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‘Community’ and the Start Smart, Stay Safe Children’s Project.

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CALGARY
POLICE
SERVICE

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List of Acronyms

AGC: Agent of Police: Contractual Discourse
AGP: Agent of Police: Partnership Discourse
ANT: Actor Network Theory
CBP: Community Based Policing
CCSD: Calgary Catholic School District
CO: Community as Organization Discourse
CPS: Calgary Police Service
ECP: Effective Community Partnerships
FS: Facilitative State co-extensive with Community Discourse
IC: Integrated Community Discourse
LC: Light Community Discourse
MOU: Memorandum of Understanding
MRU: Mount Royal University
POP: Problem Orientated Policing
RNWMP: Royal North West Mounted Police
S4: Start Smart Stay Safe
SCIF: Safe Communities Innovation Fund
TOR: Terms of Reference

Thesis Abstract

Utilizing Manuel DeLanda's Assemblage Theory as this thesis' theoretical framework, this qualitative case study strives to see how the discourse of 'community' is envisioned and subsequently influences the Start Smart Stay Safe Children's Project assemblage through its formulation stage. The Start Smart Stay Safe Children's Project is an innovative partnership between the Calgary Police Service, Mount Royal University, Calgary Catholic School District and the Calgary Public School Board that promotes resiliency in children through a classroom setting. The thesis' first research objective was to understand the complexities behind the specific project's formulation. Actor Network Theory was utilized as a method to trace the S4 Children's Project's formulation trajectory. After this descriptive tracing, the envisioned discourses of 'community' were analyzed through key informant interviews. After elaborating and differentiating on the differences between the organizations involved, an assemblage analysis was done to show the particular processes that have reified the complexities and trajectories of these varying discourses of 'community'. What was seen is that all of these discourses are highly coded by a multiplicity of factors. Although these discourses of 'community' did not highly affect the direct content or philosophy of the Children's Project itself, it did cause tension at times due to varying organizational cultures, frameworks, resources, and capacities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Evolution of Policing: A Human Geographical Introduction

Before the logistics of this thesis are to be laid out in its entirety, it is necessary to provide a short historical framework of policing from its onset. The origins of policing will be briefly elaborated on and will conclude within a specific Calgarian framework. Showing the situational and historical contingencies that policing organizations have encountered over a time/space continuum will bring a greater human geographical context to the Calgarian setting that I will be exploring. Although the policing evolution from different places, spaces, actors and events is too vast and complex to explain in one single chapter, this introduction will create a base that will enrich the social complexity I will be showing through Manuel DeLanda's assemblage theory and my analysis of the S4 Children's Project's formulation.

Throughout this thesis, 'policing' will be understood as a state operated public service. Although policing can extend into the private sector as well as into the criminal arena (Brodeur, 2010), I will be strictly focusing on the publically funded police organization that we see in Westernized cities and municipalities today. Secondly, I will be focusing on the idea of 'modern policing' that arose and evolved from the French model under King Louis XIV in 1667. Military and security forces have provided safety, protection, and surveillance to various spaces and places throughout human history. This is an obvious fact. This changed in 1667 as policing organized itself in a strictly urban laden way for the first time. With a consistent emphasis on built up spaces in a historical and situational context throughout this introduction, my focus will remain within a modern and urban policing framework.

Twenty years prior to the creation of the office of the general lieutenancy of police in 1667 in France, Paris experienced a massive rebellion by the Parisian public due to royal authoritarianism abuse, state corruption and unnecessary high taxes. This uprising was known as the 'Fronde' and highly polarized the city (Bonney, 1978). Disorder, crime, and rebellion erupted throughout the city until monarchical power was restored in 1653. This event, as well as nearly a century of religious turmoil between Catholics and French Huguenots created an unstable social urban setting within Paris.

Along with this chaotic setting, Paris had also grown to one the biggest metropolitan areas in Europe (Brodeur, 2010). This rampant growth was due to the fact that most of Western Europe seemed to be slowly evolving from a mainly medieval agrarian economy to a more pre-modern and pre-industrialized state (starting from 1600 onwards). This prompted an influx of migrant rural workers to the edges of Paris to look for possible employment opportunities. This urban migration trend aided to the emergence of the Parisian slums. These highly dense

shantytown districts located on the peripheral were known as the 'Cour des miracles'. The 'Court of Miracles' namesake referred to the vast amount of beggars that would beg within the Parisian city limits during the day (many on false pretenses that they were lame or crippled) and at night be seen walking the slums in good health. This area of the city was riddled with crime, citizen unrest, and was highly unregulated.

As Gold (1970) states,

'Medieval slum districts, known as *cour des miracles*, were completely under the control of criminals... The authorities were powerless in these sections of the city. Because the streets were so dangerous, decrees forbidding citizens to carry arms were largely ignored' (p. 149).

Along with increased weapon use, structural crime prevention measures were absent in Paris due to the lack of enforcement of city bylaws. There was no street lighting, neglected garbage control and no street patrol (as it was previously done by the citizenry and established in 1559). There was also no accountability for corruption regarding local security personnel (Gold, 1970).

Also at this time, King Louis XIV of France also had an infrastructure and architectural agenda that drove his political dominance during his reign. His egotistical desire was to build a 'new Rome' out of Paris. He strived to exemplify France's imperial ambitions by having a highly regulated and architecturally dominated city. These tactics were exemplified by his desire to control and dictate urban order within the city. Louis XIV's will to create an efficient centralized policing force would help him achieve these goals and France's architectural greatness during this time period.

With the emphasis for more urban order and safety in Paris caused by these situational and historical events, the office of the general lieutenancy of police and the idea of modern policing was created in 1667. The emergent function of police at this time was one of a highly integrated, hybrid system composed of people from different statuses, knowledge bases and training backgrounds (Brodeur, 2010). The police in Paris also had substantial judicial, legislative, and executive powers.

Eventually because of its centralized success and organized ability to wield power, the state police extended throughout most regions of France until the French Revolution. In 1799 and onwards, Napoleon transformed the police into more of an organizational entity that focused on surveillance of the French public rather than an overarching general safety mechanism that was previously established to keep the citizenry at bay.

In the early 19th century and across the English Channel, London provides us with a much different contingent and situational history. Although we see significant similarities regarding these historical processes, policing history does not seem to follow a totalizing linear approach in regards to its evolution. As Brodeur (2010) states, 'the history of policing is the history of relative break ups and within a deep seated continuity' (p. 58).

As London transitioned from early modernity and embraced the industrial revolution in the 19th century, it also began to significantly change its policing structure. The British policing shift was not based on a royal edict by a monarch (as was the case in Paris), but by parliamentary government law and subsequent policy. This absence of a supreme leader was a catalyst that prompted vastly different policing reform regarding the powers the police could bestow in England. Prior to the creation of the Metropolitan Police District, London saw its population exponentially increase throughout the 1800's. From 1750-1820, London's population doubled (Miller, 1999). As a result, this explosion created an environment similar to Paris as London also began to struggle with slums, poverty, and crime. This population surge partially occurred due to changes in the built environment (as with the addition of railway lines and new transportation methods).

With an influx of wealthier migrants that wanted to capitalize on London's prestige as the administrative center of the British Empire, the city also saw financial and social disparity increase within its limits. Communities became less heterogeneous and the slums of the city materialized within the center of London (unlike the periphery of Paris in the 1600's). The creation of wealthier suburbs by the migrant population forced poorer wageworkers into highly dense, unsanitary living conditions. With this lack of proper housing and ultimately space, the density of the slums began to affect hygiene, sanitation, and the increased susceptibility to diseases such as typhoid and cholera. Autonomous neighborhood control decreased (the standard at the time) and crime rates increased.

Previous to the 1829 police reform in London, the police's role in the city was extremely similar to that of Paris. They handled situations within the legislative, regulatory, judicial and executive branches to exercise their governance over the citizenry. This all changed after 1829.

As Brodeur (2010) states,

First, it (policing) was no longer to be conceived as a self-sufficient system but as a branch of the criminal justice system, which purveyed offenders to judicial powers...Second, "the police" now began to refer to the body of men entrusted with policing duties, which were strictly focused on the provision of security' (p. 63).

In 1829, this vast reform occurred under Sir Robert Peel and a new police organization emerged that would be the pre-cursor for most westernized, decentralized and 'community policing' models today. With an emphasis on crime prevention and crime repression, 'the new police were the first force in the world organized to prevent crime by constant patrolling instead of merely apprehending offenders after the fact' (Miller, 1999, p.2). Having this emphasis as well as the notion of being politically neutral (at least within official legislation) prompted the adoption of Sir Robert Peel's nine policing principles (Appendix A). This helped further define policing in the developed world.

The Metropolitan Police were also understood as the only ones 'allowed' to carry out policing practices in London. Previously this had been done in an autonomous and citizen governed way. The police wore uniforms, carried weapons and were an alternative to the military as they dealt strictly with domestic disputes. The presence of police authority in public space began to shape geographical notions of security, crime, and public space itself. Crime became more covert because of policing pressures and visibility on public space, while security became less community oriented as the public could now rely on the police to provide safety for their families (Brodeur, 2010). This was the start of a new enforcement era.

The Canadian system evolved much differently then that of Britain and France mainly because of its geographical layout, history and population density. After the British conquest of New France in 1760, militarized policing emerged as the dominant form of policing within Canada. This lasted until Canada's Confederation.

As Vallée (2010) states,

'It was not until after Confederation in 1867, in particular the late 1800s, that organized police forces were established. Sheriffs, police chiefs, and constables reported to locally elected or appointed officials. In some parts of the country, the provinces stepped in and created Boards of Commissioners of Police' (p. 21).

As the government established very de-centralized public agencies in cities and regions in Upper and Lower Canada (as was the case in Britain prior to 1829), they also developed the Dominion Police in 1868 and the Royal North West Mounted Police (centralized, militaristic and more of a continental European model) in 1873. The Dominion Police protected Ottawa and surrounding areas, while the role of the RNWMP was to provide security for the growing Western expansion and migration of the Canadian population. It also served to police the American threat on the Southern border and to quell any First Nation rebellion. These two forces would eventually merge in 1920 into the today's iconic Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

As the RNWMP moved westward due to the Crown's purchase of Hudson's Bay territory, they formed outposts that would eventually evolve into a lot of the Western Canadian cities we have today. Calgary was no exception. In 1875, a group of fifty men under the command of Inspector A.E. Brisbois arrived at the North side of the Bow River where Calgary now stands (Symons, 1975). The naming of Calgary itself was proposed by RNWMP Colonel Macleod and later approved by the Crown in 1876 (Symons, 1975). Prior to 1883, the RNWMP police in Calgary were responsible for organizing the settlement of the surrounding areas. Their responsibilities went beyond their traditional job descriptions and they were highly integrated into their communities. A lot of these responsibilities were eventually taken over by the Dominion Land Office and as the area expanded due to the railway. Calgary's municipal police force emerged in February of 1885 and appointed John Ingraham as its first Chief of Police. As the town progressed towards a city (1894), infrastructure played a significant role in policing, as did various crime prevention methods such as effective lighting.

As Symons (1975) states,

'Night patrol was conducted in almost total darkness, but for the flickering gaslights at street corners. The lanes were unlit even years after domestic electrical power came to Calgary homes as early as 1889. Sulphur matches were an essential item on the night shift and them dry was yet another problem' (p. 20).

Alberta's marketing campaign of free 'homesteading' land for settlers as well as the emergence of oil during the early turn of the century helped Calgary to continually develop and grow. The police's responsibilities continued to increase due to this population explosion. Calgary's sprawled population made it difficult for the municipal police to act alone. Through effective collaboration with their federal counterparts (RNWMP), they strived to keep Calgary safe into the 1900's.

This policing approach differed greatly from everywhere else in the world. Through this hybridity and cooperation of centralized and decentralized policing agencies, it was shown that 'policing models with divergent features can be applied side by side and that they are largely compatible in practice' (Brodeur, 2010, p. 76). This makes Canada unique in way that is not comparable to the United States or its British and French predecessors.

1.2 Community Based Policing, The CPS, and 'Effective Community Partnerships'

During the 1930's, technology dominated much of Canada's policing reform in regards to the emergence of crime prevention techniques. The use of patrol boats, airplanes, cruisers, fingerprinting and tire marking became more common (Vallée, 2010). Community focused

crime prevention techniques were not officially formalized until the late 1960's. The University of Toronto hosted the National Conference on the Prevention of Crime, which convened from May 31 to June 3, 1965. The objectives of this conference were to establish a crime prevention agenda for the future of policing and to find root causes of the emerging social and criminal issues of the day.

Vallée (2010) states that the participants were able to,

'Reach a consensus concerning the increase in crime and the fact that youth play a significant role in this increase. Participants also agreed on the role played by some of the social changes occurring, namely, increased urbanization, the lack of family and religious ties, the disparity between the "haves and the have-nots" of society, and the lack of responses available to youth courts' (p. 26-27).

The next monumental policing shift occurred from the 1970s onwards. The 1975 Conference on Crime Prevention (a similar conference to that that was held in 1965) was a contributing factor to community policing reform in Canada.

Most Canadian municipal police forces adopted much of the 'Americanization' of community policing practices that emerged in academia and American policing reform (Goldstein, 1990; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This was due to our direct geographical location to our American neighbors, our absence of scholarly police work, and the American influence on Canadian popular culture and police policy.

As Leighton states (1990),

'Canadian police are more vulnerable to trends from the U.S. Much more should be made of the ideological imperative of the academic criminal justice and policing enterprise from the U.S. While there are outstanding individual academics in Canada who contribute to a body of relatively critical research on the police, there is no "critical mass" of academics who are routinely involved in an American-style criminal justice approach with police operational activities' (p. 514).

This 'critical mass' of police policy in America emerged as a response to the abuse and turmoil that occurred during the social justice movements of the 1960's and 70's. It also arose from the lack of communication and integration that police organizations had in regards to the general public. Within the professional paradigm and to avoid political corruption, the majority of American police organizations *strived* to distance themselves from the political realm and in turn isolated themselves as a professional police force. This, in turn isolated them even more from the public, creating a deeply embedded police sub culture. In terms of Canada's hybrid

police forces, they were fairly well respected and well funded (Leighton, 1990) and did not seem to have this problem to the same extent their American counterparts did. Although they still dealt with the complexities of crime and safety, they did not have the magnitude of problems that their American counterparts experienced. This awareness of the separation of the 'community' and police and the need to repair this relationship provided the backbone for a more 'community' oriented approach. How community policing is enforced in Canada is still significantly different from American tactics in terms of their overall approach to the criminal justice system. Both countries have two very different justice models.

In 1973, the Calgary Police Service (CPS) became the first Canadian police department to make a paradigm shift towards a 'Community Based Policing' (CBP) philosophy (Coleman, 2008). With a strategic philosophical name change (previously the Calgary Police Force) and the implementation of numerous community initiatives, Calgary's approach became revolutionary from a Canadian policing context. The name change provided a softer and more 'community' friendly image for the organization, while the inclusion of neighborhood watch and other programs encouraged citizen and partnership approaches.

In 1973, newly appointed police chief Brian Sawyer strongly believed that the modern police officer should not just act as a traditional crime fighter, but also share this responsibility by acting in various roles such as a 'Solomon, sociologist, judge, social worker and referee' (Weismiller, 2012). This closely followed Herman Goldstein's (1979) problem orientated approach (POP). This paradigm shift from the classical professional police model to a more community-based mindset was not a smooth transition for the 'old guard' to accept (Weismiller, 2012). Officers were used to a highly established professional model that differed greatly from its CBP counterpart. Today, much of the world 'does not have a program that plausibly could be placed under the community policing umbrella' (Herbert, 2006, p. 134).

The majority of CBP programs (world wide) are embodied with the 'focus on an increase in police and community interaction, a concentration on "quality of life issues", the decentralization of the police, strategic methods for making police practices more efficient and effective, a concentration on neighbourhood patrols, and problem-oriented or problem-solving policing' (Oliver & Bartgis, 1998, p. 491).

At the core of Calgary's CBP is the citizenry public. 'Community policing programs generally seek to help police departments improve their connections with citizens and to decentralize their operations to make better use of these input groups' (Herbert, 2006, p. 4).

Although CBP is attractive and effective in reaching out to some communities, it has never been properly defined within a concrete theoretical framework across Canada, as policing is very situational and complex.

As Leighton (1991) states,

‘Like the concept of “community”, the concept of “community policing” is in the eye of the beholder’ (p. 487).

CBP predecessors from all over the world have often used ‘community’ as a ‘crutch’ or ‘God word’ to promote their policing agendas (Herbert, 2006). This complex discursive and envisioned term is difficult to define.

Calgary has transitioned through many phases of CBP in its long history and has presently adopted an agenda of ‘Effective Community Partnerships’ (ECP) while staying within the core principles of CBP philosophy and under the mantra of ‘respectful leadership (Hanson, 2011; Hanson & McKenna, 2011). In this regard, crime is seen on an ongoing continuum that begins with crime prevention and education, moves to crime reduction and treatment, and ends with crime enforcement (Hanson, 2011). Each aspect’s success is integral to maintaining and improving safety within Calgary. By promoting a ‘community’ effort in preventing, reducing, and treating crime, the hope is to build long lasting and sustainable relationships that in turn, help Calgary understand the complexities pertaining to crime, safety and deeply embedded social problems. The CPS has a plethora of programs that fit within their Crime Prevention and Reduction Continuum and is a leader in Canada in terms of innovative policing practices concerning Youth Services (Appendix B).

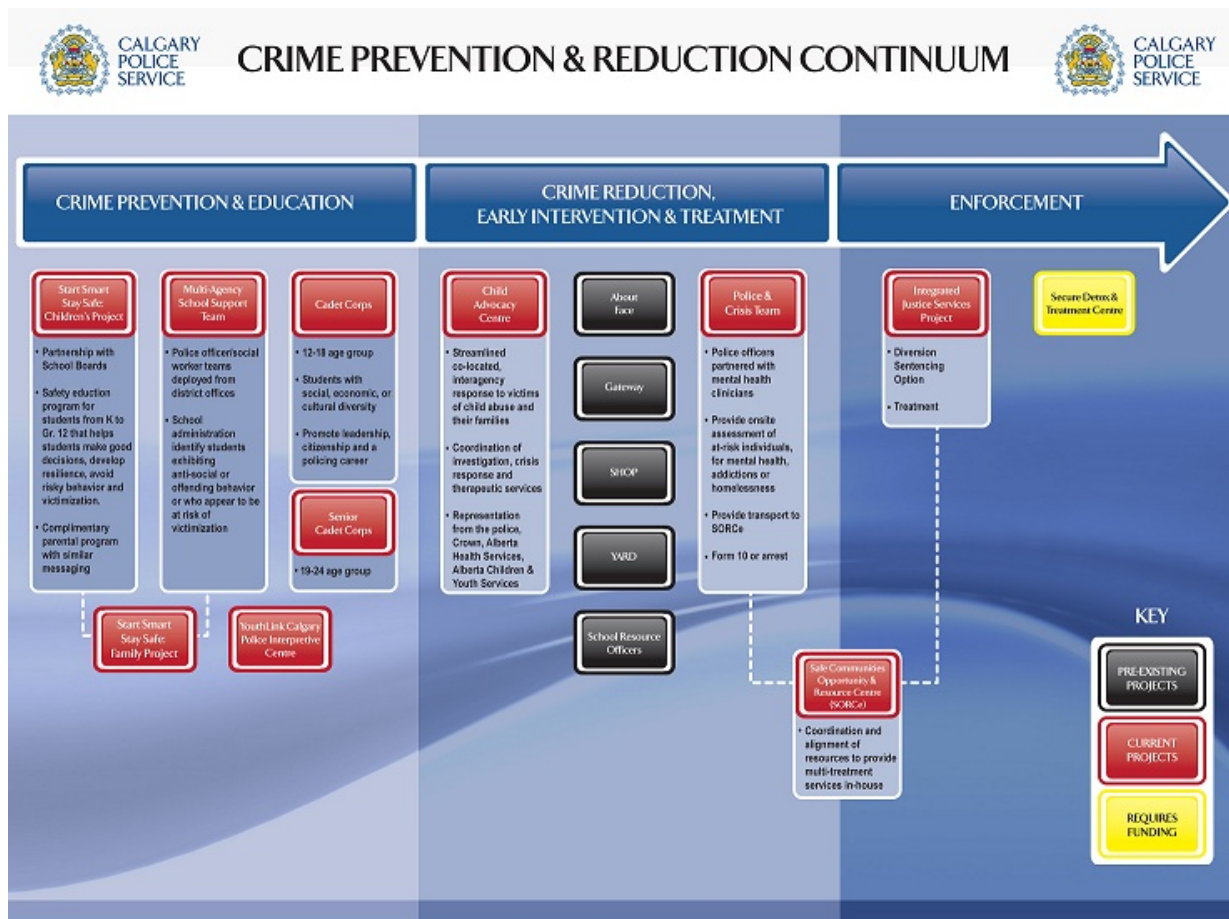


Figure #1.1: Calgary Police Service Crime Prevention and Reduction Continuum. Adapted from <http://calgarypolice.ca/continuum-crimePrevRedContinuum.html>.

1.2.1 The 'Start Smart, Stay Safe' Children's Project

One unique and pioneering approach that is being taken by the CPS is its development of the 'Start Smart, Stay Safe' (S4) Children's Project that is currently being promoted under the precepts of the ECP agenda and within the first phase of the Crime Prevention and Reduction Continuum.



'The Start Smart Stay Safe: Children and Family Projects is a collaborative initiative between the Calgary Police Service (CPS), the Calgary Catholic School District (CCSD), the [REDACTED] and the Mount Royal University's Centre for Child Well-Being (CCWB). The Children component is focused on developing a police safety educational program for students from Kindergarten to Grade 12 that will enhance their ability to avoid risky behaviors and victimization. The crime and safety modules will link to Alberta curriculum outcomes and will be developed using a resiliency/strength-based and multi-intelligence approach. The CPS will be the first

Canadian policing agency to undertake the development and implementation of a truly innovative, collaborative, police safety educational program intended for all young persons' (Calgary Police, 2012).

Although there are two aspects of this initiative in regards to families and children, I will be focussing on the Children's Project that has been developed. This is due not only to time restraints and resource accessibility regarding my thesis, but also my personal desire to focus solely on this aspect. In being an ECP project, defining 'community' in regards to the public and police departments and how 'community' is involved is essential to understanding CBP and its effectivity. This is at the heart of the CBP policing philosophy (Herbert, 2006). My hope is to deconstruct 'community' and its variant meanings proposed by the actors in this project. These envisioned discourses of 'community' are necessary to analyse in understanding how they are woven into the creation and formulation of specific CBP initiatives such as the S4 Children's Project.

This leads my inquiry to a logical question; how does the envisioned discourse of 'community' have an impact of on a specific CBP initiative within the CPS? In creating a base for my research and staying under the umbrella of Manuel DeLanda's assemblage theory for my theoretical framework, I initially want to trace what occurs during the formation of this specific CBP initiative within the CPS. Methodologically speaking, Actor Network Theory (ANT) will be my base for tracing, following, and explaining this initiative. Through ANT (as a method), I will be able to see the sensitivity of these complex relations between the actors and actants within the assemblage more effectively and see where the material actors make significant influence.

After creating a descriptive base for my research, I will interview key actors in this process. These semi-structured interviews will be based on themes not only from existing descriptions of discourses of 'community' in academic literature, but also my findings in my initial research steps and within my discretion. After coding and discursively analyzing these interviews, I will answer my main research question; how does the discourse of 'community' affect a specific CBP initiative ('S4') under the umbrella of 'assemblage theory'.

1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions

Part I: ‘Start Smart, Stay Safe’ Children’s Project

Research question #1: How has the S4 Children’s Project been formulated?

Research objective #1: To specifically describe and trace the network of the actors, actants and processes involved in the formation process of the S4 Children’s Project assemblage.

Part II: The discourse of ‘community’

Research question #2: How is the discourse of ‘community’ envisioned by the actors and actants involved?

Research objective #2: To identify ‘community’ coded discursive visions of each entity within the S4 Children’s Project assemblage.

Research question #3: How do these discourses differ between entities?

Research objective#3: To better understand the coding and over-coding behind these specific meanings of ‘community’ and why these discursive differences emerge according to the S4 Children’s Project assemblage.

Part III: Learning from the S4 Children’s Project assemblage

Main Research question: How does the discourse of ‘community’ affect the S4 Children’s Project under the umbrella of assemblage theory?

Main Research objective: To see the sensitivity of these relations resulting from this process through an assemblage analysis.

1.4 Thesis Relevancy

1.4.1 Societal Relevance

The societal relevance for my thesis stems from the complex and evolving role of police officers in an urban setting such as Calgary. Although this complexity permeates many aspects of policing, citizen recognition of these broad responsibilities is needed in understanding the police and CBP in its entirety. Public confidence and trust in the police can help minimize crime and provide the citizenry with a perception of safety (Couper, 2010). This transparency between the citizenry and the police is a valuable tool in creating ECP’s. The CPS has taken this approach before in terms of their homelessness complexity campaign in previous years. Policing roles are often romanticized, stigmatized, polarized and simplified in the media; therefore hindering policing’s complexity and understanding (Brodeur, 2010). In addition, the societal influence of the proposed discourse of ‘community’ is an ongoing research topic that is warranted continuing consideration because of its difficulty to explain. This can sometimes be controversial.

As Domahidy (2003) states,

‘Controversy invites engaged citizens to present alternative images of the community. They challenge assumptions as they do so. Professionals, attentive to their community settings and aware of their own patterns of thought, have an opportunity to bring people together before positions on issues become fixed and to encourage processes to develop understanding. Effective practice in today’s diverse communities and information-laden culture depends upon such skill’ (p.82).

Communities are envisioned throughout a city, but a narrow understanding of what this actually entails tends to leave out many levels between the micro and the macro that add to its complexity (DeLanda, 2011). Being a police officer requires a high level of relational intricacy. Having to balance a relationship with the ‘community’ is a role that is incessantly elaborate. Police officers have to constantly toggle the roles of being subservient, separate, and generative towards the citizenry (Herbert, 2006). We live out our perceived notions of people, groups, organizations, and ‘communities’ everyday. This shapes the spaces around us because our actions are somewhat dictated by our perceptions and realities within our mental and cognitive memories and personal situational histories. Having a consistent ‘community’ vision and understanding the social complexity of our city will only benefit persons and police personnel alike as it will open doors of understanding and communication to hopefully influence these partnerships to create safer spaces for our cities. This can be done in an increased creative and collaborative way. Understanding various discourses of ‘community’ is also essential to social policy and project development. The ability to empathize with fellow citizens creates a sense of trust and respect that only helps further the goals of collective efforts in regards to reducing crime and promoting safety.

The police have substantial political power within the city and are increasingly necessary to the power structures of state-society relations (Gregory, 2009). The constant jostle for legitimacy towards a city’s ‘community’ is becoming more complicated in an urban setting because of the increased private securitization of our city spaces and the trust the public are putting in private security measures (Brodeur, 2010; Yarwood, 2007). With a growing police work force, mounting logistical details, and growing budgets within police organizations, this relationship between the ‘community’ is necessary in elaborating on. In order to find a better understanding on how to protect and relate to the specific complexity of an urban setting, the police and ‘community’ need each other. With increased technological advancements, we are also seeing crime not only played out in our urban spaces, but crime conducted in our virtual spaces as well. These two facets constantly overlap and provide increasing complexity to the problems of crime and safety as well as the development of policy. As shown, urban spaces are not limited

to their geographical boundaries. They have a globalized impact and it is not only costing municipalities more from a financial respect, but it is also becoming increasingly more complex in providing the necessary protection from crime.

This research will also bring a contextualized understanding of CBP community friendly initiatives (such as the S4) in hoping to break down and deconstruct stigmatized and negatively assumed generalizations of police in an urban setting.

Lacey and Zedner (1995) see community in a sociological sense, that is wide ranging and *hence borrows meaning* [emphasis added] ‘from spatial, temporal, kinship, ethnic, institutional, and many other reference points’ (p. 302).

As Lacey and Zedner (1995) elaborate,

‘Community may be construed as an agency by which social policy is pursued and upon which responsibility should be thrust. Alternatively it maybe promotes as the locus in which policy initiatives may be sited in recognition of the local specificity of social ills (thus, the breakdown of community as a source of social disorder may invite technical intervention aimed at its repair). Finally, the community may enjoy the role of beneficiary where policies are framed for the community in hope of regenerating feelings of cohesiveness, security, and solidarity’ (p. 303).

This relationship between the police and ‘community’ becomes even more convoluted when we strip the normative assumptions away and these relational discourses are revealed. Lynn (2006) has proposes ten discourses in helping us understand this relational complexity and these will be key in helping formulate my specific discourses for this project.

Doing this in conjunction with DeLanda’s realist ontology, I bring a contextualized outlook on this socially complex topic. This aspect will be expanded upon in the third chapter in regards to my theoretical framework. Studying the police’s strategic relationship with the community (and in this case with the S4 initiative) will help show the assemblages and networks within an urban area (such as Calgary) and their complexities. This research will help to describe what effectively has been working, what could possibly need improvement, and lastly, a realization of an improved understanding of this increasingly relational complexity that unravels into everyday urban living through Community Based Policing in Calgary.

1.4.2 Academic Relevance

Within human geography, most policing research ‘focuses on the legal, bureaucratic and cultural structures that shape the geographical imaginations and tactics of police officers’ (Gregory et al., 2009). Although my research does not focus on front line police or policing

field tactics (as most research within human geography does), it does focus on the actor envisioned cultural and bureaucratic structures that are in place within the police and communities they serve. To study the previous assumptions of the spaces around us created by persons and police adds to human geographical research by answering questions of power and governance. Also, in better understanding state-society relations, the moralistic spaces that are created through the 'S4' will be evaluated to show that policing takes many forms and subsequently follows with contrasting social impacts (Yarwood, 2007). What makes this policy different from others is that it is a partnership between many governmental entities in regards to the *prevention of crime on an educational level* [emphasis added]. This social complexity spurns obvious governance questions, and through the formation and trial implementation of the 'S4', it will provide spatial implications due to this initiative being played out in the real and imagined spaces of Calgary. Again, more detail into the academic relevancy of my thesis will be dealt with in chapter three in regards to my theoretical framework.

1.4.3 Personal Relevance

As for personal relevance, I find research within policing to be very interesting and needed. Through policing research, agencies can find new connections, ways, and methods to deliver their services effectively to their citizens. With my thesis being focused within Calgary and the CPS, I wanted to find a topic that would be beneficial not only to the CPS, but to the City of Calgary from an academic and urban standpoint. I am planning to pursue a career in policing in Calgary. This thesis gives me an opportunity to not only look at policing within a human geographical lens, but also to delve deep into policing theory, philosophy, and practice. Pursuing the complexity of this envisioned discourse and a current CPS initiative could help me learn to think theoretically within a non-essentialist ethos. With this, I hope to bring these acquired perspectives of social complexity to help increase my competency in the field of policing and in my understanding of the Calgarian public.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Concerning the overall structure of my thesis, the following chapter will cover my critical literature review of my topic pertaining to human geography, policing and the discourse of 'community'. After this has been completed, Chapter Three will lay out my theoretical framework that I will be using in my thesis. Chapter Four will provide my methodological underpinnings by providing details of my entire thesis process, while Chapter Five will consist of my empirical analysis. This will be broken into two parts and will be answering my research objectives and research questions that were previously framed in my introduction. My empirical analysis will be done in the style of an argumentative narrative. Lastly, I will conclude and provide personal thoughts and potential recommendations of my findings.

Chapter 2: Critical Literature Review

2.1 Policing and Human Geography

Surprisingly so, research in human geography in terms of policing has been historically scarce (Fyfe, 1991; Yarwood, 2007). This relationship between a public institution such as the police and its correlation to the spaces around us deserves a significant research platform. Many spaces we inhabit in an urban setting are governed by various public laws that are regulated by some sort of policing agency (both within the built and non-built environment). This relationship provides us with a plethora of spatial ramifications. Previous scholarship has touched on some of these issues.

Geographical research concerning policing can extend into many multi-disciplinary fields, but regarding policing within human geography specifically; policing territoriality and the making of urban space has been the dominant topic of study (Raco, 2003; Herbert 1996, 2008; Cook & Whorwell, 2011; Saunders, 2004; England, 2008; Mitchell, 2012). Yarwood (2001, 2005, 2007) and Goodwin's (1998, 2006) expertise have looked at this from a rural perspective. Most of these research projects have taken a particular case study into consideration by showing the impact enforcement policy has on the spaces it polices within the urban and rural binary.

Within feminist geographic circles, researchers have focused on fear, gender and politics within policing (Pain, 2001, 2010; England and Simon, 2010; Evans and Fletcher, 2000; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003). Many others have touched on the dominance of masculinity within police organizations as well (Berg & Longhurst, 2003; Mains, 2004; Herbert, 2006; Corsianos; Cowen and Siciliano 2011). As noted earlier, a Caucasian male dominated sub culture does persist in many Western police agencies today. These later studies have helped keep policing accountable in this respect. This is still a significant problem within policing organizations.

The issue of policing and public surveillance is also quite popular (Ogborn, 1993; Koskela, 2000; Fyfe, Bannister & Kearns, 1998; Coleman, 2003; Philo, 2011). Romein and Schuilenburg (2008) have focused on surveillant assemblages in their research. Being one of the only studies found connecting assemblage theory to policing within an urban context, I found this particularly interesting. Most research on surveillance focuses on a particular case study. These case studies tend to show how the increased securitization of the spaces around us affects our livable environments in regards to policing surveillance techniques and policy.

Fyfe (1995) has touched on the complexity of hybrid and private policing in an urban setting. This is an emerging and interesting field within geography. With more private police in Canada then publically funded officers (Brodeur, 2010), this has become a warranted research

topic because of its highly unregulated and ethical implications on how spaces are enforced and governed. Police work and the impacts on politics and spatiality also garner research interest (Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004; Bookman & Woolford, 2013).

With the popularity of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'Broken Windows Theory' within most policing agencies, geographic scholarship has emerged in challenging this theory's effectiveness in areas such as public protest, homelessness and the production of space (Mitchell, 1997; Noaches, Klocke & Gillham, 2005; Howell, 2009; Herbert & Brown, 2006).

Steve Herbert and Katherine Beckett (2010) touch on banishment and punishment as a form of social control by the police, while some of Herbert's other works emphasize the concept of exclusion within our public spaces (2008, 2010).

The use of geographical information systems (GIS) to map crime, safety and police performance for geographical purposes is also studied (Grogger & Weatherford, 1995; Sharpe, 2000; Ashby, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2002). More work needs to be done in this area in showing how GIS representations of space within policing can alter policing habits, techniques, practice and policy.

Within the intersecting research platforms of policing and geography, Steve Herbert is arguably the most influential and respected expert in the human geographical field. From a qualitatively researched and ethnographic point of view, he has mostly focused on the unique relationship between citizenry and the police. His case studies in Los Angeles and Seattle are a testament of his work and research (Herbert, 1996, 1997, 2006). Herbert's first book focuses on the territorializing effects of the police department in Los Angeles (1997). His second publication concentrates on the limited political power of the community pertaining to the mantra of CBP in Seattle (2006). Herbert's second book strikes me as the most interesting and pertinent in contributing to my research. It concludes that the political power of the community in regards to CBP is 'unbearably light' (2006, p. 134) and unable to bear the responsibility that police departments bestow upon them.

Although Herbert's work is fascinating and useful, I will be approaching my research from a somewhat different angle. To me, his perception of CBP and 'community' is just one discourse of what 'community' and CBP could possibly entail. Although Seattle and Los Angeles are great case studies, Calgary is different in a number of ways (geographical location, population makeup, organizational police strategy). Also, CBP is a very broad term and complex approach that can be defined with a number of meanings and philosophical underpinnings (Fielding, 2005). Herbert's assumptions on the effectiveness of CBP are something I do not agree with in its entirety. According to my evaluation, CBP is much more complex and situational than

focusing on one political aspect of one particular city in one particular time frame. Although I will be approaching my research within assemblage theory and analyzing the 'S4' initiative through ANT, Steve Herbert's methodology and research will be beneficial regarding the discourse of 'community' of and its discursive differences that I hope to discover. His interview techniques as well as his conclusions on how police are perceived by the public will add substance to my case study. Although I do not agree with all of his over arching conclusions, his influential insights into CBP and vast academic experience will be instrumental in helping shape my study.

2.2 Understanding 'Community'

In the great theories of society, community sometimes appears under that name and sometimes under another. It is not always seen in the way we have set it out here, but it is always seen (Calhoun, 1978, p. 372).

'Community' is a multifaceted term that is not easily definable by academics and practitioners alike. Experts have not agreed on a totalizing theory of 'community' and continue to debate what it rightfully consists of. The flexible concept of 'community' is largely used in our policies, work, and everyday lives. It also contains a significant spatial element.

As Walsh and High (1999) state,

'Social relationships and experiences occur through space, giving that space meaning and value. Thus, while social relations are certainly influenced by the physical and cultural arrangement of space, they are in fact the means through which spaces and places are produced and reproduced through time' (p.258).

In an early study in 1955, sociologist George Hillery showed that there could be ninety-four separate uses for the term (Hillery, 1955). Hillery states that academics are 'in basic agreement that community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional common ties' (1955, p. 111). The study of 'community' has spanned numerous disciplines from psychology to sociology, and from education to criminal justice.

Ferdinand Tönnies ([1887] 1957) and his work on 'Community and Civil Society' pioneered the early study of the 'community'. He differentiated between two types of social groupings, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The former refers to a group with 'community' minded goals and the necessity to uphold those relationships to achieve these goals (community). The latter concept refers to a social grouping that is dictated by individual aims and goals (society). Tönnies, Emile Durkheim ([1897] 1951) and others during the 19th century saw the utopian

ideal of 'community' in the rural and family setting. Through modernization, this ideal of *Gemeinschaft* would be lost to a more individualistic, industrialized and increasingly consumerist society. Although this dichotomized viewpoint perpetuated throughout the social sciences for some time and into the 20th century (Wirth, 1938), some scholars saw 'community' as something that was not lost. Jane Jacobs' (1961) emphasis on the importance of urban communities and Herbert Gans (1962) ideas on the emergence of 'the urban village' helped revitalize the ideal of 'community' within the city. J.A Barnes (1954) introduced the idea of the 'social network', which eventually expanded into the elaborate social network analysis, a key discovery in the development of defining a concept such as 'community'. Wellman and Leighton (1979) continued this and contextualized these conclusions within the 'community lost' and 'community saved' eras. They also promoted their view of the 'social network perspective' within their 'community liberated' approach (Walsh & High, 1999, p. 260). The emergence of community policing in the 1970's also stems from the 'community saved' paradigm that was and still is being perpetuated at an urban level. Defining 'community' has been a difficult task for enforcement agencies.

As Grinc (2004) explains,

'Proponents of community policing...have often been criticized for failing to define adequately what is meant by community' (p. 440).

Into the 20th century, the term 'social capital' was thoroughly defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1985) and propagated throughout the media and academia by Robert Putnam (1995) in the early 1990's. Portes (1998) went on to expand on 'social capital' even further at the turn of the century. The idea that the Western world needed to revive its social capital has had an influential impact on 'community' studies and public policy across countless disciplines and organizations. Benedikt Anderson's (1983) theory of 'imagined communities' in where the nation-state is conceived as a social construction has also been influential within academia and particularly geography.

Studies have also been done concerning the negative effects of 'communities' through community politics, manipulating discourses, citizenship, and exclusion (Grinc; 1994; Watts, 2004; Staeheli, 2008; Fendler 2004). Bradshaw's (2008) 'post-place' 'community' theory adds a global perspective in our ever-globalizing world (and connects to commodification, marketization and corporatization). Showing the negative side of the perception of 'community' and class struggle is a continuing Marxist trend.

In adding or contributing to theoretical underpinnings, Smith (2001) gives an elaborate historical account of 'community' theory as well as some insight into the perpetuation of

communitarianism in our society today. Crow and Allen (1995) provide an insight to the typologies of community and include the concept of 'time' in their perspective to add complexity.

The study of 'community' is vast, complex and overarching and cannot be contained in a simple literature review.

As Bates and Bacon (1972) contest,

'Community as a concept is employed by virtually all students of complex social systems' (p. 371).

The real question I am proposing within an assemblage analysis is what are these notions of 'community' specifically employing? How are these notions of 'community' influencing policy? This is what my thesis will strive to do. What seems to be a common trend in a lot of these studies and discoveries is what Manuel DeLanda calls the perpetuation of reified generalities (DeLanda, 2006). For example, we see common conceptualizations of society and community that are continually being reified by particular types of research (i.e. Herbert's use of 'community policing'). By using these approaches, we do not understand the full complexity of the local situations that we are dealing with because we tend to fit our research within the templates of these generalities that settle for the discourses of power (Foucault, 1966) perpetuated by experts concerning these concepts such as 'community'. Taking this approach we tend to jump from the micro to the macro without doing the necessary social science needed to see the intermediate contingencies involved (Latour, 2005). This concept will be expanded on in my theoretical framework. In regards to my usage of assemblage theory, it will be employed as a meta-theory and ethos that I will be looking through to show a particular assemblage and its unique capacities regarding community, policing, and policy development.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Manuel DeLanda's Assemblage Theory

Assemblage theory can be described as a flat realist ontology that goes against traditional essentialist and social constructivist approaches. Although a lot of social scientists have flat ontological ideas, DeLanda has assembled these together under a philosophical umbrella to create a standard model for researching social complexity. What he strives for is a conception independent bottom-up ontology. Gilles Deleuze's (1988) views on wholes constructed from heterogeneous parts and the idea that assemblages are products of their historical processes contributes significantly to DeLanda's philosophical base for his theory. In assemblage theory, the fact that a whole possesses synthetic or emergent properties (properties that come into being sporadically) does not preclude the possibility of analysis. These entities do not produce a seamless whole but rather have a complex autonomy and capacities that can help us understand the social in a way that is not ontologically hypocritical.

DeLanda does not look within a micro or macro binary when approaching social complexity as most social science researchers do. Assemblage theory sees a large number of diverse levels between the micro and macro. Assemblages, being wholes whose properties emerge from the interaction between parts, can be used to model any of these intermediate entities. With looking at a discourse such as 'community' or even a specific initiative such as the 'S4', assemblage theory can help us understand these complexities in a more realist way by bridging these complex and intermediate gaps. The research I am doing does not strive on defining what a discourse is, but more in how a discourse is continually reified, coded and allowed to permeate or affect an assemblage.

As Crewe (2010) states,

'The question is not: what is the nature of discourses that construct people as certain kinds of subject...but what processes permit certain discourses to dominate' (p. 55).

Traditionally, researchers have showed us relations of interiority are important (this is where component parts are constituted by the very relations they have to the parts of the whole). An example of this is the classic functionalist approach of the organismic metaphor. This view holds that society is similar to an organism or body diagram where parts gain meaning only by their relations to the whole. If these parts are separated or taken out, they cease to exist.

Assemblage theory looks at the relations of exteriority, meaning that a component part of an assemblage may be detached from the whole and plugged into different wholes where its

interactions and capacities are different. These capacities of a component part can never explain the relations, which constitute a whole. These relations are not known because they cannot be deduced through a social constructivist or taxonomic explanation. This theory allows for the flexibility of capacities by being open to various plugins or relations of exteriority that can influence the assemblage. What gives them autonomy is their ability to exercise these capacities once utilized. This guarantees that assemblages may be taken apart and studied, while at the same time, these interaction between parts may still remain in a true and unique synthesis. In turn, depending on a components configuration, the assemblage may be endowed with a capacity to act in a different way.

For DeLanda assemblages can be categorized according to two main dimensions or axis to explain this complexity. He focuses on two dynamic properties that enable the existence and operation of an assemblage.

1. Material roles vs. Expressive roles. The material axis is the functional aspect and this 'material' label speaks for itself, while the expressive needs to be explicitly articulated and communicated through its social meanings (by language, symbols, gestures, actions). These may occur in mixtures by exercising different sets of capacities.
2. Territorialization processes vs. De-Territorialization processes. These are processes that stabilize or de-stabilize the entity.

Note: Positioning of the captions in the below figure is directly related to the extremes of an axis and not the quadrant specifically.

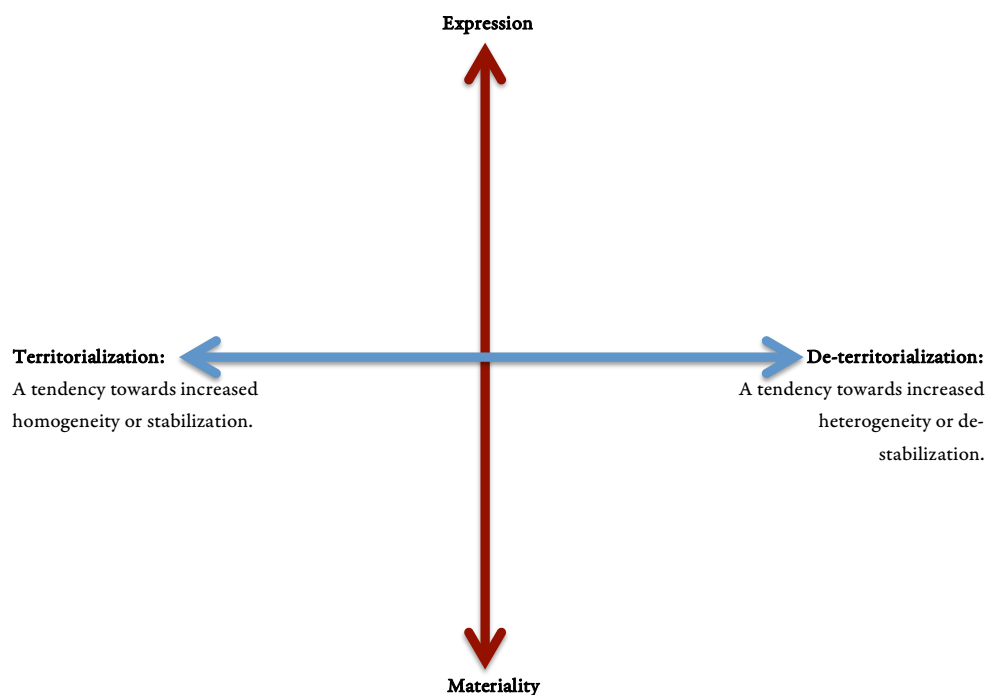


Figure #3.1: Social Assemblages

Territorialization is a process that defines or sharpens the positioning or place based boundaries of actual territories. There are also non-spatial factors, which increase the internal homogeneity of an assemblage. Territorialization concerns the 'content' components of assemblages – the stabilization of bodies and objects. De-territorialization is any process that destabilizes spatial boundaries or increases difference or heterogeneity within an assemblage. The components that influence territorializing processes can range from the content of talk, bodily expressions, verbal usage, and the very choice of topic. In policy formation and implementation these territorializing factors become obviously important. For my specific case study I will be researching these linguistic expressive capacities extensively in my 'community' discourse section as well as the material influences that add to the creation of the 'S4' policy.

In assemblage theory, small causes may have large effects. Causes become triggers or catalysts, which DeLanda says 'deeply violates linearity since it implies from one internal state to another is triggered by different stimuli, and that one and the same cause can produce different affects depending on what is affected' (DeLanda, 2006, p. 20). DeLanda also talks about the possible potentiality or virtuality of these catalysts within an assemblage by using the concept of 'phase spaces'.

As Palmas (2007) explains,

'Phase spaces are often used to show that a system might be 'attracted' to a number of co-existing possible states, and the system may fluctuate between one semi-stable state to another, due to 'bifurcations' in the system' (p.13).

An example of this within policy development might entail a project that seems to be following a concrete trajectory but still has the possibility to morph or change formational paths based on these potential virtual 'phase spaces' or possibilities. This would be based on their capacities to attract such a state through their relations to other organizational histories and the assemblage's tendency to bifurcate or branch out one way or the other. We will see these 'phase spaces' within the S4 Children's Project in terms of the CPS's influence on the project.

These can create statistical causality, which is the increase in the probability of the occurrence in a given effect (DeLanda, 2006, p. 21). This is the causal nature of assemblage theory. Time and space are not constant properties and although there are causal probabilities, there are many 'phase spaces' that can occur and eventually materialize into reality. Within policy research, an example of this could be that although you have followed a similar formational and implementation process (used before by other policy makers in other settings), your policy's effects could be drastically different and filled with infinite complexities making that policy experience unique and singular. What we can learn from the assemblage approach is

that the policy's historical experience and processes are important. Traditional research and analysis starts with a concept dependent framework. Assemblage theory is concerned with actual mechanisms operating at various levels.

While material roles include the entire repertoire of causal interactions, expressive ones involve these catalysts (triggers for behavioral responses). We also see that language (which also includes discourse) typically plays a catalytic role in its meaning and the significance of motives (by belief, desire or propositional attitudes). What is important in my study is comparing these propositional attitudes and seeing the probabilistic nature of regularities in the behavior of individual entities (DeLanda, 2006). How individual entities within the assemblage propagate reified generalities (a concept such as 'community') will be helpful in seeing the multiplicities and potentiality of this initiative.

DeLanda stresses that every organism comes into being (is born) and eventually after its life is complete, it dies. This also applies to assemblages of policy. Everything has a distinct and individual history. Entities are the products of their historical processes and their created reified generalities (DeLanda, 2006). Take the S4 Children's Project as an example.

This historical outlook is very interesting to me in explaining these assemblages. With my undergraduate background being in history, I found DeLanda's use of historic differentiation very refreshing and a unique historical approach to the social sciences. The identity of an assemblage at any level of scale is always the product of a process called coding. This will become increasingly important as my thesis progresses. An assemblage's territorial processes are constantly being coded. Coding is referred to as defining processes that consolidates the effects of territorialization and furthers the assemblage's stabilization. The more rigid the rules within an assemblage, the more coding, whereas the less rigid the rules, the less coding. Coding serves as a blueprint for the assemblage in question and normalizes and regulates its processes (Palmas, 2007).

An example of this concerning my research would be the rules or legitimizing factors that dictate the S4 Children's Project's development. Rules such as how research should be done (traditional techniques), which academic literature or data is useable and accepted and even aspects such as which actors are 'allowed' to be involved in its development. Simple things such as where meetings are held, colors and style of policy documents, and other material aspects can also be catalytic. These rules or legitimizing factors also have their own histories that have allowed them to have validity. There are underlying rules and codes that have stabilized and legitimized these formational and implementation processes in some way or another. Through coding, we see a specific identity being expressed concerning the assemblage. This will also show how the memories of this distinct policy history have created cultural aspects of the

assemblage through re-representation and low-intensity recollections (DeLanda, 2011). It will be interesting to break this coding down into an ontologically assemblage level. Coding sits at the level of the parts and that is what I intend to focus on, the component parts of the S4 Children's Project and its capacities.

All these assemblages grow and perform specialized functions (as with the S4 Children's Project). To give a complete explanation of certain social processes taking place at a given scale, 'we need to elucidate not only micro-macro, but also the macro micro mechanisms through which a whole provides its component parts with constraints and resources, placing limitations of what it can do' (DeLanda, 2006, p. 35).

When understanding this multi-scaled approach we understand an assemblage according to its emergence, and its existence (and recurrent processes). This makes an assemblage a unique, singular, historically contingent individual (DeLanda, 2006).

3.2 Other Assemblage Influences

Although DeLanda's 'A New Philosophy of Society' (2006) will be the base for my theoretical framework, it is important to touch on what others have researched regarding assemblages. There is no correct way to use assemblage theory and no one has the exclusive right in defining how assemblage research should be defined or used (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011).

By touching on other assemblage notions, my theoretical stance will not only be more developed, but also theoretically sound and consistent regarding advancements made in assemblage research since 2006 (the release date of DeLanda's book). Throughout my analysis, I will be touching on these commonalities within assemblage research to make my descriptive case more effective.

As McFarlane (2009) points out,

The sources and uses of assemblage have varied considerably. In large part, its use reflects the more general redefinition of 'the social' as materially heterogeneous, practice-based, emergent and processual. (p. 4)

Assemblage researchers seek 'to examine the relations between social movements, space and assemblage as a theoretical problem that may be productive of different lines of inquiry' (McFarlane, 2009, p. 3). Along with its manipulability, all 'contributors use assemblage to capture a sense of the uncertainty, non-linearity and contingency of change in political, urban, cultural and historical geographies' (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, p. 162).

Specifically, Colin McFarlane's research highlights the descriptive, conceptual, and ethos aspects of 'assemblage' and strives to connect these three facets 'by a mutual focus on process, materiality and potential alterity' (McFarlane, 2011a, p. 208). His research on Mumbai (2009) focuses on these concepts. McFarlane's expertise in assemblage urbanism (in conjunction with DeLanda's framework) will help me look at the S4 initiative within Calgary with an 'attempt to describe relationalities of composition—relationalities of near/ far and the social/material' (McFarlane, 2011a, p. 206).

Doreen Massey also compliments DeLanda well. With her historical background being in Marxism and Feminism, she tends to use different vocabulary other than the typical assemblage lexis in explaining her positions. Nonetheless they come across just as effectively. According to her book 'For Space' (Massey, 2005), space is explained in three ways. Space is the product of interrelations (from global to tiny), space is the multiplicity where distinct trajectories exist (coexisting heterogeneity), and finally, space is always under construction.

In describing space and place, Massey (2005) states,

If space is rather a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place. (p. 130)

Massey sees space as something entities do not cross, but something they pass through. Entities are constantly cutting across a myriad of stories. If we take space seriously and see its complexity, then it can open up our minds in seeing a multitude of trajectories. DeLanda's non-linearity flatness and complexity find similarities with Massey's academic research. With this approach, every story becomes unique and important to academic research.

What story is told is a lot of the time is put to the discretion of the researcher as the researcher is creating a newness of knowledge and creating a capacity and trajectory in their own sense. When 'stumbling' upon a trajectory as a researcher, Lippens (2010) says, 'it will join the countless other extensions and their fragmented bits and pieces that are already circulating throughout the actor-network' (p. 202). As McFarlane (2011b) eloquently puts, 'what, mode, and form of description we choose, to which reflects a sense of which contexts we, in telling a story in paper or a book, believe to be the most important or most accurate or most politically satisfactory version' (p. 735). With saying this, the social complexity of Massey's outlook will add another valuable voice to my research in describing 'my story' of the trajectory of the S4 Children's Project and the influence of varying discourses of 'community' on this assemblage.

3.3 Academic Relevancy

From an assemblage standpoint, it gives a topic that does not have a vast amount of human geographical research like policing (Fyfe, 1991), a chance to be researched in a unique theoretical laden way. With applying assemblage theory, we see how things connect in a non-linear way, and this gives us an opportunity to observe the unanticipated.

According to Van Wezemaal (2008),

‘DeLanda’s reference to non-linear models and their multiple attractors in assemblage theory defines a world capable of surprising us through the emergence of unexpected novelty; a world where there will always be something else to explain (p. 167).

Through this complexity, assemblage theory has opened up new doors of novelty regarding the specific S4 Children’s Project. With this novelty, another benefit of taking this approach is that I have used assemblage ‘to capture a sense of the uncertainty, non-linearity and contingency of change in political, urban, cultural and historical geographies’ (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, p. 162). This impact is due to the ability of assemblage to describe complexity. This can then be applied to other policy or initiative research as it broadens the scope of how a policy is formed and does not rely solely on socially constructed conclusions. It diversifies the initiative’s emergence. Policy formulation and implementation is a highly situational process that cannot be oversimplified.

As Colin McFarlane (2011) states,

‘Description in the context of assemblage thinking examines not just how current conditions are historically drawn together (and then held together or reassembled), but to how events disrupt conditions, form new connections, generate different encounters and produce alternative urban imaginaries’ (p. 735).

This complexity is a pre-cursor to an important aspect of relevancy concerning my research. The differences between formation and implementation of a policy are quite vast (DeLanda, 2011). With new entities emerging through implementation, policy always goes through some sort of change. Historically, the failure or original policy formational goals have reflected the inability of the implementation mechanisms to capture the formational passion that was previously created (DeLanda, 2006).

This research has helped solve bureaucratic and administrative entanglement by bridging the gaps between the formation of the S4 Children’s Project and its pilot implementation. It has described where the notion of community equity has emerged and by tracing this empirically,

and where it can be improved. Without this unique research approach, policy or initiatives could not be understood within their respected historical complexities. If this occurs, it will continue to alienate various individuals and participating communities, thus leaving out the traversing holes within the assemblage (Lippens, 2010). Researching in this way, the individual singularities of actors involved have been seen, but also the constraints put upon them by the recurrent universal singularities or particular diagram of the assemblage. These often get bypassed and are looked at as ‘facts’.

Another relevant reason for this type of research is to bridge the divide between academics and policing organizations that is occurring in many places around the world (Couper, 2011). Post-structural approaches such as assemblage theory have been scarcely utilized in criminological circles (Lippens & Val Caster, 2010). In understanding social complexity through this post-structural approach, I hope to create a sense of openness and increased respect for policing organizations and academic institutions alike. This will hopefully promote both sides in their respected academic and research agendas to work together in creating safer and more equitable places. In doing this, I hope to show that policing’s goal is to first and foremost keep us safe, and although police should be kept accountable on what ‘being kept safe’ is, we should all understand that we are in this socially complex arena together.

3.4 Critiques and Concerns

I am not going to touch on other theoretical approaches concerning policy development and implementation. Assemblage theory cannot be contained within this framework. It is a theory of social complexity. As stated earlier, assemblage theory will be employed as a meta-theory that I will be looking through to show a particular assemblage and its unique capacities regarding a number of different aspects of society. Its philosophical diversity allows this broad approach. It is not meant to be narrowed down or to be used strictly within a limited capacity.

There have been multiple critiques of the assemblage approach that I wanted to touch on. Sayer (1992) and Brenner, Madden, & Wachsmuth (2011) state that assemblage uses ‘naïve objectivism’ (p. 233.) and risks in engaging in an ‘indiscriminate absorption of elements into the actor-network with the effect of leveling the significance of all actors’ (Brenner et al., 2011, p. 233). According to DeLanda, everything is an individual singularity and does not follow Aristotle’s logical taxonomic differentiation. It puts all entities on the same ontological level, valuing their history before making concept dependent assumptions.

Other researchers also infer with using DeLanda’s specific assemblage approach, concepts such as neoliberalism and other political conceptualizations (gender, race) are looked at as reified generalities, and are not engaged as are not seen as ‘empirical, concrete, or historical’ (Clough, Han, & Schiff, 2007, p. 388). Assemblage theory then becomes very apolitical and ignores the

invisible or the subaltern. In the same breath, critics have argued that DeLanda has strayed from Deleuzian principles and has produced ‘schematics of various assemblages that seem lifeless, without the virtuality, the vibration of potential with which Deleuze’s writings on assemblages are infused’ (Clough et al., 2007, p. 388).

Although these are credible and well-balanced critiques, one thing assemblage research does not do is promote universalism. Assemblage research does not have a totalizing view that looking at assemblages is always the best way to look at society, but takes an approach that is more within ‘philosophical eclecticism’ (Allen, 2011, p. 166). Although DeLanda’s framework will be my primary theoretical resource regarding my research, I will be using multiple assemblage means to diversify my stance throughout my thesis. This lack of preciseness is something that occasionally irks skeptical academics regarding assemblage research. This is something that is essential to its post-structuralist makeup. It is also something that defines researching ‘social science’ in a totally different way that leaves the door open to a more intensive scientific approach (DeLanda, 2002).

As Colin McFarlane states,

‘Rather than define or legislate a ‘correct’ way of thinking assemblage, it seems to me far more productive to keep hold of this diversity’ (p. 385).

In the spirit of this thought, I hope to follow this path as well.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Before I go into methodological detail, I want to explain the necessity of this section. Although a lot of these detailed methodological proofs will be repetitive and not necessary to an academic audience, proving and showing systematically why and how I used these methods in a orderly way is necessary for my external audience's understanding and is a requirement for my research partnership.

4.1 Thesis Visualization

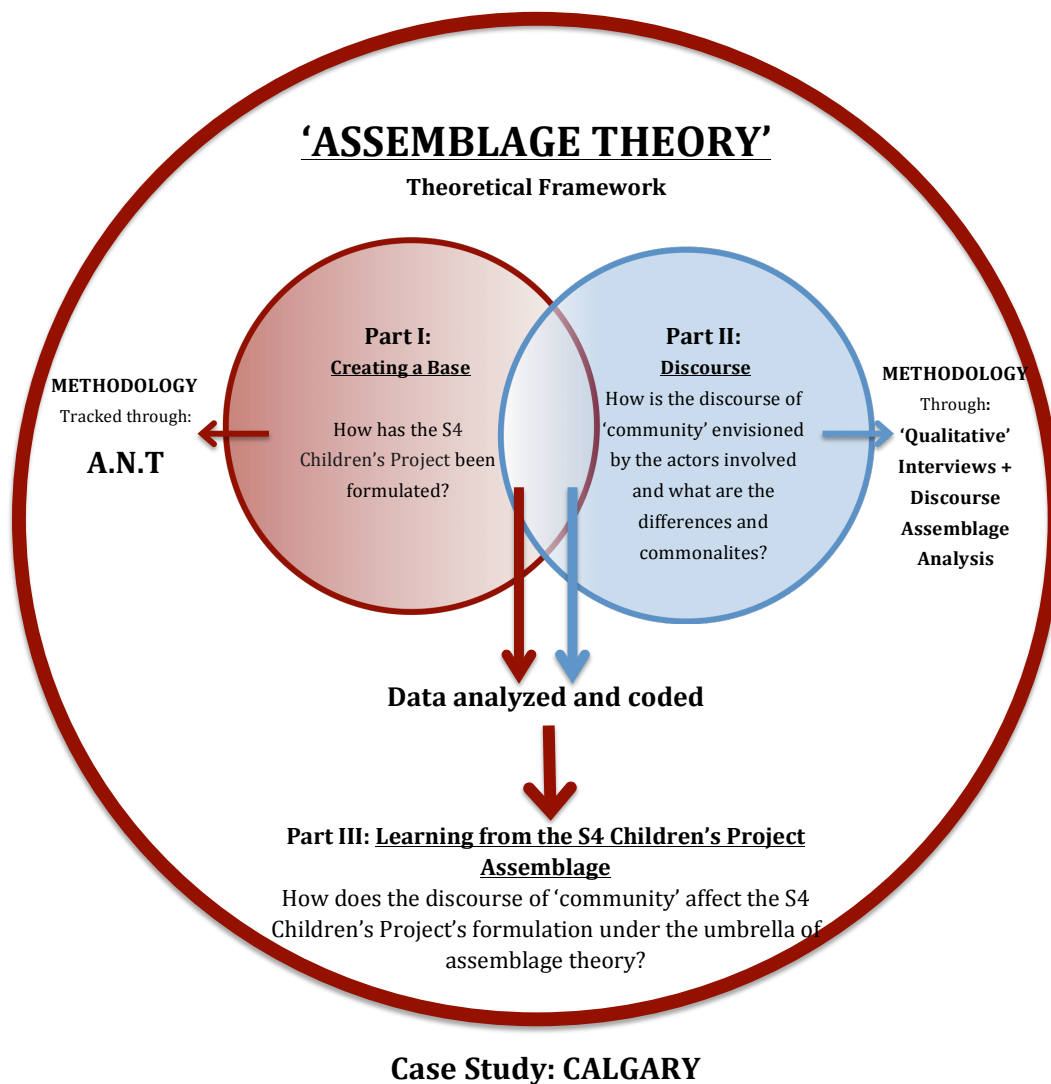


Figure #4.1: Thesis Visualization

4.2 Why a qualitative case study?

To examine how the discourse of 'community' is envisioned between actors, my qualitative goal was to inductively collect data and explore it to see which themes and issues arise while still staying within my conceptual and theoretical framework of this thesis (Saunders, Lewis, &

Thornhill, 2009). Researching in a qualitative way has many benefits. 'Qualitative style focus on interactive processes and events, are situationally constrained, thematically analyzed and researcher involved' (Neuman, 2003. p. 16). These benefits all accommodate what I am trying to accomplish within my study.

This non-linear and flexible approach also compliments my theoretical position concerning DeLanda's assemblage theory allowing for an easier methodological transition.

As Neuman (2003) states,

'Qualitative research is more non-linear and cyclical. Rather than moving in a straight line, a nonlinear research path makes successive passes through steps, sometimes moving backward and sideways before moving on' (p. 141).

I have followed this qualitative approach with a unique case study based in Calgary, Alberta, Canada and in conjunction with the Calgary Police Service. As a single case study investigator through assemblage theory, I have strived to ask good questions, be a good listener, adaptive, flexible, knowledgeable, and unbiased (Yin, 2009).

Case studies are more often used in explanatory or exploratory research (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 146). My exploratory case study is strictly focused on a unique societal phenomenon – the discourse of 'community'. Within this context, I have been using multiple sources of evidence to help complete my study. These include primary sources, secondary literature, semi-structured interviews and ANT tracking techniques. A benefit of this is that one of the major strengths of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence, and this need to use various sources will allow me to triangulate my data (Yin, 2009).

According to Yin (2009),

'The most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation corroboration' (p. 115-116).

As I gained a rich understanding of the 'S4' Children's Project through its formational and pilot implementation phases, a specific case study seemed logical within a holistic and single case study framework (Yin, 2009). A single case study also can, meeting all of the conditions for testing the theory, confirm, challenge, or extend my assemblage theoretical framework (Yin, 2009). The process that the 'S4' initiative went through is highly subjective and unquantifiable and therefore it is qualitatively and case study appropriate for research. As my research agreement is with the CPS, a case study on an emerging CPS initiative became necessary.

Regardless of the findings throughout my research, I have been able to provide practical and knowledgeable information about the 'S4' initiative that will be beneficial to the organization.

4.2.1 How was this accomplished?

In order to successfully set up my qualitative case study in Calgary, I had to take a number of pre-mediated steps. In the summer of 2012, I emailed the CPS 'Bureau of Community Policing'. In this email, I introduced my initial thesis prospectus and myself. After a few weeks, I got in contact with Staff Sergeant Asif Rashid. I met with him at the police headquarters in Calgary and he agreed to be my external supervisor for my thesis. I provided him with the research agreement and after it was looked over by the CPS legal department and signed, we began our collaboration. I have made sure to keep him updated on the progression of my thesis. His expertise, networking ability, and insight have been extremely valuable throughout my thesis development.

I also had to sort through a plethora of CPS and community orientated policy documents, data, and a lot of academic articles that I searched for myself. Being organized was key to its success. I created a substantial database to assist me in my research. This made it easier not only to access documents on demand, but to effectively compare data, documents, and academic articles simultaneously for eventual analysis.

4.3 Why ANT for creating a base for the S4 Children's Project?

Before I provide the background for why I chose ANT as a methodology, I want to provide a brief introduction of how it is used as a method. Although it is very similar to assemblage theory ontologically, ANT has its own unique terminology and lexis. In order to understand ANT, you have to be able to understand the theoretical lexis that Bruno Latour and others have used.

ANT has been mobilized within human geography as an epistemological framework for almost two decades (Ruming, 2009). It stems from the science technology studies (STS) movement, specifically through French theorists Bruno Latour and Michel Callon and utilized by British sociologist John Law. ANT is a framework that suggests knowledge, agents, institutions, organizations, and society as a whole are effects, and that such effects are the result of relations enacted through heterogeneous networks of humans (actors) and non-humans (actants) (Aitken and Valentine, 2006). 'Any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant' (Latour, 2005, p. 71).

Looking at a network through actants as well as actors is a very non-traditional approach that takes the non-human very seriously. Latour (1996) describes an actant as something that acts or to which activity is granted by others, and something that can literally be anything provided

it is granted to be the source of action. ANT transforms how social scientists talk about society's relationship to technology and other non-human actors (Latour, 2005).

Specifically, ANT is a tracing activity that mobilizes a way of recognizing different actors within a unique way and their effects. 'Actor Network allows you to produce some effects that you would not have obtained by some other social theory' (Latour, 2005, p. 143). It is a method of describing, not explaining (Latour, 2005). By tracing the 'S4' Children's Project through its formation and pilot implementation, I have used ANT to effectively record and describe the data in a way that gives the actors the responsibility of defining and ordering the social. Through this comprehensive non-linear flat description (and within my thesis' required length), my explanation of these detailed relationships have given me the necessary descriptive base for my thesis. If a description needs an explanation, it is not a good description (Latour, 2005).

Latour focuses on what he calls mediators when tracing the actor-network. These are material objects or humans that produce, transform, or mutate social forces, what he defines as the 'sociology of associations' (Latour, 2005). Previous sociological research has focused on what Latour labels intermediaries. Intermediaries are pre-defined black-boxed subjects, objects or concepts that are stabilized by social assumptions. They are fixed and straightforward (Latour also uses the term immutable mobiles). When looking at the 'social', we should look at its association first and not occurring social aspects or presumptions. We should focus on the mediators to be empirical. This is something that was absent in previous sociological research.

As Latour (2005) explains,

'The problem is that the social sciences have never dared to really be empirical because they believed that they simultaneously had to engage in the task of modernization. Every time some enquiry began in earnest, it was interrupted midway by the urge to gain some sort of relevance. This is why it's so important to keep separate what I earlier called the three different tasks of the social sciences: the deployment of controversies, the stabilization of those controversies, and the search for political leverage' (p. 241)

The social is not stable and pre defined, but something that needs to be interpreted, described, and transversed. Action is ANT's focal point. Action is dislocated, borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, and translated (Latour, 2005). When we see action in this complexity, we look at the world as a place filled not with 'matters of fact', but with what Latour calls 'matters of concern' (Latour, 2005). 'Matters of concern' are made of fabricated and stabilized mechanisms that feed off uncertainties created by translations of traceable associations that pass through obligatory passage points. These 'matters of concern' eventually are disguised as 'fact', 'science', or even 'reality'. An actor-network study is one of looking at the

associations between different actors and actants and their relations. Through this, orders and hierarchies are made, which holds society together and increases its durability.

Bryson, Bryson & Crosby (2009) state,

‘As a method, Latour argues that an ANT study should focus on five (he believes exhaustive) categories of controversies. They include the nature of: groups and how they are defined; action and its manifold causes; agents, including human and non-human actors; facts versus “matters of concern”; and studies showing how the social sciences can be said to be empirical’ (p.180).

With ANT being a method (Latour, 2005, p. 142), Actor-Network also fits nicely into my theoretical framework of DeLanda’s assemblage theory as they compliment each other through their ‘Deleuzian’ non-essentialist similarities. It supplements DeLanda’s views according to his material and expressive axis within his ontology, while assemblage theory gives me a specific framework to stay within and allows agency to the component parts as well as the assemblage. One might question though, why did I choose assemblage theory for my theoretical base rather than ANT?

McFarlane (2011a) explains this by stating,

‘Assemblage closely connects with much of the impetus of ANT, but with two distinctions. First, more than ANT, assemblage, due to its focus on relations of exteriority, attends to the agency of the interactions *and* the component parts, rather than the former alone: the agencies of the assemblage’s human and non-human parts are not exhausted by the interactions alone. Second, assemblage is more attuned to the possibilities of human and nonhuman relations holding together in uneasy interactions even where there is an absence of coherence and rigidity in the relations’ (p. 215).

So although I used ANT as a method, assemblage theory has been my overarching framework. ANT has helped me effectively map the S4 Children’s Project, while assemblage theory has furthered my research on the specific interactions. With these distinctions between assemblage and ANT, I have found no conflict and it has only added theoretical substance to my thesis.

Seven Benefits of ANT Research for Tracing Policy	
1.	You see the step-by-step and association by association through the performances of actors, and not presumed based on reified presumptions about strategic planning viewed ostensibly
2.	Following the actors helps reveal how inclusive, participative, and/or democratic the process was.
3.	ANT encourages researcher to treat as real the possible associations among ideas and their proposers, as when strategic options are being discussed; and also as real what is actually decided regarding which options to pursue. In other words, ANT treats as real both matters of concern (issues, possibilities) and matters of fact (agreed actions, decisions).
4.	ANT is one of the only theories available that would allow the various artifacts produced during a strategic planning (e.g., stakeholder and SWOT analyses, issue papers, strategy maps, draft plans, adopted plans) to be taken seriously as mediators and actors.
5.	ANT helps reveal in great detail the extent to which strategies are both <i>emergent</i> , growing out of prior associations, and <i>deliberate</i> , resulting from new associations.
6.	ANT alerts the researcher to just how much work can or does go into strategic planning and into creating and/or maintaining an organization it is meant to help, since the associations involved must be created and constantly maintained or they will dissolve.
7.	ANT methods help account for how the ostensive aspects of any set of associations are produced, become stabilized and legitimized, or change, through strengthening or weakening associations

Table #4.1: Seven Benefits of ANT Research for Tracing Policy. Adapted from Bryson, J.M., Bryson, J.K., & Crosby, B.C. (2009).

4.3.1 How was this accomplished?

Latour advises to keep at least four kinds of written accounts when using ANT as a method (Latour, 2005). The first should be a general log of events that is documented as regularly as possible. The second should be a notebook kept in chronological order for future analysis. The third notebook should ‘always be at hand for ad libitum writing trials’ (Latour, 2005, p. 134). Lastly, the fourth should be used to trace the accounts of the effects on the actors.

For my research, I have roughly followed Latour’s advice. I created notebooks, and then organized further into specific topics, folders, and sections. In creating a base for my potential interviews on the discourse of ‘community’, I decided to not only look at influential documents and policy through a Latourian lens, but also utilize key informant interviews in order to trace the social. By mobilizing these key informants I could identify and trace these actors as well as trace the non-human actors that were influential in this policy.

To access these elite human actors for Part I of my project, I notified my contact within the

CPS. He proceeded to introduce me to possible influential actors through email. After I had chosen my interviewees and all ethical considerations had been dealt with, I emailed my contacts. After a brief introduction of my thesis project and goals, I asked them to participate in a semi-structured interview with ANT based questions that were approved by my thesis supervisor.

As Ruming (2009) states,

‘An ANT-centered methodology mobilizes past interactions with informants for the purpose of entering and following actor-networks interactions which are later translated by the researcher for their own purpose’ (p. 460).

To explain further, this shows that my research, data, documents, interviews, and analysis that originate from this project are my unique reading of it and within my positionality as a researcher (Ruming, 2009). I have used my positionality not only to gain access to influential actors, but also to decide whom I considered influential for my specific story or trajectory of my unique research project. I will elaborate on this further in the beginning of my analysis.

After taking all the necessary ethical steps via a consent form (necessary in the North American academic process), I then carried out the interviews. I was geographically constrained for some of my initial interviews for Part I as I was still in the Netherlands and had to do some of them over the phone. Nonetheless, I tried to be as clear as possible with my interviewees in creating a professional and ethical research relationship. I recorded all interviews (with permission) for data accuracy.

As for document analysis in this initial step, the interviews helped me narrow down what policies, documents, and actors I wanted to utilize as I progressed. Due to time restraints, I coded my data in Part I in a less systematic way. I transcribed all of my interviews and coded them by its content. When I translated my data into my thesis, I followed an ANT framework by elaborating on the nature of: groups and how they are defined; action and its manifold causes; agents, including human and non-human actors; facts versus ‘matters of concern’ (Latour, 2005, Bryson et al., 2009). Although never totalizing, I was able to create a significant base for Part I. My main goal in Part I was to transverse in a direction towards the discourse of ‘community’. I did this by effectively describing the associations and complexities within this assemblage by utilizing ANT as a method.

4.4 Why qualitative personal interviews for the discourse of ‘community’?

In understanding the basis of ‘community’ through the reasons, decisions, views, or opinions of the entities involved, qualitative interviews seemed to be the most logical option (Saunders et

al., 2006, p. 324). Interviews 'are obviously rich in linguistic interaction and most observations concern people engaged in conversations' (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 1126). Being able to directly engage and ask interviewees in a particular way lead to added significance and substance concerning my study. Interviews tend to be targeted and they focus directly on case study topics, but I had more open interviews conducted in Part I (through tracing) to lead me to my more focused and targeted Part II interviews. My interviews were insightful and provided perceived casual inferences and explanations (Yin, 2009).

Doing these interviews in person I was able to judge body language, tone, and other non-verbal factors to further explain my analysis of the discourse the interviewees were describing. An in-depth personal interview provided the interviewee with an opportunity to reflect on events without needing to write anything down. When done professionally, it produces trust and mutual respect from a communicative standpoint. I consciously tried to minimize any intimidation that could arise by looking my interviewee in the eyes while conducting my interviews. Along with listening first, and sitting on the same level as them during my questioning, I tried to negate factors that could come across as threatening. Also, giving the interviewee the opportunity to choose where we met seemed to create a sense of initial comfort. Studies have also shown that participants prefer to be interviewed rather than fill out a general questionnaire regarding academic research (Healy, 1991). Interviews also helped me understand the agency of DeLanda's materialist aspects more clearly.

4.4.1 How was this accomplished?

When I arrived in Canada, I tried to get in contact with all my possible interview targets through a 'gatekeeper' in the CPS. I was not allowed contact until I was shown as a legitimate researcher. I had to complete two separate proposals for two separate organizations and was also given minimal stipulations by both as well as another legal clearance by the CPS. Concerning one organization involved, I cannot even mention their organizational name due to a privacy request. After my agency was negotiated, all of my interviews went as planned and lasted about an hour and a half. I transcribed my data onto my computer and proceeded to code it using my coded framework.

4.5 Why discourse analysis?

'Discourse analysis provides a powerful way to study these slippery, ephemeral phenomena and, as much, is vital to inform and be informed by organizational and management practice' (Hardy & Phillips, 2006, p. 16).

Discourse analysis was my choice in discursively seeking the underlying meanings of the concept of 'community'. Discourse can be defined as an 'interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being' (Hardy & Phillips, 2006, p. 3). Texts can include written texts, spoken words, pictures, symbols

or artifacts.

My goal has been to connect specific texts to discourse, and then strategically locate these discourses in a social and historical context by looking at particular actors, relationships and practices (Fairclough, 1992). Simply, I am looking at varying discursive compounds of the assemblage and how these are coded and influential in this policy process. In explaining the impact discourse has on an assemblage, we first need to understand its capacities. Power then is the capacity given in terms of what something can do. Power is emergent from assemblages due to particular reified discourses (in my case, the discourse of 'community'). Therefore, through this explanation, power is the 'property emergent from the adoption of extensions that imbues assemblages with the capacity to affect change' (Crewe, 2010, p. 48).

These discourses of 'community' are constantly being re-assembled, and are continuously affected, thus altering the assemblage. As mentioned, these discourses create power, which 'emerges from the formation of assemblages in proportion to their scale and durability' (Crewe, 2010, p. 48). Looking at how these discourses are legitimized and reified shows the complexity of policy formation and implementation, durability and relentlessness of the 'S4' assemblage.

As for the use of semi-structured interviews for Part II, we see that 'the use of structured and semi-structured interviews as well as unstructured conversations are all legitimate ways of collecting data for discourse analysis' (Cassel & Symon, 2004, p. 208). Along with this 'a key focus is not only on understanding how individuals use language to construct themselves in the world, but also on understanding why they construct themselves and the world in particular ways' (Cassel & Symon, 2004, p. 203). As for coding this information, I referred back to Lynn's ten discourses of community (2006), Herbert's (2006) views on 'community' and then combined this with Cresswell's (2009) approach in coding and analyzing discourse via his work on qualitative procedures. I adjusted the terminology to emphasize a police partnership model. This technique helped me properly analyze the data in an organized and systematic manner. Coding was essential in keeping my data systematic and credible.

Coding Methodological Steps:

- i. Get a sense of the whole. Jot down ideas.
- ii. Take document(s) used and write down thoughts in margin about its underlying meaning from the literature
- iii. After doing this for all participants, list your own general Delandian thoughts or ideas about the topics.
- iv. Take the list and go back to data. Abbreviate the topics as codes; write these codes next to appropriate segments of the text during analysis
- v. Find the most descriptive wording for your topics and turn them into

- categories/themes. Evaluate and eliminate non-relevant themes.
- vi. Make a final decision about abbreviations, alphabetize.
 - vii. Assemble the data from each category (chronologically) into one place and perform a preliminary analysis.
 - viii. If necessary, recode existing data.

Final discourses of 'Community'	Final Descriptions	Final Codes
Agent of police: Contractual	Community is seen as a contractable resource in which the police regulate respect toward the public, but where responsibility is put upon the citizenry	AGC
Agent of police: Partnerships	Although there is a community friendly projection, social order is important and the community itself cannot have full responsibility. The power and control lies with the police.	AGP
Community as organization	Community is led through formal organizations and elite leaders in an informed, educated and formal way. Community is simplified, agenda driven and influenced by professional expertise.	CO
Facilitative state co-extensive with community	A community development discourse that has an expanded role for the state in terms of police support and resources, but community led for the goal of effective policy, resource allocation and social justice.	FS
Integrated community	A bottom up community based discourse where smaller community orientated approach strives to find common ground.	IC
Light Community	A community discourse that sees the citizenry as unbearingly light and unable to handle political or community driven responsibility.	LC

Table #4.2: Discourses of 'Community'

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	AGC									
2	Community is seen as a contractable resource in which the police regulate respect toward the public, but where responsibility is put upon the citizenry	Notes	Quotable	Reference/Document	page					
3		The emphasis on eventually having this resource taken by the community and used in an effective way.	They are going to receive a 3-week training. Part of their training is that when they go out, they deploy out of districts. So they are not going to deploy out of this building. They will all be assigned. Some of them are two per district, one of their main functions is to be that champion in that district and to be talking to if you become patrol in a year, there will be an S4 school educational officer in your district.	(S. Westenberg, interview, May 23rd, 2013)	2					
4		The CPS as a resource, but in which the eventual responsibility is on the whole community within the S4	The operational committee, they work together and it is 4 key people and anyone else that they need to coordinate and bring into that. They work together daily. That is their work. Daily. It's very fluid, so the different people that need to come in and out. Teachers, school staff, public health. They all come in, but they work together daily.	(S. Westenberg, interview, May 23rd, 2013)	4					
5		The model, which eventually was to be laid out by the community	We brought resources, we brought a very long vision planning to this that I don't think the other partners have. I don't know if the other partners saw into the future like we saw and believed it would be. Innovation, I think we brought that comprehensive model to it.	(S. Westenberg, interview, May 23rd, 2013)	13					
6		The responsibility of the students to tap into these resources	There is something for everybody and that is the teacher side of me. It can be personalized to meet the needs of any student. If it is the teacher's world, that grabs me right from the beginning as a teacher. That made me want to become part of this project because our world, our teaching world is changing.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	4					
7		The community taking on roles beyond their description	Karen and Rene for example before I started, started taking on a little big more of what the evaluators might do. Because they knew the teachers world. Now, it wasn't in their job description. They did it because it was natural, but what happened was that gradually, it was sort of expected that they would take on that.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	5					
8		Communities advantage	It was easier, especially the connections to the schools and the evaluation process because Karen, myself, or Rene had connections to the school and knew their world and in some ways it was just easier for us to do it.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	6					
9		Responsibility of the community	There were things that I would go back to my boss and say. Let me think if I can think of an example. There wasn't a lot but anything about CSE policy, even consents. For an example consents. People going into school taking pictures, we even had to have our own consents for that and there are certain rules where certain kids cannot be photographed. There were some things like that where CSE or the Catholic School Board had to have the final word and where CPS couldn't just come in the school and do whatever. I would have to defer back to my organization for.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	8					
10		Community defining roles together after a disagreement	There were times when MSU had worked in isolation and wasn't sharing with us. So we worked through quite a process. It quite blew up before Christmas time. After Christmas, everyone kind of focused on getting this team back together again. It has mellowed out a lot and I think we are much more on the same page and they are looking now at us to share.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	10					
11		Importance of community (teachers)	The issue for us as schools really was, you are coming into the school world, yes absolutely, you can deliver your lessons, you can do a beautiful job, but if you do not have coordinators who know the teacher's world, this is not going to fly no matter how good it is.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	12					
12		Importance of community (teachers)	Funding is the main issue, it is not disagreement. It is tough for us. You know what, you guys are awesome, amazing, we love this initiative, but you don't know the teachers role and you are not going to get in there. You don't know the lessons. You can't support them in planning and reporting, nor do you have the time to do that. If you don't that and the principal said that, a couple that were looking to join. There is no support or no coordinator. Then we can't do this.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	13					
13		Coalition between school boards	Jennifer will support Darlene if she knows what is going on. They have that school bond. It is just more evaluating more what they see, so they have given us documents back, this is what we think ahead and the information that she wrote back. The key document seems to be what she wrote.	(D. Dron, interview, May 31st, 2013)	13					

Figure #4.2: Discourses of 'Community' Coding

Above is an example and 'screen shot' of my actual coding. As you can see, I coded based on the discourses I defined through Cresswell's (2009) methodological steps above. I then referenced the interview I used, identified any usable quote, and wrote my own thoughts based on the coded descriptions I created on the far left hand column. At the bottom you will see the

multiple tabs that designate the different discourses I used in my analysis. Each one contains various information, quotes, and data pertaining to each specific discourse.

Some may see a conflict in combining an approach such as discourse analysis with DeLanda's assemblage theory. Through the expressivity of language and its de-territorializing and territorializing effects, this helped me show how 'community' was framed according to various actors and actants. In wanting to discursively analyze this concept, I did not want to use a reductionist or social constructivist totalizing approach to discourse, but rather, to stay within how DeLanda looks at discourse in showing that these discourses are just one part of the assemblage, and that these discourses are socially constructed within this particular assemblage. I strived not to approach my research in a 'micro', 'macro' or 'meso' way, but in a unique realist manner where 'data collection and analysis are developed together in an iterative process in a case study' (Cassel & Symon, 2004, p. 32).

Although I do not see reality as socially constructed (in staying consistent with DeLanda), I do believe that within an assemblage there are constructed elements. The focus of 'community' is one aspect of my project and only one part of the assemblage. Although rare, similar research combining the two has been done before (Legg, 2009). Assemblage thinking is flexible in its approach to research.

As McFarlane (2011b) states,

'Assemblage thinking should not be seen as an attempt to install an alternative hegemonic way of thinking about urban theory that excludes other theoretical and methodological lenses. While assemblage thinking has become increasingly put to work and in a wider variety of ways, it can only be useful in relation to specific questions and projects, and through existing traditions of critical urban thought in other words, in so far as it enables us to do something' (p.738).

4.6 Research Strategy and Research Resources

As for my study with the CPS, I was in Calgary, Alberta, Canada for roughly 10 weeks (refer to 'Gantt' chart for more detailed information regarding my 'research strategy'). Concerning logistical details upon arrival, I arranged my accommodation, flight, local transportation, and some of my contacts for my research before arriving. My budget was at a minimum as I stayed with family and friends during my research project. Communication was not a problem as English is my first spoken language. The main issue that arose was the capability of completing my research within this prospective 10-week time frame. I had to be organized, motivated, thorough and well prepared. Being able to effectively set up my interviews as well as transcribing created difficulties due to the vast amounts of time it took to complete these tasks (Saunders et al., 2009). It was crucial for me to be flexible as some unplanned circumstances

arose (extra research proposals, family issues, accessibility). I tried to keep myself accountable by communicating regularly with my thesis supervisor. I roughly scheduled a meeting with my supervisor every two weeks so that he could keep me on the right track throughout my entire thesis process. This was primarily done over email and once over the phone. In addition, I took necessary scheduled vacation time to give myself ‘mental break’ from my research.

Chapter 5: Empirical Analysis

5.1 Part I: Tracing the S4 Children's Project with ANT

5.1.1 The Researcher's Chronological Descriptive Findings

I think a necessary approach to tracing with ANT is to not only to see the step-by-step associations occurring through the actor's performance of this project (Bryson et al., 2009), but also the chronological descriptive findings that the researcher has found in relation to those associations (Latour, 2005). To put it more concisely, my research is located in a specific spatial and historical frame and could never be exactly replicated by another researcher. The people I talk to, the times I meet them at, the documents I study and analyze are all caught up in my performative research continuum. Although I will elaborate on the S4 Children's Project and its trajectory, I will only be able to give a glimpse of the myriad of stories, personal histories, influences and decisions that were made to formulate and implement such a policy. Therefore, it becomes obvious that my research trajectory as well as the policy's trajectory become intertwined or meshed together in creating my unique research experience. I would be straying theoretically if my research trajectory was minimized and perceived as a purely factual experience. My research results have been legitimized, mediated, translated and created based upon a plethora of contingent factors. The different interviews I conducted and the various documents I analyzed all have a unique agency that need to be explained to understand my research network and my thesis' goals. In order to do this and to stay consistent from a Latourian perspective, I have chosen to elaborate in this section on two of the four written accounts Latour recommends. The first should be a general log of events that is documented as regularly as possible, while the second should be a notebook kept in chronological order (Latour, 2005). In order to elaborate on these without going into a banal repetitive narrative, I have combined both of these log books that I completed to explain my research findings of the S4 Children's project. My focus here will not be to elaborate extensively on concepts, policy issues, or people (that will come later), but to bring a distinct historical and spatial framework to my thesis. I hope to give you a glimpse of how I have traversed throughout and towards an understanding of the S4 Children's Project.

My network translation began in the summer of 2012. Although I did not know exactly what I wanted to study for my Master's thesis, I knew I wanted to look at something within a policing context. This stemmed from my interest in policing and its potential as a plausible career path for me following graduate school. The first actor that came into my selective network in this process was Staff Sergeant Asif Rashid from the Calgary Police Service. After explaining my situation and the necessity for a research agreement to be put in place for my Masters, he agreed to be my external supervisor. Although not legally bound, the research agreement that was signed not only provided me with legitimacy as a researcher, but also became a tool I could

use later in my research process as a mediating document to negotiate my identity as an academic. More of these legitimizing material documents will arise as I explain my research trajectory further.

When I arrived in Nijmegen at Radboud University, I had little or no knowledge of my present theoretical and methodological underpinnings. These came as I built my network within the university (intentionally and unintentionally). It was through the classrooms, classmates, teachers, and materials I saw that translated and morphed my inclusive network of actors. As all these actors entered into my trajectory, they began to intertwine with each other to help create a base for what I wanted to accomplish for my thesis. After dabbling theoretically during the beginning of my academic year into a variety of readings, Professor Ernste introduced me to Manuel DeLanda's assemblage theory (September) and I became immediately fascinated with his philosophy on social complexity. Becoming an almost instant DeLandian believer from an ethos perspective, I became enrolled into a unique actor-network as a researcher and continued to read assemblage material to create a better grasp of DeLandian concepts. Through these material readings, it helped me discover Bruno Latour's actor network theory. Having this newly added influential layer to my academic history, my identity as a researcher was constantly being translated in conjunction with the network I was building for my potential thesis project.

As Ruming (2009) states,

'Translation involves a complex series of negotiations where identities are fought over, roles are ascribed and power relations fixed, not least in the research field. Thus, network builders become the translators of the entities that constitute them' (p. 454).

As my theoretical underpinnings developed (and they are still developing), I began to search for a topic that now had not only a policing aspect, but also something that would strike my interest regarding assemblage theory and actor network theory. As my interest in the concepts of community policing increased (through influential materials such as academic articles and books) and my knowledge of the CPS's individual understanding of community policing also increased, I decided to focus on the S4 Children's project. Again, being an advocate of community development and community-based programs previously to my graduate program, this made my decision easier as I had already mobilized and juxtaposed agency to those concepts.

After this and in conjunction with my classes, readings, and relationships at the time, two distinct mediators helped make me make some unexpected decisions to influence the trajectory of my research project. One of them was Don Mitchell's talk on community policing at the Alexander Van Humboldt lectures that took place on December 10th, 2012. With an

already somewhat developed DeLandian mindset, I listened to his lecture. What I found interesting was the ways he reified concepts such as ‘community’, ‘society’ and even the ‘police’ themselves. As I found his conclusions and Herbert’s (as mentioned earlier) narrow and overarching, I felt the urge to focus on a unique approach to the discourse of ‘community’ within my thesis’ framework. Along with this and close to the same historical frame, I listened to an influential talk involving Calgary Police Chief Rick Hanson (2011) on the service’s vision and continuum for crime and safety. He stressed that education was an important and necessary step in not only preventing crime but also in building the needed resilience in families and children for their success in the future. As he elaborated on the CPS’s plan regarding the S4 Children’s and Family project, I became increasingly interested in his innovative approach. With this array of situational knowledge and as my potential research network developed, I began to enroll not only Mitchell and Hanson’s views into my thesis’ trajectory, but also the continued views of my classmates, professors and readings that I was simultaneously partaking in in regards to my Masters.

As my thesis has developed, it has developed based on fabricated and stabilized mechanisms that feed off these uncertain and ever changing concepts that are being created and reified by my specific translations of traceable associations. These have all passed through my particular thesis’ trajectory and through various obligatory passage points. Latour (2005) calls these fabricated and stabilized mechanisms ‘matters of concern’. With relying on these ‘matters of concern’ to further my research project, my next task would be create obligatory passage points where actants were required to come together around the dominate framing of my research (so becoming legitimate and needed within my research). After this, I engaged in these specific negotiations with the context of my framed thesis (the interviews themselves). This became increasingly difficult as my research trajectory continued as some the ‘matters of concern’ that I relied on as factual started to crumble, morph, or change completely.

With my research agreement already in place with the CPS, I had already developed a sense of legitimacy within their organization. When I approached Staff Sergeant Rashid about connecting me with the CPS Lead on the S4 Project, Sergeant Susan Westenburger, he proceeded to link me to her via email. Through this, the material aspect of not just my computer (or Susan’s), but also the material email itself became an influential mediator throughout my whole process. The email’s necessity became increasingly more influential when I was located in Nijmegen because of not only the 8-hour time change, but also the fact that my project was evolving. Also, my unfamiliarity with Susan (and vice versa) added to that mediation. Therefore, space and time itself became necessary mediators in establishing the needed agency for my project to flourish (Massey, 2001).

As I negotiated with various actors and actants to create stability for my potential thesis project, it became clear to me that as a researcher, I had a lot of power on how my research was going to be presented. In the end, it is my particular research story that is presented and my powerful translation of the research environment in question (Ruming, 2009). I ultimately had a significant influence on whom I was going to interview and what network path I was going to traverse. Although having influential power, I did not have totalizing power over it. As I mobilized my research network further, I came to realize the intertwined histories, politics, organizational structures and overall complexities of my task. The actors involved all were in a continual state of in-between-ness, and were all negotiating their agency beyond my thesis and into their everyday life. Their identities were not fixed. Although I could grasp a glimpse of their connection and influence on the S4 Children's project, I could only garner a snapshot of the overall network connectivity.

As a researcher I had to mobilize the actors for my thesis by going through various obligatory passage points to frame my project. Although I eventually accomplished this, it took a significant amount of trying to legitimize myself not only to the actors involved, but also to their networks (which then became my networks as well). I had to constantly translate my agency as a researcher. As with the case with CPS and my research agreement, I had to not only enroll myself through various material legitimizing documents, but also enroll Professor Ernste as well. Having his approval of my project in writing and with his specific signature, helped enroll and mobilize me to further traverse my research network. This happened with every organization I dealt with. All of them had to have a pre-defined mediating document that showed and explained my fixed and straightforward identity. These material documents became legitimizing factors and obligatory passage points in showing my capacity to translate research.

Not only were these material documents influential, actors also constantly asked about my university qualifications and the ideas behind my theoretical and methodological patterns. If actors were unfamiliar with either the university I attended or my research, my legitimacy also was affected. Space also had a contributing factor to my success. When I physically returned to Canada from Nijmegen, I was able to meet face to face with people rather than using email as a mediator to negotiate my agency. This worked out in my benefit, as I was able to receive answers quicker and understand any logistical shortcomings from either end just based on my ability to be physically present and accessible to my research network here in Calgary. Also, being physically present allowed me to access emerging actors within the S4 Children's Project network to utilize for my thesis. This added depth for my research created by the transformative mediators within the S4 project and put me in a position to effectively enroll myself deeper into the S4 network.

My research trajectory has been an ever-evolving process where I had to negotiate, translate, mediate and legitimize myself and other actors to eventually present my findings in a final Master's thesis. This positionality section of my thesis is necessary in that when you understand my translated path, you will better understand the translation that I have done in terms of the framing and analysis I have done within the S4 Children's Project. Although my translation will seem powerful and convincing to some respect, it in itself is a finite and bounded reality of what the S4 Children's Project consists of. What is important is that those concepts of artificiality and accuracy are not contradictory and both are required (Latour, 2005). Within this glimpse, I hope to enroll the reader into my understanding of the S4 Children's Project's formation from an ANT focused perspective.

5.1.2 Formulation of the S4 Children's Project

Now that my agency has been explained, I wish to progress forward in giving a Latourian account concerning the formulation of the S4 Children's Project. My ANT study will focus on four categories of controversies. They include the nature of: groups and how they are defined; action and its manifold causes; agents, including human and non-human actors; and facts versus 'matters of concern' (Latour, 2005, Bryson et al., 2009). All of these will bring light in showing that the social sciences can be empirical (Latour's fifth controversy). In looking at specifically policy formulation through the S4 Children's Project, I will try to stay within these frames of reference for this particular section.

5.1.2.1 Groups and how they are defined

The S4 Children's Project is an ever-evolving project that is constantly being reified by the various groups that are involved. From a simplistic point of view and within the first layer, we see there were four organizations initially, these being the Calgary Catholic School Board, the public school board, Mount Royal University, and the Calgary Police Service. Each organization brings their own organizational mandate that is produced by members in the organization (as well their various external communities) and reified by mission statements, policy documents, rules, or by actions based on these reified material documents. Through these mediating documents and acting examples, there are 'set' examples of how each group should be defined or the roles they should play. These mandates that show what a group member can and cannot do can be found within an organization's policies. These policies in themselves are always evolving. A great example of this is the evolving mandate of policing I mentioned in the introduction. Through constant translation and because space is constantly changing around an organization's 'set' identity, organizations evolve due to constant new information, new people, and new knowledge being created around them. When Chief Rick Hanson came to the CPS in 2007, he had a set vision based on his vast policing experience and individual history. Although CBP had been practiced in Calgary since 1973, it was never translated into a dominant framing or overarching philosophy that permeated all aspects of

policing. Chief Hanson recognized this and introduced the Crime Prevention and Reduction Continuum (p. 10). Recently, this has also encouraged Alberta Justice to develop a similar crime prevention framework.

Within the CPS continuum, Hanson saw the need for crime prevention by promoting child and family resiliency and this became extremely important to him and to a large group of people within the service early on in the projects development (S. Westeburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013). Internally through Sergeant Westeburger and others, formulation of the future S4 project began. From a police based structural perspective, this was a massive task organizationally as they had to not only build the essential groundwork for an educational transition, but also identify potential stakeholders to collaborate with.

According to Sergeant Susan Westeburger,

‘This was a huge progression for us (CPS), event on the bottom level, as we had never standardized the police in this way’ (Interview, May 23rd, 2013)

Again, although this change began, the project also needed to enroll many agents that would fit within the pre-defined parameters of this potential project’s trajectory as well as define how it would be formulated. After deliberation, the police enrolled both local school boards as well as Mount Royal University. The school’s provided the insight and accessibility to the children, while Mount Royal provided the legitimacy academically with its potential to provide research to mobilize the initiative’s validity as well as the necessary evaluative factor (required by the funder) and student research engagement.

Simple as it looks, even within every partnering organization, the complexities increased. With CCSD, the project initially fell under the Director of Teaching and Learning. Here its legitimacy was negotiated with other schools, teachers, principals, parents, and students. The same was with the other school board as it was held under the Director of Learning Services. MRU’s role aligned with the Centre of Child Well Being who also collaborated with various faculties and administrative bodies. Just within these stabilized groups, there was constant change in terms of roles, capacities, but also jurisdiction and vision in terms of the S4 Children’s Project itself.

The Chief’s vision was also directly based on previous academic literature and studies conducted by professionals such as Michael Unger, Gabor Maté, Gordon Neufeld, Wayne Hammond, and Jean Twenge (to name a few). Their studies all traveled as intermediaries with the S4 framework and were legitimized as ‘matters of fact’ within the projects trajectory regarding curriculum. Although the CPS was the in-kind contributor financially, in order to fund this innovative initiative, another number of groups had to be involved. The Safe

Communities Innovation Fund (SCIF), which was developed under now Premier Alison Redford, as well as any other information that came out of any of the Provincial Ministries helped shape the project plan (February 2010). Within all of these organizations, a set protocol on what needed to be included in the S4 Children's Project had to be produced in order for the project to be translated as a focal actant or to receive the necessary financial help. The Children's Project had to be built into the existing Health and Life Skill Program of Studies outlined in the current Alberta Education Curriculum as well as the SCIF Funding application itself.

Concerning SCIF, communities from across Alberta submitted 129 proposals for SCIF funding. For the second call 30 pilot projects (\$19.9 million over 3 years) were approved: 13 community-police partnership projects (\$9.8 million over 3 years) and 17 community-based projects (\$10.1 million over 3 years). The S4 was one of these projects and the funding application gives a specific framework of how a program should look and how it should cater to the Safe Communities vision in order to receive the funding. What becomes apparent is that the SCIF document itself has agency and only allows the S4 Children's Project agency by answering its protocolled questions and by following the application template. This does not mean that that is necessarily negative, but only that power from the required document's perspective cannot be negotiated in that regard. The overall S4 Children's project applications as well as the logic model and project plan for the project follow a multitude of organizational mandates in order to fit in as being a project that is warranted in moving forward. The 3.1 million dollar SCIF grant was awarded in 2009 for the three-year pilot project of the program. Within this process, we see more than just simply four stakeholders. As is the case with the projects initial development, most of these networks are created by hierarchies that are held by the durability of stabilizing mechanisms in place.

One problem when dealing with applications, project plans, logic models, organizational charts and other mediating documents is that they become pre-defined black-boxed objects or intermediary mechanisms. They end up acting, creating labels, and defining groups. Although they are necessary for organizations, they tend to become objects that are stabilized by social assumptions (Latour, 2005) and treated as 'fact' and thus act on their own. The truth is that these material documents are constantly changing as the groups and group dynamics change. Putting them on paper stabilizes them, but only until new changes are made in the project's process.

Some of these documents are looked at as immutable mobiles. Immutable mobiles are concepts or objects that if we can define the inputs, it is enough to clearly define the outputs. They are fixed and straightforward. One example of this within the S4 Children's Project is the organizational chart that was produced. The organizational chart looks very standard at first,

but as I interviewed many of the participants and although it followed its hierarchical structure somewhat, it was regularly dismissed.

Within the S4 Children's Project, other documents such as the MOU (memorandum's of understanding-February 2010), the Terms of Reference for the Operational and Steering Committee (which never fully materialized) identify groups and are supported by the stakeholders and actors involved. Even the external evaluative Synergy evaluations strike their own agency. There are a multitude of documents within this project that state relationships, create power, and give the actors a sense of performativity, rather than a given, creative, or spontaneous role. Below you will see the organizational chart of the S4 Children's Project as mentioned. This organizational chart was proposed by the CPS and supported by the four main stakeholder involved. Looking at this from an external point of view, this again would seem to be the standardized organizational structure for the project.

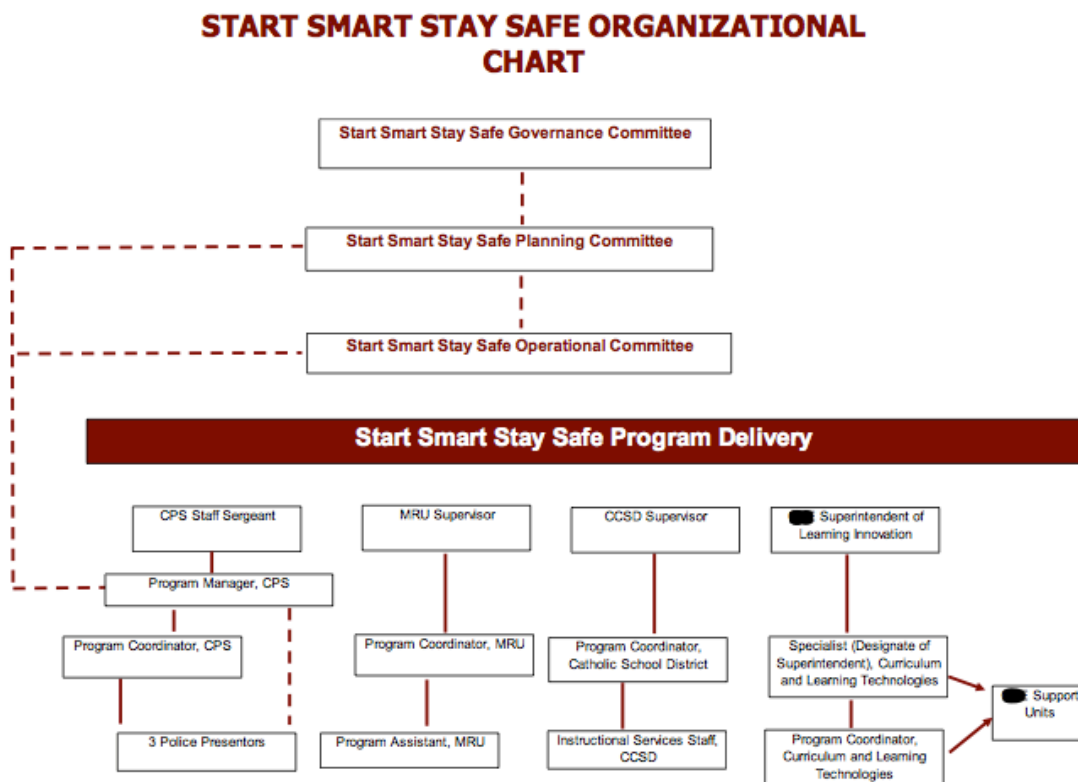


Figure #5.1: Start Smart, Stay Safe Organizational Chart

If we were to put this chart within an ANT framework, we would see something much different. According to Latour, the frame should never define what is inside (Latour, 2005). As we know, a framed painting is much more than a picture in an enclosed state. It too has its own history, its own story and its own complexities. What we see here is that an organizational

chart acts as a mediator, although it is portrayed as an intermediary (stable and fixed) to all involved. When this happens, and we are used to seeing the social in this framed perspective, role confusion can set in, as we tend to go back to the frame we were initially put in.

As one participant stated,

‘Probably the biggest adjustment...is going back to the roles and that is one place where we really had to go back and say, ok, this is what we agreed to’ (Anonymous #2, May 30th, 2013).

Spontaneous action has to occur within policy development. Although roles are important from a governance perspective, the flexibility needs to be there to get a sense of the complexity by seeing associations not based on presumptions, but by simply following the associations and the mechanisms behind these associations that help legitimize, stabilize, strengthen or weaken these roles. What seems to happen when group formation occurs between various entities and actors from an array of organizational structures is that role confusion seems to be one of the forefront issues. This is because they too are being constantly negotiated and stabilized while the development of a particular policy or project is going on simultaneously.

From my research, here are some of the interesting comments regarding this complexity of dealing with strategies that were deliberate (all the planning, documents and so forth) and then the reality setting in that there were necessary emergent strategies that the project produced:

‘It became clear to me within the first year that some of us were playing dual roles. We were participating in the operational meetings on a regular basis and also sitting on the steering committee’ (Anonymous, April 9th, 2013)

‘I think some of the organizations were trying to figure out who the best fit was. There were people transitioning in and out of positions’ (S. Westenburger, May 23rd, 2013)

‘What I find that steering, we have had to sort out at times and where we have gone back to the original purposes and agreements about partnerships. It has been around roles and responsibilities’ (J. Woo, May 30th, 2013)

‘When you bring somebody new in and they really don’t know too much about the project, it totally affects the team, it is just a natural thing that happens’ (Anonymous, May 30th, 2013)

This also rang true within Synergy’s developmental evaluation. This type of evaluation asks evaluative questions and provides support during the iterative and emerging process that a

project is going through. It too, tries to follow the flows. According to the developmental evaluation done by Synergy completed on September 30th, 2011, one of the emerging problems was not the content provided for the project, but more the organizational structure, routines and roles. Synergy suggested holding a facilitated visioning and planning workshop that would help develop the vision, role descriptions and leadership models for both the Steering Committee and the Operational Team (Synergy, 2011).

Group formation goes far beyond the four stakeholders mentioned. It is constantly going through stages of problematisation (describing the process of framing), interessement (an actant implicated or directly involved in its definition), enrolment (constituting other actants in their own agency and role setting) and mobilization (Rodgers, Moore, & Newsome, 2009). If we stretch any of these chronological interactions shown on the next following, we will get an actor-network and emerging interactions.

So many different processes are happening that contribute to this project's success. Below is a look at the chronological major events within the S4 Children's Project's formulation followed by a visual representation of how groups and the S4 Children's Project is defined and developed from an ANT perspective.

PRELIMINARY STEPS

2007-2008 – Rick Hanson appointed Chief of Police

2007-2009- Chief's vision for an overarching resilience project through CPS continuum

2008- Internal parties notified

2008-2009- External parties contacted and SCIF Application Form worked on

2009-2010- SCIF Application Form submitted

PHASE I: Formalize Partnership and Working Relationship

January 2010- Begin to establish TOF for Steering and Operational Committees

February 2010- Develop Partnership Agreement

PHASE II: Planning

February/March 2010- Detail on project plan and module development

March-May 2010- Training plan developed, schools chosen for pilot project,

Communication strategy developed, detailed evaluation plan chosen

PHASE III: Module Development

April 2010- Resiliency Model developed

April 2010- Crime and safety messages developed

June 2010- Training for curriculum designers

August 2010- Modules developed

September 2010-Present- Review, revise and test modules. Project formally begins.

PHASE IV- Pilot Implementation and Evaluation

October 2010- Train and orient police presenters

January 2011- Roll out communication plan

January 2011-September 2011- Logic models, MOU's, theoretical underpinnings,

Communications and MRU website developed



Note: Constant individual and organizational histories are changing and evolving. This influences and produces material and actor-based processes that are constantly being absorbed in and out of the S4 Children's project. These emergent groups have to be stabilized by mechanisms and frames created by action in order to be mobilized for the S4 Children's Project's stability. Group definition from this sense becomes much broader and can be defined beyond the four initial entities. It can be shown through:

Figure #5.2: Group Definition

5.1.2.2 Agents: human and non-human

Now that I have shown how groups within the S4 Children's Project have been formulated and are defined within an ANT framework, now it is time to elaborate on the actual agents themselves, including human and non-human actors. As some of the human actors are obvious, I will first focus on the material artifacts or actors that have made a significant difference. ANT is one of the only theories available that would allow the various artifacts produced during strategic planning to be taken seriously as mediators and actors (Bryson et al., 2009). When asked which material document or material entity had the most agency in terms of the formulation of the project, I received some very interesting answers.

'The S4 framework is the most influential as it guides everything. Our four S's. Significance, Success, Self-awareness and Service. That four S framework or the S4

framework is probably the most influential. I think a lot of the work we have done around, and coming to an understanding of what does strength based approach look like whether you are talking about policing, or talking about being a teacher in a classroom, whether you are talking about being a parent' (Anonymous, April 9th, 2013)

'In the shared way, all of the research that was compiled for the literary review and articulated within the project plan that we felt that we could get funding to move. This was good practice, the best practice. In addition to that, any of the guidelines coming out of the province' (S. Westenburger, May 23rd, 2013)

'My love has been for the way the lessons have progressed and when I see the benefit for students... If it fits the teacher's world, that grabs me right from the beginning as a teacher. That made me want to become part of this project' (Anonymous, May 30th, 2013)

What seems to be a common trend in these answers is that they are quite regularly based on a dominant framing that is already set in place due to the participant's personal employment trajectory, or their situational history within the S4 Children's Project. Basically, their particular translated identity. Within these parameters, these documents become what Law (1992) calls punctualized sources.

Law (1992) states,

'Punctualised resources offer a way of drawing quickly on the networks of the social without having to deal with endless complexity. And, to the extent that they are embodied in such ordering efforts they are then performed, reproduced in and ramify through the networks of the social' (p.5).

These documents represent a black-boxed glimpse into the translations that are constantly happening, not only between people, but between documents as well. It is these stabilizing factors that are happening between mediating documents and constantly generating traceable associations of the S4 Children's Project's path.

When it comes to the material aspect and the S4 Children's Project, there is a substantial and effort put into overall collaboration. We see the documents involved ranging from the Chief's continuum to the minutes written up for the meetings all have had an influential impact in stabilizing and legitimizing the actor-network of the policy.

There are also many other punctualized material aspects, such as the spaces that the organizational team and steering committee used for meetings. Although the places varied prior to the opening of the Westwinds (the main CPS headquarters) building two years ago,

recently, the steering committee has met at the secure police headquarters in northeast Calgary. From analyzing my responses, it seemed to take awhile for some of the participants to get used to the security protocols that were necessary and at some times this affected comfort ability, adaptability, and project productivity. Even the accessibility in terms of where the CPS headquarters is in the city in terms of its spatial accessibility had an impact. This would be interesting to look into further.

As for meeting frequency, the steering committee has tried to meet once a month (which has increased in 2013, and was quite less before that), while the organizational team is based in Westwinds (since it has opened) and has met more frequently. This was very sporadic throughout the formulation phase. Ad hoc meetings have also been common, usually centering on important events such as the communications strategy (May, 2010), the official launch of the project (August 30th, 2011), module development, and the final conference slated for September 17th, 2013.

Another important material aspect is the minutes that I mentioned previously. How these were stabilized and coded was looked at as very important. At the beginning when the supervisors within the operational committee would attend the meetings with the coordinators, the discussion around how the minutes should be organized was a warranted point of interest.

‘There was a lot of discussion on what the minutes would look like and what should be included and who should be included and how it was circulated’ (Anonymous, April 9th, 2013).

What is interesting is that most of these material actors have not followed a linear path, but are still given significant legitimacy in their material state. Although there have been commonalities throughout the project between material actors, what is written into a document has not always been the stabilized truth in reality. This has been true with the project plan for the S4 Children’s Project which although has allowed adaptability to occur concerning the processes, it has also been very specific in what needs to be done in its material state. One of the most coded and consistent documents would have to be the Children’s Project logic model that has been produced. Enclosed in it are not only CBP philosophy and academic research on resiliency, but also a sense of generalizability from a procedure perspective. This gives the program the ability to breathe from an action perspective with its lack of specificity, while still staying within the parameters of the translated vision of the project.

As for the financial aspect, the in-kind contribution of the CPS in terms of human resources and finances has provided influential action towards the project. By just seeing that within a material state (within the budget of the SCIF application for example), it already can imply or

code specific assumptions of other actors (this will be touched on more later in Part II).

Now in terms of the most influential human actors concerning action itself, we have seen that the actors that have translated themselves within respectable frames and have engaged others to partake in the program's stability have been the most effective. From an ANT perspective, the actor that acts in a way that takes all these flows of translations (resources, organizations, histories, policies, mandates) and frames that into one stabilized project (such as the S4 Children's Project) is the most influential in that sense. A difference between humans and documents (non-human) in this regard is that most documents are called what Latour calls a 'matter of concern'. Its contents need to be fulfilled or reified to become a 'matter of fact'. Their legitimacy cannot be negotiated unless another material document is created or it is amended. Humans on the other hand, can constantly negotiate and stabilize and once they are themselves perceived 'matters of fact', they have incredible decision-making power.

This does not mean that these two are unequal, it is just they act in differing ways. A document, which is somewhat materially stable, can still influence human action and vice versa. From my analysis, the CPS and specifically the Chief and his team have thus been the most dominant actors through their vision, material resources, decision-making processes and overall legitimacy. All of my interviewees have or had a variety of roles within the S4 Children's Program and come from a number of different organizations. They all came to same conclusion when posed with this question. The CPS has had a very influential leadership role within this project.

As CCSD's Jennifer Woo states,

'When you are working across organizations, you have to have a hub for that. I see that CPS as the hub for that. I think it is, and at the same time and very equitable. I never feel like they are operating against our best interest. They really they have a commitment to serve the community and serve schools and that comes right from the Chief' (May 30th, 2013).

More specifically in terms of the formulation, the operational team has had a significant impact. This has been based not only on volume of work, but in accordance to how their governance structure is set up as well with being responsible for program delivery in terms of the S4 Children's Project. In this previous section, I wanted to touch on influential material and human actors within the S4 Children's Project. Although the connectivity of this program extends globally, when talking specifically about human actors, I have compiled a list of major actors from my research and translated perspective, and within the dominant frame I have enrolled myself in. Following this, we will go into great detail about the array of 'matters of concern' that are constantly being punctualized to stabilize the S4 network.

5.1.2.3 Actions and its manifold causes

ACTORS

Material:

Project Plan, Terms of Reference, Partnership Agreement, Training Plan, Communication Strategy and Plan, Synergy Evaluations, Provincial Frameworks, SCIF Application, Modules, CPS Continuum, External and Internal Website, Logic Model, Westwinds Campus, Various public school board, CCSD and MRU facilities, Resiliency Research by Academics, Daily communications, Project Launch Conference, meeting whiteboard

Human

CPS, CBE, CCSD, MRU, Community and Youth Service, Learning Services, Religious Education and Family Life, Centre for Child Well-Being, Steering Committee, Organizational Committee, Governance Committee, Province of Alberta, Alberta Justice, Safe Communities, Alberta Education, Teachers, Students, Curriculum Advisors, Synergy, External Consultants, various Social Workers, business partners

Although this list is limited from an ANT perspective (as these connections could go on forever), it gives you an idea of all the organizations, the people within each of those organizations, and the material actors that can have a significant impact of the policy itself. If I took one of these actors and did an exhaustive ANT tracing, I would be able to write an individual thesis based on the connectivity of one single actor. In terms of how these actors and actants would affect the trajectory of the S4 Children's Project, refer to the previous diagram on page 52. There are many material actors ranging from the door that opens the CPS Westwinds Campus to the specific keyboard that has typed up the project plan (as well as a plethora of actors in the human realm). Although I am striving for specificity, my goal in this chapter is give the reader a grasp of the complexities involved and get them familiar with the S4 Children's Project through my framing of it so when we get to discussing the discourse of 'community', we can all be on the same ontological wavelength and informed enough about the S4 Children's Project. To further my point in this respect, I will be giving two key examples of how 'matters of concern' have evolved into 'matters of fact' from a S4 Children's project formational standpoint.

5.1.2.4 'Matters of fact' vs. 'Matters of concern'

Our physical world and the concepts that we discern as 'facts' are based on reified explanations that slowly over time have become normalized as truth. This is not only a key tenet within ANT, but rings true in policy formation as well. These can be properly defined as 'matters of fact'. This does not mean they are wholly mythical in terms of their relevance, it just means that they have gone through a number of stabilizing and coding processes in order to get

where they are at now.

As Bryson et al. (2009) explains,

‘This is clearly not to say that facts are “made up,” but instead to note the extensive associations of agents and actions wrapped up in discovering, determining, defining, or concluding that something is a fact’ (p.11)

As mentioned extensively, there is a multiplicity of stabilizing factors involved in creating ‘matters of fact’. ‘Matters of concern’ on the other hand are much more open, and much more negotiable. Their innocence can be easily manipulated, morphed and changed to serve a purpose. What happens within policy formulation is that ‘matters of concern’ such as the labels given to the material and human actors mentioned on the previous page are reified to an extent where they are perceived as ‘matters of fact’, when really they have not been properly reified. With this approach, I will show in my next two mappings that these ‘matters of fact’ proposed by the material mediator are actually not stabilized enough to become ‘matters of fact’ in reality. In any policy, if the majority of these controversies are not stabilized, the policy or project will not be successful in achieving its initial coded goal. Its initial purpose would have to change and become stabilized further and this would eventually put stress on the limited human and financial resources needed to push the program forward.

My goal in this section is to map two important examples (from my translated perspective) of this stabilizing process during the formulation of the S4 Children’s Project. I have achieved these conclusions through my ANT based interviews, significant tracing and the necessary document analysis of these important material actors. I will do this to show the importance of seeing these reified ‘truths’ in understanding policy complexity (p. 57) and to facilitate an easier transition to Part II. It is not alarming that all of these ‘matters of concern’ have not evolved into ‘matters of fact’. It is no one person’s fault that all of these have not been perfectly met. This would be impossible and is common in policy development. What is not common in policy evaluation is the realization of the importance and agency documents have. Everything from the minutes used in the first organizational meeting to the project plan all act in some way and have complex networks behind them. The point is that action cannot be limited to human actors. We must recognize that beyond our human activity, the material world is caught up in a historical, situational and active role. The structures that lie behind our everyday lives really do act. This is the complexity I will show with these two maps. The first example mapped will be the Government of Alberta SCIF application. The second example will map how the organizational chart’s trajectory was stabilized and de-stabilized throughout the formulation of the project. Within each map, I will point out which defining ‘facts’ have not been stabilized in order to show that these documents or ideas are not as straightforward as some would think.

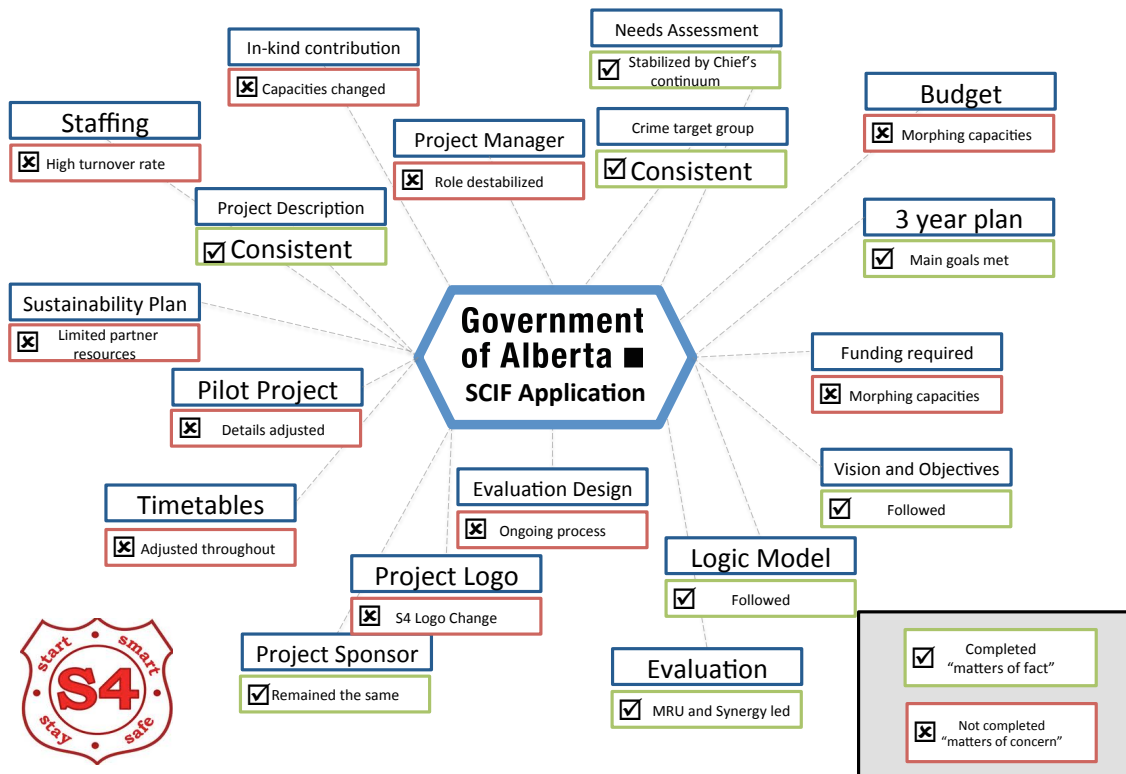


Figure #5.3: SCIF Application 'Matters of fact' vs. 'Matters of concern'



Figure #5.4: S4 Organizational Chart 'Matters of fact' vs. 'Matters of concern'

5.1.2.5 Transitioning to the S4 Children's Project assemblage: Lexis clarifications

In order to effectively transition to Part II, I will have to clarify some of the lexis I will be using (p. 58). Although I used ANT as a method in Part I to trace the S4 initiative and to show its complexities, I still have tried to stay within the umbrella of assemblage theory theoretically. Although I had to use actor-network based terminology, my ontological consistency was present. Some would see my use of ANT terminology as a theoretical positioning, but I see it as something I enrolled to explain my positioning fluidly. In order to use ANT as a method, I needed to give these terms the necessary agency to act, so I could use ANT effectively. I had to constantly think in this post-structural way throughout the collection of my data and the subsequent analysis of it. To stay within my frame of using ANT as a method and to legitimize my necessity in using these terms, I needed to enroll its lexis. That does not contradict my use of assemblage theory as my theoretical framework, but only makes that part of my explanation process within my research. In part I, I mentioned concepts such as 'reified', 'coding' and 'legitimized'. These and other terms come from an assemblage approach but will be explained further in Part II. We saw that roles, capacities, and material influences make a big difference in policy formulation. Assemblage theory will help us understand this further and within a frame of social complexity that hopes to answer some answers along side a discussion of the discourse of 'community'. Assemblage theory will show that the interactions do not exhaust the assemblage, but are contingent on the assemblage as well. Assemblage analysis can also better focus better on the spontaneity of ideas, concepts and relations (McFarlane, 2011a). What I will show is that although the structures and documents behind project formulation are somewhat unstable, so are discourses that permeate them.

This will be elaborated on further after this lexis clarification has been made. I will be staying within DeLanda's assemblage lexis for Part II and Part III (2006). Although there are a lot of similarities between ANT and assemblage theory, I have written out a term list so that the reader can understand assemblage concepts more completely when I use them freely throughout my analysis.

THE ASSEMBLAGE LEXIS

Synthesis	The combination or composition created for the assemblage to function
Capacities to interact	In assemblage theory, capacities are not given but their properties are.
Relations of exteriority	Component parts of an assemblage may be detached and plugged into a different one where its interactions are different.
Contingent obligatory factors	Necessary and important aspects based on contingent factors
Material role	The material <i>role</i> of an assemblage.
Expressive role	The expressive <i>role</i> of an assemblage. Language, symbols, bodily expression and meaning can all contribute to this.

Territorialization	Variable <i>processes</i> (characterizing) in which these components become involved. It stabilizes the identity of an assemblage by increasing homogeneity.
De-territorialization	Variable <i>processes</i> (characterizing) in which these components become involved. It de-stabilizes the identity of an assemblage and increases heterogeneity.
Physical expressivity	Something that is physically expressive and has become functional (ex: fingerprints, and language (which is expressive and material).
Coding	<i>Processes</i> (defining) that consolidate the effects of territorialization and further its stabilization.
Over-coding	The political aspect that helps the network grow, but also narrows it
De-coding	<i>Processes</i> (defining) that do not conform to the assemblage
Recurrent	To occur often and a repeated occurrence of the same process, can result in the creation of a new assemblage
Causal redundancy	Capacities that can do other things that it doesn't show at the moment.
Triggers and catalysts	External causes that can change something or have an effect
Language	The significance (context of the language) and the significance (relevance) of language are important to the assemblage
Belief and desire	The weight and intensity of tradition. Mechanisms will always involve complex mixtures of causes, reasons and motives.
Reified generalities	A topological invariant that is defined generally but shared by many systems.
Individual entity	A unique, singular individual
Historical differentiation	The historical processes that produces a product
Individual singularities	It is what you need to explain a phenomenon. It explains uniqueness. It explains why events in reality happen in the space around us.
Universal Singularity	These are singular or special features that are shared by many different systems.
Emergence	The birth of an entity.
Impressions and intensity	Expressive factors that can change an assemblage
Group boundary construction	How groups are constructed and maintained
Legitimacy	How legitimacy is achieved whether through enforcement, punishment, rules, or documents.
Professionalization:	Legitimizing something so it has professional authority.
Contextuality	Specific circumstances that go into a change or event.
Larger scale	DeLanda defines this not on a physical level, but more in an extensive (amount of energy and components used) and intensive (density of connections and authority structures) way.
Magnitude, Criticality, and Ability	The magnitude (proportion of total inputs) and the criticality (the ability to function without this market for the output) are very important to the ability of the assemblage.

Table #5.1: Assemblage Clarification

5.2 Part II: The S4 Children's Project and the actor envisioned discourses of 'community'

Now that I have created a significant understanding of the S4 Children's Project from a tracing perspective, I will now dig deeper into the S4 Children's Project assemblage by looking at the varying discourses of 'community' and the underlying mechanisms stabilizing these perceptions. Again, the research I am doing does not strive on defining what a discourse is, but more in how a discourse is continually reified, coded and allowed to permeate or affect the assemblage. Although I have 'labeled' the actor's I've interviewed with various discourses, my final aim is to show how these discourses are reified at the level of the parts. Based on these labels I have created (Lynn, 2006; Herbert, 2006; DeLanda, 2006), I analyzed the discourses perpetuated by the individuals and groups within this project, but I have not assigned them specific or concrete identities to isolate them. Discourse is within every organization and can either territorialize or de-territorialize an assemblage based on its saturation and its ability to increase homogeneity. Although I have tried to narrow it down within the sources that I have focused on, my goal was not to pigeon hole one organization or individual into a discourse but rather assign them to the ones I have discovered to create greater context to my assemblage analysis following the extrapolation of my interview data.

In Section 5.2.1, I have gone through my four key informant interviews that I conducted. After transcribing over sixty pages of interview data and conducting these interviews each lasting approximately an hour and a half, I have narrowed down which discourses have become dominant according to the actors involved. Although they are highly positioned in their own viewpoints and own situational histories, they still represent the organizations that they work for. I cannot totalize each organization's views. In understanding the actor's positionality, but at the same time realizing they are influenced and representing their organization in a distinct role gives us a glimpse into their organizational cultures. The quotes I have chosen best represent the actor's view and personalize this section in a way that the actor's voice and agency can be properly heard.

After this and within an assemblage analysis (Section 5.3), I have shown how these discourses have been reified according to the individual and the organization they are employed at. Following this, I have shown how this has affected the assemblage as a whole with examples from my interviews, my document analysis, and my knowledge of the S4 Children's Project. In my methodology section, you can be reminded how I came to these discourses of 'community'. More about the previous steps can also be found in my codebook upon request. The actors chosen for the interview all come from different backgrounds, have different histories and utilize varying roles within the S4 Children's Project development. They also all work for different organizations in terms of their involvement.

5.2.1 ‘Community’ Interviews

As seen with the ANT evaluation, the S4 Children’s Project assemblage has had constant actors plugging in and plugging out of its network (material and human). With this, the identity of the S4 Children’s project still has remained consistently constant. In terms of the perception of ‘community’ on the project, one person can envision various discourses of ‘community’. These discourses are components within the assemblage and they can work to stabilize the assemblage’s identity. They can also work in forcing the assemblage to change if their input is strong enough to help make this change (DeLanda, 2006).

5.2.1.1 CPS Employee

Sergeant Susan Westenburger is the CPS lead on the S4 Project. She is responsible for the successful delivery of the S4 Children’s project and has been influential in its development and formulation. She has been there from the beginning of the project and shares a rich history with the Chief’s vision and the S4 Children’s Project’s trajectory.

In terms of the six discourses analyzed within Sergeant Susan Westenburger’s interview, four seem to stand out as dominant, while two still have an influence in the program on a minor level. Again, further explanations of these discourses can be found in my methodology section.

Agent of police: contractual

With this particular discourse within the assemblage, we see it permeate specifically on the roll out of the Children’s Project. The service’s hope is for the community to access these resources provided by the CPS and their community partners. If the external community can take responsibility of the project’s availability, then the effectiveness will improve when implementing it. An example of this is the officer roll out that will eventually occur.

‘They are going to receive a 3-week training. Part of their training is that when they go out, they deploy out of districts. So they are not going to deploy out of this building. They will all be assigned. Some of them are two per district, one of their main functions is to be that champion in that district and to be talking to if you become patrol in a year, there will be an S4 school educational officer in your district’ (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

With this training and subsequent deployment, the community can access these resources based upon their responsibility of acknowledging it.

Agent of police: partnerships

This discourse was probably one of the most influential in terms of its reach throughout the whole project. It was CPS who initially wanted to impact the community on an educational

level and felt that need to do it in a standardized way. Sergeant Westeburger was directly involved in seeking out these partners. The CPS proceeded to contact (2009) plausible partners they saw would fit the various roles regarding the project. CPS came to this decision as an organization. After this and in formation, they specifically wanted to see kids develop certain skills when dealing with these issues. One of the project's aim is 'to teach the competencies that we want to see the kids have so that they don't become a bully or a victim or let someone victimize them because they don't know how to stand up for themselves' (S.Westeburger, May 23rd, 2013).

After the completion of the new CPS headquarters, the CPS also geographically centralized the organizational committee of the S4 Children's Project at Westwinds. In terms of employment suitability, if the CPS did not agree with how things were progressing or who was working within the program, they had significant influence.

'If someone wasn't a fit, I would just go to whoever I needed to go to and let them know it wasn't working out and that they were not a fit' (S. Westeburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

The also had influence based on their in-kind funding and their ability have sustainable capacity to keep the program going.

'We are the only organization that has internally capacity to manage the creep of the project' (S. Westeburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

The CPS was looked at as the engine of the project and dealt with a lot of the deliverables. With a strong relationship with the government as well an expansion and vision beyond the initial pilot program and their partners, the police had a lot of responsibility and a lot at stake in terms of their relationship with the community.

Community Organization

The S4 Children's Project is also in a significant partnership led my formal and elite organizations. In utilizing these formal partners, they came to agreement on the S4 project's premise.

'[redacted] was absolutely good to go and loved the idea. Calgary Catholic had stepped up as well and there had been a tremendous amount of preliminary work behind the scenes with the Chief, the two Chief Superintendents of the school boards and the third partner which we brought in the MRU Centre for Child Well-Being was really brought in to look at the evaluative component' (S. Westeburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

With this, they still had to all get everyone on board with each other in terms of figuring out each individual organization's goals and aim for their participation in such a innovative project. This happened on every level, but was played out by the operational team. The operational team that deals with the everyday duties of the S4 Children's Project is very specialized in a sense that their community has elite members from every organization involved.

'The operational committee, they work together and it is four key people and anyone else that they need to coordinate and bring into that. They work together daily. That is their work. Daily. It's very fluid, so the different people that need to come in and out. Teachers, school staff, public health. They all come in, but they work together daily' (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

Even within some of the schools, the perception that the police were there to 'smarten them up' rather than teach them was a concern and was a paradigm that had to be addressed. This was such a groundbreaking project, so to reach the external community and negating these previously established assumptions was and is a constant difficulty.

The project's partnership overall in Sergeant Westenburger's view was a collaborative and equitable effort.

'I think it was an equal partnership and I think that everyone was respected in terms of the collaboration' (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

The history with some organizations was cited as an asset in collaboration. For 36 years, the CPS has had a relationship with the two main school boards. This was their first collaborative project with MRU. This opportunity to grow as an organizational team was a key facet to the project's formative success. Personal and team development was important.

'We work really hard on in terms of the team cohesion and the mutual understanding, the visioning is that we did make time throughout the last three years to attend a lot of development and learning sessions together as a team. From everything from the conferences with different people that were coming or there were some opportunities to do some strategic planning or to do some team building you know on a different level we would take those opportunities' (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

Facilitative state co-extensive with community

Although the police's role has extended into the educational spectrum within a more standardized service, the discourse of being co-extensive with the community also permeated our discussion.

Westenburger (interview, May 23rd, 2013) states,

'I think it is just my natural orientation to focus on relationships but to always focus on involving people in all decisions whether I was on call or community policing. It is not us doing it to them, but doing it with them. Partners and collaboration' (interview, May 23rd, 2013).

In terms of working with the community, the CPS's goal was to be able to influence as many people as they could with their vast resources on the prevention side of their continuum. This in turn, would eventually put less stress on the enforcement side. CPS believes that it is essential that the community understands this and works with police in these crucial areas. Through this, projects such as the S4 Children's Project can be successful if entrusted by the external public. They are already seeing results from a diverse number of community members.

'We are seeing where we have involved Alberta health services, public health services, community resources centers, and social workers. We have involved different project within the province, the early child-mapping project. That has all different stakeholders from recreation, service provisions, policy and government. Like I said, we have been involved with not only the people you would think like families, teachers, school staff, the children, the teenagers, but there is also business partners very interested'. (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

Through these extensive collaborations, community becomes mutually defined by all partners. It becomes a project that is co-championed by the CPS and their surrounding internal and external partners.

Integrated Community

Regarding a bottom down community-based discourse in where a smaller community orientated approach strives to find common ground; I tended to find this at the organizational level. Sergeant Westenburger sees her leadership style as something that really tries to find an equitable balance in terms of decision-making on an organizational plane.

'My leadership style is extremely collective and I try to take everything to the team and we look at what evidence there and we make good decisions together. Everyone owns it

and buys into it and then we move forward' (S. Westenburger, interview, May 23rd, 2013).

In terms of buying into the external community, one of the dilemmas within the project is getting families to buy into the S4 Project in order to create resilient livelihoods for not only their children, but their immediate families overall. How can the police work together to keep the community safe? How do they entice families into this program? These are two important and crucial questions. An investment in this program by families would make the S4 community stronger and more resilient for future use as well. From an integrated community aspect, this issue also arose in our discussion.

In terms of Herbert's discourse on 'community' lightness, it only arose in my data when organizationally there was a conflict on how the program should continue forward. Although Sergeant Westenburger said all the partners had a similar envisioned view of community, the problem came with deciding which process to use when engaging it. In this case, the CPS made the final decision on what would be done and what the protocol would be to go forward and hence saw the other partner's vision as less enticing.

5.2.1.2 Public School Board

Now I will be looking at how the public school board and in particular, one of their employees envisioned 'community' with the formulation of the S4 Children's Project. I will not be able to refer to the person's name due to anonymity and with adherence to my approved research proposal (from the public board). What makes this individual interesting is that they were involved not only on the teaching level with the formulation, but also within the organizational team as the S4 Children's Project developed. She was able to see both sides of this spectrum. This experience also helped legitimize her respectability towards both groups as well (this will be elaborated in more detail later). She has now been on the organizational team for almost two years.

In terms of the six discourses analyzed within this interview, four seem to stand out as dominant, while two still have an influence in the program on a minor level

Agent of police: contractual

Being a teacher, the responsibility of the students to utilize the community resources that were available in the classroom was important to this particular person. She strived to empower her students with S4 based projects (prior to its official launch) and even facilitated numerous group projects with students where they initiated extrapolating on S4 topics (such as digital citizenship).

Her role drastically changed when she became part of the operational team. There was added responsibility in terms of decision. She was also situated in a more formal and police regulated setting as she worked at Westwinds. She enjoyed this. With some tasks, she naturally took the necessary citizenry responsibility (as well as her colleagues) because she felt comfortable dealing with the teaching community outside of the S4 Children's Project development.

'It was easier, especially the connections to the schools and the evaluation process because Karen, myself, or Rene had connections to the school and knew their world and in some ways it was just easier for us to do it' (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Within this discourse, there were times where the police did not have the final say on policy or decision-making. One example of this was the consent forms needed for photography of the children in the classrooms. This was a school decision on protocol, acceptability, and their potential use. This fell under a school based jurisdiction. Where conflict arose throughout the process, the overall group tended to take responsibility. It was a collaborative citizenry effort in mediating disagreements, problems, or 'bumps' in the road as she called it.

In order for the S4 Children's Project to be successful, she was adamant about the necessity of having teachers and their required responsibility within the program. The CPS could be heavily involved, but they needed the responsibility of the educational coordinators to be ultimately successful.

'The issue for us as schools really was, you are coming into the school world, yes absolutely, you can deliver your lessons, you can do a beautiful job, but if you do not have coordinators who know the teacher's world, this is not going to fly no matter how good it is' (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

She made it clear that this was a pre-requisite for success and there was a sense of coalition between the two school boards on this aspect.

Agent of police: partnerships

In terms of police responsibility and where the police dictated order with the S4 Children's project, this person saw it occur on multiple occasions. From a logistical aspect (meetings, schedule, plans, programs), she saw the CPS take the lead on a lot of these issues. Also in terms of direct policy or implementation influence, the CPS was also very influential. She saw the program as CPS initiated and she worked closely with the CPS. As being part of the organizational team, she also physically worked at the Westwinds building as mentioned.

What was an adjustment for her was the organizational structure of the CPS. Although she thought they were very good at making decisions and expediting processes, she believed that sometimes the hierarchical dominance dominated and limited creativity. As a teacher, she thought personalization was key to the process and she felt free to make these choices in the teaching world. When it came down to decision making though, the CPS had the upper hand and the power lied with them.

‘I don't have to follow that same protocol that they do, but certainly CPS does and because it's CPS initiated, I think ultimately decisions are there’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

One example of this was the roll out of the plan after the pilot. Although the police had capacities to roll out this program further, the other partners did not know their initial reach in terms of their capacities. The CPS decided on rolling out the plan anyways because of their ability to utilized their resources for its perpetuation.

‘They started getting organized for the roll out to the schools, before any of our three other organizations before we even knew if we had support next year. They were going to go forward no matter what’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Community Organization

This discourse permeated differently throughout this participant's trajectory. As mentioned, she started as a teacher and slowly moved into the organizational team after the former coordinator resigned. This team was much more elite in terms of how the program was developed and how changes were made. Based on her effectiveness in the classroom as a teacher, she was recommended by another colleague to take the reigns as the coordinator. Her recognition of being a teacher and then translating this to an elite role where she was making decisions on their behalf of the ten public schools involved showed her organizational influence.

‘I've gone to working in seclusion in the classroom to supporting 10 schools and then also working with CPS, CCB and Mount Royal and then a number of other people from CPS as well too. So my world has changed completely turned upside down’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Although she mentioned this discourse extensively in our interview, she found that working with elites and formal organizations caused some difficulties as well. Specifically in terms of scheduling, work responsibilities and role recognition. One example she gave was the

realization and understanding that had to come with realizing different organizational cultures.

‘CPS and teachers, we all work whatever hours we need to work. CPS works 10-hour days. Schoolteachers take work home at night. Weekends, we are used to conferences and we are used to that...MRU for example, they clock in and clock out. They get time in loo of what they work... but we don't get time in loo off, we are expected as teachers, it's what we are expected to do, CPS is the same’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Another aspect that brought difficulty at times was when new actors came into the network that did not share an individual history of the project with any of the other members. There were members that made this transition easier, but there were also members that struggled to find their place in the S4 Children’s Project network. What was also interesting is that if the proper protocol was not followed in terms of an emerging individual, then that also affected their legitimacy.

In terms of her strongest community, she sees this organizational partnership at the organizational committee level as the strongest asset to the program.

My strong community within here would be Matt, Rene, and myself. It is the way we are able to work together that developed the closeness. The fact that nobody held their ideas holier then thou...We are going to make this the best for the project, kids, teachers and because we all have that perspective and anything we brought’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

This sense of understanding was a re-emerging theme of this person’s personal philosophy towards the program. Learning to respect the differences, but still being able to work in a structured organizational and elite team for effectiveness was a goal of this individual.

Integrated Community

An integrated and smaller community based discourse was also present. It was present in her ability to collaborate with other teachers by being able to find common ground within her familiar setting. She did this with the module developments and the notebook files she helped create. She knew the teacher world, so it was easier for her to jump in and integrate into that community. It was also easier for her to relate to the students and integrate them into the project. Her vast experience (21 years) in the classroom gave her the confidence and skills to know what children need, and how to adapt to their needs in terms of outreach and accessibility. Her relationship with her colleague Rene on a smaller community level was also instrumental in her success.

‘With Rene, there is just something when you meet someone in your world, and the teaching world, she was somebody I saw her a couple times and wanted to see her more. She was so enthusiastic and helpful with that and the project. I was lucky in that sense as I had some connections already. I just had to build up from there’ (Anonymous, interview, May 31st, 2013).

She also talked of this discourse during her teaching tenure at Riverbend Elementary School. Here she felt a sense of bottom up care and she really felt this love and compassion for not only the children, but the teachers as well.

As for the discourse of having a facilitative state that is co-extensive with the community, the only aspect where she saw the responsibility put on the community was in terms of having the personal responsibility of adjusting to your role when you were put into a new position (this being more individual than anything). In terms of the light community discourse, we see that the necessity for the kids and students to have this program as well as the funding capacities of the partners gave a sense that community was sometimes unstable and fragile, and thus needed the necessary push or resources to flourish. The necessary intervention (whether it was the S4 Children’s program for the kids or the necessary resources for the partners) was needed for ‘community’ success.

5.2.1.3 Calgary Catholic School District

Jennifer Woo is the Director of Religious Education and Family Life for the Calgary Catholic School Board. The S4 project was recently moved from the Director of Teaching and Learning portfolio (Brian Szumlas) to Jennifer, so she is fairly new to the project. Her role within the S4 is that she is a member of the Steering Committee and she represents Calgary Catholic at the Planning level of the S4. This group sits directly underneath the Governance Committee in terms of the project’s hierarchy. It was instrumental for me to interview someone fairly new, but also someone fairly influential. With the idea of ‘plugins’ and relations of exteriority being instrumental to DeLanda’s (2006) approach, I thought it would be interesting to see Jennifer’s take on ‘community’ from a ‘plugin’ perspective.

Agent of police: contractual

As for the responsibility of CCSD within this project and their relationship to the police, it became clear early in our interview that relating the S4 Children’s Project’s philosophy to that of the Catholic values would be key in keeping CCSD as a sustainable partner. This was one of the reasons this was added to Jennifer’s portfolio, so that her department could capitalize on this opportunity. So in this sense, the responsibility (externally) would be on CCSD in

promoting their values through the eye of the S4 Children's Project philosophy. I would not be put on CPS.

As Woo States,

'As we look at the S4 from our place in the partnership, we also have that extension too. Who are the helpers in our church communities, who are the helpers and how can we be of service to that community. It is a mutual relationship that we pull in' (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

With having this broader scope of the project, she sees other organizations not just as partners, but resources that CCSD can tap into and eventually benefit from because of their accessibility through this partnership. Overall, these resources, she sees this as one way that we can prepare our communities, and our children. When connecting these overall aspects, it helps facilitate resiliency in an overall manner.

'We need to equip our young people to be able to thrive, so we started seeing those connections. To me, the broader community, we are seeing connections with mental health. AHS, Alberta mental health, our other partners, and even internally' (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Agent of police: partnerships

The processes within the formulation of the S4 Children's project tended to show a different discourse. Although she thought the project was equitable, she found the roles between the steering committee and the organizational team not well defined when she entered, thus giving the CPS Lead a strong sense of organizational power. For her, the definition of the Steering Committee was to oversee and steer the project in an equitable way. The whole organizational structure was foreign to her.

Woo explains,

In education, in my experiences, I've worked in, unlike other people in our school system; I have worked in 5 or 6 different school districts. I've been with Calgary Catholic; I think this is my 12 or 13 years of my 28 years of teaching. It has been a lot of different structures. Never have I worked in a steering operational framework. (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

She found that although it is working out positively now, it was hard to get used to. It was also hard in terms of the communication between the two groups. Sergeant Susan Westenburger was the mediator of sorts between the two committees. At times, she could see if information

might get lost in transmission between the two committees. It is not necessarily the person transmitting the message, but more the process behind it.

‘If you are looking at minutes for example when we are with the operational team or we have someone who is sharing or Susan who is being the liaison... is one person. She is taking it through her window and her perspective and she is sharing it. We are having this very rich conversation that sometimes gets boiled down to two or three key points. Something is lost in that. It is both the process and the outcomes that formulate how you are going to take action’ (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

What she found as necessary for the perpetuation of the S4 was the police’s ability to give a substantial amount of resources to the project. Although they had significant influence, it made sense from an organizational perspective.

‘The partner with the most resources, the most commitment, the most finances, they are going to have greater influence’ (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Although from a governance perspective, it hurt the overall decision-making equity (if this was looked at as purely equal), it made the formulation much smoother due to the in-kind contributions of the CPS. With the lack of resources CCSD could deliver from a capacity standpoint, CPS really stepped up and filled that void.

Community Organization

From a discourse that sees ‘community’ within elite organizations, we see it show up in the direct formulation process as well. CCSD saw this as an opportunity to collaborate on resilience education and on implementing this in an effective way with other important elite actors. What again is present is the difficulty of logistically organizing this in a way that produces effective results. Meeting times were difficult to arrange, roles were difficult to define at times, and communication between different organizational structures was not always prevalent. In her mind, more collaboration together (from a direct standpoint) can always help.

As Woo states,

‘The only way to that is to spend time together so you understand those perspectives and strengthen the work you’re doing together by embracing and...working through all those pieces’ (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Although there are varying histories in terms of how each of the entities has historically worked with each other, there is a significant mutual respect for all of the organizations

involved on a leadership level. Having these elite relationships not only helps with a top down vision, but also helps in keeping the mandate of the program consistent throughout.

According to Woo, this is

‘To serve youth, to raise our children in a way that really encourages their development, all aspects, whether it is their intellectual, social, emotional, spiritual. That’s our primary mandate is to raise them’ (J.Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Facilitative Co-extensive with Community

Within this discourse, the most influential theme that arose was the necessity of having that Catholic connection to the external community. Although the CPS has great capacity, the responsibility had to be facilitated with the families, children, and congregations within CCSB and the Catholic faith. Melding all these aspects together so that it could impact communities citywide was something that was strived for. Community was then looked beyond the organizations and people involved.

‘I would define that in the context in which we live and interact in and the supports and connections that are involved in all of our interpersonal relationships and connectedness with others and so again, I’d see that personally as the family, work, our parish or church piece, then the broader community and all the other things we might be connected with’ (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Although these effective community partnerships are important and CCSD is seeing significant benefits with working with the CPS, it is the Catholic Church and the CCSD responsibility of helping raise their communities of children in a resilient way.

That’s our primary mandate is to raise them. For us, that would mean raising them in the faith and what that means and so I would see the community of S4 really being everyone around that makes that happen, for young people. (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

Integrated Community

The bottom up collaboration discourse of CCSD’s involvement shone through in the amount of time put in by all partners in terms of team building, meetings, and most all, the effectiveness of the organizational team. Woo saw the organizational team as the ones that really handled a lot of the workload and delivery. In some instances, she did not have the same capacities as their hired organizational coordinator, because of Rene’s (the CCSD coordinator’s) ability to utilize resources and further embed herself into the program.

‘Rene has been a writer of curriculum and has been widely involved in social studies. She has relationship and history with some of the principals and other peoples and maybe some of the CBE people that I don't know about’ (J. Woo, interview, May 31st, 2013).

This shows a very bottom up discourse where a smaller community or community member can have an influential impact beyond the hierarchical structure of the project. Another example of this discourse is in terms of the roll out of this project and the necessity of equipping the parents and families with the needed resiliency in understanding and utilizing this project. The S4 does this not only on a school level and child level, but also in an overarching family sense with the inclusion of the Family Project.

In terms of Herbert’s (2005) discourse on light community, we tend to see the same assumptions as we saw with the other entities. Community, society, families, and children need resilience to grow. This perception that this is needed would again give the assumption that the public cannot provide these skills internally, but can hopefully be provided by the S4 to the public through its multiple resources and expertise.

5.2.1.4 Mount Royal University and Others

MRU has been an integral part to the development of the S4 Children’s Project. They have brought a lot of the academic research on resilience to the forefront as well as participated in the development of the project. They also facilitated the evaluative process in consulting the external evaluators, which is Synergy. Their coordinator Kristen Duke works together with the operational team in collaborating not only on the development and implementation of the Children’s Project, but also in terms of how the Children’s Project can coincide with the other piece of the S4, The Family Project. Dr. Dawne Clarke has also been there from the beginning of the total S4 Project. She is the Director of Centre for Child Well-Being at Mount Royal and has also been a key voice for the project from a steering and planning perspective. According to the Chief, the Family and Children’s Projects are not separate, but one. In order for the Children Project to be successful, families also have to be engaged. With MRU very focused on both projects, we see that the varying dynamics, organizational cultures and turnover rate of the project(s) influence a variety of discourses being present based on my interview data.

Agent of police: contractual

From a community contractual perspective, MRU was contracted from the beginning as an effective and needed partner for the project. As the mandate for the project grew, organizations had to keep going back to their mandates individually (as they had those contractual obligations as well). With all three other partners being service based to their entire ‘communities’, MRU had a responsibility to be accountable to their students first. That put them in a slightly different relationship with the community at large then the other three (as

the others were more service based). In this sense, their relationship with the CPS was contractual to the extent that they serve their immediate 'community' (students) as well. As the program progressed, students were utilized in not only developing research for the program, but their class lessons and assignments were intertwined with facets of the Children's and Family Project. This was partly in response to the development of the curriculum and the need to have evidence based research. In this sense, the curriculum and the development of aspects of the project were the external responsibility of the greater MRU community.

Agent of police: partnerships

As consistent with a lot of the data I collected, this program was very CPS weighted. In terms of physical numbers around a table (according to MRU), it was also CPS dominated for the most part. As for the financial capacities of the other partners, they relied on the CPS for a lot of the funding. Whenever moves were made or money was spent, they needed to ask permission of CPS, which meant that CPS had a lot of control in terms of the direction of the project. The capacity of each entity is a re-emerging theme. The police could gather their resources from within, while MRU had to contract their resources by using consultants, students, and external resources. According to the data, MRU will not be able to sustain their ability to utilize these resources as their capacities are thinning due to a number of reasons. As for being purely equitable, my data seems to show that it was the CPS who made most of the decisions and therefore, set the agenda in terms of the development of the overall S4 project.

Community Organization

As for the organizational dynamics within this discourse, the developmental evaluation was key in understanding all of these varying elite entities and their respected visions and views of the project. MRU provided this through Synergy. Synergy did various evaluations, but the developmental evaluation provided the organizations with real time data and iterative gathering so that players could talk about their project's trajectory before it is too late. In terms of the overall project, it was very important to key elite members of every organization ranging from the President of MRU to the Chief and chief Superintendents of the school boards. According to my data, new communities were constantly emerging as these elite actors worked, debated, and formalized the project in a cohesive framework. The Synergy developmental evaluation kept these various communities accountable in this respect.

Integrated Community

A bottom up discourse that permeated the project, my data reveals that the most important aspect was the first year of development in terms of team and community cohesion. All of the coordinators and supervisors were deeply embedded in the project and were constantly communicating. The team members read, discussed, debated, learned, stretched themselves, and came to appreciate one another's perspectives. From this base, the project

conceptualization was born and flourished as the groups worked together. The coordinators worked side by side (from every organization) in a geographically close area and although a small group from different areas of expertise meeting around a topic of passion, they supported each other in enhancing the resilience of children and their families through their collaborative efforts. The communities began to grow as others were brought on to the project and then distinct communities began to form as the schools and families came on board (Anonymous, interview, April 19th, 2013). The core 'community' of the formation was the operational team. As for finding common ground, each entity strived to their best according to my MRU contacts

'It is difficult enough for organizations with extremely diverse ways of working, cultures, expectations, and so on to work collaboratively. I'm not sure the project could have handled any more diversity. I believe that each entity did its very best to contribute to this project' (Anonymous, interview, April 19th, 2013).

As for the discourse of light community, it showed up in my data that MRU was sometimes seen as undervalued (as perceived by my interviewees). This was partly due to a lack of awareness and appreciation, but also the complexities of the program itself in terms of roles, vision, and the various responsibilities beyond the formulation. With this information, it seems at times that MRU as a community was sometimes seen as lighter in terms of their given responsibilities and perceived effectiveness.

In terms of the facilitative co-extensive discourse, we see again the realization of the complexities of various communities involved. They are constantly emerging, constantly evolving and at the end of this, happening on a community where a diversity of actors collaborate.

5.3 Part III: What can we learn from all of this within an Assemblage analysis?

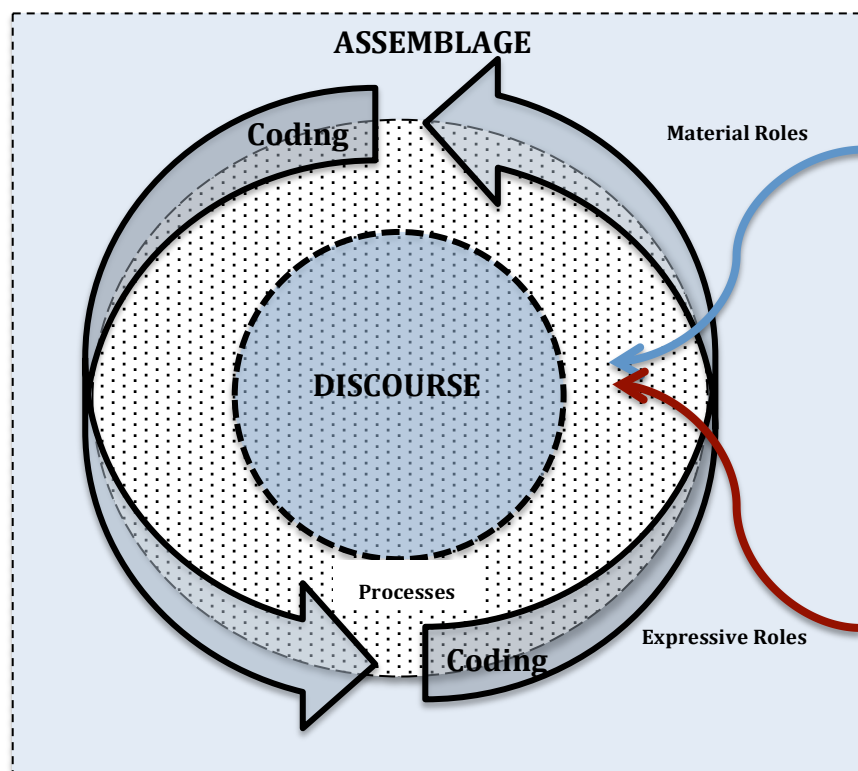


Figure #5.5: Discourse and the S4 Children's Project Assemblage

5.3.1 What are the material and expressive roles of the assemblage?

By exercising different sets of capacities, the S4 Children's Project assemblage uses material and expressive roles to help define its identity. As organizations and collaborations are not in a state of being, but rather in processes of becoming, there has to be distinct material and expressive roles given to help assemble the parts. The ecology of this organization is complex. In terms of material aspects, we have seen in my conducted interviews and with tracing the formulation of the project with ANT that meeting rooms, material documents, classrooms, MOU's, partnership agreements, funding applications, budgets, project plans, logic models, and external evaluations all have roles. These are not just defined by their material state. They too have embedded histories, meanings, assumptions and agency. They also can be expressive. These material roles can express legitimacy, reasons, motives and propositional attitudes. Space, time, passion, and perceptions can all express and thus have an active role in stabilizing the assemblage. We have seen that expressive financial and human resources (even the talk around the lack of resources), and physical resources (the physical capacities that the CPS had over the other partners) also both act. Even the external expression of collaboration, cohesiveness and 'community' all act and are given roles. The main material role was the actual co-presence of the organizational committee working together. Being orientated towards one

another and giving constant attention, involvement, and labor were roles that helped keep the assemblage working. They created a group within themselves to help solidify the overall partnership and project. Through this, expressive roles such as trust, solidarity, and teamwork arose.

Other factors, such as the assumptions of how meetings, documents, organizations (whether flat like MRU or hierarchical like the CPS) should be looked at or have been normalized over time can express and reify their perceived function. The same goes for words such as 'partnership', 'community', or 'equity'. These all have been deeply embedded into our everyday processes as reified generalities. Even the perception of the organizational chart varied between not only organizations, but also people. What does steering committee mean? What are the terms of reference? How do we communicate between these hierarchical groups? These were common questions that arose. With this organizational structure being familiar to CPS and being a heavily weighted CPS project, it was normal for them to take this approach, but possibly unfamiliar for the other entities.

Each of the entities involved has drawn in their capacities towards the assemblage to benefit, legitimize, or influence the stability of the assemblage (such as the CPS did with the organizational chart). Titles, roles, names, and material clothing also adds to this. The various ranks of police officers, the many academic experts, and the organizational leaders all have different legitimacy that gives them agency within their own organizational culture or structures, but decreases, increases, morphs, or evolves as they are plugged into the S4 Children's Project assemblage.

5.3.2 What are the processes that stabilize varying homogenous discourses?

In terms of the discourses that were present, we see that a plethora of processes helped solidify and stabilize the perceived discourses within the assemblage. Perceptions of 'community' are not stable overall, but processes can help stabilize them within a specific situational event, space, or trajectory. These territorializing aspects are key to the assemblage and to the perpetuation of these six discourses. As seen in the interviews, based on a variety of factors (individual and organizational), this reified term is different to everyone. Different triggers or catalysts influence different participants in different ways. When participants were asked about 'community' individually, usually a micro explanation was given, but when I talked about 'community' in the sense of the S4 Children's Project, a macro leap was made. Through my coding, I was able to show the meso aspects that permeated the assemblage and the complexities and processes associated with these varying discourses. I showed how individuals are in constant negotiation with a variety of discourses. Enrolling them at the most opportune time and accessing others when looking for an explanation. How legitimacy and power are negotiated within the discourses is also important to stabilization. The processes created by

deliberate planning (the S4 project plan) compared the processes created by unintended planning (module re-development) have different effects. Following commands, routines, member turnover rate are all processes that stabilize or destabilize a discourse. Even how something is done (its professionalization) helps homogenize one discourse over another in a certain setting. Below are examples of the main influential processes to each discourse. These were decided upon by analyzing the documents provided by the CPS and my qualitative interviews.

Discourses of 'Community'	Influential Processes
Agent of police: Contractual	Initial meetings between participating organizations, project development meetings, governance, steering, and organizational meetings, module development, media coverage and communication process, S4 launch, SCIF application development, the process of how new entities emerge
Agent of police: Partnerships	Staff turnover decisions, funding decisions, resource allocation, 2013 rollout plan, communication processes, the process of defining roles and organizational structures, meeting processes (geographical and structural), the process of project approval, personal and situational processes and histories, organizational relationships, the process concerning the project's origins
Community as organization	Pre defined elite partners and their reification through their organizational structures, process of meeting accessibility, process of being legitimized through rank, name, profession, label or passion. Process of succession or promotion. Processes that dictate portfolio changes. The process of decision making, the process of fund allocation and capacity recognition, the reified process of community recognition and historical legitimacy of every organization.
Facilitative state co-extensive with community	The police's process of getting involved in an over-arching educational program, resource allocation, the process of research gathering and the evaluative process throughout the formation, the process of governance meetings and equitable representation (numbers wise) at the highest level, the process of emerging community groups, individuals, and entities into the project's formulation as it evolved. The process of openness to the external community.
Integrated community	Smaller organizational group processes, individual organizational meetings, family meetings, children interviews, classroom orientated projects, classroom discussions, process of implementation, processes of cohesion between schools, students, teachers. Process of community awareness of the program. Media coverage.
Light Community	Initial initiative to support a perceived need, process of providing literature, statistics and research on resilience to show this gap. The process of making the program accessible to families and children. The process of creating awareness through the launch and other media events to show the need for children and families. The process of gathering resources to support and fix these problems.

Table #5.2: Examples of influential processes

5.3.3 How are these coded on an individual and organizational level?

Coding is the ways in which these processes are normalized. So the processes that I mentioned above in the table all have a situational and distinct history that the assemblage adopted as the appropriate way of thinking or doing. It is looked at as normal through the assemblage. For the discourses of 'community', this is important. Discourses project truth of how a reified term is seen. Behind these processes that solidify the discourse, structures were put in place to normalize this behavior. They tell us what we should or should not do and the rules behind that. Even as I put these discourses into my assemblage framework, I as a researcher am

following these coding rules in terms of normalized research practice according to the Geography Department of Radboud University Nijmegen.

What is important to the S4 Children's Project is to analyze is the actors, structures, networks or channels that help this evolve and how these spawn new discourses. I have done this. It is normal in our westernized society that police should not abuse their power. It is also coded into our society that police should have significant community responsibility. This is a complex binary that is hard for police departments worldwide to juggle. CBP is entirely situational. What might work for one agency could be disastrous for another. Through history, CBP has been coded based on academic literature and municipalities situational experiences. Chief Hanson's continuum over-codes this even farther. The S4 Children's project is coded within these already heavily coded CBP frames.

In terms of how the territorializing and de-territorializing processes are coded and decoded, how a meeting is properly conducted and how resources are distributed depending on the situation is highly dependent on an organization's situational history. How partnerships, collaborations, and agreements work is predicated on each individual and organizational coding. Even within all the individuals seen in my data, there are a plethora of intersectional aspects present. Coding happens in different spaces, in different times, and in different trajectories of their individual and organizational lives. Whether it is in the classroom with a teacher and their students, or in an elite organizational setting where policy is being negotiated, coding differs considerably. People enroll different power structures, individuals, resources, moods, and are situated in varying time periods and geographical spaces. This enrollment is never done the exact same way every time.

The triggers or catalysts that stimulate coding on the smaller direct community based level are also significantly different than those on the organizational level. Within this formulation, some of the deeply coded processes that the CPS were used too such as the hierarchical organizational structure, the accessibility to internal resources and occasional 'no questions asked' decision-making were not as deeply coded within the other organizations involved. As the CPS had the passion, resources, and capacities (giving them significant material and expressive clout), they brought along their coded assumptions as well. Although the coding behind the project itself in terms of the resiliency literature, the outreach to students, guidance, instruction, and the need for a more preventative aspect was consistent across the board (as well as the assumed over-coded aspects of non-resilient children that every organization brought). The coding in terms of the processes that need to be utilized to create this project was inconsistent at times. This then would influence a specific discourse of 'community' within the formulation (as we saw in the data).

What is definitely a CPS priority in terms of the S4 Children's Project's success overall is the

goal of the external community seeing the police as accountable and trustworthy. This is a possible spatial imaginary and potentiality goal for the CPS (McFarlane, 2011). This is a highly over-coded ambition through CPS's adherence to CBP and embedded with the Chief's Continuum. The CPS hope is to re-code this relationship with the public enrolling the potential success of this innovative project, and thus re-code the discourses of 'community' between the public and the police. This has been a goal of community policing since its inception. If they can limit or minimize a discourse that shows police as the agent of power, they will be able to reach the community at a closer arms length. This is a complex situation. 'Police' are seen all over the world in varying capacities. Even the word 'police' is reified. Each police department has its own situational history and own varying communities that are all coded individually, but they are also coded on a global level through the media, word of mouth, and stories that have been coded and over-coded over time (Brodeur, 2010). Even police departments have reified CBP to the extent where they use it as a coded and influential term, but are hypocritical to its underpinnings with their actions towards their communities. Reputation or in other words, over-coded assumptions can have significant influence. Although CPS has a great track record in recent years and has flourished with these types of innovative programs, it can still sometimes be positioned negatively because of these external assumptions and hypocritical actions by other departments (when looked at within a CPS coding). Specifically with the S4 Children's Project's, coding and over-coding have been positive in moving this project in a systematic and politically acceptable way. It has been a key to the early success of the project. Although important to its roll out, the coding and the over coding at the organizational level in the direct formulation process has had some difficulties. Recommendations from an assemblage ethos will now be given for future projects done within this framework.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that policy formulation and the various discourses of ‘community’ are not only complex, but that they influence each other on a number of levels. While not being able to label each organization or participant with an individual discourse, we were still able to see where these discourses permeated and the roles, processes, and codings that allowed them to exist.

In terms of the formulation of the S4 Children’s Program, my Part I ANT analysis specifically described the network of actors and actants involved. Utilizing Latour’s Actor Network lexis, this was done sufficiently by elaborating on four of Latour’s controversies within the Actor Network (2005). Through this elaborate description, it also became clear as the project’s trajectory continued, that material actors have had a significant voice within policy formulation in terms of not only the stabilization of the project, but also the mechanisms behind the project that are also constantly being negotiated. This was shown through two specific documents (SCIF application and the Organizational Chart) in how ‘matters of fact’ are negotiated and not fully reified throughout the project’s development

Part II then helped us delve into the varying discourses permeating the project. Using key informant interviews and document analysis of project plans, logic models and by accessing external evaluations, I was able to see the different situational events, histories, organizations, spaces and time frames that have allowed for the reification and assumed discourses that the actors projected. Part II fleshed out my data so that I could also see the differences between the four organizations and their employees represented in my thesis.

Part III provided us with an assemblage analysis that explained the material and expressive roles of the assemblage. Following this, the processes that helped homogenised the assemblage were then explained followed by the explanation of the extensive coding and over-coding that occurs not only in the assemblage of the S4 Children’s Project, but within the discourses themselves. To see the sensitivity of these relationships resulting from this process through an assemblage analysis was key in seeing areas of improvement. The recommendations that follow do not rely on social assumptions or reified facts, but rather in how these are explained or allowed to exist. Understanding these processes are the key to a smoother project formulation.

6.1 Recommendations for future ‘community’ collaborations

Six main recommendations have become clear to me after I evaluated my data. Again, although these are recommendations and may potentially help in future collaborations and in working in an equitable ‘community’, they all lie within my positionality as a researcher and my coded view of the process that happened during the formulation stage.

1. Understand the agency of the documents or material actors you produce, utilize, or disregard.

Seen from my data, material actants do act. Organizational documents are highly embedded with agency that can change perceptions, create assumptions, and solidify roles. Understanding the complexities of this aspect will only allow the assemblage the flexibility it needs. Realizing that these documents are ‘matters of concern’ will allow for a smoother transition when dealing with organizational changes or when amending policy or project plans. Also, seeing the potentiality of these documents is also important. Being aware that they act into the future and into future phase spaces (Palmas, 2007) is important in trying to understand organizational dynamics.

2. Understand the organizational cultures you are collaborating with.

What was clear throughout my interviews was that the organizational cultures between all of the respected entities were different. Although commonalities arose, assumed ways of operating and organizing the policy’s formulation were projected by each entity. These were not always familiar with every partner. Taking time to see not only the obvious cultural differences, but being aware of the mechanisms stabilizing these organizational cultures is important in understanding more clearly why a decision is made in a particular way. It can also help you plan more efficiently. In terms of each partner’s capacity, we saw that MRU’s work culture (Monday-Friday, 9am-5pm) was much different than that of the CPS or teachers. Being able to bring these types of small details into the assemblage prior to the formulation will allow you to adjust and eventually further appreciate each entity’s contribution.

3. Understand the organizational structures that you will be dealing with.

Understanding the organizational structures of each member is also important. As this was a heavily weighted CPS plan, the formulation was dominated with familiar CPS organizational structures (organizational chart, hierarchical relationships, top down decision making processes). With the other members not familiar or used to this approach, briefing them on the differences and discussing this beforehand can help create a better sense of open collaboration.

Also being flexible in terms of overall community projects is important for the CPS. With a lot of the decision making needed on the project delivery level, we see at times where the hierarchal ladder seemed to be time consuming and inefficient. CPS was flexible at times with this by expanding the CPS lead role into the Steering Committee, but other organizations were not used to these hierarchies (especially the organizational committee employees). For future collaboration, a flatter approach could provide increased equity and efficiency.

4. Understand the potential capacities of each partner beforehand and have a sustainability plan ready

What became clear was the massive turnover rate of not only direct personnel, but of departments, and emerging actors affected the trajectory of the project. Either seconding all of these entities to the CPS or creating some sort of sustainable contract with each member so that there is decreased turnover rate would help the project's formulation trajectory run smoother.

Having a sustainability plan is also needed. What was surprising was the lack of resources other partners had in terms of sustaining this initiative into the future. Knowing this beforehand helps in effective communication. This is so it does not come across as a shock when the project is either moved forward with other resources (as done with CPS and their added fiscal responsibility) or the project is downsized or changed to fit its realistic capacity.

5. Brief incoming collaborators with the situational histories of organizations and the policies trajectory.

With a plethora of new actors constantly emerging, keeping them up to date becomes important. Although Synergy did this through their developmental evaluation in terms of the direct project, more information is needed on the situational histories of each organization prior to their commitment to the project. Through the data, we saw that historical relationships make a difference. CPS's 37-year relationship with both school boards added to their successful collaboration. Showing these historical commonalities creates a sense of respect. Understanding where and how these organizations have progressed will only add to the realizations of these complexities and therefore, increased understanding.

6. Discuss reified terms such as 'community', 'partnerships', and 'collaboration'. Agree on a solution so that all organizations are on the same page.

Prior to agreeing to a 'partnership' agreement or particular TOR's, make sure the organization's involved discuss the reified terms constantly being used to describe the project's

complex relationship. As seen, these terms can have a varying gradient of intensity and can be taken in a number of ways. They can also evolve. Agreeing on what these mean beforehand can be a good base for open communication and effective collaboration and for possible evolvment as the trajectory of the program changes. Speaking on flexibility, understand the areas that allow greater flexibility (less coded) and areas where coding has solidified structures, roles, and ‘matters of concern’.

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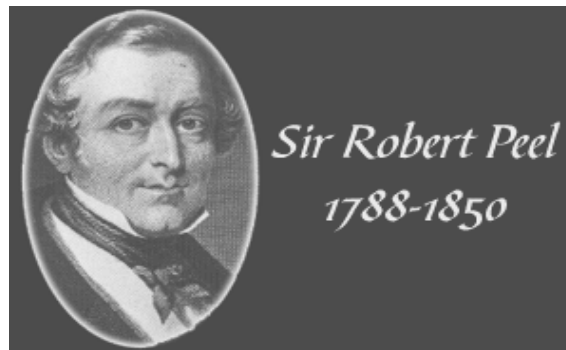
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Appendix A: Sir Robert Peel's Nine Principles of Policing.



The Founder of Modern Policing

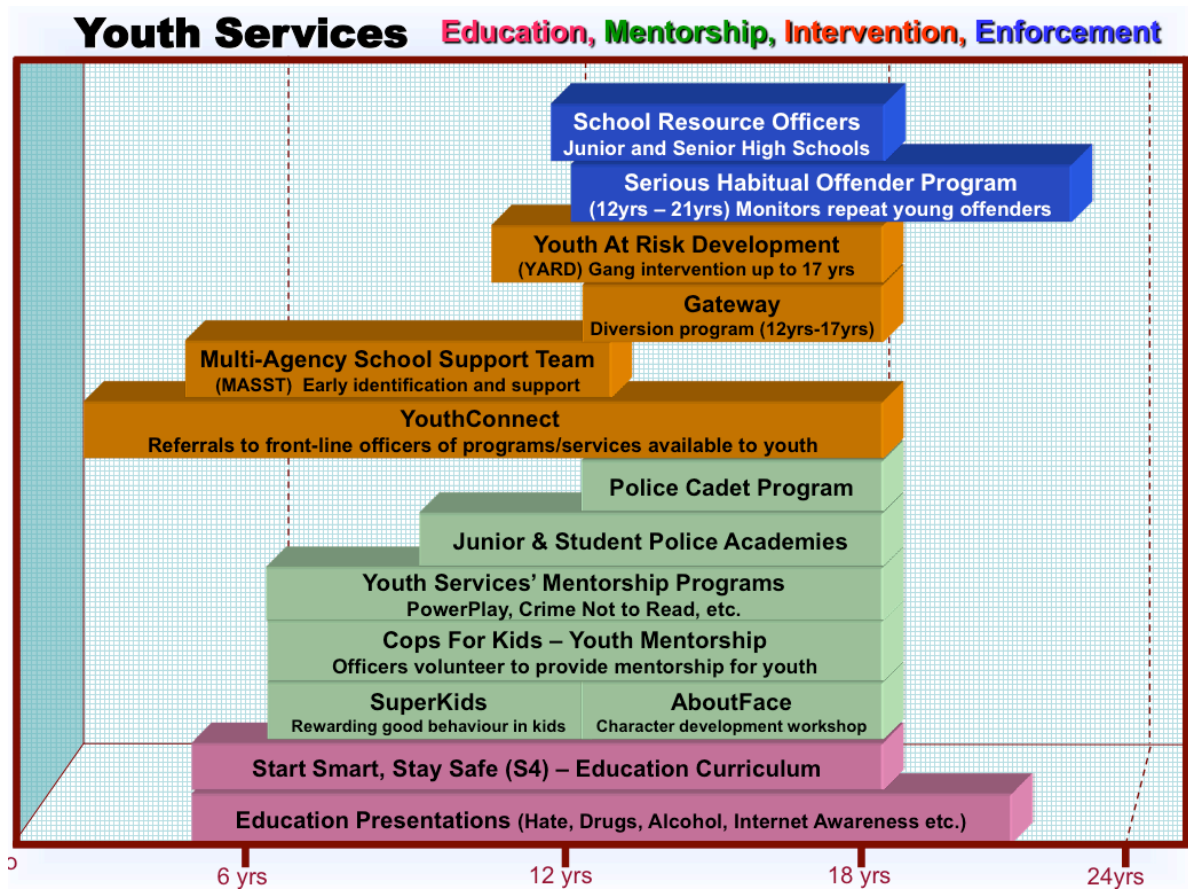
Sir Robert Peel's Nine Principles

- The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
- The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
- Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
- The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
- Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
- Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
- Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
- Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.

The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

**Adapted from: The Community Life Improvement Council.
(2005). Community Support Officers: Applying the Concept
in Calgary. Lyons Venini and Associates Ltd.**

Appendix B: CPS Youth Services





Radboud University Nijmegen Cooperative Research Project Agreement

Radboud University
Nijmegen School of Management
Human Geography

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P.O. Box 9108
NL - 6500 HK Nijmegen
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 24 361 1924
Fax: +31 24 361 1841
www.ru.nl/socgeo

A. The Radboud University Nijmegen, represented by:

Name: Dr. Huib Ernste
Title: Head of the Department of Human Geography
Address: Radboud University, Postbox 9108
City/Country: Nijmegen, The Netherlands
Phone: +011 31 24 361 1925

B. The External Supervisor, represented by:

Name: Staff Sergeant Asif Rashid #3670
Address: 5111 47th St. NE
City/Country: Calgary, Alberta, Canada
Phone: +001 403 428 4597

C. Radboud University Student:

Name: Hendrik Bekkering
Student #: 4211626
Address: Radboud University, Postbox 9108
City/Country: Nijmegen, The Netherlands
Phone: +011 31 6 1909 4580 (NL)/1403 247 2417 (CDN)

Terms of the *Cooperative Research Project Agreement* for the 2012/2013 academic year:

The before mentioned agree to the following,

ARTICLE 1:

The External Supervisor agrees to advise the Student to do his/her research in a safe and hospitable manner providing guidance, insight, instruction, and resources when possible.

ARTICLE 2:

The *Cooperative Research Project* is in partnership with the Masters Program in Human Geography within the Faculty of Management at the Radboud University Nijmegen and explicitly serves the purpose of doing relevant scientific Human Geographical research. The result of this research will be reported in an innovative academic report (*Masters Thesis*), which will be beneficial both to the Calgary Police Service (CPS) and Radboud University Nijmegen.

ARTICLE 3:

The research will be done under the responsibility of Radboud University Nijmegen and in cooperation with the Student's chosen External Supervisor within the Calgary Police Service (CPS). Within these conditions, a work place/area is not mandatory or needed for the Student. Monetary payment and compensation for the research is not required.

ARTICLE 4:

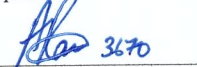
The Radboud University Nijmegen and the External Supervisor and/or CPS are not responsible for any damage, loss, accident or health problem that the student may occur during his/her research.

ARTICLE 5:

The *Cooperative Research Project Agreement* may be suspended, shortened, or extended on the advise of one of the three before mentioned partners and after consultation with the three before mentioned partners, that is, the Radboud University Nijmegen, the External Supervisor, and the Student. This is not a legally bound document, but rather proof of mutual understanding of cooperation and agreement for this specific *Cooperative Research Project*.

Agreed, signed by and distributed among the three partners:


Radboud University Nijmegen


External Supervisor (CPS)
A. RASHID


Radboud University Student

Radboud University Nijmegen



Mobilizing key informant interviews using Actor Network Theory: Part I

‘The task of defining and ordering the social should be left to the actors themselves’ (p. 23, 2005).

-Bruno Latour, Reassembling the Social

Personal contribution

Where did the ‘S4’ originate? What is its history? How did the idea of the ‘S4’ come into fruition based upon your knowledge of its history?

What was your role(s) in the formulation of the ‘S4’ project? Please elaborate.

What was your role(s) in the pilot implementation of the ‘S4’ project? Please elaborate.

How was your role legitimized according to either process? Where did your legitimacy originate (ex: from your academic experience, job title, document creation, work ethic, etc.). What made you influential in either process?

Did your role evolve or change throughout either process? If so, in what specific ways did it change?

Were you restricted personally in any ways involving both processes?

What makes you passionate about this project?

Material aspect

How often were the meetings arranged between stakeholders?

What was the style (creative discussion, open, formal, business, etc.)? Please describe it.

Where did these meetings take place? Why?

What did the seating arrangement entail? Did this ever change throughout both processes?

What were the most influential documents or academic research regarding the formation of the ‘S4’? Please elaborate.

What were the most influential documents or academic research regarding the pilot implementation of the ‘S4’? Please elaborate.

How did these documents or research legitimize the project? Did this change throughout either process?

Collaboration and the Actor Network

Was it a closed or open circle of people involved in either process?

Did new actors arrive during either process? If yes, then who emerged?

What did it require for an actor to be involved? What gave them the legitimacy to be part of the process?

What were the approaches to decision making in the formation and pilot implementation? Was it through consensus? Was it through academic literature or research? Was it through an authority figure? Please elaborate.

Were there groups beyond the demarcated entities (beyond CPS, Mount Royal, CBE and the Catholic School Board)? If so, what groups and when did they emerge?

Were there any exceptions of legitimacy?

Did the resources flows (financially) affect legitimacy or decision making throughout either process? Did this cause any delay?

Did you previously know any of your fellow stakeholders? If so, from where?

Understanding the discourse of 'Community': Part II

The question is not: What is the nature of discourses that construct people as certain kinds of subjects, but what processes permit certain discourses to dominate (Crewe, 2010).

-Don Crewe, Assemblage Theory and the Future of Criminology

Discourse of 'community' questions:

How would you define the word 'community' from a personal standpoint? Please elaborate.

How would you define 'community' in terms of the 'S4' and your experience with this project?

How did this sense of 'community' evolve or change throughout the 'S4's' formational history?

What about during the pilot implementation phase?

What processes, events or situations strengthened the sense of 'community' within the 'S4'?

Who is involved in the 'S4' community?

Who makes the decisions within the 'S4' community or sets the agenda? How were these capacities distributed?

Were there any concerns regarding equitable representation? Was this even possible?

What were the struggles that your represented entity dealt with in terms of cooperatively working with the other entities?

What specific differentiating skills or capacities did you or the entity you represent bring to the table?

Did any other entities emerge into the 'community' throughout the process?

In what setting or historical frame did the most productivity occur?

Was there ever a sense of 'group boundary construction' within the 'S4' process?

Were there any specific routines that members of the 'S4' followed?

Which entities did you hope would emerge or contribute more to the process? Why didn't this occur?

CONSENT FORM

Title of Thesis:

Social complexity: The 'S4' Children's Project and the discourse of 'community'.
Case Study: Calgary

Name and position of researcher:

Hendrik Bekkering, MSc. of Human Geography (Urban and Cultural specialization) student (s4211626) at Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Note: This consent form is regarding a semi-structured interview that will take place on _____, 2013
with _____, _____.
Name Employer Date

In the case that this interview be used for this thesis, the transcribed interview (notes taken during the semi-structured interview) will be sent to _____ for His/Her review to ensure validity.
Name

Please highlight 'Yes' of 'No' to indicate your response:

1. I confirm that I understand the study and have the opportunity to ask questions.

Yes

No

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the freedom to withdraw at any time.

Yes

No

3. I agree to take part in this particular study and to be recorded for transcription purposes.

Yes

No

4. I agree to the use of quotes in publications.

Yes

No

5. I wish to remain anonymous when quoted in publications.

Yes

No

Name of participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of researcher: Hendrik Bekkering

Date:

Signature: