

**SAFE STREETS -
SAFE CITY**



A Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy

for The Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught

Calgary, Alberta, Canada

November 2004

Community Life Improvement Council

Safe Streets - Safe City

“Cities were originally formed for the purpose of commerce, human interaction and *safety*.”



Former Mayor of Milwaukee, John O. Norquist, writes in his book *The Wealth of Cities: Revitalizing the Centers of American Life*:

“Cities were originally designed to be safe, and they continue to have natural advantages in terms of safety. Their biggest advantage is the proximity of many people. If a city is organized and built properly, population density makes it more, not less, safe. Within many cities, Detroit and Los Angeles, for instance, the areas with the highest crime rates are the relatively deserted streets of low-density dilapidated housing.

People have a mistaken perception that their city is safest when everyone is at home at night behind closed shades and locked doors. The opposite is true: there is safety in numbers. Cities are safer when law-abiding citizens sit on their front porches, walk on their sidewalks, and go about the business of their lives.

With vigilant and assertive citizens and a city government committed to fighting crime, we can, over time make cities much safer. Safer cities will provide an immediate payoff in higher property values, business expansion and job creation, restored cultural and civic life, and a renewed sense of community.”

(Norquist: 1998, p. 63)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The purpose of this report is to recommend actions designed to address public safety, disorder and social issues that negatively affect the Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught in Calgary. While the report makes recommendations for specific action in the Beltline, it also provides commentary on matters that require change at the societal, national, provincial or municipal levels.

The report has been prepared for the Community Life Improvement Council by a crime prevention planning team consisting of:

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In addition to the project team, a number of other people made contributions to the report, including Anna Brassard, Dr. Beverly Pitman, and Greg Saville.

Assistance has also been graciously provided by the Calgary Police Service, including the District One office and the Planning Section.

Special thanks are also offered to Harvey Cenaiko, MLA, Alderman Madeleine King, and Kevin Hood of the Alberta Solicitor General's Office for their support.

This report represents solely the opinions of the Community Life Improvement Council of Calgary.

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Executive Summary

This report is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the Community Life Improvement Council (CLIC), the author of this report. It also reviews recent community based policing efforts in Calgary to identify the point of departure for this report.

Chapter Two introduces the reader to the Beltline. It discusses both the real and perceived crime levels existing there, as well as their geographic distribution.

Chapter Three identifies six major crime, disorder and social issues affecting the Beltline; namely: drugs, street prostitution, problem bars and rowdyism, problem houses and apartments, graffiti and vandalism, and homelessness. These are discussed in both general and location-specific terms.

Chapter Four discusses relevant crime prevention principles, practices and precedents. Particular attention is directed to the Crime and Disorder Reduction Programs now being used in Great Britain. A number of their best practices are cited as being particularly appropriate for Calgary.

Chapter Five contains recommendations intended to improve crime, disorder and social problems in the Beltline. The locally-oriented recommendations form the basis of a comprehensive program that can be pursued by CLIC, the Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught, and the Beltline's business revitalization zones. Other more broadly based recommendations are offered that would assist in improving situations in other communities as well. These will require stewards at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels to champion their implementation.

Chapter Six provides concluding remarks about the general application of the report's analysis and findings to other Calgary communities.

The main premises in the report are that:

- Crime and disorder reduction are a critical element in Calgary's future economic and social development;
- Calgarians need to become more knowledgeable about the various crime and disorder reduction programs in operation throughout the world in order to formulate their own responses;
- Calgary's Police Service is under resourced and this situation must be corrected through additional funding;
- Innovative efforts to extend community based policing concepts, such as neighbourhood wardens, should be actively pursued in Calgary;
- Many of the serious issues facing Calgary's central city communities involve drug and alcohol addiction, mental and family health problems, and poverty;
- Actions to address these socially-based issues must extend beyond the realm of traditional policing; and
- The Beltline should become a front-line community and a nexus of innovation in our crime and disorder reduction efforts.

Summary of Recommendations

Broadly Based Initiatives

1. Expand our base of knowledge about international crime and disorder reduction efforts
2. Increase staffing levels in the Calgary Police Service
3. Continue to be innovative with community based policing programs
4. Introduce a version the Neighbourhood Wardens/Community Support Officers concept to Calgary
5. Upgrade the responsibilities of the Community Liaison Officer and the resources at their disposal

Beltline Pilot Project

6. Return to a zone policing system and reintroduce beat patrols in the Beltline
7. Use the Beltline as a test case for experimentation
8. Conduct a fear, victimization, and livability study in the Beltline

Illegal Drugs

9. Establish a drug court in Calgary and support it with increased treatment programs
10. Target street sales of illegal drugs

Local Area Problems

11. Implement a comprehensive response to problems on 14th and 15th Avenues, east of 4th Street W
12. Limit the size and number of drinking establishments in the Beltline
13. Comprehensively address problem bars in the Beltline
14. Encourage redevelopment in East Victoria and address current local issues
15. Improve management/public safety in the parks by creating a Parks Restoration Corporation
16. Conduct a lighting, visibility and surveillance survey of Beltline streets and parks

Prostitution

17. Utilize the new provincial legislation to increase the number of “John Stings” in the Beltline
18. Develop an alternate measures program for Calgary in support of Bill 206
19. Develop a comprehensive strategy to help men and women end their involvement in prostitution
20. Direct attention to male prostitution and the stroll on 13th Avenue

Problem Houses and Apartments

21. Expand the Apartment Watch Program
22. Coordinate police and by-law enforcement actions involving problem houses and apartments
23. Adopt a Safer Communities Act in Alberta

Homelessness

24. Build transitional and “assisted living” housing for the homeless and provide them with appropriate levels of support
25. Raise the minimum wage, the federal basic personal income tax exemption, and Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped (AISH) payments
26. Relocate “Cash Corner”
27. Improve the environment around The Mustard Seed
28. End the homeless bus queues in the Beltline

Graffiti

29. Support civic anti-graffiti initiatives and prosecute chronic taggers

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Gazetteer and Organization Descriptions

Reporting place and organization names in the Beltline can sometimes be confusing. Their use in this report is summarized as follows.

Beltline is the name of the area located immediately south of Calgary's Downtown. It is bounded by the Canadian Pacific Railway on the north, 17th Avenue on the south, the Elbow River on the east, and 14th Street W, on the west.

The Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught Association is the name of the community association formed in 2004 through the merger of the Victoria Community Association and the Connaught Community Association. The new association will often be referred to in this report as the "Beltline Communities."

Calgary Exhibition & Stampede (CES) is the name of the non-profit organization that manages Stampede Park and hosts the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. Stampede Park is located between 14th Avenue and 26th Avenue, Macleod Trail and the Elbow River. The CES is currently acquiring land between 12th and 14th Avenues to add to Stampede Park. This area is sometimes referred to as the "development" or "expansion" area.

Community Life Improvement Council (CLIC) is a society formed to assist Downtown and Inner City communities in their efforts to reduce crime and social disorder in Calgary.

Community Liaison Officer is an officer of the Calgary Police Service that is charged with working with communities to reduce crime.

Connaught is a community within the Beltline that is located west of 4th Street W.

Design District is a business association formed by retailers in the area of 11th Avenue and 10th Street SW. The area around it is being promoted as the Design District because of its concentration of home improvement and décor establishments.

Fourth Street Business Revitalization Zone (BRZ) is a business association that is located on 4th Street W, south of 12th Avenue. It extends beyond the Beltline to 26th Avenue in the neighbouring communities of Cliff Bungalow and Mission.

Uptown 17th Avenue (BRZ) is the name of the business revitalization association that is located along 17th Avenue, between 2nd and 14th Streets W. It includes portions of the Beltline, Mount Royal, Cliff Bungalow and Mission communities.

Victoria is a community within the Beltline that is located east of 4th Street W. The portion of Victoria that is located between 1st Street E and the Elbow River is sometimes referred to as "Victoria Park" or "East Victoria." The portion of Victoria that is located between 1st Street E and 4th Street W is occasionally referred to as "West Victoria."

Victoria Crossing BRZ is a business association whose members are located in the portion of the Beltline that is located east of 2nd Street W.

Community Based Crime Prevention in Calgary **1**



This section introduces the Community Life Improvement Council, describes the Beltline communities of Victoria and Connaught, and refers to community based crime prevention antecedents in the Calgary.

1.1 The Community Life Improvement Council

The Community Life Improvement Council (CLIC) was organized in 1997 in response to street prostitution problems in Calgary's Downtown and Inner City communities.¹ CLIC was formally incorporated as a Society under Alberta legislation in 2002.

CLIC works with a number of social agencies that are attempting to reduce prostitution in Calgary, including the Alexandra Centre, Exit, Servants Anonymous, Street Teams, and the YWCA of Calgary. Various members of the Calgary Police Service, including those assigned to vice, drug, and community liaison operations also work directly with CLIC, as well as Calgary Community & Neighbourhood Services staff.

CLIC has provided a forum for communities, social service providers, and the police to work directly together to improve their response to the prostitution problem. It has also initiated or supported a number of projects including the Needle Safety Project; "A Community Resource Handbook on Prostitution Issues," and Government of Alberta Bill 206.²

While street prostitution was the initial reason its creation, CLIC now views prostitution as part of a much broader problem affecting Downtown and Inner City communities. The use of illicit drugs, the associated existence of drug houses and street dealing, as well as drug related theft, violence, and public disorder are the major problems facing Calgary's central communities. The other issue which affects many of Calgary's central communities is homelessness. These problems often have underlying economic, social, mental and family health related causes.

In 2003, CLIC applied for and received a grant from the Government of Alberta's Community Initiatives Program (CIP) to fund this project. The Beltline was selected as a pilot community for CLIC's first community based crime prevention effort. It is anticipated that many of the lessons learned from our work in the Beltline can be applied to other Calgary communities.

¹ The Community Life Improvement Council operated under the name, Calgary Committee for Awareness & Action on Prostitution Issues (CCAAPI) between 1997 and 2002.

² Bill 206 is a private member's bill, sponsored by Harvey Cenaiko, MLA, which will soon be proclaimed in Alberta. The Bill's provisions permit the seizure of automobiles used by persons engaged in prostitution related activities. Bill 206 is modeled after similar legislation enacted in Manitoba.

1.2 Community Based Crime Prevention Antecedents

Calgary's central communities have engaged in community based crime prevention activities for more than a decade. These efforts are summarized as follows.

“Downtown 2020: Crime Prevention in the Heart of the City.”

In 1992, the Calgary Downtown Association³ (CDA) published “Crime Prevention in the Heart of the City” as part of their *Downtown 2020* series. The plan, which received an Award of Merit from the International Downtown Association, was Calgary's first formal, community-based crime prevention plan. Consisting of an in-depth analysis of reported crime, public safety perceptions, and associated environmental conditions, its major recommendations focused on:

- Improving safety along the 7th Avenue transit corridor and Stephen (8th) Avenue Mall;
- Improving environmental conditions in Downtown's lanes, parking lots, and parkades;
- Reducing prostitution in the Eau Claire area; and
- Increasing support for Calgary's homeless population.

The Downtown Association's work produced significant results. For example:

- CPTED principles were introduced to Stephen Avenue as it was rebuilt. The most significant of these was the introduction of evening vehicular traffic. Taken together, the efforts have led to the revitalization of Stephen Avenue Mall as a restaurant and entertainment district, and a reduction in both real and perceived crime.⁴
- CPTED concepts were also employed along 7th Avenue adjacent to Centre Street, where drug dealing was prevalent in the early 1990s. Lighting was increased at the light rail transit (LRT) station and in the adjacent lanes. Parking lots were fenced to discourage their use by drug dealers. Ultimately, the LRT station was moved one block east and incorporated into the new Telus Convention Centre. Drug and other related offenses have declined as a result of these efforts.
- The Eau Claire prostitution stroll was reduced to a two block area along 3rd Avenue just prior to the opening of Eau Claire market.
- The City of Calgary acquired the York Hotel, located at 7th Avenue and Centre Street, and converted it to a single resident occupancy building (SRO). A drinking establishment located the basement of the Hotel, known as a place to purchase heavy drugs, was also closed.

³ The CDA is Calgary's largest business revitalization zone, representing more than three thousand businesses. Business revitalization zones (BRZs) are non-profit associations, created through municipal by-laws, that are managed by an elected Board of Directors composed of local businesses. BRZs promote and improve their local business areas. They are funded through a surcharge on the business taxes assessed to the businesses within the zone.

⁴ CPTED is the acronym for Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, described in Section 4.

The Downtown Association continues to be involved in public safety initiatives. For instance, the Association is currently focused on the panhandling issue and is lobbying for CPTED related improvements to Century Gardens, a park which has experienced drug related problems.⁵

“Revitalizing Victoria Crossing”

In 1998, Victoria Crossing BRZ published: “Revitalizing Victoria Crossing,” which is a comprehensive strategy that focuses on both redevelopment and community development initiatives as key elements in the Victoria community’s revitalization strategy. Improving public safety and addressing social issues in Victoria is seen as an important objective of the plan and, in many cases, a necessary precursor to redevelopment. Issues that require attention included:

- Drugs,
- Street prostitution,
- Panhandling,
- Rowdiness,
- Abandoned buildings, and marginally managed and substandard housing,
- Property crime,
- Personal safety,
- Homelessness and street youth.

The Victoria Crossing BRZ has steadfastly worked to address the issues in this part of the Beltline. Working with the Victoria Community Association and more recently the Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught Association, a number of efforts have been undertaken. For instance:

- The BRZ strongly supported efforts to enact Alberta’s PCHIP legislation.⁶
- In the late 1990s, the BRZ hired a private security service to patrol its streets.
- In the late 1990s, community volunteers recorded the license plate numbers of cars frequenting known prostitution strolls.
- Both the community associations and the BRZ have repeatedly called for: a higher police presence in the area; planning intervention to reduce the concentration of drinking establishments in the 1st Street SW area; and by-law enforcement of minimum maintenance standards at problem residential and commercial locations.

⁵ The Downtown Association’s efforts appear to be paying off at Century Garden. The City of Calgary recently removed the abandoned +15 bridge to Century Gardens and the superstructure that supported it. This change has resulted in increased visual surveillance of the park from 8th Avenue. It is being viewed as a first step in the efforts to increase public safety in the park.

⁶ This legislation, which came into effect February 1, 1999, is the first of its kind. The Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act (PCHIP) recognizes that children involved in prostitution are victims of sexual abuse and need protection. Previously, children involved in prostitution could be charged with solicitation. A child involved in prostitution can now be apprehended by police or social services and taken to a protective safe house, where he or she can be confined for up to five days. At this secured facility, the child receives emergency care, assessment and treatment. Programs and services are now available to help children end their involvement in prostitution.

The number of street prostitutes in the Beltline has declined as result of this legislation. PCHIP has not been without controversy in Alberta, however; many argue that child prostitutes have been driven underground as a result of PCHIP’s implementation.

These activities form only a small part of Victoria Crossing's overall revitalization strategy. Much of the BRZ's efforts are focused on encouraging redevelopment and public improvements in the area. These will be discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

The Uptown 17 and Fourth Street BRZs

While not faced with the same degree of public safety concerns as the Victoria Crossing BRZ, the Uptown 17 BRZ also operates a number of crime prevention programs. For example:

- The BRZ employs a part time security officer to patrol their business area late at night. The officer reports suspicious and criminal activities to the police while on patrol.
- The BRZ has been actively engaged in addressing graffiti and panhandling along 17th Avenue, working with the Calgary Police Service and others.
- The BRZ pays special attention to public safety issues at Tomkins Park, located at 17th Avenue and 8th Street W.

The Fourth Street BRZ recently expanded its boundaries to include those portions of 4th Street W, between 12th and 17th Avenues, in the Beltline. The BRZ has prepared a street improvement plan for the area and is supporting the effort to revitalize Central Memorial Park, in conjunction with the Victoria Crossing BRZ and the Beltline Communities. Both of these efforts are designed to improve public safety in the area as part of a more comprehensive revitalization strategy.

The Inglewood Community

In the mid-1990s, street prostitution increased significantly in the residential and industrial areas, adjacent to 9th Avenue SE. The Community Association, assisted by the City of Calgary and Calgary Police Service, launched a campaign to suppress the developing stroll. Increased policing, the installation of temporary traffic barriers, and the exercise of community vigilance successfully reduced street prostitution in the community.

The Forest Lawn Community

Shortly after its suppression in Inglewood, street prostitution activity increased in and around 17th Avenue SE in Forest Lawn. The Forest Lawn Community Association and the International Avenue BRZ are working with the City of Calgary and the Calgary Police Service to respond to the issue.

Crime, Disorder and Social Issues in the Beltline **2**

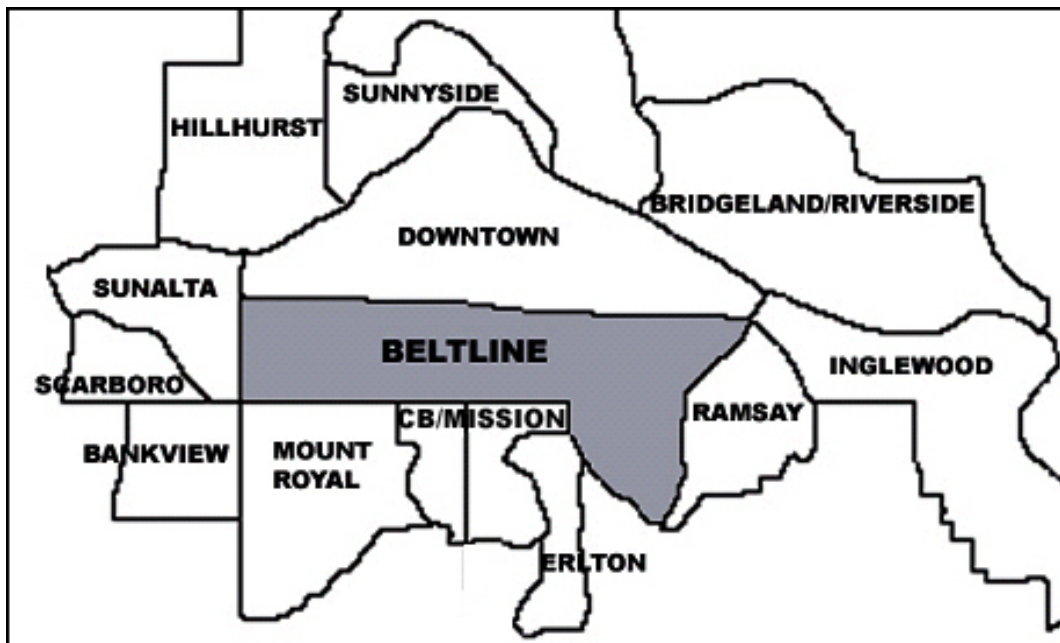


2.1 Introducing the Beltline

General Location

Calgary's central city is divided into two districts: Downtown and the Beltline. Downtown contains Calgary's main commercial core and four smaller residential neighbourhoods: Chinatown, Eau Claire, East Village, and the West End. Beltline is located south of the Downtown, separated from it by the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway. Beltline, roughly one square mile in area, is bounded by:

- North: Canadian Pacific Railway,
- South: 17th Avenue S and the Elbow River,⁷
- East: Elbow River, and
- West: 14th Street W.



⁷ In Calgary, the Avenues run east to west, while Streets run north to south. Centre Street bisects the Beltline. Streets located east of Centre Street use the E suffix (e.g. 4th Street E); while those located west of Centre Street use the W suffix (e.g. 4th Street W). The Avenues in the Beltline bear the S suffix for south; however, in this report, the S suffix has been dropped for the reader's convenience.

The People

Beltline is a high-density, mixed-use community that is cosmopolitan in outlook. It is home to 18,000 people, living in 11,000 dwelling units, with a wide diversity of backgrounds. Apartments comprise more than 90% of the dwelling units in the Beltline, with the remainder being a smattering of single family, townhouse and converted dwellings that remain from Calgary's earlier days as a small, frontier city.

Beltline's occupancy rate is approximately 1.65 persons per dwelling unit, while more than a third of Beltliners live alone. Its residents are highly mobile; almost half of them change residence in any given year. Not surprisingly in an area dominated by apartments, home ownership levels are low -- only 22%. They are rising rapidly, however, as new condominium projects are developed.

Approximately 56% of Beltline's population is male; this includes a significant gay population. It is a comparatively young population, with twice as many residents aged 20-34 than the city as a whole. And while Beltline has roughly the same proportion of adults over 35 years as the rest of Calgary, it has far fewer school age children. Nonetheless, some 700 children under 15 live in the Beltline.

In part because of the high proportion of young, single person households, Beltline's average household income is roughly 60% of Calgary's median. This has been changing, however, as new condominium projects are developed and dual income couples move into to the community.

Business Activity

The current value of Beltline's real estate is more than \$2 billion. This represents approximately 3.6% of Calgary's tax base, second among Calgary communities only to the Downtown. Beltline's tax base per capita is roughly twice the city average.

Beltline has 3.5 million square feet of office development, the majority of which is located along 11th and 12th Avenues. This area offers comparatively lower rent office space in close proximity to the Downtown. Originally developed as a warehousing district along the CPR, it is now a mixture of older, converted brick warehouses and modern office buildings.⁸

Beltline has nearly 1 million square feet of retail space, much of it clustered along 17th Avenue – a nationally recognized shopping street. Other retail establishments are located along major arterial roads such as 10th, 11th and 12th Avenues, and 1st, 4th, 8th and 14th Streets W. Rents along much of 17th Avenue are high compared to other retail districts in Calgary. Retail rents on 17th Avenue are approaching \$50/SF; in other parts of the Beltline they can range as low as \$12/SF.

Entertainment uses have concentrated in various locations in the Beltline over the years. In the 1980s and early 1990s, restaurants and bars were clustered along 11th Avenue near 5th Street W, in an area then known as "Electric Avenue."⁹ Today, there are smaller clusters at 1st Street W near 13th Avenue, on 10th Avenue east of 4th Street W, and along 17th Avenue.

⁸ Office rents in the Beltline are on average about 30% lower than the Downtown.

⁹ Public safety problems associated with Electric Avenue and the City of Calgary's response to the issue will be discussed in subsequent sections of the report.

Calgary is currently experiencing strong economic growth, fueled partly by high oil and gas prices. Real estate development is strong throughout the City and the Beltline is no exception. High density apartments are being developed throughout the Beltline; some new office development and conversion of former warehouse buildings is occurring largely in Victoria; and smaller retail developments are “infilling” along the established commercial streets. This redevelopment is welcomed by many in the community. It is seen as essential to Beltline’s community development and maturation.¹⁰

2.2 The Beltline Initiative

The Beltline Initiative is a coalition of business and community groups, which includes:

- Beltline Communities of Victoria and Connaught,
- Fourth Street Business Revitalization Zone,
- Uptown 17 Business Revitalization Zone, and
- Victoria Crossing Business Revitalization Zone.

Formed in 2002, the Beltline Initiative provides a forum through which these organizations and their constituents can work collectively to improve the community. In May 2003, the Initiative published its first report, “Rediscovering the Centre.” It recommends more than doubling the Beltline’s population to 40,000 over the next twenty years. A redevelopment strategy is formulated to not only accommodate this population increase, but also to create exciting urban neighbourhoods in the Beltline similar to those found in New York, San Francisco and Vancouver. Strategy components include:

- Changing existing zoning to encourage higher density residential and mixed use development,
- Requiring more urban-oriented design,
- Reducing the current suburban-oriented parking standards to more appropriate levels,
- Returning one-way streets to two-way operation,
- Restoring the formerly landscaped residential boulevards,
- Improving management of commercial streets, parks and public spaces, and
- Increasing public safety and addressing social issues.

The Initiative has been acclaimed for its fresh and innovative approach to community development in Calgary’s most densely populated community. Excerpts from the “Rediscovering the Centre” describe the public safety and related social issues in the Beltline today.

“Like the Downtown and other close-in Inner City communities, the Beltline has public safety and order problems. The concerns are both real and perceived. The poor state of the public environment, e.g. especially the low street and park lighting levels, contributes to the public’s unease while walking through the area at night.

Public safety concerns are currently concentrated in the area east of 4th Street W. The large number of homeless men that frequent the area and the persistent panhandling that occurs there reinforces that unease. The presence of prostitutes and their clientele on residential streets adds to those perceptions. The less visible, but ever-present, drug trafficking that occurs in the neighbourhood offers serious cause for concern.

(Beltline Initiative: 2003, p.27).

¹⁰ There are nearly 3,000 apartment units either under construction or in the planning stages in the Beltline today.

In attempting to focus on key issues, the Report continues:

“Beltline residents and visitors must feel comfortable walking on their streets and in the parks during both the daytime and evening hours. Serious efforts should be undertaken to achieve this objective. Our focus should be on four related concerns: homelessness, panhandling, illegal drugs, and prostitution.”

(Beltline Initiative: 2003, p.29-30)

In attempting to address the issues, the report proposes the following actions:

“While acknowledging that these problems require significant action at the national, provincial and citywide levels, it is critical that steps be taken at the local level to address the situation in the Beltline.

A special crime prevention effort focused on drug trafficking, prostitution and panhandling in the Beltline should be initiated. A special action team involving the Calgary Police Services working in concert with local community groups, social service agencies, and civic by-law enforcement officers is proposed.

The purpose of the team would be to:

- identify and measure the extent and severity of the problems,
- formulate ways and means of combating them,
- take effective action,
- measure the success of those efforts,
- refine and improve the methods of intervention, and
- attempt to preserve and protect the public safety gains achieved.

Techniques expected to be used in the project include:

- community based policing,
- crime prevention through environment design (CPTED), and
- increased utilization of social service resources.

Beyond this, we must consider using:

- a “broken windows” policy in the Beltline,¹¹
- by-law enforcement, coordinated with police actions, in cases involving “problem” buildings, and
- landlord eviction of home-based drug traffickers to frustrate their illegal activities.

¹¹ The broken windows theory was first described by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling in an Atlantic Monthly article entitled “Broken Windows,” (March 1982, pp. 29-38). George Kelling and C. M. Coles further developed the concept in their book, Fixing Broken Windows. The theory identifies a relationship between disorder and crime. It makes the analogy that “if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken . . . One unrepaired window is a signal that no one cares.” Kelling and Coles then outline an approach to address disorder issues as a crime prevention strategy. Their approach was adopted by the City of New York in its attempt to reduce crime in the 1990s.

In concert with this action, efforts to increase pedestrian volumes on the streets and in the parks should be undertaken. Over the long run, increasing pedestrian activity can be an extremely effective technique in combating crime. . .

“By building the Beltline that we envision, we will create a safe community and a more successful city.”

(Beltline Initiative: 2003, pp. 29-31)

The recommendations from “Rediscovering the Centre” provide the starting point for our work in the Beltline.

2.3 Public Perceptions in the Beltline

This section provides an overview of public perceptions, reported crime rates, and issues requiring particular attention in the Beltline.

The Inner City Report

In 2000, the City of Calgary published its “Inner City Report: A Snapshot of Thirteen Calgary Communities.” The report documents responses to a questionnaire that was designed to identify issues affecting communities in the Downtown, Beltline, and south Inner City. The results offer valuable insight into views of residents living in and around the Beltline.

Respondents were asked to rank issues and challenges facing their communities. Neighbourhood safety was identified as the number one priority. In fact, crime, safety and related social issues were identified as eight of the top twelve issues identified by the respondents.¹²

Inner City Report			
Top Ranked Issues	Rank	Responses	
Neighbourhood Safety	1	314	67%
Burglary	2	268	57%
Vandalism	5	262	56%
Safety Of My Children At School	6	248	53%
Teen Violence	7	245	52%
Homelessness	10	212	45%
Domestic Violence	10	212	45%
Prostitution	12	207	44%
Total Responses		470	100%

The authors of the report were surprised by the intensity of the responses related to crime and safety. For example, they noted:

“when respondents were asked about other important issues in the community, many of them took this as an opportunity to expand upon the themes highlighted above. In addition to mentioning crime, vandalism, and safety, respondents also pointed to a lack of security, house break-ins, and increased bicycle theft.”

Of particular note were the many comments that pertained to drugs, prostitution and policing in the area.

¹² Access to health care and the cost of housing, ranked third and fourth respectively.

The Beltline Open House

In November 2003, the Beltline Communities and CLIC hosted an open house on crime prevention issues at First Baptist Church, located on 4th Street W, in the Beltline. The purpose of the open house was to introduce the crime prevention planning process to Beltline residents and receive comment from the residents regarding their concerns and priorities. Approximately 150 residents attended the meeting. Speakers included Harvey Cenaiko, MLA and Alderman Madeleine King. The event received extensive media coverage. Thirty persons in attendance completed the questionnaire. Their responses are summarized as follows:

1. What issues should we focus on in undertaking this work?

Response	Count
Drug trafficking	13
More pedestrian-friendly and safe environment (beautification, monitoring, CPTED)	12
Prostitution	9
Underlying social issues	6
Drunks/panhandlers/ homeless	6
Increasing involvement and education of residents, create community feel	5
Landlord intervention/penalizing building owners allowing criminal activity/revoking bus. licenses	4
More enforcement –police/bylaw	3
Sustainable housing	1
Street crime like car prowling	1
Social disorder due to poor communication with and within the City	1
Keeping green spaces	1
Graffiti	1
Enhanced public transit; more use and better security	1

2. Are there locations that we should focus more attention on?

Response	Count
14 Avenue between Centre and 7 Streets SW – (prostitution stroll, drug sales)	14
Memorial Park	8
15 Avenue between Centre and 7 Streets SW	6
Haultain Park	3
17 Avenue, West of 2 Street SW	3
13 Avenue	3
Beaulieu Gardens - Loughheed House	2
Look at larger geographical area - focusing on a location will only move the problem	2
Walkways under train tracks (underpasses)	2
North of Beltline - Downtown	2
West of 5 Street SW - Connaught (as crime is pushed out of other areas)	2
1 Street SW	2
Victoria Park	1
3 Street SE, South of 10 Avenue	1
11 and 12 Avenues between 1 and 2 Streets SW	1
Local parking lots being used for drugs	1
14 and 15 Avenues, East of 4 Street SW	1
4 Street SW	1

3. If there was one thing that you'd like to see accomplished, what is it?

Response	Count
More police presence and faster response time	8
Create a sense of community (working together to make our area a safe place to live)	7
More enforcement against prostitution, pimps, aggressive panhandling, drug dealers/users	6
Increase support for social agencies	5
Block Watch program/local or citizen policing	4
Give police more power to move people from parks at night	3
Public education about social issues as causes of criminal activity	3
More support for preventative measures (environmental, regulatory, monitoring)	3
More effective communication - possible coordinator to work with community association, police, city hall, condos, landlords	2
Zoning/land use policy changes to discourage undesired activities in buildings	2
Legislative changes (i.e. decriminalize marijuana, legalize prostitution)	2
Set up a prostitution district	1
Restore Memorial Park to its intended purpose, respecting the tribute to veterans	1

Discussions With Community Leaders

The Executive Directors of the three local BRZs and members of the Beltline Communities of Connaught and Victoria met with the consulting team in 2004 to discuss public safety concerns, as well as problem locations. The discussion from the meetings is summarized as follows:

Drug Dealing

14th Avenue and 4th Street W was specifically identified as a common location for drug dealing, although the entire area east of 4th Street is affected by this activity. Some drug dealing is also reported in the Tomkins Park area.

Street Prostitution

Common street prostitution locations identified included: 10th Avenue, east of MacLeod Trail; and 14th and 15th Avenues, east of 4th Street W, and in the vicinity of 13th Avenue and 6th Street W.

Open Drug and Alcohol Use

Central Memorial Park, Haultain Park, and various other parks and playgrounds throughout the community were seen as locations for open drug and alcohol use, particularly at night.

Problem Houses and Suites

Houses and apartment units used by large numbers of active drug users were said to create significant nuisance and personal safety concerns in the community. In some cases, the location of these activities appears to be random in that the problems come and go. In other buildings the problems seem to be endemic, possibly reflecting poor building management. The area east of 4th Street W, along 14th and 15th Avenues, appears to have the greatest problems.

Problem Drinking Establishments

Community leaders also reported that the large number of drinking establishments along 1st Street W, between 12th and 14th Avenues creates serious nuisance problems for neighbouring residents. More serious problems also exist along the strip; two patrons have been murdered in the last 18 months following altercations within the bars.

Other concentrations of drinking establishments exist within the Beltline (e.g. 10th Avenue, east of 4th Street W; and 17th Avenue, west of 4th Street W), but the negative effects of their operation appear to be more muted than on 1st Street W.¹³

Panhandling

Community leaders reported that panhandling commonly occurs along 17th Avenue, west of 4th Street W. It is associated with street youth and some of the homeless that frequent the area. While ordinary panhandling is often regarded as a nuisance, persistent panhandling is viewed as a threat to personal safety especially by many pedestrians (e.g. the elderly, women, etc.).

Graffiti and Vandalism

Graffiti and vandalism occur within the community with regularity. These activities are generally associated with the large numbers of youth who congregate in the community. A small number of serious 'taggers,' however, appear to cause most of the property damage in the community.

Homelessness

Community leaders report that Calgary's large and growing homeless population spends considerable time in the Beltline, particularly in the areas east of 4th Street W. Many of them walk to the Mustard Seed for meals, located at Centre Street and 11th Avenue. Because of its limited facilities, the Mustard Seed's clients often stand in line on the street waiting to be served. The long lines on narrow sidewalks are a reminder not only of the problems of Calgary's homeless, but also the instability of the area. Neighbouring locations such as Central Memorial Park, Haultain Park, the "Gauntlet,"¹⁴ and "Cash Corner" are negatively affected by the large numbers of homeless in the area.

Cash Corner

Cash Corner is located on the west side of Centre Street, between 12th and 13th Avenues.¹⁵ Used by unemployed workers as an informal casual labour hiring location for over forty years, as many as 20-30 men can be seen standing on the sidewalk seeking work at any time and on any given day.¹⁶ Community leaders reported that the nature of Cash Corner has changed over the past decade. There are a number of problems associated with Cash Corner, including drinking and drug use. Many pedestrians avoid walking and many motorists avoid parking in front of the job seekers on cash corner.

¹³ The recent experience on 17th Avenue during the NHL playoffs provides a counterpoint to the problems being experienced along 1st Street W. On any given night when the Calgary Flames were playing, as many as 40,000 people would descend upon 17th Avenue (a.k.a. the "Red Mile"), its restaurants and drinking establishments. While the sheer number of people necessarily caused difficulties for Beltline residents and 17th Avenue shop owners, the crowds can best be described as enthusiastic but generally well behaved.

¹⁴ The "Gauntlet" is the local name given to the lane located behind The Mustard Seed. The name is evocative of the feeling that motorists have as they drive down the lane which is commonly populated with homeless men waiting for The Mustard Seed to open.

¹⁵ Cash Corner originally was located on 12th Avenue, immediately west of Centre Street. The City of Calgary orchestrated its relocation around the corner to its current Centre Street location in the mid-1990s.

¹⁶ Cash Corner's operations are the subject of a separate report prepared by the Victoria Crossing BRZ entitled "Cash Corner Relocation Study." The report recommends relocation of Cash Corner to a nearby industrial area.

2.4 Reported Crime

Calgary Police Service crime statistics for the Beltline in 2003 are shown on the following table. The total number of crimes and the crime rate, expressed as the number of crimes per 100,000 population, are described for selected crimes.

Beltline - Selected Crimes	Number of Crimes	Crimes Per 100,000 Population
Homicides	1	6
Sexual Assault	12	72
Robberies	22	133
Assaults	240	1,452
Break & Enters	56	339
Thefts	239	1,446
Vice/Gaming	111	671
Explosives/Weapons	25	151
Drugs	139	841
	<hr/> 845	<hr/> 5,115

Taken by themselves, the statistics tell very little. In some cases (e.g. homicides and sexual assault), the small number of crimes make any conclusions difficult to draw. As the sample size (i.e. the number of crimes) declines, variability in occurrence from year to year increases. Caution is also advised because the tables only show reported crimes, not all crimes committed. Many crimes are under reported. Moreover, some types of crime, e.g. sexual assault, are under reported to a greater extent than others. The reporting of other crimes, such as drug and vice offences, is highly dependent upon policing policy. For example, if the Police choose to operate an anti-prostitution “sting” operation, arrests will be made and crimes reported. If they refrain from using sting operations, very few arrests will be made or crimes reported.

Consequently, it is only when Beltline’s crime rate is compared to similar communities, or to Calgary as a whole, that a comparative picture can be drawn.

The following table compares crime rates in the Beltline, neighbouring Cliff Bungalow/Mission, and Calgary as a whole. Cliff Bungalow/Mission is located immediately south of the Beltline. It stretches from 1st Street E to 5A Street W and from 17th Avenue to 26th Avenue. The east side of 4th Street (i.e. Mission) is a high density neighbourhood somewhat similar to the Beltline. The west side of 4th Street (i.e. Cliff Bungalow,) contains a mix of single family homes, converted dwellings, and low-rise apartments.

Community Comparisons Crimes Per 100,000 Population	Beltline 2003	CB/Mission 2003	Calgary 2003
Homicides	6	0	3
Sexual Assault	72	34	82
Robberies	133	51	145
Assaults	1,452	600	733
Break & Enters	339	480	928
Thefts	1,446	874	2,954
Vice/Gaming ¹⁷	671	-	33
Weapons	151	154	133
Drugs	841	189	197

In comparing Beltline's crime rates to the city as a whole, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- The homicide rate should be ignored because of the small number of incidents involved.
- Reported sexual assaults occur at a slightly lower rate in the Beltline;
- Robberies also occur at a slightly lower rate in the Beltline.
- Assaults are twice as common in the Beltline, but thefts and B & E's occur only half as often.¹⁸
- The greatest difference in crime rates involves vice and drug arrests. Vice offenses in the Beltline are more than twenty times the Calgary average, while drug offences are more than three times greater than for the city as a whole.¹⁹

We should not expect crime patterns in the Beltline and the city as a whole to be very similar. The comparison between Beltline and Cliff Bungalow/Mission is more meaningful, however, because both communities involve centrally located, high density apartment areas. In almost every category, however, Beltline's crime rate is significantly higher than its neighbour to the south. For example:

- Beltline had more than twice as many sexual assaults, robberies, and assaults, and two-thirds more thefts than Cliff Bungalow/Mission.
- Beltline had a 111 vice arrests in 2003, while Cliff Bungalow Mission which does not have a prostitution stroll had none.
- The only crime category where the Beltline has a significantly lower crime rate is B & E.

¹⁷ The overwhelming number of offenses in this category involve vice.

¹⁸ The smaller number of B & E's in the Beltline is partly reflective of the higher level of security offered in high rise apartment complexes.

¹⁹ Here it is useful to recall that reported vice crimes vary in relation to policing strategies employed. The Beltline is one of a small number of communities with active prostitution strolls and the Calgary Police Service operate stings in the areas most affected from time to time.

The Calgary Police Service compiles crime statistics by geocode areas. Geocodes in the Beltline are shown on the following map.



Geocode locations can be generally described as:

- 1109 From 12th to 17th Ave; 9th to 14th St W
- 1110 From 12th to 17th Ave; 4th to 9th St W
- 1111 From 10th to 17th Ave; Centre to 4th St W
- 1112 From 10th to 14th/17th Ave; Centre Street to Elbow River
- 1113 From 10th to 12th Ave; 4th to 14th St W
- 1125 Stampede Park

Geocode 1125 is unlike the others in that it only contains Stampede Park and has no residents. Few people currently reside in Geocode 1113, although this is changing with redevelopment.

Crime, as reported by geocode, is described in the following table:

2003 Selected Crimes By Geocode							Beltline
	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1125	Total
Homicides	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sexual Assault	1	4	2	3	2	0	12
Robberies	6	2	7	3	4	0	22
Assaults	32	28	68	59	37	16	240
Break & Enters	5	26	11	7	6	1	56
Thefts	30	48	22	17	116	6	239
Vice/Gaming	3	0	29	74	1	4	111
Drugs	17	16	46	25	21	14	139
Weapons	3	8	7	6	0	1	25
Total	98	132	192	194	187	42	845

- Geocode 1111 leads in Robberies (7), Assaults (68), and Drugs (46). Geocode 1111 also places second in Vice (29) and B & E's (11).
- Geocode 1112 leads in Vice (74) and places second in Assaults (59) and Drugs (25).
- Geocode 1113 has the largest number of thefts (116).
- Geocode 1110 has the greatest number of B & E's (26).

The following table describes reported crime using percentages:

2003 Selected Crimes By Geocode							Beltline
	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1125	Total
Homicides	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sexual Assault	8%	33%	17%	25%	17%	0%	1%
Robberies	27%	9%	32%	14%	18%	0%	3%
Assaults	13%	12%	28%	25%	15%	7%	28%
Break & Enters	9%	46%	20%	13%	11%	2%	7%
Thefts	13%	20%	9%	7%	49%	3%	28%
Vice & Gaming	3%	0%	26%	67%	1%	4%	13%
Drugs	12%	12%	33%	18%	15%	10%	16%
Explosives/Weapons	12%	32%	28%	24%	0%	4%	3%
Total By Geocode	12%	16%	23%	23%	22%	5%	100%

- Geocodes 1111, 1112 and 1113 have the highest amounts of reported crime in the Beltline.
- Geocodes 1111 and 1112 together had 93% of all Vice charges, 51% of Drugs, 53% of Assaults, and 46% of Robberies.
- Geocode 1110 had 46% of all B & E's; while Geocode 1113 had 49% of all Thefts.



This section discusses major issues affecting the Beltline, including drugs, prostitution, problem bars and houses, public intoxication and rowdyism, homelessness and street youth. Each subject will be discussed from both a general and a local perspective.

3.1 Drugs

The use of illicit drugs is a complex issue in contemporary North American society.

“For many individuals, drug use itself is not a concern. Those who use drugs do so voluntarily. They purchase the drug and use it themselves. At no point do they force another individual to use drugs. In this respect, drug use is a victimless crime. . . Societal concern arises from problems and issues related to drug use. For example, crimes committed to provide funds for drugs become a problem affecting more than the consensual user. There is now a victim. Similarly, society often bears the costs related to caring for a user’s family or handling addicted individuals. There is also evidence of pressure on youths to participate in drug use and other related problems... The drug problem, therefore, involves more than just individual choice to use a drug.” (Lab: 2000, p. 177)

Communities such as the Beltline suffer directly from the effects of illicit drugs. Street sales of drugs are a major destabilizing force in the neighbourhood, bringing criminals (both buyers and sellers) into the area and sending a message to residents and visitors alike that the neighbourhood is unsafe. This can affect residential desirability and commercial patronage, thus, reducing investment, and property and business values. If left unchecked, neighbourhood decline can set in, with the number of people willing to live in the community declining and the quality of life for those who remain becoming compromised.

There can be indirect effects as well. Street prostitution and drug sales typically go hand in hand. Drug addiction among street prostitutes is high and can be either a cause or an effect of their involvement in prostitution. The availability of drugs on the street can also be a contributing factor to problem bars and the concentration of street youth in an area. Drug and alcohol addiction also negatively affect the homeless. While not all homeless people use illicit drugs or alcohol, of course, some do and addiction can often be an impediment to their return to more stable living arrangements.

Drugs and the Beltline

Drug arrests occur in the Beltline at 3.5 times the city average and 4.5 times that occurring in neighbouring Cliff Bungalow/Mission. Within the Beltline, the greatest number of drug arrests (33%) occurs in Geocode 1111, which includes 4th Street/14th Avenue, Central Memorial Park, Haultain Park, and the 10th Avenue and 1st Street W area.

14th Avenue and 4th Street W

The corner of 14th Avenue and 4th Street W has been identified by residents and community leaders as a location where illegal drugs, including crack cocaine, are commonly sold. Street prostitution persists on 14th and 15th Avenue, immediately to the east of 4th Street W. Over the past few years, a number of drug houses located in converted houses and older walk-up apartments have been reported there as well. Some buildings in this area have reoccurring problems. A drug-related murder also occurred in one of the buildings in recent years.

Tomkins Park

Tompkins Park, located at 17th Avenue and 8th Street W, has also been identified as a location where illegal drugs are sold and used. The activity levels in Tomkins Park, however, appear to be much lower than 4th Street and 14th Avenue.

Local Bars

Illegal drugs are also being sold from some Beltline bars and the areas that surround them, in spite of bar owner's efforts to discourage such activity.

3.2 Street Prostitution

While prostitution itself is not a crime in Canada, many aspects of it are, including communication for the purpose of prostitution. Prostitution is not a victimless crime. The prostitutes themselves, their families and the communities in which street prostitution occurs can all be considered victims. And, since most prostitutes begin at an early age, prostitution is linked with the even more nefarious activity of child abuse.

Michael S. Scott, in his COPS Series entitled "Street Prostitution," writes:

"Street prostitution varies with the type of prostitutes involved and their commitment to prostitution, the market size, the community's tolerance levels, the degree to which prostitutes are organized, and the relationship of prostitution to drug use and trafficking. Street prostitution accounts for perhaps only 10 to 20 percent of all prostitution, but it has the most visible negative impact on the community." (Scott: p.1)

Street prostitution has a destabilizing influence on communities in various ways. It brings together large numbers of unwanted visitors, cruising through the neighbourhood. It creates uncomfortable and sometimes frightening situations for neighbourhood residents, especially women, as they walk through their own neighbourhoods. It often is associated with other forms of disorder, including open use of drugs and alcohol, abandoned needles and condoms, etc. Street prostitution is often linked to street drug markets. And finally, it provides a source of income for organized crime.

While community concerns about street prostitution have not diminished, attitudes towards prostitutes are changing. John Lowman reports in his paper, "Law Reform in Canada:"

"In the early 1980s, the opponents of street prostitution showed little compassion for the objects of their wrath. But more recently, the view that prostitutes are victims has gained momentum, especially in police rhetoric. Speaking of the witness who testified during the review, the Standing Committee (on Justice) commented:

‘There was consensus among most of the witnesses who appeared before the Committee that there is a strong relationship between the past and current life conditions of street prostitutes, and their involvement in the sex trade. Physical and sexual victimization, poverty, substance abuse, limited education and lack of marketable work skills characterize their lives and are regarded as factors influencing young women to find work and source of income in prostitution.’ (Lowman: p.6)

Lowman further notes that

“While this perspective is generally borne out by Canadian research on street prostitution, it would be misleading to portray all street prostitutes one-sidedly as ‘victims’ devoid of any power over their own lives. While their choices may not be made in conditions of their own choosing, most persons who prostitute do make a choice.” (Ibid.)

Lowman goes on to describe the various situations prostitutes may find themselves in, ranging from female sexual slavery and survival sex through to “more bourgeois styles of sex trade (including some street prostitution) where both adults are consenting, albeit in a way that is shaped by their gender, occupation, ethnicity, socio-economic status and cultural values.” (Ibid.)

Prostitution and the Beltline

Street prostitution occurs most commonly in four communities in Calgary, namely Eau Claire and East Village (both in the Downtown), the Beltline, and Forest Lawn. Prostitution arrests in the Beltline occur at a rate that is more than twenty times the city average. Within the Beltline, two-thirds of the arrests occur in Geocode 1112 (i.e. the area located east of 1st Street E).

While it appears that the number of prostitutes working the streets of the Beltline has declined over the last two decades, there are still three identifiable activity areas. These are:

- 10th Avenue, east of Macleod Trail;
- 14th and 15th Avenues, between 4th Street W and Centre Street; and
- 13th Avenue and 6th Street W.

Thirteenth Avenue is an area used by male street prostitutes; it is the only male stroll in the city.

Police enforcement policies and practices affect the location and intensity of street prostitution, but never seem to eliminate it. A crack down in one stroll, for example, will prompt participants to move to another. Street prostitution can also be pushed underground (i.e. indoors) by concerted police action on the strolls.

3.3 Problem Bars and Rowdyism

Problem bars can exist anywhere in a city. This is because problem bars are often created (and can be resolved) by changes in management practices. When bars are concentrated in a particular neighbourhood, however, the *likelihood* that other problem bars will exist there increases dramatically. Too many bars chasing too few customers can result in all too aggressive marketing approaches (e.g. drink discounting, overly tolerant conduct codes, etc.). If left uncontrolled, the effect of a few problem bars in the area can mushroom. The area can gain a reputation as a place where youth congregate and “party.” Their presence in larger numbers can drive away older, better-behaved customers and worsen the situation.

The large number of youthful patrons can create significant problems for the neighbourhood (e.g. excessive noise, litter, traffic, parking, unsafe driving, disorderly conduct of various kinds, public urination, passing out in public places, etc.). If left unchecked, even more serious issues can emerge (e.g. assault, sexual assault, open drug sales and use, prostitution, etc.).

Michael S. Scott describes some of these problems in his COPS Series report "Assaults in and Around Bars" writes:

"Many bar patrons, especially men, report having been assaulted on some occasion. Many of the injuries treated at hospitals, especially facial injuries, are related to assault in and around bars. Most victims do not invite their assault. Most are smaller than their attackers, either alone or in a small group, and are drunk more often than their attackers. Attackers target victims who appear more intoxicated than themselves.

Many assaults are not reported to the police by either bar staff or the victim. Bar owners have mixed incentives about reporting assaults to the police. On the one hand, they need police assistance to maintain orderly establishments, but on the other hand, they do not want official records to reflect negatively on their liquor establishments. Many fights and disputes that start inside a bar are forced outside by the staff so they do not appear to be connected with the bar. Victims are intoxicated, are ashamed and see themselves as partly responsible, and so do not report assaults. Thus police records do not reflect the amount of violence in and around bars. However, we underestimate the seriousness of the problem if we believe these assaults are just excessive exuberance by young men or 'just desserts' for drunken troublemakers." (Scott, P. 2)

Scott also reports that the type of establishment can be a factor in the violence equation. He writes:

"Certain types of bars, such as dance bars, have higher levels of reported violence. Neighbourhood bars and social clubs have lower levels of violence, partly because patrons know one another well, and partly because they usually resolve conflicts privately. Restaurants that serve alcohol also have less violence. Bars that serve as pick up places, cater to prostitutes, traffic in drugs or stolen goods, feature aggressive entertainment, etc., are at higher risk for violence." (Scott: p. 3).

Scott reports that the overwhelming number of attackers and victims are young men between the ages of 18 and 29. Some congregate in bars and support a culture of drinking in which aggressive behaviour is tolerated. He writes:

"Many young men gather and drink alcohol to establish machismo, bond with one another and compete for women's attention. Many incidents of bar aggression start when young men challenge one another. This is more likely to happen when they do not know each other." (Scott: p. 4)

It is often the concentration of youth in large numbers that exacerbates the problem. In another COPS series report, "Disorderly Youth in Public Places," Michael S. Scott discusses the congregative nature of youth. Scott writes:

"That young people will congregate in public is both inevitable and socially necessary. Congregating is part of the rite of passage from childhood to adulthood, allowing youth to socialize and bond with their peers, out of their parents' view. . . Young people often do not fully appreciate their conduct's effect on others. What they believe to be normal and legitimate behavior can sometimes make others apprehensive or afraid. Sometimes the mere presence of large youth groups, or their physical appearance, is intimidating regardless of their conduct. . . In addition, group size may influence individual behavior . . ." (Scott pp. 3-4)

Behaviours commonly associated with disorderly youth include: playing music loudly, profanity, drinking alcohol, smoking, and using illegal drugs, making offensive remarks to passersby, fighting, yelling, littering applying graffiti, and vandalizing property. (Scott: pp. 4-5)

Problem Bars and Rowdiness in the Beltline

The Beltline usually has a number of problem bars and, currently, one problem location. While not all assaults occurring in the Beltline are related to problem bars and excessive use of alcohol, the community does experience twice the number of assaults per capita as both neighbouring Cliff Bungalow/Mission (which has many restaurants and few bars) and Calgary as a whole. Within the Beltline, Geocode 1111 (which contains 1st Street W) has the greatest number of assaults (28%).

Electric Avenue

In the mid-1990s, the concentration of bars along 11th Avenue, between 4th and 8th Streets W increased to the point that it became a serious public safety and disorder problem. The City of Calgary eventually responded with the "Electric Avenue Mini-plan" which restricted the number of bars in a given block and their size. While the Mini-plan did not affect bars already in operation, the rules did succeed in reducing the number bars in the area over time. The popularity of Electric Avenue as a place for youth to party declined. So too has reported crime, the level of policing required, and neighbourhood nuisance issues. Since the changes were put into effect in 1994, Eleventh Avenue has become a more balanced commercial street hosting a mix of office, retail, restaurant, and entertainment uses.

1st Street W

Following the demise of Electric Avenue, the bar problem has shifted to 1st Street W. Here both the number and concentration of bars have been increasing in a pattern reminiscent of Electric Avenue (e.g. assaults, noise, litter, public urination, drug use, etc.).

10th Avenue, East of 4th Street W

Just around the corner from 1st Street W is another group of bars and restaurants. These are located along 10th Avenue, between 2nd and 4th Street. This area is more removed from residential buildings, but it too has had its share of troubles (e.g. assaults). There have been a number of development applications to create additional and often larger bars in this area. Extension of the 10th Avenue strip to 1st Street W could be problematic for the area in particular; it would risk increasing its size to Electric Avenue proportions.

Other Locations

There are other locations in the Beltline where bars exist, but public safety and order issues are not as significant as they are on 1st Street W. Seventeenth Avenue provides an excellent example of this. For while it has many bars, it also has a more balanced commercial mix than 1st Street W and the problems on 17th Avenue appear to be much more localized.²⁰

²⁰ Resident satisfaction with the 17th Avenue bars has flagged in recent months because of the "Red Mile" phenomenon this year. Calgary's professional hockey team, the Flames, found itself in an unexpected playoff drive that led the team into the Stanley Cup series. The bars on 17th Avenue became the public place to cheer on the team. By the end of the two month long playoff drive, as many as 50,000 Calgarians of all ages could be found on 17th Avenue on any game night. The extreme size of the crowds and the duration of the playoffs created significant nuisance problems for local residents (e.g. noise, litter, etc.), but the low level of violence associated with the events is noteworthy, particularly given that the Flames lost the final series.

3.4 Problem Houses and Apartments

There are houses and individual apartment units within the Beltline where drugs are sold or, more often, where drug users congregate. Many times the problems are not associated with the building itself, but rather reflect the nature of a small group tenants who often are only able to maintain their tenancy for a short time period. When the landlord becomes aware of the problem, steps are taken to correct it, including tenant eviction.

There are, however, instances where lengthy or reoccurring problems exist. In some cases, this is the result of negligent management practices on the part landlords. In other incidents, owners of individual condominiums have been the source of the problem.

Michael S. Scott, in his COPS Series report "Drug Dealing in Privately Owned Apartment Complexes," describes some of these problems. He writes:

"Drug dealing in apartment complexes can attract other nuisance behavior that diminishes the resident's quality of life, such as loitering; littering (including drug paraphernalia and used condoms); trespassing; prostitution (including illegal sexual activity on the property, in nearby yards, in alleys, or in driveways); drug use; abandoned vehicles; speeding vehicles; parking problems; unwanted additional foot, car and bicycle traffic in residential neighborhoods; public drinking; public urination; gang formation; graffiti (establishing turf ownership of a drug market); assaults; auto theft; auto break-ins; residential and commercial burglaries; possession of and trafficking in stolen property; weapons violations (including gun possession and gun trafficking); robberies; drive-by shootings; and other violent crime (including homicide). This helps to explain why successfully tackling a drug market can bring about substantial decreases in crime in the surrounding area." (Scott, p. 2)

Problem Houses and Apartments in the Beltline

At present, there are few concentrations of problem houses and apartments in the Beltline. In many cases, the problem with a house or apartment is temporary in nature. A unit is unknowingly rented to a problem tenant, complaints are received, the tenant is given notice, and in some cases, eviction is required. The process may take two to three months, or more. This suggests a continuing and usually self-correcting pattern. The difficulty in high density areas such as the Beltline, however, is that the problem tenant may merely move to another location just down the street and the process begins again.

Indeed, there are certain locations where these problems reoccur. The 14th and 15th Avenue areas, east of 4th Street W, appear to have a disproportionate number of problem houses and apartment units, as does the area located east of Macleod Trail. As for the latter, recent acquisitions of properties south of 12th Avenue by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede have significantly improved the situation.

3.5 Graffiti and Vandalism

Graffiti, a form of vandalism, was once seen as a minor breach of the law committed by bored youth, is understood today as a far more pervasive problem. The property damage associated with it in Calgary runs into the millions of dollars per year. The majority of graffiti "events" are perpetrated by a very small number of people – many of whom are over 18 years of age.

Deborah Lamm Weisel, in her COPS series report "Graffiti," discusses the problems associated with graffiti in contemporary society:

"Because of its rising prevalence in many areas – and the high costs typically associated with cleanup and prevention – graffiti is often viewed as a persistent, if not an intractable, problem. Few graffiti offenders are apprehended and some change their methods and locations in response to possible apprehension and cleanups.

As with most forms of vandalism, graffiti is not routinely reported to the police. Many people think that graffiti is not a police or 'real crime' problem, or that the police can do little about it. Because graffiti is not routinely reported to police or other agencies, its true scope is unknown. But graffiti has become a major concern, and the mass media, including movies and websites glamorizing or promoting graffiti as an acceptable form of urban street art, have contributed to its spread.

Although graffiti is a common problem, its intensity varies substantially from place to place. While a single incident does not seem serious, graffiti has a serious cumulative effect; its appearance in a location appears to attract more graffiti. . . For many people, graffiti's presence suggests the government's failure to protect citizens and control lawbreakers. There are huge costs associated with graffiti: an estimated \$12 billion a year is spent cleaning up graffiti in the United States." (Weisel: pp. 1-2)

Weisel continues by stating that graffiti contributes to the decline in property value and the perception of blight in many U.S. urban areas.

While gang related graffiti does not occur in Canadian cities to anywhere near the extent that it does in the United States, "tagger" related graffiti does. Tagger graffiti is designed primarily to identify the particular graffitiist. Taggers employing simple marks may conduct hundreds of acts of vandalism in a short period of time.

Graffiti and the Beltline

Graffiti events are common throughout the commercial areas of the Beltline and occur in some residential locations as well. The most common location is the "blind" side of a building (e.g. a windowless wall) located in a side yard or off the lane. Seventeenth Avenue, in particular, has had a significant graffiti problem. Efforts by the Calgary Police Service, the City's by-law enforcement units, and the Uptown 17 BRZ have been helpful in decreasing activity there.

3.6 Homelessness

Homelessness in Calgary has increased more than four fold in the last decade. The City of Calgary has taken a homeless census every other year since 1992, recording the number of men, women and children staying in shelters or on the street. The increase in the number of homeless is dramatic. This is particularly significant when Calgary's prosperity is taken into consideration. Alberta has the highest per capita income in Canada and the strongest economic growth rates, while Calgary is the province's most prosperous city.

The following table provides a summary of those numbers:²¹

Calgary Year	Number of Homeless	% Change From 1992
1992	447	N/A
1994	461	3%
1996	615	38%
1998	998	123%
2000	1,296	190%
2002	1,737	289%
2004 a	2,142	379%
2004 b	2,597	481%

Of the 2,597 people founded to be homeless in the 2004 census, some 127 were reported spending the night on the street. The remainder stayed in shelters.

Males comprised 77% of the census sample; females 23%. Some 76% were described as Caucasian and 15% Native. Adults, between the ages of 25 and 64, comprised 80% of the census; 9% were between 18-24 years; 8% were under the age of 18; and 2% were 65 years or older.

Homelessness, of course, is not a crime but rather a social condition which has very serious consequences for individuals. The causes of homelessness vary, but include unemployment and impoverishment,²² mental and physical disabilities, drug and alcohol addiction, the lack of a family or institutional support base and a shortage of affordable housing.

The key factor, however, seems to be affordability. Calgary's homeless population is increasing regardless of the residential vacancy rates. This is because current market rents are too high for many of those most in need, but too low to encourage developers to build new rental housing. Non-market housing development has not been able to fill the gap.²³ Except for the two shelters (e.g. the Drop In Centre and the Centre of Hope), very little non-market housing has been built in Calgary in the last decade. The waiting list for the Calgary Housing Company, operated by the City of Calgary, now stands at approximately 2,400 households.

In addition to the problems that homelessness causes to the individuals involved, the presence of a large number of homeless people in a community can be a destabilizing influence. While many homeless people do leave the shelters in the morning for work, others must find ways to pass time. They gravitate to familiar streets, parks, and unsupervised areas (e.g. vacant lots, rear yards of private property, parkades and parking lots, the Bow and Elbow River Valleys, etc.) where their presence can be intimidating to the public, particularly if large numbers are involved... Panhandling, public urination, littering (including drug paraphernalia and bottles), unlawful entry, squatting and vandalism are some of the effects of this situation.

²¹ In 2004, the City added 30 additional agencies not counted in previous years to the census. 2004A – refers to the number of homeless on the street or staying in shelters that were previously on the census list. 2004B – refers to the total number of homeless on the street or staying in all shelters.

²² The term “impoverishment” has been used to denote those who, while working, are not able to accumulate the funds necessary to obtain permanent accommodation (i.e. damage deposits, first and last month's rent, etc.).

²³ Federal government support for non-market housing ended in 1992. A new federal/provincial program entitled the Affordable Housing Partnerships Initiative (AHPI) has only been operating for two years.

Street Youth

A subset of the homeless problem is the problem of street youth, that is young people who have left home or government care with no permanent means of employment or housing. Their numbers are not large in Calgary; approximately 75 people between the ages of 13 and 17 were identified in the 2004 homeless census, or 3% of the city's total homeless population.

Street youth are, however, the most vulnerable members of this group. They have significant difficulties in finding employment due to their age and lack of skills, education and work experience. They may be fleeing from a dysfunctional family environment. They may attempt to survive by panhandling and relying on the support of "friends." Drugs and alcohol may be involved in their street experience and, all too often, these children are preyed upon by adults in prostitution, drug, and various kinds of theft operations.

Street youth often congregate in public spaces. Their presence is not usually disconcerting to the general public unless their numbers are large or they are dominant group in that space. As many as a dozen youth may also share a single apartment, pooling funds for the rent, and creating problem units by virtue of their number and behaviour.

Homelessness and the Beltline

The two largest shelters in Calgary, the Drop-In Centre and the Salvation Army Centre of Hope, are located in neighbouring East Village. A number of smaller shelters are located either in the Beltline itself (e.g. The Mustard Seed and Centre 110) or neighbouring communities (e.g. Sunalta). Large numbers of homeless walk people between the East Village shelters and the area surrounding The Mustard Seed (i.e. 11th Avenue and Centre Street) every day. Because The Mustard Seed is one of the only agencies offering free meals in Calgary, it has become a necessary daily stop for many of Calgary's homeless. Concentrations of the homeless can be seen in the vicinity of The Mustard Seed throughout the day. For the past few years, the Province has also been busing homeless from The Mustard Seed to a temporary shelter in Sunalta in the evening. This has served to increase the "queuing" in The Mustard Seed area.

Street youth gravitate to the Beltline because it offers much of what they need (e.g. inexpensive housing, central location, proximity to transit, jobs, entertainment, other attractions and services). Street and other youth congregate in a number of public locations including Tomkins, Central Memorial and Haultain Parks.



Principles, Practices and Precedents **4**



This section is intended to provide a general introduction to key crime prevention principles and some of the best practices and precedents being employed throughout the world, some of which could be successfully employed in the Beltline.

4.1 Crime Prevention Principles

Approaches to Crime Prevention

Steven P. Lab, in Crime Prevention: Approaches, Practices and Evaluations, defines crime prevention as:

“any action designed to reduce the actual level of crime and/or the perceived fear of crime.”
(Lab 2000: p. 19)

This definition could also be extended to elements of public disorder not considered criminal in nature.

Lab suggests that crime prevention can usefully be divided into the three approaches found in public health models of disease prevention. They are designed to attack the problem at different stages of development. (Ibid., pp. 20-25)

Primary Prevention

Primary crime prevention actions *focus on conditions* within the physical and social environment, including:

- Environmental design (e.g. architecture, lighting, access control)
- Neighbourhood watch (e.g. surveillance, citizen patrol)
- General deterrence (e.g. arrest and conviction, sentencing methods)
- Public education (e.g. crime levels, fear, self-help)
- Social intervention (e.g. unemployment and poverty reduction, employment and job training)
- Private security

Secondary Prevention

Secondary prevention *involves early identification of potential offenders and situations*, seeking to intervene prior to the commitment of a crime. Secondary prevention actions include:

- Identification and prediction (e.g. of problem individuals and areas)
- Situational crime prevention (e.g. problem identification, situation specific intervention)
- Community based policing
- Substance abuse prevention and treatment
- Schools and crime prevention

Tertiary Prevention

Tertiary prevention *involves the actual offenders* and involves finding ways to ensure that they will not commit further offenses, including:

- Specific deterrence (e.g. arrest and conviction)
- Incapacitation (e.g. incarceration)
- Rehabilitation and Treatment (e.g. restorative justice and alternative measures)

Crime Displacement

Crime displacement is an issue that is continually raised in our discussions about crime prevention. Displacement involves a change in crime activities as a result of preventative actions taken. Crime displacement usually refers to the movement of criminal activity from one location to another. A common assumption is that a successful crime prevention effort in one location will only move that criminal activity to another, less well defended location. Displacement of this form is most clearly identified with street prostitution. A police crackdown on one stroll may lead to an increase in the number of prostitutes on another stroll, or even the creation of a new stroll.

There are, however, many different types of crime displacement. Lab identifies them as follows (Lab 2000: p. 74):

- Territorial (i.e. from one location to another);
- Temporal (i.e. from one time of day to another);
- Tactical (i.e. from one method to another);
- Target (i.e. from one type of victim to another);
- Functional (i.e. from one type of offense to another); and
- Perpetrator (i.e. one offender ceases activity and another replaces him).

Many people assume that displacement is always negative or that, at best, it only moves the problem around. Displacement can, however, be positive in its effect as well. Successful crime prevention efforts in one location, for example, have also been known to reduce crime in adjacent areas.

Even when the amount of crime does not decrease, the displacement can still be positive. If, for example, the offenders change tactics in ways that reduce the likelihood of violence (e.g. from street robbery to petty theft), the result to society can be viewed as positive. The amount of crime may not have declined, but the risk to individuals has.

Our understanding of displacement is indeed limited, but as Lab points out:

“It would be naive to assume that all crime reduction in an area is due to simple displacement to another place, time or method, or that programs cannot have an impact beyond the immediate target.” (Ibid., p. 90)

4.2 Best Practices

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

CPTED grew out of the work of Oscar Newman and his 1972 work, Defensible Space. The basic approach involves changing the physical environment in ways that can influence the behaviour of residents and potential offenders. Physical improvements can be used to help residents in a positive way – e.g. to develop a more protective attitude toward their property and neighbourhood, increase interaction among residents, and to encourage them to play a greater role in the control and elimination of neighbourhood crime. The same physical improvements can also be used to deter potential offenders – e.g. by sending the message that residents care about their neighbourhood, pay attention to what occurs, and will intervene if an offense takes place.

CPTED actions are often focused on access control, surveillance, territorial reinforcement, and maintenance (i.e. the broken windows theory).

Common CPTED actions include: lighting and surveillance improvements, closed-circuit television (CCTV), alarms, locks and other related access factors, and changes to street layout and traffic patterns. Lab has reviewed a number of evaluative studies involving these actions and has drawn the following conclusions (Lab 2000: pp. 32-38)

Lighting – In general, the research presents inconclusive results because methodological problems involved in the study of lighting. While the research concerning the effect of improved lighting on crime itself is inconclusive, the effect upon fear is not. Studies indicate that women and the elderly, in particular, worry less about crime and feel safer when higher lighting levels are present.

Surveillability – Research indicates that areas with low surveillability – i.e. areas of increased concealment, blocked prospect (or view), and limited escape elicit greater fear in people. Increased surveillance can be provided either through physical changes or increased levels of patrol. Studies have shown that improved surveillability can reduce both crime and fear.

CCTV – Closed circuit television is used extensively in Great Britain, but less so in North America. An evaluation conducted in Scotland found significant reductions in auto thefts, vandalism, and serious assaults following the installation of CCTV (Scottish Office, 1994). Studies conducted in England have found similar reductions in crime after CCTV installation. There is some evidence, however, of negative displacement (i.e. the crime moves to other areas not covered by CCTV) and also that the positive effects of CCTV decline over time as criminals learn to avoid CCTV surveillance while moving through the area.

Alarms – Research conducted in North America indicates that alarms are a prime consideration criminals' choice of targets. Many offenders who engage in planning and preparation before committing an offense tend to avoid targets protected with alarm systems.

Locks, Doors and Related Access Factors – There are any number of “target hardening” devices that can be used to prevent crime. Research indicates that while target hardening may reduce the incidence of break-ins, it will not prevent all attempts. If blocked, a motivated offender may find other more effective means of gaining entry.

Street Layout and Traffic -- Various attempts have been made to reduce crime through changes in street layout and traffic patterns. The private streets of St. Louis and numerous gated communities

throughout North America employ such methods. Research indicates that streets and areas that are easily accessible to pedestrian and auto traffic tend to experience higher levels of actual crime and fear of crime. The development of streets that promote feelings of local ownership and control appear to have positive effects. These approaches cannot be applied in every location, however. For instance, such changes in high density areas such as the Beltline may prove to be problematic because of the decrease in vehicular circulation they usually bring about.

Neighbourhood Crime Prevention or Second Generation CPTED

Neighbourhood crime prevention attempts to provide opportunities for residents to become more directly involved in crime prevention activities. It has become an important factor in the crime prevention process, in part, because CPTED improvements alone have failed to motivate residents to act against crime. Second Generation CPTED adds a number of principles to integrate the social factors with the physical approach provided by Traditional CPTED (Saville and Cleveland, 1997). These are important because they help to provide an understanding of the unique context in which each issue arises. Thus, while Traditional CPTED strives to create a sense of ownership through signs of physical territoriality, Second Generation CPTED addresses social territoriality. Its principles include cohesion, capacity, connectivity and culture.

Cohesion enhances opportunities for a full range of citizen participation and refers to opportunities for positive social interactions that enhance levels of agreement and minimizes conflict among community members and citizen groups.

Examples: clarity of rules and responsibilities (e.g. neighbourhood accords, curfews, block watch), pertaining to the use of local open spaces, recreation facilities and amenities; participation in social opportunities/gatherings, and expressions of tolerance.

Capacity enables a community to enhance its resident's quality of life by balancing land uses to meet diverse needs and ideas. Capacity refers to the ability of a community to create, maintain, and sustain resources to meet identified needs/wants and prevent problems.

Examples: mixed use development; extensive common facilities (community centre, community gardens, meeting places); availability of open space; roads designed to complement a pedestrian oriented culture; a built environment affecting human scale and density; community balance between special interests and geographic interest; and a strong, inclusive community governance structure.

Connectivity supports, generates and fosters a sense of common purpose and can refer to physical structures that link spaces and facilities. It also refers to relationships and communication flows among community members and between community members and external institutions, resources or agencies.

Examples: pathways; pedestrian linkages; accessible public transit; linkages to other communities; community dialogue, community partnerships; and coordination of community effort with government agencies.

Culture creates the unique context that generates a sense of place and a sense of belonging. Culture includes a shared sense of history and the expression of common values and beliefs.

Examples: heritage buildings; festivals and celebrations; neighbourhood traditions; artistic and musical activities; cultural diversity; range of housing forms/tenure; and tenor of public realm, community image, and a 'welcoming feeling'

The principles of Second Generation CPTED support and provide a context for neighbourhood crime prevention activities that include Neighbourhood Watch, citizen patrol, advocacy, and physical design. Lab has reviewed a number of evaluative studies of these actions and has drawn the following conclusions (Lab 2000 pp. 49-71).

Neighbourhood Watch – Neighbourhood and block watches are organized to increase local surveillance. This depends upon the ability of residents to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate activities. Neighbourhood watch programs are commonly found in suburban, family oriented communities where recognition of locals is usually quite high. They are less common in higher density areas. Research indicates that neighbourhood watch programs can reduce crime.

Citizen Patrols – Citizen patrols are an important element of many neighbourhood watch programs. Participants can be volunteers or paid staff. At their best, they involve the use of trained observers who utilize their mobility and communications devices to increase the level of surveillance and contact with the police in their neighbourhoods. One difficulty with evaluating both neighbourhood watch and the more involved citizen patrol programs is that crime reporting can increase because of the additional surveillance. Victimization studies support the conclusion that these practices can reduce crime.

Community Anti-Drug Programs – These programs are a more recent neighbourhood crime prevention action. CAD programs use many of the same forms of intervention as other neighbourhood programs, but focus on drug problems. There is a strong advocacy element to them in that residents demand enforcement of zoning by-laws, building codes, and minimum maintenance by-laws in order to eliminate drug houses. Research indicates that CAD programs can reduce the number of drug houses in a neighbourhood and the crime associated with them.

The Civitas Model

The Civitas Model is a new model that moves beyond Second Generation CPTED. Greg Saville in his paper "A New Tomorrow: The *Civitas* Model for Neighbourhood Safety," describes it as a "tool to help a neighbourhood define a crime profile and then tailor a set of preventative strategies to deal with its own problems."

Saville outlines the four links of this process for constructing a safe neighbourhood:

1. Developing The Neighbourhood Profile: The first step is a comprehensive analysis of the crime problem. This must combine crime statistics from the police with perceptions and attitudes of local residents. In addition, fear of crime must be examined along with the physical structure of crime opportunities within the neighbourhood. This can be accomplished in a number of ways, including:
 - Community search conferences,
 - Community "round table" discussions,
 - Environmental scans, such as safety audits, and
 - Predictive crime mapping with geographic information systems.

2. Re-establishing Local Controls: In neighbourhoods where crime problem is already a problem, residents often experience high fears of victimization. Many may not participate in local services or use amenities fully due to fear of crime and sense of helplessness. In such places, social controls need to be established. These can take many forms, including:
 - Effective preventative and emergency police or security response,
 - Zero tolerance enforcement and saturation patrol, where necessary,
 - Visible, non-vehicle, patrol including private security when police can do the job, and
 - Target hardening and situational crime prevention

3. Introducing Problem Solving Tools: Because crime is complex and beyond the capacity of a single agency to control, the capacity to resist crime must be generated at the neighbourhood level. This capacity emerges from a range of problem-solving tools that are employed within the community. They may be introduced by security or police officers that demonstrate problem-oriented policing skills on a particular problem. The problem-solving tools themselves are plentiful and include:
 - Crime prevention through environmental design,
 - Problem-oriented policing,
 - Conflict resolution skills,
 - Cooling crime hotspots by focusing on repeat offenders, and
 - Restorative justice programs.

4. Building Capacity: Introducing problem-solving skills into any neighbourhood can help alleviate crime and prevent new crime from emerging. The focus here is on minor offenses or daily disorders that lead to more serious events if not addressed. Research shows there are many instances where, with the help of planning, social justice, and enforcement officials, community needs can be addressed locally on an ongoing basis. Examples of building local capacity within the community include:
 - Crime prevention through social development,
 - Parenting programs, and
 - Municipal by-laws requiring CPTED reviews prior to new development construction.

The Civitas model relies upon the creation of Municipal Development Teams for implementation. The teams are chaired by city or social planners who work with other team members from planning, engineering, police, health, schools, social services, etc. They would also contain representatives of the community, selected by the team itself, including residents, business people, crime prevention groups, multi-cultural groups, local media, community associations, etc.

Municipal Development Teams introduce problem solving skills and building community capacities into neighbourhoods. They develop neighbourhood profiles from a thorough analysis of crime and problem patterns. From this work, neighbourhood action plans are prepared to determine the kinds of services that are needed and who would best provide them. Much of this work is performed by Problem Solving Panels, organized at the neighbourhood level.

Situational Crime Prevention

Situational crime prevention began in Great Britain in the 1970s, with support from The Home Office. It focuses on very specific types of problems, locations, individuals, or times. This means, in part, that it works at a micro-scale, well below the neighbourhood level. Situational crime prevention theory promotes the use of a number of approaches described by R.V. Clarke in his work, Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies, 1992. In general, these are increasing the effort required by an offender, increasing the risk of arrest, and reducing the rewards associated with successfully committing the crime. (Lab 200, p. 149)

Research indicates that situational crime prevention works best with property crimes. Those techniques that focus on target effort, risk and reward can be particularly successful. Situational crime, in fact, may be successful because it focuses its efforts at the micro-level. (Lab 2000, pp. 159-60) Programs that attempt to make more modest changes at the neighbourhood level may fail to effect the desired changes because the resources utilized are stretched too thinly to have the desired effect.

Problem Oriented Policing (POP)

Problem-oriented policing is a type of community policing that focuses on decentralization of decision-making powers. The policy is designed to be implemented from the bottom up with rank-and-file officers effectively setting agency goals and developing strategies to achieve them. Where, under a traditional system, a patrol officer might answer repeated calls to a certain problem area or "hot spot" and deal only with each individual incident, that officer is encouraged under POP to discover the root cause of the problem and come up with ways of solving it. The goal is to find a cure for the ailment instead of merely treating the symptoms.

One successful example of a problem oriented policing is Chicago's CAPS program. It began in five of Chicago's twenty five police beats in 1993. Police officers were assigned permanent neighbourhood beats, residents worked with the officers to identify problems and potential solutions, and other agencies were often brought in to assist in implementing those solutions. While the response and success varied from one neighbourhood to another, the overall results were positive. Signs of physical decay in communities have been reduced, visible gang and drug activity has declined, as did overall crime rates. (Lab 2000, p. 172)

An excellent Canadian example is Burnaby's *Project Metrotown*. In 1998, police in Burnaby noted an increase in service calls at three apartment buildings, drug trafficking near an LRT station, and an increase in the number of drug users in the area. Area merchants reported being victimized, residents felt intimidated, and school officials were concerned about school safety. Police concluded that the LRT facilitated drug distribution to surrounding municipalities. Community partnerships were consequently formed with the City of Burnaby, the Burnaby School District, and various local, national and neighbouring US law enforcement agencies. Early interventions focused on landlord, livability and environmental issues. Reported crime initially declined, then rebounded. New responses focusing on community mobilization, CPTED, and the formation of a joint enforcement team were then utilized. Drug offenses in Metrotown in 2000 were 49% less than in 1999.

Drugs and Crime Prevention

While there is much debate about the relationship between drug use and criminal activity, it is clear that drug use can be a contributing factor in the crime equation. Offenders use drugs, particularly harder drugs such as cocaine and heroin, in far greater numbers than the population as a whole. Drug addicts often commit crimes to obtain the money required to buy drugs and drug dealers often engage in other criminal

acts beyond the sale of drugs. Proceeds from the sale of illegal drugs, for example, are often used to commit other crimes.

Law enforcement efforts to eliminate the sale and use of illegal drugs have largely failed in North America. While such efforts clearly must continue in some form, attention is now turning toward drug prevention and treatment programs as a crime prevention method. This includes maintenance programs, various types of in- and out-patient programs, detoxification, drug courts, and various education programs. (Lab 2000, pp. 190-96)

Maintenance Programs – Methadone maintenance is the most common drug maintenance program offered. Methadone is offered to heroin addicts on an out-patient basis. Methadone acts as an oral substitute which ideally allows patients to function normally in society. Research suggests that methadone maintenance programs generally show positive results. Methadone patients use fewer illegal drugs, commit fewer crimes, and are arrested less often when on the program.

In-Patient Programs -- Various types of treatment programs are offered to drug users. In-patient treatment programs are designed to remove the drug user from the environment that supports drug activity. Intensive treatment is offered in the hope that the patient will not return to drug use after completing the program. Research indicates that the success of many in-patient programs is tied to the length of the program – i.e. recidivism declines with longer treatment.

Out-Patient Programs -- These programs operate in a similar, albeit less intensive, manner. Narcotics Anonymous is an example of one of these programs. Research indicates that, while those who stay with the programs may achieve success, the high voluntary drop out rates pose a problem for the use of these programs as a crime prevention technique. (Ibid.)

Drug Courts – Special courts designed to deal with drug offenses are being established throughout North America. In 1989, the first drug court with a specific emphasis on treatment opened in Dade County, Florida. Within ten years, more than 275 drug courts were operating in the United States and another 155 were in the planning stages. There are another 200 juvenile and family drug courts operating in the United States as well.

Drug courts typically involve non-violent offenders and rely upon mandated out-patient treatment programs. Periodic drug testing and client supervision usually are required as well. Research indicates that drug court patients using required programs have lower levels of recidivism, relatively few violations, and longer periods before another arrest. (Ibid)

Prevention Programs – Most prevention programs focus their efforts on providing information about drugs and the consequences of drug use. A wide range of programs are offered, targeting various groups within the population. The most commonly targeted group is adolescents. Research indicates that these programs generally have minimal effect.

General Deterrence

General deterrence actions are designed both to influence the future behavior of a given offender, and to serve as an example for others. General deterrence is based upon traditional law enforcement activities, such as policing, arrest, prosecution, sentencing and incarceration.

Lab's review of research indicates that there are no indications that sanctions have any major impact on the level of offending. It does appear that increased certainty of arrest and punishment results in reduced offending, but that the severity of punishment does not have an impact on criminal behavior. The research also indicates, however, that an offender's perception of the risk of arrest and punishment is based more upon past individual experience than the current situation. (Lab 2000, pp. 123-4)

Specific Deterrence

Specific deterrence programs are focused on preventing the individual from committing future criminal acts. Arrest, prosecution, sentencing, punishment and rehabilitation of individuals are the tools used in specific deterrence programs. Research on specific deterrence does not provide a clear indication of its effectiveness. Some studies do seem to indicate, however, that longer or harsher sentences can result in a higher recidivism rate among convicted offenders. (Lab: p. 223)

Imprisonment does, of course, eliminate an individual's ability to commit most crimes while in custody, but incarceration comes at a significant cost. With the capital costs of building prisons well above \$100,000 per bed and annual operating costs above \$20,000 per bed, any extensive incarceration program is bound to face fiscal constraints. (Lab 2000, p. 229-30)

Rehabilitation

There are any number of criminal rehabilitation programs being offered throughout North America at the present time. Given the investment in rehabilitation, one would expect that it has a high success rate. Research, however, suggests that most rehabilitation programs have little impact upon recidivism. Many researchers have now concluded that such efforts are an ineffective means of preventing crime. Rehabilitation programs may very well assist individuals in improving their outlook or self esteem and in increasing their educational or vocational abilities, but they do not appear to significantly reduce subsequent criminal behavior. (Lab 2000, p. 259)

4.3 Precedents

There are countless crime prevention programs operating throughout the world which may prove to relevant to Calgary and the Beltline. It is impossible to be informed about them all. Just the same, our investigations indicate that there is much to be learned from our peers operating in dense, urban environments throughout the world. For example, New York City's efforts to reduce crime and disorder in Manhattan over the last decade have been quite remarkable. San Diego has been able to reduce crime and disorder without any dramatic increase in police staffing. San Francisco has made great strides in responding to prostitution and homelessness, and Vancouver, working in concert with the provincial and federal governments, has embarked upon a new and comprehensive social development effort under the auspices of the *Vancouver Agreement*.

Some of the most promising examples of community based crime prevention programs today, however, are operating in Great Britain. We are particularly impressed with the comprehensive and transparent nature of their work and believe there is much to be gained from a greater understanding of their programs. For the purpose of exposition, we will use the City of Manchester's program as an example (See www.manchester.gov.uk/crime).

The Crime and Disorder Act

In 1998, the Labour Government passed the *Crime and Disorder Act*. The *Act* places obligations upon the local authorities (i.e. the municipalities), the police and health authorities, and others to co-operate in the development and implementation of a strategy for tackling crime and disorder in their area. This has required substantial changes in the working practices of these organizations.

The *Act* requires the authorities to work in three-year cycles. During each cycle, the authorities are obliged to:

- Conduct and publish an audit of crime and disorder problems, taking into account the views of those who live and work in the area;
- Determine priorities for action;
- Devise and publish a strategy which tackles these problems, including objectives and targets; and
- Monitor progress, fine tuning the strategy as required.

The *Act* makes it clear that the police and the local authority are responsible for the program, but it also specifies that they must work in partnership with others. The Home Office has provided substantial financial support to the local authorities; it also supports a significant research effort in crime and disorder prevention. The Home Office and local authorities make extensive use of linked web sites to share the information acquired in the course of their work.

It is important to note that Great Britain's efforts involve more than just crime prevention. The decision to use the phrase "Crime and Disorder" was intentional, as the local crime and disorder partnerships focus on a wide range of related problems, including crime, social, health and environmental issues. The *Crime and Disorder Act* allows local authorities to use the courts to obtain orders to assist in curtailing the "anti-social" (or nuisance related) behaviour of individuals.²⁴

This initial effort has been followed up with the passage, in 2003, of the *Anti-Social Behaviour Act*. Since its enactment, almost 2,500 charges have been issued to prevent people from carrying out specific prohibitive acts or entering designated areas. In particular, "Alcohol-related disorder has come under close scrutiny with the introduction of the act. . . Such alcohol-related harm is costing Britain approximately \$35 billion a year through crime, disorder, injuries, illness and loss of productivity at work." (Hodges 2004, p. 2)

The local partnerships also attempt to prevent crime and disorder through various pro-active means, including a wide range of health, social and community development programs. A great deal of attention is focused upon youth in this regard.

The City of Manchester's Crime and Disorder Program

The City of Manchester has approximately 440,000 people. It forms part of the Greater Manchester area, which includes the cities of Bolton, Bury, Oldham, and Wigan, and has a population of 2.6 million people. Manchester was traditionally a manufacturing centre but has suffered periods of economic decline over the past forty years. While manufacturing still plays an important role in the local economy, diversification has led to a gradual improvement in the city's fortunes. Manchester's population has been growing in recent years and many derelict industrial properties have been converted to, or replaced with, residential development.

²⁴ Anti-social behaviour includes a range of problems such as noisy neighbours, abandoned cars, vandalism, graffiti, litter, and youth nuisance.

The Crime and Disorder Team that Manchester created in the late 1990s is a multi-agency group that includes Manchester City Council, Greater Manchester Police, the National Probation Service and the Greater Manchester Police Authority. The team works together to support the work of the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership. The partnership includes a number of health care trusts, the crown prosecution service, fire service, criminal justice board, and a network of local service organizations.

The Crime and Disorder Team undertakes many activities, the most noteworthy of which include:

- Identifying and sharing best practices in crime reduction across the city;
- Undertaking annual audits of crime and disorder;
- Researching, analyzing and interpreting crime data;
- Consulting on crime and disorder issues;
- Writing, publishing, and publicizing the Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy;
- Promoting awareness of crime and disorder reduction initiatives;
- Monitoring performance against best value performance indicators and targets set by the Partnership; and
- Identifying sources of funding for crime and disorder reduction initiatives.

The Crime and Disorder Audit

The audit provides an overview of the main crime and disorder issues affecting the city. It is based upon crime statistics, council surveys, government statistics and the experiences of local communities. It identifies the most commonly recorded crimes, disorder incidents, etc. The annual audits build on the existing Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy and are used as an important tool to track implementation progress.

A sampling of Manchester's most recent audit contains the following findings:

- Burglary, vehicle crime, theft and criminal damage make up the majority of recorded crimes;
- Youth nuisance is the largest category of disorder and the number of incidents has been increasing;
- There are significant variations in crime rates across the city and the highest rates tend to be found in residential areas around the city centre;
- The city centre experiences particularly high levels of theft and violent crime;
- Manchester has some of the highest levels of crime and deprivation (i.e. poverty) in the country;
- The majority of young offenders are male and a relatively small number of persistent young offenders are responsible for large amounts of crime;
- Young people feature regularly as both victims of crime and as offenders;
- There is a close link between drug use and crime in the city;
- Many offenders taken into custody have a drug problem, the most common being heroin addiction and over half of these individuals report that they offend on a daily basis; and
- Estimates suggest that the cost of crime in the city is over 900 million pounds per annum (i.e. 2,000 pounds per resident) when all related costs are included.

The audit also makes use of fear and victimization surveys of Manchester residents. Recent findings show that:

- 40% report being victims of at least one crime in the last 12 months;
- 60% report feeling unsafe being out alone after dark;
- Levels of concern about crime are higher in Manchester than the national average; and
- The most common disorder issues identified by residents are speeding cars, youth gangs, vandalism, drug dealing and dumped rubbish.

The Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy

The current Manchester Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy covers the years 2002 – 2005. It has ten key priorities. These involve reducing:

1. Street violence;
2. Domestic violence;
3. Robbery;
4. Residential burglary;
5. Vehicle crime;
6. Youth nuisance;
7. Anti-social behaviour;
8. The number of racist incidents;
9. Drug related street crime; and
10. Crime affecting businesses.

A reduction target is established for each priority. For example, Manchester is aiming to achieve a 15% reduction in street related violent offenses over the three year period. Short and long term actions to achieve the target are identified. Regarding street violence, short term action is aimed at “reducing the number of violent incidents taking place in the street, many of which are linked to alcohol and occur late at night.” Manchester’s longer term objective in this instance is to change the drinking culture by raising awareness of the consequences of drinking too much alcohol.

A number of specific implementation actions are then identified for each priority. In the case of street violence, the following efforts are called for:

- Increased availability of public transit, especially late at night;
- Extension of the nitenet radio system²⁵ and CCTV coverage;
- An increase in the visible presence of security personnel;
- Improvements in the management of licensed premises and entertainment venues;
- A range of actions that involve teaching conflict resolution techniques to children, young people and their families; and
- A multi-agency gang strategy which focuses on targeted crackdowns, efforts to deter young people from joining gangs, and greater efforts to secure the conviction and/or rehabilitation of gang involved offenders.

²⁵ Manchester operates a number of community radio stations that are targeted to neighbourhood audiences. The stations, which are designed to assist in local revitalization efforts, inform residents about developments in their area and provide a forum to discuss problems and new ideas. They are funded by grants from Manchester City Council.

Local Action Partnerships

The *Crime and Disorder Act* gives local councils the responsibility to establish Local Action Partnerships (LAPs) to address crime and disorder issues at the local level. LAPs meet regularly to discuss the progress being made and to consider new priorities and actions. They involve various representatives, including:

- Police,
- Health,
- Education,
- Social Services,
- Housing,
- Councilors,
- Local community groups and associations, and
- Other large public and private sector organizations that have an interest in the area.

LAPs deal with issues such as:

- Poor environment,
- Domestic violence,
- Racist and hate crime,
- Youth nuisance,
- Neighbourhood nuisance, and
- Anti-social behaviour.

Neighbourhood Wardens and Community Support Officers

The Neighbourhood Wardens Concept

Working closely with many of the LAPS in Manchester are a number of neighbourhood (or community) wardens. Neighbourhood wardens, in particular, are a good example of a community based policing initiative that could be applied in Calgary and the Beltline.

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister has published a report entitled “Neighbourhood Wardens Scheme Evaluation” (see www.crimereduction.gov.uk/wardens32.htm). Excerpts from that report are provided below.

“Neighbourhood Wardens are a neighbourhood level uniformed, semi-official patrolling presence. Schemes are located across England and Wales and predominantly in deprived urban areas. There is no typical wardens scheme. Schemes vary in the problems they aim to tackle, their objectives and the way in which they are managed and operate. Most, however, have reduction of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behaviour, and environmental improvements as core objectives. The majority of schemes are located in areas that are subject to other neighbourhood renewal initiatives . . . providing opportunities for wardens to work with and complement other programmes.

The most distinctive feature of the Neighbourhood Wardens Programme is that unlike many neighbourhood renewal activities, wardens are community based in and about the streets and estates in which they work. Their advantage lies in their accessibility to people, allowing information sharing about activities and resources and enabling them to listen to problems, worries

and news from local residents. Wardens form a 'soft' rather than 'hard' interface between people and agencies. They are a new generation of neighbourhood officials that know the problems, face the people, and take the action.

In relation to impact on crime, residents survey evidence suggests that there has been a considerable decline (27.6%) in the overall rate of crime in warden areas. This compares to a slight increase (4.7%) in crime in the comparator areas. Although residents living in wardens areas appear to be doing relatively well in terms of improvements in crime, they remain at a higher risk of being a victim of crime than the national average.

The overriding message from the evaluation is that in successful schemes, wardens can and are having an impact. Key impacts include:

- increased resident satisfaction
- reduced fear of crime, particularly for older people
- considerable decline in the overall rate of residents experiencing crime
- perceived improvement in environmental problems such as graffiti, fly-tipping,²⁶ litter, etc.
- a small decline in residents perceiving youth anti-social behaviour (ASB) as a problem

Schemes that are working well have a number of common features:

- tailored and flexible approaches
- involvement of a wide variety of stakeholders
- resident participation
- active and representative steering groups
- consistent scheme management
- ability to develop and nurture partnerships
- ability to maximise wardens' visibility
- targeted approach to the vulnerable
- high-quality wardens
- ongoing practical training.

As government funding for these schemes ended in March 2004, the sole responsibility for wardens' funding now lies with the local authorities. Of the 84 schemes examined, over 70% have sustainable funding in place and 20% fully expect to do so. Of the five schemes that may not continue beyond March 2004, two are converting to Police Community Support Officers.”

Police in case study areas are generally positive about the neighbourhood warden's role in crime reduction. Reported benefits included: encouraging residents to report crime, improving residents' perceptions of the police, freeing up police time by dealing with minor incidents, working collaboratively on crime prevention initiatives, and improving intelligence.

Community Support Officers

The neighbourhood wardens program is still in its early stages and refinements to the system can be expected to occur for many years. The creation of the Community Support Officer (CSO) is one example of

²⁶ Fly –tipping refers to the illegal dumping of waste, including toxic waste.

the type of innovation that can be anticipated. CSOs focus primarily on lower order crime, disorder and anti-social behavior. Their actions free up police officer time to focus on higher order crime.

Community Support Officers differ from Neighbourhood Wardens in that they are employed by and report to the Police. They also have a greater range of enforcement powers, and more extensive training. CSOs focus more on anti-social behavior and public nuisance issues, whereas Neighbourhood Wardens tend to focus on environmental issues (e.g. by-law enforcement). CSOs have been given the following powers:

- To issue a Fixed Penalty Notice for public nuisance, dog fouling, littering and riding on pedestrian pathways²⁷
- To request a name and address for offences that cause injury, alarm and distress to another person or damage or loss of another's property,
- To request a name and address for persons engaging in anti-social behaviour,
- To detain a person for up to 30 minutes pending the arrival of a constable,
- To use reasonable force to detain a person or prevent him from leaving the scene,
- To request a person to stop drinking in a public place and surrender open containers of alcohol,
- To confiscate alcohol, cigarettes or tobacco from young people,
- To enter a premise to save life or limb, or prevent serious damage to property,
- To seize vehicles used to cause alarm and distress,
- To stop vehicles for the purpose of a road check,
- To maintain and enforce a cordoned area established under the Terrorism Act,
- To stop and search vehicles under the Terrorism Act,
- To regulate traffic for the purpose of escorting abnormal loads, and
- To stop a vehicle for emissions testing.

The Community Support Officer system was initiated by the Home Office in 2002. A target of 4,000 CSOs in Great Britain by 2005 has been established by the Home Secretary. While initial funding is provided by the Home Office, there is an expectation that CSOs will be permanently funded by the local municipalities with the possible assistance of commercial organizations such as business improvement districts.

Concluding Remarks about Best Precedents

We have cited the United Kingdom's Crime and Disorder Program as a best precedent because of its commitment to transparency and community partnerships. Crime and disorder reduction strategies are articulated publicly and audits are undertaken to measure the effectiveness of the programs that are designed to achieve those objectives.

The United Kingdom's attention to not just crime, but also anti-social behaviour is also noteworthy. British residents tend to live in dense urban environments where acts of anti-social behaviour tend to have a greater impact on the community. A parallel can be drawn between the dense urban environments of British cities and the Beltline. With as many as 600 people living on a single block, excessive late night revelry can disrupt the lives of many more people in the Beltline than in a suburban or rural area.

We are also intrigued by the neighbourhood warden and community support officer concepts, which we see as providing an opportunity to advance Calgary's community based policing efforts in both an efficient and an effective manner.

²⁷ Fixed Penalties offer a way of reducing the number of cases dealt with by the courts. The incentive to the offender is that the penalty will almost always be less than the sentence a person would be given in court. By accepting the fixed penalty and complying with whatever other conditions apply, the offender will not be summonsed.



This section makes recommendations that are intended to advance a crime and disorder reduction program for the Beltline. In some cases very specific, locally focused actions are recommended. In other cases, change must occur on a broader basis if substantive improvement is to be expected. In certain areas, further investigation is required before any specific recommendations can be made. As the program moves forward, we will be covering new ground and must expect both successes and failures. We must continually learn from and improve upon our efforts.

5.1 A Context for Action

It is important, when considering what action to take in the Beltline, to maintain a sense of perspective on the problem. In the North American context, Canadian cities are very safe cities. Some comparisons taken from 1999 crime statistics in both countries are worth noting. For example:

- Washington DC had the highest homicide rate in the United States at 46 per 100,000 population, while Vancouver led Canadian cities with 2.8 homicides per 100,000.
- Atlanta had 983 robberies per 100,000 population, while Winnipeg led Canadian cities with 268 per 100,000.
- Saint Louis had 2,283 break-ins per 100,000 population, while Vancouver led Canadian cities with 1,601 per 100,000.

Crime in Calgary is comparatively low, even by Canadian standards. In 1999, for example, Calgary had 1.4 homicides, 113 robberies, and 1,140 break-ins per 100,000 population.

Calgary's good fortune should not be viewed, however, as a reason for inattention. It should be seen instead as a call for vigilance. We have much to protect in Calgary and our efforts should be focused on areas such as the Downtown and the Beltline, where the threats to livability are the greatest.

Salient Civic and Community Objectives

It is also important to consider our civic and community objectives for the Beltline. The City of Calgary and the members of the Beltline Initiative share a common vision.

The City of Calgary sees the Beltline as one of its principal high-density residential areas, located in close proximity to the Downtown. The City anticipates that as redevelopment occurs, most of the Beltline's new residents will be employed in the Downtown and will walk to work.

The Beltline Initiative views redevelopment as a means to an end. Doubling Beltline's population to 40,000 people, will make it a more diverse and exciting place to live, work, visit, invest, and do business in. The

additional residents will fill the streets, parks, shops and restaurants. The additional people will add more verve to an already cosmopolitan community.

City Council recognizes this potential as well. They increasingly see the pedestrian shopping precincts, like 17th Avenue and 4th Street, as important distinguishing elements of Calgary. They are committed to working more closely with the BRZs to improve them.

The process of redevelopment will also make the Beltline safer. There are many vacant parcels awaiting redevelopment, particularly in Victoria. As these parcels are replaced with mixed-use developments, public activity, surveillance and safety should increase substantially. Redevelopment will only continue in the Beltline, however, if Calgarians are willing to live there. The Beltline's attractiveness as a place to live is strongly affected by public perceptions about its relative safety and orderliness. Addressing questions such as drugs, problem bars, street prostitution and homelessness must become part of our overall civic development strategy. It is within this context, that the following recommendations are offered.

5.1 Recommended Action

Broadly Based Initiatives

Recommendation #1: Expand our base of knowledge about international crime and disorder reduction efforts.

There are so many new and innovative approaches being used throughout the world, but to date, Calgarians know relatively little about them. Efforts should be taken to expand our knowledge base. To this end, it is recommended that Calgary host a conference on crime and disorder reduction that would bring together some of the best practitioners from around the world. Topics for discussion could include crime prevention, community based policing, drugs, prostitution, poverty and homelessness. The Community Life Improvement Council will make this a priority in its work program.

Recommendation #2: Increase staffing levels in the Calgary Police Service.

Calgary has fewer police officers per capita than most major cities in Canada, as shown in the following table:

Police Services In Canada	Residents Per Officer
Montreal	436
Vancouver	523
Toronto	508
Winnipeg	537
Regina	539
Edmonton	572
Calgary	637
Ottawa	730

Source: Calgary Police Service

Calgarians pride themselves on being able to provide municipal services efficiently. We would be taking a significant risk, however, if we failed to adequately staff our police service. Public safety is a precious commodity. While we acknowledge that hiring additional police officers will not invariably lead to reduced crime, additional staff would allow the Police Service to focus more on chronic problems that require long term solutions. Policing involves much more than 911 responses; additional resources are required to facilitate problem oriented policing activities.

Recommendation #3: Continue to be innovative with community based policing programs.

For more than thirty years, Calgary has had a reputation for innovative policing. In the 1970s, Chief Brian Sawyer saw the merits of moving toward a community based policing model. He and his successors have worked hard to ensure that the Calgary Police Service works for and is a part of the community. Community based policing, however, requires continual innovation in response to changing problems, opportunities, resources and constraints.

It is important that we continue to develop new approaches to community based policing in Calgary. We have much to learn, for example, from the recent British examples, Second Generation CPTED, and the Civitas Model. A comprehensive community based policing program that utilizes some of the best elements of these models should be implemented in Calgary.

Recommendation #4: Introduce a version of the neighbourhood wardens/community support officer concept to Calgary.

There is a great deal of merit in introducing a version the neighbourhood wardens/community support officer concept to Calgary. Even if additional financial resources can be provided to the Calgary Police Service, the demands upon their time will limit their ability to work in a comprehensive fashion on disorder issues at the community level. That role could be filled in part by special constables acting in a para-police role. These special constables would perform by-law enforcement functions for the City of Calgary, but they would also act as the “eyes and ears” of the police. They would walk the streets, talking to pedestrians, residents, and business owners. They would work with the police, community associations, BRZs, and social agencies to solve local problems. When serious incidents occur, they would call for police support.

Every day there are by-law officers walking through the Downtown and Beltline, writing parking tickets. Just imagine how our personal security would be enhanced if, in addition to writing tickets, these officers performed para-policing functions on local beats for us. Many of us might even come to see the parking tickets we receive differently, as they would be helping to make the neighbourhood safer.

Recommendation #5: Upgrade the responsibilities of the CLO and the resources at their disposal.

The Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) assigned by the Calgary Police Service to work with communities have great demands placed upon them by the communities, but only limited resources. There is a need to build in a greater networking capacity into the position and greater opportunity should be provided for the CLOs to act in a leadership capacity at the community level. We believe that the CLOs should become one of the most important positions in Calgary Police Service – a stepping stone for future advancement. The CLO should lead the crime and disorder reduction programs in the communities and they could manage the neighbourhood warden teams that would provide coverage in those areas.

Pilot Project

Recommendation #6: Return to a zone policing system and reintroduce beat patrols in the Beltline.

While we believe that the Calgary Police Service should have the freedom to determine the best way to police a community, we do believe that a return to a zone based policing system would be beneficial. The Beltline is a complex environment to police and local knowledge matters a great deal here. We also believe that reinstatement of beat patrols would be of great assistance in any community based policing strategy. Beat patrols have been effective when used in the Beltline in the past. Their utilization along 17th Avenue, 4th Street and 1st Street W, in particular, is recommended.²⁸

Recommendation #7: Use the Beltline as a test case for experimentation.

The four organizations that form the Beltline Initiative stand ready to join with the City of Calgary and the Calgary Police Service to initiate an innovative crime and disorder reduction strategy in the Beltline. The Community Life Improvement Council is prepared to assist them in this regard. There is no more dynamic city in Canada than Calgary, and no more dynamic place in Calgary than the Beltline. We couldn't think of a better place or a better time to start. A pilot project which tests new community based policing concepts should be undertaken and the sooner, the better.

Recommendation #8: Conduct a fear, victimization, and livability study in the Beltline.

As a first step in the experimentation process, it is important to develop an information base that characterizes the current state of affairs in the Beltline. In doing so, the survey results should be compared against a control sampling of Calgary as a whole. The initial study should be comprehensive in nature, but designed so that periodic updates can be undertaken with a smaller number of survey questions. This would allow us to track progress on three important dimensions, namely: fear, victimization and livability.

The survey would attempt to determine to what extent and under what circumstances Beltline residents are afraid for their safety, whether they have been victims of a crime, whether their fears or victimization affect their desire to continue living in the Beltline, and whether they would recommend living in the Beltline to others. It would then compare these results with a broader sample of the Calgary population as a whole. The survey would also ask Calgarians for their impressions of Beltline safety and livability.

²⁸ This fall, District One returned to a zone based policing system. The initial community reaction has been very positive. We also understand that District One has allocated beat patrols to the Beltline, but has not been able to fill the positions because of staffing shortages.

Illegal Drugs

Recommendation #9: Establish a drug court in Calgary and support it with increased treatment programs.

While Calgary has courts that specialize in drug offenses, they do not have a coordinated approach that relies upon mandatory drug treatment and testing. The creation of a special drug court, similar to those operating in the United States, should be pursued. The special court should be able to rely upon mandatory drug treatment as an alternative to incarceration for select non-violent offenders. A high proportion of the crimes committed in Calgary involve people with drug problems. They are often repeat offenders. If treatment can be offered as an alternative to an extended trial and possible incarceration, perhaps the chain of crimes committed to support the drug habit can be broken. The American experience suggests special drug courts can play an important role in our crime prevention efforts.²⁹

Establishing a mandatory treatment and testing system for offenders with drug addictions will place additional burdens on Calgary's existing drug treatment facilities. Additional funding for and in-patient treatment will be required. Our existing detoxification centres are operating at or near capacity. There currently is a two month waiting list for such in-patient treatment programs, which already creates a serious impediment who are attempting to eliminate their addiction problem voluntarily.

Recommendation #10: Target street sales of illegal drugs.

Selling illegal drugs openly on the streets is one of the most destabilizing social phenomena that can occur in a community. While other incidents may be more threatening, they are not as insidious as the continuous flouting of the law that occurs with street sales. Drug dealers who use the public realm as their marketplace must be challenged by law enforcement and supporting agencies wherever they appear. Police must use their powers to arrest; prosecutors must prosecute to the full extent of the law; and justices must send convicted dealers to jail. We cannot afford to lose whole neighbourhoods to the sale of illegal drugs. The American experience in this regard shows us what can happen if our vigilance falters.

The Calgary Police Service has been vigilant in its efforts to enforce the drug laws. Arrests have increased by 50% in the last four years and a greater proportion of those convicted are charged with trafficking or possession for the purpose of trafficking (Calgary Police Service: May 2004). We are, however, concerned about what happens after an offender has been charged. Reports of convicted home-grow operators receiving sentences involving "house arrest" are not received well by the average Calgarian.

Calgarians have also been fortunate to date that firearms are not being carried or used in the commission of crimes to the extent that they are in other North American cities. Calgary is not immune to threat, however. Fire arms offenses are rising in Calgary; they have nearly doubled in the last four years (Calgary Police Service: May 2004). If drug dealers who work the street start carrying guns, the current public safety equation in Calgary could change dramatically in a very short period of time.

²⁹ Calgary already has an extremely successful experience with a specialized court involving domestic violence. The special court is supported by a coordinated justice response involving prosecutors, probation officers, victim advocates, defense counsel, and counseling agencies. First time offenders are offered treatment in lieu of prosecution. Those that have completed the treatment program have significantly reduced recidivism rates. The Government of Alberta is now attempting to support the development of similar domestic violence justice programs throughout Alberta.

In locations where drug dealers have established themselves, a broader effort to reclaim the security of the street is required. In most cases, these locations involve more than just illegal drug sales (e.g. prostitution, problem bars and houses, etc.) and comprehensive problem-solving exercises may be called for.

Local Area Problems

Recommendation #11: Implement a comprehensive response to the problems on 14th and 15th Avenues, east of 4th Street W.

A comprehensive solution to the problems along 14th and 15th Avenues, east of 4th Street W, must be found. Street sales of illegal drugs, prostitution, and problem houses/apartment units combine within the area, creating genuine cause for concern. This area should be considered as a “weather-vane” for our crime and disorder reduction efforts in the Beltline.

A special team, composed of the Police Service, By-law enforcement officers, key social agencies, the Beltline Communities, Fourth Street BRZ and Victoria Crossing BRZ, should be created to develop an action plan for the area. The Civitas Model should be considered for use in this situation. Possible actions could include:

- Neighbourhood Profiling: community consultation; environmental scans (e.g. safety audits); and predictive crime mapping.
- Re-establishing Local Controls: Effective preventative and emergency police or security response; zero tolerance enforcement and saturation patrol (if necessary); visible non-vehicle patrol; and target hardening and situational crime prevention
- Introducing Problem Solving Tools: CPTED, problem-oriented policing, cooling crime hotspots by focusing on repeat offenders, and restorative justice programs.
- Capacity Building: Crime prevention through social development initiatives.

The size of the response area should be determined at the outset of the exercise. The area could include adjacent parks (e.g. Central Memorial and Haultain), as well as 1st Street W, or it could involve a smaller, more focused area.

Recommendation #12: Limit the size and number of drinking establishments in the Beltline.

It is clear from both the research and local experience that both the size and concentration of bars contribute significantly to crime and disorder in the Beltline. It has also been demonstrated that restrictions on size and concentration, when used in combination with policing and other related enforcement actions, can effectively reduce the problem: witness the success of the Electric Avenue mini-plan.

Today’s problems associated with 1st Street SW call for such action. Rather than focusing solely on 1st Street SW, our response should be more generalized and involve all of the Beltline, if only to ensure that negative displacement does not occur. It appears that the problems of 1st Street SW stem in part from the success of the Electric Avenue Mini-plan. A broader effort aimed at reducing the potential problem wherever it may occur is, therefore, justified.

We recommend that restrictions on the size and number of bars be instituted in the Beltline. An appropriate seating limit for any bar in the Beltline could be 150 patrons. A maximum of one bar per block face could also be instituted.³⁰ Licensed restaurants would not be limited in size or restricted by location, except for the size of their lounges (i.e. the area where drinking would be permitted without food service), which could be restricted to 50 seats.³¹ Clear physical separation of lounge areas within restaurants should also be provided, to reduce the likelihood that they will expand beyond their approved limits within the restaurants.

Like the Electric Avenue Mini-plan, such a rule could be implemented through changes in planning policies and land use designations in the Beltline. It would not affect existing operations, but would influence the location of future bars within the community. Given the transient nature of this business, a significant impact could be expected within five years of the adoption of these measures.

Recommendation #13: Comprehensively address problem bars in the Beltline.

The adoption of new land use rules for bars in the Beltline is a longer term measure. In the short term, more specific intervention is called for. A special task force is recommended to address this issue. The task force could be composed of the Police Service, the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission, the various by-law enforcement agencies of the City of Calgary, the three Beltline BRZs and the Beltline Communities. The Task Force's first assignment should be to formulate a comprehensive strategy for addressing the issue. While it will be important to secure the cooperation and involvement of bar owners and their managers in any effort, it should be clearly articulated that failure to cooperate with the problem solving exercise will be viewed negatively by the task force.

Serious consideration should be given to a Bar Owner Code of Conduct. Enforcement actions could be specified in the Code for failure to adhere to it, including such possible actions as temporary closure, reduced hours of operation, loss of liquor license or VLT franchise, etc. The Code of Conduct should consider implementing many of the actions recommended in Michael S. Scott's "Responses to the Problems of Assaults in and Around Bars," including:

- a ban on discounting of alcohol (e.g. happy hour pricing);
- monitoring drinking to prevent intoxication;
- promoting slower rates of drinking (e.g. preventing multiple drink orders at one time, not tolerating "chugging," etc.);
- actively enforcing the prohibition on underage drinking;
- providing reduced and non-alcoholic beverages;
- encouraging food service with alcohol;
- training staff to handle intoxicated persons nonviolently;
- maintaining attractive, comfortable atmospheres in bars;
- establishing and enforcing clear rules of conduct for bar patrons with regard to swearing, sexual activity, and rowdiness;

³⁰ Calgary's *Land Use By-law* contains two types of uses: licensed restaurants and drinking establishments. Both serve alcoholic beverages, but children are permitted and meals must be served with alcoholic beverages in licensed restaurants. In the Electric Avenue Mini-plan, the maximum size of a drinking establishment was 120 square metres (roughly 100 seats) and the minimum separation distance was 45 metres. The separation requirement effectively limited the number of bars to two or three per block face.

³¹ This approach would encourage the location of a greater proportion of restaurants in the Beltline and smaller proportions and sizes of bars.

- banning known troublemakers from bars,
- installing CCTV monitors at the entrances to bars, and
- changing closing times.³²

Area specific focal points for intervention would include: 1st Street W, 10th Avenue east of 4th Street, and 17th Avenue SW.

The City of Calgary's Public Safety Unit (PSU) currently inspects drinking establishments to ensure proper compliance of licensing criteria. The PSU is composed of representatives from City Licensing, Fire, the Police Service, and Alberta Gaming and Liquor Control. The PSU has been very active in responding to the problem bar issue and would be the logical group to lead this effort in the Beltline.

A number of bar owners in Calgary are considering developing a business organization to assist the industry in responding to crime and public safety issues. They could provide the industry input needed to develop an effective Code of Conduct.

Recommendation #14: Encourage redevelopment in East Victoria and address current local issues.

The literature is rife with examples of communities in which social disorganization and a compromised physical environment result in increased criminal activity. East Victoria's current "transitional" situation aptly fits that description. The vacant and under utilized parcels in East Victoria have negatively affected the public safety balance there. Public surveillance and control of these properties and the surrounding public realm is clearly inadequate. These undeveloped parcels can, however, become part of the solution

Redevelopment is the single most important community development initiative that can occur in East Victoria. The proposed expansion of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede to 12th Avenue, when combined with the proposed multi-residential redevelopments north of 12th Avenue, offer the greatest hope for revitalizing the area. Currently, development proposals for more than 1,500 dwelling units are in the planning phases in East Victoria and more are anticipated. Such development will bring thousands of new residents to East Victoria, providing dramatically increased community activity and visual surveillance levels.³³

Recommendation #15: Improve management and public safety in Beltline's parks by creating a Beltline Parks Restoration Corporation.

Intensively used public spaces must be managed intensively. The Beltline Initiative's *Rediscovering the Centre* documents many of the problems facing Beltline's parks. With the exception of Tomkins Park, most Beltline parks are underutilized. Many are avoided at night (e.g. Haultain Park) and some are avoided even

³² Scott reports on a point system adopted in Madison, Wisconsin in 1986, as the basis for sanctions against liquor licensees. In this system, reports of problems by bar owners and managers to the police, as well as their cooperation with the police reflect favourably on their license review. A police representative also serves as a nonvoting member of the alcohol license review committee. (Scott: p. 17)

³³ In East Victoria's case, population displacement issues are already being dealt with. The Calgary Exhibition & Stampede has been operating an excellent relocation program as part of its acquisition program and the overwhelming majority of redevelopment land in private hands involves former institutional, commercial, and vacant properties.

during the day (e.g. Central Memorial Park). There is no on-site management, maintenance activity is intermittent and offers no meaningful deterrent to crime or disorder, park lighting levels are often low and sometimes non-existent.

The Beltline Initiative's "Rediscovering the Centre" calls for the creation of a society or non-profit corporation, which would operate along the lines of the Bryant Park Restoration Corporation in New York City. A Beltline Parks Restoration Corporation would be created, consisting of members from the City of Calgary, the Beltline Communities and the three BRZs. Additional members would be represented at the specific park level (e.g. the Calgary Public Library in Central Memorial Park, the Parks Foundation in Haultain Park, and the Board of Education at Connaught School), etc.

The Restoration Corporation would operate independently of the Civic Administration, but would be subject to City-Council control through by-laws and the budget approval process. Funds now used for parks management and maintenance would provide a funding base for the Restoration Corporation. Funding would be enhanced by various means (see Beltline Initiative, p. 60). The additional funding would be used to introduce "hands-on" management, increased maintenance, improvements to park facilities, and addition park programming.³⁴ Restoration Corporation staff would also act as the "eyes and ears" of the Police, participating in community crime and disorder reduction programs.

The three parks that should be considered first for reorganization are Central Memorial, Haultain and Tomkins Parks.

Recommendation #16: Conduct a lighting, visibility and surveillance study of Beltline streets and parks.

Improved lighting in streets, lanes and parks has been demonstrated to reduce the fear of residents, while increased public surveillance has been found to reduce both crime and fear. As a first step, a lighting survey should be undertaken in the Beltline to determine what areas do not meet a reasonable lighting standard. For certain areas, a more detailed review of existing visibility and surveillance conditions should also occur. From this work, an implementation plan can be formulated to improve lighting, visibility and surveillance in the Beltline focusing on priority areas (e.g. East Victoria, the 4th Street area, etc.).

³⁴ In the year since the release of "Rediscovering the Centre," Beltline Initiative members have raised over \$20,000 to prepare a Central Memorial Park revitalization strategy. This study, which is now being finalized, proposes significant improvements to the Park's facilities and activities. A related local initiative is the Haultain Park revitalization plan, which has been prepared by the Parks Foundation. Associated with this effort has been a proposal by a local developer to build an apartment fronting on the east end of Haultain Park. This would not only give the apartment dwellings a better relationship to the park, but it would also increase visual surveillance of the Park. All of these initiatives have been community driven and provide very good examples of what can be accomplished if Beltline's parks are locally managed.

Prostitution

Recommendation #17: Utilize the new legislation to increase the number of John Stings in the Beltline.

Research has demonstrated that strategies that focus on the arrest of prostitutes have not been effective in reducing prostitution. A strategy that focuses on “johns” could prove to be more effective.³⁵ Bill 206, which permits the seizure of automobiles from individuals who have used the vehicle while committing a prostitution-related offense, is intended to place additional pressure on johns who frequent prostitution strolls. Such efforts should target the recognized strolls in Calgary, including those located in the Beltline. Responses involving increased fines, seizure of automobiles, and banning johns from the area they were arrested in should be employed in this effort. Efforts to anticipate and control potential negative displacement resulting from such enforcement actions should also be undertaken.

Recommendation #18: Develop an alternate measures program for Calgary in support of Bill 206.

Bill 206 requires the creation of alternate measures to the seizure of automobiles. Such measures could include fines, successful completion of a “john school” program, and community service.³⁶ John schools already exist in other Western Canadian cities, including Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Vancouver.³⁷ Any investigation of alternate measures should also include a review of approaches taken in other parts of the world. The Community Life Improvement Council has recently commenced a study of alternate measures, which has been funded by a grant from the Alberta Community Initiatives Program. The study should be completed by the end of 2004.

Recommendation #19: Develop a comprehensive strategy to help men and women end their involvement in prostitution.

While police action should continue to be directed toward pimps and johns, a conciliatory approach is recommended for prostitutes. Research has demonstrated that enforcement is an ineffective means of persuading prostitutes to cease their activities. The exception to this would, of course, involve child prostitution. PCHIP legislation should continue to be relied upon to assist in this area.

³⁵ In 1997, the Vancouver Police Department stopped charging prostitutes. They did this, in part, because the practice of charging prostitutes had proven ineffective and, in part, because they had come to view prostitutes as victims. The change in policy was also in response to the Department's experience in 1996. In that year the Police began to arrest johns and pimps more often. By the end of 1997, prostitution related offenses had declined by 87%. John Lowman of Simon Fraser University's Department of Criminology reported in a study undertaken between 1986 and 1992, reported that of the 2,045 men charged with communicating for the purpose of prostitution, only 44 were arrested repeating the offense. In contrast, the recidivism rate for prostitutes was approximately 80%. (Prostitution Task Force: p. 15-16)

³⁶Michael S. Scott reports that “community service sanctions, when properly monitored and enforced, have been shown to be more effective than jail time or fines alone.” (Scott, *Street Prostitution*, p. 20)

³⁷ John schools are controversial as many question their effectiveness. If properly managed, however, they can be effective. Buffalo's “John School,” for example, reports a recidivism rate of 0.5% for those enrolled versus a rate of 8% for all offenders. The most recognized programs in North America operate in San Francisco and Toronto.

In Calgary, a number of agencies provide help to women who wish to end their involvement in prostitution. The agencies are funded by a patchwork of government grants and fundraising. Their financial resources are neither generous nor stable. Each year is a new grant and fundraising challenge – a challenge which diverts attention from the important task at hand.

Various government programs are also available to those who seek assistance. In most cases, these programs are designed to serve the general public and, in many cases, they too are under funded. For example, our detoxification facilities in Calgary are operating at or near capacity and there is a two month waiting list for in-patient drug treatment.

There are also missing links in the support path from prostitution to normal living. For many women entering detoxification and drug treatment child care support is needed, but not available. Often the move away from prostitution requires relocation and, with it, additional expenses (e.g. first month's rent, damage deposits, etc.). Funding for these expenses is often hard to acquire and, thus, taxes an agency's ability to provide support. Other support services may be required as well, including counselling, education and job training, etc. Even when employment is found, the income earned may not be enough to care for the family especially when daycare is required.

There is a pressing need to formulate a strategy to assist men and women in ending their involvement in prostitution. The strategy should be client centered in its approach to problem solving. By understanding what is required to assist these men and women in changing their lives, we can fashion a more timely and responsive support system. And, by estimating the magnitude of the task (i.e. the number of possible clients and the financial resources required to support them), we can better organize our collective response to the problem.

Recommendation #20: Direct attention to male prostitution and the stroll on 13th Avenue.

While few in number, the male prostitutes that congregate on 13th Avenue, near 6th Street SW, should not be overlooked. We have only limited knowledge about the male prostitution problem in Calgary. Research is underway, however, that should prove to be helpful to our understanding. Dr. Susan McIntyre will be releasing her "Gameboys" study in the New Year. The study focuses on male prostitution/sexual exploitation in Calgary and Edmonton.

While our current knowledge suggests that there are significant differences between male and female prostitutes, poverty does appear to play a similar, instigating role in their circumstances. Youth, who have left their homes often in response to family difficulties, have limited means of support and some rely upon prostitution to survive.

A special task force is recommended to address this problem. While the issue may present itself locally, like female prostitution, it really is a city-wide problem. Social agency involvement will be key to gaining a better understanding of these problems and how best to intervene to reduce male prostitution in Calgary. There currently is no program that specifically works with male prostitutes and there is no safe house in Calgary to provide shelter and assistance for them when they attempt to end their involvement in prostitution.

Problem Houses and Apartments

Recommendation #21: Expand the Apartment Watch Program.

Calgary apartment and condominium owners can play an important role in helping Block Watch expand and further develop the Apartment Watch program. In 2003, Continental Towers in the Downtown, established Calgary's first Apartment Watch program. Efforts to expand the program to other buildings are now underway. These efforts must also focus on CPTED tactics (e.g. access control, target hardening, and increased visual surveillance), as well as various changes to condominium by-laws and landlord lease agreements to allow for early evacuation of problem units. A coordinated effort by all parties would be of great benefit to many Downtown and Inner City neighbourhoods, including the Beltline.

Recommendation #22: Coordinate police and by-law enforcement actions involving problem houses and apartments.

While almost all landlords work hard to maintain the safety and security of their building, there are certain buildings in which problems continually reoccur. It is not uncommon for such reoccurring problems to involve poorly maintained and managed properties. Where this is the case, a coordinated approach involving both the Police Service and By-law Enforcement is called for.

Recommendation #23: Adopt a Safer Communities Act in Alberta.

In 2002, the Province of Manitoba proclaimed The Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods Act. The legislation is designed to protect neighbourhoods from disruptive activities. It allows a person to make a complaint when they believe that their neighbourhood is being adversely affected by activities on or near a property in the neighbourhood. If the complaint is accepted by the Director for Community Safety, the Director may apply to the court for a community safety order. The order may: require tenants to vacate the property, terminate the tenancy agreement or lease between landlord and tenant, require the Director to close the property from use and occupation for up to 90 days, or any other provision to make the order effective. The Act is designed to allow neighbourhood residents to seek recourse in response to problem houses or buildings. Adoption of this legislation in Alberta should be given serious consideration.

Poverty and Homelessness

Recommendation #24: Build transitional housing for the homeless and provide them with appropriate levels of support.

In November 2003, the Calgary Homeless Foundation released their "Calgary Community Plan, 2004-2008." The report accurately describes the current housing needs of Calgary's homeless population and those who are not homeless, but at risk. The report states:

"Calgary's homeless and at-risk population is diverse. It includes youth and seniors, individuals suffering from mental health problems and addictions, family violence victims, families with or without children, and increasingly, the working poor. Aboriginal people continue to be over-represented amongst the homeless. Although individual circumstances vary greatly, those facing

homelessness have at least two things in common: the absence of safe, affordable housing and the experience of poverty.” (Calgary Homeless Foundation 2003: p.6)

While the Homeless Foundation calls for the construction of substantial numbers of new affordable housing units, they acknowledge that housing alone cannot solve the problem.

“Building new transitional and non-market housing is an essential part of the solution to homelessness. However, new housing will not be effective without the provision of supports where they are needed. Support services that prevent first entry into homelessness, maintain residency by preventing “relapse” into homelessness, or promote movement toward independent living are essential components of any plan to address homelessness over the long term.” (Ibid. p. 11)

While the Homeless Foundation acknowledges the significant increase in emergency shelter accommodation in Calgary in recent years, it also reminds us of:

“the need for specialized facilities to serve specific sub-groups within the homeless population. For example, generic emergency shelter spaces are not useful for housing homeless families, youth under the age of 18, women fleeing violence, or the homeless who have mental health issues or cognitive or physical disabilities...” (Ibid. p. 12)

The Homeless Foundation has established a target of an additional 1,000 units of transitional housing between 2004 and 2008. The Foundation has identified eight different groups for the 1,000 units including aboriginals, the addicted, families, victims of family violence, mentally ill, seniors, singles and youth. (Ibid. p.17)

The Homeless Foundation’s proposed initiatives, as outlined in the Calgary Community Plan, provide a solid basis for action. Implementation of these recommendations over the next five years would dramatically reduce the homeless problem in Calgary and help relieve the pressure on central city communities such as the Beltline and East Village.

Recommendation #25: Raise the minimum wage, the federal basic personal income tax exemption, and AISH payments.

The beginning of Calgary’s dramatic increase in homelessness corresponds with the introduction of certain fiscal spending restraints brought in by the federal and provincial governments in the early 1990s. The impact of such restraints upon the homeless problems in our cities is now readily apparent. Now that Alberta and Canada’s government debt crisis has passed, adjustments are called for.

Alberta has the lowest minimum wage of any province in Canada. The current minimum wage in Alberta is \$5.90/hour, while minimum wages in the remaining provinces range from \$6.00 to \$8.00. Alberta’s minimum wage, when measured in real dollars, was not always this low.³⁸ We understand that the Government of Alberta is currently considering an increase in the minimum wage. A significant increase in

³⁸ For example: The Alberta minimum wage of \$1.00 per hour in 1964 is the equivalent of \$6.37 per hour in today’s dollars. Alberta’s \$2.00 minimum wage of 1974 is the equivalent of \$8.24 per hour today. Even today’s \$5.90 minimum wage, introduced in 1999, would be the equivalent of \$6.66 per hour in today’s dollars.

the minimum wage would greatly assist the homeless who are able to work.³⁹ So too would a commitment to increasing the minimum wage on an annual basis in relation to changes in the cost of living.

The Government of Alberta has, however, significantly reduced income taxes over the last decade. They have also increased the non-taxable income levels to \$14,337 for an individual and \$28,674 for a couple or a family. A similar change to the Federal Income Tax would be of great assistance in combating the homeless problem throughout Canada. In 2004, the basic personal amount that an individual can earn before paying federal income tax is only \$8,012. Raising the basic personal amount in Canada would be welcomed by minimum and near minimum wage earners, struggling to “make ends meet.”

The preceding recommendations are intended to assist those able to work to obtain sufficient income to leave the shelters for more permanent accommodation. There are, however, a large portion of those using the shelters for which regular work is simply not an option. Many of these people rely upon payments from Alberta’s Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped (AISH) program. AISH payments need to be increased. The maximum amount today is \$855 per month; it has increased only marginally in the last decade. As, the Alberta Government recently initiated a review of the AISH system; improvements to AISH are hopefully, on the way.

Recommendation #26: Relocate Cash Corner.

Cash Corner is located on Centre Street, between 12th and 13th Avenues. It operates as an informal curb-side casual labour office. Job seekers stand by the curb, waiting for prospective employers to hire them for day jobs. On any given day, as many as 50 or 60 men make use of Cash Corner. As many 25 or 35 may be there at any given time.

This practice has existed in this location for some forty years – ever since Canada Employment’s casual labour office moved to another location. The job seekers refrain from using traditional employment services because at Cash Corner, they can choose their employer, reject certain jobs or rates of pay, are paid in cash with no deductions, and are transported to and from the work site. They operate from Cash Corner, however, at a cost to the community.

The problems associated with Cash Corner’s operation are well documented (see Victoria Crossing BRZ, *Cash Corner Relocation Study*, 2004). Pedestrians avoid using the sidewalk at Cash Corner and motorists avoid parking adjacent to it. Reports of verbal harassment, panhandling, public urination, public liquor consumption and illegal drug use, shouting matches and fighting are not uncommon. Generally speaking, the operation interferes with normal business activity in the area and serves as a detriment to the area’s redevelopment and revitalization. Significant public safety and order issues are associated with its continued operation within the community. Relocation to a near-by industrial location has been recommended by the BRZ. Civic action will be required to make it happen.

Recommendation #27: Improve the environment around the Mustard Seed.

The Mustard Seed’s facilities are located at Centre Street, between 10th and 11th Avenues. The Mustard Seed provides a number of valuable services to the homeless, including free meals. This latter activity

³⁹ Statistics Canada reports that the poverty line for a single person in Alberta in 2002 was \$19,261, or approximately \$8.50/hour. The median minimum wage in Canada today is about \$7.00 per hour.

generates a great deal of pedestrian movement as the homeless leave the shelters in East Village and travel to The Mustard Seed for meals. Of particular concern are the lines of people waiting on the sidewalk to enter the Mustard Seed for the next serving. A more general concern involves the numbers of people who spend time on the street and in the lanes adjacent to the Mustard Seed between meal times.

A similar problem existed in front of a Downtown health facility that provides services to homeless people, the Calgary Urban Project Society (CUPS), on 7th Avenue. Clients would stand on the sidewalk in front of the building waiting for their appointment, often having a cigarette. When their numbers were large, pedestrians traveling down the street could feel intimidated. CUPS and the City of Calgary worked to solve the problem by creating a large, landscaped seating area adjacent to the building that can easily accommodate thirty or forty people at a time. Now that the sidewalk is unimpeded, CUPS clients and pedestrians both use the public space without concern. Improvements of this kind should be considered for the area around the Mustard Seed. Elimination of the parking lanes on Centre Street in this location could be undertaken to provide additional space.

The Mustard Seed and Victoria Crossing BRZ are discussing ways to improve the situation on the street. Physical and/or operational changes are being considered. Civic support for this initiative is needed.

Recommendation #28: End the homeless bus queues in the Beltline.

The Province has operated a temporary homeless shelter in nearby Sunalta for a number of years. As part of the operation, individuals who are to stay in the shelter are required to wait on the sidewalk by the Mustard Seed in the evening to be picked up by a bus and driven to the Sunalta shelter, approximately one mile away. This practice contributes to the congestion of the sidewalks adjacent to the Mustard Seed. This practice needs to be permanently abandoned and a better solution must be found.

Graffiti

Recommendation #29: Support civic anti-graffiti initiatives and prosecute chronic taggers.

The City of Calgary has recently initiated a new anti-graffiti effort. The Graffiti Awareness and Abatement Program (GAAP) is a summer program that provides numerous graffiti control services to Calgarians. The program employs high school and post-secondary summer students for July and August. These students are responsible for increasing public awareness through presentations, removal of small graffiti tags, and reporting and liaising with the Calgary Police Service. GAAP patrols pathways, roads, alleys and parks looking for graffiti throughout the city.

Private property owners can and often do take steps to protect their investments from graffiti as well. Reduced access or increased lighting can be used to increase visual surveillance of graffiti prone locations. Where on-site security is available, it too can be used to reduce unwanted activity. CCTV has been used for these purposes as well, but CCTV is most often installed to prevent more serious crimes from occurring. Reduced graffiti incidents can nonetheless be a by-product of CCTV installation. Various types of building finishes are also helpful in reducing the effect of graffiti (e.g. easy to clean polyurethane-based coatings).

While we applaud the efforts of the City of Calgary and private sector, we note that a large proportion of graffiti is initiated by a small number of offenders. As such, targeting the “chronic tagger” is an approach that could produce significant results. As Deborah Lamm Weisel writes in the COPS series, Graffiti,

“Efforts that focus on chronic offenders show promise. Chronic offenders can be identified through graffiti investigations. Since offenders tend to replicate their graffiti . . . different incidents or tags can be linked to a single offender.”

If such investigations are combined with prosecution and imaginative sanctions, substantive progress can be achieved.⁴⁰ Ending one tagger’s activities could eliminate hundreds of graffiti incidents in Calgary.

5.3 Implementation

The preceding recommendations form the basis of a crime and disorder reduction program for the Beltline community. Responsibility for implementation must necessarily rest with many parties. Some of the recommendations require federal, provincial or municipal actions, while the assistance of other organizations ranging from the Police Service to local social, community and business organizations is also required.

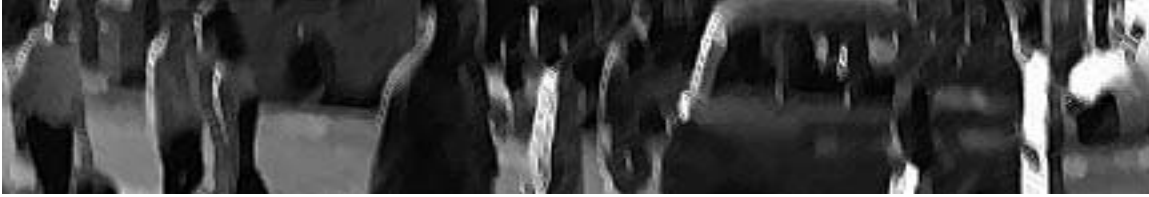
It will be up to the local business and community organizations, however, to coordinate the crime and disorder reduction program in the Beltline. Other organizations cannot be relied upon to make the Beltline their sole priority. The Community Life Improvement Council intends to provide significant assistance in this regard, but ultimately local vigilance will be required to win the day.

It must also be recognized that the crime and disorder reduction efforts in the Beltline must invariably be undertaken on an extended basis and that patience and diligence is called for. Many of the problems of the Beltline reflect the problems of modern urban life. Their impact upon us may be reduced through concerted action, but their occurrence will never vanish entirely. The Community Life Improvement Council expects to play an assisting role in the Beltline for many years to come.



⁴⁰ California, for example, suspends or defers the award of a driver’s license to a convicted tagger for one year; offenders can do community service to reduce suspension time. Many jurisdictions require taggers to participate in community clean ups and in some instances, taggers are required to pay restitution as part of a restorative justice program. Jail time has even been used for chronic offenders in the United States. (Lamm Weisel: p. 35) The tagger “community” is very small and tight in Calgary – a concerted effort to sanction offenders would not go unnoticed.

Implications for Other Communities **6**



While our focus has been on the Beltline, it is clear that its problems are shared by a number of other communities in Calgary. As Calgary continues to grow, we are increasingly faced with big city problems. We cannot expect to successfully face these problems with the strategies, tactics, and short term responses that we have employed in the past. We must find new ways to reduce crime and respond to threats to public order and, while we do not necessarily consider the suggestions contained in this report to be definitive, they represent strategies that have been proven successful in other locales.

There are a number of communities in Calgary which could benefit from the intense examination that has been conducted in the Beltline. Many of the more comprehensive community based solutions recommended for the Beltline would be appropriate for use in these communities. In particular, the Downtown (especially East Village) and Forest Lawn are experiencing similar problems. Additional resources should be directed toward crime and disorder reduction programs in these locations.

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