Developing strategies on:

VIOLENCE PREVENTION

AND COMMUNITY SAFETY

IN ABBOTSFORD, BC
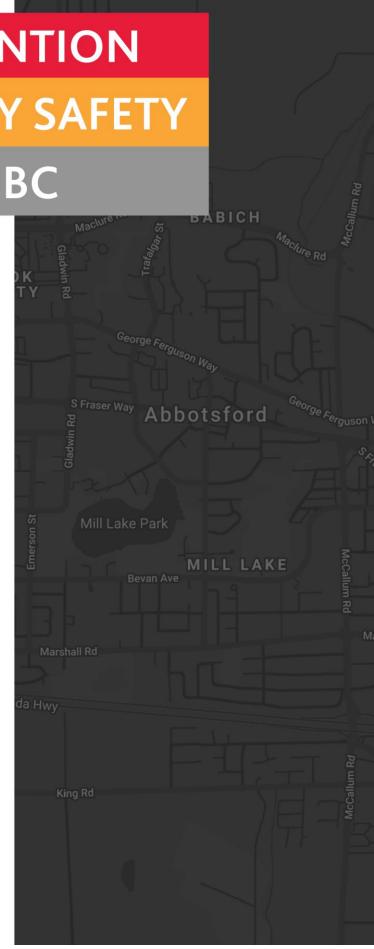
South Asian Research Fellowship Report

August 2019

Yvon Dandurand
Dr. Amanda McCormick
Dr. Satwinder Kaur Bains

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES INSTITUTE
University of the Fraser Valley

UNIVERSITY OF THE FRASER VALLEY

Developing Strategies on Violence Prevention and Community Safety in Abbotsford, BC

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South Asian Studies Institute 2019

For Our Community

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Director's Message

August 2019

The South Asian Studies Institute is pleased to present its first South Asian Research Fellowship Report from the 2019 South Asian Research Fellowship Project.

The aim of this report is to provide agencies, individuals and groups concerned with community safety with a deeper understanding of the issues as they undertake innovative and targeted approaches to prevent gang related violence.

The work (consultation) undertaken in this report provides a focused approach to understanding violence prevention strategies aimed at South Asian Canadian youth that have been implemented in the Abbotsford region.

Recommendations made in this report help us support continuing efforts for engagement, dialogue, backing, and commitment to make our communities safer. As well, they allow us to gain a better understanding of what more needs to be done.

For the last six months we have been looking at violence prevention approaches to tackle a complex issue that has impacted all of us living and working in Abbotsford. We understand that the violence we are experiencing in Abbotsford is part of a much larger issue, and that the violence that is perpetrated by or targeting South Asian Canadian youth is a phenomenon that has become a significant community safety issue. In this report we ask questions and we consider strategies to address that problem.

We look forward to you reading the report and connecting with us about any insights you may have and how we can take concrete action as a community. Please contact us.

Satwinder Kaur Bains, PhD
Director
South Asian Studies Institute
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SAF Committee -- 2019 Fellowship Project acknowledgments

The 2019 South Asian Fellowship Committee members would like to acknowledge the support of many people in assisting to undertake this important work.

The funding for the Fellowship is supported by people in the community and by UFV who have raised much needed funds to help us undertake this important work. We acknowledge and thank them for their financial contributions and support.

As well, we greatly appreciate the many engaged community agency representatives who took part in our consultation with an openness and a willingness to share their expertise and offer guidance for future prevention initiatives.

Thank you to students of UFV's MA (Criminal Justice) and Bachelor of Arts (Criminal Justice) program whose work informed part of this report: Amanda Juhasz (M.A.), Eric Osmond (M.A.) and Rebecca Gasparac (B.A.).

We would like to acknowledge Ms. Allison Gutrath of Archway Community Services for preparing the 2019 In It Together (IIT) program's outcomes and sharing the findings of the recent evaluation of the IIT program.

This specific work is new, ongoing and complex, requiring a great effort on all of our parts to remain engaged in the research as well as with the Abbotsford communities. We recognize this as critically important work that many are dedicated in upholding and supporting. We thank them collectively for their energy and commitment.

2019 SAF Committee members:
Yvon Dandurand
Dr. Amanda McCormick
Dr. Martha Dow
Dr. Satwinder Kaur Bains
Sharanjit Kaur Sandhra

Introduction
Gang Violence Prevention in Abbotsford – A Renewed Discussion
Yvon Dandurand

This first project of the South Asian Research Fellowship 2019 Program focused on strategies to prevent gang violence and crime and promote community safety in Abbotsford. The present report gives us an occasion to take stock of what is being done in our community and to reflect on how we may improve our response to gang violence and youth crime.

Gang violence, gang crime, and gang recruitment are closely related problems, but depending on what aspect of the problem we choose to focus on, different approaches may be called for. There may be a feeling in the community that too little is being done to successfully address these problems. Several programs and initiatives already exist in Abbotsford to respond to the problem, but many of us share a sense that new and more effective strategies are required.

Sometimes developing different strategies starts with asking different questions. We asked ourselves to what extent our various communities understood the nature of the gang problem they face and whether they knew what is already being done to address that problem. What kind of questions are members of our communities and other British Columbians asking themselves about gang violence and organized crime? What are their main preoccupations? What are they prepared to do to face the threat and protect themselves and their children?

We assumed that the people of Abbotsford are ready for a renewed dialogue and that they need to know more about the dynamics of gang violence and about what is being done in their own city to respond to the threat of gang violence and crime. We also assumed that people would be interested in finding out how other communities in B.C. and in Canada approach the problems of gang violence and gang crime. This report presents some of the most up-to-date research on these questions as well as the results of an initial consultation that took place earlier in the summer of 2019 with representatives of the Abbotsford Police Department, Archway Community Services and Abbotsford School District and other agencies and organizations already engaged in preventing gang crime and gang violence and the recruitment of youth by local gangs.

Gangs do not exist within a void. Their activities have ramifications within an entire community and beyond. Gang members are active throughout the province and they frequently move around the province and beyond. Gang activities even when they take place in another community have an impact, often a violent impact, on our own community. Gang violence and

gang crime are neither unique nor limited to Abbotsford. Gangs are also connected in various degrees to major organized crime groups with national and international connections. Our province has become a major transshipment point for guns, drugs, and other illicit goods and, as we have all found out recently, it is also a major centre for money laundering and an ideal place for foreign criminals, in particular from Asia and South Asia, to hide and invest the profits they made from crime and corruption. Local solutions to the gang problem are certainly not enough, but they are nevertheless absolutely necessary.

The community is obviously worried about the drug trade and the opioid drug crisis. It is also concerned about youth recruitment by gangs. However, what has more forcibly grabbed the community's attention and placed enormous pressure on our law enforcement agencies is the violence and murders associated with local gangs. In fact, it is gang violence and related gang homicides that have attracted the attention of the community and the police onto South-Asian gangs. Had these gangs been able to avoid publicly visible violence and homicide, they would most likely not be receiving the attention they are getting today.

Violence and activities of South Asian Canadian gangs in our region have also been responsible for one of the most uncomfortable aspects of local dialogue on gangs and gang violence prevention. The attention that South-Asian Canadian gangs have drawn onto themselves, as result of their violent confrontations, has also attracted negative attention onto the whole South-Asian Canadian community of our region. Special meetings and forums were held in the last few years between the police and members of our city's South-Asian Canadian community. That attention has unfortunately led to troubling and unsubstantiated speculations about the link between gang recruitment and dynamics and the various characteristics of the South Asian Canadian community.

Hypotheses abound about the reasons that might explain South-Asian Canadian youth's involvement in gang activities; cultural differences are often cited as one of them. Others have countered such speculations by proposing the equally unsubstantiated explanation of the existence of South-Asian gangs as a kind of anti-social response to oppression, racism, exclusion or social disadvantage. Exclusion, racism, hopelessness are not necessarily the main reasons why youth join a gang, although they are factors targeted for gang recruitment. Clearly also, blaming others or one's circumstances for one's criminal involvement is a common way for gang members to rationalize and try to justify their violent criminal activities.

None of these simplistic explanations offer a very useful way of understanding gangs. Our gang prevention efforts are unlikely to be effective unless we understand that South-Asian Canadian gangs are not the only dangerous gang in our province. We should also recognize that South-Asian Canadian youth do not get involved in gangs because they are South-Asian Canadian or because they are recent immigrants or children of new Canadians, but because, like gang members from any other ethnic community, they are attracted by the easy profits, the life style, and the kind of relationships they can form in that context.

Contrary to some public pronouncements, there is nothing that especially distinguishes local South-Asian Canadian gangs from other "new generation" gangs. They differ of course from the gang stereotypes we may be accustomed to, but they reflect quite closely the more recent patterns of gang organization and gang and organized crime activity that are being observed everywhere in Canada.

One may certainly ask about the role of a sense of ethnic identity in the organization of gangs and the recruitment of gang members. Indeed, criminal networks often rely on ethnic identity and "blood relationships" for their own protection against defection, betrayal, and infiltration. But that is not the whole story. Research is showing that race or ethnicity is no longer the gang's primary organizational factor. There are in fact indications that group identity no longer plays the same role in "new generation" gangs than it used to play in the past.

It is not always relevant to think in terms of gang membership. Today, "membership" is not always the most useful concept to understand the link between an individual and a gang. Individuals are often more loosely associated with a gang, participating to different extents in its activities, functioning as part of a network more than a member of a rigid organization. Gang associates may not necessarily think of themselves as belonging to a gang. Therefore, when we are trying to understand and prevent recruitment into gangs or disrupt gang activities, we must think in terms of relationships, family and school connections, networks, proximity factors, and perhaps less so in terms of individual characteristics and so called "traditional" risk factors.

Nature and Organization of Gangs

As Dr. Prowse of the University of Calgary observed, gangs, in many ways, have become more sophisticated, fluid, dynamic, and adaptable.[1] The gang landscape itself is fluid; alliances are constantly shifting, and allegiances are ephemeral. "New generation" gangs appear to be particularly unstructured. Leadership within these gangs can sometime be diffused and fluid. For example, leadership will be exercised differently and sometimes by different individuals over time, sometimes depending on the specific activity the gang is involved in. The gangs, much like other criminal networks do not necessarily have a "core" where everyone knows and relates to everyone else. The relationships between gang associates (or "players") are fluid and sometimes temporary, as dictated by opportunities and circumstances. Understandably, these ties become much tighter when the gang is directly threatened or responding to an external threat or violence.

Gang associates tend to be loyal only to money. Gang associates often include semi-involved, mostly retired, or partly engaged "participants". Some of them are "technicians" and are relied upon only for certain specific activities such as security, false identity papers, protecting electronic communications, serving as interpreters or translators, modifying firearms, testing

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[1] Prowse, C. E. (2012). *Defining Street Gangs in the 21st century: Fluid, Mobile, and Transnational Networks*. New York: Springer.

drugs, or laundering money. Some of these "technicians" are sometimes known to serve more than one gang, and there are of course many other individuals who, without any real affiliation to a gang, nevertheless cooperate closely with its members (real-estate agents, car dealers, travel agents, bankers, brokers, etc.).

As Dr. Martin Bouchard of Simon Fraser University has been explaining rather convincingly, social networks are an essential feature of all gangs and these networks have evolved and benefited from various communication technologies. Investigating, understanding and monitoring these networks is now a pre-requisite for predicting, preventing and disrupting gang activities.

Given these contexts, anti-gang programs that are based on outdated conception of the gang problem or on outdated assumptions about the individual risk factors that may lead a youth on the pathway to gang association have become obsolete or are mostly doomed to fail.

Pathways to Gang Involvement

Factors influencing gang involvement are complex, varied, and interrelated. They have also evolved considerably since the early research on gang involvement. According to a 2017 study by Public Safety Canada, there are no risk factors that uniquely predict a high probability of gang membership; no one variable can account for such a complex phenomenon.[2] Risk factors can include individual (internal) and social (external) risk factors, which make youth more vulnerable to gang involvement, and protective factors, which reduce the likelihood that a youth will become involved in a gang. It is often the combination and layering of risk factors that can lead a youth to gang involvement. There is a fair amount of speculation about the pathways towards gang involvement of youth from immigrant families, as well as their exit from gang involvement and reintegration into their families and communities.[3] In some cases, the path goes through a gradual disintegration of the individuals' relationships with their families, schools and communities,[4] but this is not necessarily always the case.

In Chapter 2, Amanda McCormick offers a fuller discussion of these pathways and the main risk factors traditionally associated with gang involvement, including high rates of delinquency, a lack of attachment to family and school, and living in low income neighbourhoods or disadvantaged communities. She explains, however, how this depiction of the typical pathways to gang involvement must be reconsidered completely. In fact, the evidence currently available suggests that a significant portion of youth involved in gangs in the Lower Mainland do not exhibit the traditional risk factors for gang involvement. In the case of South-Asian Canadian

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[2] Public Safety Canada. 2017. *Youth Gangs in Canada: A review of current topics and issues*. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/2017-r001/index-en.aspx.

[3] Brar, G. (2017). *Under the Hood: Understanding pathways in and out of gang life from the point of view of gang members' experience*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Fraser Valley.

[4] Van Ngo, H. (2010*). Unravelling Identities and Belonging: Criminal gang involvement of youth from immigrant families*. Calgary: Centre for Newcomers.

gangs, more specifically, it seems that family networks may have initially played an important role in the recruitment process, whereby members of extended families were brought in to participate in the lower level drug trade.[5] Finally, we know very little about the factors associated with the growing involvement of young women in gangs and that knowledge gap requires urgent attention.

Gang Violence

Gangs in BC are driven by profit. They are involved in a variety of illegal activities such as drug trafficking, firearm sales, extortion, and the sex trade. However, gangs do not necessarily stick to the kind of illicit business that initially supported their development, most often low-level drug trade. Gangs typically seek to broaden their activities and increase their profits. Drug trafficking routes can also be used as firearms trafficking or human trafficking routes, the "muscles" that serve to protect a drug operation or a territory can also be used for intimidation and extortion, corrupt officials who are bribed for one purpose can also be used to facilitate other criminal operations. Finally, the profits from gang operations can sometimes be enormous which then requires the gangs to launder their profits and find other sectors in which to invest proceeds of crime.

We can explain a lot about gang activities, gang recruitment and gang violence by examining how they result from external factors, new opportunities, and even police interventions and law enforcement strategies. But one can also learn a lot by understanding how gang members and their leaders mitigate the risk of betrayal, aggression, competition, or arrest and conviction. Gang leaders dealing with "gang associates" as opposed to "gang members" have different ways of addressing issues of gang loyalty and mitigating the risks of arrest, prosecution, and betrayal that they face, including challenges to their leadership.

The role of gang leaders is also changing. That role is often emphasized, especially by law enforcement agencies that focus on targeting and neutralizing the gang leaders. In practice, however, most gangs function in an environment of constant competition for leadership and in which leaders are replaced at amazing speed. The result of such competition is often violence and assassinations, particularly in the case of "immature" gangs that have not yet learned to regulate violence and aggression within their own ranks.

Amanda McCormick, in Chapter 2 offers a great overview of existing research on gang violence. The problem is complex and there is no simple solution in sight. Gangs compete for territories and opportunities and that inexorably leads to violence, counter violence, and vengeance. In fact, one can hardly separate gang violence in our community from drug related crimes because such crimes are so profitable. The violence tends to be cyclical, by waves, mostly because it cannot be sustained indefinitely. That kind of violence is exhausting for everyone involved, is

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[5] Sangha, A. (2018). *The Pathway to Gang Life: A descriptive analysis of South Asian youth most susceptible to recruitment*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Fraser Valley.

bad for business, and attracts unwanted media, public and police attention. But it periodically reoccurs more or less independently of any law enforcement activity. In fact, law enforcement suppression activities (crackdowns), if anything, can trigger further gang violence by destabilizing the precarious balance of power among competing gangs. The length of calms in between escalating tensions and spates of violence is somewhat connected to both the resources available to the gang, and the gang's organizational structure and temporary alliances. In fact, fluctuations in gang violence, the "waves of violence", are often nothing more than the results of temporary truces. Gangs have few other ways of resolving disputes and conflicts.

Consider, for example, what took place several years ago in Montreal when a broad police intervention resulted in the almost simultaneous arrest of a very large number of members of the Hells Angels gang. The intervention was followed by numerous violent confrontations as lesser gangs made successful attempts to move in on the Hells Angels' territory and lucrative business. In time, once some Hells Angels' members had been released from prison, the calm was soon re-established as order was reinstated. Gang wars, a major source of violence, tend to occur when the leadership is weak or divided, splinters appear and various organizational factors that are normally at work to regulate intra- and inter-gang behaviour seize to effectively perform their function.

Law Enforcement Response

There is a need for more intelligence-led, proactive, and sustained law enforcement, but the resources for such activities are necessarily limited. The Abbotsford Police Department has recently created a small anti-gang squad, with a mandate of gang prevention, disruption and suppression, which attempts to respond to that need. At the provincial level, the Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit (CFSEU) relies on several hundred officer and civilians focused on suppressing organized crime and gang violence throughout the province.

It would be a mistake indeed to think that local gangs can be neutralized without addressing the broader role organized crime plays in drug trafficking, illicit firearms markets, extortion, assassination, and money laundering. For example, guns are part of the problem since firearms are fairly easily acquired by gang members by stealing them from legitimate owners, illegal importation from the USA and Asia, through connections via the darknet, or through other means. Yet, what can be done at the local level is of course very limited. What the Abbotsford Police Department can do to prevent gang members from accessing guns and other weapons is of course limited because the issue goes beyond the boundaries of our city. Broader strategies are obviously required and cooperation between law enforcement agencies is essential.

We cannot expect local communities to effectively fight transnational crime on their own. Inconsistent attention placed on building effective regional, national and international cooperation among law enforcement and prosecution agencies appears to remain a problem.

Recent reports reflect on the extent and impact of money laundering in BC by Peter German[6] for the Ministry of the Attorney General and the Expert Panel on Money Laundering in BC Real Estate, chaired by Maureen Maloney.[7] They drew attention to the general failure of law enforcement to successfully counter money laundering in our province and in the rest of the country. These reports also revealed the huge impact of money laundering on various legitimate markets (e.g. real estate markets) and on people's lives. There is much more than what meets the eye when it comes to money laundering and its impact on the local economy (proceeds of crime are used to acquire legitimate businesses through a mixture of extortion; artificial increases in the prices of private and commercial properties, farms, and various commodities; etc.). Normal competition among businesses and investors is completely perverted by the injection of criminal capital in various businesses and industries. The truth is that money laundering is a problem because it directly results from organized crime. It is therefore futile to try to tackle it without addressing the problem of gangs and organized crime.

Prevention Programs

Various prevention, intervention, and suppression programs have been implemented in British Columbia to reduce the likelihood that youth will associate themselves with gangs. In Chapter 3, Amanda McCormick reviews existing programs and their apparent impact on the gang problem. She explains that research on the impact of such programs is limited. While a number of gang prevention, intervention, and suppression programs operate in or are otherwise available to the City of Abbotsford, for the most part these programs have not been subjected to evaluation, and so there is little evidence that they are effective at preventing or deterring gang involvement. The chapter includes a comprehensive description of existing programs in Abbotsford, as well as their goals and activities. In Chapter 4, Eric Osmond offers a description of gang intervention programming, including diversion of offenders to community-based programs, intensive support and supervision programs, and wraparound prevention programs.

Collaborative community programs can offer support to young people and others in terms of helping them decide against pursuing gang life or to exit from a gang. Such interventions typically focus on the individual and work to develop holistic approaches to intervention. Appendix C contains additional information on the In It Together Program, in Abbotsford, a comprehensive prevention program that recently underwent an independent evaluation.

A consensus seems to exist here in Abbotsford, as in the rest of the country that prevention projects and programs need to support the most vulnerable people, be culturally sensitive, relevant to community needs and involve the people that they serve. It is also important to

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[6] German, P. M. (2018). *Dirty Money - An Independent Review of Money Laundering in Lower Mainland Casinos* Conducted for the Attorney General of British Columbia, March 31, 2018. German, P. M. (2019). *Dirty Money - Part 2, Turning the Tide - An independent Review of Money Laundering in B.C. Real Estate, Luxury Vehicle Sales & Horse Racing*, March 31, 2019.

[7] Maloney, M., Sommerville, T., and Unger, B. (2019). *Combatting Money Laundering in BC Real Estate*, Report of the Expert Panel on Money Laundering in BC Real Estate, March 31, 2019.

preserve the richness of different types of interventions to respond to different needs and reach different in risk groups.[8] Support is also necessary for family and friends of gang members and former gang members, as well as for individuals who have been impacted or victimized by gang activities and crime.

Coordination among community-based programs and between prevention programs and law enforcement must be supported by enhanced data collection and information sharing. Program development and implementation should reflect the uniqueness of the local gang landscape to ensure relevance and applicability.[9] The fact that a strategy or a particular program has produced good results elsewhere is not a guarantee that it will work in another context or at another time. Context is important. Because of the variable nature of the gang problem and associated violence, what works in one community may not work in another. It is necessary to rely on local information and intelligence and to address the problem from a local perspective.

The potential transferability of a program is also something that must be considered carefully. We included in the present report an example of this kind of analysis. In Chapter 5, Amanda Juhasz discusses the applicability of a program developed by an interagency working group in Boston: Operation Ceasefire. She examines the transferability of that program to the Lower Mainland context and identifies the many challenges one encounters when attempting to transfer a program from another context to our own community.

Continued Dialogue

Much of the research highlighted in the present report and the consultations that were carried out as part of the present project aimed to identify actionable and effective strategies to address the threat of gang crime and gang violence in our community. It should be obvious to us all that the police and the criminal justice system cannot solve the problem on their own. We need to improve collaboration and cooperation across sectors and among our culturally distinct communities. Communities must express their intolerance of crime and gangs in constructive ways and find ways to cooperate with each other and with law enforcement to address the issue in a comprehensive manner.

Once more, it is time for our communities and their leaders to engage in a frank discussion of existing challenges and to imagine the best way forward. We started asking questions, but that was just a beginning. This cannot conclude the discussion. The dialogue must continue, and the main purpose of this publication is to rekindle that community-level discussion based on the best information available to us.

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[8] Public Safety Canada (2018). *Summit on Gun and Gang Violence: Summary Report*. Ottawa: PSC.
[9] McConnell, K. (2015). *The Construction of the Gang in British Columbia. An Examination of the Uniqueness of the BC Gangster Phenomenon*. Doctoral Thesis. London Metropolitan University.

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Ethnographic Profile of South Asian Canadians in Abbotsford and British Columbia
Dr. Satwinder Kaur Bains

Introduction

It is important to place the South Asian Canadian community in historical context for this report in order to locate the community in terms of both its immigrant and Canadian born experiences. The term South Asian indicates origins/ancestry of peoples from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka. As can be imagined, each of these countries includes within it great diversity, both in terms of geography and its peoples. Fifty official languages are spoken in the large region and many major religions are practiced, including the significant ones such as Sikhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Jainism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism.

South Asians immigrated to Canada in four waves. The first one arrived in the early 1900's and continued in small numbers till the 20's, the second wave migrated to BC shores until the 60's, the third and largest wave came from the 60's until the 90's and the fourth wave started in the 90's and continues today in the newly arrived and current immigrants.

The first wave (starting in 1903) was made up mostly of people from one small area in North West India called Punjab where the land-owning class with disposable income could afford the journey, ensuing settlement and associated costs. As well, there were those who had some travelling experience under service to the British Raj and who arrived on BC's shores from far flung British colonies in Asia. Most came to work in the Pacific Northwest as labourers in response to recruitment by the railways, the lumber industry and the agricultural sector. But, in 1908 the Canadian government severely curtailed this migration by passing the Continuous Journey legislation, which required immigrants to undertake a continuous passage from the country of origin and the Canadian Government had already taken away South Asians right to vote in 1907. For about four decades, these laws alone resulted in a decline in migration due to these challenges and negative immigration where people returned to their country of origin. Legal challenges to the racist laws were surmounted and subsequently denied, even though at the time such a continuous journey was almost impossible and citizenship was viewed as a colonial right since Canada was also a colony of the British (Buchignani & Indra, 1985). It was

not until 1947, after much struggle and international pressure, that South Asians finally got the right to vote and the numbers of migrants started to slowly rise again.

The next significant wave of South Asian immigrants arrived with the liberalization of immigration rules by the Trudeau government in the 70's. Even then, South Asians arrived mostly by way of chain migration within the family reunification class of immigration. After the 90's migration by individuals and families varied between the educated class, family class, students and entrepreneurs.

Currently there are four cohorts of South Asian Canadians that reside in BC. A smaller group are those that encompass the third/fourth and fifth generation of Canadians whose families were part of the first settlers in the early 1900's. The second cohort is made up of those that settled as part of the large 70's/80's positive immigration bulge. The third cohort are Canadian born children of migrants from the 70's bulge who are now the largest cohort of South Asian Canadians born in Canada The fourth cohort are the new immigrants who are arriving even in the current moment (Nayar, 2004).

Since the early arrivals in 1903, the South Asian Canadian community has grown substantially and has remained a major source country for Canadian migration for the past four decades. Today, India continues to be a top source country for immigration to Canada (Govt. of Canada, 2018).

With more than 100 years of Canadian history, the South Asian Canadian community is one of the most diverse visible minority groups, consisting of a range of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups whose ancestries, immigration histories, and personal experiences are immensely diverse. Drawn to this country for its beauty and prosperity, the South Asian Canadian settlements in Canada started with humble beginnings, even as they continued to build and maintain cultural and heritage bridges to their home countries. Many continue to maintain ties with relatives in their country of origin, place a high value on ethnic, cultural and religious traditions, and make great efforts to pass on their linguistic heritage to new generations. In addition to source country familial ties, the South Asian Canadian population has adapted to life in Canada and embraced Canadian living culturally, socially, economically and linguistically. And yet, the South Asian community is one of the most unified when it comes to the values they attach to family interaction, the maintenance of social networks within their cultural group, the preservation of culturally distinct customs, norms and traditions and the emphasis they put on the maintenance of heritage languages (Nayar, 2004).

2016 Census: Abbotsford

The 2016 Census reported that 22.3% of Canada's population are visible minorities (7,674,580), with South Asians being the largest at 1,924,635 persons or 25.1% of the minority population and contributing to 5.6% of Canada's total population. In 2011 the population had grown by 19.5% with 1,567,405 individuals from 1,262,900 individuals in 2006 and by 41.5 % from 2001 when the population numbers were 917,100. South Asians became Canada's largest visible minority group in 2006, surpassing the Chinese community for the first time. In 2016 there were 52.3% more South Asians in Canada in comparison to 2001, making it the largest source country for migration and one of the 10 most commonly reported ethnic origins in Canada in 2016. The Punjabi language is at the top of the 10 immigrant language mother tongues in BC, followed by Cantonese and Mandarin. Although the South Asian and Chinese Canadian visible minority groups have had long histories in Canada of over a century, recent immigration has fuelled their tremendous growth.

Abbotsford is a part of the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) that has had the third largest South Asian population per capita in Canada. As well, this CMA is the most ethnically diverse community in Canada after Greater Toronto and Greater Vancouver. The area has a long history of cultural communities immigrating and settling here benefiting from a mix of support through chain migration and institutions like churches and temples. South Asian Canadians have more than 100 years of history in the region and their members have proven to be successful, and progressive and rich in social and cultural capital. The community has a strong economic base in farming/agri- business, small business and industry, and tourism. Abbotsford is also a gateway community to the US and other countries through its border entries and international airport.

The 2016 census revealed that, out of Abbotsford's total population of 141,297, South Asians Canadians make up 25.5% of the population at 35,310 persons whose origins/ancestry are in South Asia. 21,925 individuals make up part of the Indo-Aryan group of languages, out of which 21,465 claim Punjabi as their mother tongue with Hindi at 280 and small numbers that speak Gujarati, Bengali, Konkani, Nepali, and Urdu (Census Canada, 2016).

Current ethnographic context
Based on historic and current immigration patterns, at the present time a small but significantly important percentage of the numerically large second generation (children of the young 70's/80's immigrants) of South Asian Canadians face a unique set of issues, contradictions, and challenges that are exacerbated by the cross-cultural nature of everyday life. For the purposes of this report, the cohort under study are Canadian born youth of South Asian origin/ancestry who are already involved or at risk of involvement in violent and gang related activities.

It is generally acknowledged that on a day to day basis South Asian Canadian youth are functioning in a dominant Canadian society informed by western values that are different from the eastern based philosophy in the home community. If the values and beliefs of home and society-at-large significantly relate to everyday life, then it can be surmised that there is an easier fit for youth in terms of community living. However, when there is a divide, then this may well have a significant influence on young people's attitudes towards society and their own role in it. Research on South Asian Canadian youth suggests that they are impacted by issues of identity, cultural expectations, cross-cultural influences, western value accommodation, assimilation, integration, and expectations. (Nayar, 2004). As a Canadian sub-cultural group, Nayar suggests that, "identity designates one's association with a particular group, ideology, religion, social role or career" (p. 13). While the home and family may naturally have the largest influence on a young person, schooling, peers, society, media, pop culture, pursuit of wealth and the desire to succeed also drive behaviour and action. Within the South Asian Canadian community's societal support of collective orientation is still largely intact, it can also produce friction amongst and within families as they come up against western individualized concepts of self-differentiation and the pressures and expectations of Anglo-conformity as a Diaspora community. In the work of building safe and healthy communities, there is a critical need to understand cultural norms and challenges (societal values, cross-cultural conflict, belief structures, familial ties, etc.) and find culturally appropriate and effective responses.

At this moment, a small but significant number of South Asian Canadian youth are engaged in hyper-violence and crime related activities that have a detrimental impact on their lives and on our communities. We recognize the tragedy and must seek to understand it better.

The Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit of British Columbia (CFSEU- BC) started collecting and reporting suspected homicides from 2016 onwards for both gang related homicides and attempted homicides. They reported to us (Personal communication, July 2019) that the total number of gang related homicide victims of South Asian Canadian descent in the city of Abbotsford from 2008-2018 was 12. The total number of gang related attempted homicide victims of South Asian Canadian descent in the City of Abbotsford from 2008-2018 was 8. The average age of South Asian gang related homicide victims in Abbotsford from 2008-2018 is 25. The average age of South Asian gang related *attempted* homicide victims in Abbotsford from 2008 to 2018 is 24. We note that this includes confirmed and suspected gang related homicides/attempts. In Chapter 2 McCormick provides a more complete summary of the historical trajectory of gang related homicides and attempted homicides.
Jingfors, Lazzano and McConnell (2015) conducted *A Media Analysis of Gang Related Homicides in British Columbia from 2003 to 2013* and relayed the historical trajectory and demographics of gang related violence in BC. The authors state, "A large number of high-profile murders that occurred in British Columbia in recent history involved male victims of East Indian descent. This

is a major concern for policing agencies" (p.4). Statistics suggest that 25% of gang related homicides from 2006 -2015 in BC were of young men with South Asian ancestry, and the number is significant because they are over-represented based on BC's population (CFSEU, 2015). While the history of gang related violence related to South Asian Canadians dates back to 1991, the very public nature of the violence amongst South Asian Canadian youth is of concern to the police and the general public today (Jingfors et al, 2015).

CFSEU (2015) reports that the average age of a victim in gang wars in BC from 2006-2008 was 28 years old and a firearm was the most common method for attacks. It has been reported that the wave of violence in the Abbotsford region from 2014-2017 was initiated by young drug-traffickers – which is generally a new phenomenon in the South Asian Canadian community (Bolan, 2018, January 29). These new issues facing us force us to look for innovative and creative solutions to new problems, since old solutions to such complex issues do not generally work.

These kinds of statistics alone compel us to find ways to address the vulnerable position that South Asian Canadian youth are in and requires a concerted effort to prevent at risk behaviour and action.

2.

Contextual Framing of Gang Violence in Canada
Dr. Amanda McCormick

Canadian research on gangs, and youth gangs in particular, has been extremely limited. Until recently, the most frequently cited research on youth gangs referred to studies conducted in the early 2000s (i.e. Chettleburgh's 2003 publication on police statistics on youth gangs across Canada, and Gordon's 2000 publication on subtypes of youth gangs in British Columbia). More recently however, research from academics, practitioners, and the provincial gang task force, the Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit of British Columbia (CFSEU-BC), has begun to proliferate as a result of a growth in gang presence and a corresponding surge in gang violence.

British Columbia has experienced a significant number of gang-related shootings, many of which have resulted in fatalities (Bouchard & Hashimi, 2017; British Columbia Task Force on Illegal Firearms, 2017; Gravel, Wong, & Simpson, 2018; Jingfors, Lazzano, & McConnell, 2015). In 2009, the city of Abbotsford was named the "murder capital of Canada" after the Abbotsford-Mission Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) experienced a homicide rate of 4.7 per 100,000 residents, as compared to the Canadian average of 1.8 per 100,000 (Bolan, 2009). Many of these homicides were attributed directly to gang-related activity.

Despite the more recent spate of violence, British Columbia has been home to a number of street gangs and organized crime groups since the early 1900s, and a significant number of gang related homicides have accrued over this period (McConnell, 2019). Between 2003 and 2013 alone, 256 gang related homicides occurred in British Columbia, with the peak year in 2009 when 44 gang related homicides occurred (Jingfors et al., 2015). Gang homicides often occur in waves (Bouchard & Hashimi, 2017) as the murder of a prominent gang member can 'trigger' or lead to increased gang shootings for retaliation and disputes over territory or drug lines. Once the disputes are settled, or when police intervention is effective, these waves drop back to their prior levels and remain there for a period of time before another trigger event occurs (Bouchard & Hashimi, 2017). These waves are apparent in the data presented by Jingfors et al. (2015) spanning 2003 through 2013. Notably, after the peak in 2009, gang related homicides decreased for two years to a low of 15 in 2011, before beginning to climb higher again in 2012 (22) and 2013 (24). Although official statistics for 2018 are not yet available, Statistics Canada reported that 19 gang-related homicides occurred in British Columbia in 2015, and 29 in 2016,

and 44 in 2018 (David, 2017; Beattie, David & Roy, 2018). In other words, in British Columbia, gang-related homicides increased by 34% between 2016 and 2017. In Abbotsford alone, an additional 10 homicides, many of which appeared to be gang-related, occurred in 2017, with this more recent wave being attributed to a new gang conflict involving two gangs located in the Townline Road neighbourhood in West Abbotsford (Hopes, 2018a).

A number of these homicides involved South Asian Canadian community members who were affiliated with British Columbia gangs. According to McConnell (2019), concentrated police attention to South Asian Canadian gang violence first occurred in the 1990s, in particular as a result of the 1994 murders of the Dosanjh brothers, Jimsher (Jimmy) in February and Ranjit (Ron) in April. Between the onset of these murders in 1994 and the murder of Gary Sidhu in April 2002, McConnell (2019) summarized that 50 South Asian Canadian gang members were killed due to gang related violence, with another two murders quickly following in the month of April. Between 2006 and 2014, it was estimated that slightly more than one of every five gang-related homicides (21.3%) in British Columbia involved South Asian Canadians, leading to focused media attention on South Asian Canadian communities (Bhatt & Tweed, 2018), particularly in the communities of Abbotsford and Surrey. Another turf war between South Asian Canadian gang affiliated youth occurred in 2015 with 19 shootings alone occurring in a single month (Sangha, 2018).

Community homicide rates are affected by the density of local street gangs (Robinson et al., 2009). Across the province of British Columbia, the number of gangs or quasi-gangs has grown from around a dozen to nearly 200 (Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit of British Columbia, no date). This has contributed to the rise in gang-related homicides, attempted murders, and drive-by shootings. A recent wave of gang-related homicides in 2017 and 2018 led to a demand to implement effective gang prevention and intervention programming. However, the unique nature of gang membership and gang-related activities in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia means that gang prevention, intervention, and suppression programs that have worked effectively in other jurisdictions may not have the same effects in the Lower Mainland, where, as will be discussed in the following sections, gangs appear to be driven primarily by a desire to make profit.

Gangs in British Columbia

Gangs are sometimes defined as involving three or more individuals who self-identify as a group with defined shared characteristics, who have some degree of organization, and who participate together in illegal behaviours, often for the purpose of making a profit. Some definitions of gangs also include a geographical identity, in that they claim ownership over a particular 'turf' (Dunbar, 2017).

Street gangs are considered to be somewhat organized but in a less sophisticated fashion than the more business-oriented organized crime groups (British Columbia Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General of British Columbia, nd). Historically, gangs in Canada and elsewhere have been organized along a shared identity, typically one that is ethnically or culturally based. For instance, McConnell's (2019) historical review of gang violence in Vancouver identifies a number of gangs of Asian or South Asian descent. Gangs have also historically been organized geographically, with gangs marking out "turf" or neighbourhoods that they claim to control (McConnell, 2015; MPSSG, nd). More recently however, in British Columbia, these traditional lines have been blurred as gang members prioritize profit making over having a shared identity along the lines of a distinct ethnicity, culture, or geography (McConnell, 2015; MPSSG, nd).

McConnell (2015) suggests that gangs in British Columbia are more organized than the usual street gangs, and exhibit characteristics more similar to organized crime, such as being highly organized and heavily engaged in the drug trade, with the key goal being profit making (McConnell, 2015; Reddicopp, 2016). British Columbia has historically been a hotspot for marijuana production (Plecas, Diplock, & Garis, 2012) and given its position on the west coast of Canada, gangs and organized crime in British Columbia have access to trade routes to the Asia Pacific, enabling the illegal exchange of marijuana for synthetic drugs and weapons.

As a result of the ultimate focus on profit making, British Columbia gangs appear to be unlike traditional gangs. They also typically do not display outward signs of belonging to a gang, such as by wearing gang colours or displaying gang insignia on their clothing (British Columbia Taskforce on Illegal Firearms, 2017; McConnell, 2015). As such, they are more difficult to detect and deter, although their involvement in violence in the public domain has raised significant concerns amongst members of the public.

Due to their typical activities, which often involves participation in the drug trade, control over drug lines, and trafficking/exploitation, often of young girls, gangs contribute to increased crime rates and are therefore often a primary concern of community members, local politicians, and police (Bouchard & Hashimi, 2017; Dunbar, 2017; McCuish, Bouchard, & Corrado, 2015; Papachristos, Hureau, & Braga, 2013; Pyrooz, 2012; Tita & Ridgeway, 2007; Valasik, 2018). As a result, a number of prevention, intervention, and suppression programs have been implemented in British Columbia to reduce the likelihood that youth will choose gang membership as a life-course trajectory.

Gang Membership in British Columbia

There are unique elements to gang membership in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, which make gang membership prevention a more difficult task as the motivations for gang involvement in British Columbia are distinct from motivations in other communities. Traditionally, gang membership has been driven by what are broadly termed "push" and "pull"

factors (Gebo, 2016; Roman, Decker, & Pyrooz, 2017). Push factors influence youth to consider gang affiliation as a viable option due to a perceived need, such as living in poverty or having absentee parents. In contrast, pull factors are those that make gang life more appealing, such as the opportunity to make "easy" money and the perceived sophistication of belonging to a gang (Decker, Melde, & Pyrooz, 2013; Gebo, 2016).

Push factors have typically been the focus of much of the research on gang membership outside of British Columbia where the main risk factors for youth gang involvement include high rates of delinquency, a lack of attachment to family and school, and living in low-income neighbourhoods or communities with high rates of concentrated disadvantage, typically defined as a high proportion of low-income, single-parent, typically mother-led, families living in areas with high rates of unemployment and limited access to resources (Pyrooz, Fox, & Decker, 2010. Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015). In these neighbourhoods, youth often lack access to quality education, have limited options for future employment, and may be surrounded by high rates of violence, substance use, and poverty.

Although applied to American cities, Pyrooz et al. (2010) found that in addition to higher rates of community disadvantage, neighbourhood diversity in the form of ethnic heterogeneity also contributed to higher rates of gang activities. While similar research has not been conducted in the Canadian context, given the high rates of ethnic diversity in many British Columbian communities, including Abbotsford, as discussed in the previous chapter, this perspective on gang activity is worthwhile considering further. Ethnic diversity within a community when combined with concentrated disadvantage may be destabilizing factors as they may result in low levels of collective efficacy, or the willingness of community members to support and assist each other (Papachristos & Kirk, 2005; Pyrooz, 2012).

In contrast, recent studies coming from the Lower Mainland have focused on pull factors as an explanation for gang involvement (e.g. Bhatt & Tweed, 2018; Brar, 2017; Descormiers, 2013; McConnell, 2015; Sangha, 2018; Tyakoff, 2003). Although the evidence-base remains limited, researchers in British Columbia suggest that a significant portion of youth involved in gangs in the Lower Mainland do not exhibit the traditional risk factors for gang involvement. Many of these youth allegedly come from families that are relatively well-off, have succeeded or even excelled in school, and have families who, on the surface, appear to be functioning normally (Bhatt & Tweed, 2018; Brar, 2017; McConnell, 2015; Singh et al., 2006). As Brar's (2017) research identified, gang-involved youth in Abbotsford have graduated high school, with some going on to post-secondary education or obtaining legitimate means of employment. Yet, a number of youth appear to be gravitating towards the gang lifestyle out of a desire to make 'easy money' and to live a life of sophistication (Bhatt & Tweed, 2018; Descormiers, 2013; McConnell, 2015; Reddicopp, 2016; Sangha, 2018). Bhatt and Tweed's (2018) research with youth in British Columbia found that while they are aware of the potential ramifications of gang

involvement, higher-risk youth were also likely to believe that gang membership afforded benefits, such as access to wealth and protection from others. For South Asian Canadian youth, these factors may be particularly relevant, as power, wealth, and status are strongly valued in the South Asian culture (Jhetta, 1988).

Aman Sangha's 2018 review of pathways into gang life for South Asian Canadian youth indicated that initially, South Asian Canadian gangs were loosely formed via family networks, bringing members of extended families together as participants in the lower level drug trade. However, over time, these groups have become more organized and prominent, and by 2005, South Asian Canadian organized crime groups were identified by police as one of the most significant forms of organized crime (Sangha, 2018). This appeared to inspire the first of several exploratory studies on this topic.

Over a decade ago, Singh, Waterhouse, and Plecas (2006) were among the first (see also Tyakoff, 2003) to identify that young South Asian Canadian men joining gangs in the Lower Mainland did not exhibit the usual risk factors for gang involvement, in that many came from middle-class backgrounds and had sufficient opportunities (e.g. employment, education) in life that choosing to join a gang was, as later termed by McConnell, an "irrational response to rational conditions" (McConnell, 2015: 73). More recently, in 2017, Gurvir Brar, a graduate student in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of the Fraser Valley, completed a unique study speaking first hand with five gang members in the Lower Mainland, four of whom identified as being South Asian Canadian. Although limited by the small number of participants, Brar's research was significant in that he spoke directly with four South Asian Canadian gang members about their pathways into and potentially out of gang life. His participants reportedly came from families that were well off, financially, but who spoke of weak attachments to their parents (Brar, 2017). While there is no existing research exploring the links between child-parent attachment and risk for gang membership specifically among South Asian Canadian youth, according to Maxson (2011, as cited in Brar, 2017), a lack of parental supervision over youth activities is a risk factor for gang involvement.

A common pathway into gang life for many youth, and which also appears to be relevant for South Asian Canadian youth, is via the family network (Brar, 2017; Descormiers, 2013; Sangha, 2018). In explaining this, Sangha (2018) observed that many South Asian Canadian families prioritize the collective group over individual benefits. Through demonstrating loyalty to the family, South Asian Canadian youth may be drawn into gang life by fathers, brothers, or cousins. Conversely, amongst second generation South Asian Canadian youth, gang affiliation may be a result of a desire to assert one's independence from the family (Sangha, 2018) and may reflect the cultural crisis second generation youth may experience as they are pulled between the culture, practices and beliefs of their parents and those of the society in which they grew up. Consistent with Singh et al. (2006) and Brar's (2017) research, it is also possible

that the desire to assert independence and the failure to attend to and uphold family honour, a historically significant cultural factor, may be the result of poor attachments between the youth and their family, possibly as a consequence of parental absence from the home. Sangha (2018) summarized that South Asian Canadian youth with weak bonds and poor attachment to family would not be threatened by the potential disownment by parents should gang affiliation come to light, though in many cases, to retain the family honour, the family may deny a son's connection to gang, close themselves off from others, or manage the issue internally (Sangha, 2018; Singh et al., 2006).

Although many were now successfully employed, Brar's (2017) five interview participants also identified earlier issues with educational attachment. They noted that they struggled in school, felt unsupported by their parents and teachers, and began to engage in some forms of delinquency during their high school years (Brar, 2017). Singh et al.'s (2006) research showed similar results, but further interpreted that much of the violence engaged in by South Asian Canadian youth was a result of their response to conflict, and was motivated by cultural influences, such as to maintain respect or honour or to gain status, as well as for other material purposes. Sangha (2018) interpreted that while delinquent and violent behaviours in school would not be tolerated and would typically be referred to the parents, the parents may be unable or unwilling to respond due to cultural misunderstanding or being preoccupied with work; however, the youth may find positive reinforcement for these behaviours amongst gangs, where violence and aggression may be directly tied to money and status. In fact, Brar's (2017) five participants all identified that they established a relationship with a gang member after meeting them in middle or high school.

Brar (2017) concluded from his interviews that the four South Asian Canadian gang members who come from middle class backgrounds and who are primarily motivated to join a gang for monetary purposes of profit nonetheless did exhibit some of the 'traditional' risk factors for gang involvement and delinquency, namely, exposure to conflict in the home, weak attachments bonds with parents, the influence of delinquent peers, and educational disengagement. While extremely preliminary, due to the small number of participants, the findings convey the difficulty with trying to clearly map out pathways to gang involvement. Other research implies that many gang involved youth in the Lower Mainland have access to legitimate, pro-social pathways in life due to coming from relatively well-off backgrounds and generally having success in school and access to resources to supplement their additional interests (e.g. McConnell, 2015; Juhasz, 2019). It is clear that more research is needed to determine how these traditional and non-traditional risk factors work in conjunction to elevate the risk for gang involvement, particularly among South Asian Canadian youth.

Female Youth and Gangs

Notably, the majority of the existing research on gang members has focused on males; however, there is increasing recognition of the potential role of female gang members. In the Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General's report on preventing the recruitment of youth into gangs in British Columbia, females are specifically identified as an at-risk group who may play one of several roles in relation to gangs. Females may either join or form an all-female gang, with similar intentions as other gangs. Alternatively, they may operate on the periphery of a gang, by facilitating some of the illegal activities, such as through carrying drugs or weapons for the male gang members, with whom they may be in a relationship. Females may also be sexually exploited by the gang, either for profit through work in the sex trade, or to satisfy male members of the gang. While traditionally "off-limits" as a subject of gang violence, McConnell's (2019) historical review of gang violence in Vancouver involves several examples of females who have been killed as a direct result of being affiliated with a gang or gang members, and the province's integrated gang task unit, the CFSEU-BC, offers messaging targeted at females to increase their awareness of the risks they face by becoming involved with a gang or gang member in British Columbia.

Conclusion

Traditional risk factors for gang involvement focus on community-level variables, such as high rates of poverty, limited access to resources, a high proportion of single-parent families, exposure to neighbourhood level violence and disorder. For the majority of gang members in British Columbia, these risk factors do not appear to be relevant factors. There may be some overlap at the individual level, in terms of attachment issues and exposure to in-home conflict (Brar, 2017; Sangha, 2018), however the evidence base for this claim is limited to date, and more research is needed to determine how common these factors are in the lives of Lower Mainland gang members generally and South Asian Canadian gang members specifically.

In contrast to the majority of existing research on gang membership, the dominant themes in explaining gang membership in the Lower Mainland are 'pull' factors that draw youth towards gang membership, including perceptions of the gang lifestyle as one of sophistication and glamour, the desire to have easy access to money, and the desire to obtain status (Bhatt & Tweed, 2018; Gahunia, 2017; Juhasz, 2019; McConnell, 2015). As will be discussed in the following chapter, these 'unique' risk factors suggest that Lower Mainland-specific prevention, intervention, and suppression programs that focus on these unusual pathways into gang membership must be implemented.

3.

Anti-Gang Programming in Abbotsford

**Dr. Amanda McCormick, with contributions from Rebecca Gasparac
and Amanda Juhasz**

Anti-gang programming has become prevalent across Canada over the last few decades thanks to funding provided by the National Crime Prevention Centre specifically for community-based gang programs. Generally speaking, anti-gang programs can focus on prevention, intervention, or suppression/enforcement, and can be universal or targeted in nature (Wong, Gravel, Bouchard, Morselli, & Descormiers, 2012). Prevention programs seek to deter individuals from ever engaging in certain behaviours, such as criminal behaviour generally or gang involvement more specifically. Prevention programs are typically universal in nature, as rather than targeting individuals with characteristics that may make them more vulnerable to engaging in these behaviours, they target all individuals within a specific area. As an example, the well-known Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) program is a universal prevention program as it is used with all youth in schools where the program operates. Intervention programs, also known as secondary prevention programs, tend to be more focused on youth who are considered at-risk for certain behaviours, and who may already be engaged in those behaviours. For example, youth who are at-risk of criminal behaviour due to issues with their home life or their mental health status may be referred to a mentoring program, where they work closely with a prosocial mentor who can provide them with guidance and stability. Finally, suppression or enforcement programs target those who are entrenched in a certain way of life, with the goal of deterring repeat behaviours. An example in British Columbia are the police-based prolific offender programs that target police attention and resources on known repeat offenders. Generally speaking, programs that seek to prevent recruitment of youth into gangs is ideal, as they prevent gang activity from occurring in the first place; however, these programs may be more expensive to offer as they deliver services to a much larger number of recipients than more targeted intervention or prevention programs, and they do not tend to have as high levels of success as their target population includes those not considered to be at-risk.

In 2006, the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC) identified three model prevention and intervention programs for reducing gang involvement and violence based on the evidence available from programming and evaluation research in the United States. These were the Comprehensive Gang Model (Spergel model), Milwaukee Wraparound Program, and the Gang

Prevention through Targeted Outreach model. The NCPC then made funding available to communities across Canada who wished to develop and implement a version of one of these three programs. A total of 17 projects were funded between 2007 and 2012, and a final report was released in 2013 on the results of these programs (Smith-Moncrieffe, 2013). Some of the programs implemented across Canada had what appeared to be positive effects in terms of changing awareness or attitudes towards gangs, reducing risk and raising protective factors associated with gang affiliation, or reducing gang membership and/or other delinquent behaviours. However, many of the studies used weak methods of evaluation. None used a randomized control method, which is typically considered the 'gold standard' of program evaluation, as it reduces the likelihood that external factors not targeted by the program exerted an influence over the results. Several of the evaluations were unable to find or create comparison or control groups that would enable them to determine with greater confidence whether their program had the desired effect on the target population. Others had challenges with program drop-outs, resulting in a lack of follow-up and post-program measurement. Therefore, it was difficult to determine what programming did appear to work in reducing the likelihood of gang membership among Canadian youth.

In 2012, Jennifer Wong and colleagues from Simon Fraser University conducted a review of 38 street gang programs in operation between 1980 and 2011. These programs were specifically included in their review study as the evaluation methods were of substantially better quality. Still, Wong et al. (2012) concluded that there was a limited extent of available evidence to determine "what works" in anti-gang programming. Again, a major issue identified was the lack of quality research. Further, as reported by Gravel, Bouchard, Descormiers, Wong, and Morselli (2013) in a peer-reviewed published version of this study, gang activity suppression was the only anti-gang programming category where the evaluations consistently showed positive results. Overall, the more targeted the approach was, the more effective the result.

In other words, the current state of anti-gang programming research in Canada is extremely limited. Further, many of the programs in operation elsewhere are based on more 'traditional' explanations for gang membership and consequently will have limited effect in the Lower Mainland where gang involvement tends to be driven more by the perceived sophistication of the lifestyle and desired status as a gang member. While a number of programs in the Lower Mainland have been developed to target these more unique risk factors, the evidence-base for the effectiveness of these programs is still under review. This chapter will review the gang prevention, intervention, and suppression programming in place in or available to the City of Abbotsford. An inventory and summary of other programs operating in Canada follows as an appendix to this chapter.

Abbotsford Anti-Gang Programming
In It Together

Abbotsford Community Services (now Archway Community Services) received $6.3 million in funding to develop the Abbotsford Comprehensive Community Action for Gang Reduction program, more commonly known as the In It Together program. The In It Together program was built off the well-known Spergel model for comprehensive anti-gang programming. As it is a comprehensive anti-gang program, the In It Together programs consists of multiple streams, including primary prevention, secondary prevention, intervention, and re-entry. The primary prevention stream sought to share information about gangs with the public via community forums and events, while the secondary prevention program offered family services, outreach services, and group activities for youth considered at higher-risk. Individuals between ages 12 and 30 who were already involved in gangs were targeted via the intervention programs, while those between the ages of 18 and 30 who had been convicted of gang-related crimes were the focus of the re-entry stream.

While the full report has not been released, preliminary data from the evaluation indicated that program participants spent more than a year receiving services, with one-third successfully completing programming at the time of the evaluation. Over a third of the participants experienced a reduction in their risk scores, a reduction in police contacts, and an increase in school attendance by at-risk youth. Unfortunately, the program has had to significantly reduce its operations due to recent funding limitations.

Abbotsford Police Department's WAYAG

The West Abbotsford Youth Action Group (WAYAG) was initiated by the Abbotsford Police Department (APD) in 2017 as a collaborative effort to respond to the increasing amount of gang violence occurring on the western side of Abbotsford, commonly identified as the Townline Conflict. The WAYAG was chaired by the Chief Constable of the APD and members included officers from the APD, principals from local high schools on the West side of Abbotsford, the Executive Director of the Abbotsford Restorative Justice and Advocacy Association (AARJA), members of the Abbotsford Community Services [now Archway Community Services], a city councilor, students, and faculty from the University of the Fraser Valley. The WAYAG sought to develop collaborative approaches to gang prevention, such as through a youth day, and development of a mentoring program. The goal of the WAYAG was to assist the community in building healthy, connected families and to support, in particular, youth in their middle years.

Abbotsford Police Department's Mentoring Program (AMP)

The Abbotsford Police Department's Mentoring Program, or AMP, was initiated out of a subgroup of the larger WAYAG. The mentoring subcommittee was led by the Abbotsford Police Department, and included other APD members, Abbotsford school principals, the Executive

Director of ARJAA, and UFV faculty. The program was implemented under ARJAA and UFV students, as well as adults from the Abbotsford community, were recruited and trained as mentors who would be assigned to work with middle-school youth identified as being at-risk. The AMP has been running since May 2018 and will be undergoing a review to determine its strengths and challenges with respect to reducing risk amongst middle school youth. More generally however, research on mentoring programs elsewhere concludes that mentoring high-risk youth can result in reductions in delinquency and aggression, reduced use or abuse of substances, and increased academic performance (e.g. DeBois, Portillo, Rhodes, Silverthorn & Valentine, 2011; Karcher, 2008; Weinrath, Donatelli & Murchison, 2016; Tolan et al., 2008).

Abbotsford Police Department's Gang Unit

In January 2018 the Abbotsford Police Department introduced their Gang Crime Unit (Hopes, 2018b), a specialized unit staffed with sworn officers who engage in gang prevention, intervention, and suppression. The Gang Crime Unit partners with the Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit (CFSEU) to offer presentations in local schools to raise awareness about the dangers of gang involvement and to counter some of the myths students may hold around the perceived benefits of joining a gang. The intervention work can involve conducting street checks or curfew checks, or working with youth involved in gangs who wish to exit that lifestyle (Hopes, 2018b). Some of these individuals may be referred to the CFSEU's gang exiting program, or to the In It Together program, whereas others are managed by officers in the Gang Crime Unit. The unit also engages in suppression activities, such as by ejecting gang members from restaurants under the Inadmissible Patrons program, discussed below.

Inadmissible Patron Program

The Inadmissible Patron Program is a gang suppression program built on the basis of the Vancouver Bar Watch and Restaurant Watch initiatives. This program responds directly to the perceived sophistication and glamour of gang member status in the Lower Mainland by reducing the ability of gang members to enjoy some of the luxuries associated with gang life (Gahunia, 2017). Specifically, the Inadmissible Patron Program involves a partnership between the restaurant industry and police, where participating restaurants will call the local police agency to report the presence of known gang members in their establishments, at which point the police will attend the establishment to eject the patron (Gahunia, 2017).

The rationale underlying this program touches not only on making it more difficult for gang members to live the luxurious lifestyle, but it also emphasizes the importance of public safety (Gahunia, 2017). A number of gang shootings in communities like Vancouver and Abbotsford have occurred in the public domain, resulting in the deaths of innocent community members who were inadvertently or mistakenly targeted, or who were caught in the crossfire of warring gang members. In fact, research by Jingfors et al. (2015) found that the majority of gang-related

homicides occurred in the public, as opposed to within private homes. By reducing the presence of known gang members in public establishments, such as popular restaurants, the program reduces the potential for the public to be negatively affected by gang violence in the community.

End Gang Life

The End Gang Life (EGL) program was initiated by the provincial Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit of British Columbia (CFSEU-BC) in 2013 with the goal of providing a comprehensive gang prevention, intervention, and suppression model. EGLs main task is to educate the public about the risks of gang activity and correspondingly, reduce risk for gang involvement.

Researchers (Carson & Vecchio, 2015; Decker, Pyrooz, & Moule, 2014) have suggested that youth may choose to desist from gang activity after their perception of what it means to be gang involved shifts or is shattered. This suggests that when it comes to prevention of gang involvement in the Lower Mainland, effective counter-messages that challenge the myths of gang involvement are required. This approach is used by the EGL, who are most well known for their prevention work, as they have developed a wide variety of youth, parent, and teacher resources regarding the myths and realities of gang life. They deliver this messaging in school presentations across the province, which are led by uniformed members of the gang intervention team along with a former gang member, who speaks to youth directly about their experiences as a member of a gang in British Columbia. In 2018, the Media Relations Officer with the EGL program worked closely with the Abbotsford Police Department and delivered a number of presentations in the Abbotsford School District.

The EGL also hosts a gang intervention team and a gang exiting team. The intervention team targets youth aged 12 or older who are either at-risk of or already involved in a gang. The gang intervention staff are uniformed officers who will reach out to the youth and offer support, or who can enforce orders, such as curfews, to reduce their level of risk. At the other end, the Gang Exiting and Outreach program is staffed by civilians who offer services and resources to gang members who are ready to exit the gang lifestyle. This program focuses on those who are 18 and older who may self-refer or be referred over to the exiting program. The Gang Exit program has worked with clients from Abbotsford, although typically most Abbotsford clients would be referred to the Abbotsford In It Together program.

Provincial priority and violent gang offender programs

The Provincial Tactical Enforcement Priority (PTEP) and Priority Violent Gang Offender (PVGO) programs are not specific to Abbotsford, but may involve residents of Abbotsford as targets for police attention. These programs are suppression or enforcement based, as they seek to reduce the criminal or gang-related activities of priority offenders in the province. Police officers from

across the province nominate offenders whose criminal activity poses a significant threat to public safety to either program. If selected, resources are focused on those individuals with the goal of catching and convicting, or disrupting and driving those individuals out of their respective communities. In the PVGO program, offenders are specifically notified via a form letter that they are the subject of police attention, that their behaviour poses a threat to the community, that they should consider exiting gang life through the CFSEU-BCs programming, and that failure to change their behaviour will result in targeted enforcement with the goal of obtaining jail time as a consequence for the behaviour. Neither of these programs have been evaluated for effectiveness, although anecdotally police feel they are working effectively (Juhasz, 2019).

Conclusion

While a number of gang prevention, intervention, and suppression programs operate in or are otherwise available to the City of Abbotsford, for the most part these programs have not been subjected to evaluation, and so there is little evidence that they are effective at preventing or deterring gang involvement. Rigorous program evaluations of anti-gang programs are needed (Wong et al., 2012), and anti-gang programming needs to be more reflective of the specific needs of its targeted populations (McCormick, 2018). What "works" in other jurisdictions will not necessarily work in B.C. communities, particularly ones like Abbotsford where there is a significant degree of ethnic diversity, with many youth growing up in the community as first generation immigrants who may be struggling to find their identity. To determine what future programming might look like in the City, it is essential to undertake a community needs assessment, where the specific needs of youth living in Abbotsford are mapped against the available community resources.

Inventory of Anti-Gang Programs in Canada[10]

Program	Program Summary	Outcomes[11]
Durham Youth Gang Strategy	33 week comprehensive intervention program for 12-18 year olds (conflict resolution, leadership and youth development, skills training, social emotional learning, school-based strategies, job employment, community mobilization, and parent training)	Reduced connections with gang affiliated peers
ERASE (Expect Respect and a Safe Education)	School-based gang prevention in 12 identified B.C. communities, involves education and training sessions around gun and gang violence delivered by the Safer Schools Together program	Has not been subjected to evaluation
Gang Prevention Strategy	Hamilton, youth 13-25 at risk or gang involved, Wraparound	Increase in community awareness; significant reduction in percent of youth in a gang (dose response relationship), some reductions in delinquent behaviour, significantly more youth accessing legal sources of income, some reductions in drug use
Her Time	Led by two Vancouver Police Department officers, this program targets females at risk for gang involvement or affiliation, using presentations to raise awareness about the dangers of becoming involved with gang affiliated men	Has not been subjected to evaluation
Regina Anti-Gang Services	Wraparound, MST, harm reduction, cultural and faith-based; 16-30 year old Indigenous (mostly) gang-involve	Reduction in beliefs about aggression (short-lived), gang exiting

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[10] This inventory combines the information previously summarized in tables prepared by McCormick (2018) and Juhasz (2019).

[11] The vast majority of program evaluations have been conducted using weak methods and the evidence-base for these programs is consequently quite limited at this time

Program	Program Summary	Outcomes
Spotlight Serious Offender Services	Intensive Supervision Program for gang-affiliated or at-risk youth on probation in Manitoba	Reductions in re-convictions, in severity of new charges, and increased days until re-offending
Surrey WRAParound	Wraparound services for youth 12 and older at-risk of or already involved in gangs; partnership between Surrey School District, City of Surrey, and the Surrey RCMP	Reduced negative police contacts
Yo Bro Yo Girl Youth Initiative	Strengths-based programming for at-risk youth, such as mentoring, after school activities, in-school programming (respectful relationships, leadership)	Has not been subjected to evaluation
Youth Alliance Against Gang Violence	Saskatchewan, Aboriginal youth 12-21 at high-risk or gang involved. Wraparound and MST	Reduced acceptance of gangs (between T5 and T6), symptoms of depression, gang exiting (all by 24m follow up) or resist recruitment, sig improvement in conflict resolution skills between T1 and T6, short-term (not sustained) significant differences in non-violent crimes
Youth At Risk Development (YARD)	Calgary wraparound style for 10-17 year old high-risk and gang involved; social development and referrals	49% decrease in positive attitudes towards gangs – significant? Small but sig change in attitudes to employment
Youth Advocate Program (YAP)	Halifax, targeted 9-14 year olds, secondary prevention; Wraparound	Many changes, but no significance tests reported for many (small sample size)
Shattering the Image	Anti-gang presentation delivered in Surrey schools by the Surrey Gang Enforcement Team	Has not been subjected to evaluation
Surrey Wraparound	Wraparound, comprehensive plan for 11-17 at-risk youth	Reductions in negative police contacts

4.

Gang Intervention Programming

Eric Osmond, M.A.

Under the Canadian *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (YCJA, 2003), youth who are in conflict with the law may be diverted by police rather than have criminal charges recommended, may be diverted by Crown either pre- or post-charge approval, or may proceed to court, potentially receiving a community or custodial sentence. The focus on diversion at the police and Crown decision-making levels was in direct response to the over-incarceration of youth under the previous *Young Offenders Act*. While the sentencing principles emphasized by the YCJA include holding youth accountable through meaningful consequences, the underlying goal of the system is to rehabilitate youth through programming, whether in the community or in custody settings. Diversion to community based programming is one means by which criminal justice system practitioners can reduce the likelihood of youth incarceration while still connecting youth to available resources to reduce their risk of re-offending going forward.

Under the YCJA there are a number of methods to hold youth affiliated with gangs accountable for their actions while also connecting them with programming to reduce their risk. These kinds of methods are considered 'interventions' as they are used with youth considered at high risk of gang membership, or who are already involved with gangs. This chapter reviews two available programs in British Columbia, the first one can be used by police as a diversion program and the second is available as a post-conviction community-based sentence.

Wraparound Approaches

The wraparound approach is described as an evidence-based method focused on preventing crime (Public Safety, 2012). The program offers tailored services that address a young person's specific goals and needs (Suter & Bruns, 2009). Wraparound programming utilizes a comprehensive support team to work in partnership with clients to develop successful methods to best support them and their unique needs. This kind of programming addresses many of the risk factors that may increase the likelihood of youth joining gangs, while improving their protective factors (Public Safety, 2012).

The City of Surrey implemented the Surrey Wraparound program in 2008 using funding provided by the National Crime Prevention Centre's Youth Gang Prevention Fund (Public Safety, 2012). The program was originally developed in response to Surrey's high crime rate with the aim of increasing public safety in the community by preventing gang involvement and delinquency in youth populations. Surrey Wraparound administers support to youth through collaboration between the Surrey RCMP and School Board (Public Safety, 2012).

The service utilizes an "ideology of care" method focused on the following values: voice and choice, team work, natural supports, multi-organization partnerships, community, culturally competent resources, determination, and empowerment (Public Safety, 2012). During intake, staff often help a client develop their wraparound team, which may consist of teachers, family members, mentors, and others as needed. The program allows youth to become the main focus of their own planning, with the supplementary assistance of staff and a wraparound team in place to help them accomplish their goals (Public Safety, 2012).

Once a client begins the program, a facilitator helps him/her develop a wraparound team, which will be used to cooperatively design a care plan. The care plan typically focuses on pro-social, family strengthening, health, or educational goals (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018). Youth can be referred to the program by many different agencies, including by police; however, most are referred by the schools. The referral application obtains information on five main areas of a youth's life, including family, school, community, peer, and individual risks factors, which allows program administrators to better understand some of the possible challenges impacting the individual in question (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018).

After an application is received, the data provided is evaluated to better understand some of the main challenges and needs of the youth (Public Safety Canada, 2012). In total, three forms of assessment are conducted. The first one determines the level of service required for the youth by examining traditional risk factors. The second assessment measures non-traditional risk factors, such as whether the applicant is the first-born or only son in their family, whether their family owns a business, and the ethnic backgrounds of their peer groups. Lastly, the third assessment used aims to determine the level of current gang involvement of the youth. Furthermore, academic achievement, offence history, and class attendance records are also gathered from schools and police records to supplement assessments (Public Safety Canada, 2012).

Surrey Wraparound targets individuals between the ages of 11 and 18 who are at risk of engaging in gang activity and/or those who are already involved (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018). One of the other main requirements to be eligible to receive support is that the youth must be enrolled in the Surrey School District. As Surrey is a fairly diverse city containing individuals from a variety of different backgrounds, the program targets

youth who experience both traditional and non-traditional risk factors. According to Public Safety Canada (2012), adolescents from the traditional risk factor group typically experience poverty, drug use, or troubled home environments, while those from the non-traditional risk factor group often come from middle to upper class households and whose families are of immigrant backgrounds.

Between 2009 and 2011, the Surrey Wraparound served 132 youth. The average age of participants was 14 years old. Approximately 84% of all youth were male and 60% were of visible minority (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Based on the assessments conducted, almost all of the clients involved in the Surrey Wraparound were identified as being moderate or high-risk, with most experiencing a mix of family, educational, substance use, and employment related challenges.

According to Public Safety Canada (2012), on average, it takes up to six months of service for adolescents to experience noticeable improvements in the main areas of their lives. Once a client has been identified to be more self-sustaining, their level of service may decrease, in order to allow the administrators to support other at-risk youth.

Surrey Wraparound Evaluation

In 2012, an evaluation on the Surrey Wraparound using data from 2009 to 2011 was conducted to determine the effectiveness of the program. The evaluation compared the program participants to a control group comprised of youth who were on the waitlist to join the program (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Individuals from the two groups were matched based on their gender, ethnicity, age, and negative police contacts. Some of the methods used to examine program effectiveness were examining police and school records, questionnaires, and interviews with school staff, law enforcement, program managers, and service administrators (Public Safety Canada, 2012).

Based on the findings, it was determined that the program was able to effectively serve its selected population. In fact, approximately 95% of clients were found to be moderate or high risk, while 53% were gang-entrenched (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Furthermore, it was estimated that there was a decrease of 67% in negative police encounters in the program group, while negative police contact in the control group almost doubled in the same time frame. In relation to gang prevention, the program was found to have stopped the development of at least one gang and substantially increased intelligence linked to gang activities on and off school property. The study results did not indicate that school attendance was increased by program participants overall; however, those who did attend more, were often found to have done so in order to participate in gang activities or to spend time with gang-affiliated youth (Public Safety Canada, 2012).

A cost analysis was also conducted on the program (Public Safety Canada, 2012). It was calculated that the average price for each client to receive service was approximately $9,000. This figure was found to be significantly less expensive than the typical costs allocated to having youth in care or in custody. In fact, the average cost of incarceration in Canada is over $70,000 annually per youth (Office of Parliamentary Budget Officer, 2018).

The evaluation results suggested that the Surrey Wraparound was working successfully, as it was able to achieve many of its intended goals (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Moreover, the program is also cost-effective in comparison to other alternatives that program clients may have experienced otherwise, such as prison. When fewer youth are incarcerated, the entire justice system benefits, as less time and resources are allocated to law enforcement, trials, prosecutions, and imprisonment (Public Safety Canada, 2012).

However, there were some apparent limitations to the program as well. For instance, those who are not enrolled in the Surrey School District may not be eligible for participation (Public Safety Canada, 2012). This restricts a significant portion of the at-risk youth population, as those in need of support may not always be enrolled in school. Another limitation of the Surrey Wraparound is that the program does not appear to have an effect on class attendance or tardiness for participants. In fact, students who did improve their attendance often did so in order to meet with gang-affiliated peers or to engage in gang activities themselves (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Lastly, the waitlists for youth to begin program participation were lengthy. When youth are unable to receive the necessary support in a timely manner, they may get involved in further criminal activities in the meantime (Public Safety Canada, 2012). It is also important to note that the evaluation examined data collected between 2009 and 2011 with 132 youth. As the gang landscape of B.C. is constantly evolving, the data from the evaluation may no longer accurately represent the current state of gang affairs in the province. Further, as of 2017 the program had delivered services to more than 500 youth (Benning & Little, 2017). As a result, an updated evaluation would be beneficial to better identify and measure some of the more current local conditions and trends. This is also important as the full study results were never released to the public, with the only available evidence for this program's effectiveness coming from a summary report produced by Public Safety Canada (2012). Despite this, the provincial government recently committed to provide $500,000 annually to support the operations of the Surrey Wraparound program, and to expand the number of youth they could offer their services to within the City of Surrey (Benning & Little, 2017).

Intensive Support and Supervision Programming

Intensive Support and Supervision Programming, or ISSP, was introduced formally via the YCJA in 2003. Participation in the program is court-mandated as a sentencing option for youth on probation. ISSP is offered to clients who require closer supervision and additional support than

a regular probation order, as a way to help prevent them from re-engaging in criminal behaviour and improve community reintegration (Public Safety Canada, 2007).

One of the main objectives of ISSP is to offer rehabilitative support to youth as an alternative to custody (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018). This is accomplished by working in partnerships with youth probation officers and assisting them by supplementing their case management and providing additional supervision to their clients in the community. Youth who receive an ISSP order are assigned to a probation officer who has a smaller caseload than usual, which enables them to spend more time working directly with their assigned youth. Some of the main focuses of ISSP include assisting youth with school, employment, recreation, family support, substance abuse, restorative justice, counselling, and mentorship, while simultaneously helping them comply with their judge-appointed conditions. ISSP workers typically work closely with several community partners, in order to best support youth and connect them to helpful resources (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018).

While ISSP has been a fairly popular model used in other countries including the United States for quite some time, it is still a relatively new service in Canada and as a result, there has not been much research on the effectiveness of this program (Weinrath, Doerksen, & Watts, 2015). Still, there are some statistics available on its use across Canada. In 2016/2017, there were 12,760 guilty findings for Criminal Code Offences under the YCJA in all of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019). In total, 7,815 (61%) sentences involved probation, 1,637 (13%) resulted in custody, and 169 (1%) for ISSP. In B.C. specifically, there were 880 guilty cases under the YCJA in the same year. In total, 287 (343%) sentences were for probation, 99 resulted in custody (11%), and 127 were for ISSP (14%). In 2016/17, there were 97 male youth and 30 female youth who received an ISSP order in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2019). Furthermore, there were 65 orders provided to youth between ages 16 to 17, and 59 offered to individuals between 12 and 15 years old. Lastly, there were 39 ISSP orders provided to youth who were found guilty of a single offence and 88 to those who were found guilty of multiple guilty offences (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Between 2012/2013 and 2016/17, there have been 1,103 guilty sentences under the YCJA resulting an ISSP order in Canada. A total of 851 (77%0 of these were issued in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2019). Furthermore, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Yukon and, Nunavut had a total of zero ISSP orders administered while Quebec has had 156, Ontario has had s60, and Alberta and the Northwest Territories have had two ISSP orders since 2012/2013. While ISSP is fairly popular in B.C, there has not been any research specifically examining its actual effectiveness at reducing reoffending by youth.

Use of ISSP in British Columbia

ISSP models in B.C. often follow a strengths-based approach, employing support to promote resiliency and empowerment in youth (PLEA Community Services, 2019). Programs typically follow a one-to-one mentorship model, where the ISSP worker and client work closely together in the community. Through discussions between ISSP workers, probation officers, youth, their family members, and possible third parties, services are developed in consideration to a client's specific goals and needs. These often include securing safe and affordable accommodation, obtaining legitimate employment, improving mental and physical health, building positive relationships with others, educational support, taking part in pro-social activities, addressing substance related challenges, developing life skills, mentorship and participating in cultural events (PLEA Community Services, 2019). Many of the clients that access ISSP services are often involved in or at-risk of being involved in gang activity (Mayor's Task Force on Gang Violence Prevention, 2018). As a result, ISSP attempts to address many traditional and non-traditional risk and protective factors to help avert youth from joining gangs or assist them exit gangs by working in partnership with local organizations, such as the RCMP and the Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit (CFSEU).

PLEA Program Evaluation

In a study by McCreary Centre Society (2012), an independent evaluation was conducted on several justice-related programs offered by PLEA Community Services. The evaluation examined programs between July 2008 and January 2012 and focused on risk and protective factors for youth. The main objective of the study was to measure how effective the justice-related programs were at improving client's behaviour, social integration, and emotional capabilities (McCreary Centre Society, 2012). While ISSP is one of the youth justice-related services provided by PLEA, the evaluation grouped all of the other youth justice programs together for the purpose of the study, which included five other services.

The evaluation required youth to participate in self-report surveys during program intake (261 participants), upon discharge (128 participants), and six months after discharge (105 participants). During the surveys provided at intake, many of the youth participants indicated experiencing high rates of delinquent behaviour (McCreary Centre Society, 2012). According to McCreary Centre Society (2012), the majority of the program participants involved in the study were males. The age range for participants was between 12 and 19 and the average was 16 years old.

One of the main areas of focus in the evaluation involved measuring aggressive and unlawful behaviors of program participants, including gang involvement. This was accomplished using the Self-Reported Delinquency Scale (McCreary Centre Society, 2012). At the time of intake, respondents reported engaging in aggressive and deviant behaviours at frequent rates. For

instance, over 50% of respondents claimed to have been involved in physical altercations or threatened others, 40% had attempted to steal, 25% had sold hard drugs, and over 25% had been engaged in gang activity. However, at the time of discharge, the rates of violent and delinquent behaviour of respondents decreased substantially. One of the most notable drops included the rate of gang involvement decreasing from 26% to 10%. In addition, the rates of arrests, charges, and custody detainment all dropped as well (McCreary Centre Society, 2012). When asked about the effectiveness of PLEA programming in helping alter criminal behaviour, 78% of program respondents indicated that the support received helped 'very much' or 'quite a bit.' Another major area examined in the study included school attendance (McCreary Centre Society, 2012). During the time of intake, approximately 59% of respondents reported to had been attending school regularly. However, upon discharge, the rate of school attendance increased by approximately 31% in respondents. This increase was evident in both male and female respondents (McCreary Centre Society, 2012).

While the programming offered by PLEA appears to be helpful in reducing criminal behaviour and gang related activity, given that the evaluation approach did not separate the different program effects out, it is unknown if these results were due to the effects of ISSP or to other program effects. While there is no research specifically on the effects of ISSP in British Columbia, there is one evaluation study from Manitoba that showed similar results as the McCreary Centre Society (2012) regarding the use of ISSP programming specifically for youth at risk for or engaged in gangs.

Spotlight Serious Offender Services Unit

ISSP has been used specifically for youth at high-risk for gang involvement in Manitoba in the Spotlight program (Weinrath, Donatelli, & Murchison, 2016). Eligible youth for the Spotlight program are assessed for gang membership and their individual risks and needs are reviewed before they are connected with a mentor, in addition to tailored programming specific to their risk and needs profile. In 2016, Weinrath and colleagues published an evaluation of the program's application with 57 youth, comparing the outcomes for those youth against 85 comparison youth who exhibited similar risk and needs. The results indicated that the Spotlight program successfully reduced recidivism among gang-involved youth, as the program youth were significantly less likely to be reconvicted and less likely to be convicted for a serious crime as compared to the youth in the comparison program. The program youth also took longer to commit a new crime than did youth in the comparison group. While the evaluation therefore showed positive results of the program, the reoffending rates were still high for both groups, as two-thirds (65%) of the Spotlight youth were reconvicted, as were 90% of the comparison youth.

Conclusion

Taken together with the research reviewed in Chapter 2, the results of the Surrey Wraparound and Spotlight interventions suggest that while gang intervention programs can reduce some of a youth's involvement in crime, it takes time for youth to transition away from a criminal lifestyle and into more prosocial activities. These results emphasize the need to focus on prevention as opposed to relying on intervention or suppression amongst high-risk or gang involved youth.

<div align="center">5.</div>

Applicability of Operation Ceasefire to the Lower Mainland Gang Conflict

Amanda Juhasz, M.A.

As discussed in the previous chapter, gang prevention programs can focus on prevention, intervention, or suppression. One of the most well-known programs in the United States uses elements of intervention and suppression to reduce gang membership and gang-related shootings and homicides. Operation Ceasefire, first implemented in Boston, has a supporting evidence-base that has documented its success in driving down gang related activity in American communities. Yet, its potential applicability to the Lower Mainland is unclear. This chapter provides summary results of a Master's of Criminal Justice thesis from the University of the Fraser Valley, examining practitioner perceptions of the applicability of Operation Ceasefire to gangs in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

Problem Oriented Policing

Problem-oriented policing (POP) is a conceptual approach to policing that examines the underlying cause of an issue and creates change at the source in order to establish a long-term solution (Goldstein, 2001). In contrast to the more traditional reactive policing approach, where police routinely respond to calls for service that result from the underlying causes of crime, in POP the symptoms of an issue are treated as secondary to the cause, with the belief that developing approaches to address the cause will, in turn, address the symptoms (Ratcliffe, 2016). POP, as defined by Ratcliffe (2016), is a bottom-up approach requiring stakeholders to accurately identify an issue. To that end, being truly problem-focused means "attending to the underlying community problems that can help police adopt a preventative approach to crime reduction" (Cohen, Plecas, McCormick, & Peters, 2014, p. 54). The usefulness of POP also lies in the fact that it can be applied to develop tailored approaches at various levels of community problems and at various levels in the police organization (Goldstein, 2001). Further, a POP approach is particularly useful as it emphasizes understanding the causal issue(s) at the community or city level, such as poverty, and tailoring responses that are appropriate to the given context (Braga, 2008; Braga, Kennedy, Waring, & Piehl, 2001; Weisburd, Telep, Hinkle & Eck, 2010).

While POP has been useful for addressing a number of police concerns (Weisburd & Eck, 2004), its use in the prevention of gang violence is particularly promising as an intervention approach (Decker & Reed, 2002). In particular, the pulling levers strategy, framed as an extension of POP (Spelman & Eck, 1987), consists of policing exercises or activities undertaken to focus criminal justice and social service attention on a select group of offenders with the aim of reducing offending though increasing penalties to enhance deterrence, and then offering alternatives to engaging in criminal behaviour (Braga, 2010). One promising example of a pulling levers POP strategy for gang suppression is Operation Ceasefire.

Operation Ceasefire

Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Boston experienced an epidemic of youth homicides, with rates increasing 230% between 1987 and 1990 (Kennedy, 1997). With these staggering rates came concern for the fate of Boston's youth and subsequent funding from the National Institute of Justice to examine possible solutions. Operation Ceasefire, at times referred to as the Boston Gun Project, emerged in the era of POP and utilized what has come to be known as the 'pulling levers' intervention strategy. As described by Kennedy (1997), the strategy was based on the concept of selecting elements of identifiable criminal activity (e.g., gun violence) and reducing it by all available levers to "impose cost on offenders" (p.451) by leveraging the vulnerabilities created by their lifestyle choices.

The central objective of Operation Ceasefire was to reduce homicide victimization among youth in Boston (Kennedy et al., 2001). Within that, three primary goals were identified: (a) reduce gun violence and homicide rates for youth; (b) develop a large-scale POP strategy stemming from inter-agency collaboration; and (c) create an intervention framework that, if successful, could be generalized to other jurisdictions and other problem-solving efforts (Kennedy et al., 2001).

Operation Ceasefire developed from an inter-agency working group tasked with assessing the underlying causes driving youth homicide rates in Boston and developing interventions based on the insights gleaned (Kennedy et al., 2001). The specific interventions employed under Operation Ceasefire consisted of two main techniques. First, a working group of service providers, which included probation officers, parole officers, and community groups, provided gang members with services and assistance as necessary to facilitate their exit from gang life (Kennedy et al., 2001). These practitioners sought to address the underlying causes of gang involvement, while law enforcement addressed the symptoms, such as gun violence (Kennedy et al., 2001). The aim of the working group was to generate interventions that supported the push and pull factors contributing to youth gang involvement, such as lack of employment, community connection, or appropriate role models (Kennedy et al., 2001). They further delivered the explicit message that violent behaviour, and gun violence, in particular, would be met with a swift and powerful response from law enforcement agencies (Kennedy et al., 2001).

In fact, the nomenclature of a "promise, not a deal" was used to describe the attention that would follow gang violence in Boston (Kennedy, 1997, p. 451). This messaging was delivered through a systematic campaign that included: formal meetings with some gangs, visits to juvenile correctional centres to meet with incarcerated youth, school outreach, and individual contact between gang members and police, probation, and parole officers (Kennedy, 1997). Operation Ceasefire leaned heavily on deterrence theory in that program activities were designed to impact youth's decisions to engage in gang activities based on increasing the perceived cost of doing so. This strategy was aptly coupled with the strength of interagency collaboration, which allowed for a greater plethora of both sanctions and incentives to either continuing or desisting from gang violence (Kennedy, 1997).

At the same time, police engaged in direct law enforcement intervention against illicit firearms traffickers believed to be supplying youth with guns in an effort to deter gang gun violence (Kennedy et al., 2001). To do so, they employed a number of techniques:

1. Expanded the focus of local, state, and federal authorities to include *intrastate* firearms trafficking in Massachusetts (in addition to interstate trafficking);

2. Focused enforcement attention on traffickers of guns with a short time-to-crime interval (time-to-crime interval is the time from the first retail sale to the time the gun is confiscated by the police). The Boston Field Division of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) set up an in-house tracking system that flagged guns whose traces showed a time-to-crime interval of 18 months or shorter;

3. Focused enforcement attention on the traffickers of guns that were used by the city's most violent gangs;

4. Attempted to restore serial numbers on confiscated guns to support trafficking investigations; and

5. Supported enforcement priorities through analysis of data generated by the Boston Police Department and ATF's crime gun tracing, and by developing leads from the systematic messaging of the program to gang-affiliated arrestees or those involved in violent crime (Kennedy et al., 2001, p.2)

In addition, law enforcement targeted the gangs engaged in violent behaviour, using what came to be known as the "pulling levers" approach. To do so, they employed the following techniques:

1. Targeted gangs engaged in violent behaviour;

2. Reached out directly to members of the targeted gangs;

3. Delivered an explicit message that violence would not be tolerated; and

4. Backed up that message by 'pulling every lever' legally available (i.e., applying appropriate sanctions from a varied menu of possible law enforcement actions) when violence occurred (Kennedy et al., 2001, p. 2).

While a variety of sanctions and incentives were at the disposal of Operation Ceasefire, many individuals and gangs did not require an intensive deployment of the interventions; in fact, Kennedy et al. (2001) suggested that many required only minimal intervention. Nevertheless, Detective Gary French, who was heavily involved in the project, described four levels of intervention (Kennedy et al., 2001). These four levels included early messaging to stop the violence, escalating slowly to enforcement and specific deterrence-based actions by the police, followed by large, interagency intervention efforts and, eventually, coordinated efforts to dismantle and disrupt groups (Kennedy et al., 2001). The reality of implementation was that few instances required the full force of Operation Ceasefire, though there were some groups who failed to heed the messaging being disseminated by the project (Kennedy et al., 2001). Those individuals and groups were met with more concentrated levels of intervention.

Applicability of Operation Ceasefire to the Lower Mainland Gang Conflict

This research examined Operation Ceasefire, gauging practitioner perceptions of its applicability to youth in gangs in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Using a qualitative methodology, 12 key stakeholders were interviewed, each currently employed in law enforcement capacities in various municipal, provincial, and federally organized gang units. Each participant was actively engaged in the policing of gangs in the Lower Mainland and participants, together, had accumulated a combined 45 years of gang unit experience. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed thematically for content. Three distinct themes emerged from the data and will be briefly discussed here.

Lower Mainland Gangs are Fundamentally Different from Gangs Elsewhere

While there is a continued lack of consensus on what constitutes a gang and how to clearly define this term, the observations of practitioners in the Lower Mainland concurred with prior research findings in that they believed that gangs in the Lower Mainland are fundamentally different from gangs in other parts of Canada or the United States. Many of the gang-involved youth they dealt with come from affluence, are motivated by non-traditional push and pull factors, and engage in cross-jurisdictional criminal activity over large geographic areas. All participants impressed that these features were unique to the Lower Mainland and that they were, at times, baffling to law enforcement. Many suggested that the opportunity and wealth afforded to these participants flew in the face of why they believed youth typically engage in gang activity or affiliated with gangs – necessity. The perception of a glamorous life of luxury that can be gained by engaging in gang-related enterprises was suggested by some practitioners as the most important motivator for some of these young individuals. This finding

implies that gang prevention, intervention, and suppression activities in the Lower Mainland cannot simply adopt successful programs operating elsewhere, but needs to consider the unique motivators and forms of operation displayed by gang members in British Columbia.

The Canadian Legal System Limits the Effectiveness of the Pulling Levers Approach

Another reason why programs like Operation Ceasefire cannot be directly transferred into British Columbia is the distinctiveness of the Canadian legal system as compared to the United States. In the current study, the practitioners perceived that the Canadian legal system hinders pulling-levers style approaches. One challenge resulted from the *Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA)*, which promotes the pre- or post-charge diversion of youth who are considered first time, non-violent, or non-serious offenders. Practitioners felt that the YCJA did not apply well with young violent gang offenders. They expressed concerns that these youth were being diverted at the court level, when police strongly believed they posed a risk due to their involvement in the gang landscape. One participant suggested that the *YCJA* does not provide adequate sanctions for gang-affiliated youth engaging in pre-violent crimes, such as possessing or carrying firearms and engaging in drug trafficking. Many criticized the *YCJA* for this shift towards what they perceived to be insufficient sentencing, whereby they see youth increasingly prosecuted in a manner that is not responsive to their level of dangerousness. Similarly, practitioners equally believed that there were immense challenges in utilizing the law to introduce appropriate sanctions even for those offenders who had graduated to the *Criminal Code of Canada* by the age of 18. Practitioners felt as though bail was being granted at higher rates than they had seen before and that offenders were facing more lenient sentencing than in prior years.

The second challenge perceived by practitioners was the more general challenge of the process of charge approval that exists in British Columbia. In contrast to most other provinces/territories in Canada, recommended charges in British Columbia are forwarded by police for approval from Crown Counsel (Ministry of Justice, 2016). Effectively, Crown Counsel act as gatekeepers, determining if a charge is likely to result in a conviction and whether it is in the public's interest to proceed (Ministry of Justice, 2016). Participants felt unsupported, implying that they struggled to obtain charge approval and even then, that there were no meaningful consequences to crimes committed in BC, particularly in comparison to Alberta and other provinces across the country. Without the threat of meaningful punishment, police reflect that they have struggled to generate deterrence strategies for individuals involved in serious crime.

However, many identified promising avenues for enforcement, including the use of civil laws. Many respondents advise of alternative enforcement techniques, such as through municipal by-laws or provincial laws, that they have begun to employ and perceive to be effective. One example are the Bar Watch and Restaurant Watch/Inadmissible Patrons programs, discussed in

Chapter 7. Another is the *Civil Forfeiture Act* which allows police to seize instruments or proceeds of crime under a lesser burden of proof than criminal charges. This piece of legislature provides the police with a means to convey to an offender that if a vehicle is being used in dial-a-doping it will be forfeited, thus having expensive implications for offenders who want to drive luxurious vehicles and show off their wealth. Lastly, policing initiatives such as the Priority Tactical Enforcement Priority (PTEP) and Priority Violent Gang Offender (PVGO) programs, which enable police to identify target offenders and concentrate resources on reducing their criminal activity

Comprehensive Strategies are Essential

The third common observation from the interviews was that practitioners perceive prevention and intervention activities to be important elements of a gang strategy, in addition to enforcement. In other words, anti-gang practitioners in the Lower Mainland emphasized the need for comprehensive programming. The practitioners involved in the current study were involved in enforcement, or suppression, activities, which were described as the targeting of individuals or groups with a high propensity for violence and disrupting their activity through any means possible. Still, they observed that a 'more boots on the ground approach' would not fix the problem and that they cannot arrest their way out of this problem.

All respondents, in some capacity or another, raised the topic of prevention and early intervention for youth who are not yet gang involved or who are in the early stage of their involvement. They cited partnerships with the school system and many placed considerable value in the use of school presentations that speak to the general population of youth in a middle or secondary school. One participant described the ideal gang program as 'full-spectrum', while another stressed the importance of reaching out and building connections with young children and youth so that they have a positive reference of a police officer. Another suggested that the two pieces go hand in hand; prevention to help youth before they come involved, and, failing that, enforcement and interdiction. Overwhelmingly, practitioners perceive that a pulling-levers style enforcement approach is effective, but that a long-term gang strategy must include prevention and early intervention

Conclusion

Comprehensive gang programs, which balance prevention, intervention, and suppression activities, are required to effectively counter gangs in British Columbia. Rather than adopting programming that has demonstrated effectiveness in other jurisdictions, Lower Mainland practitioners, together with communities affected by gang violence, must work together to develop unique programming that responds to the specific risk factors, cultural/gender/ethnic dynamics, and which draws heavily upon available community resources and services.

<p style="color:red; text-align:center">6.</p>

<h1 style="color:red; text-align:center">SASI Consultation Findings</h1>

<h2 style="color:red; text-align:center">Strategies on Violence Prevention and Community Safety</h2>

<h3 style="text-align:center">SAF Committee</h3>

This chapter of the 2019 SASI Fellowship Report is the result of a facilitated consultation in May 2019 with key informants from agencies that have played a role in implementing programs and strategies employed to prevent gang violence in our community.

Participants:

1. Mojda Habibi – Probation Officer, Fraser Valley Community Corrections, Govt. of Canada
2. Chris Farley, Safe Schools Teacher, Abbotsford School District
3. Emil Dhaliwal, Manager Community Services, John Howard Society, Abbotsford
4. Chief Constable Mike Serr, Abbotsford Police Department
5. Deputy Chief Constable Brett Crosby-Jones, Abbotsford Police Department
6. Inspector Colin Thomson, Abbotsford Police Department
7. Alison Gutrath, Archway Community Services
8. Simone Maassen, Archway Community Services
9. Manpreet Sarai, Archway Community Services
10. Maria Sunder, BC Corrections, Govt. of BC

Facilitators:

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CONSULTATION FINDINGS

The consultation was designed to address two main questions:

- What have been the main responses to gang violence, including those that involved South Asian Canadian youth either as perpetrators or victims?
- How could we improve our current response to that problem?

1. Vested Interest

Participants suggested that while there is a vested interest in our community to work together to combat any public safety concerns, there is a gap in the City of Abbotsford where no over-arching mechanism that brings community groups/organizations or individuals together who are working in the same areas exists (see recommendation #1 and 2).

We need to be sharing best practices, breaking down silos, having an integrated approach to violence prevention, considering interoperability of systems/practices, addressing interdependent issues (such as mentoring, interventions), and finding innovative ways to work with the communities that we serve. The police have become default agents to "police" children by families whose children are not listening to their parents, find innovative ways to work with the communities that we serve. While service programs change and delivery models may morph, there is a need to acknowledge and support the continued work of individual agencies.

2. Local program delivery insights

Abbotsford Police Department (APD) has been employing the four pillars of enforcement strategy: suppression, prevention, intervention and community engagement in their work.

The police state that while suppression allows for the disruption of gang activity through gang intelligence, having a strong presence, and engaging in investigation has been a traditional police role.

Prevention strategies include forming school district partnerships to focus on young students from grade 5-8 in order to deter future involvement in gang activity.

Intervention has allowed the APD to work with the community realizing that arrest is only one step, getting gang members to exit the gang lifestyle requires a lot of support and is very intensive.

Community engagement has yielded good results while realizing that police alone cannot solve the problems and that the community has to be an active partner. (See success # 1)

APH formalized a Gang Crime Unit in 2018 - https://www.abbypd.ca/gang-prevention

> The Abbotsford Police Department's Gang Crime Unit utilizes a multi-faceted approach that deals with gang enforcement as well as community involvement and youth intervention to not only target active criminals, but encourage and promote awareness and gang involvement prevention.
>
> The Abbotsford Police GCU is dedicated to enforcement, intelligence and community and youth programs dedicated to reducing the impact of gangs in our city.

The Gang Crime Unit requires engagement with the South Asian Canadian community, while realizing that to build deep positive and reciprocal relationships is a long process. (See success # 2)

In it Together: **Archway Community Services (ACS)** (previously Abbotsford Community Services) recently concluded a five year (2014 – 2018) federally funded program that was designed for 12-30 year old at risk youth (Appendix A). A steering committee kept the community abreast of activities and updates. (Recommendation # 3)

At this time (May 2019), with limited funding, staff are working with South Asian Canadian youth and their families and with newer immigrants who meet the funding criteria. The focus is on intervention (See success # 3 and Services).

Counselling support for families and high risk youth - 3 sessions per week with a multilingual counsellor are available (Success # 4).

The Spergel Model entitled Gang Reduction and Intervention Partnership (GRIP) and training for parents has been implemented in Abbotsford. The Spergel Model: https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/ddrsng-prblms/index-en.aspx (Success # 5).

The South Asian Community Resource Office works to provide mentorship to youth in middle school by pairing them with a South Asian Canadian adult who is recruited and screened (Success # 6).

School District #34 continually works to build capacity with teachers and administrators to ensure attachment and inclusion to schools for youth at risk. The Safe Schools Program is being extended in the District of Abbotsford.

Working with non-traditional risk factors to assist in identifying youth (e.g. some youth are academically strong and involved) (Recommendation # 4).

John Howard Society primarily works with adults who are impacted by the criminal justice system in helping them reintegrate into society.

Reintegration through programming that allows building relationships in the community prior to prison release.

Assisting fathers in federal prisons to learn how connect with their children, in order to address attachment issues (Success # 7).

Noticing an increasing trend in recruitment (e.g. sexual exploitation), idleness (for those who already are wealthy) and connections to the criminal world, beyond just sustaining drug use.

Abbotsford Community Corrections works with adults in contact with the criminal justice program to reduce reoffending and changing behaviour of those under court-ordered supervision in the community.

The system uses cognitive behavioural techniques to target an individual's thinking so as to safely transition them into living in the community.

They work on building relationships with some young men who are still going to school but who have exhibited violent behaviour, believing that they have a bright and shiny future.

Abbotsford Parole focuses mostly on intervention and reintegration

Specialized security intelligence officers are finding ways of dealing with rival gangs, as public safety is paramount.

Community programming and institutional programming are becoming more tailored towards understanding security threat groups (STG's).

UFV research

School of Criminology and Criminal Justice and the Centre for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Research (http://cjr.ufv.ca) projects include**:**

- Mapping of pathways into gang life through an analysis of 10 Abbotsford residents now deceased as a result of gang activity in Abbotsford
- Review of the End Gang Life program by the Centre (now completed)
- Profiles of 'Dial-a-Dopers' across the province of British Columbia, underway by the Centre
- Review of the Abbotsford Police Department Mentoring Program by the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice

3. Information sharing and engagement

Agencies suggest that while traditional risk factors that include high rates of poverty, limited access to resources, a high proportion of single-parent families, exposure to neighbourhood level violence and disorder, isolation, lack of attachment, exposure to violence in the home or other traumatic experience(s), are relevant to youth in Abbotsford, they need to be vigilant about non-traditional risk factors (e.g. access to household wealth, cultural deference to male child, rebellion against authoritarian parenting style, parent-child schisms, hyper-masculine clan and caste pride etc.) that affect the South Asian Canadian youth population. There is a need for more research on markers since many of the common factors may apply but they could lead to a variety of outcomes. A greater understanding to fill the knowledge gap on risk factors and what formal processes identify, measure, assess and engage in counteracting them (Recommendation # 4).

It was generally acknowledged that parental involvement with their high school going children starts to diminish as youth push away from parents and start to think they can take care of themselves (Recommendation # 5).

Should Abbotsford be looking at the community court model work for this population group? Community Courts in BC take a problem-solving approach to address offenders' needs and circumstances and the underlying causes of their criminal behaviour. Community courts have not been typically used to deal with gang violence (Recommendation # 6).

If the perception is that schools are a place for recruitment and targets, what other methods and patterns of recruitment are emerging (Recommendation # 7)?

Things might be changing in methods of recruitment and exploitation of girls. We need to better understand what can be done as an early response/intervention. It appears that there are younger girls with more prominent roles in gangs and in recruitment, who are knowledgeable about affiliations and have insider knowledge – creating public safety issues, putting them at risk (Recommendation # 8).

Police are better at interventions, suppression and exiting strategies, leaving the prevention work to others in the community. A mechanism is needed to facilitate inter-agency collaboration and address issues relating to protection of privacy and the safe sharing of information between agencies (Recommendation # 1, 2, 9).

What has worked in undertaking community engagement up to now and what do we need to do further? How do we assess what is working? In Abbotsford, less attention has been paid on those at immediate risk, because of our agencies' focus on maximum impact work (e.g. on reducing crime). Universal prevention programs delivered by police are generally not effective in reaching the intended goals, although there is positive effect on community relationships, e.g. programs like Drug Abuse Resistance Education, Gang Resistance, Education and Training,

and social inclusion programs have worked because they work to build general resilience (Recommendation # 10)?

4. What we know/need to know

The consultation participants made the following observations:

- **Community engagement forums to discuss issues of gang violence, community safety and awareness about the issues are critically important for continued success.**

Questions:

1. What is the best value for the effort?
2. How do we stay tuned/aware/sensitive to the dynamics of the South Asian Canadian community?
3. Are the targets of our efforts (youth at-risk, in-risk) being reached?
4. What are the appropriate venues and spaces?
5. Which agencies/organizations/groups have capacity to partner with the police and service agencies?

- **There appears to be a perception that the East Abbotsford/West Abbotsford social divide that is still relevant in terms of prevention and intervention strategies.**

Questions:

1. Is the hot spot approach of focusing on where the trouble is yielding results?
2. Overtly violent South Asian Canadian youth gangs (and where they live and play) are a focus for policing strategies – what is working and not working?

- **We have evidence that South Asian Canadian youth are involved and being recruited for a life of crime.**

Questions:

1. Schools are a source for recruitment, but where else is this happened and at what ages?
2. How does the business model of programming overlay itself over cultural lines?
3. Why are South Asian Canadian gangs overrepresented at the street violence/gang homicides level?
4. Why is the amount of recent violence at the middle level of organized crime reflecting South Asian Canadian youth involvement?
5. How and why are young girls getting involved/being recruited?

- **Community safety is a concern for all of us.**

Questions:

1. To what extent do members of the South Asian Canadian community feel intimidated by these groups or individuals?
2. Is there a typical response with organized crime groups that are linked to culturally distinct communities? What is this response?
3. What can we learn from other communities?
4. How do we work to change attitudes/societal structures/understanding of these particular issues within our communities?

- **Silence/non-cooperation/denial are part of the continuum**.

Questions:

1. What can be done about breaking down the silence, the closing of ranks, and denial of issues within the South Asian Canadian communities?
2. What are the opportunities for empowerment – to have the community become part of the solution?
3. While the South Asian Canadian community has the means, how do we mobilize its members more?
4. What are the strengths, what are the skill sets, who has capacity, which groups can be partnered with, and where are the limits?

- **Resourcing and funding are constant challenges we face in the community to meet these complex issues.**

Questions:

1. How do we leverage our collective efforts?
2. Do we need to meet at least four times a year to identify a five year plan?
3. How do we map out the work going on in the community?
4. How we build strategic alliances with the University/City/Agencies/ and individuals?
5. How do we support the request for a Community Safety Officer with the City?
6. How do we further the need for more evidence/research?

Current Resources and Activities

OUTREACH

In 2018/2019 Abbotsford Police Department has been conducting outreach with the South Asian Canadian community in the local area. The outreach efforts have produced good results and the communication, interaction and visibility have all been positive. While the capacity within the voluntary sector of the community to build resources, provide services and bridge connections with the APD are in the nascent stages, there is hope that the outreach will continue towards effective and results oriented supports.

TRAINING

Gang Reduction and Intervention Partnership (GRIP)

May 2019

Hosted by the Abbotsford School District #34, in partnership with Safer Schools Together, BC Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit and the Ministry of Education.

Quick Facts:

- The new ERASE school-based gang prevention program is funded through $1.12 million announced in July 2018.
- In March 2019, Abbotsford became one of 12 priority communities identified by police and safety experts as those that could benefit from additional gang prevention support. The other communities are Burnaby, Delta, Kamloops, Kelowna, Langley, Nanaimo, Prince George, Surrey, Vancouver, Victoria and Williams Lake.
- The provincial ERASE strategy offers services and resources to foster school connectedness, address bullying and prevent violence in B.C. schools, as well as providing support to school districts during critical incidents.
- During the 2018-19 school year, ERASE was expanded to be a more comprehensive resource and focus on gang prevention, mental health and wellness, substance use, social media and sexual orientation and gender identity.
- The Abbotsford session will be provided by Safer Schools Together, the Ministry of Education's service-delivery partner for ERASE.

SERVICES

Archway Community Services' In It Together (IIT) 2019 projects provides a targeted comprehensive strategy and continues to build on the strength of community partnerships and

enhance community capacity and resilience against gangs through effective linkage (See evaluation of previous IIT Program at Appendix C).

Anticipated Outcomes Of In It Together 2019:

Target Group	Anticipated Short-term Outcomes	Anticipated Intermediate Outcomes	Long-term Outcome
Youth at-risk of gang activity	- increased motivation to achieve positive goals; - increased pro-social - attitudes, beliefs and skills; increased access to community support services; and - decreased positive attitudes toward drugs, gangs, and crime.	- increased attachment to positive role models; - increased positive self-image; and - increased positive work and school related goals.	The long-term outcomes (which would be observed beyond the timelines of this project) for the Project will be a resilient community resulting in reduced youth gang crime and youth violence.
Youth involved in gang activity	- decreased positive attitude toward drugs, gangs, and crime; - increased pro-social attitudes, beliefs, and skills; and - increased motivation to achieve positive goals.	- Reduction in police contact, offending, and gang-involvement; - decreased association with anti-social peers; and - increased resilience.	

7.

SARFP 2019 Consultation Recommendations

1. **Break down the silos**: The creation of a Chief Safety Officer for the City of Abbotsford is recommended to coordinate the work of the community. The goal would be to bring everyone together to work closely and more effectively by sharing information, developing and implementing collective strategies, creating synergies, optimizing the impact of crime prevention resources, programs and activities, and ensuring minimum overlap in services and resources.

2. **Ensure appropriate funding for local services and resources** that meet the needs of families and at-risk and danger-of-getting-involved youth in the Abbotsford area.

3. **In It Together Evaluation Report:** to build on the work of the report from a five year program (see Appendix C).

4. **Further research** is required on understanding and discussing traditional and non-traditional risk factors that impact South Asian Canadian youth (perhaps through the WAYAG, which is actively attempting to move community engagement and research forward.

5. **Parental involvement** opportunities with youth need to exist at different stages (education, lifecycle, different points of intervention/suppression) that combat the normative behaviour of young individuals to push parents away.

6. **Community Court** might be looked at as a means to deal with certain minor offenders at risk of joining gangs or getting involved in gang violence - e.g. The Spotlight Program is a specialized youth probation unit that helps youth street gang members avoid a criminal lifestyle https://www.gov.mb.ca/cyo/kkoc/program_list.html
   See Community courts in BC story
   https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/justice/criminal-justice/vancouver-downtown-community-court/the-community-court-s-story

7. **Further research on** methods and targets of recruitment of young South Asian Canadians into a life of crime.

8. **Further research on** recruitment and exploitation of young South Asian Canadian girls and what can be done as early response/intervention.

9. **Community coordination mechanisms** are needed for effective responses for children and youth at risk as well as an ongoing assessment of impact from current engagement/programs needs to be undertaken.

10. **Community engagement** models are needed to build sustainable and long lasting relationships between agencies, individuals and families in the South Asian Canadian context. What is being undertaken currently needs to be evaluated to analyse effectiveness and impact.

SUCCESSES IN ABBOTSFORD:

1. **Outreach** with the South Asian Canadian community by the APD has produced positive results.
2. **Resources:** APD formalized a Gang Unit in 2018 https://www.abbypd.ca/gang-prevention
3. **Services:** Archway is providing services to youth by building relationships with high risk youth (See link above of In It Together project) https://archway.ca/category/program/in-it-together/
4. **Clinical counselling:** Archway provides access to multilingual counsellor for families and youth (English, Punjabi & Hindi).
5. **The Gang Reduction and Intervention Partnership (GRIP)** training is being rolled out across 12 communities in BC, including Abbotsford. https://www.abbyschools.ca/news/abbotsford-parents-supported-help-kids-fight-lure-gangs
6. **Mentoring programs** for youth in middle schools.
7. **Dad's Heroes Program** with the John Howard Society https://www.johnhowardbc.ca/regions/lower-mainland/services/dad-hero/

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Appendixes

Introduction

The South Asian Studies Institute's (SASI) Research Fellowship Program was developed in 2018 to work on applied research projects that will inform educators, policy planners, organizations. Agencies, individuals and other stakeholders regarding key contemporary issues within the local South Asian Canadian community (Fraser Valley Region).

The Fellowship brings together (up to four) inter-disciplinary scholars for a period of two years (or less) to create a nexus point for specifically designed research and related activities.

The Research Fellows

The Research Fellows are scholars with experience in the field of South Asian Canadian Diaspora, Canada/South Asia relations and the specific research area chosen for that time period. Fellows have made contributions to diaspora-related issues in one of the following areas: public policy, business and economic development, arts and culture, civil society, political science, global development and the social sciences and humanities. Fellows undertake research on SASI directed projects (for up to two years on a topic), with a goal of gathering and analyzing research-based evidence in order to provide recommendations for SASI to further the issues, as well as inform and work with pertinent stakeholders.

Applied Research

Research Fellows work on applied research projects with the expectation that the outcomes from the Fellowship assist in providing key findings for stakeholders as they work to find long-term, sustainable solutions to issues. Projects also work to inform best practices with appropriate responses. A South Asian Fellowship Committee is formed for each two year period made up of experts from the topic area/discipline.

Up to four Research Fellows are recruited and funded for one two-year long project. Each project is determined by the SASI with input from the South Asian Fellowship Committee (SAF Committee) and in consultation with researchers/stakeholders. The agreed-upon project entails evidence-gathering, utilizing student researchers and engaging with other scholars and stakeholders.

Fellowship Outcomes

The Research Fellows will co-produce one or more of the following; research paper(s), reports, industry-supported databases, give talks, present research and provide academic support to research students. Research Fellows may also contribute by writing opinion pieces, providing

media responses, contributing policy-focused papers and organizing and participating in events to share the research.

Governance

The Fellows report to the SASI Director who will keep the SASI Community Advisory Committee (SACAC) informed about the implementation of the research project.

The Call for Research Fellows is initiated in December of each two year term with a goal to initiate the research in the spring of the next year.

Nominations

Nominations for Fellowships are vetted by the SAFAC using the following criteria:

- The scholar's contributions to Canada/South Asia research;
- Previous record of work that complements SASI's research mandate;
- Proven research experience on issues relevant to the research topic;
- Proven analytical, research and communications skills;
- Ability to contribute to one of the SASI's thematic pillars;
- Experience in engaging in high-level Canada/South Asia networks particularly with academia, government, business, and civil society;
- Hold an affiliation with a Canadian or South Asian university, college, or research institute;
- Academic/Practitioner in the field of study appropriate to the project;
- Ability to engage with community and stakeholders.

APPENDIX B

2019 SASI Research Fellowship Project

Strategies in Violence Prevention and Community Safety

The 2019 SASI Research Fellowship Project is the result of an analysis of the violence and associated community safety issues faced by young South Asian Canadians. The Project's work was to respond to key strategies employed for violence prevention by agencies in the Abbotsford region and to frame the issues based on a literature review and inventory of services in the region.

The focused goal of the2019 Research Fellowship was to provide analysis to a broadly based research question: What is the response to gun violence and community safety in Abbotsford related to South Asian Canadian youth who are involved in crime related activities?

This report is supported by the following review:
- Current literature review as it relates to the last decade's spate of violence related to South Asian Canadian youth in the Fraser Valley and the Lower Mainland of BC.
- A review and inventory of government and community responses that include: mobilization strategies employed for prevention, intervention, suppression, media representation and management of community responses
- Analysis of findings from a facilitated consultation with key informants who are actively engaged with employing strategies to combat violence related to the South Asian Canadian youth community.

SASI acknowledges with grateful thanks for the support of our committee members and agency representatives who supported the 2019 Fellowship.

2019 South Asian Fellowship Committee Members

Yvon Dandurand, Prof. Emeritus School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, UFV
Dr. Martha Dow, Associate Professor, Social Cultural Media Studies, UFV
Dr. Amanda McCormick, Director, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, UFV
Dr. Satwinder Kaur Bains, Director, South Asian Studies Institute, UFV
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SASI South Asian Community Advisory Committee Members
Dr. Malwinder Singh Dhami
Dr. Amarjit Singh Bajwa

APPENDIX C

In It Together Program Executive Summary

a. Introduction

Gang activity is a reality in Abbotsford. The Abbotsford Police Department indicates that there are a number of different groups and gangs with a presence in Abbotsford including The United Nations, the Red Scorpions, and Hells Angels (Personal Communication with Abbotsford Community Services, 2013; 2016). The gang landscape continues to evolve over time with new gangs emerging who operate independently from these known criminal organizations. The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) has provided Abbotsford Community Services with $6.3 million to launch **Abbotsford Comprehensive Community Action for Gang Reduction** [otherwise known as *In It Together* (IIT)], a comprehensive approach aimed at reducing gang activity and youth crime in Abbotsford.

b. Project Description
    i.   Primary Project Components

In It Together (IIT) is an adaptation of the Gang Reduction Program (GRP). The GRP, based on the "Spergel" model, is a comprehensive approach to reducing gang activity and youth crime in communities that is composed of three main prongs: prevention, intervention, and suppression (Spergel, 2007). Key project components include: Community Assessment, Start Up and Administration Activities, Prevention- Primary, Prevention- Secondary, Intervention, Suppression, Re-entry, School and Education, and Community Engagement Mobilization

    ii.   Project Participants

The program's target group was youth ages 12 to 30 years who reside in Abbotsford, who have been, or are currently, gang-involved or are at high risk of gang involvement, and their families. The target age range for youth was originally 12 to 24 years, however it was increased to include those up to 30 years of age in response to the need in the community to help older, former gang involved youth to re-enter the community after serving a sentence for a gang related crime.

c. Evaluation Methodology
    i.   Evaluation Design

The evaluation consists of a mixed-methods research design which includes both quantitative and qualitative components. Where possible, pre-post measures are used with quantitative instruments. No feasible comparison group was available for this evaluation.

    ii.   Data Collection Methods

Qualitative Data includes Key Informant Interviews, Document Review and the Most Significant Change methodology.

Quantitative Data includes Primary data from a participant survey, Secondary data from assessments and case files, and Official School and Police records.

iii. Data Analysis Methods

During the course of the evaluation, all data analyses were performed using Excel and/or SPSS and included both Descriptive Statistics and inferential Statistics. Before any data analysis was undertaken, thorough data cleaning took place using standard procedures to identify potential outliers or errors in data entry.

MSC Stories were coded, condensed and selected by stakeholders.

iv. Methodological Limitations

Methodological limitations for this evaluation included challenges around Causal Attribution, consent to participation and missing data.

d. **Process Evaluation Questions and Findings**

i. Did the program reach the targeted number of participants?

Looking at the total count, the program exceeded the number of participants that it anticipated reaching. The program was diligent in outreach with community partners (especially the school district) and organizations who could identify and refer at-risk youth and their families. The Primary Prevention stream far exceeded expectations with community parent forums reaching 894 known individuals, and large community events drawing up to 700 people. The Secondary Prevention Stream also exceeded expectation for numbers of youth – the recreation and essential skills groups attracted many youth beyond the one-on-one case management aspect of this stream.

The aspects of the program that required one-on-one work did not meet the expected numbers of participants (Intervention, Suppression, Re-Entry). A consistent theme that was seen throughout the program is that participants are hard to reach youth and it is common for it to take several months for them to engage in programming

ii. To what extent did the project reach the targeted group?

Evidence suggests that the program successfully reached the targeted groups. The youth involved with the program demonstrated multiple risk factors, putting them at risk for, or already engaging in anti-social and gang-related activities. Participant demographics and participant risk profiles largely match those that were anticipated by the program. There was one adjustment made early in the program to increase the target age from 24 to 30, to capture a broader range of those being re-introduced into the community after incarceration for a gang related offence.

iii. Did the participants remain engaged with the program?

Participants remained engaged with the program. Once engaged, participants remained in the program for an average of 92.9 weeks, which is longer than the anticipated 52-week participation duration. Close to one third (32%) of participants successfully completed the program, twice the number of participants who dropped out (14%).

iv.   Was the program implemented with high fidelity?

The program delivered a high fidelity Spergel model program. Community assessments were undertaken, community mobilization occurred, the program streams were identified and programming was customized to ensure stream appropriate activities and supports were provided.

v.   Were staff (including volunteers) adequately trained to implement the intervention?

The IIT program was diligent in providing training for program staff. In total they held 142 training events, and had 578 attendees (not unique participants), with average participation of 4.1 attendees per event. Additional information from interviews supported the view that the training was sufficient for staff to deliver the program as intended.

vi.   Were there any knowledge products/materials produced during the program?

There were 62 knowledge products developed and distributed over the course of the program. These included items across nine distinct types. Half of the knowledge products (50%) are presentations, with 10 out of 28 of these being delivered in the first full year of the program.

vii.   Was the project staff able to work effectively with community partners?

The IIT Program has connected with at least 59 community partners over the course of the program. The partnerships that the program has cultivated range from those that are central to the day to day program delivery (ACS, JHSLM, APD, ASD) to shorter term or single event engagement (e.g., Career Fair). In order to deliver effective programming, the IIT program needed to be connected to other organizations serving the target group to share information and coordinate care. The number and variety of partners the IIT program has is a testament to their success.

e. **Outcome Evaluation Questions and Findings**
    i.   Have youth decreased risk factors?

More than a third (39%) of participants showed a decrease in their total risk scores at follow-up (average of 26 months following program entry). More than half of those who graduated had decreased total risk scores at follow up.

ii.   Have youth increased protective factors?

The IIT program has had a measurable impact on attachment to school for youth who are participating. Youth in the program missed fewer days of school after joining the program than before they started, with those who successfully completed the program attending almost 2 weeks of school per year more post program than pre-pre-program. Youth in the program are also improving their behaviour at school, reducing the average number of suspension incidents per year.

> iii.   Have youth decreased contacts with police?

The take home message of the police data is that the youth in the program are known to police, and some are very well known. The pattern that we see in the data is that there is a shift in the type of police contact they are having. Forty percent of youth in the program decreased the number of chargeable offenses, and just over half of those who graduated reduced the number of chargeable offenses. A similar pattern is seen in police contacts, but with smaller proportions of decreases. This can be interpreted as these youth, although still engaged in antisocial behaviour, are involved in less severe behaviours or are in more peripheral roles.

f.   Cost Analysis Findings

The IIT program cost $6,128,108.27 to deliver. Costs for primary participants vary by the definition of 'participant', ranging from a high of $25,640.25 per primary participant to $4,135.03 when family members, secondary participants and parent forum attendees are included. Hourly direct dosage rates averaged $198.07/hour.

g.   Relevance

> a.   Continued Need For the Program, and Fit of the Program in the Community

There is a strong continued need for IIT.

The gang problem in Abbotsford continues to exist. Over the course of the program, gang activity has not decreased and the awareness of the negative impact of gangs on the community has increased.

The community acknowledges a need for services for at risk of, and engaged with, the gang lifestyle. All community assessment participants felt that In It Together has played a significant role in reducing violence in Abbotsford. Their responses reflected the belief that without programs addressing the issues, violence would be more prevalent in Abbotsford.

The IIT program became highly integrated into an established service delivery landscape. IIT is a central node connecting diverse and specialized service providers to allow participants to receive the customized and complex care necessary. Despite the availability of various other resources in the community, a strong void would be felt without IIT - IIT fills an important coordinating, central node.

The IIT program served youth until the very end of funding, The IIT program officially closed at the end of September, 2018. At the end of the program, 55 participants, equal to one quarter

of the program participants, were still participating and have 'program ended' listed as their exit reason.

The IIT program plays an important role in relapse prevention. Even those youth who successfully completed the program remained connected to it, returning for advice, when they were in crisis, or to maintain their current path.

b. The Consistency with NCPS objectives

The results presented above demonstrate that the IIT program's results are largely consistent with the NCPS objectives which are 1) To promote integrated action of key partners to reduce crime and victimization; 2) To develop and implement community-based solutions to problems that contribute to crime and victimization, particularly as they affect children, youth, women and Aboriginal persons; and 3) To increase public awareness and support for effective approaches to crime prevention.

c. Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons Learned for the Project

The Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons Learned for the project were found in the following areas.

Diversity and Matching: There are a variety of challenges that center on the diversity of the target population (age range from 12-30 and their families; range of gang involvement from at-risk to involved to leaving/re-entering community; prominent South Asian community) and providing programming that meets them where they are, with what they need (individualized services including goals and successes; and culturally relevant). Culturally diverse programing was seen as an opportunity to meet these challenges.

Community Partners/Steering Committee: Delivering a diverse program with multiple streams and partnerships (sub-contracted and members of the Steering Committee) means managing a lot of moving parts and requires ongoing relationship management.

Implementation Process Management: The implementation supports required for the Spergel model (which has five different service delivery streams, each targeting a different client demographic) are vast including administration, client tracking and file management, program delivery, evaluation requirements and program oversight.

Client Engagement: Client engagement was challenging including the amount of time needed for the initial engagement to build trust with youth who do not easily trust others; and for families who culturally do not share information with others. Staff had the opportunity to work with clients for longer terms.

Information Sharing: Information sharing regarding specific clients was an ongoing challenge for program implementation. Both the program staff and APD wanted to work together to support clients, but due to legal and confidentiality limitations, were unable to disclose names or event

specifics unless there was the threat of immediate harm. The contracted school district teacher was able to make specific referrals and communicate with project staff as well as APD.

h. <u>Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons Learned for the Evaluation</u>

The Challenges, Opportunities and Lessons Learned included the following elements.

Assessment Forms: The assessment form was a long and detailed instrument that covered a wide range of domains and risk factors. It took a significant amount of time to complete and a number of different staff completed the assessments on different clients, which may have lead to inconsistencies. The evaluation team and the program staff worked collaboratively to develop a valid and useful tool that was customized to meet evaluation and program delivery needs in a single document.

Information Management: Collecting, entering, and analyzing data for this program presented various challenges throughout the program, despite the assistance of the program coordinator.

Comparison Group: One major challenge in the analysis of the program outcomes is the lack of a comparison group. As this was not feasible, the evaluation implemented the MSC story methodology.

Procedural Ambiguities: There were certain parts of the program delivery or evaluation protocols that remained ambiguous for the majority of the evaluation. The consent process was one important area, as was the determination of when participants had completed the program. It is important to make sure that the workers who will be implementing protocols understand what the procedures are, why they are important and how they contribute to the program and the evaluation's success.

      i. Recommendations
          1. Recommendations for the Project

Continue to review the characteristic and definitions of the target audience with the flexibility to implement changes to respond to community context.

Continue to provide programming in a way that is accessible to the target audience.

Consider allocating additional resources to allow for one person to have the role of developing, maintaining and expanding relationships with external stakeholders and program partners.

Consider allocating additional resources to allow for one person to have the role of overseeing internal program operations.

Make assessment materials as efficient as possible.

Consider developing a clear definition of when a participant has 'completed' the program and how they exit out.

Continue to expect clients to use more resources and take longer in the program than anticipated.

Continue to dedicate time and resources to ensuring functional information sharing is possible with all key stakeholders and partner organizations.

2. Recommendations for the Evaluation

Err on the side of brevity when creating assessment forms or any measurement tool.

Take every opportunity to develop and reinforce systematic data collection procedures.

Think through the pros and cons of all comparison group possibilities.

Review consent and data collection procedures early and often to ensure time sensitive opportunities for data collection are not missed.

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2019 South Asian Research Fellowship Advisory Committee Member Profiles

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Yvon is a criminologist and Professor Emeritus at the University of the Fraser Valley and a Fellow and Senior Associate at the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform.

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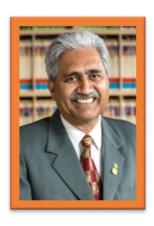
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