of initiatives are already underway, with work taking place at three levels, generally referred to as “strands,” reflecting the fact that they work most effectively – and are strongest – when woven together.

Those led by municipalities.

For example, the City of Surrey has a Crime Reduction Strategy based on extensive consultation and collaboration with partners across the government and law enforcement agencies. The City of Prince George has also taken a multi-faceted approach to crime prevention that actively engages partners such as the RCMP, the Ministry of Children and Family Development, School District 57 and a range of community agencies to work collaboratively to create an environment where all citizens feel safe.

Many other communities have worked to improve their safety by identifying risk factors, situations and circumstances that negatively impact safety and taking action to address these factors and reduce crime.

The most successful crime reduction initiatives are those that build on community strengths and resources, reflect local priorities, and are owned and led by the community – with sustained and coherent leadership, including sustainable funding sources.

Crime reduction initiatives led by police.

These exist in every community, with varying degrees of partnership and support from local and provincial agencies. Many police-led efforts target “hot spots” or geographic areas with high crime, while others focus on prolific offenders.

Police are also instrumental in organizations such as the BC Crime Prevention Association - an integrated team of citizens and police, providing ongoing province-wide education and awareness through community partnerships.

Crime reduction initiatives led by the provincial government.

These include the *Justice and Public Safety Plan 2014 – 2017*, which provides a central vision and strategic plan for the sector overall, delivering on a key recommendation of the Cowper report. They also include the various dedicated strategies developed to address specific issues, including human trafficking, domestic violence, sexual exploitation of children and youth, and the recruitment of young people into gangs.

The Province is also working to address First Nations issues. For example, recent initiatives of the Ministry of Justice have focused on delivering First Nations policing services and programs that are culturally sensitive and responsive to the needs of First Nations communities. And the BC Justice and Public Safety Council is establishing an Aboriginal Advisory Board to help improve outcomes for Aboriginal peoples as sector-wide reform continues.²

Along with initiatives in these three strands, the Panel reviewed the evidence base for the relative success of various crime reduction initiatives in other parts of the world. These are described and referenced throughout our report with details provided in appendices.

² British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council (2014). *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector - April 2014 to March 2017*.

Recommendations for crime reduction opportunities

Many of the issues raised in the Panel's consultations are already being addressed to varying degrees through existing programs and strategies. With that in mind, we've chosen to focus our recommendations on a few select areas where heightened attention and additional actions can deliver better outcomes. It is our intention that the recommendations will be implemented in concert with the broader reforms underway across the justice system, to take our crime-reduction efforts to the next level.

Recommendation #1: Manage prolific and priority offenders more effectively.

A relatively small proportion of habitual or "career" criminals accounts for the majority of offences committed.³ While there is variation across samples, most evidence supports the Pareto principle that about 80 per cent of offences are committed by 20 per cent of offenders.⁴ In fact, it is likely that this 80:20 ratio is an underestimate due to experienced offenders' abilities to evade detection. Using U.S. data, Cohen⁵ estimated that "the average costs imposed on society by one male high-rate chronic offender is greater than \$1.5 million." In other words, targeting prolific offenders can improve public safety while reducing total costs to society.

In 2008, the Province launched a pilot Prolific Offender Management Program in Prince George, Williams Lake, Kamloops, Surrey, Greater Victoria and Nanaimo. Bringing together resources from enforcement agencies (police, corrections and Crown) and health and social services, the project focused on a small group of prolific offenders, providing more intensive supervision and timely interventions, including links to public services. An independent evaluation of the program by Simon Fraser University⁶ found a "significant association" between the program and reduced recidivism. It also found that offenders increased their use of physical-health services, housing and other social services, while having fewer negative police contacts and spending less time in custody. In the first-year follow-up period, the overall re-offence rate fell by 40 per cent.

The Province has made a commitment to continue the best practices learned in the pilot and incorporate them throughout British Columbia. The Panel strongly supports this direction and urges the government to take decisive action to ensure co-ordinated supervision, enforcement and access to services for chronic and other priority offenders. Specifically, the Panel recommends a comprehensive, province-wide Integrated Offender Management (IOM) program that builds on the success of efforts to date, bringing together criminal justice agencies, local authorities, health services and the voluntary sectors – for use as an alternative to short sentences or to help offenders reintegrate with communities after serving their time.

³ Croisdale, T. E. (2007). *The Persistent Offender: A longitudinal analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

⁴ Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., and A. Blumstein (2003). "The criminal career paradigm". In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: An annual review of research* (Vol. 30). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁵ Cohen, M. (1998). "The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5–33.

⁶ <http://www.ag.gov.bc.ca/justice-reform-initiatives/publications/pdf/PPOM.pdf>

Successful crime reduction initiatives and programs require strong and effective partnerships, as well as close collaboration and the integration of appropriate services. British Columbia is a leader in the area of police integration. An early and crucial initiative in that area was the implementation of BC PRIME, the police records management system mandated by law and used by all police agencies in the province. B.C. is the only jurisdiction in North America to have achieved this degree of integration. For nearly 20 years, it has supported the establishment of integrated police teams to deal with a wide variety of serious and organized crimes and, by all accounts, it has been a spectacular success. It is based, in part, on the realization that not every police agency can afford to achieve and maintain the high levels of expertise required for certain complex and relatively rare types of investigation and intervention. Integration makes it possible to maintain a specialized and highly effective team of personnel to face these unique situations. Through this approach a high standard of effective policing is achieved while realizing considerable efficiencies for individual municipalities. This kind of integration together with greater coordination with other service providers will help ensure greater success in crime reduction in British Columbia

In developing a province-wide IOM program, the Panel urges the Province to:

- develop a comprehensive, evidence-based model for sentencing, managing, rehabilitating and supervising offenders, and supporting them to change their behaviour
- improve rehabilitation and treatment programs for offenders serving time in provincial institutions
- increase the effectiveness of pre-release programs and re-entry management interventions
- make wider use of proven, cost-effective methodologies such as electronic monitoring
- advocate for amendments to the *Criminal Code of Canada* that increase flexibility for judges
- support and encourage police throughout B.C. to build on their success and prioritize information-led, intelligence-led, proactive, problem-solving, offender-focused crime reduction, in partnership with other provincial and community-level service providers
- consistent with the current trend, amend the *Police Act* to require all police forces to participate in integrated services and offender management programs

For a more comprehensive discussion of prolific offender management, including the experience of other jurisdictions, see Appendix D.

Recommendation #2: Make quality mental health and addiction services more accessible.

A high proportion of criminal activity is related to substance abuse, either directly or indirectly.⁷ And the link between mental illness and addiction is now so undeniable that many professionals consider addiction a form of mental illness and no longer draw clear distinctions between the two. Regardless of their diagnoses, a significant proportion of addicts cannot work, which means that criminal activity becomes their primary revenue source. From the victim's perspective, this is particularly costly. Addicts can spend anywhere from \$70 to \$1,000 per day on their substance of choice; supporting that habit through stolen property drives them to steal goods worth up to 10 times that amount.

Drug treatment is also expensive. However, according to the US National Institute on Drug Abuse, "every dollar invested in addiction treatment programs yields a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs, and theft. When savings related to healthcare are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12 to 1."⁸

Therefore, while there would be a cost to expanding mental health and addiction services, the evidence suggests that these investments would lead to significant savings in the future. To help ensure that service enhancements would help reduce crime, the Panel urges the Province to:

- enhance the treatment options available in the community, including to offenders in custody
- increase access to Aboriginal-led treatment programs for Aboriginal offenders
- prioritize funding for programs focused on sustainable long-term recovery
- develop provincial guidelines and standards for addiction treatment providers
- establish a taskforce, representing relevant ministries and agencies, to identify ways to address the issues related to unlicensed recovery homes.

For a more comprehensive discussion of addiction and mental health treatment programs and their role in crime reduction, including the experience of other jurisdictions, see Appendix E.

Recommendation #3: Make greater use of restorative justice.

In his report to the Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Cowper recommended that the government develop a province-wide plan for diversion, including restorative justice, along with education, quality assurance and control, performance measures, reporting and evaluation.⁹ The Panel reiterates that recommendation and urges the Province to consider making greater use of restorative justice (RJ) in particular.

⁷ While the focus here is on the use of illicit drugs, some authors (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) note that crimes attributable to alcohol appear to have twice the costs associated with them when compared with drugs.

⁸ <http://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/principles-drug-addiction-treatment-research-based-guide-third-edition/frequently-asked-questions/drug-addiction-treatment-worth-its-cost>

⁹ Cowper, D. G. (2012), *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 12.

For some offenders, a formal criminal sanction is neither necessary nor useful to facilitate their social integration and prevent reoffending. Other, more effective and less stigmatizing interventions are possible in the community, including diversion programs that redirect offenders from the criminal justice process to more appropriate interventions.¹⁰

In B.C., restorative justice is most commonly used for less serious offences such as mischief, assault and theft. However, it can be used in any case where harm has occurred, the offender is willing to make amends, and the victim would like an opportunity to be heard, to have questions answered, or to seek restitution.

There are currently about 50 RJ programs across B.C., taking on low-risk cases referred to them by local police departments, schools, First Nations and Crown counsel. The Union of BC Municipalities (UBCM) and many other stakeholders would like to see this approach used more widely. The Panel concurs and, after reviewing a number of different models, believes that RJ is a cost-effective and promising approach.

Evidence is limited, but recent reviews indicate that, “a focus on reoffending outcomes alone fails to capture the extent of other benefits, such as victim satisfaction, offender responsibility for actions and increased compliance with a range of orders, among others”.¹¹ A review of restorative justice conferencing using face to face meetings of offenders and victims showed that, on average, this approach can cause a modest but highly cost-effective reduction in repeat offending, with substantial benefits for victims.¹² In other words, like expanded access to mental health and addiction treatment programs, any further investment in RJ is likely to produce savings in the long-term.

The Panel recommends that the government develop, in collaboration with the UBCM, province-wide standards to govern the implementation and management of diversion and restorative justice programs.

For a more comprehensive discussion of diversion programs in general and restorative justice in particular, see Appendix F.

Recommendation #4: Support an increased emphasis on designing out crime.

Many types of crime, particularly property crimes, are opportunistic and can be prevented through activities such as improved security, surveillance and planning. The growing

¹⁰ The *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures* state that the development of new non-custodial measures should be encouraged and closely monitored (Rule 2.4). It is also stated that consideration should be given to dealing with offenders in the community, avoiding as far as possible the use of formal proceedings or trial by a court, in accordance with legal safeguards and the rule of law (Rule 2.5). The development of a wide range of community-based measures is also advocated. The *Bangkok Rules* advocate the same for women offenders.

¹¹ Joudo Larsen, J. (2014). *Restorative Justice in the Australian Criminal Justice System*. Canberra: Australian institute of Criminology

¹² Strang, H., Sherman, L.W., Mayo-Wilson, E., Woods, D., and B. Ariel (2013). *Restorative Justice Conferencing (RJC) Using Face-to-Face Meetings of Offenders and Victims: Effects on Offender Recidivism and Victim Satisfaction. A Systematic Review*. Campbell Systematic Reviews 2013:12

body of research and evidence about this approach,¹³ known as “situational crime prevention,” tells us that success relies on a systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems and the application of proven measures in selected spaces. Much more could easily be done in the province, to disseminate information on best practices to all concerned and to facilitate the systematic application of these methods where warranted.¹⁴

Some broader planning initiatives, including “crime prevention through environmental design” (CPTED) and urban renewal projects, can also have a significant impact on certain types of crime. The B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police, for instance, is strongly suggesting that a civil process be implemented for ensuring that problem premises, which create a focal point for criminal activity and a safety risk, are dealt with.¹⁵ Bringing the *Community Safety Act* into force would respond to that recommendation.

The Panel heard about the dramatic and alarming rise in internet-based crime as it relates to identity theft as well as thefts and frauds against banking institutions and their customers. It is important to develop effective crime reduction strategies that target these very serious and disruptive criminal activities. Partnerships with the banking industry and financial community will be essential to the success of these strategies.

For a more comprehensive discussion of how to improve police capacity to reduce crime, see Appendix G.

For a more comprehensive discussion of crime prevention in general and situational crime prevention in particular, see Appendix H.

Recommendation #5: Strengthen inter-agency collaboration.

Perhaps the clearest message that came through in consultations was the need for improved collaboration and coordination across the wide range of crime reduction initiatives across B.C. While the Panel saw examples of integrated teams working together in some communities, significant gaps in interagency collaboration remain. There is clearly a need for a province-wide interagency collaboration model that supports the development of local partnerships.

Governments should actively work to break down bureaucratic silos, remove non-legally required barriers to information-sharing and concerted action, and promote greater and more effective cooperation in crime reduction activities at the provincial and community

¹³ For example: Marzbali, M.H., Abdullah, A. and N. A. Razak (2011). “A Review of the Effectiveness of Crime Prevention by Design Approaches Toward Sustainable Development”, *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 4 (1): 160-172. Also: Armitage, R. and L. Monchuk (2011). “Sustaining the Crime Reduction Impact of Designing Out Crime: Re-evaluating the Secured by Design scheme 10 years on”, *Security Journal*, 24 (4), 320-343.

¹⁴ See for example: P.J. Brantingham and P.L. Brantingham, (2012) “Situating Situational Crime Prevention: Anchoring a Politically Palatable Crime Reduction Strategy.” In Nick Tilley and Graham Farrell (Eds), *The Reasoning Criminologist: Essays in Honour of Ronald V. Clarke*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 240-251. Also: P. L. Brantingham, P. J. Brantingham, and W. Taylor, (2005) “Situational Crime Prevention as a Key Component in Embedded Crime Prevention”, *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 47: 271-292.

¹⁵ A reference is made here to the *Community Safety Act* which is not yet in force.

levels.

It is also clear to the Panel that B.C. needs a structured and appropriately resourced body to lead this work. While it would be logical to locate this new body in the Ministry of Justice, a range of possible approaches could be followed.

However the government chooses to proceed, the Panel urges the Province to appoint a senior crime reduction leader to improve interagency collaboration across the wide range of crime reduction activities in B.C.

As an important first step, the Panel recommends establishing an Interagency Community Partnership (ICP) pilot project in a designated community. Spearheaded by the new crime reduction leader, the project would bring together around a common table, on a regular basis, professionals and specialists from a dozen or more departments and agencies to deal with high-risk social and personal situations that cannot be addressed by a single agency and which, left unattended, would likely lead to criminal offending and victimization.

Simply put, the goal is to stop crime before it happens and keep individuals out of the criminal justice system. The focus would be on effective prevention, risk assessment, information sharing and collaboration to deliver real-time solutions along with better outcomes, greater efficiencies and significant cost savings.

ICP partner departments and agencies would:

- identify at-risk individuals in the community
- connect them promptly to appropriate services and effective interventions to manage and mitigate risk
- establish clear rules and procedures for appropriate information sharing
- draw on the knowledge and experience of local community leaders, and
- evaluate the pilot project after two years with a view to expanding it to other communities.

The crime reduction leader could also develop a centre of excellence (publicly accessible through a web presence) that would provide leadership, best practices, research on collaboration models in other jurisdictions and support or training for communities wishing to further improve interagency collaboration mechanisms and practices.

Finally, the crime reduction leader could play an important role in the development of a few, high-level crime reduction targets. In any event, the Panel strongly believes that a system for measuring crime reduction outcomes should be developed to help guide future investments.

Recommendation #6: Re-examine funding approaches to provide better outcomes.

In the current fiscal environment, it is imperative to change the way we allocate resources to reduce crime. For example, the Panel heard many examples of one-off or time-limited funding approaches that left communities frustrated. Some existing funding could be redirected to support new approaches to dealing with persistent offenders, managing short incarceration sentences and supervising offenders in the community – all of which have significant potential to reduce costs over time.

Several jurisdictions are working on this type of reinvestment process. For example, the UK is taking a new approach¹⁶ to managing offenders. It relies on private sector service providers, paying them in full only if they successfully reduce reoffending. In addition to providing performance incentives, this approach is expected to deliver savings, which will be directed to expanding rehabilitation support for offenders.

Closer to home, the Justice Policy Centre at the Urban Institute in Washington D.C. has developed a “justice reinvestment toolkit” for local leaders in which jurisdictions align the use of scarce criminal justice resources with public safety priorities.¹⁷ These and other tools could be helpful in prioritizing funding for crime-reduction initiatives in British Columbia.

For a further discussion of funding approaches, see Appendix I.

All stakeholders need to reaffirm their commitment to an evidence-based crime reduction approach, supported by program evaluations and the dissemination of evaluation results.

For a further discussion of the need to promote and evaluate progress, see Appendix J.

Conclusion

British Columbians from many walks of life have helped to drive our crime rate down. While we can take pride in our successes, we must acknowledge that shifting our focus and doing some things differently could deliver real improvements in the quality of life for affected individuals, families and communities.

As the Panel’s consultations made clear, we have a wealth of knowledge and experience to draw from; we have established policies and practices to build on; and perhaps most importantly, we have across the province countless citizens and organizations with a deep commitment to building a stronger, safer society.

¹⁶ U.K., Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation - A Strategy for Reform*, London, May 2013. See also: House of Commons Justice Committee (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A Co-ordinated Approach?* - Interim report on the Government’s Transforming Rehabilitation Program, 22th Report of Session 2013-14, London, 22 January 2014.

¹⁷ Ho, H., Neusteter, S. R., and N. G. La Vigne (2013). *Justice Reinvestment - A toolkit for local leaders*. Washington (D.C.): Urban Institute, Justice Policy Centre. See also: Council of State Governments Justice Centre (2013). *Lessons from the States - Reducing Recidivism and Curbing Corrections Costs through Justice Reinvestment*. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

With that in mind, our recommendations are broad and far-reaching with an overall focus on offenders – a small number of whom are responsible for a disproportionate share of the crime taking place in B.C. We recommend that the Province develop a comprehensive, evidence-based model for dealing with prolific and priority offenders across the justice and public safety sector in sentencing, managing, rehabilitating, supervising and supporting them to change their behaviour, desist from crime and successfully reintegrate with society.

This, we believe, is the key to getting serious about reducing crime. We look forward to seeing results in the months and years ahead.

Appendices:

- A: Panel Terms of Reference
- B: Biographies of Panel Members
- C: What the Panel Heard
- D: Integrated Offender Management
- E: Mental Health and Addictions
- F: Diversion and Restorative Justice
- G: Improved Police Capacity to Reduce Crime
- H: Crime Reduction
- I: Funding – Reconsidering Our Investments
- J: Promoting and Measuring Progress

Appendix A

Blue Ribbon Committee on Crime Reduction - Terms of Reference

Implementation of justice reforms to ensure a cost-effective justice system that has the confidence of the public is a key priority of government. One aspect of that reform agenda is crime reduction.

Crime reduction programs generally have two goals: to reduce crime and disorder, and to increase public confidence in the ability of the justice system to keep communities safe.

In his report *A Criminal justice System for the 21st Century*, Geoffrey Cowper QC recommended the development of a province-wide crime reduction plan. Crime reduction is identified as a priority item in White Paper Part Two: A Timely and Balanced Justice System, as well as in the proposed British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan.

Specifically, Action Item #8 of the British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan states:

In support of enhancing community safety, the Ministry of Justice will work with stakeholders to

develop strategies to:

- a) support crime prevention efforts;*
- b) support province-led crime reduction initiatives; and*
- c) support further development of civil/administrative law strategies to enhance community safety*

At present, there are three strands of crime reduction activities in BC:

- Those led by municipalities. For example, the City of Surrey Crime Reduction Strategy, which is based on extensive consultation and collaboration with partners across the government and law enforcement agencies.
- Crime reduction initiatives led by police. Many of these initiatives target 'hot spots' or geographic areas with high crime and disorder activities, while others focus on apprehending prolific offenders.
- Crime reduction initiatives led by the provincial government, such as the Prolific Offender Management program and Vancouver's Downtown Community Court.

Name of Committee

Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction (referred to as 'The Panel')

Purpose and Scope

On June 7, 2013, Dr. Darryl Plecas was appointed as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General for Crime Reduction. His mandate is to chair a Blue-Ribbon Panel to study crime reduction opportunities. The Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction will:

- Through consultation with stakeholders, review existing crime reduction initiatives and identify potential gaps, challenges and issues.
- Make recommendations for crime reduction opportunities and next steps including a plan for implementation.
- Deliver a report to the Minister of Justice by June 14th, 2014.

Membership

The Panel will be chaired by Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction, Darryl Plecas.

The Panel consists of the following five members:

Beverley Busson
Gary Bass
Jean T. Fournier
Yvon Dandurand
Geri Ellen Bemister

Mandate / Responsibilities

The primary functions of Panel members are to:

- Conduct a series of roundtables to elicit feedback from around the province
- Provide advice and recommendations to the Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction about possible evidence led crime reduction opportunities.
- Identify individuals with subject matter or other expertise that could assist and provide advice to the Panel members.
- Liaise with ministry staff as required.
- Create and approve a report and recommendations regarding crime reduction opportunities.

The roundtables will bring together relevant stakeholder groups to discuss crime reduction opportunities, as well as current initiatives, approaches (such as environmental design that contributes to crime reduction), successes, gaps or challenges. Roundtable participants will be invited based on their specialized backgrounds and interests in this topic.

The Panel's work will inform the content of a report, from the Chair to the Minister of Justice, which includes the following:

- Results from the stakeholder consultation;
- Identification of opportunities for effective evidence-led crime reduction initiatives;
- An overview of current crime reduction initiatives around the province and other jurisdictions;
- Recommendations for crime reduction opportunities.

Meetings

Regular meetings of the Panel on Crime Reduction will be held at least once a month for the duration of the project until June 2014 at the call of the Chair.

Support such as arranging meeting date and times, agendas, minutes and distribution of documents to Panel members will be coordinated by ministry staff.

Communication and confidentiality

Unless otherwise authorized Panel members will not publicly share sensitive information about the Panel's work. Requests to release information must be directed to ministry staff.

Support

The Ministry of Justice will provide appropriate support to the Blue Ribbon Panel for Crime Reduction. The Ministry of Justice will reimburse travel expenses to members of the Panel for their attendance at meetings and roundtables, in accordance with applicable Treasury Board directives.

Appendix B

Blue-ribbon crime reduction Panel member biographies

Darryl Plecas (chair)

Darryl Plecas was elected MLA for Abbotsford South on May 14, 2013, and appointed Parliamentary Secretary for Crime Reduction on June 10, 2013. Previously, Plecas was the RCMP research chair and director for the Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research at the University of the Fraser Valley (UFV), where he s.13 worked for 34 years. He holds two degrees in criminology from Simon Fraser University (SFU) and a doctor of higher education degree from the University of British Columbia (UBC).

Plecas has volunteered on advisory committees to the Correctional Service of Canada and the Justice Institute of BC, and on the selection advisory committee for the appointment of the Chief Justice of the Provincial Court of B.C. He has also served as a campaign cabinet division chair for the United Way, chair of the Long-Term Inmates Now in the Community (LINC) Society, a member of the Abbotsford Police Department's scholarship committee, a director on the Fraser Valley Child Development Foundation Board, and an appointee on the board of the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

Jean T. Fournier

Over his 46 years with the federal government, Jean Fournier oversaw important and sensitive government initiatives related to substance abuse, Aboriginal and northern affairs, the DNA Data Bank, land claims negotiations, pension reform, official languages amendments and agreements, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre (FINTRAC) and the Senate ethics and conflict of interest regime. At the international level, Fournier chaired a committee of the Organization of American States to strengthen member states' capacity to deal with drug abuse and trafficking. He served as a deputy minister in the Government of Canada from 1986 to 2000 - the latter half of this time as deputy solicitor general. He also worked on two Royal Commissions. From 2000 to 2004, Mr. Fournier was Canada's High Commissioner to Australia.

Fournier joined the board of the non-profit Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse in 2006; he currently chairs its finance committee and is involved with nominations and governance. Previously, he served as a member of the board of the Vanier Institute of the Family from 1997-2000 and 2005-11, where he had been vice-president and chaired the executive committee for several years. Mr. Fournier is currently Vice-President of the Cedars Society at Cobble Hill on Vancouver Island.

Yvon Dandurand

Canadian criminologist Yvon Dandurand has decades of experience in justice policy and law reform. His work has involved law reform and criminal justice capacity-building and

evaluation projects in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. His current areas of interest include justice reforms, juvenile justice, violence against women, organized crime, corruption and human trafficking.

For the last 20 years, Dandurand has worked and published in international criminal justice co-operation, treaty implementation, rule of law, human rights, criminal justice and law enforcement reform, capacity building and technical assistance, and post-conflict reconstruction. He has led numerous criminal law reform initiatives as a senior associate of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy, an affiliate of the United Nations. He has taught criminology and sociology of law at various Canadian universities and is currently associate professor, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of the Fraser Valley and fellow and senior associate, International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.

Geri Ellen Bemister

Geri Ellen Bemister is an instructor in the Department of Criminology at North Island College in Courtenay. Previously, she worked in research and analysis with the RCMP research chair at the University of Fraser Valley's Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research. She holds an MA from UFV - where she received the Wally Oppal Endowment Leadership Award in 2011 - and a range of certificates in counselling and addiction services.

An expert on substance abuse issues, Bemister has undertaken addiction consultation for a wide range of agencies, including the Correctional Service of Canada. She owns and operates a practice providing counselling to individuals, groups and families, and has served as team lead at Kinghaven Peardonville House Society, an Abbotsford treatment centre. She has also volunteered widely, including as board chair with Recovery Day Nanaimo, and with the Kids4Kids Afterschool Program and Edgewood Treatment Centre in Nanaimo.

Beverley Busson

Bev Busson joined the RCMP with its first class of female members in 1974. Initially stationed in Salmon Arm, she later served in Kelowna and North Vancouver. Following studies in criminology, completion of a law degree at UBC in 1990 and work at RCMP headquarters in Ottawa, she eventually returned to Vancouver in 1995, where she led an elite team dedicated to covert surveillance.

In 1997, she became the first woman to serve as chief superintendent in charge of criminal operations for Saskatchewan. The following year, she became the first female commanding officer, also in that province. In 1999, Busson returned to B.C. to head the newly designated British Columbia Organized Crime Agency. She returned to the RCMP in 2000 as B.C.'s commanding officer and received an additional role - deputy commissioner for the Pacific Region, which included the Yukon - in 2001. In 2004, the University College of the Fraser Valley awarded her an honorary doctor of laws; a

second, from SFU, followed in 2010. In 2006, she became the 21st commissioner of the RCMP and the first woman in that position, as well as the first police officer awarded the Order of British Columbia. She retired from the force in 2007.

Gary Bass

Gary Bass served nearly 40 years with the RCMP, including as Deputy Commissioner Canada West. During his RCMP career, he developed expertise in drug and organized crime investigations, terrorism and homicide investigations, major case management and crime reduction strategies. He has been extensively involved in the international development of training in advanced investigative techniques and has been qualified as an expert witness in relation to several of these activities. His many awards include two Commissioner's Commendations, Commanding Officer's Commendations, and awards from the lieutenant governor for outstanding service and meritorious service.

Bass holds an MA in criminal justice and is currently a senior research fellow with the Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies in SFU's School of Criminology. His research interests include developing meaningful performance measures for policing and integrated criminal justice system structures, understanding the impact of falling crime rates on the future of policing, effective drug treatment programs, and First Nations, rural and northern policing.

Appendix C

What the Panel Heard

While it is impossible to do justice here to all the suggestions and recommendations the Panel received, the following summarizes those suggestions most immediately relevant to a comprehensive crime reduction strategy. Although the Panel heard from a wide range of parties, there was a remarkable degree of consistency throughout the provincial roundtables in terms of both the problems identified and the solutions suggested. (The summary of findings below is followed by a list of the organizations that participated in the Panel's consultations.)

People did not always agree on how much crime is in their community or whether crime rates are going up or down. There is evidence that the nature of crime is changing rapidly and that new forms of crime are not always fully captured in official statistics. Victims' crime reporting behaviour is evolving and this may affect the kinds of crime that come to police attention. Police have sometimes changed the way they record criminal incidents for statistical purposes and that affects the picture depicted by crime statistics. People can certainly point at these and other reasons for being skeptical about official crime statistics and whether they always can be trusted as an indicator of the prevalence of crime in a given community. Official crime data does not capture the full extent of people's victimization and victimization survey data is only sporadically available.

People's views on the prevalence of crime in their community and feeling of insecurity are not necessarily related to crime statistics. Regardless of statistics, local perceptions of crime are obviously based on other factors. Local media reports and people's own experience of crime and insecurity play a far greater role in shaping their views on the risk of victimization.

Many stakeholders emphasized the need for early interventions and developmental prevention programs for at-risk children and youth. The vulnerability of children in care and children of parents in conflict with the law, incarcerated or struggling with addiction issues was frequently mentioned. The frequently unaddressed needs of children with school adaptation issues or learning disabilities, and children suffering from mental illness, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorders and substance abuse disorders were also mentioned.

While the evidence on early intervention programs on adult criminal offending only provides for "cautious optimism,"¹⁸ stakeholders generally agreed that early prevention programs are a sound and necessary investment - even if their immediate impact on crime

¹⁸ Dekovic, M., Slagt, M. I., Asscher, J. J., Boendermaker, L., Eichelsheim, V.I., and P. Prinzie (2011). "Effects of Early Prevention Programs on Adult Criminal Offending: A meta-analysis", *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31: 532-544.

is not always noticeable. Those who presented to the Panel frequently emphasized the importance of education programs, and programs to give children and youth the skills to succeed.¹⁹

Also frequently mentioned was the need for targeted prevention programs to address the situation of individuals and groups at risk before they engage in criminal activities. In particular, stakeholders emphasized the need for more effective interventions and coordinated action to provide assistance to people suffering from a mental disorder or illness, people with substance abuse issues and, in particular, people who face both a substance abuse disorder and a mental disorder. This need, the Panel was told, is particularly acute in remote communities.

Domestic violence and sexual violence against women and children were consistently mentioned as a pressing community concern and an urgent priority for crime reduction. Many stakeholders expressed great concern about the many violent crimes against children and women that go unreported and unaddressed. The need to improve the support and assistance provided to domestic violence victims and women and child victims of serious crimes was repeatedly emphasized.

Stakeholders commented on the success of the Domestic Violence Unit (DVU) and the Interagency Case Assessment Team (ICAT), which use a collaborative approach to review the risk of serious bodily harm or death to victims of domestic/intimate partner violence or stalking provide an enhanced safety and support system to the victim and control the offender through proactive interventions.²⁰

The Panel visited the offices and met with the staff of the Greater Victoria Regional DVU, a co-located team that includes police, community based victim services and the Ministry of Children and Family Development providing timely follow-up services in select domestic violence cases where high risk factors are present or in cases where there is an elevated level of risk to victims, and/or their children, accompanied by a need for intensive victim support.²¹

There were frequent references during the Panel's consultations to the lack of community-based programs for domestic violence offenders. The Province has adopted an action plan on domestic violence; BC Corrections offers a Relationship Violence

¹⁹ For some of the scientific evidence, see: Ross, A., Duckworth, K., Smith, D.J., Wyness, G., & Schoon, I. (2011). *Prevention and Reduction: A review of strategies for intervening early to prevent or reduce youth crime and anti-social behaviour*. London, UK: Centre for Analysis of Youth Transitions.

²⁰ Unlike the DVU, the ICAT is not an investigation unit. Domestic violence cases that are potentially high risk are referred to the police ICAT contact. The police ICAT contact then circulates the victim and suspect names and birthdates for the next ICAT meeting. If the situation is urgent an emergency meeting may be arranged as soon as practicable. ICAT individual members then research their agency for relevant risk related information about the victim and suspect. This information is brought to the ICAT meeting where data is reviewed for presence of BCDVS 19 Risk Factors. When the risk level is determined, information sharing proceeds and a report is created. An enhanced safety plan for the victim and a monitoring and support plan for the suspect are developed. This description is taken from: Community Coordination for Women's Safety (2014). "What are domestic violence interagency assessment teams and what do they do?" *Information Bulletin*, Vancouver, May 2014.

²¹ Laidman, J. (2013). *Regional Domestic Violence Unit - Third year report to the joint management team*. Victoria, October 25, 2013. See also: Wood, J. and L. Johnson (2013). *The Capital Regional District Domestic Violence Unit: An Evaluation Framework*, unpublished.

Prevention program and many communities have implemented successful programs to prevent and respond to domestic violence, but much more remains to be done.

The BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS also argued that the decriminalization of sex work, or the removal of sanctions targeting sex workers, clients and managers/third parties, is critical to reducing rates of violence and assault for sex workers and communities, and removing barriers for sex workers to access critical health, social and legal support services.²²

“Northern B.C. has special challenges and opportunities as we grow our economy and the population. We must continue to reduce crime through public education and awareness as well as innovative programs aimed at early prevention and deterrence.”

Shari Green
Mayor, Prince George

Many stakeholders voiced their concern about the specific crime problems associated with rapid development of large natural resource projects in northern communities. In Fort St. John and other northern communities, local law enforcement and community resources are clearly insufficient to deal with the large influx of workers and some of the related public disorder and crime issues. The matter is very urgent, given plans for expanded and significant growth in the natural resource sector in northern and remote communities.

The issue of lack of services or lack of local access to services for people with mental illness or substance abuse disorder was a central concern for many communities.

The Panel heard widespread concern about the lack of community based resources to assist individuals with mental health issues and noted the impact of this lack of services on the number of calls for police services, on public order and on people’s feelings of insecurity. Police reported that, on average, a fifth or more of the calls for service they receive relate to unaddressed mental health issues.

In its report on the economics of policing, the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security of the House of Commons noted that front-line police officers are not best equipped to deal with mental health. The committee recommended that “governments constitutionally responsible for health care work in collaboration with local police forces through the health care system to achieve better practices when dealing with persons having mental health problems and illnesses, outside of the police being the first and only line of response.”²³

On the other hand, many stakeholders commented on the apparent success of the Ministry of Health’s Assertive Community Treatment teams deployed in many parts of the

²² Submission of the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction, prepared by J. Montaner, with input from I. Day, E. Wood, B. Nosyk, S. Goldenberg, K. Shannon, M-J. Milloy, and T. Kerr, April 30, 2014.

²³ Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security (2014). *Economics of Policing - Report of the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security*. 41st Parliament, Second Session, House of Commons, Canada, May 2014, p. 17.

province. These teams provide community-based, client-centered, recovery-oriented outreach mental health services for adults with serious and persistent mental illness and significant functional impairments who have not connected with, or responded well to, traditional mental health and rehabilitation interventions. Stakeholders deplored the fact that, because of their cost, only 15 such teams are currently deployed, when approximately 60 would be required for the whole of the province.

Many communities realize that much of the property (acquisitive) crime and some of the violent crime they face are fueled by the unaddressed drug addiction issues of chronic offenders. There is a perceived need for greater emphasis to be placed on providing recovery services and timely access to recovery programs for offenders who want a drug-free life. Recovery is a way to facilitate the effective rehabilitation and social reintegration of individuals regardless of the legal status of the drug. Recovery programs, it was often mentioned, need to be integrated into the criminal justice response to offenders with substance abuse and addiction problems.

The lack of access to effective drug and alcohol addiction treatment and recovery support programs was unanimously identified as a major issue throughout the province. For example, a delegation from Port Hardy indicated they had 500 individuals in that community needing treatment and only a six-bed facility. The lack of funding for abstinence-based and other recovery support programs was described as a serious issue everywhere and as one of the main reasons for the high rates of recidivism observed across the province amongst offenders suffering from substance abuse disorder. The province's Public Health Officer and many other stakeholders also emphasized the great and persistent gaps in available psycho-social support services for people in treatment or in recovery.

The Panel heard about the Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program (MMTP) and its role in achieving some of its public health and treatment objectives. On the other hand, the Panel also heard frequent and very vocal criticisms about the MMTP and how it is currently administered. The Panel heard from individuals in recovery about their negative experience with the MMTP. We also heard that the costs of the program are significant (in excess of \$45 million per year) and that, notwithstanding its potential impact in terms of other harm reduction objectives,²⁴ its impact on crime reduction is minimal. It was frequently suggested to the Panel that the time has come to consider a completely different approach to the treatment of offenders with opium addiction, reconsider the extensive use currently made of "addiction management programs" and "opioid replacement programs" to deal with these offenders, and involve the Ministry of Health in ensuring that adequate treatment and recovery programs are offered to offenders in both the custodial and the community environments.

Support was also expressed for offering more programs for offenders with addiction issues based on the therapeutic community (TC) model, such as the TC program offered

²⁴ See also: BC Methadone Maintenance System – Performance Measures 2011-2012, Ministry of Health 2013.

by BC Corrections at Guthrie House in Nanaimo, and for community-based residential recovery programs.

There is a significant issue in some communities with the proliferation of unlicensed and, in some cases, predatory recovery houses. The Fraser Health Authority reported 240 “recovery houses” in the area it serves with only eight of them properly licensed. British Columbia, it was argued, is the only jurisdiction in Canada allowing these types of recovery houses. There was a clearly articulated need for a regulatory scheme around recovery houses due to the perceived corruption and abuse by many of their operators.

The Panel also received a written submission advocating in favour of replacing the current drug prohibition regime by a regulatory policy as a means of reducing crime. The authors argued that the increase in crime generated by drug prohibition is not offset by any decrease in drug usage or supply.²⁵

A consistent frustration was expressed at nearly every roundtable about the lack of collaboration amongst the relevant government ministries, and between them and local community leaders and organizations. Disjointed approaches, fragmented interventions, and the propensity of many professionals to work in isolation from others (“silos”) were held responsible for the lack of success of many local crime reduction initiatives. Many stakeholders advocated for a “whole of government” approach to crime reduction with related measures that hold local managers accountable for their agency’s performance with respect to crime reduction.

The lack of effective information sharing practices was of serious concern everywhere, with most stakeholders reporting how utterly difficult it is in the present environment to get information from each other, and in particular from the health sector. Many of the professionals consulted spoke of the lack of clarity within their own agency and among stakeholders about what, when and how information can be shared while complying with privacy protection laws and policies. It was frequently suggested that the government should publish clear guidelines on information sharing, under existing laws, for the purposes of public safety, child protection and crime reduction, or even legislate in that area if necessary.

In spite of the perceived obstacles to inter-agency collaboration, many communities have forged ahead and developed promising offender management and problem solving approaches to reduce crime. There is much to be learned from the experience of these communities and the role of local leadership, in particular police leadership, in bringing various agencies to work collaboratively toward crime reduction and public safety goals.

A concern was frequently expressed about the lack of effective diversion programs. Support was generally expressed for meaningful programs and services to which offenders can be diverted when appropriate. A number of presenters called for a greater

²⁵ Submission to the Panel by Law Enforcement Against Prohibition, “Towards Effective Crime Reduction: The urgent need to end drug prohibition”, May 2014.

use of the restorative justice (RJ) approach. The Panel was told that the lack of referrals to existing diversion and RJ programs has hindered their further development. However, some programs have found ways to successfully address that issue.

The importance of effective RJ programs was reiterated at nearly every roundtable meeting. The Ministry of Justice currently supports community-based restorative justice responses through funding for Community Accountability Programs. The need to provide adequate funding for these programs was frequently raised and it was suggested that a different funding formula should be adopted. Municipal governments often contribute to funding these programs and are apparently willing to continue to do so. It is clear that some impressive and valuable RJ programs are already in place in a number of communities. However, it was also clear to many stakeholders that the quality of existing programs across the province varies and that provincial standards should be adopted and their implementation monitored.

Support was often expressed for establishing problem-solving courts (drug courts, community courts, family violence courts, etc.). There were many views about what these courts could actually accomplish or the desirability of establishing them in various parts of the province. It was clear that many stakeholders were attracted by the model because of its apparent promise to “resolve problems” in a more effective and efficient way than the normal justice process.

Concerns were frequently expressed about the general ineffectiveness and the social and financial costs of short-term incarceration sentences and sentencing practices that seem to set people up for failure. Some stakeholders articulated a need for more effective sentencing practices focused on encouraging desistance from crime. In particular, a real concern was prevalent throughout the province about prolific and priority offenders and the criminal justice system’s apparent inability to manage these offenders and encourage their desistance from crime. In communities where a police-based Prolific Offender Management (POM) initiative had been implemented, stakeholders often mentioned the importance of building on this foundation, learning from the experience, and designing an effective integrated offender management system for the whole province.

The problem of funding for community-based crime reduction programs was raised countless times during the consultations. This included the need for adequate funding for non-profit organizations and community partners whose work with offenders is often crucial to the success of crime reduction initiatives. Some stakeholders complained bitterly about the absence of funding for and adequate follow-up to, successful pilot crime reduction projects. It was suggested that a fundamental change is required to the manner and basis upon which crime reduction initiatives are currently funded in the province.

Overwhelming concern was expressed about the staggering rates of recidivism among offenders under the authority of provincial corrections. This was seen as relating directly to the lack of re-entry planning and supervision for offenders serving

short prison sentences and the absence of consistent strategies and effective programs to facilitate their social reintegration. Some stakeholders believed that a greater use should be made of non-governmental agencies already involved in facilitating the social reintegration of offenders and that the ministry should develop more effective partnerships with them. They also expressed concerns about what they felt was the limited availability and poor quality of community corrections programs in remote areas and in First Nations communities.

The Panel heard about the continuing over-representation of First Nations children and adults in the criminal justice system. Many spoke of the need for comprehensive community based, culturally sensitive and effective interventions for First Nations. Many First Nations communities draw on their own healing programs and are experimenting with different ways of dealing with members of their community involved with the justice system and reintegrating them successfully. The valuable work of native court workers and the progress made in implementing First Nations Courts and Elders Justice Councils were frequently noted.

The Panel also heard about the perceived ineffectiveness of treatment programs and interventions in provincial correctional facilities. Corrections officials frequently indicated that many of the inmates in custody should be receiving treatment instead of a custodial sentence. A linked issue was that of the perceived inadequate supervision of offenders in the community under conditions imposed by a court order. Stakeholders generally supported the idea of improving current community supervision programs and finding ways to deal more effectively with situations where a court imposed condition is being breached.

Support was expressed for making greater use of surveillance technology to enforce court orders and protect victims, including electronic monitoring of offenders in domestic violence cases. Some stakeholders believed that the role and functions of probation officers in this province should be completely reconsidered, with an eye towards spending more time one-on-one with offenders.

The following organizations participated in the Panel's roundtables and consultations:

Abbotsford Community Services Society
Abbotsford Downtown Business Association
Abbotsford Police Department
Abbotsford Restorative Justice and Advocacy Association
Aboriginal Community Justice Councils
ACR Programs Ltd.
Alano Club of Courtenay A&D Committee
Alert Bay Community Justice Program
Aspirational Youth Partners Association
BC Association of Community Response Networks
BC Association of Police Boards
BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS

BC Crime Prevention Association
BC Crime Prevention Association (New Westminster Police)
BC Housing Management Commission
BC Hydro
BC Institute of Technology
BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation
BC Ministry of Child and Family Development
BC Ministry of Children and Family Development, Youth Probation
BC Ministry of Education
BC Ministry of Education School Districts
BC Ministry of Health
BC Ministry of Justice

BC Ministry of Justice, Aboriginal Programs & Relationships
BC Ministry of Justice, Community Safety and Crime Prevention
BC Ministry of Justice, Corrections Branch, Community and Custody Divisions
BC Ministry of Justice, Criminal Justice Branch
BC Ministry of Justice, Security Programs Division
BC MLA Liberal Caucus
BC MLA NDP Caucus
BC Schizophrenia Society
BDO Consulting
BMO
Business Improvement Associations
Canadian Bankers Association
Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse
Canadian Mental Health Association
Capital Region Action Team
Cariboo Action Training Society
Cedars at Cobble Hill

Centre for Safe Schools and Communities, UFV
 Chambers of Commerce
 Children and Youth BC
 Children of the Street Society
 Chilliwack Restorative Justice and Youth Advocacy Association
 Circle of Eagles Lodge Society
 City of Abbotsford
 City of Burnaby
 City of Campbell River
 City of Coquitlam
 City of Courtenay
 City of Cranbrook
 City of Fort St. John
 City of Ladysmith
 City of Langley
 City of Pitt Meadows
 City of Port Coquitlam
 City of Prince George
 City of Richmond
 City of Surrey
 City of Surrey Fire Services
 City of Terrace
 City of Vernon
 City of Victoria
 City of White Rock
 City of Williams Lake
 CKR Global
 CKR Global Risk Solutions
 Communities Embracing Restorative Action
 Comox Valley Citizens on Patrol
 Comox Valley Restorative Justice Society
 Correctional Service Canada
 Cowichan Tribes
 Cowichan Women against Violence
 Crime Stoppers Advisory Board - BC
 Delta Police Department
 District 69 Family Resource Association
 District of Central Saanich
 District of Delta
 District of Kent
 District of Maple Ridge
 District of North Vancouver
 Douglas College
 Downtown Community Court Team/Mental Health Program
 Duncan Youth Inclusion Program
 East Kootenay Addiction Services Society

Edgewood
Elizabeth Fry Society
Ending Violence Association of BC
Esk'etemc First Nation
Esk'etemc Restorative Justice Program
Fraser Health Authority
Government of Saskatchewan
Haida Health Centre
Harvest Discovery Homes
Institute for Canadian Urban Research Studies and School of Criminology, SFU
Insurance Corporation of BC
Interior Health Authority
John Howard Society
Justice Institute of British Columbia
K4K Nanaimo
Kingshaven Treatment Centre
K'omoks First Nation
Ktunaxa Nation Council
Kwadacha Band
Kwantlen Polytechnic University
Langara College
Legislative Assembly of BC
London Drugs
Lower Similkameen Indian Band
Lulumexun (Lands & Governance)
McCreary Centre Society
Metro Vancouver CrimeStoppers
Mount Royal University
Nak'azdli Alternative Justice Centre
Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of BC
Nelson Police Department
New Westminster Police Board
New Westminster Police Service
Nisga'a Lisims Government
North Island College
North Island Crisis and Counselling Centre Society
North Peace Justice Society
Northern Health Authority
Northern Lights College
Oak Bay Police Department
Office of International Diplomacy
Pacific Centre Family Services
Police Victim Services of British Columbia
Port Kells Community Association
Port Moody Police Department
Port of Vancouver

Prince George Activators
 Prince George Native Friendship Centre
 Prince George Urban Aboriginal Justice Society
 Prince Rupert Aboriginal Justice Program
 Private Family Practice MD
 Private Law Firms
 Provincial Association of Residential and Community Agencies
 Provincial Office of Domestic Violence
 Public Safety Canada
 RCMP "D" Division
 RCMP "E" Division Head Quarters
 RCMP Districts and Detachments in BC
 Regional Domestic Violence Unit
 Restorative Justice Society of North Okanagan
 Restorative Justice Victoria
 Ridge Meadows Youth Diversion Program
 Saanich Police Department
 Secwepemc Community Justice Program
 Simon Fraser University
 South Coast BC Transportation Authority Police Service
 South Okanagan Restorative Justice Program
 Stepping Stones Recovery, Alano Club
 Stl' Atl' Imx Tribal Police Service
 Surrey Board of Trade
 TD Bank Group
 The M2/W2 Association
 Thompson Rivers University
 Tillicum Lelum Aboriginal Society
 Tl'azt'en "Healing Circle" Justice Program
 Town of Comox
 Township of Esquimalt
 Township of Langley
 Township of Spallumcheen
 Tsilhqot'in Community Justice Program
 UCL Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science, UK
 Union of BC Municipalities
 University of the Fraser Valley
 Vancouver Board of Trade
 Vancouver Coastal Health Authority
 Vancouver Foundation
 Vancouver Island Therapeutic Community
 Vancouver Police Department
 Victoria Police Board
 Victoria Police Department
 Village of Ashcroft
 VisionQuest Recovery Society

Welcome Home Society
Wet'suwet'en Nation
White Buffalo Aboriginal and Metis Health Society
Wilfred Laurier University
Williams Lake Band
Women's Contact Society
YMCA/YWCA

Appendix D

Reducing Recidivism: Integrated Offender Management

Some of the most significant reductions in crime are likely to be achieved by focusing on offenders at high risk of reoffending. A focus on reducing recidivism, particularly among prolific and priority offenders, must be a cornerstone of the province's crime reduction strategy. The current approach to reducing recidivism among these offenders is too often limited to a patchwork of disjointed punctual interventions in their life, without a significant impact in terms of their desistance from crime. This must change.

Many offenders spend years in the care of one juvenile or adult justice agency or another. Significant resources are expended investigating the crimes they commit, processing them through an expensive and encumbered criminal justice process, and submitting them to countless ineffective interventions. These offenders are collectively responsible for a large proportion of the crimes committed each year. They are well known within the criminal justice system: they were assessed, punished, treated and assisted in various ways. Yet, in the end, very few of these interventions have produced the outcome that society has a right to expect: desistance from crime. This "revolving door" type of intervention does not really contribute to public safety and is simply not sustainable. A different approach to managing these offenders is required.

An obvious goal of all criminal justice interventions is to deter offenders from committing further crimes, in other words to compel or encourage the offender to desist from crime, to stop reoffending. One of the justice system's performance measures suggested in the Justice and Public Safety Council's Strategic Plan is the "rate of reoffending among higher-volume offenders".²⁶

Reducing the number of individuals who reoffend means fewer victims, greater community safety and less pressure on law enforcement agencies. The successful reintegration of offenders means that fewer of them will appear again before criminal courts, come back to prison and contribute to prison overcrowding, and generally increase the costs of the criminal justice system.

Currently, few if any services and little supervision are offered to offenders after their release following a short-term prison sentence.

The UK is introducing a program to guarantee that all offenders, regardless of their sentence length, receive statutory supervision and rehabilitation upon their release. The Panel can think of a lot of arguments and evidence in favour of such an approach.

²⁶ JPSC's Strategic Plan, p. 18.

A. Supporting Desistance from Crime

Studies of criminal careers and various program evaluations have brought criminologists to understand “desistance from crime” not as a single event or moment in the life of an offender, but as a process by which, with or without the intervention of criminal justice agencies, offenders terminate their offending activities and maintain crime-free lives. It is usually achieved over a period of time. Programs based on desistance theory emphasize long-term change over short-term control, recognizing that progress is unlikely to be direct or continuous. In many ways and for many offenders, desistance from crime resembles the process of recovery from addiction.²⁷

People desist from crime for a variety of reasons. The evidence is quite clear that desistance can be supported by focusing on factors that are directly linked to criminal behaviour (such as attitudes, lifestyles and substance abuse) and offering assistance, including housing, employment, help with relationships and education or acquiring marketable skills. In many cases, assistance is also needed to help offenders deal with previous trauma, sometimes related to their own victimization.

Desistance from crime is facilitated by helping offenders address their criminogenic (offending-related) needs/factors. However, the challenge of turning a convicted offender away from crime often requires a form of integrated offender management.

This is the major focus of the Panel’s recommendations. We came to the conclusion that significant changes are needed in the way we manage offenders and intervene to prevent them from reoffending. This is why we are proposing changes to current offender management practices and programs.

B. Integrated Offender Management

A variety of programs have emerged in several countries based on inter-agency collaboration as a means of improving offender outcomes, (i.e. reducing reoffending). There is conclusive evidence that successful crime reduction strategies must include, as a matter of urgent priority, proven (evidence-based) offender treatment, rehabilitation and supervision practices.

At present, in this province, release planning and programs to facilitate the successful social reintegration of offenders are apparently minimal. For example, in a 2011 report, the B.C. Auditor General found that Community Corrections had not sufficiently analyzed the role it plays in decreasing the reoffending rate by those who serve community sentences. The way in which this rate is measured makes it difficult to confirm a trend. The report noted that, at that time, only 35 per cent of interventions designed to reduce reoffending were ever completed. It also noted that, “the lack of

²⁷ For example, see: McNeill, F. and B. Weaver (2010). *Changing Lives? Desistance Research and Offender Management*. Glasgow School of Social Work and the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research.

completion means potential increased risks to public safety and costs to taxpayers and victims, should offenders re-offend.”²⁸

Correctional interventions need to be coordinated between correctional services, the police, community service agencies and, when necessary, mental health and addiction services. This is what is normally understood by the “integrated offender management” (IOM) approach. This is what inspired some prolific offender management programs. But this is, by and large, what fails to happen consistently in this province.

There currently is a limited Integrated Offender Management program in place within BC Corrections, linking community corrections with custody in selected cases (where an offender is sentenced to a minimum of 90 days with a community corrections sentence following the custodial sentence). The program essentially demonstrates that managing the offender re-entry process can produce crime reduction outcomes, but the rates of reoffending within that particular program are still in the 50 to 60 per cent range.

Building on the success of prolific and other priority offenders programs, a comprehensive, province-wide program of Integrated Offender Management can provide a strategic framework to bring together representatives from criminal justice agencies, local authorities, health services and the voluntary sector, to address locally determined offending priorities through targeted interventions. Specific guidance, based on experience and research, should be given province-wide on the implementation of an offender management scheme involving the criminal justice system as a whole and its key partners. IOM can be successfully applied as an alternative to short sentences²⁹ or as a form of offender re-entry management program.

a. Administration of Justice Offences

“Ensuring offenders abide by court orders, attend court and abide by their bail or probation conditions is a fundamental step in offender management to reduce recidivism.”

Chief Constable Bob Rich and A/Commissioner
Norm Lipinski, on behalf of the BC Association
of Chiefs of Police

The Government’s White Paper on Justice Reform notes that administration of justice offences are used to help manage offenders and accused in the community, and may be laid when an offender or accused violates terms set out in a

court order. They include such offences as failure to appear in court, breach of a probation order or being unlawfully at large.

An effective community-based offender management approach involves intensive surveillance and supervision of offenders via coordinated police and community

²⁸ Auditor General of British Columbia (2011), *Effectiveness of BC Community Corrections*, 2011- Report 10.

²⁹ See for example: Revolving Door Agency (2013). *Integrated Offender Management - Effective alternatives to short sentences*, London.

corrections activities, supported by assistance and supportive interventions including referrals to employment, housing programs, mental health and addiction treatment and recovery support, and cognitive retraining programs. The approach is further supported by prompt investigation, apprehension and conviction following reoffending or breach of bail or sentence conditions. Swift re-conviction can be facilitated by the appointment of a dedicated prosecutor to manage files generated as a result of the targeting and increased supervision.

Effective supervision is achieved by coordinating the enforcement of release conditions, probation orders or bail supervision orders and by ensuring the offenders' immediate return to the courts upon breaching these conditions or reoffending. This involves proactive and effective interventions on behalf of the police, probation officers, prosecutors and the courts to ensure that a meaningful and swift response is given in all cases where offenders reoffend or breach the conditions attached to a court order.

However, the evidence to date is also pretty clear that intensive supervision alone does not produce appreciable results in terms of desistance from crime and consequently, crime reduction. On the contrary, when unaccompanied by effective interventions to address needs and risk factors, it only leads to breaches of conditions and re-offending which contributes to little else than further clogging the criminal justice system and trapping these offenders in the revolving door cycle of reoffending.

b. Capacity of Community Corrections Services

The Panel heard repeatedly about the many limitations of BC Corrections in ensuring that effective community supervision is offered in all cases where offenders are serving a community-based sentence, and in participating fully in Integrated Offender Management with other relevant agencies. The Panel was not in a position to review existing programs and analyze the Province's community corrections capacity, but that should be done urgently. Immediate measures should also be taken to improve the ability of BC Corrections to provide a greater range of effective community supervision services.

The Panel, during its consultations, became acquainted with some valuable community resources as well as many of the dedicated professionals and volunteers from non-governmental organizations working to assist the reintegration of offenders. Their efforts need to be better mobilized and supported.

Under that enhanced system, offender management would be ensured not only by BC Corrections, but also by capable community agencies and, in some instances, First Nations agencies. In all cases, BC Corrections should be expected and, perhaps also mandated by law, to integrate its activities with law enforcement and other relevant agencies.

The enhanced system would obviously require some investments in community corrections and in services and treatment programs to help offenders address the risks and

needs associated with their criminal behaviour. The non-governmental sector would need help to contribute to a much larger extent than it currently is.

c. Electronic Monitoring

One alternative is the use of electronic monitoring (EM) with GPS-enabled anklets. Electronic monitoring is not perfect. Some individuals with EM devices commit crimes while being monitored just as some people on bail, probation or parole commit offences. Occasionally, offenders escape “secure” custody and re-offend. The issue, however, is the relative effectiveness of EM in comparison with the alternatives.

Furthermore, the technology underlying EM devices is evolving quickly. Where specialized networks were once required, some current EM devices take advantage of the ubiquity of cell phone towers for tracking. In London, England, the Ministry of Justice has already acquired some experience with contracting out electronic monitoring and the community payback scheme.³⁰

Electronic monitoring is successfully used in many jurisdictions to increase the effectiveness of offender supervision programs. For example, a large study of Florida offenders placed on electronic monitoring found that it significantly reduced the likelihood of failure under community supervision. The observed decline in the risk of failure was about 31 per cent compared with offenders placed on other forms of community supervision.³¹

Earlier this year, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation containing a set of basic principles related to “ethical issues and professional standards enabling national authorities to provide just, proportionate and effective use of different forms of electronic monitoring in the framework of the criminal justice process in full respect of the rights of the persons concerned.”³²

Victim protection is also a very important aspect of this approach. In its draft recommendation to the Committee of Ministers, the European Committee on Crime Problems offered some principles to guide the use of electronic monitoring and noted that:

“Individual victims of specific crimes (such as victims of domestic violence, stalking or sexual assault) can in principle be protected (in the framework of

³⁰ See: Justice Committee, House of Commons (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A co-ordinated approach? Interim Report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation Programme*, London, 22 January 2014.

³¹ National Institute of Justice (2011). *Electronic Monitoring Reduces Recidivism*. Washington, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, September 2011. See also: Bales, W. et al. (2010). *A Quantitative and Qualitative Assessment of Electronic Monitoring*. A report prepared for the National Institute of Justice. Florida: Centre for Criminology and Public Policy Research, Florida State University.

³² Council of Europe, *Recommendation CM/Rec (2014)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on electronic monitoring*, (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 19 February 2014, at the 1192nd meeting of the Ministers' Deputies).

victim-protection schemes) by particular configurations of electronic monitoring technology, all of which entail giving the victims an alarm which they carry on themselves and which simultaneously informs them and the police if a particular tagged offender comes within defined radius of proximity. (...) Current evidence from the USA suggests that former women victims of domestic violence, notwithstanding a degree of anxiety at the outset, derive benefit from well-run GPS tracking schemes used to protect them at the pre-trial stage.”³³

The Panel strongly recommends that the Province develop a comprehensive GPS electronic monitoring system to protect women and children who are victims of violence and to facilitate the treatment and reintegration of offenders in the community.

From a cost perspective, EM would seem to be an outright winner. One way of looking at this is to consider that a 600 person prison holding people on remand with its accompanying staff and physical plant could be replaced by ankle bracelets and a monitoring station with three shifts of two people per shift. Typically, EM is used in conjunction with an order that an individual either remain in their own residence or that they avoid certain locations, such as the home of a former spouse. Some US states are mandating that child molesters be monitored for indefinite periods to ensure they do not go to locations that children typically frequent.

A recent study by Yeh³⁴ in the United States strongly supports the value of EM. The costs of equipment and monitoring vary by the type of technology, the level of supervision and the vendor. According to Yeh, however, the cost of leasing a passive EM device for the Florida system is about \$4 US per day per person. Personnel monitoring costs for active GPS systems are about \$11.13 per day per person with an average total cost per person of about \$19 US. He also reports that the cost of electronic monitoring of home detention in the UK was about £14 (\$21.95) per offender per day. These values are not inconsistent with those experienced in Canada.³⁵ Yeh’s conclusion is that, in the American context, there is a return of about \$12.70 for every dollar spent on electronic monitoring.

Similar support for electronic monitoring is provided by Roman et al. in their cost-benefit analysis for Washington, DC.³⁶ The Roman study cites a broader set of advantages for EM. Included in these is the assertion that “EM reduces arrests by 24 per cent for program participants.” Furthermore, it estimates that the “average number of arrests prevented per participant can be expected to generate \$3,800 in societal benefits per participant.” The total per participant cost for EM in Washington was about \$750 with a

³³ European Committee on Crime Problems, Ministers’ Deputies, CM Documents, CM (2014)14 add2, 21 January 2014.

³⁴ Yeh, S. (2010). “Cost-benefit analysis of reducing crime through electronic monitoring of parolees and probationers”, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38: 1090-96.

³⁵ Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security (2012). *A Study of Electronic Monitoring in the Correction and Immigration Settings*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament: Parliamentary Information and Research Service.

³⁶ Roman, J.K., A.M. Lieberman, S. Taxy and P.M. Downy (2012). *The Costs and Benefits of Electronic Monitoring for Washington, DC*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

range of \$460 to \$1,070. This resulted in saving of about \$580 per participant for local agencies and \$920 for federal agencies.

Canadian experience with electronic monitoring has been mixed. Some provinces such as B.C. have limited EM programs.³⁷ Currently, the largest program in Canada appears to be in Ontario where about 230 people are under EM supervision (Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security, 2012). A Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) pilot project in 2008 proved problematic. Overall, it would appear that, given the relatively positive experience with EM in the United States and other jurisdictions, CSC's difficulties were related to an inadequate vetting of existing vendors and the application to small samples, which resulted in a low rate of amortization of the fixed costs associated with the system.

The clear advantage of a GPS-based system is cost. Based on both the US and UK experiences, the cost of the equipment and the monitoring of offenders is under \$25 per day. In British Columbia, the average daily cost of incarceration per person is about \$215. Given that a high proportion of inmates are on remand (hence, not convicted), the use of EM would clearly be a significant financial benefit to the system. This is exclusive of other cost factors such as people's inability to support either themselves or their families while in prison.

Reducing Recidivism Among Priority and Prolific Offenders

A relatively small proportion of habitual or "career" criminals account for the majority of offences committed.³⁸ While there is variation across samples, most evidence supports the Pareto principle that about 80 percent of offences are committed by 20 percent of offenders.³⁹ In fact, it is likely that this 80:20 ratio is an underestimate due to experienced offenders' abilities to evade detection.

Using U.S. data, Cohen⁴⁰ estimated that "the average costs imposed on society by one male high-rate chronic offender is greater than \$1.5 million." Among chronic female offenders, the cost was estimated to be more than \$750,000. More recent estimates by Cohen and Piquero⁴¹ suggest that averting a 14-year-old high risk offender from a lifetime of offending would save somewhere between three and five million dollars.

³⁷ In fact, BC was the first jurisdiction in Canada to use EM when it introduced a pilot study in 1987.

³⁸ Croisdale, T. E. (2007). *The Persistent Offender: A longitudinal analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

³⁹ Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., and A. Blumstein (2003). "The criminal career paradigm". In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and justice: An annual review of research* (Vol. 30). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁴⁰ Cohen, M. (1998). "The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5-33.

⁴¹ Cohen, M. A., and A. Piquero (2009). "New evidence on the monetary value of saving a high-risk youth", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 25: 25-49.

In estimating the costs associated with high risk offenders, Cohen notes that there are various components to be considered. Beyond the costs assumed by the individual offender (such as incarceration time), there are external costs and social costs. Economic externalities are costs that individuals bear inadvertently. For example, for a mugging victim, these would include the loss of possessions plus medical costs associated with the mugging, potential lost wages, pain and suffering. Social costs are related to externalities but include such factors as the loss of productivity among offenders, costs associated with treating drug addicts as well as costs associated with the criminal justice system.

There have been several police-based initiatives in this province, other parts of the country, the UK and other countries to focus on the management of priority and prolific offenders. They are referred to as “prolific offender management” (POM) or “priority and prolific offender management” (PPOM) programs. What these programs have in common is the identification of one or more cohorts of offenders in order to subject them to a more intensive supervision in the community. Generally speaking, these programs aim to reduce crime by dealing more effectively with a small number of offenders who are responsible for a large number of crimes, often property crimes.

There is quite a lot of variation in the way these programs are conceived and managed. However, there are several examples in this province and in other jurisdictions where the offender-focused approach to law enforcement has produced noticeable results. It can be applied to prolific offenders, but also to other groups of persistent offenders, such as domestic violence offenders, gang members, prolific property offenders, juvenile offenders and others for whom the risk of recidivism is high and a significant concern to the community. A wide range of labels is used to designate the offenders officially targeted by these initiatives, including chronic, persistent, priority and habitual offenders. These terms vary depending on the particular focus of the program.

Generally speaking, the offender management approach in question consisted of: selecting offenders, usually multi-recidivists; using clear selection criteria reflecting local crime reduction priorities; initiating contact with these offenders and engaging them in the initiative, keeping in mind that many of them are already under the care in one way or another of a correctional agency; assessing the individuals when an assessment has not already been conducted to identify their needs and risk factors; providing priority access and coordinating services to address the needs and risk factors; and active supervision of these offenders by police and correctional authorities. The local initiatives usually include as well the proactive supervision and policing of prolific offenders who do not participate in the program and their swift and effective prosecution as soon as they reoffend.

The experience acquired in B.C. in managing certain groups of prolific and priority offenders can pave the way to more comprehensive and systematized offender management strategies. Existing programs are far from perfect and their crime reduction outcomes have not always been validated.⁴² However, they can be regarded as a

⁴² For a critique of similar programs, see: Hopkins, M. and J. Wickson (2012). “Targeting Prolific and Other Priority Offenders and Promoting Pathways to Desistance: Some reflections on the PPO programme using a theory of change framework”, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 13 (5): 594-614.

promising practice that needs to be pursued. The next logical step is to build on that experience, expand the approach beyond the parameters of the initial programs and implement it systematically across the province with both a degree of consistency and enough flexibility to respond to local circumstances.

To date, the model has predominantly been applied to chronic property crime offenders, many of whom have a substance abuse problem. However, it can be used with any type of offender where there is a substantial risk of reoffending. For example, a Multi-Agency Preventative Program, involving a number of service providers as well as the police and other criminal justice agencies, is used with some significant results in the case of young offenders.⁴³ A similar approach to offender management is applied in various parts of Canada and in some parts of British Columbia to manage federal offenders released on parole where police, parole supervisors and dedicated prosecutors manage the offender's re-entry into society and work to reduce re-offending.⁴⁴

One can identify several major categories of offenders requiring the sustained and consistent attention of the criminal justice system to ensure that they desist from crime and do not reoffend. However, the Panel noted the frequent absence in existing programs of a rigorous and clear process for determining priorities. As a result, programs initially designated as "Prolific and Priority Offender Management" quickly drifted towards the most obvious group of prolific property offenders (typically dealing with a substance abuse problem). Going forward, it will be important to provide consistent guidance on how, at the local level, priorities can be set for identifying offenders subjected to the management program.

A preliminary assessment of Prolific and Priority Offender Management Programs operating in six British Columbia communities, using linked administrative data for services administered by health, justice and social services and analyzing pre-post changes in offender behaviour, indicated that the programs were associated with a significant decrease in recidivism, alongside significant increases in health and social service use.⁴⁵

Research also shows that the most significant reductions in recidivism are associated with treatment programs that adhere to the well-established Risk/Needs/Responsivity (RNR) model of offender assessment and intervention. Although, as at least one researcher has noted, "the risks and needs of prolific offenders may be so diverse that the only thing that they have in common is their volume of crime."⁴⁶

⁴³ DeGusti, B., MacRae, L., Vallee, M., Caputo, T., and J. P. Hornick (2009). *Best Practices for Chronic/Persistent Youth Offenders in Canada: Summary Report*. Ottawa: Public safety Canada.

⁴⁴ Axford, M and R. Ruddell (2010). "Police-parole Partnerships in Canada: A review of a promising programme", *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 12 (2).

⁴⁵ Rezansoff, S., Moniruzzaman, A. and J. M. Somers (2013). *An Initiative to Improve Outcomes Among Prolific and Priority Offenders in Six British Columbia Communities: Preliminary Analysis of Recidivism*, Burnaby (B.C.): Faculty of Health Sciences, Simon Fraser University.

⁴⁶ Idem, p. 3.

The Panel concludes that there is compelling evidence that this type of offender management approach is effective in preventing reoffending. However, efforts to fully implement such an approach have often met some significant obstacles, including a lack of effective coordination among service providers, law enforcement and other justice system agencies; the paucity of services available in the community; ineffective leadership; and a failure to address counter-productive attitudes and cultural factors.

Some offenders should be considered as priority offenders because they represent a risk of serious crimes (gang involved offenders, sexual offenders, child molesters, domestic violence offenders, offenders repeatedly involved in serious fraud and economic crime, etc.). From time to time these priority offenders may call for specific initiatives, coordinated across the province. There are many examples of programs that can help. For example, the Integrated Case Assessment Teams (ICAT) initiative, although designed for domestic violence, offers a problem solving method that can be adapted to any recurring crime issue for which interagency collaboration is needed.

d. Violence Against Women in Relationships

Effective action to prevent violence against women in relationships is one of the Province's major crime reduction priorities, and existing provincial policy provides a framework for action to reduce this type of crime and protect victims.⁴⁷ It emphasizes that supervision of the accused/offender by community corrections is critical for monitoring adherence to court imposed conditions and the management of risk and needs.

In high-risk cases, justice and child welfare personnel are expected to provide a heightened, coordinated and collaborative case management response that includes monitoring of the accused/offender and comprehensive safety strategies for the victim and others as appropriate.

Effective supervision and enforcement of protective conditions are essential while the offender is serving a community-based sentence. When area restrictions and no-contact conditions are imposed, the use of GPS electronic monitoring should be an option, as part of a comprehensive victim safety strategy.⁴⁸

e. Violence Against Children and Youth

Reducing violent crimes against children is another priority that must be integrated into a province-wide crime reduction strategy. Criminal justice institutions need to strengthen and focus their efforts to prevent and respond to violence against children and to increase their diligence in investigating, convicting and rehabilitating perpetrators of violent crimes against children, to effectively protect children.

⁴⁷ Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General, Ministry of Attorney General, and Ministry of Children and Family Development (2010). *Violence against Women in Relationships: Policy*, December 2010.

⁴⁸ See: *Violence against Women in Relationships: Policy*, "Appendix Two - Best Practices and Principles for Conditions of Community Supervision for Domestic Violence".

Under the *Child, Family and Community Service Act* (CFCSA), child welfare workers may receive reports from anyone who has reason to believe a child or youth has been or is likely to be physically, sexually or emotionally abused and/or neglected. In these situations, child welfare workers must report allegations of child physical harm, sexual abuse and neglect to the police in accordance with existing protocols and collaborate on the investigation. The CFCSA also contains provisions for information sharing and sets the tone for what should be a very close cooperation between law enforcement and child protection agencies to prevent and reduce the incidence of violence against children.

It is important to take into consideration the complementary roles of the justice system on the one hand, and the child protection, social welfare, health and education sectors on the other, in creating a protective environment and in preventing and responding to violence against children. It is also important to ensure that decisions on the apprehension or arrest, detention and terms of any form of release of an alleged perpetrator of violence against a child take into account the need for the safety of the child and others related to the child through family, socially or otherwise, and that such procedures also prevent further acts of violence.⁴⁹

In several of her reports and submissions, the Representative for Children and Youth highlighted the need for supervised bail orders that can effectively enhance victim safety by carefully monitoring the behaviour of the accused. She noted that improvements to bail supervision practices are necessary to enhance family safety. In domestic violence situations, any reported bail violation should receive an immediate enforcement response. Yet, there remain issues in this province with the enforcement of conditions attached to court orders and the way violations of bail conditions are currently dealt with. There are reported cases of serious violence against children related to the failure of the justice system to respond when breaches of bail conditions occurred. The Panel and the Representative for Children and Youth support the use of GPS-enabled electronic monitoring to help enforce protective conditions attached to bail supervision and probation orders.

Sentencing and Prolific Offenders

Short prison sentences applied to persistent offenders do not support desistance from crime. They are particularly ineffective in the cases of offenders dealing with severe substance abuse or mental illness issues. Yet short prison sentences are commonly imposed by the courts in a very large percentage of cases: the yearly median sentence length in 2012 was 51 days. Current sentencing patterns do not seem to achieve the objective of preventing recidivism. However, it would be unfair to blame the judiciary for failing to order more effective measures to prevent reoffending or encourage desistance from crime, particularly if they have very few effective alternative measures at their disposal.

⁴⁹ See: *United Nations Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Children in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice*, Vienna, UNODC, 2014.

The Chief Judge of the Provincial Court recognizes Judicial Interim Release and sentencing as two fundamentally important points in the criminal justice process that provide opportunities to address such matters as liberty interests, public safety, proportionality and rehabilitation of individuals. Adequate resources and up to date information are critical to effective judicial decision making in these two areas.

Thomas Crabtree

Chief Judge of the Provincial Court of British Columbia

The Panel recommends that, in order to limit the unnecessary recourse to short prison sentences that have little if any effect on crime reduction, measures should be taken to ensure that judges have access to a variety of effective sentencing options, supported by credible and effective programs in all communities.

“Conditional sentences work because they minimize the collateral damage caused by a jail sentence: loss of employment, breakdown of families, increased poverty for wives, mothers and children. Conditional sentences also work because every day an individual with proper conditions is rewarded for behaving appropriately – he or she is permitted to remain in the community. Offenders know that if they don't respect their conditions they will be back in jail very quickly.”

Richard Fowler
Barrister of Fowler and
Smith

It has become abundantly clear to the Panel that the current response to the chronic criminal behaviour of many prolific offenders is completely ineffective and fails to reduce

crime in a way that meets with public expectations.

It seems to the Panel that the *Criminal Code* already contains provisions that allow courts to suspend a sentence of imprisonment of less than two years while an offender is meeting conditions set by the court, such as participating in a treatment program. The development of much broader integrated offender management supervision based on conditional prison sentences and strict enforcement of conditions is one of the avenues that should immediately be explored in collaboration with the judiciary and prosecutors as envisioned in section 742.1 of the *Criminal Code*.

An improved system to manage and render more effective conditional sentences, with real consequences for failure to abide by the conditions imposed by the court, could give correctional and law enforcement authorities an opportunity to help an offender desist from crime and allow them to monitor his/her progress, as some of the better POM programs have already managed to do in this province. The approach, if properly implemented, would have many of the benefits of problem solving courts without the added expenses of that solution and the further clogging of provincial courts. It would also allow the prolific offender management program to be implemented province-wide without having to rely on local and disjointed law enforcement initiatives.

"When considering the terms of conditional sentences and probation orders, it is important to tailor the terms to the service levels available in the community and with appropriate and certain consequences for non-compliance."

Lori Ackerman
Mayor,
The City of Fort St-John

That enhanced system of conditional prison sentences should be primarily focused on the rehabilitation and social reintegration of offenders who are ready to desist from crime, rather than on punishment. It should be managed in a way that acknowledges that desistance from crime is a process, and that offenders are expected to have difficulties in complying with the court imposed conditions. To be effective, the

system would have to more broadly implement an Integrated Offender Management approach. This would have the potential to radically transform the way Community Corrections operates.

In order to maximize the impact of community-based interventions as part of a sentence, where appropriate, and encourage offenders to desist from crime, the Ministry of Justice should consider proposing, at the federal/provincial/territorial level, amendments to the Criminal Code of Canada that increase the flexibility of judges to order conditional sentences of imprisonment and/or allow for a more effective utilization of suspended sentences and probation orders for chronic offenders.

In addition, in order for the enhanced conditional sentences system to be operationalized and get the desired results province-wide, the judiciary would have to be convinced that effective programs are in place to assist and supervise these offenders.⁵⁰

Some stakeholders have suggested that, for conditional sentences to work as intended, judges may need to be more involved in a person's ongoing rehabilitation, with a requirement that the person report back to the sentencing judge on occasion during the term. This would serve to enhance the court's authority over the process and also serve to generally inform judges on the impact and outcomes of their decision to suspend a prison sentence.

⁵⁰ For an international comparison of the use of conditional prison sentences, see: Armstrong, S., McIvor, G., McNeill, F., and P. McGuinness (2013). *International Evidence Review of Conditional (suspended) Sentences: Final report*. Edinburgh, Scotland: The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research. See also: Bewley, H. (2012). *The Effectiveness of different Community Order requirements for Offenders who Received an OASys Assessment*. London: Ministry of Justice Research series 17/12, October 2012.

Appendix E

Mental Health and Addiction Issues

Assisting Offenders with Addiction Issues

Substance Abuse and Crime

The evidence is clear: a high proportion of criminal activity is related to substance abuse, either directly or indirectly.⁵¹ A significant proportion of addicts are not gainfully employed which means that criminal activity becomes a primary source of revenue to support their habit. Addicts are typically volume offenders since they require a constant supply of their substance of choice. Consequently, they must either provide a high rate of service (as in the case of sex trade workers), engage in the marketing of illegal substances (drugs as a pyramid scheme), or steal large amounts of “cash” or even larger amounts of commodities.

Commodities are particularly costly for the victim since offenders typically get less than 10 per cent of the market value of a stolen item from a fence. Consequently, from the victim’s perspective, substance abuse is a particularly costly activity. Depending on the type of substance they are using, offenders can spend anywhere from \$70 to \$1,000 per day; supporting that habit through stolen property would require an addict to obtain merchandise at about 10 times that value.

The Social Costs of Drug Use

In Canada, there is no recent data on the national costs of illegal substance use. However, data gathered a decade ago by the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse estimated the cost in 2002 at about \$8.2 billion.⁵² It is reasonable to assume that the costs today are substantially higher. According to that study, law enforcement costs account for about \$2.3 billion while direct health care costs account for about \$1.1 billion. The social costs associated with drug use, such as the loss of productivity, accounted for about \$4.6 billion.

A large portion of those costs is underwritten by social welfare budgets. When broken down by province, the study estimated that the total cost of illegal drugs in British Columbia was approximately \$1.5 billion. This translates to about one per cent of provincial GDP.

⁵¹ While the focus here is on the use of illicit drugs, some authors (e.g., Miller et al., 2006) note that crimes attributable to alcohol appear to have twice the costs associated with them when compared with drugs.

⁵² Rehm, J. et al. (2008). *The Costs of Substance Abuse in Canada, 2002*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

The biggest single cost was borne by the health care system with law enforcement second. Rhem and his colleagues generated costs based on the population of the province at \$364 per capita. For our purposes, however, a more useful estimate would be *per drug user*. Unfortunately, we were unable to find any such estimates for either B.C. or elsewhere in Canada.

"The three conditions (namely abstinence, improved personal health and improved citizenship) that define recovery are measurable entities. Healthcare systems fail completely to recognize or even acknowledge that literally millions of people have successfully accomplished these three objectives since the 1930s."

Dr. Michael O'Malley
Prince George

As with overall crime rates, recent patterns show a slight downturn in the use of drugs and alcohol in Canada. While legal, alcohol is considered by many in the field to pose a greater social cost than the use of illicit drugs.⁵³ According to the 2011 Canadian Alcohol and Drug Use Monitoring Survey (CADUMS), rates of alcohol consumption in British Columbia are slightly lower than the rest of Canada while rates of illicit drug use are higher.⁵⁴ Still, about 12.1 per cent of the B.C. population exceeds the threshold for *chronic* low-risk drinking guidelines⁵⁵, and

7.1 per cent exceed the threshold for *acute* low-risk drinking.⁵⁶

As for illicit drugs, 12.1 per cent of the population reported having used cannabis in the past year. A total of 13.8 per cent of British Columbians report having used at least one illicit drug in the past year.⁵⁷ Due to small sample sizes, it is difficult to generate an accurate estimate for the proportion of the population that have experienced a social harm as a consequence of illicit drug use.⁵⁸

At the national level, however, it is estimated that about 1.8 per cent of the population experienced some form of social harm from their drug use in the past year. Among drug users, however, 17.6 per cent of the national population report their drug use resulting in some form of social harm in the past year. Restricting the sample to those who use cocaine, speed, hallucinogens including salvia, and ecstasy or heroin, results in 46.1 per cent reporting their drug use has resulted in a social harm. While these are national figures, it is unlikely that the results for British Columbia will differ substantially.

⁵³ Nutt, D. J., King, L. A. and L. D. Phillips (2010). "Drug harms in the UK: Multicriteria decision analysis", *The Lancet*, 9752: 1558 – 1565; Thomas, G. and C. G. Davis (2007). *Comparing the Perceived Seriousness and Actual Costs of Substance Abuse in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

⁵⁴ See http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hc-ps/drugs-droguies/stat/_2011/tables-tableaux-eng.php#t2 for a summary of results.

⁵⁵ The low-risk threshold for chronic alcohol consumption is defined as "People who drink within this guideline must drink no more than 10 drinks a week for women, with no more than 2 drinks a day most days and 15 drinks a week for men, with no more than 3 drinks a day most days."

⁵⁶ Here, the low-risk threshold for acute alcohol consumption is defined as "Those who drink within this guideline must drink no more than 3 drinks (for women) and 4 drinks (for men) on any single occasion. Plan to drink in a safe environment. Stay within the weekly limits outlined in Guideline 1".

⁵⁷ These include: cannabis, cocaine/crack, meth/crystal meth, ecstasy, hallucinogens, salvia, inhalants, heroin; abuse of pain relievers, stimulants; sedatives to get high.

⁵⁸ "Drug related harms include harms in any of the following 8 areas: physical health; friendships and social life; financial position; home life or marriage; work, studies or employment opportunities; legal problems; difficulty learning; and housing problems."

Needless to say, the CADUMS findings are weakened by the fact that many users are either not captured by the survey, refuse to answer or underestimate their consumption.

While alcohol abuse is not illegal in itself, it obviously contributes significantly to criminal behaviour particularly with regard to motor vehicle incidents and assault (domestic and otherwise).

Quality Addiction Treatment Can Prevent Crime

There is evidence that individuals who complete a therapeutic community program in custodial centres have a lower rate of recidivism and drug use and higher likelihood of successful social reintegration. For example, according to a preliminary impact analysis, offenders who completed the program offered through the Guthrie House Therapeutic Community pilot program at Nanaimo Correctional Centre reoffended significantly less than those who did not complete the program (38 per cent, compared to 56 per cent for the control group).⁵⁹

The argument is often made that effective addiction treatment programs cannot be offered in a custodial setting when the sentence served is very short. There is however some evidence that short-term intensive drug treatment (particularly if it is followed up with psycho-social support during the re-entry process) can produce desirable outcomes and limit future recidivism.⁶⁰ There remains also the question of the role of offender motivation in rehabilitation and reintegration which, in many instances, may play a more prominent role in the success of drug treatment than the treatment itself.⁶¹

People in recovery have fewer problems and commit fewer crimes than people who are in active addiction.⁶² Treatment cuts crime and improves public safety. The lack of available treatment has huge costs and affects public safety.

It is important to divert non-violent drug offenders into treatment and offer effective re-entry programs. Treatment in custodial institutions must be enhanced and made more effective.⁶³ Some important changes in current practices are necessary and the Ministry of Health has an important role to play.

Drug addiction is a chronic disease of the brain that can be prevented and treated. The goal of treatment should be recovery, and funds should be directed towards this. The

⁵⁹ Gress, C. L. Z. and S. Arabsky (2010). *Therapeutic Community - Preliminary Impact Analysis*. Victoria: B.C. Corrections, Performance, Research and Evaluation Unit.

⁶⁰ See, for example: Bahr, S. J., Harris, P. E., Strobell, J. H., and B. M. Taylor (2013). "An Evaluation of a Short-term Drug Treatment for Jail Inmates", *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 57 (10): 1275-1296. See also: Bahr, S.J., Masters, A.L., and B. M. Taylor, B.M. (2012). "What works in substance abuse treatment programs for offenders?", *The Prison Journal*, 92 (2): 155-174.

⁶¹ See: Gideon, L. (2010). "Drug offenders' perceptions of motivation: The role of motivation in rehabilitation and reintegration", *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 54 (4): 597-610.

⁶² Laudet, 2013, *Life in Recovery – Survey Findings*. For a discussion of the concept of "recovery", see also: The Betty Ford Institute Consensus Panel (2007). "What is Recovery? A working definition from the Betty Ford Institute", *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33: 221-228.

⁶³ National Institute of Drug Abuse (2012). *Principles of Drug Abuse Treatment for Criminal Justice Populations*. Also: National Institute of Drug Abuse (2012), *Principles of Drug Addiction Treatment - A research-based Guide*.

recent report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health mentioned that the general public, health care professionals and law enforcement officials lack knowledge and awareness of addiction as a chronic disease of the motivational system in the brain, as well as the role of opioid substitution therapy in its treatment. This lack of awareness of addiction as a brain disease means that individuals who become addicted to prescription drugs and other substances experience negative judgements from others and feel ashamed of their illness. In order to address this issue, the Committee recommended a public awareness campaign to both raise awareness of the nature of addiction and celebrate stories of recovery.⁶⁴

We need to commit to an approach based on science, evidence and research. Treatment can help patients addicted to drugs stop using, avoid relapse and successfully recover their lives. People can recover and contribute to our communities. We are not currently doing a good job of breaking the cycle of drug use, crime, arrest and incarceration. We need to focus on treatment and recovery.

The relationship between substance use and crime drives significant social and health costs at all levels. Untreated, active addiction has huge human, social and financial costs. Treatment is not evenly distributed in British Columbia nor does it always provide an entire continuum of responses. Those involved with the criminal justice system often have lower access to services. Treatment needs to be readily available to all (as a crime prevention measure) and in particular to offenders.

Harm Reduction

Harm reduction strategies seek to minimize the adverse health and social consequences associated with drug use. Over the years various harm reduction programs have been implemented such as needle exchanges, methadone maintenance programs and supervised injection sites. This approach recognizes that, at any given time, many drug users are unable or unwilling to abstain from drug use and that other options are necessary to minimize the harm to themselves and others that will likely result from their continued drug use.

Some harm reduction strategies are highly controversial and the Panel had first-hand opportunities to observe how polarized and emotional this particular aspect of prevention policies has become. In that regard, the Panel would like to quote the thoughtful conclusions of a paper on “harm reduction” published by the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse:

“Drug abuse and addiction are truly chronic, multifaceted societal problems that require a range of policies, programs and interventions. However reasonable or objectionable certain measures may be to some people, our collective endorsement of specific programs should be based on objective, scientific evidence of effectiveness, with an appreciation of the intent of the intervention and whether it is

⁶⁴ Report of the Standing Committee on Health (2014). *Government's Role in Addressing Prescription Drug Abuse*. Ottawa: House of Commons Canada.

the best course of action for specific problems. We should neither unilaterally accept nor reject measures because of where they fit within our ideological perspective or because of the way the term "harm reduction" colours our perceptions of their intent."⁶⁵

A Variety of Treatment Options Must Be Made Available

No single treatment is appropriate for everyone. Treatment options must be made available. It should be clear also that medically assisted detoxification is only the first stage of addiction treatment and, by itself, does little to change long-term drug abuse.

Effective treatment attends to multiple needs of the individual, not just his or her drug

"I would like to re-emphasize my support for what the Panel has deemed to be a "gap" and that is the lack of psycho-social support available to individuals in treatment or in follow-up."

P. R.W. Kendall,
Provincial Health Officer

misuse. Medications are important for managing the physical aspects of addictions. Completing a treatment program is one of the most important factors for long-term sobriety. Medication may help individuals dealing with withdrawal symptoms, support them to enter treatment at an early stage, and in some cases increase the chance that they will complete treatment phases.

Particularly crucial is the need to provide individuals in treatment or recovery with the psycho-social support they need for their effective social reintegration. The gaps in the availability of such services throughout the province are quite evident.

Drug Treatment: Costs and Benefits.

Often, we hear two arguments against the expansion of drug treatment programs. The first is that they are simply too expensive and we cannot afford them. The second is that these programs tend to have low success rates. Both experience and the scientific literature suggest these arguments are not valid. Despite its up-front costs, treatment is highly cost-effective in the long run. Treatment programs, despite having less than ideal success rates, are successful for a significant proportion of those afflicted with substance abuse disorder.

Clearly, substance abuse is an expensive societal issue. Drug treatment is also an expensive enterprise. This raises the immediate question as to whether treatment is worth the cost. According to the US National Institute on Drug Abuse, "every dollar invested in addiction treatment programs yields a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs, and theft. When savings related to healthcare are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12 to 1."⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Beirness, D. J., Jesseman, R., Notarandrea, R., and M. Perron (2008). *Harm Reduction: What's in a Name?* Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse.

⁶⁶ <http://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/principles-drug-addiction-treatment-research-based-guide-third-edition/frequently-asked-questions/drug-addiction-treatment-worth-its-cost>

Drug treatment programs vary considerably in cost by modality and location. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, the cost of methadone maintenance in the US is about \$4,200 US per person per year. The retail cost of methadone in Canada is about \$6 plus dispensing fees, which are typically less than \$10. On an annual basis, the dispensing cost of methadone in Canada is about equivalent to that in the US. Not covered in this estimate are physicians' fees to supervise the addict.

While methadone maintenance programs are appropriate for many individuals, they have limitations. First, many addicts who do not have subsidiary treatment support remain dependent on methadone for years rather than weaning off the substance. Second, many drug users become cross-addicted and complement their methadone intake with other substances such as cocaine or amphetamines.

Several EU countries have detoxification and treatment programs as an extension of their national health care systems.⁶⁷ Information on actual daily costs is limited but for inpatient detoxification, the cost in England is about £165 or \$300 per day. For Germany, the equivalent is about €247 (\$375 CDN) per day. The costs of psycho-social treatment vary greatly depending upon the treatment, but estimates for the UK range from €59 to €288 (\$89 to \$436) per day. Other countries such as Norway are at the upper end of that range for inpatient treatment. These values contrast with many private clinics in the US and Canada which often charge \$1,000 per day or more.

A big question concerning drug treatment is the degree to which it is successful. Despite years of research, it is not at all clear what constitutes an optimal treatment program or how long that program should last. Hard data are sparse and, for many programs, nonexistent. Part of this is understandable since there are many different treatments and matching treatment modality with an individual's diagnosis is difficult. Furthermore, many if not most addicts have a multiplicity of social issues that confound their attempts to remain drug-free.

In this morass, the Guide to Substance Abuse Services for Primary Care Clinicians provides perhaps the best synopsis of what we might expect.⁶⁸

All the long-term studies find that "treatment works"—the majority of substance-dependent patients eventually stop compulsive use and have less frequent and severe relapse episodes. The most positive effects generally happen while the patient is actively participating in treatment, but prolonged abstinence following treatment is a good predictor of continuing success. Almost 90 per cent of those who remain abstinent for two years are also drug and alcohol free at 10 years. Patients who remain in treatment for longer periods of time are also likely to achieve maximum benefits: treatment lasting for three months or longer is often a predictor of a successful outcome. Furthermore,

⁶⁷ European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2011). *Cost and Financing of Drug Treatment Services in Europe: An Exploratory Study*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

⁶⁸ Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (2008). *A Guide to Substance Abuse Services for Primary Care Clinicians*. Rockville, MD: US Department of Health and Human Services.

individuals who have lower levels of premorbid psychopathology and other serious social, vocational and legal problems are most likely to benefit from treatment. Continuing participation in aftercare or self-help groups following treatment also appears to be associated with success.

Returning to our original question of whether the cost of treatment is *economically* efficient, it is worthwhile considering the estimated lifetime costs associated with drug violators. From their analysis, Delisi and Gatling estimated the average *annual criminal justice cost* per offense per career criminal at \$208,000 US. This does not include externalities and social costs, which most will likely double this value. Compared with this, a \$25,000 treatment program seems like a bargain.

There are a few international reviews of the cost-effectiveness of treatment programs, but none that we could find for Canada. The most recent and comprehensive review in North America is that by Belenko, Patapis and French.⁶⁹ In summary, they reviewed 99 treatment programs and concluded the following (Belenko, Patapis and French, 2005: v; all figures in 2004 US dollars):

- Across 99 programs, the costs per abstinent case (\$6,300) and per reduced drug use case (\$2,400) were lowest for outpatient clients, and highest for residential (\$14,900 and \$6,700) and inpatient (\$15,600 and \$6,100) clients.
- Enhanced outpatient services were more cost effective than standard services. In other words, the extra cost of enhanced services yielded a lower cost per unit improvement in outcomes.
- In a randomized trial, the incremental cost effectiveness of methadone maintenance versus 180-day methadone detoxification was \$15,967 per life-year gained, well within the standard accepted threshold of \$50,000 per life-year gained.
- For alcohol-involved clients, studies suggest that less intensive brief interventions may be more cost effective in certain settings.
- Several CEA studies of correctional treatment concluded that residential prison treatment was cost effective only if aftercare services were completed. [It was also] found that cost effectiveness was greater for high-risk inmates who receive prison treatment plus aftercare.

In the United Kingdom, the National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse, the Home Office and the Department of Health developed a Value for Money model for estimating the crime prevention and health improvement benefits of treatment and recovery.⁷⁰ They estimated that drug treatment and recovery systems in England may have prevented approximately 4.9 million crimes in 2010-11, with an estimated saving to society of £960

⁶⁹ Belenko, S., Patapis, N. and M.T. French (2005). *Economic Benefits of Drug Treatment: A critical review of the evidence for policy makers*. Philadelphia: Treatment Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁰ National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse (2012). *Estimating the Crime Reduction Benefits of Drug Treatment and Recovery*. London: NHS.

million in costs to the public, businesses, the criminal justice system and National Health Service. The model also helped estimate the potential impact of disinvestment in adult drug treatment: it concluded that, all else being equal, for every £1 million taken out of the system there could be an increase of approximately 9,860 drug-related crimes per year at an estimated cost to society of over £1.8 million.

After reviewing the literature on cost-benefit analysis of drug treatment, the LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy suggested that there is an average benefit-to-cost ratio of about 8.9.⁷¹ Furthermore, as the World Health Organization notes,

“According to several conservative estimates, every dollar invested in opioid dependence treatment programmes may yield a return of between \$4 and \$7 in reduced drug-related crime, criminal justice costs and theft alone. When savings related to health care are included, total savings can exceed costs by a ratio of 12:1.”⁷²

Essentially, we cannot afford not to expand our treatment efforts.

C. Methadone Maintenance Treatment

The Panel recognizes that there is a place for Methadone Maintenance Treatment (MMT) in the range of treatment options.

The University of Victoria Centre for Addiction Research review of the “Methadone Maintenance Treatment in British Columbia, 1996-2008” recommended a “coordinated approach to MMT funding that ensures value for money is being achieved, fiscal irregularities or abuses are addressed and a multidisciplinary system is supported.”⁷³

A comprehensive qualitative review of B.C.’s methadone maintenance treatment program (from the perspective of a wide variety of stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in the program) mentioned the need to dramatically ramp up the capacity for services to respond more effectively to the range of health and social problems experienced by MMT clients. In particular, integrated services critical to addressing complex needs were reported to be rare.⁷⁴

The authors of that report refer to the potential to engage offenders on MMT while in corrections settings as something desirable, because it offers “important public health possibilities.” They also identified issues with the delivery of methadone treatment in prisons:

⁷¹ LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy (2014) *Ending the Drug Wars*. London: London School of Economics.

⁷² World Health Organization, Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and UN Office on Drugs and Crime. ‘Position Paper: Substitution Maintenance Therapy in the Management of Opioid Dependence and HIV Prevention,’ Geneva, United Nations, 2004.

⁷³ Reist, D. (2010). *Methadone Maintenance Treatment in British Columbia, 1996-2008*. Victoria: University of Victoria, Centre for Addiction Research, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Parkes, T. and D. Reist (2010). *British Columbia Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program: A Qualitative Systems Review*. Victoria: Centre for Addictions Research, University of Victoria.

“Despite progress, problems for people accessing methadone in correctional settings still exist. Identified issues include: unpredictability in responding to people currently enrolled in MMT; poor access to methadone when the person was already stable on a regular dose; unclear policies and guidelines around methadone access and distribution; challenges in initiating methadone in provincial corrections settings because a person’s stay is often very short; and an anti-methadone sentiment amongst some corrections staff, including some physicians and nurses”.⁷⁵

The review also noted that:

“Correctional facilities can be a very difficult place for people on MMT. It is widely acknowledged that illegal drugs are available within the prison system, and so the proximity and accessibility of heroin may be a difficult temptation to resist. Methadone may be used as a currency in corrections settings, being diverted and traded. Methadone patients may be pressured or bullied by other inmates to divert their methadone, yet may be punished by prison staff if they are discovered doing so”.⁷⁶

The Panel also noted that an opioid replacement treatment program is widely used within federal correctional institutions with provisions for continued access to treatment after the offender’s release.

Many of the clients of the MMT program experience concurrent health and social needs requiring a range of services and supports. Mental illness, physical injury and disability, diabetes and neurocognitive disorders were described as common among clients of the provincial program. Many have a history of violence and complex trauma.⁷⁷

“What do we mean by recovery? We mean a process through which an individual is enabled to move on from their problem drug use, towards a drug-free life as an active and contributing member of society. Furthermore, it incorporates the principle that recovery is most effective when service users’ needs and aspirations are placed at the centre of their care and treatment.”

The Scottish Government (2008).
The Road to Recovery - A New Approach to Tackling Scotland's Drug Problem.
Edinburgh.

⁷⁵ Idem, p. 18.

⁷⁶ Idem, p. 19.

⁷⁷ Idem, p. 4.

D. Promoting Recovery

Recovery should be the explicit aim of services for offenders with addiction issues in British Columbia. Although in practice recovery will mean different things for different people, it should be encouraged as an achievable goal for offenders, directly related to their eventual complete desistance from crime.

Some studies have examined whether drug users are looking to treatment to reduce their risk behaviour or to become abstinent from their drug use. One such study, based on a survey of 1,007 drug users starting a new episode of treatment, established that there was widespread support for abstinence as a goal for treatment with 56 per cent of users identifying 'abstinence' as the only change they hoped to achieve on the basis of attending the drug treatment program.⁷⁸ Only relatively small proportions of drug users identified harm reduction as their aspiration from treatment.

"Treatment and recovery are complementary. Ongoing support and continuing care are essential parts of a comprehensive, evidence-based, treatment system"

Michel Perron
Former Chief Executive
Officer
Canadian Centre on
Substance Abuse

This prioritization was consistent across settings (prison, residential and community), gender, treatment type (with the exception of those receiving methadone) and severity of dependence. The Panel's meeting with chronic offenders in recovery revealed similar views and aspirations from treatment amongst these individuals.

Putting resources into evidence-based strategies that can improve rates of recovery from addiction has the potential to dramatically reduce crime and improve public safety. However, creating an effective system will require training addiction treatment providers and setting guidelines and standards that have for too long been absent in the area of addiction care.

Dr. Evan Wood
Canada Research Chair in Inner City Medicine,
UBC
Medical Director, Addiction Services
Vancouver Coastal Health

Using the definition adopted by the Scottish government, recovery refers to a process through which individuals are enabled to move from their problem drug and alcohol use, towards a drug-free and alcohol-free life as an active and productive member of society.⁷⁹

The Panel recommends that measures be urgently taken to enhance access to effective substance abuse treatment programs focused on sustainable long-term recovery.

⁷⁸ McKeganey, N., Morris, Z., Neale, J. and M. Robertson (2004). "What Are Drug Users Looking for When They Contact Drug services: Abstinence or Harm Reduction?" *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 11 (5): 423-435.

⁷⁹ The Scottish Government (2008). *The Road to Recovery – A New Approach to tackling Scotland's Drug Problem*. Edinburgh.

We recognize that access to treatment and recovery programs cannot be improved without reconsidering current methods of funding and ensuring that consistent, evidence-based standards are developed and attached to all relevant provincial funding schemes. There is a need also to invest in training physicians and other allied health professionals in the prevention, early identification and treatment of alcohol and drug addiction. As part of this, investments are also required to develop provincial standards and therapeutic guidelines for the treatment of alcohol and drug addiction aimed at supporting patients into recovery.

E. Accreditation of Programs

Many of the stakeholders consulted emphasized the need for a consistent and coherent evidence-based accreditation system for community-based treatment and recovery programs. There should be an inventory of existing programs and facilities in each health region and an assessment of the services they offer against national standards.

Accreditation of an addiction treatment centre refers generally to a quality assurance process whereby the centre is assessed against national standards of excellence. These standards measure clinical, operational and governance-based performance. The accreditation process can establish the extent to which a centre complies with national standards and measure the quality of services that clients receive.⁸⁰ It does not usually prescribe a particular approach to offering addiction treatment.

Many stakeholders also expressed concerns about the abuses that take place in unlicensed recovery houses and their sometimes disruptive and negative impact on communities. The Panel suggests that a taskforce be convened by the Province involving relevant government ministries, the Canadian Association for Substance Abuse, members of the Union of BC Municipalities, the BC Association of Chiefs of Police and health authorities to examine effective means of addressing this issue without damaging the fragile web of community-based treatment and recovery services.

F. Access to Treatment by Aboriginal Offenders

The Panel heard that the best programs for Aboriginal offenders with substance abuse problems are Aboriginal-led, recognize the importance of cultural identity and self-determination, and integrate traditional knowledge and the wisdom of elders with non-Aboriginal approaches.⁸¹ They must be grounded in an understanding of the close relationship between mental health, addictions and inter-generational trauma.

In First Nations and remote communities, access to a continuum of care for offenders with mental illness or substance abuse problems continues to be an issue. First Nations

⁸⁰ Health Canada, Assembly of First Nations, and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation (2011). *Honouring Our Strengths: A Renewed Framework to Address Substance Use Issues among First Nations People in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada, p. 92.

⁸¹ See also: Mental Health Commission of Canada (2009). *Toward Recovery and Well-being – A Framework for a Mental Health Strategy for Canada*. Ottawa: Mental health Commission of Canada, p. 18.

people access substance use and mental health-related services from various sectors throughout the health care system, as well as various other systems and sectors, including social services, child welfare, justice, housing, education and employment. Substance abuse treatment programs are also offered by the federal government.⁸²

The Panel is not in a position to comment on the quality of the substance abuse and mental health programs available to Aboriginal people in B.C. or on whether they are accessible in a timely manner by Aboriginal offenders seeking help to support their own recovery process. However, the Panel has certainly heard about the need to integrate existing programs and facilitate access to them. As was acknowledged in a report prepared by Health Canada, the Assembly of First Nations and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation, with diverse systems and increasingly complex needs, the challenge for communities and service providers is to coordinate a broad range of services and supports to ensure First Nations have access to a comprehensive client-centred continuum of care.⁸³

⁸² In particular, the First Nations substance use issues are addressed through the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program (NNADAP).

⁸³ Health Canada, Assembly of First Nations, and the National Native Addictions Partnership Foundation (2011). *Honouring Our Strengths: A Renewed Framework to Address Substance Use Issues among First Nations People in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada.

Appendix F

Meaningful and Effective Diversion and Restorative Justice Programs

The purpose of diversion is to address the factors associated with the risk of reoffending by providing immediate and effective interventions without submitting the offender to the whole criminal justice process. For some offenders, a formal criminal sanction is neither necessary nor useful to facilitate their social integration and prevent reoffending. Other more effective and less stigmatizing interventions are possible in the community, including diversion programs that redirect offenders from the criminal justice process to other, more appropriate, interventions.⁸⁴

Diversion programs are based on the discretionary authority of criminal justice officials, such as the police and prosecutors, to refer offenders to suitable programs as an alternative to the criminal justice process. In appropriate circumstances, and in particular for young offenders or people suffering from mental illness or substance abuse disorders, diversion programs can ensure that offenders receive the most suitable and effective interventions while avoiding unnecessary exposure to a prison environment.

However, it should be obvious that diversion is an effective option only to the extent that credible and effective community-based interventions to which offenders can be diverted are present in a given community. It should be equally obvious that officials are unlikely to support diversion unless they can rely on credible offender assessments, up-to-date information on available programs, clear criteria on which to base their decisions and regular feedback on the success of the interventions offered.

In his report to the Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Cowper recommended a province-wide plan for diversion, including restorative justice, be developed to include education, quality assurance and control, performance measures, reporting and evaluation.⁸⁵ The Panel reiterates that recommendation.

The Justice and Public Safety Council's Strategic Plan acknowledges the need to address the following performance gap: "Coordinated efforts are required to ensure appropriate triage of mentally-disordered individuals, including adequate accommodation and treatment availability". The plan encourages everyone to work across all levels of government to understand and address root causes of crime, and to support and participate in effective alternative interventions and innovation. Success could be measured in terms of reducing the "proportion of provincial inmates with diagnosed (a) major mental disorders and (b) substance dependency."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ The *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures* state that the development of new non-custodial measures should be encouraged and closely monitored (Rule 2.4). It is also stated that consideration should be given to dealing with offenders in the community, avoiding as far as possible the use of formal proceedings or trial by a court, in accordance with legal safeguards and the rule of law (Rule 2.5). The development of a wide range of community-based measures is also advocated. The *Bangkok Rules* advocate the same for women offenders.

⁸⁵ Cowper, D. G. (2012), *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 12.

⁸⁶ JPSC Strategic Plan, 2013, p. 20.

It is important to move towards integrated planning, delivery and evaluation of services to reduce the risk that people with substance abuse and mental disorders become unnecessarily involved with the corrections system.⁸⁷

The Panel heard a lot of support expressed in various communities for a proactive approach to the management of mentally ill offenders in the community. Examples of the King Street Mental Health Clinic and the Street Nurse Outreach Clinic, both in Kamloops, were very encouraging. A lot of support was expressed for the Ministry of Health “Assertive Community Treatment” (ACT) teams and the importance of supportive housing was emphasized.

It needs to be understood that the typical short stay in custody (i.e. less than 60 days) is an expensive intervention that is unlikely, in most cases, to have a significant effect on subsequent offending (desistance) and does not contribute in any significant way to crime reduction. A large number of individuals in provincial correctional institutions arrived there with a multiplicity of issues and needs which could be more effectively dealt with in other ways.

An integrated offender management initiative should have, as one of its objectives, the development and use of various alternatives to the criminal justice system (and to imprisonment). This would include enhancing diversion to restorative justice programs, addiction treatment and recovery programs, and mental health care and treatment. The goal would be to reduce the numbers of individuals in provincial corrections facilities, particularly those given short sentences that do not contribute in any meaningful way to their eventual desistance from crime.

The community has an important role to play. Most offenders considered for diversion programs face significant social adaptation issues, which can include family and community stigmatization and ostracism, and the ensuing negative impact on their ability to find jobs or housing, return to formal education or build or rebuild individual and social capital. Unless they receive help to face these issues, they frequently become caught up in a cycle of failed social integration, reoffending, reconviction and social rejection. Communities need to understand and accept the importance of ensuring the successful reintegration of offenders and take active steps to facilitate that process.

As a matter of priority, clear provincial guidelines should be established and enforced to encourage diversion to accredited treatment and recovery programs and other meaningful interventions.

Diversion Programs for Aboriginal Offenders

Statistics show that Aboriginal people continue to be over-represented in the justice system as both offenders and victims. Effective diversion programs for them are

⁸⁷ Julian Somers et al. (2008), “Corrections, Health and Human Services”.

particularly important and currently insufficient. It is important to focus on developing those alternatives in cooperation with Aboriginal communities. The Justice and Public Safety Council's Strategic Plan proposes to address the following performance gap: "Meaningful options need to be available to courts in support of alternatives to incarceration consistent with *R v Gladue*." A proposed performance measure is the rate of Aboriginal incarceration as a result of a sentence.

A recent study conducted in New South Wales, Australia, identified some of the characteristics of diversion programs for Aboriginal offenders that seem to be more promising. Among them were programs involving on-the-job work experience, mentoring, and culturally appropriate treatments and rehabilitation initiatives that involve Aboriginal elders and facilitators.⁸⁸

Such programs already exist in different parts of the province. In Williams Lake, the Community Justice Program administered by the Alkali Lake Indian Band utilizes restorative justice processes as a culturally appropriate and traditional way in balance with the legal system. The interventions include, among others, alternative measures and extrajudicial sanctions for both youth and adults, a responsible relationship program, and victim-offender mediation.

Correctional Programs

According to BC Corrections, more than two-thirds of offenders in 2012 had been previously involved in the criminal justice system; 40 per cent of these offenders had a history of 10 or more convictions, and five per cent had 24 or more convictions within 10 years. (Data on the 2012 sentenced population was traced back over 10 years to identify offenders with repeated convictions that were supervised by BC Corrections.)

A large proportion of offenders go through the provincial corrections system often for relatively minor crimes, serving successive and relatively short terms of imprisonment. Although the crimes in which they are involved are relatively less serious, primarily small property crimes, the impact of these repeat offenders on communities and public safety, as well as public confidence in the justice system, is substantial.

Much of their behaviour can be linked to substance abuse and addictions, mental disorders, lack of job skills and other issues. Because they tend to serve short-term sentences, their access to treatment and other programs while in detention is quite limited and they remain at high risk of reoffending. None of this cycle of meaningless interventions makes any difference in terms of crime reduction.

⁸⁸ Closing the Gap Clearinghouse (2013). *Diverting Indigenous Offenders from the Criminal Justice System*. Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare.

The success of initiatives to prevent reoffending is dependent on implementing effective and proven correctional interventions. By definition, an effective rehabilitation program has been systematically and independently shown to reduce reoffending. This is the single most important measure of effectiveness of correctional interventions. Since correctional interventions are ordered by the courts as part of the sentencing process, reoffending should therefore be the most important measure of the effectiveness of fair sentencing practices.

Correctional interventions must directly address the factors in the life of an individual that relate to offending. The Risk/Needs/Responsivity assessment protocol in use in our correctional institutions is meant to identify those factors and help design the risk management (supervision) and risk reduction (rehabilitation) interventions.

"The correctional system offers a critical opportunity to facilitate access to life saving infectious disease and drug use treatment by inmates in the interest of optimizing their own health outcomes, as well as public health outcomes, in a cost effective fashion."

Dr. J. Montaner
BC Centre for
Excellence in
HIV/AIDS

A. Offender Re-entry Management

Our provincial prisons generally fail to break the cycle of crime and reoffending. More effective programs are needed. BC Corrections has a limited integrated offender management (IOM) program, the success of which has not been fully evaluated. The principles that have inspired the program reflect best practices. However, there is still a concern that the majority of offenders serving short sentences do not get much help dealing with their issues and preparing for their return to the community. Efforts to motivate these offenders to desist from crime and help them connect with services in the community and prepare themselves for post-release are limited.⁸⁹

The evidence shows that factors such as attitude, self-control, mental and physical health, drug and alcohol abuse, employment and housing can have a huge impact on the likelihood of reoffending. For example, being employed or having stable accommodation can significantly reduce the risk of reoffending and increase the likelihood of successful social reintegration. More effective and accessible vocational training and trade certification programs should be developed.

Building a system that can reduce the level of recidivism is a major undertaking. It requires long-term changes to the way the criminal justice system and other stakeholders operate in order to ensure that they all make the maximum possible impact on recidivism. To do so they must jointly focus on that shared objective, work together, focus on the

⁸⁹ A similar situation is addressed in a 2010 report of a U.K. Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General on "Managing Offenders on Short Sentences", National Audit Office, London, March 10, 2010. The report offers some valuable suggestions.

right people and issues, use proven methods of intervention, and be accountable for delivering measurable outcomes.

We must urgently identify programs and strategies that will help prisoners successfully reintegrate with their communities and desist from crime. A successful crime reduction strategy must address factors contributing to the large number of crimes committed by individuals who have served one or several terms of incarceration and failed, upon their release, to integrate the community as law-abiding citizens.⁹⁰ Some effective programs and strategies already exist for offenders serving long-term sentences in federal institutions; they are based in part on sound programs, a conditional release system and effective supervision after release. Similarly robust programs still need to be implemented in British Columbia for offenders serving short sentences.

Crime reduction includes effective measures to prevent recidivism and to stop the cycle of failed adaptation by repeat offenders. Offenders released from custody face a variety of challenges that may hinder their ability to become law-abiding citizens. The period of transition from custody to community can be particularly difficult for offenders. In the absence of material and psychological support and access to treatment, lodging and employment, few offenders can break the cycle of prison, release and reoffending.

Positive reintegration outcomes can be produced when factors predisposing an individual to criminal behaviour are addressed in a holistic fashion and when the physical and social needs of offenders are supported both within the prison and after the offenders' release. In recent years, more emphasis has been placed on designing comprehensive interventions, based on a continuity of care, to provide consistent assistance and supervision to offenders within and beyond prison. Managing the offenders' re-entry process can reduce crime. Developing programs to support their reintegration may offer a cost effective way of preventing crime.

BC Corrections implemented and evaluated a pilot IOM program dealing with a limited group of recidivist offenders serving a sentence of incarceration of a minimum length (90 and 120 days) and period of community supervision of at least six months. The IOM project provided an environment where BC Corrections custody and community staff worked collaboratively with the offender to develop a comprehensive and integrated case plan addressing the offender's criminogenic factors and needs while in custody. An internal program review showed that it produced a significant reduction in the rate of recidivism of participants as compared to that of a control group.⁹¹ This has led to suggestions that the program should be turned into a comprehensive approach to manage the re-entry of all offenders.

⁹⁰ Griffiths, C. T., Dandurand, Y. and D. Murdoch (2007). *The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention*. Ottawa: National Crime Prevention Centre, Public Safety Canada. See also: Myers, D.L., & Olson, J. (2013). "Offender Re-entry and Reintegration: Policy and research", *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 24 (1): 3-8.

⁹¹ BC Corrections, Performance, Research and Evaluation Unit, "Integrated Offender Management (IOM) - The Case for Working Together", *Revealing Research & Evaluation*, Issue #5, December 2011.

There is likely a need to reconsider current programs offered by BC Corrections to ensure that they focus on re-entry planning and preparation and re-entry management. For a long time, the non-governmental sector played a very important role in facilitating the successful reintegration of offenders. The fact that financial support for and collaboration with this sector is now often minimal is possibly responsible in part for the high rate of failed re-entry and re-offending.

In 2011, BC Corrections embarked on the province-wide implementation of the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) and training is rolling out across the province over three years. Probation officers are being trained to apply evidence-based principles of offender rehabilitation in all aspects of client supervision. To some extent, these new skills should help probation officers deliver more effective re-entry management and social reintegration interventions as part of an amplified IOM approach.

B. Effective Social Reintegration Programs

The social and economic costs of the offenders' failed reintegration should be a serious concern for British Columbians as taxpayers. When an ex-prisoner does not successfully reintegrate there are direct and indirect costs to the community.⁹² The Province can ill afford not to invest in social reintegration programs for offenders. Such programs form an essential part of a comprehensive crime reduction strategy and can be delivered at a fraction of the cost of detention and deliver cost-effective results. Investments in prisons, without a complementary investment in rehabilitation and reintegration programs, do not produce a significant reduction in crime. They may in fact compound the problem. Social integration programs refer to various forms of interventions targeting individuals to reduce the likelihood that they will reoffend.

Social integration interventions are therefore attempts by various components of the justice system, in partnership with social agencies, NGOs, educational institutions, communities and the offenders' family, to support the successful social integration of individuals at risk of offending or reoffending. They are very often supported by effective supervision of the offender in the community and cognitive training and other interventions to support the offender's desistance from crime.

In general, there are two main categories of social reintegration programs: (a) programs and interventions offered in the institutional setting itself, in advance of the offenders' release, to help them resolve issues, address risk factors associated with their criminal behaviour and acquire the necessary skills to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives, as well as to prepare them for their release and re-entry into society; and, (b) community-based programs, sometimes part of a conditional release scheme, to facilitate the social reintegration of offenders after their release from custody. In that second category, programs typically rest on some form of community supervision as well as various forms of support and assistance to offenders and sometimes also to their family.

⁹² M. Borzycki and T. Makkai (2007), *Prisoner Reintegration Post-release*. Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology, p. 25.

A period of incarceration, with offenders under strict control, can be used to stabilize and rehabilitate them, but those gains are often short-lived without reintegration programs.⁹³ Reintegration programs must address risk factors associated with recidivism, the needs of offenders and the challenges they encounter upon their release from prison. Interventions must vary according to the risk factors and the type of social integration challenge they are designed to address. Programs can focus on particular challenges confronting offenders, such as drug use, drug dependence or unemployment. Specific programs are required in order to deal with specific categories of offender, such as repeat offenders, drug-dependent offenders, young offenders, mentally ill offenders or dangerous sexual offenders.

To successfully reintegrate into the community offenders need help in finding and retaining employment. The Panel heard with interest of a Correctional Service Canada program which provides offenders with a third party trade certification that is valuable to employers, gives offenders an opportunity to compete with other applicants, and builds their confidence to apply for employment.⁹⁴ Certification is one of the most valuable tools that can help an offender get a job. It is an independent assessment showing that the candidate has the skills necessary. Some certification is accessible after a short training program. In other instances, the training leads to red seal certificates that are recognized across Canada. The certification does not identify the individuals as having a criminal record.

It is important for the offenders to know that the qualifications they are getting from the training are at par with what they would gain from a program taken in the community. This levels the playing field and builds confidence for the offender. Certification helps to turn the focus away from an unstable work history and put focus on the current certified skills. In many instances, training is offered on the basis of funding programs that are already available. Similar programs could be developed by BC Corrections to facilitate the social reintegration of offenders serving a term of probation.

Given the Province's expected great need for trained workers for its rapid economic development and the anticipated shortage of trained workers, the strategy should be treated as a priority.

Various interventions can be designed to prepare offenders for their return to the community. Such interventions tend to be more effective when delivered in partnership with community-based agencies so as to ensure some continuity of intervention after the offenders' release. The weeks immediately preceding and following the release of an offender from custody are particularly important. What happens during those few weeks often determines whether the offender's reintegration will be successful or not.

⁹³ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012). *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. New York: United Nations

⁹⁴ Holeczek, A. (2014). *Employment and Vocational Training Proposal*. Presentation to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction, May 29, 2014.

During the consultations, the Panel was frequently reminded of the crucial importance of “supportive housing” and the importance of shelters, transition houses and other programs to support the reintegration of offenders and limit the impact of their incarceration on their family.

A report by the Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver emphasizes the need for safe shelters for women and their children and viable transition houses for women. It outlines the particular gaps in services in rural and remote communities and the specific needs of Aboriginal women. It also emphasizes the need to recognize women’s shelters as part of a continuum of care and healing, not only a continuum of housing.⁹⁵ In this and other areas it is important to design gender-responsive programs and services, including gender-responsive addiction counselling and treatment. Social reintegration support for women is offered by the Elizabeth Fry Society and a few other NGOs, whether the offender is on probation or not, but these essential services are not publicly funded.

It was suggested that making better and more efficient use of “third party administration” for social assistance would likely provide gateway access to other supports and services. Some key agencies working with offenders should be enabled to refer offenders through expedited pathways to health, addictions treatment and the BC Housing Registry. This would greatly facilitate the establishment of the continuum of care which, as part of an IOM approach, is clearly necessary.

C. Conditional Release Programs

Early conditional, supervised release of offenders is a very effective tool in supporting their successful reintegration. However, this particular tool is not used very effectively in our province. In fact, the use of parole has declined significantly over the last few decades and has reached an all-time low, particularly for provincially sentenced offenders.⁹⁶

According to the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*⁹⁷ the Parole Board is not required to review applications for day parole from offenders serving a sentence of less than six months. The majority of offenders in provincial institutions are therefore not eligible for day parole due to short sentences. To address the issue of provincial offenders not qualifying for parole, it is sometimes proposed that a mandatory period of community supervision should follow all short sentences of incarceration so that offenders might benefit from the same gradual and structured return to the community.

⁹⁵ Bayes, S and A. Brewin (2012). *Bridging the Divide: Building Safe Shelters for Women and Families in BC*. Vancouver: Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver

⁹⁶ Dauvergne, M. (2012). “Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada, 2010/2011”, *Juristat*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, CCJS.

⁹⁷ *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*, s.115 (2).

Appendix G

Improved Police Capacity to Reduce Crime

Crime reduction is not the sole responsibility of the police. The police are only one of many contributors to crime reduction, but it is important to reaffirm that crime reduction is a major and central priority for the police and one of the main yardsticks by which to measure their performance. There are many ways to conceive of the role of the police and to measure their performance. However, it is important to optimize the role of the police in reducing crime and ensure that they have the means and resources to do so effectively.

To do their part in reducing crime, police must be strategic, preventive and proactive instead of reactive. That transformation from a reactive to preventive approach must be reflected, not only in public speeches, but also in policies, priority setting, management, allocation and deployment of resources, and in recruitment, training, deployment, promotion and rewards structures and practices.

All of this is consistent with British Columbia's Policing and Community Safety Plan, which articulates a vision in which policing is accountable, performance-based and evidence-led and works in an integrated manner with justice, social sector and community partners.⁹⁸ The plan acknowledges that police services must be performance-based and that the outcomes of effective policing must be measurable. Crime reduction is one of these outcomes.

The Policing and Community Safety Plan calls for the implementation of Province-led crime prevention initiatives.⁹⁹ However, while there may be a need for some specific initiatives, the Panel is of the view that a lot more will be necessary in order to achieve significant crime reduction outcomes. It will not be sufficient to simply implement a few more police-based crime reduction initiatives.

Crime reduction, at the police level, often dictates proactive as opposed to reactive measures. A fundamental change in policing style, methods and approaches is often required. Aligning crime reduction and problem solving initiatives with real crime issues and the crime reduction priorities of the community requires the service of well-trained crime analysts and genuine consultations with the community. Technology now offers

"A renewed commitment by the government and the police to implementing the core principles of evidence-based crime reduction will assure that British Columbia continues to enjoy substantial reductions in crime"

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RCMP Research Chair in
Crime Reduction,
School of Criminology
and Criminal Justice,
University of the Fraser
Valley

⁹⁸ Ministry of Justice of British Columbia (2013). *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, Victoria, December 2013, p. 25.

⁹⁹ *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, p. 33.

many new opportunities for crime reduction initiatives at the local level.¹⁰⁰ What is required is a proactive information-led, intelligence-led, performance-based approach, built on effective partnerships and focused on offenders and on public safety issues. In fact, some research has shown that police leadership focused on crime reduction as the primary goal stimulates innovation toward intelligence-led policing.¹⁰¹

An intelligence-led approach requires police organizations to collect, analyze, integrate, and disseminate vast amounts of structured and unstructured data to make the best strategic and tactical decisions and to implement effective crime reduction strategies. The police must invest in, develop and incorporate a number of different types of related analytics into everything they do. The police must continue to invest in developing a well-trained group of crime analysts. In that regard, research shows that leadership and effective use of technology are critical to initiating and sustaining such innovative practices.¹⁰²

Among many innovations in policing, some police-based “focused deterrence” strategies (also referred to as “pulling-levers policing”¹⁰³) applied to gang-involved offenders and repeat offending by substance-abusing probationers have produced some notable crime reduction outcomes.¹⁰⁴ Best practices in that area should be systematically identified and replicated.

A review of successful crime reduction initiatives at the police level shows that they tended to be those in which the police concentrated on identifying the most active criminals, the most problematic places, and the most significant crime problems in their jurisdiction. They made extensive use of crime data and analysts to understand and predict prolific offenders and crime hot spots. They then proactively used that information together with other stakeholders to prevent, deter and respond to various forms of crime.

"B.C. is a vast province with urban, coastal, rural and remote areas. There is a need for evidence based research to find effective and efficient ways to provide policing in such diverse communities."

Dr. Patricia Brantingham
Director, ICURS Institute,
SFU

¹⁰⁰ Byrne, J. and G. Marx (2011). “Technological Innovations in Crime Prevention and Policing. A review of the research on implementation and impact”, *Cahiers Politicestudies*, no. 20: 17-40.

¹⁰¹ Darroch, S. and L. Mazerolle (2013). “Intelligence-led Policing: A comparative analysis of organizational factors influencing innovation uptake”, *Police Quarterly*, 16 (1): 3-37.

¹⁰² Darroch, S. and L. Mazerolle (2013). See above note.

¹⁰³ Kennedy, D. M. (2008). *Deterrence and Crime Prevention: Reconsidering the Prospect of Sanction*. London: Routledge. See also: Braga, A. A., and D. L. Weisburd (2012). *The effects of “Pulling Levers” Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime*. Oslo, Norway: Campbell Collaboration.

¹⁰⁴ Braga, A. A., Weisburd, D. L. (2012). “The Effects of Focused Deterrence Strategies on Crime: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of the Empirical Evidence”, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 49 (3): 323-358. See also: Squires, C. and D. Plecas (2014). “Death by a Thousand Cuts: The Abbotsford Police Department’s multi-dimensional program for gang suppression”, in den Heyer, G. and D. Das (Eds.), *Economic Development, Armed Violence and Public Safety: Their Effect on Police Reform*. Boca Raton, CRC Press.

In many instances, this was assisted by the integration of sophisticated technology to better determine and predict criminal events, cycles, trends, locations and networks. The most successful crime reduction outcomes were obtained through problem-oriented policing and prolific offender management approaches.

The cultural and operational changes required in policing were recently described as follows, based on a review of police-based crime reduction initiatives in British Columbia:

“In effect, the shift required police to move away from being a reactive force to a proactive agency, it required a move away from a focus on crimes to a focus on offenders, it required a move away from a belief that one can arrest one’s way out of crime trends to focusing on rooting out the primary causes of crime in a community, it required a move towards partnering meaningfully with other stakeholders, it required no longer relying on traditional approaches of crime control, but relying on evidence-based practices and it required moving away from using statistics on police activities as a measure of success to being more accountable for achieving defined outcomes. The result was that, while some RCMP detachments and municipal police departments embraced some of these principles, there were very few police agencies that accepted, implemented and integrated all of them.”¹⁰⁵

A similar review of policing strategies for reducing crime in the United States identified the following as most effective: strong partnerships with other criminal justice system agencies, local government, business stakeholders and neighbourhood groups; analytic capacity to provide crime pattern information to officers and managers and to build accountability for crime prevention and crime control; and decentralized policing services to focus on specific neighbourhoods and districts.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Cohen, I.M., Plecas, D., McCormick, A. V. and A. Peters (2014). *The Seven Essential Principles for Police-Based Crime Reduction*. Abbotsford: Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research, University of the Fraser Valley, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Kroovand Hipple, N., McGarrell, E.F., Klofas, J.M., Corsaro, N.A., and H. Perez (2008). *Identifying Effective Policing Strategies for Reducing Crime*. Indianapolis, In: Sagamore Institute.

Appendix H

Crime Reduction

1. Broad Prevention Measures

There are many proven strategies to target the social and economic factors that increase the risk of crime and victimization. Approaches vary in terms of their intervention focus, the types of activities undertaken, the agencies and people involved and their demonstrable results.¹⁰⁷

Along with other provinces and territories, British Columbia has benefited from a strong partnership with Public Safety Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC). Since its inception in 1998, the centre has supported dozens of provincial, regional and local crime prevention projects and activities in British Columbia. Communities in British Columbia have both contributed to and benefited from the tools and resources developed through the NCPC. The Ministry of Justice Community Safety and Crime Prevention Branch has worked closely with the NCPC to identify priority issues and areas of focus.

Although national and provincial policies do have an impact on the prevailing social and economic situation of most communities, it is generally acknowledged that the most effective social prevention measures are generally community-based, taken at the local government level, building social cohesion, promoting community development, and addressing local circumstances and factors associated with crime. It is important to ensure that crime prevention is integrated across sectors and agencies and that approaches are evidence-led, focus on priority issues and have measurable results.

During the consultations held in preparing the BC Policing and Community Safety Plan, participants expressed a need for increased leadership, direction and consistency in crime prevention programming from one community to the next. They also identified a lack of metrics and measures for assessing the effectiveness of crime prevention approaches. Participants expressed the importance of identifying and communicating what works as well as a need to balance provincial leadership with the flexibility to meet local needs.¹⁰⁸

2. Reducing Opportunities for Criminal Behaviour

Situational crime prevention is based on the notion that certain types of crime are largely opportunistic and can be prevented by modifying and planning contextual factors in a way that limits the opportunities for offenders to commit certain types of crime.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see: World Health Organization (2010). *Violence Prevention: The evidence*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

¹⁰⁸ *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, 2013, p. 33.

There is a growing body of research and evidence about the effectiveness and limitations of this approach.¹⁰⁹ Situational prevention activities may include improved security, more intensive surveillance and the deployment of surveillance technology, reducing the reward for committing certain types of crime (taking the benefit out of these crimes), and better planning of spaces and movement of people to remove opportunities for crime. Much more could easily be done in the province to disseminate information on best practices to all concerned and to facilitate the systematic application of these methods where warranted.¹¹⁰

The secret to the success of this approach usually lies in a systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems and, after consultation with stakeholders, the application in selected spaces of proven measures to reduce criminal opportunities. The private security sector, well developed in this province, can and does play an important role in the deployment of these measures.

Some broader planning initiatives, including “crime prevention through environmental design” (CPTED) and urban renewal projects, can also have a significant impact on certain types of crime. The B.C. Association of Police Chiefs, for instance, is strongly suggesting that a civil process be implemented for ensuring that problem premises, which create a focal point for criminal activity and a safety risk, are dealt with.¹¹¹

A comprehensive crime reduction strategy should identify where and how situational crime prevention measures can be most successfully applied by communities, promote evidence-led programming in that particular area, and provide ways to identify and disseminate information about best and promising situational crime prevention practices. Some communities will need technical support to apply situational crime reduction measures and to integrate crime prevention in local planning. This is an area where there can be many opportunities for initiatives based on public-private partnerships. There is in fact a considerable amount of expertise already available on this subject in British Columbia.

The overall reduction in official crime rates observed in our province over the past decade was the result of a reduction in reported property crime incidents. Many other types of crime have not necessarily been reduced similarly. Violent crime, in particular domestic and sexual violence, violence against children, organized crime and other serious crimes continue to be a great concern. Even when we focus on acquisitive crime, it is quite clear that all forms of property crime were not equally reduced. For instance,

¹⁰⁹ For example: Marzbali, M.H., Abdullah, A. and N. A. Razak (2011). “A Review of the Effectiveness of Crime Prevention by Design Approaches Toward Sustainable Development”, *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 4 (1): 160-172. Also: Armitage, R. and L. Monchuk (2011). “Sustaining the Crime Reduction Impact of Designing Out Crime: Re-evaluating the Secured by Design scheme 10 years on”, *Security Journal*, 24 (4), 320-343.

¹¹⁰ See for example: P.J. Brantingham and P.L. Brantingham, (2012) “Situating Situational Crime Prevention: Anchoring a Politically Palatable Crime Reduction Strategy.” In Nick Tilley and Graham Farrell (Eds), *The Reasoning Criminologist: Essays in Honour of Ronald V. Clarke*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 240-251. Also: P. L. Brantingham, P. J. Brantingham, and W. Taylor, (2005) “Situational Crime Prevention as a Key Component in Embedded Crime Prevention”, *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 47: 271-292

¹¹¹ A reference is made here to the *Community Safety Act* which is not yet in force.

there is evidence of a rapid growth in identity theft, financial and economic crime, including computer assisted crime, although these types of crime often go unreported and do not figure in official crime statistics.¹¹² A recent report on cybercrime noted that one possible reason for this increase is the ease with which cybercrime tools are available and the fact that criminals, even those without deep technical expertise, can use these tools and access numerous services.¹¹³

The growing problem of internet-based crime urgently requires attention. Indeed, this issue goes to the core of understanding what is transpiring with crime trends. Solid answers about the “property crime drop” are still elusive, but there is no doubt that a significant amount of property crime has migrated from the streets to the virtual space. In particular, the significant rise in identity theft and internet-based crime as it relates to thefts and frauds against banking and other financial institutions and their customers is a major source of concern. This is a multi-faceted often transnational crime problem which presents some very real challenges for law enforcement.

The Panel heard compelling evidence from the Canadian Bankers Association about the extent and the gravity of this problem. Credit card fraud losses alone in Canada are estimated to be a minimum of \$500 million per year with less than one per cent of cases reported to police. This figure does not include many other types of frauds against the banks. The Canadian Anti-Fraud Centre estimated losses to be between \$10 billion and \$20 billion per year in Canada, based on 2010 data.¹¹⁴ The Panel heard from several prolific offenders who referred to the ease with which they could commit these crimes, without much fear of being arrested. Because financial institutions very quickly reimburse customers for these types of losses, the crimes are rarely reported to police and the latter are not inclined, as a result, to treat them as a priority.

3. Early or Timely Interventions for Individuals at Risk

The Justice and Public Safety Council’s *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Sector 2014-2017* includes a crime prevention goal stated as follows: “We offer early, appropriate and effective interventions to reduce antisocial behaviour, assisting people in rebuilding healthy, productive lives”.¹¹⁵

¹¹² According to the 2013 Norton Cybercrime Report at least half of “online adults” were victim of cybercrime in the previous year. The Norton Cybercrime Report is an annual report commissioned by Norton by Symantec aimed at understanding how cybercrime affects consumers and how the adoption and evolution of new technologies impacts consumers’ security. The research was conducted by Edelman Berland, an international research agency. Findings are based on self-reported experiences of over 13,000 adults across 24 countries, including Canada. The report, extrapolating from the survey data, estimated that nearly 380 million people in 24 countries had been victim of one form of cybercrime or another over the previous 12 months.

¹¹³ Samari, R. (2014). *Cybercrime Exposed - Cybercrime-as-a-Service*, Santa Clara (CA): McAfee.

¹¹⁴ <https://www.antifraudcentre-centreantifraude.ca/english/newsroom-25-11-2010.html>

¹¹⁵ See: British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council, *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector – April 2014 - March 2017*, Victoria. See also: *British Columbia Policing and Community Safety Plan*, p. 33.

The government has established an Inter-ministry Committee on Crime Prevention to develop a provincial crime prevention strategy to address underlying cyclical, cultural, and generational factors that lead to crime. The plan is meant to balance provincial leadership with local coordination to ensure communities have the flexibility to tailor approaches to their own unique needs.¹¹⁶

D. Early Intervention and Developmental Crime Prevention

There are many local programs in the province focusing on developmental crime prevention strategies. Intervening early and at significant points in the life of a child or young person at risk of developing behavioural issues can help prevent future offending. These interventions are usually designed to enhance protective factors and address risk factors that may affect a young person's likelihood of engaging in criminal activities.

There are many examples of programs which deserve further consideration, including the Youth Inclusion Program (Kamloops), the Community Prevention Education Continuum (CPEC), the Kids-4-Kids program (Vancouver Island) and D.A.R.E. The Panel has also received a submission from the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of the Fraser Valley emphasizing the role of mentoring as a form of prevention, to help steer children away from behaviours and situations that negatively affect their academic, social and economic well-being. Mentoring is a commonly used intervention to prevent, divert and remediate youth engaged in, or thought to be at risk for, delinquent or anti-social behaviour. Mentoring for high-risk youth can lessen the risk of involvement in delinquent behaviour. It is an approach that deserves further attention and research.¹¹⁷

British Columbia has invested over the years in Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) prevention, support and intervention. FASD has been identified as a major public health concern in both Canada and the United States. It is the most common form of preventable brain damage to infants in the Western world. The damage is irreversible and results in life-long challenges in learning, behaviour, employment and socialization.

Adversity experienced by children and youth may affect their development and place them at risk for a range of maladaptive outcomes, including antisocial and delinquent behaviour. A child's early formative years will affect his/her future development and early interventions are therefore recommended. A lot is already known about the risk factors to be addressed as part of evidence-based programs.¹¹⁸ This needs to be translated into effective and sustainable programs across the province.

¹¹⁶ British Columbia, Ministry of Justice (2013). *White Paper on Justice Reform, Part two: A Timely, Balanced Justice System*, Victoria, February 2013, p. 17.

¹¹⁷ For a review of the effect of mentoring programs, see: Tolan P., Henry D., Schoeny M., Bass A., Lovegrove, P., and E. Nichols (2013). *Mentoring Interventions to Affect Juvenile Delinquency and Associated Problems: A Systematic Review*, Campbell Systematic Reviews 2013:10.

¹¹⁸ See for example: Day, D. M. and S. G. Wanklyn (2012). *Identification and Operationalization of the Major Risk Factors for Antisocial and Delinquent Behaviour among Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada, National Crime Prevention Centre.

"Research has consistently indicated that the likelihood of children and adolescents becoming serious and violent young offenders can be reduced by early and comprehensive programs directed at the distinctive profile of risk and protective factors for the separate pathways. Also, these programs, when funded and implemented appropriately, are highly cost-effective."

Dr. Raymond Corrado, Professor
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University

In its profile of B.C. youth in custody, the McCreary Centre Society found that 70 per cent had at least one family member who was criminally involved and, for 29 per cent, this was a parent. The study revealed that the majority of youth in custody in 2012 (65 per cent) had lived in a foster home or group home, or had been placed on a youth agreement at some point in their lives. Thirty-two per cent of youth entering a custody centre were living in government care at that time.¹¹⁹

The 2009 joint special report of the Representative for Children and Youth and the Provincial Health Officer revealed that children in care had a much higher rate of involvement in the criminal justice system than other children (35.5 per cent as compared to 4.4 per cent) and that nearly three quarters of the youth

in care involved in the youth justice system suffered from a serious mental illness or intensive behavioural problems.¹²⁰ No matter how one looks at these statistics, they do not say much about the effectiveness of the interventions and assistance currently offered to this at-risk group.

A recent study in this province also indicated that children of parents in conflict with the law or children of incarcerated parents are specifically at risk both in terms of their own healthy development and the likelihood that they may engage in criminal behaviour.¹²¹ Programs that specifically address the needs of these children are virtually nonexistent in British Columbia.

It is necessary to offer effective interventions and programs to provide support for vulnerable populations, including Aboriginal children and youth in government care and children whose parents are involved in the criminal justice system. When, according to normal assessment practices, a child is not directly at risk of neglect or maltreatment, the official child protection response (MCFD) is usually not to intervene. However, many children who are not at risk of abuse or neglect belong to fragile families and face issues that will not only affect their development but also put them at risk of becoming embroiled in crime, addiction or other forms of problem behaviour. The Panel heard that support programs targeting these families are poorly funded and typically insufficient.

¹¹⁹ McCreary Centre Society (2013). *Time Out III - A Profile of BC Youth in Custody*, Vancouver, updated February 2014.

¹²⁰ Representative for Children and Youth, Provincial Health Officer. Joint special report. *Kids, Crime and Care: health and well-being of children in care: youth justice experiences and outcomes*. Victoria, BC: Representative for Children and Youth and the Provincial Health Officer; 2009.

¹²¹ McCormick, A., Millar, H., and G. Paddock (2014). *In the Best Interests of the Child: Strategies for Recognizing and Supporting Canada's At-Risk Population of Children with Incarcerated Parents*. Centre for Safe Schools and Communities. University of the Fraser Valley

The National Crime Prevention Centre estimated the enormous social and economic costs of failing to intervene in a timely manner in the lives of young people at risk. The savings produced by early crime prevention programs include not only reductions in the costs of future crimes, but also reductions in the costs of welfare assistance, legal aid, special education and addiction treatment services.

These findings are supported by a range of studies. For example, Cohen¹²² estimated (in 1997 US dollars) that the typical career offender who starts off as a juvenile, accrues approximately \$1.5 to \$1.8 million in costs, with about \$1.4 million of that associated with future adult criminality. Of the total lifetime costs to society, it was estimated that “25% are tangible victim costs, 50% lost quality of life, 20% criminal justice costs, and 5% offender productivity costs.” Cohen also attempted to estimate lifetime costs associated with heavy drug users. He reported that the “total lifetime cost of drug-related crime and homicides for the average heavy drug user is estimated to range from \$283,000 to \$781,000.”

Other research, such as Delisi and Gatling’s¹²³ study of 500 habitual offenders, shows values of similar magnitudes. A key point that Delisi and Gatling note, however, is that the cost borne by victims is too often overlooked. As they conclude from their research, “the victimization wrought by the worst offenders carries a hefty price tag averaging \$1.14 million”.

Here again there is a considerable amount of expertise available in British Columbia in designing, managing and evaluating such prevention programs. There is also a considerable amount of reliable knowledge on how to plan and ensure the success of such programs. They need to be readily accessible in all communities and implemented in a manner that avoids stigmatizing young people at risk or their family.

Most of these programs would normally be implemented outside the criminal justice system, usually without the participation of local law enforcement. Responsibility tends to rest with the education, child welfare and health sectors. The evaluation of many of these programs, in Canada and elsewhere, shows that they improve the life-course development of children at risk and reduce the risk of offending.

Well-planned early interventions and supports have many advantages. For individuals and families, these advantages include reduced duplication of services, fewer people to meet, earlier identification of problems, more direct access to services, more timely response by agencies and improved quality of services. For departments and agencies, the benefits include access to a broader source of knowledge to draw from, enhanced clarity of respective roles and functions, more efficient and effective use of scarce resources, and increased capacity to work effectively with each other. In some cases, integration of

¹²² Cohen, M. (1998). “The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth”, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 14: 5–33.

¹²³ Delisi, M. and J. Gatling (2003) “Who Pays for a Life of Crime? An empirical assessment of the assorted victimization costs posed by career criminals.” *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society*, 16: 283–93.

services may also produce some reduction in workloads and operational costs (e.g., fewer calls for police services).

In Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, a model was developed to facilitate interagency information exchange and collaboration in situations which, left to themselves, would likely lead to criminal offending and victimization. The PA Hub model is a partnership approach that draws on the combined expertise of community agencies to address complex social and human situations before they become policing problems. Specifically, the Hub's focus is on timely identification of individuals and families at risk, early recognition of the worsening of situations and the initiation of prompt action by the responsible department or agency to manage and mitigate the risk. Members of the Panel attended a Hub meeting and were able to observe first-hand how the interventions are planned and executed.

Drawing lessons from the multiagency model taking shape in Scotland, the Hub itself is a twice-weekly, 90-minute review of specific cases among front-line professionals representing 20 departments and agencies, including Addiction Services, Adult and Youth Probation, Bylaw Services, Child Protection, Corrections, Housing, Mental Health, Public Health, PA Grand Council, Police Services and Social Services. Since 2011, when the PA Hub was established, most situations for discussion have been brought forward by Social Services, police and schools. The Hub model connects individuals and families at risk to the services that can offer help as quickly as possible, when they need it the most.

It is not a policing model. It is a community safety model in which police have an essential role to play, alongside others, and from which police have much to gain. It is designed to address social issues and improve outcomes, including general public safety and community wellness. Most importantly, the Hub model draws on the resources and insights of multiple agencies, allows for the sharing of relevant information, is "risk-based" rather than "incident driven", proactive and preventative, and its outcomes can be continually measured and assessed. The goal is to stop crime before it happens and keep individuals out of the criminal justice system.

There are indications that the Hub model is improving general public safety and community wellness in Prince Albert. It is being emulated in several Saskatchewan communities and versions of the model are being considered or introduced in other jurisdictions. A formal evaluation of the Hub initiative in Prince Albert is currently underway.

The Panel's consultations have certainly confirmed the real interest amongst stakeholders and in most communities in seeing the government demonstrate strong leadership through the development and implementation of effective developmental prevention strategies.

E. Timely Interventions for Vulnerable and At-risk Individuals

The importance of developmental crime prevention programs and early interventions focusing on at-risk children and youth is now well accepted. However, an obsessive focus on early interventions can prevent communities from understanding the need for timely interventions to help people who become vulnerable or at-risk at some later point in their lives.

It is also important to recognize the importance of offering services, support and assistance to people who find themselves at critical junctures in their life or in very vulnerable situations, and not just early in life. People who lose their job or their home, homeless people, people who are victimized or have experienced a traumatic incident, people who suffer from mental illness, people with addiction issues and undocumented migrants can all find themselves in a situation that puts them at risk of committing crime. They should of course be helped, whether they are at risk of becoming criminals or not.

There is really no point in waiting until people have committed a crime or have been caught in the criminal justice and correctional system for years before providing them with assistance, support or treatment. For example, there can be substantial cost savings in offering people with addiction issues ready access to treatment before they begin to commit a large number of property crimes to support their addiction or turn violent.

In its submission to the Panel, the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS insisted that early intervention in substance use disorder can dramatically reduce future health care costs (e.g., costly hospitalizations) and costly social harms (e.g. drug crime). Therefore, Dr. Julio Montaner argued, there is an urgent need to expand investments in early intervention for substance use disorders on a province-wide level. The lack of accessible care for patients with substance use disorders and the inability to intervene early when patients present to physicians or emergency departments create missed opportunities to prevent costly infections and mental health sequels of untreated substance use disorder.¹²⁴

In 2010, the government adopted a 10-year plan to address mental health and substance use in British Columbia: “Healthy Minds, Healthy People”.¹²⁵ The plan acknowledges that “(...) people with severe mental disorder and substance use disorders must be actively supported in their own recovery process and supported to achieve their individual potential and independence.”¹²⁶

The following priorities for action were identified with respect to people with severe and complex mental disorder and/or substance dependence: enhancing evidence-based community interventions across the lifespan; enhancing housing supports; strengthening community-residential treatment options; ensuring appropriate access to hospital and

¹²⁴ *Submission of the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS to the Blue Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction*, prepared by J. Montaner, with input from I. Day, E. Wood, B. Nosyk, S. Goldenberg, K. Shannon, M-J. Milloy, and T. Kerr, April 30, 2014.

¹²⁵ There are also annual reports (in 2011 and 2012) monitoring progress in implementing the plan.

¹²⁶ British Columbia, Ministry of Health, *Healthy Minds, Healthy People*, p. 31.

socialized bed-based treatment; and developing improved coordinated responses for people with complex challenges.

At present, there is no province-wide strategy to support crime prevention programs targeting various groups of individuals at risk or to relate these programs to specific crime reduction goals. Funding for these programs tends to be short-term and limited.

Appendix I

Funding: Reconsidering Our Investments

The Cost of Inaction

The most recent study on the cost of crime in Canada dates back to 2008. It estimated that the total (tangible) social and economic costs of Criminal Code offences in this country were approximately \$31.4 billion.¹²⁷

Estimates of the social and economic costs of crime can increase the awareness of both policy-makers and the public of the full impact of crime on society and the potential gains that could result from reductions in crime. Such estimates can play an important role in ensuring that crime reduction initiatives achieve the greatest impact on crime for the money spent.

In the UK, an attempt was made over the last decade or so to measure the social and economic costs of crime as a performance measure for the criminal justice system and to provide information for crime reduction programs. We currently do not have the equivalent capacity in British Columbia to engage in such cost-benefit analysis. However, at a time when resources for new programs and initiatives are limited, it becomes important to develop that capacity to base programming decisions on credible measures of their costs and their impact. At present, local partnerships, local government officials and stakeholders are not equipped to carry out cost-benefit analyses that are comprehensive and consistent.

What the Panel tried to consider most specifically is the cost of reoffending by individuals who have already been convicted and processed through the criminal justice system. Some of the costs are not quantifiable. They can nevertheless be devastating and long-term. There is the impact on communities and on victims, many of whom will be repeat victims, and on their families, as well as the impact on the offenders themselves and their families. The financial cost of re-offending can be staggering.

Justice system and law enforcement costs in B.C., mirroring national trends, continue to increase and impact provincial and municipal budgets.¹²⁸ While there is some debate as to whether all crime is decreasing and at what rate, the available data suggest that there has been an overall decrease in rates of aggregate crime over the past decade, both nationally and in British Columbia.

There is no debate, however, that the cost of responding to crime has increased.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the quality of life component is typically not considered in direct cost studies but is a significant element. Not only is the quality of life of the victim affected,

¹²⁷ Costs of Crime in Canada, 2008: http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/mp-pr/csj-sjc/crime/tr10_5/tr10_5.pdf

¹²⁸ See: British Columbia Justice and Public Safety Council, *Strategic Plan for the Justice and Public Safety Sector: April 2014 - March 2017*, Victoria, p. 30.

¹²⁹ Story, R. and T.R. Yalkin (2013). *Expenditure Analysis of Criminal Justice in Canada*. Ottawa: Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer.

society as a whole suffers. High crime areas generate lower property values, displace business activity, cause residents to invest inordinately in security and reduce the value of public places such as parks and recreation areas.

Reconsidering our Investments

The Panel believes that British Columbians can get better results for their investments. The Community Safety and Crime Prevention Branch of the Ministry of Justice has funded hundreds of crime prevention initiatives in the last decade across the province, typically via time-limited or one-time funding. The projects have varied considerably in scope and objectives, and usually sought to address crime prevention issues at a community level.

The Panel did not review these projects in detail. However, it heard concerns that the funded projects and activities have had mixed results. The funded programs were developed from a grassroots perspective, but did not always consider and integrate research and evidence on best practices.

The Civil Forfeiture program since its inception has returned approximately \$15 million from forfeiture actions to crime prevention and victims' programs in British Columbia. Grant priorities and criteria are determined annually. Priority streams have included Gang Prevention, Sexual Exploitation of Youth, Community and Youth Crime Prevention, Violence Against Women, Domestic Violence Units and Restorative Justice.

During earlier consultations by the Ministry of Justice, stakeholders indicated that: "they have difficulties determining what works in crime prevention and how to measure success. Without measures in place it can be complicated to make important decisions on where best to make investments, what programs should be supported and which ones might not be having the kind of impacts expected. This was identified as increasingly important in light of ongoing economic challenges and the increasingly complex needs of communities."

The Justice and Public Safety Council's strategic plan refers to the need to ensure that the whole sector is sustainable and acknowledges that measures are necessary to ensure that "all significant public investments, in cash or in kind, need to be evaluated against expected outcomes identified in advance." It also adds that, "Savings or efficiencies created from reforms should be clearly identified through planning and measurement, and be reallocated where resources are most required."¹³⁰

Some jurisdictions are looking at different funding models for crime prevention and offender rehabilitation programs. In the United Kingdom, the government has been introducing an integrated offender management system based on a new funding

¹³⁰ Idem, p. 22.

approach,¹³¹ which relies on private sector service providers who are only paid in full if they reduce reoffending. The new payment incentives for service providers are meant to encourage them to “focus relentlessly on reforming offenders.” Through the savings that are expected, rehabilitation support will be extended to offenders serving short-term sentences who have in fact the highest reoffending rates, are the hardest to reach and are the most prolific offenders.

Legislation will guarantee that these offenders, approximately 50,000 of them, are not left to their own devices on release. The goal is to reform the delivery of offender services in the community to reduce reoffending while delivering improved value for money for taxpayers. Once the scheme is fully operational, all offenders released from custody will receive statutory supervision and rehabilitation on release. Needless to say, this approach is getting a lot of attention in various countries and generates a lot of discussion on how to define and measure “returns on social investments.”¹³²

Similarly, in the United States, the idea of “payment for success” approaches to government contracting or the idea that government could pay only for proven success is gaining some momentum, although the modalities of such an approach have yet to be fully articulated. During the Panel’s consultations it was suggested that expanded crime prevention programs could thrive under such an approach. In particular the “social impact bond” (SIB) was brought to the Panel’s attention as something that is being implemented and funded in the United States, at various levels, and should be considered in this province. It was suggested that the SIB approach could be used to finance the expansion of prevention-focused social services that are expected to save the government money in the future.¹³³

The Panel believes that it is imperative to change the way in which resources are currently allocated to reduce crime, in particular the resources expended to deal with persistent offenders and offenders with a substance abuse disorder, to manage short incarceration sentences and to supervise offenders in the community.

The Panel noted the work done in several American jurisdictions to support the “reinvestment process.” The Justice Policy Centre at the Urban Institute in Washington D.C. has developed a “justice reinvestment toolkit” for local leaders based on an iterative process in which jurisdictions align the use of scarce criminal justice resources with public safety priorities.¹³⁴

¹³¹ U.K., Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation - A Strategy for Reform*, London, May 2013. See also: House of Commons Justice Committee (2014). *Crime Reduction Policies: A Co-ordinated Approach?* - Interim report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation Program, 22th Report of Session 2013-14, London, 22 January 2014.

¹³² For example, see: Jardine, C., and B. Whyte (2013). “Valuing Desistance? A social return on investment case study of a throughcare project for short-term prisoners”, *Social and Environmental Accountability Journal*, 33 (1): 20-32.

¹³³ See: Lower-Basch, E. (2014). *Social Impact Bonds: Overview and Considerations*. Washington (D.C.): CLASP. See also: Fox, C. and K. Albertson, K. (2011). “Payment by Results and Social Impact Bonds in the Criminal Justice Sector: New challenges for the concept of evidence-based policy?”, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 11: 395-413.

¹³⁴ Ho, H., Neusteter, S. R., and N. G. La Vigne (2013). *Justice Reinvestment - A toolkit for local leaders*. Washington (D.C.): Urban Institute, Justice Policy Centre. See also: Council of State Governments Justice Centre (2013). *Lessons from the States - Reducing Recidivism and Curbing Corrections Costs through Justice Reinvestment*. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

In considering ways to invest available resources in more effective crime reduction activities, existing criteria and mechanisms for investing some of the civil forfeiture funds currently available should be reviewed and aligned more tightly with the crime reduction priorities identified at both the provincial and the local levels.

There is a need for a mechanism to ensure that our crime reduction and prevention investments focus on priority issues, use proven strategies, reduce competition between organizations, foster coordination and clarify the roles of various agencies, including the police, in these crime prevention initiatives.

Appendix J

Promoting and Measuring Success

Support Local Partnerships to Reduce Crime

Local crime reduction partnerships are needed in which every aspect of the justice system and all relevant human services agencies (governmental and non-governmental) contribute, in deliberate and cooperative ways, to the implementation of local crime reduction initiatives.

The Panel became very aware of the importance of supporting municipalities and municipal leaders in their efforts to reduce crime and set priorities for local crime prevention activities and programs. Provincial crime reduction initiatives should provide guidance but refrain from competing with local priorities. The province needs mechanisms to encourage municipalities to develop and implement crime reduction strategies and monitor their impact.

It is also important to address the lack of coordination at the local level and to provide a structure, as well as guidance and support, for the development of effective and sustainable local partnerships to reduce crime.

In doing so, all stakeholders need to reaffirm their commitment to an evidence-based crime reduction approach, supported by program evaluations and the dissemination of evaluation results.¹³⁵

Local Partnerships

The Panel looked at several examples of local crime reduction initiatives. For example, in the City of Surrey, the Mayor's Task Force on Crime was created to analyze, develop and implement initiatives to deal with some of the contributing factors of homicides. The Task Force is identifying different strategies to prevent people from engaging in criminal lifestyles and to disrupt this activity in the community.

Recognizing that the vast majority of Surrey's 2013 homicides stemmed from high-risk lifestyles involving drugs and other criminal activity, the Mayor's Task Force has been focusing its efforts on targeting high-risk locations in the city. This "High Risk Location Initiative" (HRL) is a coordinated approach among the Surrey RCMP, City By-Laws, and

¹³⁵ The Panel readily acknowledges that there are some challenges in evaluating crime reduction initiatives, but these could be systematically addressed. See for example: Morgan, A. and P. Homel (2013). "Evaluating crime prevention: Lessons from large-scale community crime prevention program", *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, No. 458, Australian Institute of Criminology.

Surrey Fire Services. The initiative targets locations that mirror those where some homicides have occurred in the past. It is generally these types of locations where those living high-risk lifestyles come together and create an increased risk to public safety and potentially violent crime. The Task Force has been active in disrupting criminal activity since December 1, 2013. In addition to enforcement, a shared data bank was developed with information on high-risk locations in order to improve information sharing and early identification of these locations.

Many communities have worked to improve their safety by identifying risk factors, situations and circumstances that negatively impact safety and taking action to address these factors and reduce crime. The most successful initiatives build on community strengths and resources, reflect local priorities, and are owned and led by the community. Notwithstanding this simple truth, the Panel also heard that local and provincial governments need to support these initiatives and provide sustained and coherent leadership. In particular, leadership is required to build consensus around priorities for action and community capacity to take effective concerted action.

The development of local coordination structures should be explored. For example, a collaboration model could be developed to support the establishment of an "Interagency Community Wellness and Safety Partnership" mechanism at the local level, or "Interagency Community Partnership" (ICP).¹³⁶ Innovative and collaborative community-driven arrangements, including those referred to earlier in Prince Albert or other hub-inspired approaches, should be considered seriously to further reduce crime and victimization, and enhance community wellness.

Community-based and non-profit organizations along with volunteers play essential roles in every British Columbia community. They are engaged in a range of social, economic and charitable activities that touch every aspect of life. They include many organizations that serve as intermediaries between government and people in the delivery of public services. The Panel, for example, met with the B.C. Crime Prevention Association, which remains eager to play an even more active role in supporting crime prevention initiatives throughout the province.

The role of these organizations would be enhanced under the new partnership arrangements. There should be regular and frequent meetings between ICPs and community organizations. The ICPs should not replace or reduce the role that community organizations play. The nature of the relationship will become clearer when the pilot projects are evaluated after two years. The ICPs and community organizations would be expected to work closely together to achieve shared crime reduction and public safety goals. This could be one of the distinctive features of the B.C. model of interagency and community partnerships.

¹³⁶ Alternatively the term "Hub", as in the Abbotsford Hub, could be used. The term originated in Scotland and has some currency in Canada, notably in Saskatchewan.

Supporting Evidence-based Programs

Virtually all of the major initiatives on justice and police reform in recent years, whether from here in Canada or abroad, have recognized the need for evidence-based policy decisions. The government's White Paper on Justice Reforms stated: "A balanced justice system, where resources are applied proportionate to the risks presented, must be one in which reforms are measurable, sustainable, and grounded in rigorous analysis of system data. Reforms must be evidence-based."¹³⁷ This obviously applies also to programs and reforms aimed at reducing crime.

Although nearly every stakeholder group consulted by the Panel seemed to subscribe to the idea that our crime reduction programs and strategies must be based on strong empirical evidence, very little of the relevant "evidence" seems to reach local communities. The Province and, in particular the Ministry of Justice, still has a long way to go in building a capacity to support program evaluations, disseminate the results of these evaluations, articulate their implications for programming, and generally sustain a capacity for evidence-based decision making in the area of crime reduction.

The Crime Reduction Chairs established in British Columbia and the research centres they are attached to represent a significant provincial resource in that area with a particular focus on policing strategies. The concept of establishing Crime Reduction Chairs evolved from an international criminology conference in 2004, at which time it was evident from a variety of leading criminologists that work on criminological theory and research was being hampered by an inability to access highly relevant and recent policing data. It was felt, from a policing perspective, that much of the theory was being developed without a great deal of input from police and did not meet the immediate needs of providing guidance and tools to deal effectively with existing and evolving policing issues. There was an impression from both sides that there was a critical lack of understanding by the other as to what was important for research.

Over the next year, the concept was developed into a Memorandum of Understanding between the Province, Simon Fraser University, the University of the Fraser Valley and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, signed in September 2005. The MOU was for a period of five years and was renewed for another five years in 2010. As intended, the MOU led to the development of a large number of mutually agreed research projects, which met the needs of both academia and policing.

It should be noted that the projects included studies on policing and mental health, the impact of growth and change in the province on need for police primary and secondary services, repeat victimization with emphasis of vulnerability and rural/ remote needs, and repeat offending. These and other projects point directly towards the need to better understand the evolving dynamics of local city context, the linkage between police services and other justice-system and social services and, with that, the complexity of policing in B.C.

¹³⁷ Ministry of Justice of British Columbia (2013). *White Paper on Justice Reform, Part two: A Timely, Balanced Justice System*, Victoria, February 2013, p. 22.

In a largely unforeseen positive development, the arrangement also fostered a positive relationship between criminology students and police that led to job placements for students, many resulting in full time employment. In other words, collaborative research is not only addressing important public policy issues, it's also producing a new generation of highly skilled and experienced public service researchers. The research chairs have already fulfilled an important role in this province and they deserve continued support.

The Panel believes that greater attention must be given to the goal of making relevant research evidence and other information on best practices and successful crime reduction approaches available to communities across British Columbia.

Monitoring Performance

Measuring Crime and Victimization

We must rigorously measure and track our successes and learn about the challenges we face in reducing crime. As Geoffrey Cowper noted in his report, "The suggestion that public goals for the reduction of crime be established and publicly reported across the province implies that system-wide information gathering and reporting exists alongside system-wide goals."¹³⁸

Crime statistics are not as reliable as one might assume in measuring how much crime is being committed in a community. Measures should be taken immediately to address issues that have already been identified in relation to criminal incidents coding and reporting by the police and ensure greater consistency in measuring crime and producing official crime statistics. Policy makers and the public must have confidence in the statistics which result from the recording of crime by police forces. Pressure on law enforcement to take action to reduce crime and efforts to use crime statistics to measure police performance should not create a situation where there are strong incentives to produce self-serving crime statistics.¹³⁹ As the Province gets serious about measuring progress in reducing crime, a robust monitoring and auditing system should be put in place to protect the integrity of official crime data.

Official crime statistics, by themselves, do not provide a satisfactory measure of criminal activity in the province or in any given community. Some of those who spoke to the Panel advocated for conducting regular and rigorous victimization surveys and making their findings readily available to all stakeholders and every community.

¹³⁸ Cowper, D. G. (2012). *A Criminal Justice System for the 21st Century, Final Report to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General Honourable Shirley Bond*, Victoria, August 27, 2012, p. 71.

¹³⁹ Consider for example the difficulties experienced in other jurisdictions where official crime data loses its credibility in the eyes of policy makers and the public. See, for example: House of Commons, Public Administration Select Committee (2014). *Caught Red-handed: Why We Can't Count on Police Recorded Crime Statistics*. London: UK, House of Commons, April 9, 2014.

Measuring Recidivism

Recidivism is a very important and central measure of performance for the criminal justice system. Preventing reoffending, whether it is expressed in terms of specific deterrence, incapacitation or rehabilitation, is among the main objectives (with retribution and denunciation) of criminal law and the whole criminal justice system.

There may be some disagreement about exactly how recidivism is to be measured, but there is rarely any dispute about the fact that a criminal justice intervention or program that is unable to significantly prevent reoffending is a failure. Yet many of these failures persist and continue to burn our public resources.

Operational definitions of recidivism vary considerably depending on who is measuring and why they are measuring it. Some of these definitions are trivial or even defy logic, while others are self-serving or loaded in a particular way to support a particular argument.

We are setting the bar so low: celebrating a reduction in recidivism of a few percentage points while the overall recidivism rates continue to demonstrate the utter failure of the system as a whole. People in the system itself have frequently abandoned the idea.

One basic problem responsible for this state of affairs is the insistence on defining reoffending in terms of a singular event. A program in which an offender successfully participates is meant to have failed if the offender commits a new offence (no matter what the offence) within a set period of time. This demonstrates a total lack of understanding of what is already known about desistance from crime. Desistance from crime is a process and not a moment (or a single event). Behaviour patterns that have been years in the making and have been consistently reinforced by both the environment and failed criminal justice interventions cannot be eradicated overnight and replaced spontaneously by new, more pro-social patterns.

There is no standardized method of measuring recidivism in the province and it would be important to develop and impose consistent standards. Measures of recidivism are also measures of performance and accountability for many criminal justice and law enforcement agencies.

Monitoring the Success of Crime Reduction Initiatives

The Ministry of Justice is currently working with key stakeholders and academia to develop a performance management framework and enhance the quality and availability of police data to measure policing in a consistent manner across the province and support better performance management practices. The recently released JPSC Strategic Plan tentatively suggests a number of potential performance indicators that could be developed with respect to crime reduction and public safety.

The Panel hopes that the ministry will build a robust and valid ‘basket of measures’ that can be consistently applied across the province and in each of its cities and communities

to measure crime reduction efforts and do so in a manner that reflects provincial as well as local crime reduction priorities. Such a basket of measures could provide an indicator of police performance, but it should not be reduced to that.

“Shining the spotlight on the crime rates in B.C. provides motivation for change. As part of putting in place a crime reduction initiative, setting stretch targets and then reporting on outcomes will help hold all our feet to the fire and put pressure on communities where more work is needed.”

Chief Constable Bob Rich
and A/Commissioner
Norm Lipinski, on
behalf of the BC
Association of Chiefs of
Police

The Panel heard from individuals and groups who suggested that people have stopped reporting certain kinds of crime. In the absence of data from a proper survey of victimization, it is impossible to confirm whether, and if so, on what scale, this poor public reporting of crime by victims and members of the public is really occurring.

It would be important to link specific crime reduction objectives and outcomes to provincial policing priorities and reflect them consistently in the Province's Policing and Public Safety Plan.