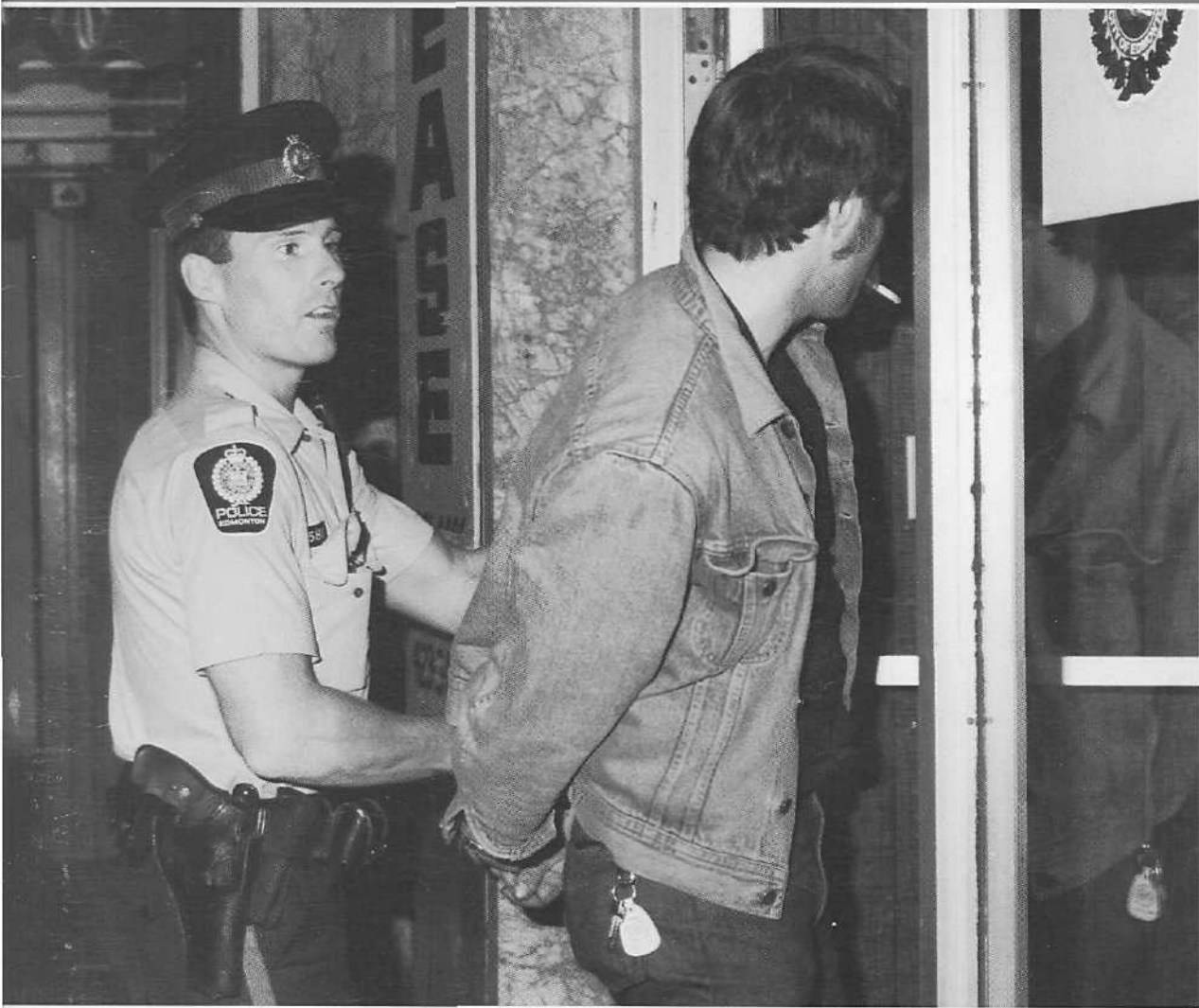


Working the Beat

The Edmonton Neighborhood Foot Patrol

Katherine Koller



Edmonton Police Service



Cover: After arresting a man for drug dealing in the washroom of a nearby club, Neil takes him into his foot patrol office.

Previous Page: Marc regularly patrols the arcades on his beat.

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Foreword

Quality policing cannot be bought. It comes from the minds, hearts and sweat glands of the people doing the work. On the other hand, technology, though not cheap, can be bought, and it helps get the job done. But technology tends to produce *quantity* policing. For instance, an hour spent on radar can be measured by the number of speeding tickets issued but an hour with a wino bent on suicide cannot.

There are other fundamentals of policing that have also been overlooked in this age of technology. They include:

1. Information is the lifeblood of policing, and it comes from people. In particular, people who live in the hottest areas of a city know the most. They have the information police need to solve crimes. Studies of reported crimes show that when police have a lead from a victim or witness, 86% of cases are cleared. When they have no kickstart, no information to work with, even with the help of technology, the success rate drops to 8%. Conventionally, police spend only 2% of their time with victims and witnesses, who are their main sources of information.
2. Three-quarters of most cities do not require much attention. The remaining quarter needs a lot and usually does not present itself in a neat quadrant but rather in scattered pockets throughout the city.
3. Cities are not just masses of people to be policed in department-store fashion but a collection of villages with unique personalities. If a village requires attention, it needs personalized, specialty-shop service.
4. Most police work comes from steady customers, either people or places. Until their problems are solved at least to the point when they can be weaned off the system, these steady customers will continue to consume a large portion of police energy and resources with little return on the dollar.
5. The bulk of police service a family or individual needs is best rendered by one cop they know and trust. Just as a family doctor meets all medical needs excepting specialized and emergency care, so can a single cop manage people's day-to-day policing needs.

6. The basic unit of police work must move from answering a call to solving a problem. The vast majority of police work is community problem-solving. If a call for service (CFS) is viewed as a symptom of something with a past and a likely future rather than a one-time event, then it can be addressed as a problem to be solved, not a call to be answered. A whole new way of doing business develops.

A special word to the peace officer who might read this book. Give to the citizens in your work what you routinely expect when you are the consumer of a product or service. *Police others as you would have others police you.*

This book is an effort by the Edmonton Police Service to describe a medium of policing that accepts the foregoing beliefs. The 21 busiest neighborhoods in this city of 600,000 (with 1050 police officers) were selected as candidates for neighborhood foot patrol. The project was built around three components: the neighborhood foot patrol constable, the storefront office and the neighborhood advisory committee.

It was recognized from the outset, however, that the main frame of the effort would be the personal qualities of the people who would "walk the talk." All officers for the project were volunteers with an average of nine years of service. They were willing to give up ten-hour shifts for eights (48 days off a year) and the security of convention to break entirely new ground in policing. They are the primary response unit for all calls for service on their beat, including high priority calls.

Community policing requires police to shift their allegiance from their peers to their neighborhood residents. When that happens, a sense of shared ownership between the neighborhood and their constable emerges. Beat cops become "playing coaches" in their neighborhoods and, to a person, they revel in the task and grow to fill their work environment. To a great extent, this book is a documentary about their experiences.

This is not a technical account of the project. A quantitative evaluation

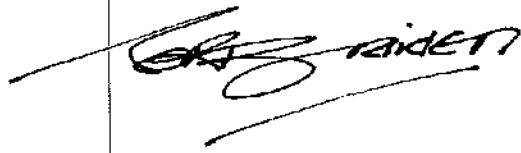
Opposite: *Marc has many people in his neighborhood who like to stop and talk.*



Veterans in today's Edmonton Police Service remember the days when all constables walked a beat. On patrol in the wintertime, 1963, the only way to keep warm was to wear a buffalo coat and keep walking. (Edmonton Police Service Museum and Archives)

of the Edmonton Neighborhood Foot Patrol has been completed by the Canadian Research Institute for Law and the Family (CRILF) at the University of Calgary under the guiding hand of Dr. Joe Hornick, Executive Director. That study was made possible by a grant from the Federal Solicitor General. It contains an implementation manual and is available from the Edmonton Police Service upon request. That manual and this book complement each other.

Here is what the foot patrol project looks like through the eyes of the people providing and consuming the service—the cop working the beat and the citizen living in it. These are the only people who can give a qualitative answer and describe how the project works. Their stories lie ahead.



Chris Braiden
SUPERINTENDENT
EDMONTON POLICE SERVICE
EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA

Community Policing 1



In 1928, all constables walked beats. School patrol was a regular part of the beat constable's job. Here, Constable Bob Robertson helps children across what is now a busy downtown street on Neil's beat. (Edmonton Police Service Museum and Archives)

"WE MUST¹ RESTORE A BALANCE BETWEEN CITIZEN AND POLICE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT REFLECTS A MORE ACCURATE ASSESSMENT OF ACTUAL CAPACITIES AND ACKNOWLEDGES THAT EFFECTIVE SOCIAL CONTROL CANNOT POSSIBLY BE ACHIEVED BY HIRED HANDS ALONE."

HERMAN GOLDSTEIN,
POLICING A FREE SOCIETY

C

ommunity policing is a partnership between police and people who care about their communities. The responsibility of policing is shared. Information and assistance flow both ways. Community policing implies a contract of cooperation between the police and the public.

Community policing in its original form predates the creation of police forces. In England, before the Industrial Revolution, people policed themselves. There was no formal body of paid staff to do the job. Communities naturally looked after their own members. As the population crowded into the cities in the early nineteenth century, the job of handling civil disobedience was left to the untrained and seriously reduced British military. In 1829, politician Sir Robert Peel brought about reform by founding a metropolitan police system. First established in London, the police were known familiarly as Bobbies after their founder.

Peel also popularized a Statement of Principles describing the goals of the first police service. Peel's Principles, as they were called, introduced modern community policing. The police force pledged:

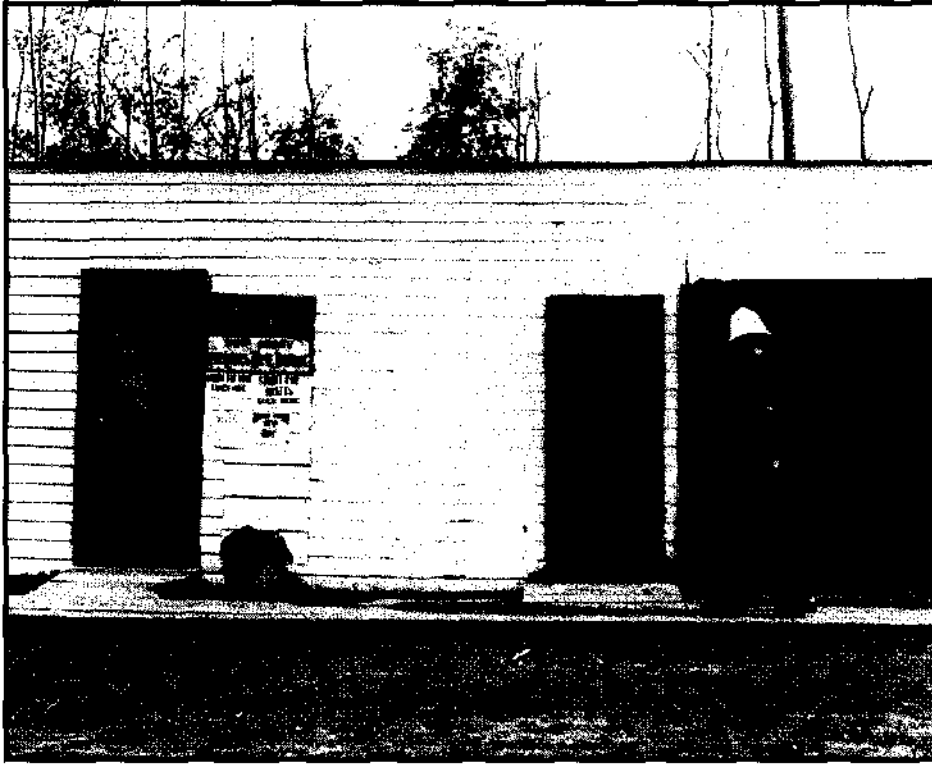
To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen,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

In turn, citizens were expected to police themselves part-time as they went about their daily activities.

The language of the Principles includes: "public approval," "respect of the public" "willing cooperations of the public," "community welfare and existence," "public favor," "individual service and friendship to all members of the public" and "relationship with the public." The word "crime" is only mentioned twice and in both cases in connection with prevention. Peel's intentions were clearly that police should be peace officers.

In North American cities at the turn of the twentieth century, police were assigned to a beat, following the method of the London Bobbies. Cops, as they were now called, walked as watchmen back and forth on a designated route. When telephones became a fixture of modern life, police were required to call their headquarters periodically. As cities grew, so did the number of beats, and cops were sent out to different ones all the time.

The main job of the police was to be seen. The model that had developed in the northern Canadian city of Edmonton by the 1960s was an aloof



A constable investigates the scene of a murder in what is now the south side of Edmonton, c. 1921. (City of Edmonton Archives)

authority figure. Police were conditioned to avoid chatting with people or lingering inside buildings. In winter, they wore buffalo coats. At night, in subzero weather, a cop was often the only one on the street. The only sound was the rattling of locked doors as the officer shook doorknobs on his rounds.

After the 1960s, when automobiles became generally affordable, police began to abandon the beat for the patrol car equipped with a two-way radio. The contemporary police car is a mobile office with a computer terminal attached to the dashboard. But sophisticated equipment and the stacks of paper that accompany high technology have insulated police from the communities they patrol. Today, cops spend far more time with other cops than with citizens.

Bringing Peace to the Neighborhood

Police have moved a long way from their predecessors in the time of Peel. With the passage of time, modern policing has evolved from peacekeeping in the broad sense to crime fighting in particular. Contemporary police are generally considered law enforcement officers who deal exclusively with

Opposite: Mike works the Drag. One of his code rules known by the people in his beat is that Mike will only talk one on one, outside the bar.

violations of the law. They are rarely smiling. They are commonly seen getting into or out of a car, or driving by. Because they spend so much time in a car, they are familiar with buildings and addresses but not with people or names. The people they drive by can recognize the police car but can hardly get a glimpse of the unfamiliar face behind the wheel. Today, largely because of the automobile, police have ended up policing space instead of people.

In an effort to restore "people contact, not pavement contact," the

Edmonton Police Service has promoted a return to community policing. Superintendent Chris Braiden, architect of the neighborhood foot patrol, says, "We've drifted off course. Community policing in the 1980s is simply a reemergence of Peel's Principles." He looked at the ways other cities in North America and Europe have recently attempted to recreate community policing. The Edmonton neighborhood foot patrol evolved from three elements of community policing found separately elsewhere.

The first component is the foot patrol officer, the mainstay of the Flint, Michigan, foot patrol program, which began in 1979. Like its Edmonton counterpart, the Flint program gives a single police officer responsibility for a particular defined neighborhood. In Edmonton, the constables carry pagers so that people can reach them directly, anywhere on their beat.

A place to work within the neighborhood, a storefront office equipped with a telephone and an answering machine, is the second feature of the Edmonton project. In Detroit, Michigan, mini-stations have been set up since the late 1970s in an effort to decentralize police service. By 1989 the number of mini-stations reached 90. Officers,

however, are responsible only for crime prevention, and do not answer calls except when backing up investigating officers. In Edmonton, foot patrol officers respond to all calls for service. In Houston, Texas, five storefront offices were established in 1983. They differ from those in Detroit or Edmonton in that paid civilian staff is used instead of volunteer help, and two officers man each office, which is open from 9:30 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. every day except Sunday. In Edmonton, constables work five eight-hour shifts per week, and vary the times of their shifts to suit the policing needs of the neighborhood. The third element is neighborhood liaison



Constables on beats in 1947 were not encouraged to engage in conversations with people. Their job was to walk the route of their beat from end to end, watchdog fashion. (Edmonton Police Service Museum and Archives)

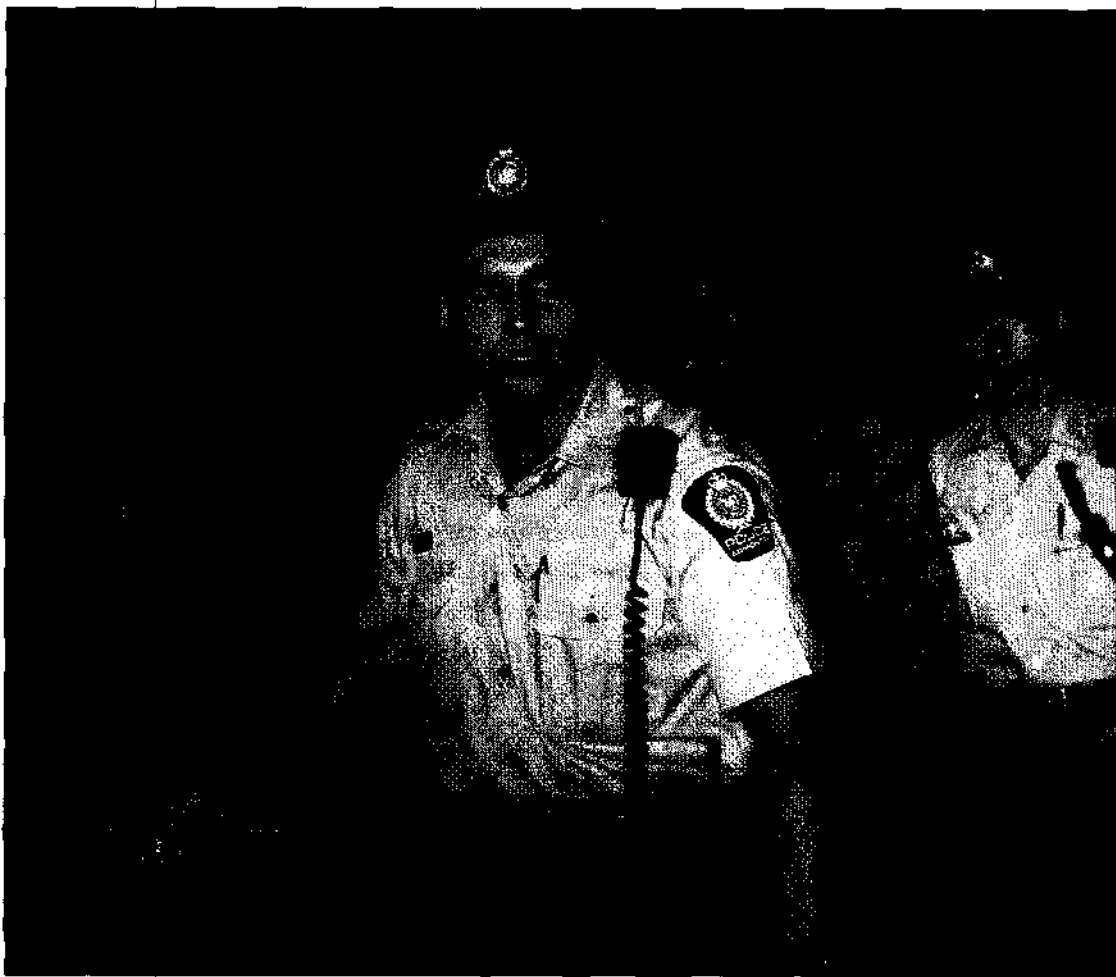
committees similar to the community advisory groups who work with the London Metropolitan Police. Community members are asked to serve on an as needed basis to help the officer decide on priorities of the neighborhood, and help find solutions. In Edmonton, neighborhood residents are often very loosely grouped, and may often be consulted individually rather than in committees.

The Edmonton Plan

Positions for 21 constables were made available to initiate the neighborhood foot patrol. By examining 153,000 calls for service in the year 1986, the 21 hottest areas of the city were identified. Significantly, 81% of the calls in these areas were from repeat addresses. Superintendent Dave Cassels comments: "We plopped 21 guys into the 21 busiest areas of the city. We wondered if they were taking on too much. But community policing brings out productivity in people and, surprisingly, job satisfaction has increased considerably."

The first venture of its kind in Canada, the Edmonton neighborhood foot patrol has been in operation since April 1988. The objectives of the officers, who are known to their neighborhoods on a first-name basis, are to work with the community at problem solving and to decentralize calls from headquarters to the beat office. What follows is an attempt to show how the Edmonton project works through the eyes of the cops on the job, the volunteers in the office and finally, the customers or clients of the police service, the people in the community.

Foot Patrol Constable 2



Jamie and Neil sometimes pair up on the night shift during their rounds of the late hours clubs, where they often make drug-related arrests. Neil, right, has disarmed his suspect of a knife, the most common kind of illegal weapon found in Edmonton.

"I SEE PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF INCIDENTS. WHEN I GO BACK INTO A PATROL CAR, I'LL REALLY MISS THIS. BUT I THINK THIS EXPERIENCE WILL CHANGE MY STYLE OF POLICING FOREVER. I'LL JUST HAVE TO LOOK FOR THE HUMAN ELEMENT."

CONSTABLE RON GIBBENTY

L

ike many civilian workers, neighborhood foot patrol officers park their cars at their offices, and spend most of their shifts on foot. Those with large areas to cover will sometimes drive to an appointment, but many prefer to walk. Free of the cocoon effect of the police car, the officer on foot will encounter a variety of people. Some will simply greet him — "Hiya, Gordon, how's it going?"— and others will stop him to offer valuable bits of information. In both instances, the people on the beat greet the officer as a co-worker in the neighborhood. In the space of one city block, Lew says hello to people in Spanish, Chinese, Cree and Greek. There is an exchange of energy that is not evident in the police car where the only other voice is

distanced by the static of the police radio.

When out on the beat, Marc places a "Working but Walking" sign in his office window. Although his office contains his desk, the streets are his workplace. In the first six months of beats, most officers, in getting to know their workplace and their community, walk almost constantly. Rocky noticed that he tended to walk in the evening on one side of his residential beat more often than the other. On the preferred side, people looked after their yards in the evening, and were more available for conversation because they were outside.

Even after their work load builds up, most constables try to get out on a general walking tour at least once

per shift. Sometimes this is impossible. But there is a danger of losing credibility if the officer stays inside; it is akin to being in a car, but trading the steering wheel for the telephone receiver. Nevertheless, sometimes a constable is prevented from walking his beat for a week, or from visiting the same address for up to a month or two. Office time, interviews, arrests, court, investigations and meetings can consume the constable's time. Some officers claim that they no longer need to walk, they have no need to



Andy tries to get acquainted with everyone on his beat, including a shy youngster. When people are comfortable talking to him, they tell him what he needs to know to do his job.

advertise themselves, they know where all the problems are and that everyone on their beat knows how to contact them. It is so busy in some offices that constables are obliged to retreat to their division station to do paperwork uninterrupted.

The physical difference of walking rather than driving is what identifies the constables on neighborhood foot patrol. Each has his own way of managing time, but for most, working is walking, especially on the evening shift. Downtown, it is important to be in the office during the noon hour to take calls and be available for the walk-in business crowds. In high-density residential areas, it is important to be out in the schoolyards at noon hour, recess and after school. To keep up with the kids in the summer, some officers are trying mountain bikes, which also help cover a larger area in shorter time and can explore places inaccessible to cars. Walking or riding, beat cops are vulnerable to the weather, so when it rains, they get wet.

Walking on patrol is a lot like housekeeping. There are daily routines, like getting to know the kids on the beat. Housekeeping also means checking up on spots that have recently required attention to see if they are improving. The questions asked by the foot patrol constable are often: "How are you doing?" or "What do you think?" or "How do you feel?" Information about the health of the neighborhood is gleaned in this manner. Tony can find out that a particularly abusive female is out of town for a few weeks, so there should be no domestic arguments generated at her address for a while; or that a schizophrenic patient is taking her medicine regularly and should not cause any disturbances. Follow up also includes finding out what happened when the officer was off shift — by checking computer reports, talking to patrol car officers and making contact with the people involved in incidents.

Another housekeeping activity is filing SIRs or Street Information Reports. Foot patrol officers must make it their business to know who is moving into their area. When they see an individual they do not recognize, someone who activates their policeman's sixth sense, they stop that person for questioning: name, date of birth, address and prior offences. They can radio this information on the spot and determine whether the individual has a warrant for arrest. This kind of confrontation, however good-naturedly it is carried out, is a warning to a stranger in the area that a beat cop is on the lookout. Before the conversation ends, the constable usually has a good idea where and with whom the new face likes to hang out. Peter, who has the challenging job of policing a multi-ethnic neighborhood, uses a pocket computer to record the complicated names he encounters. Besides

HEY FELLAS, I WANT
TO TALK TO YOU.

HOW COME? WHATS UP?

YOU DON'T MAKK SKNSK
WHERE YOU'RE WALKING.

WE'RE JUST PRACTICING.

FOR WHAT?

WE WANNA BE BEAT COPS.

providing an instant memory bank for Peter on his walks, this system is useful for helping detectives identify offenders on his beat.

People react differently to the police on the beat. Dressed up singles in a downtown bar are mute when an officer walks through. They wonder if there is trouble. They are not used to seeing a cop face to face. The owner of the bar may begin to fidget with the old-fashioned attitude that police are not good for business. At the bars in the three or four downtown blocks called the Drag, there is a marked reversal. Mike is greeted with varying amounts of enthusiasm, but everybody acknowledges him. He is a part of their life, or existence, in the part of the city that is the end of the line, where there is no other place to go. Mike is their focus when he is there, and the object of their good humor. And as long as no one is passed out, picking a fight or posing a problem, Mike returns their jokes with some of his own.

The same sense of conviviality is apparent between constables and the large numbers of young offenders on beats- These are kids under the age of eighteen who may be headed for criminal careers. They are also young enough, sometimes, to be directed elsewhere. Their attitude toward beat cops is striking, because they smile and laugh and banter, enjoying the attention of a person they know is watching them. But if they are guilty, they sweat, because a beat cop knows them too well to be fooled. When the foot patrol officer sends out the word that someone is wanted for an arrest, a young offender will often turn himself in. The officer knows where to find him anyway, and juveniles know that it is in their best interest to maintain good relations with their beat cop. Likewise, Mike says there's at least one common good in the people who live on the Drag: "If they did something, they'll tell you about it."

Planting Roots

A beat officer sets down roots in his neighborhood in his own way. Ron's roots go far already because he grew up in the neighborhood he now polices. Although the area has changed dramatically, there are still people on his beat who remember his family. But one of his residents says that "Ron has made it his place." Likewise, Bill and Peter take Vietnamese lessons at their local Vietnamese Seniors Association. Mike attends a Sunday charity picnic. Rocky enlists some native kids to help deliver flyers advertising an open house at his office, and in return takes them for a swim and hot dogs. Kevin goes out to an Indian reserve for a ceremonial pow-wow. Jeff runs in a fundraising marathon, and finds people to sponsor him

HEY, MARIE, YOU KNOW I'VE GOT THREE OUTSTANDING WARRANTS FOR YOUR ARREST.

OH, GOOD.

YOU KNOW YOU'VE GOT TILL WEDNESDAY TO GO IN.

SO WHAT TIME DO YOU WANT TO MEET ME HERE ON WEDNESDAY?

BEFORE WEDNESDAY.

OTHERWISE YOU'RE GOING TO GIVE ME THE BRACELETS?

YEAH, MARIE.

YOU THINK YOU'RE FAST ENOUGH TO CATCH ME?

SEE YOU WEDNESDAY.

Opposite: Policing the young means keeping up with their activities at school and at their hangouts. Regular contact with kids, especially in areas where 90% of crimes are committed by persons under 18 (young offenders), is one of the beat constable's biggest priorities.

I'M ARRESTING YOU FOR THE POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA SEEDS. DID YOU KNOW THE PENALTY FOR CULTIVATION IS WORSE THAN FOR POSSESSION?

GOOD THING WE DIDN'T PLANT THEM THEN.

GOOD THING.

on his beat. These are only a few of the ways a beat cop roots himself in his neighborhood. In many cases, this rootmaking is done on the officer's own time.

Terry talks about the familiarity, the sense of being "at home" when he drives into his beat area and to his office. He feels so comfortable in "his" neighborhood that he says he would like to retire there. These feelings of attachment make it all the more important for Terry to do a good job of policing and improving the standards of safety in his beat. He came up with a campaign to combat property crimes, which meant writing a slogan, designing and delivering a poster, setting up a community meeting and speaking to the 70 people who attended. All of these are tasks he had never done before in his career as a policeman. The result of his efforts is a Citizens' Foot Patrol of mainly seniors who walk in pairs on weekend evenings. The patrollers, who wear fluorescent vests donated by a local business, act as extra eyes and ears by reporting suspicious activities back to Terry. On one occasion, the Citizens' Foot Patrol obtained enough infor-

—I mation to lead to the arrest of five people for car theft. But probably more important, Terry has helped the people in his community help themselves; he has given them a measure of control over their neighborhood health that they never had before.

While they may have a working relationship elsewhere on their beat, many foot patrol constables are challenged by liquor outlets, which generate many alcohol-related offences, and are traditionally the hardest places to police. One of the reasons is that in many bars "overservice is the motto," says Jeff. Some bar managers refuse to limit the amount of alcohol

a person can buy, even when that person is dangerously intoxicated. The family-run bars and hotels seem to be the most receptive to suggestions about keeping their establishments trouble-free. An owner-manager cares about the general well-being of his business in much the same way a beat cop cares about his community. Both have the ownership of the responsibility of keeping their "place" safe. Managers of bars who have no equity in the business tend to be less open to the beat cop's request for information or strategies for problem solving. As a result, a foot patrol officer is often in the position of contacting absentee owners to reach a solution to hotel



Tony talks to Alastair, Fringe Festival beat technician, about a pedestrian flow problem. Together, they decide on fencing off an area to ensure people cross the street at the corner only.



policing problems. Tony has enlisted the support of his superintendent to join him at meetings with boards of directors, and other foot patrol officers have used their sergeants for backup in similar boardroom situations.

Before you can work on a problem with a person, says Ron, you need trust, and that takes time. Over time, you eventually become friends. Ron remembers the first time crossing that line. He was called at home on a day off by a resident who needed to talk, not about police work, but about a personal problem. Ron responded as a friend. Marc says of his residents, "We look to each other for support." It is a relationship, not a formality,

Desk clerks, bar maids, disc jockeys and other employees of hotels, taverns and clubs get used to seeing their beat constable. They exchange information about known troublemakers, suspicious types and problem situations.

SO MARGARET, HOW'S
HE DOING?

*MY HUSBAND? HE'S STILL
GETTING HIS STRENGTH BACK.
LOOKING FOR A JOB. BUT HE
CAN'T STAND UP FOR LONG, SO
HE CAN'T DO HIS OWN TRADE,
SHEET METAL, YOU KNOW.*

IS THAT A BLACK EYE
YOU'VE GOT THERE?

*NO. I'M JUST TIRED. BEEN UP
WITH THE BABY LAST THREE
NIGHTS. SHE'S SICK.*

I DON'T THINK THAT BRUISE
WAS THERE WHEN I SAW
YOU THREE WEEKS AGO.

YEAH, SURE IT WAS.

IS HE HITTING YOU AGAIN?

IT BRUISES EASILY.

that Tony describes as "person to person, not public to police officer." This is true even with known repeat offenders. Before arresting someone, the constable will use the person's first name or nickname if he knows it, or even make general inquiries about that person's family. As in any line of work, dealing with people you are interested in makes the job more appealing.

In foot patrol, changes in attitude of people toward the police parallel changes in attitude of the police toward the people. After six years on the Drag, Kevin had a negative attitude toward native Indians. Then he was given a beat with the largest native population in the city. The fourteen months he spent there made him feel like "a piece of salt in a pepper shaker." His unique community taught him about native culture, and he made some close friends. Peter knows the feeling: "Guys in patrol cars don't like dealing with minorities. I used to feel the same way. So anything I do now is a positive step, because nothing much has been done."

Likewise, Jeff comments: "I used to be more aggressive. Now I'm willing to listen more. I've got the time, and I feel I can do something." Mike says that being alone on the beat means he is naturally less aggressive. Scott points out that "a partner can push you," but without backup, a beat cop has to be more careful about what he says and how he moves. So when Mike needs to talk to someone, he takes the person out of the bar for a one-to-one outside. Dave, who patrols another part of the Drag, has come to understand the guys on his beat: "You chase the drunks around, so where are they going to go? They have social needs, just like anybody else. They have to have a place where they can relate to other people." The beat cop, walking the same route every day, has no choice but to become familiar with, then tolerant of, and eventually, understanding about, his residents' lives.

Knowing the people you work with is also an advantage in potentially violent situations. "It's a heck of a lot safer walking than being in a patrol car," says Jamie, who has never been assaulted on the beat. Gordon has, but only by offenders from outside his beat. Peter remembers that he used to find himself in a scrum almost every night on car patrol. On beats, he has yet to be in a fight, and attributes it to the fact that the families and individuals know him. "You're the policeman who 'lives' here," they might say. Mike talks about a code of street justice. The people in his community know that it is not wise to assault their foot patrol constable, who is probably more tolerant of their behavior, even when they are intoxicated, than another cop. He knows that they are quite decent when they are not drunk.

Many beat cops are even willing to offer a ride to someone they know, especially when they are aware of that individual's family situation and possibly already know where he or she lives.

Domestic fights, which are often so violent that a patrol officer rarely answers a call alone, are perhaps less daunting to a beat cop because the parties are probably already known to him. Understanding different cultural family dynamics is essential in policing certain Asian groups. "In Vietnam," says Bill, "if a policeman talks to you, you wet your pants." Even the not-so-newly-arrived Vietnamese struggles to unlearn old standards and learn the new. In addition to cultural differences, ongoing information about a family's previous and current problems is essential to the beat cop's professional memory bank. This gives him an advantage as a negotiator. In potentially violent domestic situations, however, Jack notes that it is dangerous to become complacent about his possibly good relationship with the family. If he has to charge someone, he is no longer considered the friendly cop on the street. On family violence calls when he makes assault charges, sometimes both parties will suddenly turn on him, or the woman may side with her husband or boyfriend, even if she or her children have just been battered.

Similarly, when a beat cop confronts someone previously unknown to him, there is a noticeable change in his face. Not in the presence of a friend, he crosses back across the line and is the officer again. A beat constable makes this remarkable transition many times in a day. When he must arrest someone he counts as a friend, he is behind the line again. But instead of indifference, he expresses disappointment and regret, and the offender is made aware, not only of a breach of the law, but a breach of personal trust.

This bond works both ways. Jack articulates: "Day after day, month after month, you not only see the community as one full of problems to be solved; it is also one in which your good friends live, work and play. This makes the job of policing the area one that involves you personally." Responsibility is enhanced not only in intensity, but also in integrity. The word gets around about an officer's work. "It's a very small world on my beat, and I take an active interest in the people and things that happen, because I know I'm going to be here tomorrow," says Rocky. If someone stops him on the street one day, Rocky is sure to see her the next, and he's

Members of Theta Chi fraternity on the campus of the University of Alberta and neighborhood residents negotiated a fraternity party code with the help of Ron as mediator. The first summer the code was in effect there were no infractions, and only one incident requiring disciplinary action occurred the following autumn.



ARE YOU WORKING?

YEAH. I DELIVER PIZZAS.

IGOT YOU A JOB. WHAT HAPPENED? IT DIDN'T WORK OUT FOR YOU?

NO. THEN! GOT ANOTHER JOB.

AND THEN THIS ONE.

got to have a suggestion in mind. Otherwise, the customer won't use his services. This, says Jeff, is the difference between public relations and police work. Where public relations is often a handshake and a hollow promise, police work means follow-up and follow-through.

Visibility

Being visible, being on foot and being outside have many advantages. A beat cop is like a sponge, taking in information about the happenings in the community. People are drawn to their constable to talk and ask for help in many different ways. Face-to-face encounters are infinitely more satisfying than a telephone voice on the general police complaint line. The one-on-one contact between the foot patrol officer and the customer, who are on a first-name basis right from the start, is helpful for both sides. It is a direct approach to police work.

A typical event for Lew was running into a licensing agent for the city in an alleyway. The agent was checking business licenses, and Lew had been trying to find out about a suspected licensing infraction. Because he made personal contact with the agent, he was assured a response to his questions about a certain business in the area, and now had a resource person he could call on about similar queries.

A foot patrol officer will also meet people on the beat who may not normally have the opportunity to pass on information to the police for a variety of reasons, the main ones probably being apathy, fear and a sense of futility. When the constable makes the first move to stop a person on the sidewalk, not for a confrontation but for a neighborly chat, he alleviates frustration and promotes the hope that perhaps something can be done. It is also easier for an informant to talk to a uniform during a casual encounter on the street or at a prearranged spot in the alley than showing the street crowd a double face by leaning through the window of a squad car. Nobody likes to broadcast their police business.

At the other end of the scale, some beat cops have found that residents in their community are willing to work on a regular basis identifying offenders. Lew met one such person, a former drug dealer, in another alleyway; after chatting for awhile, the resident said he would like to provide information to his beat cop as a way of paying back for the life he used to have. He continues to work with Lew on a regular basis, and has been instrumental in many drug investigations. Likewise, Darren received information from a source on his beat about an apartment containing guns and drugs. The source had been calling anonymously for a long time, once even to

report on her own son, so Darren considered the information reliable. Armed with a search warrant and help, he made arrests and seized, among other things, an M-16 rifle.

By simply being at the right place at the right time, Rocky and neighboring foot patrol constable Bob were able to save a life. They were walking and heard a smoke detector alarm in a nearby apartment building, where they found a woman too intoxicated to notice the fire in progress. She would have died of smoke inhalation by the time the fire department reached the scene, but was rescued simply because Rocky and Bob were walking in the neighborhood.

Besides the street, another place beat officers like to be is the schoolyard. Peter says, "I've got two schools on my beat. I like to be visible around them. Ten minutes of my time at lunch on the schoolground is better than two hours with some maggot." KJds swarm their beat cop. The constable loves it. Rick points out that for a lot of kids who don't have a hope for the future, having regular exposure to a policeman may give them the confidence to ask for help when they need it.

Adults who have had little or no dealings with the police tend to react the same way. If they know there is someone in the area on a fulltime basis, they are more likely to ask for assistance. Jack tells a story: "A clerk in a store approached me to report a sexual assault. She had been working in the store alone when a youth came in. He committed the assault, then left. She was too embarrassed to call the police, and waited until the next time she saw me to report the incident. The next day I put the store under surveillance. The youth returned to the scene, and was arrested. He has since been admitted to a treatment program," Having a foot patrol in the community tends to foster this kind of delayed reporting of offences; rather than call the police complaint line in a panic, people are just as likely to wait until they can find a private moment with their own beat officer.

The same visibility that generates communication between the community and its beat officer is confusing for the criminal element. Most offenders rely on never seeing the same policeman twice. Transients with prior break and enter charges are easily surprised when overtaken for the second time on a walkabout and told to leave the area. By contrast, the novelty of seeing the same officer twice in one evening can instigate another friendly relationship. If the first time they met, a person was caught by the officer for possession of drugs, the second time will almost be a relief. There are no more drugs to confiscate. In both instances, offenders are more likely to keep their activities out of sight, which is the most the community can hope

HI, FOLKS, YOU HAVING
A PARTY?

WHAT? HEY, WHAT IS THIS?

MIND IF I LOOK IN YOUR
POCKETS AND PURSES?

*HEY, MAN, THIS IS REALLY
EMBARRASSING. YOU
COULD HAVE AT LEAST
DRIVEN UP.*

YOU GUYS CRANKING
TONIGHT?

NO, WE'RE NOT CRANKING.

WHOSE JUICE IS THAT?

I DON'T KNOW.

YOU GOT ANY RIGS IN
THIS JACKET?

*WE DON'T WANT ANY
TROUBLE.*

AM I GOING TO POKE MYSELF
WITH NEEDLES IF I REACH
INTO THIS POCKET?

YEAH.

YEAH?

I MEAN NO. SORRY. PM NOT. . . .

YOU KNOW THEY'RE
STARTING UP A NEEDLE
EXCHANGE AT THE HEALTH
CLINIC NEXT MONTH. YOU
TAKE YOUR OLD NEEDLES IN
AND GET NEW ONES.

YEAH?

YEAH. SPREAD THE WORD.

for in some areas. When drug dealing or prostitution is less visible as a result of more visible police presence, the perception of the community is that the problem has been improved.

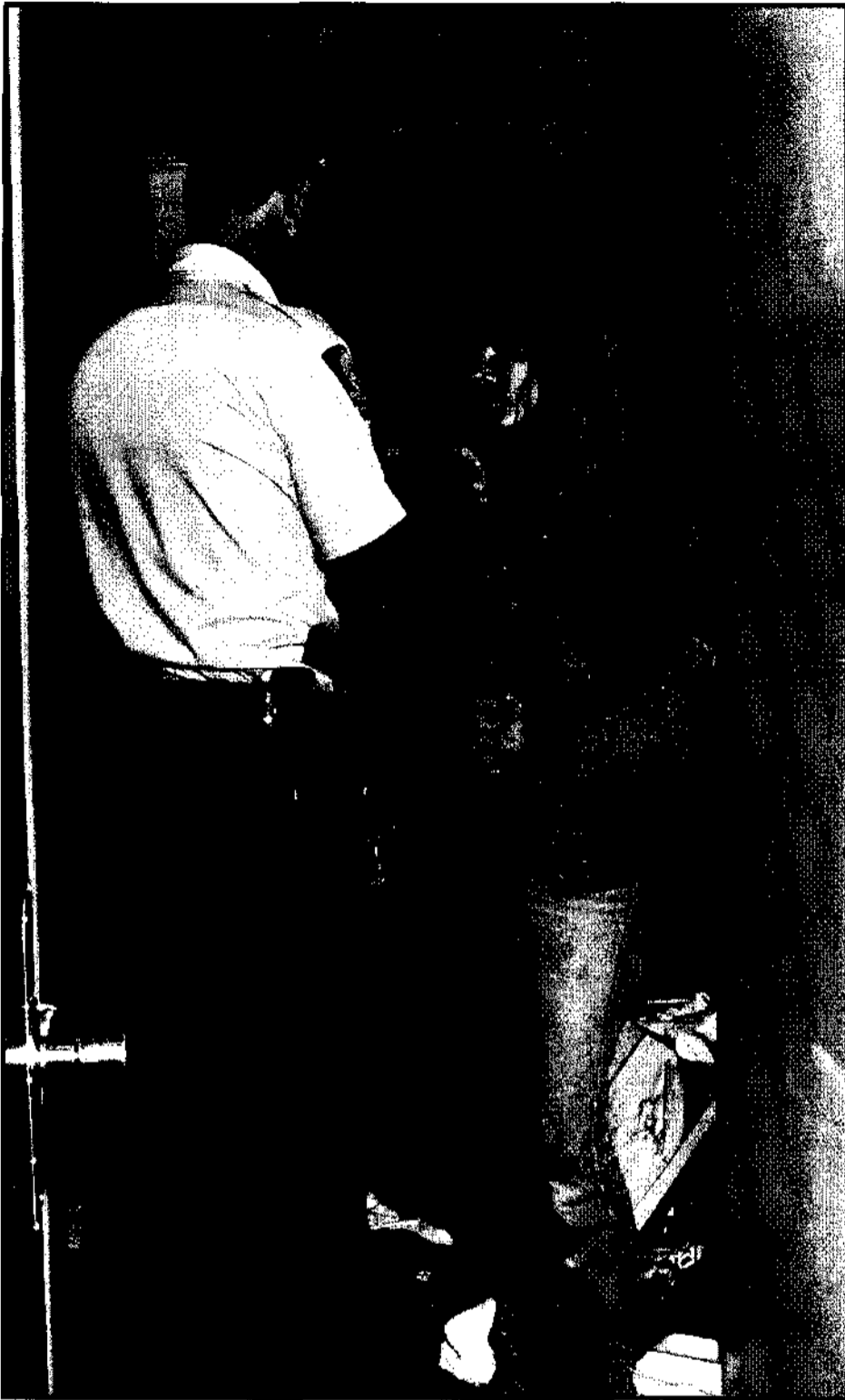
Invisibility

Sometimes, however, a foot patrol officer can take advantage of being invisible. People unaware of the foot patrol program do not normally expect to see a policeman on the street. Offenders are often interrupted in alleyways, parks and other areas that are inaccessible to a police car. Beat cops have remarked that they have made more drug and alcohol related arrests on foot than in a vehicle. In a dark bar, all an officer has to do is remove his hat, and he can be unnoticed by the crowds. People are also not used to being chased while on foot, and foot patrol officers walk all day, train regularly and run fast.

One officer works in a major shopping mall, which made him so close to the scene of the crime that he was invisible to a thief who had previously robbed a jewelry store. The thief returned to the same store to rob it again. The store clerk recognized the thief, and immediately called the police officer, who only had to run the length of the mall to surprise and arrest the thief. If the thief had known a police officer worked in the mall, it is doubtful he would have committed the offence the second time. Perhaps he would not even have tried it the first time.

Because criminals do not know the exact whereabouts of the foot patrol officer unless, as some do, they check the hours of his shifts or use spotters to watch for his unexpected appearance, there is a sense of an invisible police presence. Sometimes this sort of camouflage, combined with a thorough knowledge of the regular offenders in the area, is a definite advantage. Jamie remembers seeing a couple of youths carrying large bags enter a downtown hotel and, because he hadn't seen them in the area before, he checked their room. He found a cache of stolen property from a nearby apartment, and telephoned the owner even before the goods had been reported missing.

Foot patrol officers who use their relative invisibility like to make sure that everyone does notice when they make an arrest. If a drug possession charge is made in a park, the officer will take the accused out to the busiest gathering place; it makes like-minded offenders scatter. Another officer will often ask a patrol car to drive a hooker to a sleazy downtown hotel with the siren roaring and lights flashing; the attention embarrasses her and she stays clear of his beat for another little while.



Gordon checks for needles every day on the beat. The drug of choice is an injected mixture of Talwin and Ritalin, often called "poor man's heroin." Talwin and Ritalin are painkilling opiate narcotics that are sold in tablet form. The user crushes the tablets, adds water, filters out the chalk filler and pours the fluid into a hypodermic needle.

Officers who drive a police cruiser to their beat each day park creatively. Knowing that the average person and average offender will assume police presence when they see a police vehicle, beat cops leave their cars in problem areas, for example, the parking lot of a bank that has been robbed three times in six months, or outside a grocery store that has had a rash of shoplifters. Terry says: "It's a game. People who have a hard time knowing how the game is played have a hard time with us."

Foot patrol constables have made it a practice to request specific conditions of parole for young offenders:

curfews, non-association restrictions, residential and school requirements. Because he is around all the time, the beat officer is able to watch youths out on bail better than any other authority. If the conditions are not kept, the beat cop presses additional charges until the individual is finally sent to jail.



Bernie, a detective, seeks information from Gord about a rash of thefts at a convenience store.

Pushing and Pulling

Removing the problem is a favorite tactic of foot patrol officers. When prostitutes began working a residential street near the Drag, Mike counted slow-moving and stopping vehicles and took his statistics to the city traffic department, who eventually rerouted the street for one-way traffic only. Motorists were so confused that they could no longer stop on the street, and the hookers moved—to another officer's beat.

A downtown motel that was frequented by hookers and Johns was investigated by Dave and morality detectives. As a result, the motel management was charged with keeping a bawdy house. Some say that because they lost face in the predominantly Chinese community, the owners sold the motel, which was subsequently demolished to make way for an extension of the downtown market.

In the same area, Dave was finding that a huge amount of Chinese

cooking wine, which sold in groceries for \$1.95 a bottle and had an alcohol content of 38% to a salt content of 2%, was causing health and behavior problems among the Drag people. He brought the situation to the attention of the Alberta Liquor Control Board. Eventually, the cooking wine was banned for sale in Alberta because of its high alcohol content.

Dave also tackled another favorite Drag drink, the home disinfectant, Lysol. He contacted police in Toronto and Vancouver and found that, in Ontario, legislation was already in place prohibiting the sale as a drink, or use as a drink, alcoholic substances not intended to be consumed as a drink. This gives police the authority to enforce the legislation by charging stores who sell Lysol to those who obviously intend to abuse it. At some groceterias, people are lined up at 9 a.m. to buy Lysol, and it has been estimated that \$1500 in Lysol — at \$5 a can — can be sold at a little corner store in two days. A revision of the law to match the legislation in Ontario is expected in Alberta.

Another success of the downtown foot patrols is requesting and obtaining from the Chief Prosecutor a restriction of movement clause in bail orders for repeat offenders. If barred from their own criminal territory and cohorts, these compulsive offenders may be put out of business or at least set back temporarily as they start over again in another area.

Of the eyesores many beat officers would like to remove are condemned and abandoned buildings, which attract undesirables who use them for storing stolen or personal goods, for using and stashing drugs and other illicit behavior. Sometimes informing an owner of the problem is all that is required to get the building demolished. Other owners, especially those who do not live in the area, refuse to spend the money, and further action must be taken, such as meeting with the local aldermen and demonstrating the danger to the health of the community, and getting a demolition order from the city. In a similar vein, Terry counted three hundred abandoned and wrecked vehicles on his beat and lobbied for the city's bylaw enforcement department to remove them. He called the clean-up "Operation Heavy Metal."

When residents of an apartment complex were consistently bothered by rowdy tenants, Darren started a petition, which was sent to the owner of the complex, who was entirely unaware of the problem. The noisy tenants were immediately evicted. The same apartment complex generated reports of up to fifteen temporarily missing children during Darren's first summer on the beat. The following year he lobbied to get a city parks and recreation shack and playground worker on his beat to keep wandering children busy. The

WHOSE WINE IS THIS?

IDQN7KNOW.

WHO'S SELLING IT TO YOU?

NO ONE.

WHAT'S THIS GUY UP THERE
SELLING IT TO YOU FOR?

IDONTKNOW.

\$1.95?

YEAH.

I WANT YOU GUYS TO STAY
SOBER TODAY.

Opposite: In its first few months of operation, Kevin's Native Arts Program has attracted about twenty-five junior high school students who want to make and sell native crafts to earn money. A core group often students and a native instructor work every day after school. On weekends they sell their crafts. Teachers have already noticed an improvement in students' punctuality and attendance - if kids are late or skip class, they are not allowed in the workroom after school.

shack, which attracted up to twenty children at any one time, was located in the middle of the apartment grounds, and virtually eliminated the problem of missing kids the following summer.

Preventive Policing

A technique closely related to removing a problem is preventive policing. In the schools, especially the junior highs, a lot of time is spent by foot patrol constables in assemblies or classrooms or principal's offices talking with kids. One of Andy's concerns is the challenges of the summer months for kids without access to recreational activities. These kids typically turn to crime in their plentiful leisure time. Beat constables often act as collective surrogate parents, directing kids to programs or suggesting alternative activities, like a litter pick-up at a local 7-11 store. Like Darren, Andy and Lew were able to set up a summer youth program by lobbying for a grant to hire a facilitator. Jeff holds discussions at schools about intimidation, weapons and assaults, trying to educate kids about the realities of the law. When a fourteen-year-old confided to Marc that she had attempted suicide, he contacted her school counsellor to suggest ways of enhancing the girl's self-image.

Kevin identified a recurring problem among native junior high school students: they seldom continue on to high school. He invented a program based on his dual observation that native kids are interested in their own culture and they understand money. The Native Arts Program at Ben Calf Robe School is funded, at Kevin's proposal, by the provincial government. Its object is to teach junior high school kids the value of education in a work experience setting as they plan, make, advertise and market native crafts after school and on Saturdays. To participate in the program, kids must stay in school. Kevin hopes that the incentive will better the percentage of native junior high students continuing on to high school.

Terry would like to help future school-age kids by setting up a parenting skills workshop for the many single mothers in his neighborhood. He would also like to see a program for parents of juvenile offenders to improve cooperation between these parents and the police, and show parents how to have better control over their children. Gord thinks that juveniles need life skills programs in the last few years before they become parents themselves. Peter hopes that his phone call to the parents of young girls seen in the company of older males who are known for pimping might prevent a seemingly benign arcade association from becoming a serious family problem. One mother fired her babysitter on Marc's recommenda-

tion; while the mother was out playing bingo, the babysitter would have several people over for a party. Contact between parents and police is one of the essential elements of preventive community policing.

Other suggestions about prevention are more concrete. Foot patrol constables tend to act as local authorities on upgrading security, improving lighting, closing multiple exits and designating parking. Their simple but creative suggestions include having a telephone booth removed from inside a pizza parlor that tallied 4000 calls per year and was being used almost exclusively for prostitution and drug dealing; relocating a mailbox that was being used as a noisemaker in a residential area; and keeping sport lights on around a running track on top of a carpark to discourage peeping toms in adjacent apartment buildings.

Demands of Ownership

The sheer variety of requests a foot patrol officer receives requires that he be a generalist rather than a specialist, although he must be able to specialize whenever the need arises. Right from the start, he must find his own office space, work with the city in negotiating a lease, move in his desk, filing cabinet and other equipment and hang up his own storefront sign. He works alone, unless he can interview and train volunteers to run his office while he is out on the beat. At any one time, there may be six people wanting his immediate attention. He may have three long-range problems that require time every week. He has no control over the amount of work to do; in a patrol car, his colleague takes one call at a time.

Darren soon learned: "I can't do everything in this area that they want me to do." The endless demands on a beat officer's time can be compared to that of a parent. Kevin is not the only beat cop who experienced burnout and had to leave the program: "Few days off owing to shifts combined with almost constant overtime caused me to neglect personal commitments at



home." Bill found the workload overwhelming, and left the program for awhile, but is returning to a smaller beat with the goal of targeting the worse problems only. Andy says, "I never realized when I took this job how much work and time it required." The amount of overtime he puts in makes his sergeant comment: "I wish I could tie him to a rope and reel him in fifteen minutes before his shift ends."



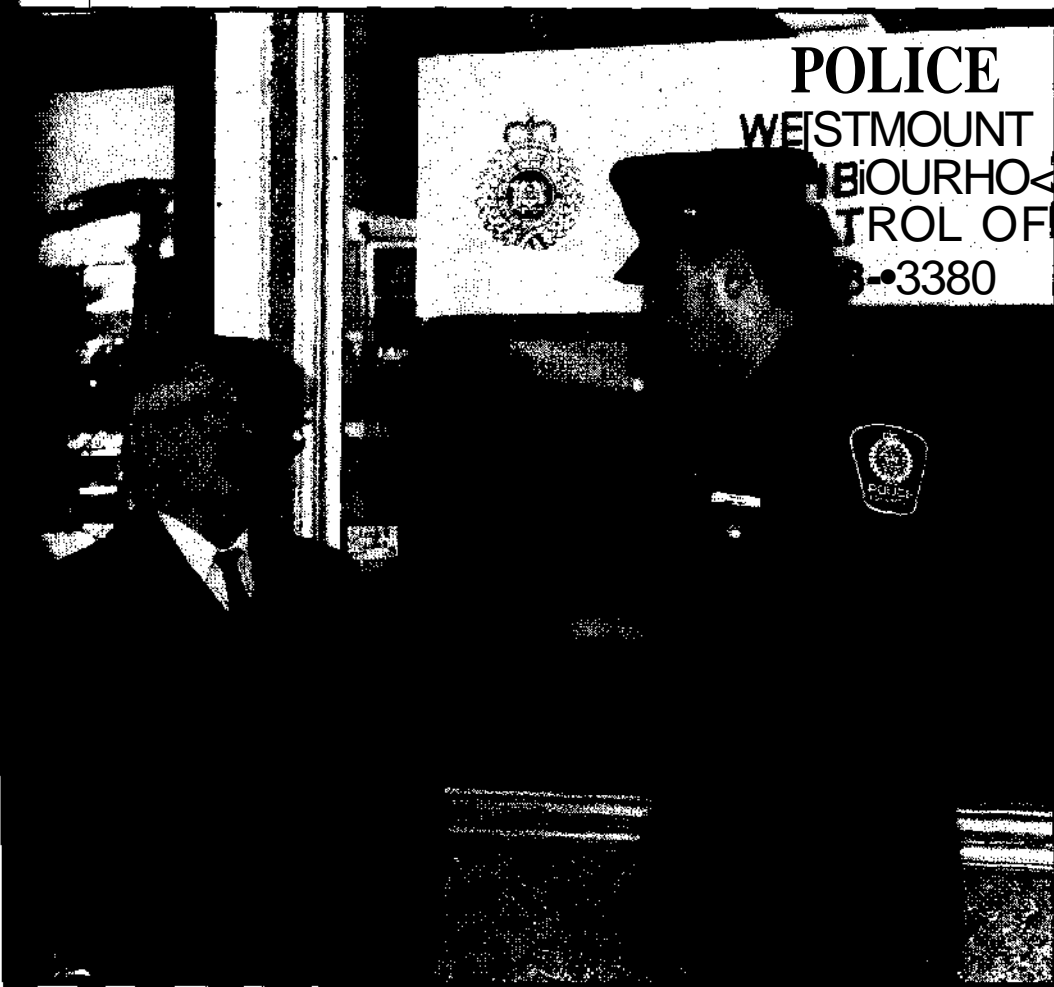
Gordon(leji) shows his sergeant, Dennis, the used hypodermic needles and empty Lysol cans on the roof outside a hotel room window.

Many beat officers would welcome more contact with a local community or business association, if one exists. Several are still looking for enough reliable and interested people to serve as volunteers or take on special tasks, or lead Block Parent or Neighborhood Watch associations. Beat constables have found that one of the most catalytic jobs they can do is get their neighborhood people working together. Many areas have lost the sense of community spirit they may have had a generation ago. To revive community pride and involvement, beat cops identify a need, organize meetings, publicize goals in the local newspaper, look for program funding, speak to groups or go door-

to-door canvassing for helpers. Andy remarks: "You have to be really aggressive and try to be a motivator. But you don't have the money or the people, and as a result you can end up doing most of the work for the community."

Officers can become frustrated when their efforts to create a network of supporters are unsuccessful. But, as Jack points out, in some areas, the majority of people are concentrating on survival or self-preservation; these individuals are not in the position to help, even if they do have the skills required. Rick was not surprised to learn that one of his community leaders is a cocaine addict who hooks to support her habit. Gordon sometimes feels jaded when all the people he deals with are offenders. Peter has a strategy for those moments: "There are a couple of old guys on my beat I always go see when I have a rotten day. They always lift my spirits. You don't get that in patrol."

Volunteers and the Office 3



Rocky regularly meets residents at his office, who come for advice or to offer information. Here he greets Nathan, the volunteer president of the nearby Jewish Funeral Home.

"THE SATISFACTION I GET IS FROM BEING INVOLVED. NO LONGER DO PEOPLE HAVE TO SIT BACK AND WATCH THE NEIGHBORHOOD DETERIORATE. WE CAN STAND UP AND SAY, 'NOT MY NEIGHBORHOOD'."

K.OREF.N FRENG

In community policing, people in the neighborhood are expected to help do the job of keeping the community safe. One police constable is not going to make much of a difference, but a network of people who are willing to offer information, business people who are good neighbors and volunteers to share the work load are vital to the success of the program.

Volunteers come from varied backgrounds. Some are women looking to sharpen their office skills on the way back into the work force. Others have had enough of the working world and are only prepared to put their talents to work for a limited number of hours at their own convenience. Seniors like the job of volunteer. They have a huge stake in the community, having

lived in it sometimes up to fifty years. They remember the way it was before it deteriorated. They remember what it is like to know their neighbors.

Students often give their time, as do young mothers with children in school. One single mother with three sons has thrived so well in her volunteer position that social services has placed her in the foot patrol office full time on a training program. Eventually she should have enough skills to find employment and no longer need social assistance. A native woman has been placed in a beat office full time on a similar training program, and has been extremely helpful to her constable by counselling other natives who are now visiting the beat office more often. Some of the people who volunteer their time have relatives who are police officers. Many have been victims of



Darlene, a fulltime volunteer, keeps Rocky's office organized and deals with "customers" at the storefront.

crime and already know the challenges of policing their area; they want to help out as police aides. Others work in foot patrol offices outside of their own communities and are just interested in police work.

Most of the foot patrol offices are run by volunteers, except for some of the downtown offices and a few in the northeast end, whose constables prefer not to have volunteers on an ongoing basis. Some beat cops are just too busy to train, manage and find work for volunteers to do. One doesn't

like having civilians around all the time: they ask too many questions; they have too many opinions. Another can't expect anyone to want to sit alone in his office on the Drag, even in the daylight hours. Yet other constables have twenty people working for them. A volunteer in one division is responsible for screening and placing volunteers in five beat offices. One constable likes having volunteers, but sometimes has trouble finding enough work for them; to keep them busy, he asks them to duplicate the work of another volunteer. A few only use volunteers for specific short-term purposes, like a bike identification program within the schools or a door-to-door survey or petition for lane lighting. Each constable has his own way of using, training and staffing his office with volunteers.

The main function of the volunteer is to keep the "open" sign in the window of the foot patrol office. Some offices stay open even on the constable's day off. Many try to stay open in the evenings. Those staffed by volunteers are more accessible to walk-in traffic, which is one of the purposes of having a storefront office. Telephone calls are answered by a machine or they can be handled by a volunteer who then forwards the message to the constable on his pager. Volunteers believe that fewer people hang up when there is someone in the office to receive the call. Lots of people are still not comfortable with answering machines, so having a voice that will respond at the other end of the telephone is valuable to some constables. Others beat cops have "trained" their residents to call in a message on the voice pager, and wait for a call back from their constable.

The clerical work of the volunteers includes recording statistics of complaints in the area, coding them and filing them or marking them on a map. Volunteers maintain business card files or keyholder files to expedite assistance in case of break and enters at small businesses in the area. They prepare bulletin board displays on public awareness and offer pamphlets on personal and property safety. About the typing and the filing and the organizing, Doreen says: "The satisfaction I get is that hopefully the officer has time for bigger and better duties."

Subtle Counselling

Although the office work is there, what most volunteers like best is contact with people. When the "open" sign is in the window and the foot patrol officer is out on the beat, the volunteer takes complaints: "One day, a lady came in to say she had been knocked down and robbed of her money. She was very upset. I was able to calm her down and reassure her that Rocky would investigate the incident." This kind of social counselling is invaluable.

SO, GLEN, DID YOU
GO TO AA?

NO.

HOW GOME?

BECA USE VM NOT ALCOHOLIC.

SURE.

*I'VE DECIDED ITS MORE OF A
SPIRITUAL THING.*

GO HOME. I'LL MEET
YOU THERE.

I'VE GOT NO HOME LEFT.

HOW GOME?

I GOT EVICTED TODAY.

HI, MOM? I'M AT THE COP SHOP. WHERE AM I GOING TO GO? I'M NOT SLEEPING ON A PARK BENCH. HOW'S JESSICA? AND DAVID? AND GRAM? I WASN'T HOOKING, MOM. ALL MY FRIENDS AND EVERYONE WHO TOUCHES ME PUTS A GUN TO THEIR HEAD. MOM, THE TRE NOT SCUM. WHERE ELSE AM I GOING TO STAY? IF I GET IN JAIL I'LL TAKE A KNIFE TO MYSELF.

able because it is not available anywhere else. The interview is face-to-face, it is free and no appointment is necessary. The bonus for the public is that the volunteer has a direct, personal line to the constable, and will make sure that the case is brought to his attention immediately.

Being able to summon the constable for someone who has come in with a problem is only one of the ways the volunteer can help:

A young couple came in to report a minor hit-and-run accident. Ron was not in but answered the call promptly. I was impressed with his ability to make this young couple feel that their complaints were important. He validated their concerns and yet was very realistic. The two young people were very appreciative of our time.

The volunteer was struck by the direct and forthright manner in which the officer handled the matter. Donna, another volunteer, talks about a similar situation that had an impact on her:

One evening, the constable came into the office with two young teenaged girls who had been creating a disturbance. One of the girls had recently slashed her wrists and had only confided this to her young companion. While in the office, she told Marc what had happened. Because the cuts looked infected, Marc suggested that she have them examined by a doctor. She refused to go unless the officer accompanied her. He did. He spent time with her and he listened to her—those were the things she was craving.

The constables in these two situations, probably unknowingly, were teaching their volunteers on the job. By watching the beat cop at work with people in trouble, volunteers learn how their officer handles problems. They see the steps he takes to get things done. They pick up on his counselling skills. As they work together with their constables, volunteers gain more and more confidence that they can handle problems alone. This is a gradual process, built up by time and trust.

Anne remarks: "I enjoy meeting people and being able to help someone in need. Occasionally someone comes in who requires 'a listening ear'. I find that type of contact very satisfying." Donna calls it "subtle counselling." She has a regular visitor every Friday night at her foot patrol office. The visitor, a woman, drops in after her equally regular trip to the bar. She has come to know Donna over the last few months, and checks in for a chat



Candy listens to kids in their classroom. Besides working with her foot patrol constable Jack, Candy volunteers at her children's school, her community league and for her apartment complex association.

each week to talk about her ups and downs. Another volunteer reports satisfaction from the quietly building trust developing between herself and a known offender who often visits her office.

Volunteers are not paid for their services, so they have the freedom to stop typing and start talking when a customer calls. "Because I don't feel as though I have to get certain tasks done on my shift," says Donna, "I can give a full three hours of listening to someone if they need it." One volunteer remembers helping a young female gather the energy to leave an abusive home situation. Another volunteer was glad to cheer up a person with suicidal tendencies. A third volunteer noticed a woman who was acting strangely. The beat cop was notified and consequently escorted the woman to hospital.

Taking Control

Two kinds of people who are often seen in the foot patrol office are seniors and kids. To these folks, who have limited access to transportation and as a result spend most of their time in their own neighborhood, the foot patrol office is perhaps most meaningful. Darlene reports: "People feel very secure knowing that their officer is there to turn to in time of trouble. That feeling of security isn't just a physical security; it's an emotional one as well. Rocky will take time out of his day to just sit down and talk to someone.



The Citizens' Foot Patrol wear florescent vests and walk on weekend evenings. They also patrol their neighborhood streets '« Hallowe'en.

This means a great deal to the elderly, in particular." Wendy says that seniors have a lot more to worry about, and they need assurances. The foot patrol office and the volunteer are there for them when the constable is not.

Wendy also comments about the school-aged children and their growing relationship with their constable:

The schools in the area never know from day to day how many children will be in class, because of midnight shuffles to get out of paying rent or some other problem. A lot of children in the area have been taught from a very early age to either fear or despise authority. The attitude seems to be, even if you're innocent, RUN. Having a foot patrol office is slowly changing all that. Children are finding out that police are human, too.

Some are finding out that if things get really bad at home or, depending on the circumstances, you get into trouble, someone cares and will try to help you. The beat officer is slowly becoming a friend.

Partly because of the way the beat cops treat "their" kids, and perhaps because of the word that gets around, children are starting to get used to having a cop on their block. One volunteer was suddenly surrounded by nine children who had come into Marc's beat office for mediation. One kid accused another of stealing a part off another kid's bike. The volunteer was gratified that the kids brought their problem, albeit minor, to Marc. Another adult could have handled the situation, but Marc was their choice, perhaps because he is not one of their parents and therefore neutral. He is also their friend, but his word is law.

After over a year working for the foot patrol, volunteers sense a heightened awareness within the community about the office and its uses. More people are coming in for help and seem more concerned about prevention. Kids and teens, especially, are becoming more relaxed when dealing with the constable. Adults and children are starting to come forward with useful information. An eight-year-old boy on his way back to school after lunch came running into his foot patrol office to report two people breaking into a car. He knew they were breaking in because they had smashed a window. Gordon, his constable, had seen the child on the beat a few times and had said a few words to him, and had been at the boy's school to give a talk. Because the boy knew what to do, the two people were arrested.

Perhaps the biggest boon for volunteers is contributing to a developing sense of togetherness in their neighborhood. Tracy says: "As a direct result of the foot patrol program, people in the community have begun to interact more with each other. It makes the people more at ease knowing that they have a hand in how their community works." People with parallel problems are meeting each other at the foot patrol office or through volunteers. They are getting together to problem solve on their own. Another volunteer echoes: "I like the feeling of the neighborhood taking control." This is the goal of community policing. The residents must take responsibility for prevention and for helping each other if the foot patrol program is going to be effective.

People in the neighborhood have started to associate volunteers with the foot patrol office. Tracy, who also works in a 7-11 store, knows most of the people in her area, and has referred several to Kevin; they often thank her for the tip the next time they are in. Wendy is often stopped in the street,

HOW ABOUT TOM? IS HE ACTIVE?

OH, YEAH.

WHAT'S HE UP TO? BREAK AND ENTERS?

NO, NOTHING,

WHAT IS THIS? YOU SAY HE'S DOING SOMETHING, AND THEN YOU SAY NOTHING?

HE'S DOING NOTHING.

HE'S GETTING KIND OF LIPPY, I NOTICE.

YAP YAP YAP YAP.

THAT BOTHERS ME, YOU KNOW.

THAT DAY YOU ARRESTED ME AND JIM, YOU UNARKESTED HIM AND LET HIM GO.

YEAH, BUT I GOT HIM LATER. AND IM WATCHING OUT FOR HIM NOW.

WHY DO YOU LIKE THAT BAR
SO MUCH?

IDONTKNOIV. THE MUSIC.

A LITTLE LOUD.

YEAH. I GUESS.

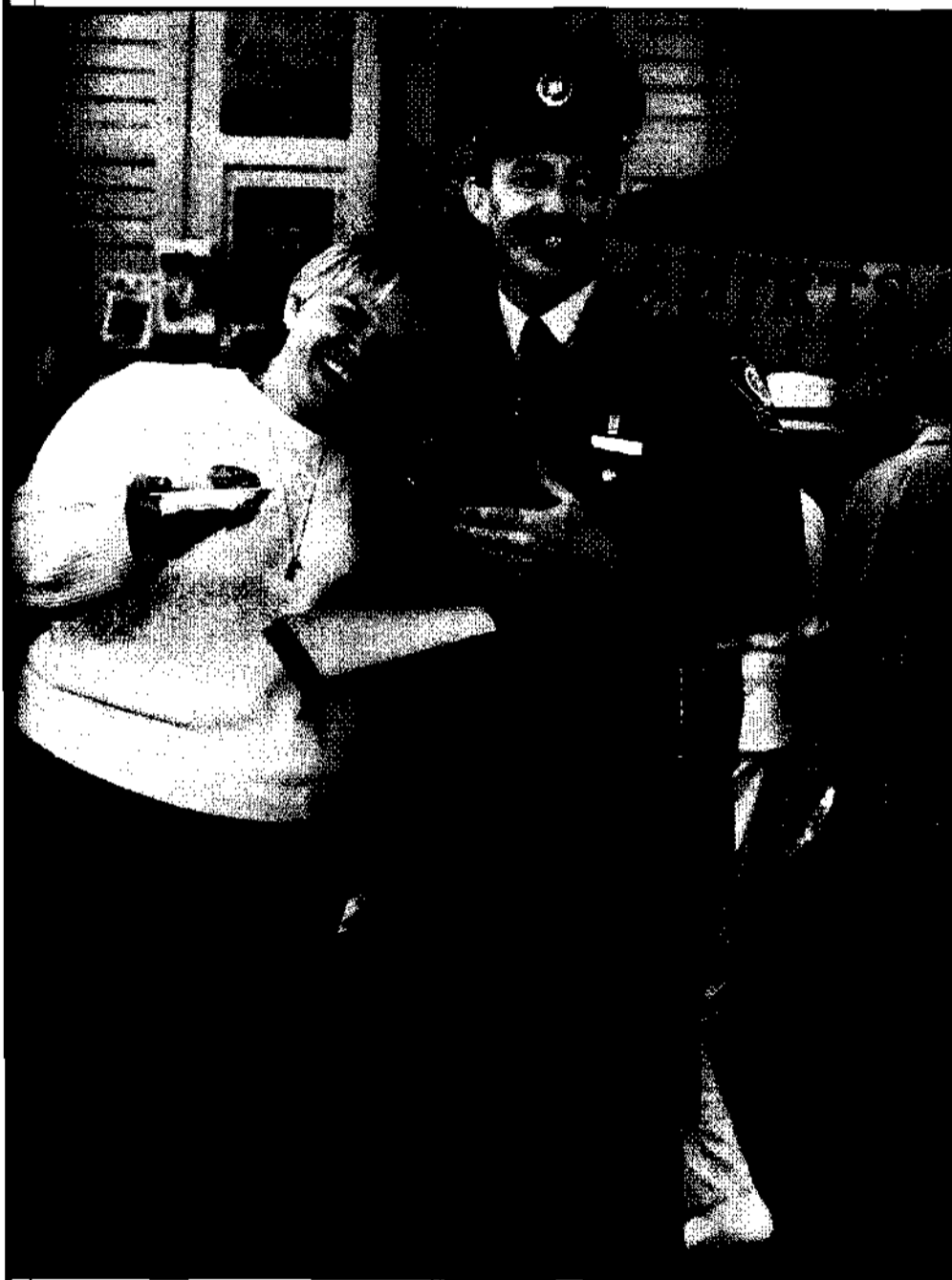
WHAT ELSE?

ALL MY FRIENDS ARE THERE.

in her apartment building or at work and asked to pass on a message to Gordon. Darlene particularly enjoys having people tell her to let Rocky know that a problem has been solved owing to his suggestion. Candy is often asked by people in trouble to set up meetings with Jack in her home. For some people, going to the "cop shop" is too much. Candy calls her place "a kind of safe house." There is no police car driving up in front to advertise the reason for the meeting. It's just Jack popping in, like everyone else in the neighborhood, to see Candy. Wendy speaks for all the volunteers when she says: "I would not be volunteering my time if I didn't think the foot patrol was worthwhile and if I didn't think it was making a difference."

People in the Neighborhood

4
1



Tony doesn't usually let people hug him on the street, but at the Edmonton Fringe Theater Festival, performers abound. The Fringe attracts theater troupes from all over the world, and has grown exponentially since it began in 1982.

WE LOVK OUR CAW!®

XINKI.F.JACKSON

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neighborhoods, which are made up of families, seniors, singles, businesses and various municipal agencies, like having their own beat cops. Because the police officer makes an effort to get to know everybody on his beat, most people in the area generally know their cop or at least know who he is. Everyone greets him by his first name only, even the kids. The reason everyone knows him is because he walks. One downtown businessman says: "You can't talk or get to know a car as it drives by, but you can talk to and trust a foot patrol." Because he is always there, people can grow to trust him over time. They become used to him: "Rocky cares, and the community knows it, but at the same time, they don't seem to take advantage of that. The community in return is very loyal. Even when Rocky was on holidays, they waited until he got back to have their problems dealt with." People prefer the "friendlier, faster service" of their own cop.

When a community refers to the foot patrol constable as "our cop" instead of "the police," the neighborhood begins to change. Once people begin to claim ownership of a cop, they begin to claim a more committed ownership of their own community. A resident who is also an independent retailer within the same foot patrol area comments:

It is a very secure and satisfying feeling knowing that extra police protection is almost at my fingertips. When I say police protection I refer more to the simple fact that if my family, employees or myself witness or are personally involved in a potential criminal incident, we have someone to talk to knowing we are doing so in complete confidence. For example, I have told Darren about some minor incidents that have taken place in my business. However, if he was not around to talk to, I would have written the incidents off and not bothered to phone the regular complaint line. In several situations the incidents I reported turned out to be helpful tips or leads to more severe criminal matters.

Because there is a police officer who cares and is accessible, the community member acts in the interests of his neighborhood. He feels that sense of ownership and responsibility only because the beat cop is there. He is also motivated because he knows that what he says is "in complete confidence" and that Darren uses the information immediately.

Besides promoting a sense of community ownership, the presence of a beat cop often makes it possible to keep incidents within the community rather than involve the courts or social services. Eleanor remarks: "The local boys are fast, helpful and, because they know us, much more aware of the implications of a theft or problem." When a mother came to Rocky to

report that some rings had been stolen from her son's Filipino nanny, she was anxious about charging her son's friends, whom she suspected. She didn't want any trouble; she only wanted the rings back. Rocky had a talk with the kids, and they returned the jewelry. The mother was enormously relieved that the situation could be handled discreetly, sensitively and yet firmly.

In another case, the foot patrol officer caught three university students removing a mailbox for the sake of mischief. Rather than charging the students with theft of public property, Ron decided to consult the Code of Student Behavior at the university. A campus hearing resulted in a commitment by the students of one hundred hours of community service. A city lawyer has commented that the students were handed a much stiffer sentence than what would have been laid through the justice system, By keeping the problem within the university community, Ron saved the students a criminal record, yet ensured that they were penalized for a criminal act.

Keeping the community safe becomes more of a priority when there is a beat cop who can be called or, in this case, found. A resident reports:

I witnessed a man beating up a lady in a car. This couple would drive around the block, stop, argue, then start hitting each other. There was a child around two or three years old in the car watching this couple fight. I phoned the police complaint line twice. My neighbor phoned once. However, all patrol cars were busy. After about 30 minutes, I got in my car and drove to find my neighborhood foot patrol officer. I found him and drove him to the scene of the family dispute. He was able to calm the couple down, radio for back-up and thus bring the chaotic situation under control.

Because he knew his beat constable and how to find him, this witness got involved in the "chaotic situation." Although the officer finally brought the situation "under control," the desire of this resident to achieve that control and his astute action were responsible for the outcome. People like having the feeling that they can take control of their community. When they have the professional help of a foot patrol officer, they are more confident of attaining and maintaining control.

Joint Responsibility

People in the neighborhood also realize that their cooperation is expected in police matters. Dave, a downtown constable, formed a committee of security guards from several offices and businesses that will be affected by a

*HI. I'M FROM OUT OF TOWN.
I'M LOOKING FOR MY SON.*

RUNAWAY?

*YEAH. SINCE LAST NIGHT. HE'S
BEEN FOUND IN THIS PARK
BEFORE.*

*HAVE YOU GOT A RECENT
PICTURE?*

*NO, BUT YOU CANT MISS HIM.
THIRTEEN, SMALL, AND A
SHOCK OF PURPLE HAIR
HANGING DOWN THE FRONT
OF HIS FACE,*

*I'M IN THE PARK ALL THE
TIME. I'LL ASK AROUND.*

new multi-building pedway system. By consolidating a network of business neighbors, the responsibility for keeping the new pedway safe is organized into a community effort rather than resting entirely with one foot patrol constable.

When employees of a large government building expressed concern about having to walk a few blocks near the Drag to their cars while their own building lot was under construction, Dave taught personal safety seminars. Almost half of the 3000 employees attended. In another instance, a businessman was contacted by his beat cop to discuss a situation that had resulted in a court appearance notice. The businessman appreciated that the constable took the time to talk to him before they went to court. In another part of the city, a young man went to his neighborhood foot patrol office to inform his constable about a stag party he was hosting at the local community hall the following weekend. He let the officer know how many people were coming, the hours the party would run and that the guests would be aware that the beat cop might stop by. These three examples are all forms of preventive policing, but in the last case it is initiated not by the officer but by a member of the neighborhood.

In the downtown area, a resident notified Neil when he found out that an after-hours club had signed a lease to rent space below his apartment. The owner of the building was led to believe that the club would serve coffee and snacks to waiters and waitresses from 1 to 6 a.m. Neil investigated and found that in its former location, since closed because of police "heat," the club was a gathering place for criminal activity. The 105th Street Crime Prevention Association, which includes the owner of the building and Neil, found a lawyer to change the lease to month-to-month, stop leasehold improvements and appeal the opening of the club because it had started to make improvements without a building permit. Neil encouraged his residents to complain to city hall, and gathered a 577-name petition. Thirty-five concerned citizens attended the hearing, the appeal was granted and the club shut down before it ever opened its doors. The owners of the club then moved to another city. The action taken by Neil's downtown community disproves the common assumption that downtowners, largely people who work from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., do not make up a neighborhood. Neil found that a hotel manager, whose business is 24 hours a day, was one of his strongest supporters, as were owners of a car dealership and a fur store. Criminal activity in the after-hours affects everyone who has a stake in the area.

Community groups and other organizations are starting to discover the

Opposite: Nellie and her husband operate a take-out pizza parlor on Rick's beat. They work late hours, and are close to the residential streets that have been recently favored by hookers. Since Rick has been working with the community on the prostitution problem, Nellie says that she feels "much better."

WHY WERE YOU SITTING ON THE ROAD?

HE HIT ME. WE WERE DRINKING HEAVILY, AND HE HIT ME.

HOW CAN WE SOLVE THIS?

TAKE ME AWAY FROM MY HUSBAND.

WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DO ABOUT THIS HITTING?

I WANT HIM CHARGED. HE'S ALREADY ON PROBATION FOR TWO YEARS FOR HITTING ME.

YOU WENT TO COURT LAST TIME. I WAS THERE.

YES! IT WAS YOU. YOUR NAME IS TERRY.

RIGHT. I TOLD YOU TO LEAVE HIM.

HE ALWAYS COMES AFTER ME. ITS ABOUT TIME SOMEONE DID SOMETHING TO THAT MAN. THANK GOD. THANK GOD. PLEASE PUSH HIM AROUND.

WE DON'T DO THAT.

IS HE GOING FREE TONIGHT?

WE HAVE TO LET HIM GO, THE SERGEANT SAYS.

SOMETIMES I THINK YOU STICK UP FOR THE MAN RATHER THAN THE WOMAN.

WHO CHARGED HIM LAST TIME?

value of having a police constable for planning special events and programs, and as a result, foot patrol officers are invited to be members of many committees. Beat cops are seen as strong community advocates and resource persons when dealing with other city departments, including city council. Sometimes a uniform can speed answers to requests. Committee work helps constables make contacts who can help design, fund and promote community programs.



When the constable works with the public toward the same goals, then "he's not seen as the person with just bad news, he's a friend, too, doing his job the best he can," says George. Jamie arranged for more patrol cars to monitor a theft from auto problem at a downtown hotel. Kevin sorted out a mix-up about welfare cheques with a single telephone call. Susan, who runs a repertory theater, has a problem with "drunks urinating in the parking lot while young children are on their way to see *Bambi*." She feels that Tony,

her beat constable, has reduced her "sense of futility" and, although he has not been able to eliminate the problem, he keeps her up-to-date on information and strategies. She no longer feels ignored now that a beat cop works in her neighborhood and believes her long-term problems would be much worse without his vigilance.

Long-term problems are not solved by quick answers, and here again the beat cop is able to take the time to research and study the problem and try different ways of approaching a solution. A volunteer states:

There are two families on our beat who are constantly having problems with each other: kids throwing rocks at each other, fighting or threatening each other. A patrol car would have no prior knowledge and put it down to Trouble with Neighbor, but Gordon suggested neighborhood mediation. The problem did not disappear overnight but the contact did make a difference.

Mediation involves lots of time and plenty of patience. When a community needs a mediator, the beat cop is the natural choice as a neighborhood authority. As mediator he must find ways for the two parties to agree without taking sides himself.

In another case, neighbors in the university area went to Ron, their foot patrol constable, when they were having trouble with fraternities. They complained about noise, frequent parties and associated nuisances. Working with representatives from both sides, Ron developed a party code and schedule for the fraternities. By mutual consent, the number of frat parties was slashed to half, the number of partygoers was limited and the parties were not allowed to spill outside. As long as the fraternities abide by the code, there are no more complaints. One community member comments, "Ron has a sense of trust with the fraternities that could only be developed on a one-to-one basis." As a result, Ron has been made an honorary member of Theta Chi fraternity and regularly participates in fraternity events.

Policing the Young

There is an open-door relationship between the foot patrol officer and the schools in his beat. Besides being at the school for assemblies, athletic events and dances, beat cops are asked to judge for poster contests and write articles in school newsletters. They are guest speakers on theft and assault. They locate missing youths, and participate in case conferences involving parents and social services. In addition, they write letters of support to obtain special services for students.

Opposite: Some of the window panes of this house are missing, so the stench of glue is detectable even at the curbside. Sniffers soak a rag with the glue, then hold it up to their nose and inhale.

*SEE, IT IS THE GUY WHO
BUSTED ME.*

III.

*NO W, DON'T YOU BE BUSTING
MY BOYFRIEND.*

*IT WASN'T HIM I REALLY
WANTED. IT WAS THE GUY
WHO SOLD THE STUFF
TO HIM.*

WHERE DO YOU GO
TO SCHOOL?

DONT GO TO SCHOOL.

HOW ARE YOU GOING TO BE
A POLICEMAN IF YOU DON'T
GO TO SCHOOL?

One junior high school principal says that having a beat officer has increased the awareness of his staff about the multitude of family problems in the neighborhood. As a result, teachers make more referrals to school counselling and social workers. An elementary school principal is impressed with the time taken by the constable to greet and engage in conversation with the kids. Another principal comments: "Rumors had indicated that a large fight was to take place, and after school many students were assembling. Jeff arrived at about 3 p.m. and I believe his presence was enough to dissuade the potential combatants." Once again, preventive policing is initiated by the community — in this case, the school administration. But it is possible only because a beat cop is available and makes schools a priority.

Many residents have remarked that the overall attitude of children and youths toward the police, as represented by their beat cop, seems to be improving. Troubled youths at the Second Chance for Youth Association speak positively about and even look forward to visits from their cop. A kid of high school age who now holds a job in a pizza parlor says about his officer, Jeff: "It's good he's here. As long as he doesn't catch me." Teens like the attention of the beat cop because he takes the trouble to get to know them. Rocky finds jobs for some of the kids in his area. Franz supervises young offenders in the Alternative Measures Program, where kids work off a criminal charge doing a specified number of hours of community service. Darren found out one high school student was especially talented at drawing and gave him the job of making a beat map for his office. Andy and Lew wrote letters and found support for a summer teen activity program. Gord is working on a teen program for troubled kids to talk about issues such as substance abuse and teenage suicide.

Kevin worked with Betty at Kochee Mena, which means "Try Again" in Cree, a halfway house for young native offenders on his beat. Betty teaches the guys how to clean and cook. She "jumps their bones" about keeping their rooms neat, getting down on hands and knees, showing them how to wash a floor, which may be something they have never learned before. She is also quick to show off a carving of an eagle in flight that one of her residents made from the antler of a moose. Kevin had to allay the fears of the neighborhood about having a halfway house for offenders who are still serving sentences and trying to integrate into society at the same time. Betty is pleased that very few of her residents have been charged with offences after leaving Kochee Mena.

Although young people who live in neighborhoods today expect beat cops to fill many varied roles in their communities, seniors like to compare

Opposite: *Giving up a patrol car does not inhibit Andy from dealing with motorists.*

WORKING THE BEAT

the new breed of foot patrol to the constables who walked the beat sixty years ago. Adelard remembers being "deathly afraid" as a boy when the officer rang his big brass bell at curfew. He soon learned that the constable really cared about the neighborhood kids and took pains to keep them out of trouble. A retired defence lawyer who lives in the same home in which he grew up recalls the nightly childhood ritual of the beat cop banging on his basement bedroom window. This was the signal for him to put down his book and turn off the light. Today he works as a volunteer in his local foot patrol office. Yet another oldtimer reminisces, "Our relationship is like it was sixty-five years ago when a policeman was a friend to us kids."

Profiles of the Beat 5



After some light banter, Peter blocks the doorway to the arcade on a hunch. Later he arrests one of the three on a warrant.

"POLICING IS ABOUT PEOPLE, AND THE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND DOING THE WORK HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF THE COMMUNITY NO COMPUTER CAN CAPTURE. THIS ALSO GIVES OWNERSHIP OF THE PROGRAM TO THE PEOPLE DOING THE WORK."

CONSTABLE JACK TKTZ

West End: Canora

"I HAVEN'T HAD SO MUCH JOB SATISFACTION IN SEVENTEEN YEARS."

CONSTABLE LEW EVANS-DA VIES

In his effort to motivate natives to police themselves, Lew takes statistics and notes at a dance hall on his beat. He engages the opinions of an elder about the problems of policing native youths.

In the west end Canora area, there is a slightly higher proportion of young adults, singles and single parent families than in the average Edmonton neighborhood. Apartments comprise over half of the housing. Because Lew has 68 walk-up apartment blocks on his beat, he decided to call a meeting of apartment managers. The meeting was attended by 90 people, including 52 managers. For two hours, Lew and his guest speakers talked about security, tenant selection, parking, alcohol and drug abuse and child and



wife abuse. Lew concentrated on techniques for screening new tenants because the relatively high number of transients in Canora affects the criminal activity in his beat. If managers are educated to select tenants who are less likely to cause trouble, then Lew will have fewer problem addresses. Lew's office volunteers, besides baking "five tableloads of goodies" for the occasion, were responsible for follow-up telephone calls to each landlord to offer further assistance and information.

On Lew's beat, there are over 400 small businesses on and around Stony Plain Road, which once formed the old highway out of Edmonton. Locals call it the Strip. Lew tries to drop in on all his business addresses, but probably only gets to each one every six weeks. He's busy with his main complaint: theft from auto, theft of auto parts or theft of the whole vehicle. There are many break and enter complaints as well; stolen property is sold down the Strip in numerous pawn shops. Litter is a perennial problem. The Strip also has massage and tattoo parlors. Doreen, one of Lew's volunteers, has lived in the area for thirty-five years. She says, "A few of us girls used to walk down the Strip for coffee when the children were little. Now I wouldn't have the nerve."

The area attracts natives from the reserves, probably because of its proximity to the highway out of the city. Preteen native kids like to come in to the city to dance, but Lew often finds them wandering in the early morning hours without a ride home. Many have been dropped off by parents who expect their kids to find their own way back to the reserve. Lew has been working with at least three native service groups to find a way for Indian bands to help police their own members. He has suggested the purchase of a van that would be in operation on Friday and Saturday nights to shuttle kids back to the reserves. While native youths may not have a lot of respect for police, they are bound to obey their elders, so Lew is hoping to enlist an Indian elder to make sure the kids get home at night.

Across the street from Lew's office is a large hotel with four bars, including one with daily nude shows. Lew has carte blanche freedom, taking back entrances and shortcutting through the kitchen and, after knocking first, the strippers' change room, which doubles as a janitor's closet. He's looking for drug dealers, and asking bar staff to confirm photographs of suspects. He meets a manager outside, who reports an individual who made six or seven deals within an hour or two the previous evening. Lew is careful to manage his time so that he's out walking every shift, and in the bars once or twice a day. He likes to keep close to his information sources.

Like some of his colleagues, Lew campaigned for a Youth Involvement

HKYGUY, DUMPIN' GARBAGE
IN SOMEONE ELSE'S BIN IS A
BIG BIG FINE.

GOOD THING I DIDN'T DUMP IT.

YEAH? TATOOS ON YOUR
CHEST AND ARMS. ANYWHERE
ELSE?

SWASTIKA ON MY EAR LOBE.

THAT'S ORIGINAL.

*WHEN I WAS YOUNG AND
FOOLISH.*

YOU USED TO RIDE FOR
A BIKE CLUB?

YEAH. QUIT IN 1915.

I DID MY TIME,

WHO FOR?

PARADISE RIDERS IN TORONTO.

WHERE ARE YOU WORKING?

*QUIT. I WORKED BOUNCER AT
ALL THE BARS ON THE STRIP
TEN YEARS, EH? BUT FOR 5
DOLLARS AN HOUR, YOU DON'T
KNOW IF YOU'RE GONNA GET
STABBED, SHOT, OR WHAT
THE HELL*

O.K. BUDS, WE'LL LET YOU GO
THIS TIME. BUT I'M WATCH-
ING THAT BIN, EH?

*Lew talks to a hotel cook
about a recent robbery on his
way through the kitchen to
the back entrance of one of
the hotel bars.*

Program to help bring recreational activities to teens on his beat over the summer. The program, which was run by a teacher, attracted 15 to 20 fulltimers, and Lew reports no new young offenders during that time.

Another campaign was directed at a community college that had been the target of theft of all kinds: money from coin-operated machines, personal goods from lockers and computer equipment from classrooms. Lew promoted a "Campus Watch" poster contest, and helped judge the three winning entries, which were printed and displayed all over the college. The awareness campaign has reduced complaints, Lew estimates, by 70%.

Lew cites the value of signage in a nearby motel parking lot, where theft from auto was a common occurrence. He had signs put up warning patrons to lock their vehicles, and the number of thefts declined. Then the owner decided to remove the signs, thinking they discouraged business. Lew says with a slight smile, "Thefts are up."



Northeast: Beacon Heights

"YOU LEARN A HELL OF A LOT. YOU LEARN SOME OF THE THINGS YOU SHOULD HAVE KNOWN A LONG TLME AGO."

CONSTABLE JACKETZ

The main problem in his beat, Jack says, is "poverty." A high percentage of families are on social assistance. A bar that sells the most draft beer in northern Alberta is down the street from Jack's office. And the hotel that sells the most alcohol province-wide is just next door. A local resident says, "There is a huge concentration of low income families, and one thing low income families do is produce children by the great gross ton."

Usually, parental alcohol abuse results in poor supervision of children. Jack cites a typical case of a girl with a health problem whose sixth birthday happened to coincide with the arrival of the family welfare cheque. The girl's mother got dressed up, left her daughter with a nine-year-old "babysitter" and went to the bar. She told the girl she was going to buy gifts and a cake, but did not return that night.



Jack checks in at a neighborhood school on one of the first snowy days of the year.

Jeff on his mountain bike can go where cars cannot, like this suburban park where children cluster to greet him. Jeff's sergeant Dennis points out that with a bike, "an officer can cover his area three times in a shift compared to only once on foot."



Two women who live in Beacon Heights reflect on how casually they comment about a child they may see running by. They ask each other, "Was that one just beaten or was she sexually assaulted, too?" So many children are from troubled homes that in a classroom full of kids, they have to look hard to find the few who are unaffected. Jack has worked on so many child neglect and sexual abuse cases that he was asked to volunteer on the Social Services Child Abuse Team. He hopes to form a similar multi-agency family violence team to educate children and adults and improve response and follow-up to reports of violent incidents.

For children and teens with nothing else to do and no one who cares what they do, says Jack, "crime becomes a leisure time activity." Older kids who are perpetually left with their younger siblings make a game out of

seeing what five-year-old Joey can steal. Because children under twelve cannot be charged, kids not old enough to go to school or old enough to know better are being taught how to shoplift.

Jack, along with a neighboring foot patrol constable, Jeff, recognized a need for a summer program to interest kids in their early teens. They worked with the city area recreational coordinator and two community leagues to develop a pilot project called Dream a Little Dream (DALD). In the first month, kids as young as nine years old were showing up to see movies and attend sports activities. Boys aged 11 to

14 with minimal family support soon became the main users of DALD. Underprivileged youths went to a waterpark, baseball and football games, and the city theme fair, Klondike Days. These were all new experiences for the kids. Even more important, they got to know one role model, Tom, the worker hired to run the program. When the older teens were not participating in the program, Tom went to their hangouts and asked them to attend lifeskills workshops. Some of them did. Tom found, however, that the kids would rather just talk than learn about how to look for a job. Many of the boys became involved in wrestling through Dream a Little Dream. Some even went to a wrestling camp in the Rocky Mountain town of Jasper.

One of the reasons many of the older teens did not take part in Dream a Little Dream was that they were in jail for the summer. Jack and Jeff decided to target the thirty worst young offenders in their two beats. The roundup program began in May, when it became obvious to the problem kids that they were failing in school. They quit attending classes and started causing trouble. Jack and Jeff kept intelligence reports and distributed them to probation officers and social workers. They managed to rack up charges against many of the youths and most of the ringleaders who, as a result, were incarcerated at least for the summer months. Jack and Jeff's project is an example of the beat constable's unique position of completing the circle of communication between the police, social services, the schools and the courts. It is vital, maintains Jack, for stopping young offenders before they become career criminals.

Prevention is the key. But Jack gets frustrated when it is harder to find funds for preventive programs than for remedial ones. After a youth has proven that he needs help by being convicted several times, he is eligible for special programs. His younger brother, as yet unconvicted but probably on the same path, is not. Another obstacle for Jack is an unwillingness, sometimes, for agencies to work together or share facilities.

Often, however, his police uniform gets results. Candy, a Beacon Heights resident, comments that even in the northeast end where criminal activity is high, a police officer is the ultimate authority figure. Parents who have been told by Jack to take charge of their kids sometimes do, probably because, unlike their social worker, Jack is around every week and they know he is watching them. Kids listen to Jack, too. Candy says: "I've been on walkalongs with Jack and introduced him to everyone I know. I'm so high profile that if kids see me with him, then he must be O.K. Most kids here are only used to seeing a cop when one takes away mom or dad." One child, six years old with a history of offences "as long as two arms" is no longer out till midnight. His behavior has improved, as he says to his neighborhood cop: "Hi, Jack, I'm being a good boy."

HOW OLD ARE YOU?

THIRTEEN.

HOW COME YOU DIDN'T GO TO COURT THIS MORNING?

BECAUSE I SLEPT IN

DID YOU HAVE PLANS FOR THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS?

I WAS GOING TO VANCOUVER.

TOO BAD. THIS IS GOING TO SCREW UP YOUR SUMMER, EH?



One of the excursions by the Dream a Little Dream group was an Edmonton Trappers baseball game. The kids wore their DALD t-shirts to group events.

South Side: Strathcona

"I BREAK CONVENTION EVERY DAY. I CALL IT FINE-TUNED POLICING."

CONSTABLE TONY HARDER

HEY, RONNIE. YOU'RE
SHAKIN'.

YEAH.

YOU'RE NOT SELLING DRUGS
TODAY ARE YOU?

NOPE.

YOU SHOULD TAKE YOUR
SHIRT OFF.

TOO SKINNY.

YOU COULD USE A TAN.

Sometimes called "the cadillac beat," Strathcona is in the core of historic South Edmonton, and has been carefully restored during the last decade. There are at least six bookstores, a library, a farmer's market and the annual multi-venue Fringe Theater Festival. The university is down the road. The surrounding homes and apartments are old but well kept. There is a mix of seniors, students, young families and singles. People are articulate. They are aware that their neighborhood is special.

But there are also three hotels with busy bars all within a block of each other, so most of Tony's work is alcohol-related. The hotels, like the other businesses in Strathcona, are old and longstanding. On Saturday afternoons, they attract motorcycle gangs who tend to spook the young families and seniors strolling and shopping. When Tony found that drugs were being sold in an alleyway entrance to one of the bars, he had an adjacent business install a peephole so that he could monitor the action. As a result, seventeen bikers were arrested on various charges. To discourage illicit activity in the back lanes, Tony lobbied the hotels for better parking arrangements and city hall for improved lighting. Flood lights now illuminate the entire back alley.

A burlesque lounge, quite out of keeping with the neighborhood and the site of 35 assault, drug and theft calls per year, had continued to operate until Tony investigated. He found that the parking lot used by the club's patrons was owned by a neighboring business. The lot owner, which operates a daytime establishment, was convinced by Tony to revoke the use of the parking stalls by the patrons of the lounge at night. After several tagging and towing campaigns, the number of customers to the lounge was reduced. Tony discovered that the owners falsified their original license application on parking requirements. He brought this to the attention of the licensing authorities. After many appeals and hearings, all initiated by Tony, the business was finally forced to close. Sixteen months after Tony began his investigation, the sheriff's office seized assets from the lounge to satisfy debts owed to several creditors. Crime in the immediate area has noticeably decreased.

Tony has had to find ways to help the variety of people on his beat:

"An area loner and alcoholic attempted suicide by prescription drugs twice within six weeks. I kicked my way into a boarded up suite one of those times. After the second attempt I called his doctor who agreed to stop all prescriptions of the two abused drugs." Without prior knowledge of the man's habits, Tony would not have been able to save his life. He went one step further to prevent the scenario again. This extra step is what Tony calls "fine-tuned policing."

Strathcona is a favorite area for festivals, and organizers come to Tony for assistance. For a spring bike festival, Tony helped organizers find volunteers. He also made suggestions about the route, accident prevention and the placement of first aid services. He was also present for the day, checking pylons and monitoring the race. The annual Fringe Theater Festival has grown so much in the past eight years that Tony says, "It's no longer a Strathcona event. It has become a city event." For ten days in August, thirteen indoor and two outdoor stages draw thousands of people. This makes the job of policing the Fringe a great challenge. Organizers appreciate that Tony is nearby during the planning stages and on site throughout the event: "Tony has done a lot to convince a group of people inherently skeptical of authority that police are actually a good idea."

The people on Tony's beat know him so well that they are even aware when he's hurt his knee. The word spreads, and as he walks the beat, people ask how he's feeling. They care about their cop because he cares about Strathcona.



Tony is stopped often by people he knows well, who have something to report that may later lead up to an important arrest. The more he is seen, the more approachable he is for those on his beat who do not yet know him.

Downtown: McCauley

"A LOT OF KIDS IN THIS AREA DON'T STAND A CHANCE. THIS IS THEIR FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW A POLICEMAN. IF THEY GET TO KNOW ME, MAYBE THEY'LL ASK FOR HELP WHEN THEY NEED IT. AND THEY WILL NEED HELP."

CONSTABLE RICK SAUNDERS

Just across the railway tracks from the Drag is the old downtown neighborhood of McCauley. Big trees line the modest residential streets. A mixture of ethnic cultures favors the area, and has occupied it for several decades.



Rick asks a hooker to leave the residential street. He has suggested that the city designate a non-residential area where prostitutes could work.

There are many churches, a few schools and a couple of parks. There is also a lot of traffic. Cars incessantly circle a few residential blocks because this is where prostitutes walk—unless Rick is walking, too.

Rick did a survey of the residents on his beat and found that they were angry about the prostitutes and accompanying traffic. They didn't like having Johns lean out of windows leering at their young daughters. Rosalie says: "You can be gardening or carrying groceries

and they ask you if you're for sale." Syringes and condoms are left on private property, in alleys and in the school parking lot. Between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m., a traffic counter logged about 150 vehicles; between 1 a.m. and 10 a.m., almost 200 cars passed through the same intersection. It's kind of like having a parade in the middle of the night. Residents were angry, but they didn't know what could be done. Many people in the area are new



Canadians still adjusting to the climate and culture. Even longtime residents felt paralyzed facing one of the most challenging policing problems in history. Rick sorted through the residents — the few that actually own their property, as opposed to renting it— and kept talking about the problem. He spoke at community league meetings, and eventually convinced people that they could do something. They decided to treat publicity as an ally.

Rick organized a public protest at the beginning of the summer. A quiet group of about 40 people gradually dwindled down to half as dusk fell. Rick briskly escorted a known prostitute, high from sniffing glue and unaware of

Rick helped organize the McCauley community's first protest on prostitution. (Edmonton Journal)

HOWS IT GOING,
SONYA?

*WHAT, ARE YOU PAYIN' TO
DRINK HERE?*

NO.

THEN YOU SHOULD GET OUT!

the protest on the street, back into the house she shares with other hookers. The house reeked of glue fumes. Rick told the other girls to stay in and out of trouble. The last thing he wanted was a confrontation between residents and hookers. The target audience for the protest was the Johns.

Cars continued to circle, even though the signs read, "Johns go home." Possibly the motorists looking for action were nonplussed by the audacity of residents. The media came, and the small group of people who remained hovered around Rick for reassurance. After the demonstration, however, fewer cars cruised McCauley, at least for about two weeks. "The media attention resulted in one small victory," Rick reports: Johns in expensive cars are no longer seen in the neighborhood. Over the summer, Rick took more and more complaints. People were getting angrier and more vocal.

A second community protest was scheduled to coincide with a fall mayoralty election campaign. This time, extra signs were available for walk-alongs—candidates and their supporters. Lots of media came. Almost every community member was busy giving an interview. Their responses were well rehearsed. They took control of the protest, and Rick was almost a bystander—with a grin on his face.

The problem of prostitution still exists, but Rick is not the only one whose presence makes a difference any more. Four months after the first protest, at least one houseful of hookers — the glue sniffers — has moved out. Residents are lobbying for better lighting. In the meantime, trees will be trimmed to reduce nightshade camouflage. Volunteers attend hearings regularly to record the names of Johns who file guilty pleas in court; these names are being published in the local community newspaper. And people from community leagues surrounding McCauley are joining the protest against prostitution in residential areas for fear that the hookers will move again—into their neighborhoods.

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*Bill watches a competition
between two members of the
Vietnamese Seniors
Association.*



"BY WALKING AND TALKING TO
THE VARIOUS PERSONS, GROUPS
AND SEGMENTS, THE BEAT MAN
BECOMES THE 'WIRE' THAT
NETWORKS THE COMMUNITY
TOGETHER."

SERGEANT KEITH DUGGAN

C

onstables who think they might want to have a beat of their own will discover the different needs of neighborhoods by talking to the people who live in them. One resident says: "I hope the officers can be sensitive and caring people, as well as law enforcers. Our low income area needs this sort of person." Constables need to be community-minded and able to talk to anybody, from little children right on up to the mayor. Engaging and outgoing personalities that attract the interest of young people are especially important because in the residential beat areas, young offenders cause up to 90% of the problems.

In Edmonton, there are as yet no female candidates for the beats. Some community members wonder why. While some say that the vast number of single mother families benefit from the role model of a male beat constable, others maintain, "They need a good female role model, too."

Constables must like to work alone, without the hierarchy of command in regular patrol. The immediate supervisor of the beat constables is a division sergeant, who sees himself more as a facilitator or sounding board than a supervisor. Mike, a division foot patrol sergeant who started out as a foot patrol constable, comments: "No two days are the same. The guys are coming up with new ideas to deal with the same policing problems of the last 20 years. And once in a while we succeed." Mike likes to give his officers the freedom to fail and learn something from it.

Beat cops tend to stick together at the station before and after shifts. Because many beats border each other, it is useful to discuss common offenders or trouble spots. They also depend on each other for moral support. Getting all the beat cops together at regular intervals for brainstorming and sharing ways of problem solving is a unique kind of team experience. Every constable has a different style to match their beat, but many use the same techniques to achieve similar goals.

Among constables on beats, there are frustrations with the system that perhaps only they can understand as a group. Dispatchers still do not send a beat constable all calls in his area when he is on shift, especially high priority calls, probably because of the perception that "highs" are too dangerous for one person. Beat cops still don't receive complete information about calls during their off-duty times. Some beat cops are perturbed by the "big catch" mentality, which does not appreciate the intricacies of problem solving. Detectives come to beat officers for information, but there is room for more teamwork. After 18 months on the beat, Jamie has been promoted to detective, so it is likely that in his division, communication between beat constables and detectives will improve dramatically.

Opposite: Guarding his Lysol cocktail, a man chats with Scott between sips. Thinking toxic substances on private property is legal, but if improved legislation is passed, police will have the authority to charge people who abuse or sell Lysol for the purpose of consumption.



Darren talks with the kids and Dawn, their parks and recreation worker, at an apartment complex on his beat.

A lot of officers talk about expansion: changing boundaries of the beats; making indoor malls separate beats on their own, especially those adjacent to junior high and high schools; creating new beats in high population areas, low income and inner city areas. Franz says: "We should have cops on foot taking calls in every part of the city, not necessarily only problem areas." Some would ask that their beats be made smaller because there is just too much work for one person. After another analysis of calls for service to determine current "hot spots," the Edmonton Police Service will expand and adjust the beats.

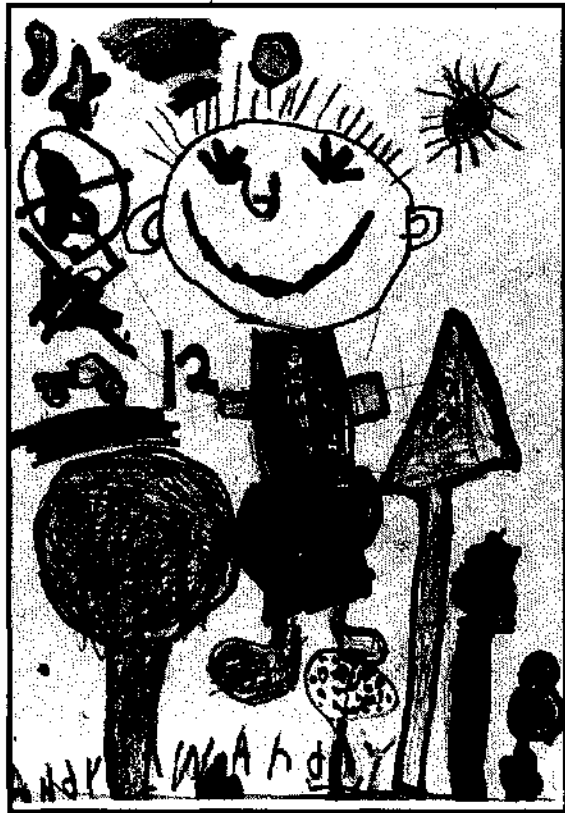
Many people in the community have suggested that perhaps two constables per beat would be better. Two would provide sixteen-hour service. Some would like to see round-the-clock service. Twenty-four-hour police presence, however, undermines the ability and the power of the community

to look after itself, and perhaps describes the feelings of those who would rather watch than get involved.

Volunteers who ask "What's the use of an office without a constable in it?" are perhaps unaware of their own ability to handle a situation. One newly recruited volunteer said: "The only thing that worries me is if something happened and I didn't know what to do." Volunteers are trained, but it takes experience, as with any job, to gain the confidence to run a beat office. An experienced volunteer knows what to do when a customer calls while the constable is not in. Just like the constable, the volunteer must earn the trust of the community.

Some volunteers would like to have a meeting once a week to update themselves on happenings and plans. Some would like to organize with volunteers from other offices, to socialize and compare stories. Many would like to find out more about how the police system works, and how the different departments function. "Some kind of a budget to work with would be helpful," says one volunteer. Many suggest that the signs provided for the offices are too low-key. The eight-centimeter lettering is "difficult to see," especially from across the street. Andy managed to convince his landlord to pitch in for a huge sign, "POLICE," in letters half a meter high. One volunteer suggests neon. Others would like to see a canopy. The neighborhood name is integral to the beat office, and perhaps it should be highlighted, in even larger lettering than the words, "Neighborhood Foot Patrol."

One resident says: "My only complaint with the foot patrol is that the service is not always adequate for immediate problems." Some comment that there is less trouble only for the duration of the officer's shift. In these cases, when the officer is not on duty or is in court or tied up with an arrest, the community has the choice of waiting for their officer's time, or calling the general complaint line. The enhanced 911 line should always be used in emergencies. People get spoiled, however, by the service of their beat constable, and do not like to call the complaint line. Often they don't even like to leave their name with a volunteer; Darlene's log book for Rocky has "sheets and sheets of calls listed 'man or lady, no name or number'." Once they know how satisfying it is, people get used to personalized service.



Marc's office walls display a series of posters by children. This one portrays Marc when he was twelve.

HI, NANCY.

GORD. SO, HOW DO

YOU LIKE BEATS?

I LIKE IT A LOT.

SERIOUSLY?

YEAH. YOU'D LIKE
IT TOO.

Community members hope that their own cop remains with them "a long time." People like continuity, especially when they are dealing with family matters. They like their kids to grow up a bit knowing the same constable. One little boy who was allowed to pick a name for his newborn brother did not hesitate on his choice. He decided to call the baby Marc, because that's the name of his friend, the beat cop.

Conclusion

Constables in the Edmonton neighborhood foot patrol are given a beat, an office and the challenge of working with a specific community of people. The service of policing is brought directly to the consumer and is styled to meet the demands of the individual neighborhood or "village" within the city.

Working as the resident representative of the police in a large community, he must enlist the support of people who live and work in that area. He must rely on volunteers in his neighborhood for information, clerical and organizational help and long-term goals. There must be joint responsibility between the constable and residents of the neighborhood. There must be a relationship built on trust.

Likewise, the police brass must be willing to trust the constables who are chosen for neighborhood foot patrol. The people who manage the service must trust the people who deliver the service. Sergeants who are responsible for beat cops are considered as coaches, not superiors, who recognize that each beat constable has his own personality and way of policing. To survive on the beat, the constable has to match his manner of policing with the peculiarities of his neighborhood.

The Edmonton Police Service neighborhood foot patrol is perhaps one tentative step closer to Sir Robert Peel's principles of policing by consent, in which "the police are the public and the public are the police." If this is so, then the term "community policing" is redundant. Chris Braiden of the Edmonton Police Service says, "Who else were we intended to police? People don't say they are going fishing for fish; fishing says it all." For Edmonton, the neighborhood foot patrol is simply the way policing was meant to be.

Working the Beat



Katherine Roller was educated at the University of Alberta and Radcliffe College. A writer and editor with a particular interest in drama, she lives in Edmonton with her husband and three young daughters.

"This is a very important report on the commendable initiative of the Edmonton Police Service in experimenting with a radically new form of policing. Presented in a straightforward, journalistic style, this book illustrates, as no statistics or more formal evaluation can, the impact that the experiment had on the quality of police services rendered to Edmonton citizens. Drawing from in-depth interviews and street observations, it describes the rich range of new responses that were developed to old problems as 21 constables were cut free of the constraints of traditional policing and were encouraged to fashion new relationships with the neighborhoods they serve.

The Edmonton project is among the most significant experiments in community policing because it grew out of an unusually solid understanding of the complexity of policing and because of the care with which it was designed. This book, along with the more technical evaluations that are available, is of great value for increasing public understanding of innovations in policing and for sharing the results of the Edmonton initiatives with other police agencies."

Herman Goldstein
*Evjue-Bascom Professor of Law
University of Wisconsin*

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