WHO IS MISSING? A STUDY OF MISSING PERSONS IN B.C.

by

Marla Jean Patterson B.A., First Class Honors, Simon Fraser University, 2003

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In the School of Criminology

© Marla Jean Patterson 2005

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2005

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name:	Marla Patterson
Degree:	Master of Arts
Title of Thesis	Who is Missing? A Study of Missing Persons in B.C
Examining Committee:	
Chair:	Prof. David MacAlister Assistant Professor, School of Criminology
	Dr. Gail Anderson Senior Supervisor Associate Professor, School of Criminology
	Dr. William Glackman Supervisor Associate Professor, School of Criminology
	Keith Davidson External Examiner Inspector, Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Date Approved:	August 3, 2005

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY



PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENCE

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.\

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

W. A. C. Bennett Library Simon Fraser University Burnaby, BC, Canada

Simon Fraser University



Ethics Approval

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics for the research described in this work, or has conducted the research as a member of a project or course approved by the Ethics Office.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for ethics approval and letter of approval is filed with the Office of Research Ethics. Inquiries may be directed to that Office.

Bennett Library Simon Fraser University Burnaby, BC, Canada

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to explore the characteristics of missing persons and to discover reasons why people go missing. The Canadian Police Information Centre data included 2290 unresolved missing person's cases in which the persons remain missing and spanned a fifty-four year period from 1950 to 2004 inclusive. The ultimate goal was to evaluate reasons and circumstances in which people go missing and determine how these trends have changed over the last five decades.

Results indicate specific trends in missing cases in half a century. These include shifts in jurisdictional base lines; definite changes in probable cause of missing incidents; and differences in locations from which people go missing. Other trends remained constant, i.e., sex of persons with highest probability of going missing.

Creating nationwide uniform categories gives police agencies standard criteria for recognizing missing persons cases, determining urgency, and possibly flagging links to violent crime.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the memory of my father, who went missing nine years ago, and to my family and friends for their endless love and support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With my deepest gratitude, I would like to say a very special thank-you to Dr. Gail Anderson, who has inspired me more than words can say. I would like to thank her for all the support, encouragement and guidance she has given me.

I would also like to thank Dr. Bill Glackman and Rodrigo Raffi for all their assistance in putting this project together and for all their hard work.

I also would like to thank Inspector Keith Davidson of the RCMP, for agreeing to be my external examiner, and for giving me the opportunity to take on this project.

To Sylvia Port of the RCMP BC Police Missing Persons Centre, I would like to say thank-you for all your help, and for providing me with all the information I needed to complete this project and for answering all my "stupid" questions.

And to my sister, Lorraine, who spent many hours proof reading and editing all of my work, and for all her encouragement, I would like to say that you truly have been an inspiration in my life and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Finally, to my mom, RoseMarie and Grandmother Emma, and my friends, Sandra, Kathy, Candice, Margaret, Nicki, Dani and Rob who have supported me through it all, and to Brad, who encouraged me to go back to school all those years ago, I thank you all very much. Special thanks to Greg Jenion, who spent many frustrating hours in the lab converting data or trying to anyway, I can never thank you enough.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: MISSING PERSONS RESEARCH	4
Who Goes Missing?	4
Missing Youth	5
Missing Adults	
Who is a Missing Person?	
Involuntary Missing Persons	
Child Abduction	
Altered States of Consciousness / Dementia	13
Voluntary Missing Persons	15
Runaways	
Future Considerations for Research.	24
CHAPTER TWO: INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF MISSING PERSONS	26
The UK Report on Missing Persons	26
The Issue of Missing Persons	26
The Police Response	28
The Australian Report on Missing Persons	
The Missing Person Population	
Impacts on the Australian Community	
Effectiveness of Services	
Discussion	34
CHAPTER THREE: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	37
1950-1969	43
Detachment	43
Probable Cause	
Age Group When Last Seen	
Identifying Variables	47
Sex	
Race	48

Dental Chart/Fingerprints	48
Missing From	
History and Dependency	49
Profile	50
1970-1979	51
Detachment	
Age Group When Last Seen	
Identifying Variables	
Race	
Dental Chart/Fingerprints	
Missing From	
History and Dependency	
Profile	
1980-1989	59
Detachment	59
Probable Cause	
Age Group When Last Seen	
Identifying Variables	
Sex	
Race	
Dental Chart/ Fingerprints	
Missing From	66
History and Dependency	
Profile	
1990-1999	60
Detachment	
Probable Cause	
Age Group When Last Seen	
identifying taractes	76
Sex	
Race	
Dental Chart/ Fingerprints	
Missing From	
History and Dependency	
Profile	79
2000-2004	80
Detachment	
Probable Cause	
Age Group When Last Seen	
Identifying Variables	84
Sex	
Race	
I\U\U	

Dental Chart / Fingerprints	87
Missing From	
History and Dependency	89
Profile	90
Overview: 1950-2004	91
Detachment	91
Probable Cause	
Age Group When Last Seen	
Identifying Variables	
Sex	
Race	
Missing From	
History	
Dependency	
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND RECOMENDATIONS	99
Factors that have influenced trends in missing persons cases	99
The limitations of the CPIC System	103
Recommendations	
The UK Recommendations	108
The Australian Recommendations	109
Concluding Remarks	111
REFERENCE LIST	113
APPENDIX	116

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Jurisdictional Base lines For Missing Persons 1950-1969	43
Figure 2 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1950-1969	44
Figure 3 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1950-1969	46
Figure 4 Locations people went Missing From 1950-1969	49
Figure 5 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1970-1979	51
Figure 6 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1970-1979	
Figure 7 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1970-1979	55
Figure 8 Sex of Missing Persons 1970-1979	
Figure 9 Locations People went Missing From 1970-1979	57
Figure 10 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1980-1989	
Figure 11 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1980-1989	61
Figure 12 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1980-1989	64
Figure 13 Availability of Dental Chart for Missing Persons 1980-1989	65
Figure 14 Locations People went Missing From 1980-1989	67
Figure 15 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1990-1999	69
Figure 16 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1990-1999	71
Figure 17 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1990-1999	75
Figure 18 Sex of Missing Persons 1990-1999	76
Figure 19 Locations People went Missing From 1990-1999	77
Figure 20 Jurisdictional Baselines for Missing Persons 2000-2004	81
Figure 21 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 2000-2004	82
Figure 22 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 2000-2004	85
Figure 23 Sex of Missing Persons 2000-2004	86
Figure 24 Locations People went Missing From 2000-2004	88
Figure 25 History of Runaway Behaviour of Missing Persons 2000-2004	89
Figure 26 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1950-2004	91
Figure 27 Frequencies of Missing Persons in Relation to Probable Cause 1950-2004	93
Figure 28 Age Group When last Seen of Missing Persons 1950-2004	94
Figure 29 Sex of Missing Persons 1950-2004	95
Figure 30 Locations People went Missing From 1950-2004	97
Figure 31 History of Runaway Behaviour of Missing Persons 1950-2004	98

INTRODUCTION

There is an observable lack of research on missing persons in Canada and in British Columbia. It is nearly impossible to find statistics on missing persons via the internet or in other forms of media. It is quite simple to find statistics on missing persons, both children and adults who reside in the United States but not for those in Canada. There are currently over 7000 missing persons cases in Canada on file with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) that involve individuals that remain missing. British Columbia has the highest number of missing persons cases of persons that could not be found, compared to the other Provinces and Territories. As of July 12, 2005, the numbers for each Province are as follows: BC-2293; Alberta-658; Saskatchewan-131; Manitoba-258; Ontario-1497; Quebec-1303; New Brunswick-112; Nova Scotia-310; Prince Edward Island-9; Newfoundland-281; Yukon-59; and North West Territory, including Nunavut-123. BC has such a high number of missing for several reasons, including, the extensive coastline, large wilderness areas and a large transient population due to mild weather conditions (Sylvia Port, RCMP, pers. comm. 2005).

Insufficient information has been collected regarding the number of unreported missing persons each year and of the circumstances surrounding missing persons cases both reported and unreported. In this study, all data from the 2290 missing persons cases in British Columbia between 1950 to June 16, 2004, where the person remains missing

were analyzed. RCMP, CPIC data were used in conjunction with SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) to conduct the analyses.

The objective of this study was to discover the reasons why people go missing and to determine the characteristics of the missing persons themselves. This was done by dividing the missing persons cases into designated time periods to observe any differences in the reasons people went missing and the characteristics of missing persons over time. The data were divided into five separate time periods including; 1950-1969; 1970-1979; 1980-1989; 1990-1999; and 2000-2004. An overview of the total data set was also done.

The first chapter is a comprehensive review of the relevant literature regarding missing persons, including the definition of a missing person, discussions of both voluntary and involuntary missing persons, child abductions, altered states of consciousness and wandering behaviours, and runaways. This discussion provides a foundation for understanding the existing typologies and research concerning missing persons. This section also includes an overview of considerations for future research.

The second chapter consists of a review of two studies that were done on missing persons, one in the United Kingdom and one from Australia. These provide background information on police practices regarding missing persons cases and community and family responses to dealing with the loss of a loved one in a missing situation.

The third chapter contains an overview of the data set definitions and characteristics as well as the analysis of the five time periods, including discussions regarding the jurisdictional base lines for that time period; the probable cause of the missing; the age groups that people were missing from; the locations from which persons

went missing and other identifying variables. This chapter also contains an overview of the entire data set analyzed using the same variables.

The fourth and final chapter is a discussion of factors that have influenced trends in missing persons cases where the person remains missing, and the limitations of the CPIC system definitions with regards to this study. Issues surrounding missing persons policy and policing issues are discussed and recommendations are introduced for creating uniform guidelines for police personnel to use when approaching a missing persons investigation.

CHAPTER ONE: MISSING PERSONS RESEARCH

To date there has been a lack of research on missing persons in Canada, including British Columbia. Not much is known of the actual number of missing persons, the characteristics of those missing, or the circumstances surrounding the disappearances. There has been no development of categories of missing persons and there are no specific uniform guidelines as to how police personnel are to approach a missing persons investigation. There has been some research done in these areas in other countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and a study of missing children in homicide investigations was done by the U.S. Department of Justice. There is little Canadian research available, even after high profile cases such as that of Robert Pickton who is accused of murdering many of the missing women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

As CPIC (Canadian Police Information Centre) missing persons data will be used to conduct the analysis, it is important to understand the definition of missing persons as it pertains to this data analysis and to be aware of some of the categories relating to missing persons.

Who Goes Missing?

The total number of persons that go missing each year is unknown. There are several reasons for this, first, many disappearances are not reported to police; second, there is no standard definition of what is a "missing person" and third, there is no single or central source of general statistical information (Swanton & Wilson, 1989).

Missing Youth

There has been much more research done on missing children and missing youth than on adults. Runaways and child abductions have been studied and are statistically documented. In Canada in 2004, out of a total of 67,266 missing children reports, there were 52,280 reported runaways, and 332 parental abductions (Dalley, 2004). According to the NMPH (National Missing Persons Helpline), girls between the ages of 13 and 17 are twice as likely to be reported missing as boys of the same age group. They also report that 40 percent of missing children and runaways will experience a sexual or physical assault while they are missing (NMPH, 2004).

Over two thirds of juveniles under the age of 18 leave deliberately. The majority were young people running away from home, in most cases due to a conflict with parents, but some leave because of problems at school or in order to escape abuse (NMPH, 2004).

Missing Adults

Very little general information exists on missing adults. Most of the information available is made up of case histories of well-known disappearances. One of the major reasons for this lack of research is the legal right of adults to move about freely. With adults, the absence of an accompanying crime or suspected illegality leaves family members with little grounds for contacting police (Hirschel & Lab, 1988). Research done by the University of York for the NMPH, provided the following as general information on missing adults:

- Males in their late 20's are more likely to disappear than any other group of adults.
- Among those aged over 60 years, the most common reason for going missing is dementia or other mental problems.

 Adults are more likely to go missing if they are going through a crisis or difficult transition, or if they are vulnerable due to chronic health or mental difficulties (NMPH, 2004).

Most adults that go missing do so because of a breakdown in their relationships with partners or parents. For example, some women fleeing domestic violence situations will break off all contact out of fear of being traced. Others leave to escape an accumulation of personal, financial, or mental health problems, while many disappear after a breakdown in their mental health in order to commit suicide (NMPH, 2004).

Who is a Missing Person?

After an examination of the current literature, the definition of missing persons used in this study is based on research conducted by Swanton and Wilson (1989). Their definition states that a missing person is:

one who, not being the subject of a lawful commitment order, is absent from his/her normal haunts in breach of the reasonable expectations and /or responsibilities of another by reason of abduction, altered state of consciousness or voluntary decision, and whose location is either not known or, if known, who is illegally detained (Swanton & Wilson, 1989: 2).

This definition is suitable as it encapsulates aspects of missing persons that apply to a wide range of cases. As this thesis will examines all British Columbia missing persons cases from the 1950s to present, it is important that the definition used not be limiting in scope.

A vast number of people worldwide are reported missing each year, most of whom are located or return home shortly after being reported missing. There are inevitably those cases where the person is never found or is identified as the victim of a

crime. In addition, there are also an unknown number of disappearances that are never reported or investigated. In fact, there are many "unknowns" in the field of missing persons research, including "ambiguities in terms of definitions and uncertainties as to what happens to people when they go missing" (Swanton & Wilson, 1989: 2).

As there are no standards in categorizing missing persons, a "missing person" may fit into one of the following categories:

- lost person of sound mind;
- lost person of confused mind;
- abducted person;
- runaway from unsatisfactory domestic situation;
- institutional absconder (ibid. 2).

These basic categories can be broken down into subcategories to include such things as age, sex, and specific reason for absence, for example, a runaway teenager that is unhappy with family rules. Mental confusion can be sub classified according to the reason for their condition, for example if persons have Alzheimer's disease or memory loss due to emotional trauma or the result of a physical injury such as a concussion. An institutional absconder is an individual who was placed in an institution such as a juvenile detention centre or a mental facility, who leaves without being formally discharged. Victims of crime are also classified as missing persons when they are first reported missing; only when a body is found does their status change from "missing" to a crime victim (Swanton & Wilson, 1989). These categories can also be broken down into "involuntary missing" which would include forcible abduction, non-forcible abduction and altered states of consciousness and "voluntary missing" which involves the removal or self removal of a person from an unsatisfactory physical or social environment

(Swanton, 1988). The following is a review of the literature that pertains to these categories and characteristics of missing persons.

Involuntary Missing Persons

Child Abduction

Parental abduction is one of the most commonly researched components of missing persons even though it is a relatively rare phenomenon in British Columbia to have cases where the child remains missing. The NMCS (National Missing Children Services Internal Monitoring System) reported that in 2004, of the 93 parental abductions that they investigated in Canada, 42 percent were abducted by their mothers while 10 percent were abducted by fathers. Both parents were implicated in two percent of the cases and the rest were attributed to other close family members. In all cases, male children were more likely to be abducted than females (Dalley, 2004).

The Missing Children Society of Canada reports that ninety percent of parental abductions are international. This type of abduction is very difficult to trace as jurisdictional cooperation between countries is required to retrieve a child who has been taken across national borders (2005). In 1983, the *Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction* came into force. Its guiding principle states that it is in the best interests of the child to be returned to its habitual residence. If the country where the child is taken from has signed the Convention, the return of the child is more probable. In Canada, the provincial central authorities are responsible for the administration and enforcement of the Convention (Dalley, 2002).

The most common definition of parental abduction is provided in the Solicitor General of Canada's Police Reference Manual for Cases of Child Abduction and Runaway Youth:

A parental abduction occurs when a child under fourteen years old is taken by a parent or guardian without permission or legal authority from the parent or guardian with lawful custody of the child. (Weiler et al., 1993: 5).

Incidents of parental abduction most often occur between the period of separation and the divorce of the couple. In most cases, the child is not in extreme danger, however their lives are greatly disrupted and they can be susceptible to fear, anxiety, abuse or neglect. A "parental abductor" is legally defined as the "parent, guardian, or person with lawful care or charge of a child who has taken the child away from the other parent, guardian or person with lawful care or charge of the child." This definition applies whether or not a formal court order of custody has been granted (Weiler et al., 1993: 52).

There are many reasons why a parent would abduct their child, some of these include; to force a reconciliation; to blame, punish or spite the other parent; to protect the child from abuse, neglect and/or violence; because of mental instability; or for revenge against the other parent (Dalley, 2004). The amount of trauma a child will experience corresponds to the following factors: age at the time of abduction; treatment received by the abducting parent; the duration and quality of life following the abduction; the reasons the child is given for the separation from the other parent (i.e. The parent is dead or did not want them anymore); and the support and therapy the child received after the recovery (Dalley, 2004).

In 2001, Johnston et al., developed a profile of parents at risk of abducting their children. They are:

- prior threats or incidents of actual abduction
- parent suspects or believes abuse has occurred and friends and family can provide support for these concerns
- parent is paranoid delusional the psychotic parent may perceive the child as part of themselves, not as a separate person
- parent is severely sociopathic characteristically have a long history of flagrant violations of the law and contempt for any authority – unable to perceive their children as having separate needs and rights
- parent who is of another country concludes a mixed culture marriage there is perceived or real need to seek the support of the culture, family and religion
- parent that feels alienated from the legal system and have family/social support in another community, including indigent and poorly educated parents, those with financial restraints, those who had a poor experience in court, certain ethnic, religious or cultural groups, mothers who are transient and in an unmarried relationship with child's father.

Abducting parents often believe they know what is in the best interests of their child. They usually have the emotional, moral and required support necessary to carry out the abduction, and they do not consider their actions to be wrong (Johnston et al., 2001).

In Canada, the Victims of Violence group found that children are far more likely to be a victim of abduction by someone they know as opposed to a stranger (2005). Even though stranger abduction is actually very rare, consisting of approximately three cases out of the estimated 62,000 missing children reports in Canada each year, these cases

appear more common due to the media attention they receive as most often these abducted children are murdered (Dalley, 2004).

Stranger abduction has been defined into two different categories titled; stereotypical abduction and legal abduction. Stereotypical abduction defined by Finkelhor et al., (1992) a leading United States researcher on missing children as:

The removal of a child from his or her home for an extended period of time primarily for the purposes of ransom, sadistic or sexual assault, or even murder. The stereotypical abduction term applies to those severe circumstances where strangers are perpetrators and a) the child is gone overnight, or b) the child is transported over 50 miles from the point of abduction, or c) the child was killed, or d) the child was ransomed, or e) the perpetrator evidenced an intent to keep the child permanently (Finkelhor et al., 1992).

The definition of legal abduction as put forth by Steidel (1994) includes the following:

The coerced and unauthorized taking of a child into a building, vehicle, or distance of more than 20 feet; the detention of a child for a period of more than an hour; the luring of a child for the purposes of committing another crime by someone other than a family member; the perpetrator is known both to the parent or the child; the child may be held for only a short period of time, and then released even before the parent or guardian realizes that the child has been missing; the abduction or coerced movement may be masked under another more serious crime, such as sexual assault, homicide, and the like (Steidel, 1994).

The definitions of legal and stereotypical abduction vary between countries and police departments. As well considering the subtle differences between the two, the police often have a hard time distinguishing between them. The controversy arises when non-family or stranger abductions are classified using the legal definition, but, the results are interpreted using the stereotypical definition (Finkelhor et al., 1992). To complicate the issue of definitions further, not only is the term "abduction" hard to define but also the term "stranger". Boudreaux et al., (1999) defines "stranger" as "someone with whom the victim has never come into contact before the offence; anyone who is not part of the

immediate family; and everything in between." Non-family member is someone who is not part of the family, such as a babysitter, family friend, acquaintance, or boyfriend for example (Boudreaux et al., 1999). The RCMP's, CPIC operating data entry guidelines define a "stranger" as someone other than the parent or guardian of the victim. This includes siblings, aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, as well as non-family members, neighbors and close friends (Dalley, 2004).

Four categories of abductors have been classified by the Unites States Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI). These include:

- 1. Pedophiles the people in this category constitute the single largest number of child abductors. Pedophiles seem to identify with children better than with adults, which is the reason they are able to seduce/lure children easily. They appear to understand the likes and dislikes of children and show genuine concern for their well-being.
- 2. Profiteers this is an individual who is a criminal exploiter who sells children to pornographers or adoption rings, mostly in the black market industry.
- 3. Serial Killers the actions of these individuals are methodical and ritualized, with power, dominance, and control as the most frequent motivator,
- 4. Childless Psychotics these individuals tend to abduct children when they are unable to have children of their own or have lost a child and seek another to fill its place (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996:47).

Child abductors are generally male and they tend to target victims within their own ethnic group. Their patterns of behaviour seem to be dependent upon gender, motivation and the relationship to the victim. For example, female offenders rarely abduct for sexual gratification or profit, but rather for emotional satisfaction (Tedisco & Paludi, 1996).

A recent study done by NMCS (National Missing Children Services) in 2003, revealed that the victims are usually young white girls that are either too young to protect themselves from these predators or become easy targets when they are older and more vulnerable due to the fact that they are unsupervised while walking to and from school and are participating in community activities. The age range with the greatest likelihood of being a victim of this type of abduction is between the ages of six and eleven. Further studies have shown that typically, the child is sexually assaulted, asphyxiated and killed within three hours of the abduction (Dalley, 2004).

Altered States of Consciousness / Dementia

"Every year, in long term care facilities across the nation, dementia residents find their way out of the facility, get lost, and later are found injured or, worse, found dead" (Lucero, 2002: 277). This form of involuntary missing persons is occurring more often. This exit-seeking behaviour is caused by dementia, Alzheimer's disease and altered states of consciousness. Wandering is a term that refers to the aimless or meandering walk that has become recognized as a prominent feature of Alzheimer's disease and other dementia related disorders. Studies on wandering conclude that 81 percent of Alzheimer's patients (Milke, 1992) and 50 percent of severe dementia patients (Hope et al., 2001) will wander at some time during their illness. Wandering is usually a symptom of a catastrophic reaction (an Alzheimer's patient's response to being overwhelmed by stimuli) or it may be caused due to pain, discomfort or as a side-effect of medication. Patients also tend to wander when they have a need they cannot communicate, feel lost or useless, or are anticipating an event to take place (Lindeman et al., 1991).

Studies have shown that "exit-seeking behaviour is characteristic of middle-stage dementia residents" (Lucero 2002:277). Exit-seeking wanderers have some common characteristics, these include: higher functioning abilities, have short-term memory loss, poor reasoning and judgement, and lack the most basic safety awareness. They retain good social skills and relatively good communication ability, leading people who are unaware of their dementia to perceive them as normal when first meeting them or interacting with them for a short time (Lucero, 2002). Wanderers have been divided into two classifications, elopers and runaways, to differentiate between types of wandering behaviour. Elopers are "seemingly unconcerned about the fact that they are in a long-term care facility and, as such, have easy-going, calm demeanors." They usually consider themselves visitors, rather than residents of the facility (Lucero, 2002: 278). Runaways have more insight into their circumstances and experience anger, anxiety and confusion about residing in the facility. They often feel that they are being held against their will, and experience a desire to leave due to a concern to return to their family members (Lucero, 2002).

There is a definite lack of Canadian research on wandering dementia patients, one USA study done in Virginia by Koester & Stooksbury in 1995, found that wanderers were clearly different from a lost elder. They displayed constant disorientation, better social skills; they had an inability to know that they were lost and were typically more active. Wanderers were usually found within one mile of the point where they were last seen and no deaths occurred among those patients that were found within the first 24 hours. The wanderer's probability of mortality greatly increased if they were not found within the first day they were missing and the typical causes of death were hypothermia,

dehydration or drowning (Koester & Stooksbury, 1995). The preliminary findings of the study indicate that dementia and Alzheimer's patients typically:

- Leave their own residence or nursing home and start traveling along roads
- The patient is usually located within one mile of the point last seen.
- If the patients were not on the road itself, they were in a creek/drainage ditches and/or caught in bushes or briars.
- The majority of the patients succumb to the environment and require evacuation or are deceased.
- Subject will not cry out for help or respond to shouts.
- Subject will not leave many physical clues.
- Subject may try to travel to a former residence or to a favorite location (Koester & Stooksbury, 1995).

There is a need for an immediate and aggressive response to a wanderer, as this study shows that there is a critical window of 24 hours for survival. Delayed responses in these cases can lead to the decay of clues such as footprints and scent trails as well as the greater risk of mortality (Koester & Stooksbury, 1995).

Voluntary Missing Persons

Runaways

In 2002 there were 52,390 runaways reported in Canada. In British Columbia, there were 15,421 cases, the highest number out of all the Canadian provinces (Dalley, 2002). Many children run away from home to escape an intolerable home situation, often characterized by alcohol and drug abuse experienced in the home. Research findings (Feital et al., 1992; Kingree et al., 2001; Yates et al., 1988) revealed that many have low self-esteem, feel neglected and unwanted, and show signs of emotional and psychological problems. They often have difficulty achieving success in school and have problems in relationships with teachers and peers.

There is a correlation between childhood victimization and increased incidents of running away from home. Both childhood victimization and running away increase the likelihood of having an arrest as a juvenile. Chronic and repeat runaways also were at greater risk of arrest. To prevent future criminal behaviour, intervention is required for youth runaways that have a prior arrest record (Kaufman & Widom, 1999).

The problem of runaway children is not exclusively a Canadian one. Other countries such as Great Britain and Australia also have issues with runaways. For example in Great Britain in 1992 there were an estimated 98,000 runaway incidents (Newiss, 1999). Approximately thirty-five percent of the incidents were repeat runaways. This term refers to individuals who have been reported missing four times in one month or six times in two months. A significant proportion of those who leave home do so because of difficult situations within the family home. As well police in Metropolitan England identified other characteristics and issues including:

- They aren't really vulnerable;
- They're more likely to be the perpetrators rather than the victims of crime;
- What can we do with them if and when we find them?; and
- If we return them 'home' they'll be gone again before we get back to the station (Newiss, 1999:7).

The police in the United Kingdom (UK) find it difficult to take reports of missing youth seriously; especially reports of those who are known to be repeat runaways. Four police forces in the UK have admitted that the police response to a repeat missing person has been purposely delayed. Some had even developed a policy to allow for this. For example, the missing report had to be taken within six hours, but the circulation of the report and its entry into the Police National Computer (PNC) could be delayed for 24

hours. It was reported that a delay of 24 hours was not uncommon before a repeat runaway report would be taken seriously (Newiss, 1999).

In Australia, 75 percent of reported missing teenagers were recorded as runaways, while 41 percent of the missing juveniles were repeat runaways. The reasons reported were not dissimilar from those in other countries and included rebellion against parental authority, abuse in the home, and mental or emotional difficulties (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

Perhaps the largest population of runaway and missing children is in the United States, where it is believed that some 1,500,000 children are living in the streets, with an estimated forty-eight percent of these having been reported missing. It is projected that one in seven young people between the ages of ten and eighteen will run away from home (Woodson, 1997).

There are several conceptual issues concerning the above research, most importantly it is essential to look at who is defined as a runaway youth. First, it is necessary to make a distinction between youth who return home after a few hours or a few days and those who spend longer periods of time on the streets. The short-term runaway or 'episodic' runner is one who runs and returns repeatedly. Canadian research shows that of these runaways fifty-two percent stayed away for a day or less and seventy-two percent for less than three days. Those youth who spend lengthened periods of time on the street or in shelters are known as 'entrenched street youth' (Solicitor General Canada, 1993).

There are different categories of street youth set out by the Solicitor General of Canada in their policy concerning runaways, these include: 1. "runners from intolerable homes;" 2. "runners to adventure;" 3. "throwaways" who are forced out of their home by parents who either cannot control them or who relinquish responsibility for them; 4. "absconders from care" who are on the run from Children's Aid Society or from youth offender facilities; and 5. "curb-kids" who are still at home but who identify with the street scene and leave home prematurely (Solicitor General Canada, 1993). The categories provide a guideline for the different types of aid and services that are provided by the government for runaways.

The characteristics of runaway youth such as low general intelligence, low self-sufficiency, hostility, isolation and the risk of becoming psychotic are common among runaways. There are slightly higher numbers of reported female runaways (53 percent) than males (47 percent). Other dimensions such as family instability, conflicts with parents and educational failure are also common among these youth. Many have also suffered physical, sexual and emotional abuse which can put these youth at higher risk for engaging in behaviours such as drug use and prostitution (Solicitor General Canada, 1993).

There have been many studies done to assess the risk factors for runaway youth and to discover the reasons why young people engage in this behaviour. The first one is a study done by Yates et al., (1988) and is a comparison of risk profiles between runaway and non-runaway youth. This study examined medical charts from a children's hospital from both runaway and non-runaway youth. They found that runaway youth differed from their counterparts in several ways. They were: younger; had higher incidents of drug use, especially hard drugs; were more likely to be depressed; and attempted suicide, be suicidal, or have some other mental health problem. The runaways reported being

more sexually active and at an earlier age, 20 percent reported that they had had sex before their tenth birthday. Many reported sexual and physical abuse and 26 percent of those who reported abuses were involved in street prostitution compared to 0.2 percent of non-runaways (Yates et al., 1988). Even though this sample of runaway youth was small equaling 110 individuals the results echo the findings of other larger studies.

A different study done by Molnar et al., (1998) examined the home life risk factors and suicide attempts among homeless and runaway youth. They interviewed 775 runaways in Denver, New York and San Francisco. The questions asked related to suicidal behaviour and physical or sexual abuse. Seventy-five percent of the youth reported having attempted suicide, many of them more than once. Forty percent reported being sexually abused; 34 percent reported it happening in the home before they left and 37 percent reported that a family member had been the abuser. The mean age at the time of the first incident of sexual abuse was 9.4 years old. Forty-three percent of the young people reported physical abuse in the home as the reason for leaving. The results of the study show that the street youth who were sexually or physically abused had a 4.3 percent higher chance of attempting suicide than youth who had not been abused (Molnar et al., 1998). This information is vital to those working with homeless youth to design appropriate intervention strategies that will deal with issues of suicide and the consequences of sexual and physical abuse.

Stiffman (1989) also did a study on physical and sexual abuse in runaway youth. The results were very similar to the Molnar study indicating that over half of the youths had been physically or sexually abused, with 10 percent being the victims of incest.

Many of the youths experienced depression or suicidal thoughts or attempts (Stiffman, 1989).

Physical abuse in the home is one of the top reasons youth give for leaving running away (Janus et al., 1995). This study was conducted in Toronto, and included a sample of 187 youths, predominantly white with a mean age of 18 years. The primary reasons given for running away were: physical abuse, inability to get along with parents and being thrown out. Forty percent reported physical abuse and 12 percent stated sexual abuse was the reason for leaving. The youths reported that the abuse varied in form and was often violent. The median age of onset was 12 years but some reported it as early as six years of age (Janus et al., 1995). The perpetrators of the violence in the home are typically the parents with the mother being the most predominant abuser. This was also the conclusion of the research by Farber et al., (1984). They found that 78 percent of their research subjects reported familial physical abuse as the number one reason for leaving home. This is a trend that is shown to be repeated in study after study. This indicates that there is a huge need for intervention and mental health services required for these abused youth. There should be adequate shelter or group home spaces for them as many cannot return home to the abusive situations that they have left.

Further research has shown that street kids and runaways are not only victims in their own homes but are more likely to be victims of abuse on the streets and in their own personal relationships (Tyler et al., 2004). The findings of this study revealed that young women were at high risk for victimization. Tyler and associates found that the earlier the young woman ran away from home, the more likely she was to be sexually abused by a stranger and for every year she increased in age the risk of sexual abusive rose by 72

percent. Young men who engaged in the sex trade were six times as likely to have been a victim of sexual abuse. Those young men who kept up their appearance and grooming habits were 65 percent more at risk of being victimized by a stranger (Tyler et al., 2004). These findings matched those done in a study by McCormack et al., (1986) which found that there was a consistent finding that sexually abused runaways are at significantly higher risk of engaging in criminal and delinquent behaviours. They suggest that it is not the act of running away that results in the deviant behaviours but rather the element of sexual abuse that is correlated with this behaviour (McCormack et al., 1986)

There are many other risks to youth on the street besides abuse. Many runaways have psychosocial or behavioural problems. A study done in 1992 found that 90 percent of the youth that were interviewed fulfilled the criteria for at least one DSM-III-R behavioural or emotional disorder. The emotional disorders included major affective disorder, manic episodes, dythymic disorder and posttraumatic stress disorder. The depressive symptoms described by the youth included appetite disturbances, sleep disturbances, fatigue, suicidal thoughts, attempted suicide, feelings of worthlessness and guilt and psychomotor problems (Feitel et al., 1992). The study also showed that many of these youth had engaged in antisocial or criminal activities on a regular basis, their lives for the most part being predetermined by the demands of the environment in which they were living. The fact that so many of them reported suicide attempts or notions was not surprising to researchers as the life experiences of these youth, loss of parents, sexual molestation and physical violence are all precursors to depression (Feitel et al., 1992).

Kingree et al., (2001) found similar results to Feitel et al., in that runaway youth in detention centres showed more incidents of depression, suicidal ideation, traumatic

experiences, alcohol use and unprotected sexual episodes than the detainees who were not runaways. These findings were applicable to street youth in shelters and those living on the street as well (Kingree et al., 2001). These conclusions have been found in several other studies as well, showing that there is a need for upgrading both the assessment practices of street youth as well as employing qualified personnel who are able to treat these mental health problems if youth are seeking intervention (Rohr, 1996).

Another major issue for runaway and street youth is prostitution. Studies done in Vancouver showed that 46 percent of street youth had been offered assistance in entering the sex trade and 86 percent of these did end up working as a prostitute. It has been shown that boys and girls are involved, with an average entry age of 14 to 15 years although some youth reported being involved as early as age six. Young people in the sex trade often are involved in survival sex, which is the exchange of sex for food, shelter or money (Dept of Justice Canada, 1998). It has been difficult to obtain an accurate number of the youth involved in street prostitution. One reason for this is that some police departments consider that youth should be treated as victims rather than criminals and therefore will only arrest them if there is a need to get them off the street and out of danger. Other social welfare programs have the same policy that rather than being dealt with through the criminal justice system, youth should be placed under the care of provincial child welfare legislation, as a child in need of protection. British Columbia's Child, Family and Community Services Act now contains a reference to sexual exploitation as a reason for taking a youth into care (Dept of Justice Canada, 1998). Studies have shown that the youth that are involved in prostitution have a history of family dysfunction, have histories of sexual abuse, poor income and employment levels and it has been shown that these are the main risk factors for runaway youth.

In light of the knowledge gained by these studies, the risk factors and issues faced by runaway and street youth are now known to police and social service agencies. This has lead to the development of new policies and approaches to dealing with these troubled youth. A variety of programs have been suggested by the Department of Justice Canada, these include:

- Preventative programs these would include information and education on risks of alcohol, various sexual practices, early school leaving, programs for the provision of condoms, needle exchanges, etc.
- Crisis intervention programs to stabilize youth in crisis, emergency health care, emergency safe house shelter, etc.
- Maintenance programs to meet on-going needs of youth while on the street such as money, shelter, clothing, transportation, emotional support, legal and health services, etc.
- Transitional programs to help youth leave the street such as life skills training, special educational and employment programs.
- Incapacitation programs aimed at protecting the youth who is most in danger to self or others, or is criminally involved and "incapacitated" through incarceration. If these programs are 'protective' they can also be seen as crisis intervention. If related to criminal behaviour, they may include rehabilitative services to assist the youth in not repeating the behaviour (Dept of Justice 2001:26).

Identifying the reasons why youth become engaged in the street culture and runaway behaviour is important to understanding how to correctly provide the necessary aid to keep youth from becoming entrenched youth, as those who end up embedded in the street culture show patterns of delinquent and self harming behaviours that are documented in research and are in need of intervention. This is a

critical assumption as it indicates that early identification and prevention are part of a response that needs to include; crisis management, the provision of maintenance services, treatment and transition programs to help youth get off the streets (Solicitor General Canada, 1994). The youth that are in the transitional stage between the home and the street are likely to be the most responsive to intervention. Once the youth become entrenched in street life it is often very difficult to get them out as they typically become heavily involved in the drug trade and prostitution (Hagan & McCarthy, 1997).

Future Considerations for Research

Canadian research is deficient in many areas with regards to missing persons. There is a modest amount of information known about the characteristics of those missing and the reasons why they disappear. While this study attempts to address some of these issues in more depth, further research is required to fully understand the issue of missing persons in Canada and specifically in British Columbia.

Specific areas that are overly incomplete in Canadian research include wanderers, and adult missing persons. There is some research done on runaways and abductions but some aspects of those categories of missing persons could be further researched for a better understanding of these issues. For example, the knowledge regarding the profile of child abduction victims is very limited. In order to estimate the probability that a child would be abducted, further research on critical age ranges and gender differences is required.

In relation to wandering behaviours and altered states of consciousness, there is a remarkable lack of Canadian research. A few studies have been done in the United States

that examined the characteristics of wandering behaviour and the profiles of wanderers (Koester & Stooksbury, 1995: Lucero, 2002: Hope et al., 2001). Further research is needed to ascertain what other factors play a role in wandering behaviour, for example, do wanderers just walk aimlessly or do they have a destination in mind, or how far can they walk before becoming in danger of physical harm? A more comprehensive study of dementia related wandering and the numbers of individuals that go missing each year as a result of this behaviour is an important area for future research.

There is also a necessity to undertake more research on adult missing persons. The amount of literature regarding missing adults is insignificant in Canada and a great deal of further research is required to ascertain more knowledge about their characteristics and the reasons why they go missing. This is a vital area to be researched if a thorough understanding of the reasons why people go missing is to be achieved. There are so many unknown factors with regards to why people go missing that future research will provide much needed empirical support for the day-to-day decisions of police officers deciding upon the police response to a given missing persons case.

CHAPTER TWO: INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF MISSING PERSONS

There is very little Canadian research regarding all aspects of missing persons. Two major studies done in the UK and Australia provide some insight on how missing persons cases are investigated by police and the impacts that missing persons cases have on families and communities. These two important studies are reviewed in this chapter.

The UK Report on Missing Persons

This report from the UK, done in 1999, was a summary of research done into the police investigation of missing persons. The researchers reviewed the common elements of how police respond to a missing persons case in order to ensure that the appropriate response was made to each individual disappearance (Newiss, 1999). The principle objectives of the research were; "1). to produce a summary of the issues that should be considered by [police] forces about to revise policy in relation to missing persons; and 2). to provide examples of good practice which may be drawn upon by forces seeking to improve their handling of missing persons" (Newiss, 1999:1).

The Issue of Missing Persons

The most difficult task for police in missing persons cases is to determine which cases are urgent and require immediate action and which cases are less critical. In the UK, the vast majority of missing persons cases are young people who have run away from home. In a significant number of these cases the individual will return home on

their own without having suffered significant harm. It is estimated that in 1990 in Scotland and England the number of runaways alone produced 102,000 incidents that were reported to police (Newiss, 1999). This volume of reports takes up a large portion of police resources, so the key issue is to have a process to determine if a case is related to a serious crime or is simply another runaway.

The Metropolitan Police Service in the years 1997/98 reported having 32,314 missing persons reports. Of those 54.4 percent of people returned on their own accord or were located by police; 1.6 percent were arrested; 1.1 percent were unsolved and 0.3 percent were found dead. When asked to identify specific problems which may influence the number of missing persons reports, the Police reported that repeat runaways made up 43 percent of the cases (Newiss, 1999).

Repeat runaways pose a particular problem for police. Research has shown that of young runaways, 35 percent of these persons were responsible for 73 percent of all reported disappearances (Newiss, 1999). The difficulty that this presents to the police was recognized in a report of the Review of Police Core and Ancillary Tasks in 1995, it stated:

The police experience a particular problem when dealing with reports of 'missing' persons when previous experience leads them to believe this is only a temporary absence (Newiss, 1999:6).

There is a small minority of cases that are classified as "suspicious missing persons," these are those individuals who have been or are suspected of being the victims of a serious crime. Some of these persons will be homicide victims where no body has been found, while others have become a victim after leaving of their own accord. The major problem is to be able to distinguish between these cases and the more common

runaways. It was reported that, for the most part, "the experience, discretion and judgement of the officers was vital to the recognition of suspicious cases. It was often suggested that some officers had a 'gut-feeling' for this type of missing person" (Newiss, 1999:8). The identification of these cases is important to maintain a positive police image, as the media are quick to accuse police of ineffectiveness in cases where police have delayed a response.

The Police Response

In many missing persons cases, unlike other police incidents, there are no obvious signs that a crime has taken place and in the vast majority of reports this turns out to be the case. The task for police, therefore, is to undertake enough work to establish that no harm has come to the missing person. This can sometimes be difficult, as the police need to respect the right of an individual to go missing with the need to treat friends and relatives with compassion. This becomes even more difficult in cases where a missing person does not wish the police to disclose their whereabouts to family members. If the disappearance turns out to be criminally linked, the police then have an obligation to balance compassion with obtaining and preserving evidence. There are several key considerations the police take into account when responding to a missing persons report:

- well-being of the missing person;
- respect for the right of an individual to go missing;
- compassionate treatment of the relatives and friends of the missing person;
- likelihood that the person missing may have been the victim of a serious crime;
- preservation and management of evidence in suspicious cases; and
- appropriate level of resources for each individual report (Newiss, 1999:9).

After a missing persons report is made to the police, it is usually responded to by the 'next available uniform patrol.' As the experience of the officers on duty will vary, some rely more on the direction of a supervisor when deciding on appropriate action. In order to maintain some consistency between cases, all police forces have developed a basic list of actions to be taken, these include:

- question the informant about the nature of the disappearance and the person missing;
- obtain a recent photograph;
- obtain a list of associates, friends and frequented places to assist with future enquiries;
- conduct a thorough search of the missing person's normal place of residence and other appropriate locations;
- make an initial assessment of the potential harm that may befall the missing person (and bring this to the attention of the supervisor);
- assess the possibility of foul play (and bring this to the attention of the supervisor);
- check if the person reported missing is in custody (to avoid embarrassment);
- begin a missing person form giving details of the missing person and actions taken;
- conduct a check of relevant police indexes and intelligence systems (domestic violence; child protection and community safety indexes) for evidence of the missing person being 'at risk' from familial abuse or violence;
- conduct a check of relevant non-police indexes, in particular the local Social Services 'At Risk' register;
- conduct a check of force crime force recording systems for information that the missing person may be an offender, a vulnerable witness or a victim of crime;
- check missing person index for previous incidents of the same nature;
- check local hospitals as a possible locus of the missing person; and
- circulate the description of missing to police patrols. (Newiss 1999:11).

The search for the missing person that is suspected to be a crime victim is especially important. Many times, especially when the missing person is a child, they have been found at their home, hiding in the attic or in a shed. The search of the home

is an important step and must be completed even if family members are reluctant to allow it. The home may prove to be a valuable source of evidence, especially if the person was injured. For example, the presence of blood in the home may provide evidence of an abduction or foul play and other types of evidence may provide other clues to the missing person's state of mind (Newiss, 1999).

When searching for the missing person, it is necessary to keep an accurate record of the method, parameters and personnel involved in the search. The police may call in other agencies such as water utilities; refuse agencies or street cleaning services to aid in the search. They will assign search managers who will provide guidance as to the best search methods, taking into account the terrain and specific circumstances. The managers will also decide the appropriate techniques for the search, for example, whether to use officers, dogs or helicopters. Those places in which the missing person is most likely to found are given the highest priority (Newiss, 1999).

Another important aspect of the missing persons investigation is the classification of the case. The ways that the reports of missing persons are classified has an impact on the level of resources that each individual case receives. The methods for making these classifications range from formal criteria to experience and judgement of the officers involved. The cases are classified as high or low risk and whether the person was "vulnerable" or not. The term vulnerable in this sense is to determine if an individual is missing in "circumstances detrimental to their well-being." This classification, although widely used in the UK is not without its difficulties, as it does not give a clear indication of the particular risk faced by the individual or the basis for police concern. This is because the term "vulnerable" can include being young, mentally infirm, drug-dependant

or even simply being missing for a long period of time. A missing person may be classified vulnerable to at least four different risks, including:

- the natural elements;
- an accident:
- suicide or self harm; and
- serious crime (Newiss 1999, 15).

A more precise classification system is required if police are to better assess the needs of each individual missing persons case. This system should focus on a combination of the person's individual characteristics, information from the person who reported them missing and the circumstances surrounding the disappearance. It is also recommended by the report that the UK should record all missing persons information in a database such as the NMPH and provide data to the Police Co-operation Working Group. This group is technology based and focuses on: 1) collection and storage of relevant data; 2) analysis based on those data; 3) data exchange with central points in other countries; and 4) co-ordination regarding information and training on handling missing persons (Newiss, 1999:19). The report also made suggestions for future research in the area, they include:

- Assess the reliability of traditional classification in identifying those missing persons who are likely to be the victims of serious crime; and
- Develop guidance to assist the police to identify suspicious missing persons at an early stage in the case (Newiss, 1999:35).

The Australian Report on Missing Persons

The focus of the Australian study was to examine the impact of missing people on the families and the community. The specific objectives of the study were to:

- Describe the missing person population;
- Quantify the impact of missing persons on the Australian community;
- Evaluate the effectiveness of existing services; and
- Recommend on future strategies (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

The Missing Person Population

There are about 28,500 people reported missing in Australia each year, about one third of these are reported missing from institutions, most often a psychiatric facility. In 1997, of these 28,560 missing people, 12,927 were adults and 15,633 were children under the age of 18. The missing population in Australia is diverse in many characteristics such as age, martial status, family circumstances, occupation and country of birth. People have gone missing under a wide variety of circumstances and for a variety of reasons, such as mental health disorder, emotional distress, alcohol and drug problems, suicides or behavioral disorders (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

Impacts on the Australian Community

Missing persons cases can cause significant health, work, quality of life, emotional, relationship, economic and other impacts on the family, friends of the missing person, and in some cases to the missing person themselves. In every missing persons case, at least twelve people are affected in some way, therefore, in Australia over 360,000

people are affected by the 30,000 missing people reported each year (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

With the large numbers of people affected by missing persons cases, there is a huge impact on a community. Health problems such as stress related disorders, depression and in extreme cases, suicide, are major issues. Thirty-seven percent of respondents in the study reported having severe medical problems related to the disappearance of their loved one. Eighty-three percent reported having to take time off work and 43 percent said that their business suffered as a result of the missing persons case. Personal relationships may also be negatively affected when a loved one goes missing. Seventy-six percent of people stated that a relationship had changed in some way and the effect was ongoing.

The economic impacts of a missing persons case can vary. Personal costs for searching for an individual in this study were reported as ranging from \$0 to over \$7,000. Legal fees for settling an estate of a missing person can cost up to \$2,000; these expenditures can be devastating for lower income families (Henderson & Henderson, 1998). The policing costs of missing persons cases are far more substantial than personal expenditures. The estimated cost of locating missing people is \$2,360 per person that is reported to police. Using the 1997 data, that is a cost of over 72 million dollars per year without including the additional costs of aiding the family and friends of the missing person (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

Effectiveness of Services

Respondents in this survey reported that they were generally satisfied with the service they received from police. Two key areas targeted for improvement were

identified as one, delays before acting and two, more contact and feedback to families. Respondents identified the most positive feature of the process as the sympathetic and understanding approach taken by officers at the time of the initial missing persons report. Although many of those involved in the study reported that they did not feel the need to use support services, one of the most commonly cited areas for improvement was the need for more support services (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

Discussion

The two studies outlined above from the UK and Australia look at the problem of missing persons from two unique perspectives. The UK study was a questionnaire survey sent to an officer who had a particular interest in missing persons cases. Fifty questionnaires were sent out with a response rate of 46 replies. Ten police forces were then selected for a more intense interview process. The resulting information was the first study done on how police officers view and respond to missing persons cases. The Australian study on the other hand interviewed 270 people who were friends or family members of a missing person. This study gives insight into how those who are involved in a missing person case view the way the system works and what kind of job the police are doing.

In comparing the two studies we can see that both the police and the public, even though they are from two different countries, have similar concerns about handling missing persons cases. The first one is the delay in commencing action in the investigation. The standard 24-hour waiting period seems to be a concern to both police and the public; this is a policy that should be reviewed. The second area of concern was the lack of nationally standardized procedures. Both police forces and community

agencies all have their own operating procedures which makes continuity difficult. There is a necessity for a consistent set of procedures that will be followed by all agencies that deal with missing persons cases.

Both studies also agreed that there is a requirement for all missing persons data to be input into an international database such as NMPH, so that cases can be tracked not only in each individual country but internationally as well. A final point that both sides agree on is the need for further research in to the problem of missing persons. The UK study suggests that we need to complete further studies on the reliability of traditional classification in identifying those missing persons who are possibly the victims of serious crime; and to develop regulations to support the police in identifying suspicious missing persons at an early stage in the investigation. For Australia the key concern is prevention and they advocate research to identify and develop effective targeted prevention programs.

As there has been no research of this type in Canada, one can only speculate that the issues that are of a concern in the UK and Australia would be relevant in this country as well. In fact, for British Columbia, this is the case:

At this point there is no unified approach to dealing with missing persons cases. That is one of the objectives of establishing our new Missing Persons Unit which will develop AGs (Attorney General's) policy to govern ALL missing persons cases in the province so that regardless of jurisdiction, there will be an expectation that specific criteria are addressed (Sylvia Port, RCMP, pers. comm. 2004).

The fact that there is no standardized procedure for dealing with and classifying missing persons cases is not only a problem in the UK and Australia, but is an international concern. There is a necessity for the development of a system to identify

and prioritize the serious cases from those which are more mundane, such as the repeat runaways. An effective classification system is urgently needed to streamline police resources and promote effective case solving strategies. From classification systems to prevention issues; the need for further research is very apparent.

CHAPTER THREE: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The data used in this thesis consist of 2290 reported missing persons cases from historical 1950s cases to June of 2004. These are all the unresolved missing persons cases that are presently registered on the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), CPIC (Canadian Police Information Centre) system for this time period in British Columbia. CPIC is a national system that encompasses all missing persons cases in Canada where the person has not been found. Even though it is operated under the RCMP, it is a function of the National Police Service and, therefore, all police detachments, including provincial, city and municipal police departments are required to submit all missing person reports to the CPIC centre. It must be noted that if a missing person is located either alive or through human remains, they are removed from the system. It is important to understand that the cases that remain on the CPIC system, including the data that were analyzed in this thesis are the missing persons cases in British Columbia where the person remains missing.

There are several categories of information that are completed and entered into the CPIC system when a person is reported missing. These include:

Age group when last seen - which categorizes people into thirteen age categories:

A 0-1 years; B 2-3 years; C 4-5 years, D 6-8 years; E 9-11 years; F 12-13 years; G 14-15 years; H 16-17 years; I 18-21 years; J 22-29 years; K 30-49 years; L 50-65 years; and M 65 years & over.

Probable Cause – which categorizes possible reasons why the person went missing including:

A Kidnapping/Foul play; where the person is thought to be the victim of a homicide or an abduction by a stranger, which is defined here as anyone other than the legal parent or guardian.

<u>B</u> Accident (boat, hiking, flying, work etc.); this code is used when the person is presumed drowned in a swimming or boating mishap, or they went missing in an airplane accident, fire, avalanche, hiking fall, etc. and the subject's body has not been recovered.

C Wandered off, Lost (woods, at sea, overdue); persons are categorized in this category when the subject is presumed to have wandered away, in a confused state, from a hospital, mental institution, or chronic care (geriatric) facility. It is also used when the person has become lost in the woods, has not returned home when expected from a hiking, camping, canoeing, or hunting trip; has wandered away or is lost from the family location or has not returned when expected from school, a friend's house, meeting, etc.

<u>D</u> Parental Abduction/Custody Order; this code is used when the subject is a child and he/she has been abducted from a parent who has been granted custody of the child by a court order. The parent who abducts the child does not have custody.

E Parental Abduction/No Custody Order; in this category, the child has been abducted by a parent. Neither the abducting parent nor the parent who seeks the child has been granted custody by a court order.

<u>F</u> Runaway (fear, depression, financial, AWOL, family); this category is used whenever it is suspected that a subject, who is under the age of 18, has run away from home or substitute home care, e.g. foster home, group home, or shelter. This may be because of a

previous history of running away or because of the particular circumstances leading to the subject's disappearance, e.g. a family fight, depression over break-up with boyfriend or girlfriend.

<u>G</u> <u>Unknown</u>; the code for unknown is used in cases where the police agency has no previous record on the missing person; that is, the person has never run away, walked out or wandered off before. It is used when there is insufficient background information to enable coding the missing person under any of the other causes.

<u>H Other</u>, which is clarified in the "remarks" column. This category also includes youths who have not returned to a detention home or other institution housing young offenders.

History – states whether or not a person has a history of going missing. There are three categories:

A No previous history; the person has no previous runaway behaviours.

B Repeat; the subject has once before run away, walked out or wandered off.

<u>C</u> Habitual or Chronic; the missing person has run away, walked out or wandered off twice or more before this incident.

Missing From - This describes where the person is missing from.

A Family/Residence; used when the person is suspected of going missing from their home.

B School;

<u>C</u> Other Institution; this code is used if the subject resided and was last seen in an institution for the mentally ill; mentally or physically disabled; hospital; sanatorium, or chronic care (geriatric) facility, home for unwed mothers, shelter or youth group home.

<u>D A Vacation</u> (travel, camping, etc); this category is used if the subject was known to be on vacation or was last seen in a hotel, motel, amusement park; in a city other than his/her own. Or if they were on a camping, hiking, hunting or boating trip; on a bus, plane, train, car or ship that is not known to have been involved in an accident.

E Shopping Plaza/Mall;

<u>F</u> Work or Work Related; this code is used if the person is suspected of having gone missing from work or work related activities.

<u>G Disaster</u> (plane, boat, bus, etc); this category is used if the subject is the victim of a known disaster, e.g. plane crash, shipwreck, boating accident, train wreck, explosion, fire, earthquake, etc. but the subject, alive or dead, has not been found.

<u>H Child care services</u>; this code includes regular day care services and casual babysitting, e.g. the child disappears while in the care of a babysitter outside the family residence. Also many parental abductions occur when the estranged parent picks up the child from day care with or without the custodial parent's consent.

I Foster Home;

J Detention Centre;

<u>K</u> Youth Centre; is defined as an after-school drop-in centre or other recreational centre, e.g. hockey arena, Brownie/club meeting, or community centre.

<u>L</u> Other, this category is not used if the place last seen can be identified by any of the other codes. It is used for example when the subject is missing from a friend's or relative's home with whom the subject does not normally reside. This is clarified in remarks column.

Dental Chart – this gives the availability of information of the missing persons dental records, including: A Available and entered; B Available and not entered; C Requested but not entered; and D Unavailable.

The data set was split into five separate time periods consisting of 1950–1969, 1970–1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999 and 2000-2004. The 1950s and 1960s were combined into one category as there were only 13 missing persons cases recorded on the CPIC system for the 1950s. SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used to conduct the analysis and all missing persons cases were included, regardless of whether all information was recorded or not. Frequencies of recorded characteristics were analyzed to create a profile of the typical missing person for each time period, and a breakdown of the variables; detachment, probable cause, age group when last seen, missing from, and history, were analyzed in more depth. This was done by classifying the components of each variable into categories and then recording the frequencies. For example, the "other" and "unknown" component of Probable Cause, consist of remarks added to the file by the police. These comments, such as "presumed drowned" or "possible suicide" were counted and the frequencies were noted. This was done to create a more detailed account of the reasons people go missing.

The figures that were generated to demonstrate the jurisdictional baselines for each time period show a range of the detachments that are represented in the data. The chart does not show all of the RCMP detachments in BC. For a complete list of detachments with missing persons cases in BC from 1950-2004, turn to the appendix.

The profile of the typical missing person for each time period was created by examining the frequencies of characteristics in the descriptive categories along with the variables detachment, probable cause, missing from, and age group when last seen and selecting the highest occurring characteristic of each category.

Other descriptive categories are also included, such as; race, sex, date of birth, height, weight, eye colour, a description of the quality of the missing persons teeth, for example whether they are good, straight, crooked, missing, stained or whether the individual had braces or dentures. The data include informational categories such as whether or not a photo, fingerprints or footprints, or a dental chart is available for identification purposes if an individual is located or human remains are found.

1950-1969

Of the 345 missing persons cases during this time period 217 or 63 percent of these missing people were presumed drowned. The vast majority of missing persons cases in the 1950s and 1960s were the result of accidental deaths, presumed drowning being the most predominant probable cause of death. Many went missing in commercial fishing boats and in recreational boating accidents.

Detachment

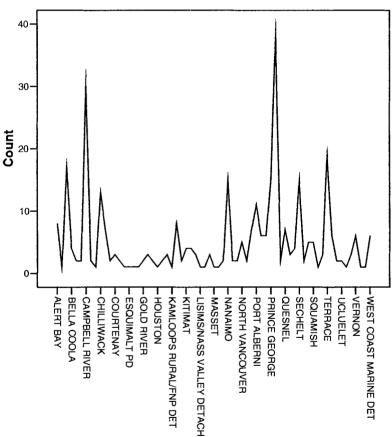


Figure 1 Jurisdictional Base lines For Missing Persons 1950-1969

Figure 1 shows a representation of the 72 RCMP and other police detachments with missing persons cases during the 1950-1969 time period, not all detachments are

shown. The RCMP detachments with the highest number of missing persons that remain missing were Prince Rupert with 38 and Campbell River with 30. Other port and commercial fishing centres such as Nanaimo and Port Hardy also had high numbers of unresolved missing persons cases.

Probable Cause

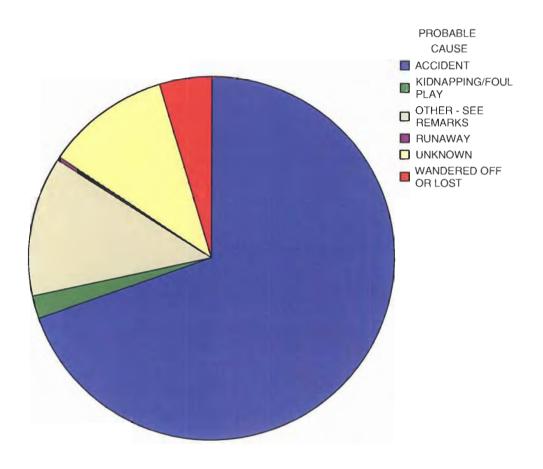


Figure 2 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1950-1969

Figure 2 shows that accidents accounted for the majority of unresolved missing persons cases in the 1950-1960s. During this time period there were six victims of foul play and one kidnapping. Of these missing persons, four were male and three were

female. The one abduction was a 16 to 17 year old male who was taken from his home. Some of the other victims of foul play included a mother and her one-year-old daughter who are believed to be murder victims. Missing persons who are presumed to have committed suicide accounted for six of the 345 cases.

The "other" and "unknown" probable cause categories account for at least 20 percent of the missing population during this time period. Forty-three cases were recorded in the "other" category and 38 in the "unknown." When a person is classified in the "other" probable cause category, the recording officer is required to follow procedure and clarify this classification in the "remarks" and "additional remarks" columns. Of the 43 persons listed in the "other" column, 32 were believed to be presumed drowned; three were listed as possible suicides; two were presumed lost in the Hope mud slide; two were presumed victims of hunting accidents; one was a possible abduction; one missing person wandered away from home suffering from schizophrenia and in two cases there were no clarifying comments in the remarks column. It should be noted that some of these missings appear to be classified improperly, as those involved in accidents and disasters, such as the Hope slide, have their own descriptive categories. There were eight cases in the "other" category and two in the "unknown" category that should have been classed as "accidents."

The "unknown" category is more difficult to explain without an in-depth analysis of the actual missing persons report. Of the 38 cases listed under the "unknown" category, only 13 had some clarifying remarks added by the reporting officer. They included; one possible abduction; two people missing from a possible plane crash; two possible accident victims; three presumed suicides; two presumed drownings; one person

who walked away from home never to be seen again; and one person who had a history of going missing for periods of time. One interesting finding was that 17 of the 38 unknown missing persons were over the age of 65; this could indicate that these people may have wandered away from home due to dementia or depression. As health care and technological medical advances in the 1950s and 1960s were not as advanced as they are today, many of these individuals may not have been diagnosed or treated for their mental illness.

Age Group When Last Seen

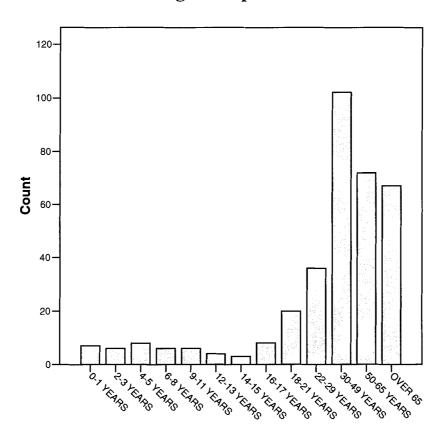


Figure 3 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1950-1969

Missing persons are divided into age groups that define their age when they were last seen. Figure 3 shows the age group that contained the highest number of missing persons was the 30 to 49 years of age range, with 102 cases. Those in the 50 to 65 years and over 65 years age range ran a close second with 72 and 67 cases respectively. There were very few missing children, with only 33 cases involving those less than 11 years of age. Cases of missing teenagers that were never found are also rare in the 1950 to 1969 period with only 15. Runaway missing teenagers were also an uncommon occurrence with only one missing out of the 345 cases.

Identifying Variables

The other variables included in the CPIC data system allow for identification of the missing person or human remains. They include age, sex, build, eye colour, hair colour, height, weight, condition of teeth, clothing worn by the individual, race, whether or not a photo, fingerprints or footprints are on file; and the availability of dental records. They also include variables that will help the police in their investigation of the missing person. These include, history of missing incidents, where the person went missing from, and whether they had a disability or dependency. An examination of several of these variables will follow.

Sex

The majority of the missing persons during this time period were men. Out of the 345 cases, 307 were men and 38 were female.

Race

CPIC divides missing persons into two categories; white and non-white. From 1950 to 1969 there were 202 missing white persons and 82 non-white.

Dental Chart/Fingerprints

Identifying resources such as dental charts were available in only 38 of the 345 cases. Photos were available in 36 cases and fingerprints or footprints were available to investigators in only three cases.

Missing From

The "missing from" category gives investigators a starting point for their investigation. Figure 4 shows that during this time period the majority of persons, 101 out of 345, went missing after a disaster of some type. These would include a plane crash or the loss of a fishing vessel at sea. The "other" category is used when the point of origin is not known; the officer is required to put clarifying comments in the "remarks" column. Ninety-two cases fit into this category, they included; 57 presumed drownings; three possible suicides; three missing from a plane disappearance; three people missing in wooded areas; one presumed murdered; and one person who went missing from a dentist office. People also went missing from work or work related activities; from camping, vacations and during travel by car and bus.

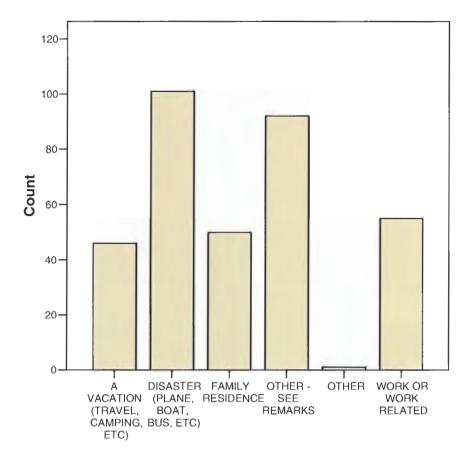


Figure 4 Locations people went Missing From 1950-1969

History and Dependency

In all of the missing persons cases in this time period there was only one case of a person who had a repeat pattern of going missing for periods of time and then returning home or making contact with friends or family.

Missing persons with disabilities or dependency consisted of only 35 cases out of the 345. They included; 14 alcohol or drug addicts; four with mental disability or senility; one with a physical disability; and nine that were possibly suicidal.

Profile

The profile that emerges for the average person who went missing during the 1950 to 1969 time period is: a white male, medium build, with brown hair and brown eyes. He has good teeth and is between the ages of 30 and 49. He almost certainly lived in a fishing or port community and was the victim of a boating accident and is presumed drowned.

1970-1979

Accidents and presumed drowning are also the number one reasons why people went missing in the 1970s. We see the same pattern repeated in this decade as with the 1950 to 1969 period. Out of the 536 unsolved missing persons cases during the 1970s, 335 people or 63 percent were presumed drowned. Once again, fishing and recreational boating accidents were the main reason people went missing.

Detachment

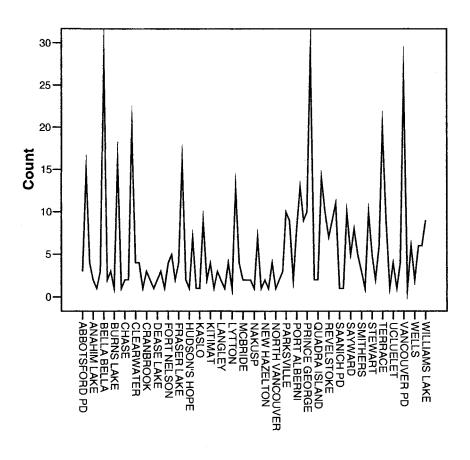


Figure 5 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1970-1979

Figure 5 shows that Prince Rupert RCMP detachment has the distinction of having the highest number of missing persons who were never found again in this decade with 29 missing persons cases. Bella Bella comes in second place with 28 and Vancouver Police Department (PD) is third with 26. Campbell River drops in number from 30 in 1950-1969 to 16 during the 1970s. During this time period there were 95 police detachments that entered missing persons into the CPIC system.

Probable Cause

As Figure 6 indicates, accidents were the number one reason for people going missing in the 1970s. Three hundred seventy-nine cases out of the 536 missing persons cases during this time period were categorized as accidents. Thirty-one were identified as victims of foul play or kidnapping with ten of these presumed to be murder victims. Of the 31 foul play cases, 21 were males and ten were females. The average age group of the males was 30 to 49 years of age and the females were 18 to 21. There were six cases classed as "runaways" during this time period; four males and two females. There were four teenagers ranging in age from 14 to 17 and two adults one male and one female both missing due to mental problems and suspected suicide. The two adults do not meet the criteria for being a runaway, as defined by the CPIC system so they should have been placed in the "other" or "wandered off or lost" category.

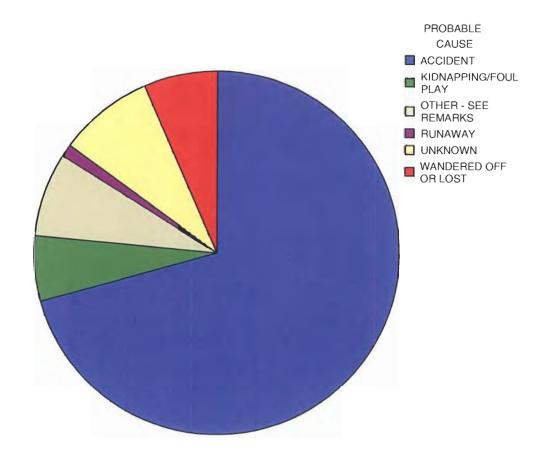


Figure 6 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1970-1979

In the "other" category there were 40 cases. Where the clarifying information was entered, the following reasons for the missing person were given; 14 presumed drowned; eight possible suicides; three that were possible victims of foul play, but there was not enough information to class them as such; one person suspected lost in a wooded area; one person who had escaped from RCMP cells and was not found; one person who went missing after a marital dispute; one who was believed to have taken on a new identity; and one person who was presumed to be the victim of 2nd degree murder and was believed to buried.

The "unknown" category for this decade contains 45 cases. Very few of these have any clarifying remarks that would offer clues as to why the person has gone missing. Of those that do, they include; six possible suicides; four presumed drownings; four suspected murder victims; three individuals that disappeared while traveling in a vehicle; one who went missing under what was termed "unusual circumstances;" and one person disappeared who was under psychiatric care. During this time period there were five cases that should have been recorded in the kidnapping/foul play category instead of "other" or "unknown."

Age Group When Last Seen

As with the 1950 to 1969 time period the age range for the age when last seen remains constant with those aged 30 to 49 years as the most likely to go missing. Figure 7 shows that out of the 536 missing persons cases, 179 fall within this age range. Those aged 22 to 29 fall second with 119 cases, and those aged 50 to 65 years come in third with 84 cases. Once again there are few cases concerning children, with only 27 incidents involving children under the age of 11. The number of missing teenagers rose slightly from 15 in the 1950s–1960s era to 28 during the 1970s.

Unfound runaway missing youth remained missing are a rare occurrence with only four cases out of the total number of 536 missing persons. The number of missing people over the age of 65 also decreased from 67 in 1950-1969 to 48 during the 1970s.

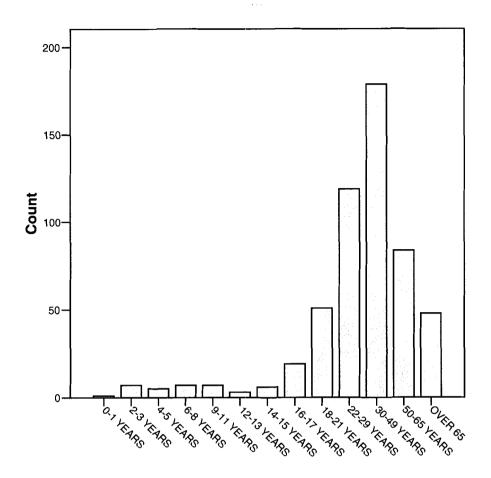


Figure 7 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1970-1979

Identifying Variables

The recorded data for investigative purposes are much more readily available in this decade than the previous two. Identifying information such as dental charts and fingerprints were more likely to be included in the missing persons file.

<u>Sex</u>

Figure 8 indicates that the majority of missing persons who remain missing in the 1970s were men. Four hundred seventy-five out of the 536 cases were male and only 61 were female.

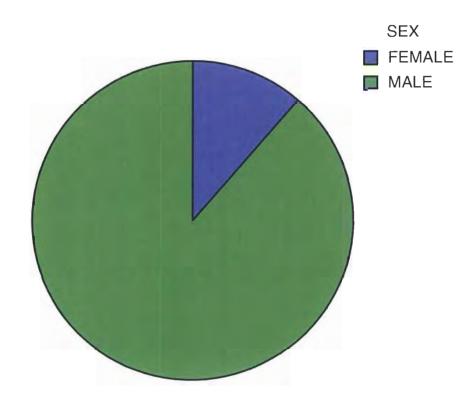


Figure 8 Sex of Missing Persons 1970-1979

Race

Out of the two possible categories, white and non-white, 383 missing persons were white and 125 were non-white.

Dental Chart/Fingerprints

The availability of dental charts increased dramatically in the 1970s. Two hundred fifty-four cases had dental charts both available and entered into the system or available, this was a significant increase from the 1950 to 1969 period when only 38

dental charts were available. Photos were available in 120 cases and fingerprints or footprints in 25 instances, which was an improvement over the previous time period which contained only three.

Missing From

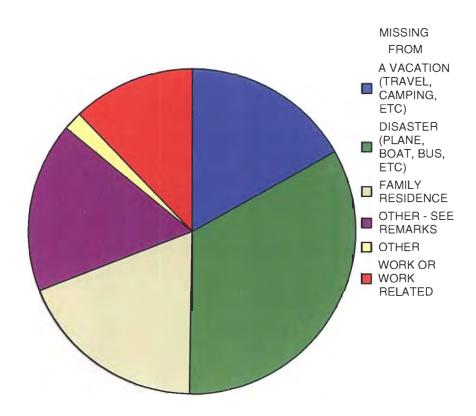


Figure 9 Locations People went Missing From 1970-1979

The most common location for a person to go missing from in the 1970s was the same as in the previous two decades. As Figure 9 shows, a disaster, for example a lost fishing boat, a plane crash or a bus accident accounted for 179 of the 536 unresolved missing persons occurrences. Many other persons, 101, went missing from their homes,

while others disappeared from work, vacations, and camping. The "other" category listed people as missing from; a ferry; the Y.M.C.A.(Young Men's Christian Association); RCMP cells; a hospital; 71 presumed drownings in various lakes and rivers; three possible suicides; four murder victims; and two people lost in wooded areas.

History and Dependency

During this decade the first two cases of a habitual or chronic runaway youth were entered into the system. The data also show that the number of people who show patterns of going missing for periods of time and then returning home is increasing from the previous two decades. Out of the 536 cases of unsolved missing persons 15 displayed this repeat behaviour pattern.

Missing persons with a dependency or disability also increased in numbers to 105 from 35 in the previous time period. There were 33 alcohol or drug addicts; three with a medical dependency; 12 with a mental disability; seven with a physical disability; and 26 missing persons who were possibly suicidal.

Profile

The profile for the missing person from the 1970s is: white male, medium build, with brown hair and brown eyes. He has good teeth and is between the ages of 30 to 49. He went missing because of a disaster, most likely a sunken fishing boat, he is presumed drowned and most likely lived in a fishing community.

1980-1989

The pattern of characteristics of missing persons that has been shown through the 1950s to the end of the 1970s carries through the 1980s decade. Accidents involving fishing vessels and recreational boating are once again the main reason that people went missing. Out of the 464 missing persons cases, 335 or 63 percent were presumed drowned. There is a marked increase in those missing incidents recorded as possible suicides, from 26 during the 1970s to 46 in the 1980s.

Detachment

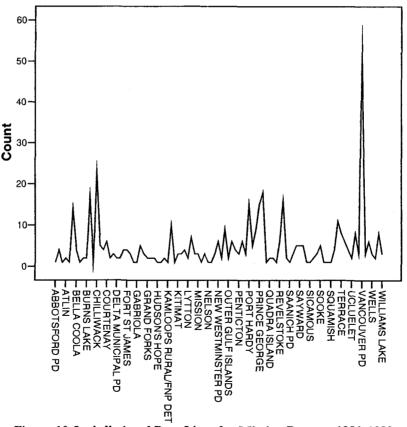


Figure 10 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1980-1989

As Figure 10 shows there is a change with regard to jurisdiction with the Vancouver PD (Police Department) becoming the detachment with the highest number of unsolved missing persons cases with 52. This is in part due to the number of high number of "unknown" missing cases, 34 in the Vancouver PD. During the 1980s there were 98 police detachments that entered missing persons cases into the CPIC system.

Fishing communities such as Prince Rupert had a decline in the number of cases going from 29 in the previous decade to 18 during the 1980s. Although most of the missing reports involved fishing vessels, the accidents occurred in more varied locations such as Bella Bella, Prince George, Port Hardy and Campbell River.

Probable Cause

As the chart in Figure 11 shows, the reasons people went missing are becoming more varied since the 1970s. Accidents still make up the largest portion of unsolved missing cases with 246 out of the total number of 464 cases in this time period. There is an increase in the number of those classified as runaways; the number of "unknown" has nearly doubled and for the first time there is a recorded case of parental child abduction where the child remains missing.

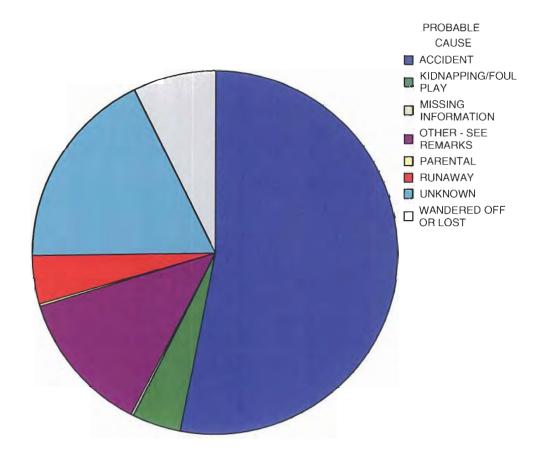


Figure 11 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1980-1989

There were 83 reports of missing people classified in the "unknown" category for the entire Province of B.C., possible reasons for the missing are recorded in the remarks column, some of these include; 12 incidents of possible foul play; seven probable suicides; five people with schizophrenia that disappeared from home, hospitals or mental health facilities; two persons with other types of mental problems; one person with a possible case of amnesia; one possible hunting accident; one person who went missing after an arranged marriage; one person was involved with bikers; five prostitutes who

disappeared; and there were 44 cases where no indication of the reason for going missing was given.

In Vancouver alone there were 34 unknown incidents; most of these have little information in the remarks column to suggest a probable cause for the person to have gone missing. Of those that did; one was a possible foul play; three were missing prostitutes; one person was a member of a religious cult; one person disappeared while traveling; and three were possible suicides.

In the "other" category, where clarifying remarks were given by reporting officers there were 59 cases. Reasons given for some of these missing persons were; 25 possible suicides; 12 persons who were presumed drowned and two others who were presumed drowned after an escape attempt from custody; seven suspected murder victims; one person who ran away from an ambulance; one person who went missing under mysterious circumstances; and one person who was the victim of foul play, whose body had been recovered, but not the head. This person is still listed as missing because if the head is recovered, it can be linked back to the original missing persons file. There appears to be some missing reports in the "other" and "unknown" categories that should have been placed in the more descriptive categories. For example, there are designated categories for suspected victims of foul play, accidents and wanderers, but many of these were miss-classed as "other" or "unknown." There were in fact 14 kidnapping/foul play cases that should have been classed as such as well as one accident and one abduction that were recorded as "other" and not in their appropriate categories.

During the 1980s there were 20 missing people classed as runaways; 14 male and six female. They ranged in age from 14 years to over 65 years. As the CPIC system

defines a runaway as someone under the age of 18, seventeen of these individuals have been placed in the wrong category and should be reassigned. Taking into account the three who would be considered youth runaways, there was one male aged 14-15 years and two females, one in the 14-15 age range and one in the 16-17 group.

In the "kidnapping/foul play" category, there were 20 recorded missings; 11 males and nine females. The average age range was 30 to 49 years. In most cases the type of suspected foul play was not stated. Some clarifying remarks indicated; one abduction and three suspected murders.

Age Group When Last Seen

The pattern of the age when most people go missing has remained constant since the 1950s. As Figure 12 shows, those in the 30 to 49 year range are at the most risk for becoming a missing person. Out of the 464 cases in this decade, 182 fell in this age range. One hundred-twelve missing people fell in the 22 to 29 years range. There are still very few cases pertaining to children, only three incidents involving children less than 11 years of age that remain missing. The number of missing teenagers decreased from the previous decade from 28 to 15. Those aged over 65 years that remain missing also decreased in number in the 1980s from 48 to 24. Runaway youth who remain missing are still a very rare occurrence in British Columbia with only three recorded incidents involving those under the age of 17.

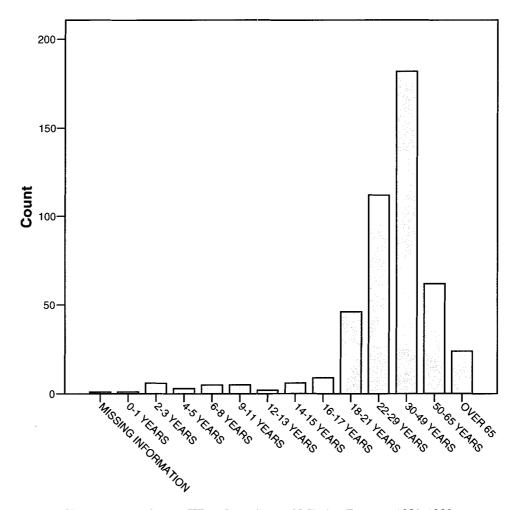


Figure 12 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1980-1989

Identifying Variables

<u>Sex</u>

The pattern of males being most likely to go missing continues from the 1950s into the eighties. Of the 464 missing persons, 389 were male and 75 were female.

Race

The proportion of white to non-white remains the same as well. There were 373 white and 86 non-white people recorded as missing during this time period. The information was missing in five cases.

Dental Chart/ Fingerprints

Figure 13 shows that dental charts were available or on file for 297 of the missing persons in the 1980s and in 284 instances photos were also available. The number of files containing fingerprints also increased. In 42 cases the prints were on file and in 32 reports either fingerprints or footprints were available.

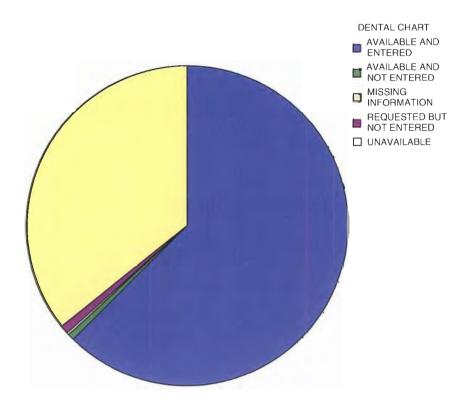


Figure 13 Availability of Dental Chart for Missing Persons 1980-1989

Missing From

A disaster, such as a lost fishing boat or a plane crash was still the most common way for a person to go missing. As Figure 14 shows this pattern has remained steady since the 1950s, although the gap between the different categories is getting narrower and for the first time there are youth entered into the system that went missing from school. During the 1980s, 124 people were missing from disasters; 112 from their family residences; 68 from a vacation (camping/ traveling); and 100 recorded missing persons were placed in the "other" category. The reasons listed in the remarks column for those in the "other" category included; 47 people who were presumed drowned in various lakes, rivers or the ocean; 16 possible suicide victims; 11 people who were suspected victims of foul play; two people that swam away from a prison institution; two people that were presumed drowned after an escape from custody; one who went missing from a handicap home; one person who was last seen hitch-hiking; one person missing from a pub at UBC (University of British Columbia); and one person who disappeared along with their airplane.

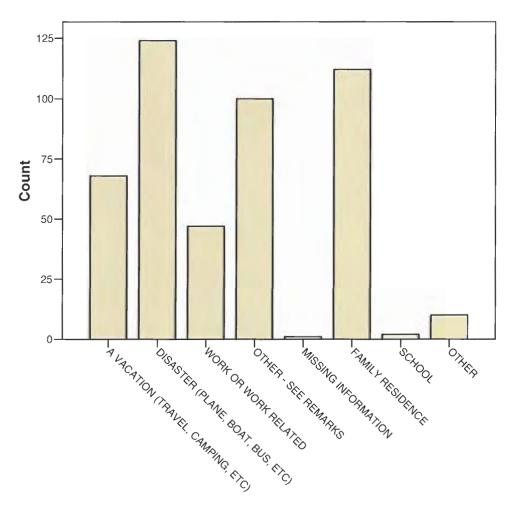


Figure 14 Locations People went Missing From 1980-1989

History and Dependency

In this decade the data showed that there were four adult missing people who had shown habitual or chronic runaway behaviours, one was a prostitute, one was a drug addict with suicidal tendencies, another went missing returning to federal custody, and there was no clarifying information on the fourth. The number of missing persons who have shown repeat behaviour of going missing for periods of time and then returning home has doubled since the 1970s from 15 to 31 during this time period. The remaining

92 percent of missing people who could not be found, had no previous history of this type of behaviour.

The number of missing persons in the CPIC system with a disability or dependency increased slightly from the previous decade, from 105 to 136. For those missing during the eighties, there were: 31 alcohol or drug addicts; nine with a medical dependency; 20 with a mental disability or senility; four with a physical disability; 18 with combination of disabilities; and 46 that were possibly suicidal.

Profile

The profile of the missing person has not changed since the 1950s. He is still a white male with a medium build, brown hair and brown eyes, with good teeth and is between the ages of 30 and 49 years. The most probable reason he went missing was some sort of disaster, most likely a boating accident and he would be presumed drowned. The only thing that has changed is that he may have lived in Vancouver and not in a coastal fishing community.

1990-1999

For the first time in the 1990s there is a change in the pattern of probable cause for missing persons that remain missing. During this decade only 123 cases or 30 percent of incidents involved a presumed drowning. This is notably less than the 63 percent of cases in both the 1950-1969 and 1970-1979 time periods. The "unknown" category with its diverse array of reasons why people go missing now has the greatest number of incidents with 130 of the 400 recorded during this time.

Detachment

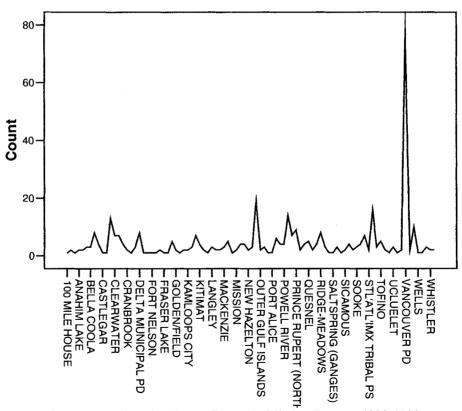


Figure 15 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1990-1999

Figure 15 shows that Vancouver PD has the distinction of having the highest number of unresolved missing cases, out of the 91 detachments that had missing persons that remain missing. There were 77 incidents out of the 400 total missing persons in all of British Columbia. North Vancouver ranked second with 19 and Surrey was third with 16. This is a distinct change from the patterns in previous decades which highlighted detachments such as Prince Rupert and Bella Bella with the highest numbers of missing persons. As the population of Vancouver has grown, so have the number of missing persons reported to police.

Probable Cause

The reasons why people go missing are becoming more diverse. As the chart in Figure 16 shows, the "unknown" category has surpassed "accident" to become the category most used by police when classifying missing persons reports. This in part has to be attributed to the large number of "unknown" cases in Vancouver alone, equaling 56 out of the total 129 "unknown" cases. The "accident" category ranks a close second with 125 cases. There has been an increase in the number of parental abductions and runaways.

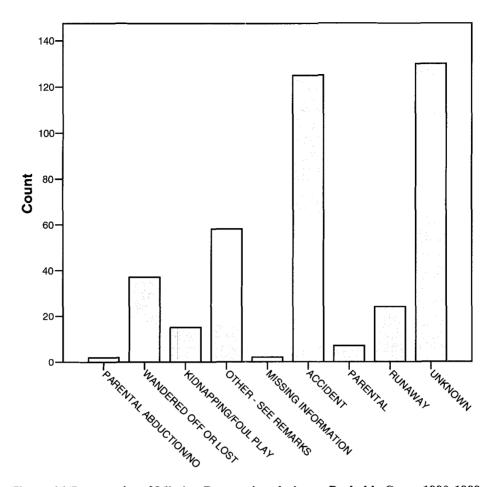


Figure 16 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 1990-1999

The incidents of missing persons that were classified as "unknown" by police detachments across B.C. cover a wide variety of possible reasons and circumstances around why the person went missing. The category for unknown is used in cases where the police agency has no previous record on the missing person; that is, the person has never run away, walked out or wandered off before. It is mainly used when there is insufficient background information to enable coding the missing person under any of the other causes.

Some of this additional information in the remarks column provides some insight into these cases; they include; 24 missing sex trade workers; nine possible suicides; 12

presumed victims of foul play; one possible abduction; four missing people who are believed to be deceased; eight people who had varying degrees of schizophrenia or bipolar disorder; one person with brain damage; one psychiatric patient who was lost in the woods; and one Alzheimer's patient that wandered away. There were also eight presumed drowning victims; two missing drug dealers; one missing hitchhiker; two illegal aliens that jumped ship; five missing people who were addicted to drugs or alcohol; four probable runaways; three people who went missing while traveling; three people that are thought to possibly be in the United States or Mexico; and two people who went missing under what was termed "unusual circumstances." There were also 30 cases where no comments were given and in three missing persons cases, part of the body had been recovered. These three remain in the CPIC system for identification purposes, if more body parts are discovered.

The 56 "unknown" missing person reports in Vancouver PD were not quite so diverse. They included; 20 sex trade workers; six schizophrenics; three possible suicides; three suspected victims of foul play; one missing person with brain damage; one with Alzheimer's disease; one missing drug dealer; one presumed drowning victim; two people thought to be in the United States; three people believed to be deceased; and 15 cases where no helpful comments were added.

In the "other" probable cause category, the reporting officer includes clarifying comments in the remarks column. These help classify missings that do not readily fit into the named categories. The 58 cases of unresolved missing persons in this category include; 18 possible suicides; ten suspected victims of foul play; seven presumed drownings; two possible parental abductions; one missing drug addict; one person who

went missing on a road trip; one illegal alien who did not return to his ship; two stowaways last seen in the area of English Bay in Vancouver; one person who was arrested in Greece and never heard from again; two persons believed deceased; and there were 12 cases in which there were no comments. There are some inconsistencies in classifying some of the missing persons cases. Some of the remarks entered by police have indicated that some of these "unknown" and "other" cases should have been placed in more appropriate categories. For, example, those missing persons who were involved in wandering behaviours, accidents, and lost in the woods, or were suspected victims of foul play should be placed in the designated categories that are more appropriate by definition. In actual numbers there were 25 kidnapping/foul play, four runaways, one wander off or lost, two abductions and one accident that were improperly classed as "other" or "unknown."

During the 1990s there were 15 missings formally classified in the CPIC system in the kidnapping/foul play category. Eight of these were female and seven males. The average age was between 30 to 49 years old. One incident that was categorized in the foul play column should have been put into the "other" category as it was reported that the missing person jumped from a bridge into the Fraser River, this clearly seems to be a suicide rather than foul play. The other cases consisted of eleven suspected victims of homicide including one sex trade worker. The bodies of two other missing persons had partially been recovered. In one instance just a head was located and in the other, the body was found but the head and genitals were missing. There were also two young children in this category. Both were victims of stranger abduction. The first, a one year old female, was taken from a vehicle at a shopping mall and the second child, a five year

old boy, was abducted from a play ground. Stranger abductions are very rare and these are the first two recorded incidents where the child remains missing in B.C. since 1950.

The incidents of parental child abduction where the child remains missing increased substantially since the 1980s. In 1990 there were nine recorded parental child abductions, seven of these involved parents with custody agreements and two cases had parents where there was no custody order. In four of these cases the children were abducted by the mother contravening the custody order and by being taken by the mother in the two cases without custody orders. The father was responsible for the abduction against a custody order in the other three cases. The children ranged in age from one to eight years of age.

In the "runaway" category, there were 24 missing persons who remain missing. Nineteen were males and five were females. They ranged in age from 12 to 65 years of age. Only four of the missing people had a previous history of runaway behaviour. Seven of them were recorded as possibly suicidal, one was a drug addict and two suffered from a mental disability. Once again it must be noted that 20 individuals have been improperly categorized as runaways, as the CPIC system defines a runaway as someone under the age of 18. There were four individuals who would be considered youth runaways, all were male and ranged in age from 12 to 17. Three of these youth were entered into the system as missing from a youth centre.

Age Group When Last Seen

The age group with the highest incidents of missing persons has remained the same from the 1950s right through to the 1990s. As Figure 17 shows, those persons aged 30 to 49 years, are the most likely to remain missing. Of the 400 missing persons cases

where the person remains missing, 163 were in this age range. Ninety-seven missing persons ranged in age from 22 to 29 years and 52 were in the 50 to 65 year range. The incidents involving children under the age of 11 greatly increased in numbers from three in the previous decade to 12 during this time period. The number of missing teenagers remained fairly consistent at 16. Even though they appear to be increasing in number, missing persons cases involving children and youth still remain fairly rare consisting of only 0.07 percent of the missing persons population for the 1990s.

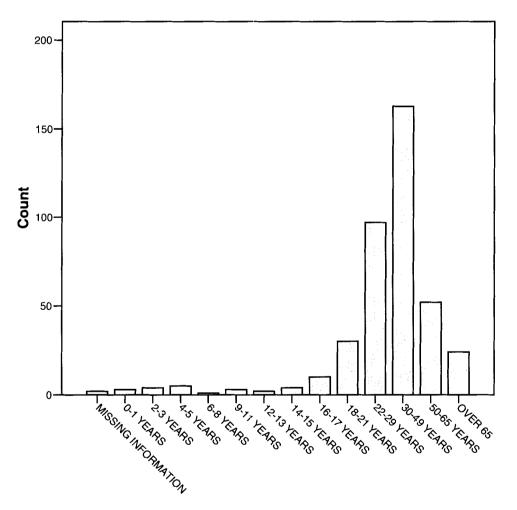


Figure 17 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 1990-1999

Identifying Variables

<u>Sex</u>

Males are still more likely than females to go missing. Figure 18 shows that in the 1990s there were 290 missing males and 110 missing females.

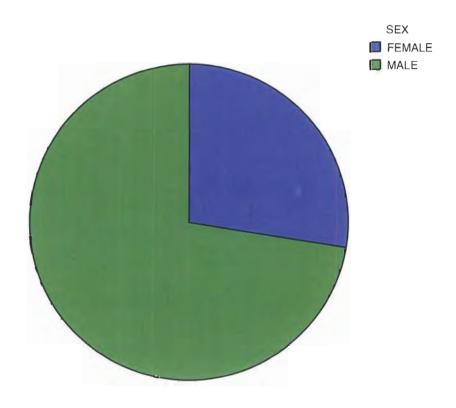


Figure 18 Sex of Missing Persons 1990-1999

Race

In the two categories of white and non-white, there were 269 white and 105 non-white recorded missing persons in this decade. This information was missing in 26 cases.

Dental Chart/ Fingerprints

Dental Charts were available or entered into the system for 224 out of the 400 cases. Photos were available in nearly 60 percent or 230 instances. The number of cases where fingerprints were included in the missing persons file was 16. Footprints or fingerprints were available in another 16 cases, making a total of 32 instances where prints were either in the file or available for comparison.

Missing From

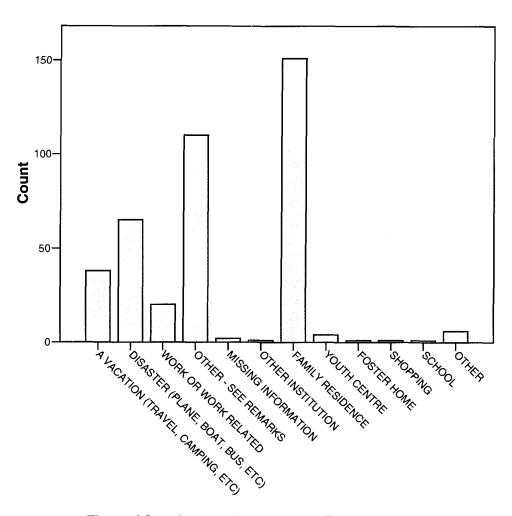


Figure 19 Locations People went Missing From 1990-1999

Figure 19 shows a notable change in the place that a person goes missing from between the 1980s and the 1990s. In the eighties the most common missing from category was "disaster" including boating accidents and plane crashes. In the 1990s, the most frequent place a person went missing from was their family residence. In 151 out of the total 400 cases, the missing person was last seen at their home. The "other" categories ranked second with 110 cases, and "disaster" placed third with 65 missing persons cases. In the 1990s there is the addition of some new "missing from" categories, such as foster homes, shopping, youth centres, and other institutions. The types of missings in the "other" category, include; 35 presumed drownings; 12 missing prostitutes; nine suspected victims of foul play; six possible suicides; one person missing in a plane crash; three people lost in wooded areas; three missing schizophrenics; one lost dementia patient; one abducted from a shopping mall; and one abduction from a playground.

History and Dependency

During this decade there were six cases of habitual or chronic runaways. The data also show that the number of people who show patterns of going missing for periods of time and then returning home is increasing from the previous decades. Out of the 400 cases of missing persons in the CPIC system, 38 displayed this repeat behaviour pattern.

Missing persons with a dependency or disability also increased in numbers to 162 from 136 in the previous time period. There were 56 alcohol or drug addicts; seven with a medical dependency; 27 with a mental disability; eight with a physical disability; and 34 missing persons who were possibly suicidal entered into the system.

Profile

The profile of the missing person in the 1990s has changed slightly from the previous years. He is a white male, slim build, brown hair and brown eyes. He has good teeth and is aged 30 to 49 years of age. He lives in Vancouver, is missing from home, and the circumstances surrounding his disappearance are unknown, but there is a good chance he is either a possible suicide or a victim of foul play.

2000-2004

The period of time that will be covered in this section spans from January 1, 2000 to June 16, 2004. In this four year period there were 545 cases of missing persons that are still unaccounted for. There were more missing people in the first four and a half years of this decade than there were in any of the previous 10 year periods since 1950. In these four years thus far, 221 missings have been classed as "unknown" as the police have been unable to determine the nature of the missing incident. Drowning is no longer the most probable reason for a person to go missing, with only 31 presumed drownings to date.

Detachment

Vancouver PD has the greatest number of unfound missing persons cases in B.C. as shown in Figure 20, with 136 out of the total 545 cases. The city of Surrey placed second with 53 cases and Burnaby was third recording 27 incidents. Kelowna was next with 19 cases and Victoria PD had 16. This reflects the changing pattern in jurisdictions from coastal fishing communities to urban centres. During this time period there were 90 police detachments that had recorded missing persons on the CPIC system.

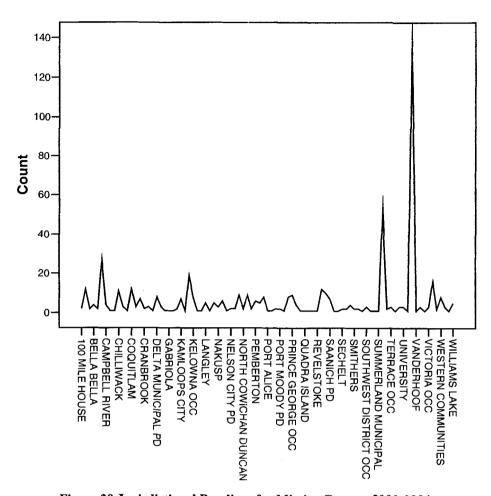


Figure 20 Jurisdictional Baselines for Missing Persons 2000-2004

Probable Cause

As the chart in Figure 21 shows, there have been some dramatic changes in the probable cause of missing persons since the last decade. The "unknown" and "runaway" categories have by far the greatest number of missing persons cases where the person is still missing. For the first time there are missing persons reports where no probable cause is entered into the system by the police. The number of these is 21. Those incidents that were attributed to accidents have decreased dramatically in this time period declining from 125 cases in the 1990s to only 38 so far in this decade. There has also been a

substantial increase in the number of runaways, from 24 in the nineties to 176 from year 2000 to date.

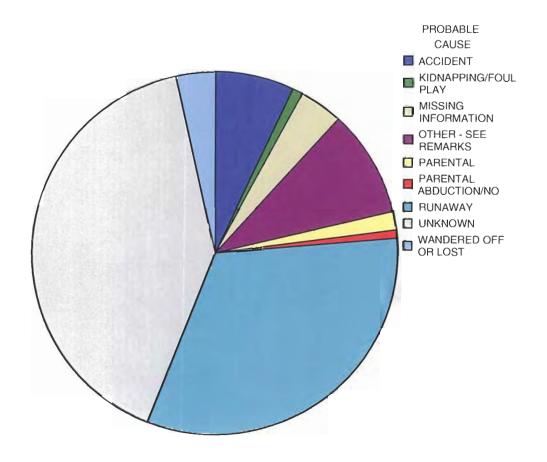


Figure 21 Frequencies of Missing Persons in relation to Probable Cause 2000-2004

Of those cases recorded as runaways, 27 should have been classed in different categories, as the CPIC definition of the "runaway" is someone under the age of 18. The group of 149 remaining youth classified as runaways contained 55 males and 94 females. They ranged in age groups as follows; 18 were 12-13 years; 62 were 14-15 years; 66 were 16-17 years; and three had just turned 18 years old. There were 49 that had shown repeat runaway behaviours; 70 that were classed as habitual or chronic runaways; and the

rest had no previous history of running away. In this group of missing runaway youth there were 60 individuals with a disability or dependency. They included; 38 alcohol or drug addicts; three who were possibly suicidal; one with a medical dependency; two with mental disabilities; and 16 had a combination of disabilities.

The incidents of parental child abduction where the child remains missing increased since the 1990s. During this time period there were 13 recorded parental child abductions, nine of these involved parents with custody agreements and four cases had parents where there was no custody order. In six of these cases the children were abducted by the mother contravening the custody order and in four cases were taken by the mother without custody orders. The father was responsible for the abduction against a custody order in the other two cases. The children ranged in age from one to 11 years of age.

In the "kidnapping/foul play" category, there were five missing persons; two males and three females. They ranged in age from 14 to 65 years. In most cases the nature of the suspected foul play was not stated. In one case clarifying remarks indicated that there was one person who was possibly smuggled into the US to work in prostitution.

In the probable cause "other" category where the officer is to supply clarifying remarks, there were: nine possible suicides; six suspected drownings; one missing prostitute; one Alzheimer's patient; one schizophrenic and two dementia patients that went missing; three missing people that were under a medical health warrant; one person who left after an argument and was not seen again; two individuals that ran away from an abusive relationship; three people lost with aircraft; one person last seen hitch-hiking; two people AWOL (Absent Without Leave) from safe houses; and one person who

disappeared from Sheriff's custody wearing handcuffs. There were four cases that should have been categorized in there respective probable cause categories, they were; one possible abduction; one suspected foul play; and two boating accidents. There were also 14 reports where no clarifying remarks were given.

Missing persons who remain missing in the "unknown" category make up the largest group in the probable cause category with 221 cases. In 144 of these instances no remarks were given that would suggest the nature of the missing. Of those that did offer some comments, they included; 19 probable suicides; seven missing prostitutes; three people last seen hiking; three people missing while traveling; one person last seen on a mountain bike; one individual who was covered in bear spray after a home invasion and was not seen again; three persons with mental disorder; six schizophrenics; one dementia patient; one person who suffered from psychotic episodes; two people affiliated with the Hell's Angels; and one person was reported to have run away from an abusive situation. Some of the clarifying comments needed some clarification of there own as one person was reported as "went into probation office and never came out". There were again some cases which could have been placed into their appropriately named categories, these involved five possible abductions; six cases of suspected foul play; five accidents, one wandered off, and four runaways.

Age Group When Last Seen

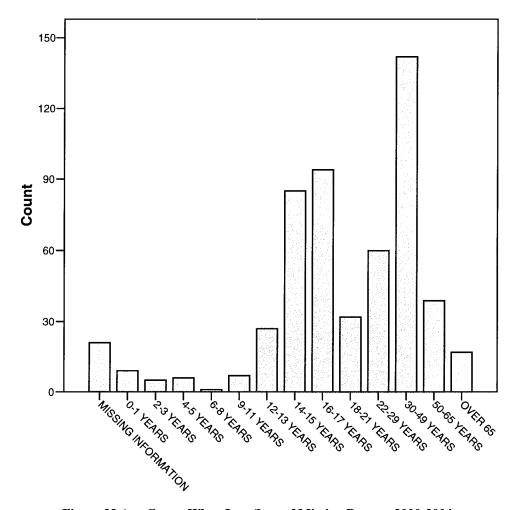


Figure 22 Age Group When Last Seen of Missing Persons 2000-2004

There has been no change in the age group that has the greatest number of missing people who remain missing from 1950 until 2004 as depicted in Figure 22. The age range of 30-49 has this distinction. There has been a dramatic change however in the number of youth that have gone missing. There numbers have jumped from 16 during the 1990s to 206 in the first four years of this century. The majority of these missing youth are runaways who are still missing or who are unaccounted for. The number of children under the age of eleven has also increased from 12 in the past decade to 23.

Identifying Variables

<u>Sex</u>

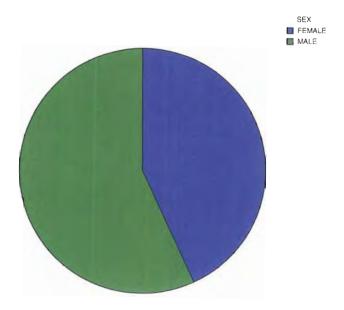


Figure 23 Sex of Missing Persons 2000-2004

Males are consistently more likely to go missing than females right through time from the 1950s. As shown in Figure 23, in the period from 2000-2004, there were 310 males and 235 females that remain missing. The number of females has steadily increased over time and it is likely that by the end of this century their numbers will be greater than or equal to the males.

Race

In the two CPIC categories for race, there were 315 white and 157 non-white missing persons during this time period.

Dental Chart / Fingerprints

The number of dental charts available or entered in the system has decreased from the number available in the 1990s. From 2000-2004, only 211 of the 545 cases provide access to a dental chart for identification. Photos were available for 130 individuals and the number of reports with fingerprints or footprints available has also decreased from 32 in the 1990s to seven during this time period. Although it must be taken into account that the information regarding the availability of fingerprints or footprints was not entered into the CPIC system for 96 percent of cases.

Missing From

The family residence remains the most common place from which people go missing since the 1990s. Figure 24 shows that of the possible 545 cases of persons that remain missing 228 were last seen at the family residence. Eighty-seven people were last seen at foster homes and 31 were last seen at school. For the first time there are 16 persons missing in the "child care" category, which includes persons missing while in day care or in a casual baby-sitting situation. In the "other" category, where clarifying remarks were given by reporting officers there were 138 cases.

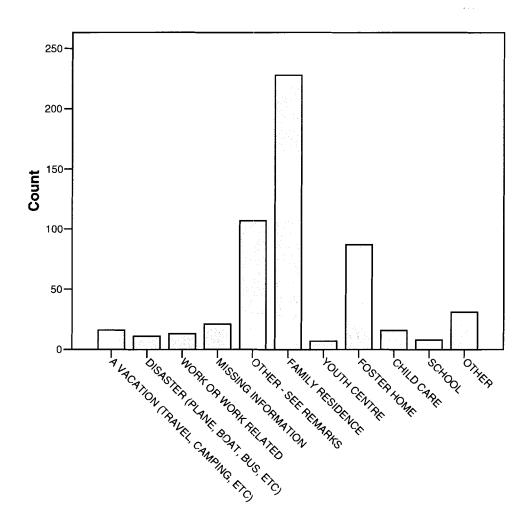


Figure 24 Locations People went Missing From 2000-2004

The reasons given for some of these missing persons classified in the "other" category were; ten presumed drownings; nine possible suicides; four missing sex trade workers; three possible abductions; one suspected foul play; one person missing after a motor vehicle accident; five missing people who were schizophrenic; six dementia patients that went missing; eight drug addicts; two people last seen hitch-hiking; two persons missing with airplanes; one tourist that went missing; one youth who was a ward of the Ministry of Child Services; one youth who went missing after getting caught smoking marijuana; seven escapees from hospital psychiatric wards; and one person

missing from Sheriff's custody wearing handcuffs. Other locations persons were last seen were; a private school; safe houses; transition homes; bars; hostels; hotels; and one person was missing from a friends house. There were several cases that should have been placed in their appropriate missing persons category including; one runaway; three people missing from work; two diving accidents; and five boating accidents. In 37 incidents, no clarifying remarks were given that would help explain where the person was missing from or the possible reason for the missing.

History and Dependency

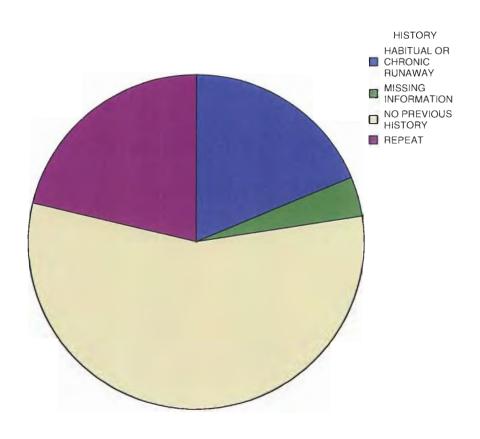


Figure 25 History of Runaway Behaviour of Missing Persons 2000-2004

In the first four years of this century there is a significant increase in the number of missing people who remain missing that are classed as "habitual or chronic runaways," these are those individuals that have run away, walked out or wandered off twice or more before this missing incident. As Figure 25 shows, their numbers have increased from six in the 1990s to 102. There was also an increase in the number of "repeat" runaways. The numbers for those that have run away or wandered off once before has risen from 38 to 116. This information was not recorded into the CPIC system in 21 cases.

The number of individuals with a disability or dependency also increased substantially from the previous decade from 162 to 247. The majority of these being drug and/or alcohol addicts whose numbers doubled from the count in the 1990s of 56 to 117 currently. There were also 44 with a combination of disabilities; nine with a medical dependency; 27 with a mental disability or senility; four with a physical disability; and 35 who were possibly suicidal.

Profile

The profile of the missing person from 2000 to 2004 has not changed much from the 1990s. He is still a white male, slim build, with brown hair and brown eyes. He is aged 30 to 49 years old and has good teeth. He is almost certainly missing from his family residence and he most likely lives in Vancouver. The nature of his going missing is more than likely unknown.

Overview: 1950-2004

The following is an overview of some of the variables analyzed from the entire data set of missing persons who remain missing from 1950 until June of 2004. This data set contains 2290 missing persons cases from British Columbia where the person remains missing.

Detachment

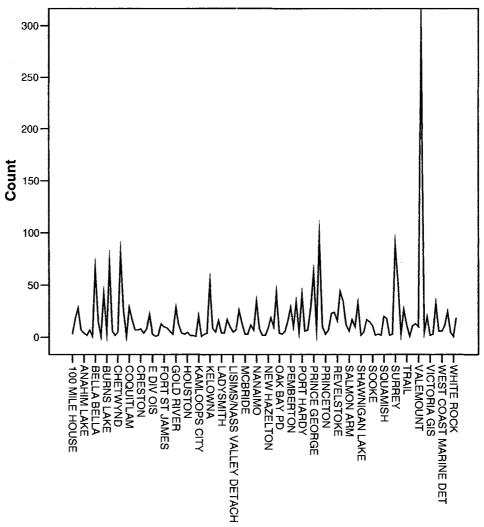


Figure 26 Jurisdictional Base Lines for Missing Persons 1950-2004

Over the last fifty-four years the police detachments handling the highest number of missing persons reports has changed from coastal commercial fishing centres to urbanized cities. Figure 26 shows a representation of the 132 detachments that have missing persons cases that are unresolved (see appendix) during this time period. Some of the numbers for detachments over this 54 year period are; Vancouver PD, 292; Prince Rupert, 106; Surrey, 89; Chilliwack, 80; Campbell River, 71; Bella Bella, 66; Prince George, 62; Kelowna, 53; and Terrace with 52. At the other end of the spectrum there is 100 Mile House, Princeton, and Summerland Municipal with three; Ashcroft, Chase, and Sparwood with two; and White Rock, Clinton, Enderby, and Tsay Keh with one report each.

Probable Cause

As the chart in figure 27 shows, "accident" was the most frequent probable cause for a person to go missing due to a swimming or boating mishap, airplane accident, fire, avalanche, hiking fall, etc. where the body was never recovered. This category contained nearly half, 1028 of the total 2418 cases of missing persons who remain missing. The "unknown" category where the nature of the missing remains unknown ranked second with 517 reports. "Other," was third with 252 cases where the police provided remarks about the missing to clarify the circumstances in those cases that did not fit into one of the predesignated categories. Runaways were next with 227, then wandered off or lost with 141 and then kidnapping foul play with 78 missing persons. Parental abductions were rare with only 17 cases where there was a custody order and 6 incidents where no

custody order was in place. There were 152 cases where this information was not recorded in the CPIC system.

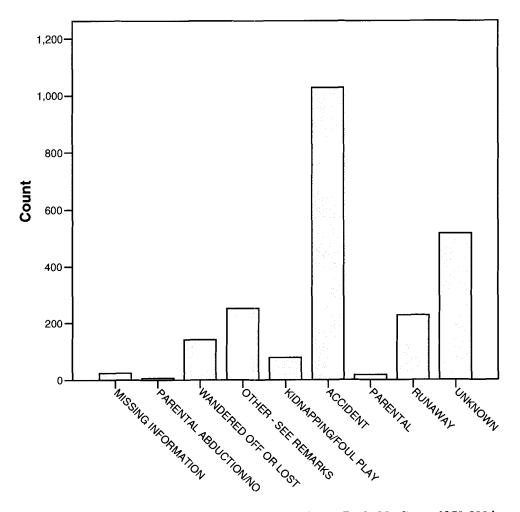


Figure 27 Frequencies of Missing Persons in Relation to Probable Cause 1950-2004

Age Group When Last Seen

The age group with the most missing persons remained constant throughout the 54 year period. Figure 28 shows that those aged 30 to 49 years went missing most often, 768 cases out of 2418. Those aged 22-29 were next with 424 incidents; then 50-65 years with 309. There were 96 cases involving children under the age of 11 and 282 cases with persons ranging in age from 12 to 17. For those aged over 65 years there were 180

reports where the person remains missing. This information was not recorded in 152 cases.

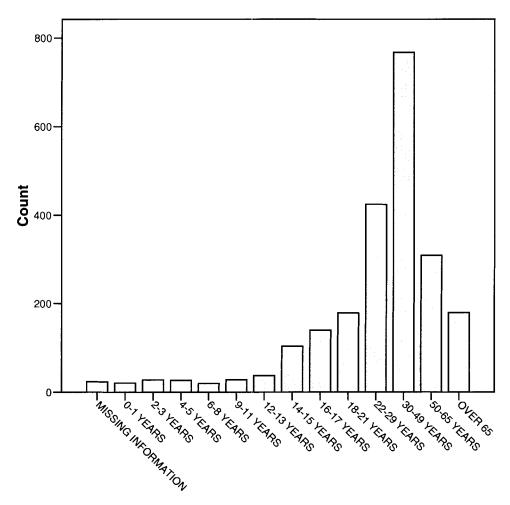


Figure 28 Age Group When last Seen of Missing Persons 1950-2004

Identifying Variables

<u>Sex</u>

The majority of missing persons in the time period between 1950 and 2004 were men. As Figure 29 shows, males accounted for 1771 out of the 2418 cases and only 519 were female.

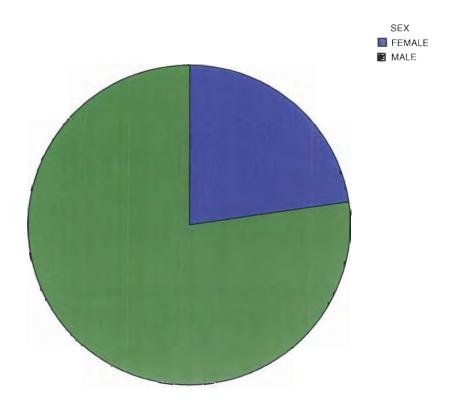


Figure 29 Sex of Missing Persons 1950-2004

Race

Out of the two possible categories, white and non-white, 1542 missing persons were white and 555 were non-white. This information was not recorded in 193 cases.

Missing From

As Figure 30 shows, "family residence" was the most frequent category a person went missing from. In 642 cases the person was last seen at or suspected to have gone missing from their residence. Five hundred cases were recorded in the "other" category; 480 under disaster; 258 in vacation, which included camping or travel; and 200 in the work or work related category. All other categories such as child care, foster home, other institution, school, shopping, and youth centre contained less than 90 cases in each. This information was not recorded in 152 cases.

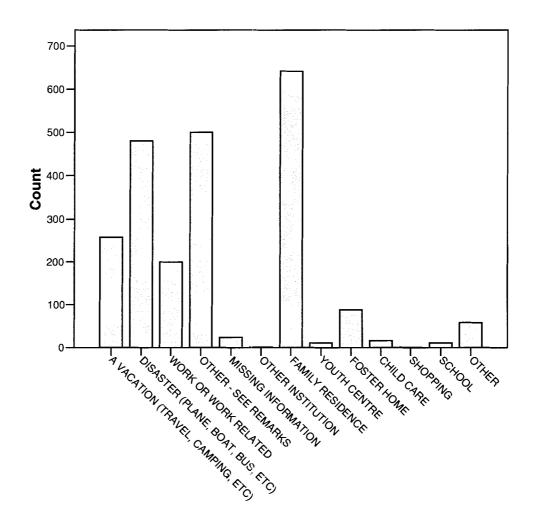


Figure 30 Locations People went Missing From 1950-2004

History

The number of missing people who remain missing that are classed as "habitual or chronic runaways" is 114 out of the total 2290. These are those individuals that have run away, walked out or wandered off twice or more before this missing incident. The numbers for those that have run away or wandered off once before or "repeat" runaways" is 201. Those individuals that remain missing with no previous history are 1951. This information was not recorded into the CPIC system in 152 cases.

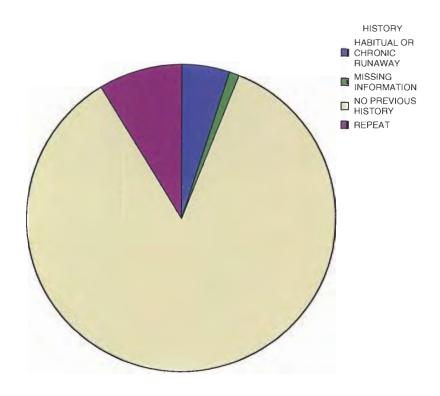


Figure 31 History of Runaway Behaviour of Missing Persons 1950-2004

Dependency

The number of individuals with a disability or dependency is 684 out of a total 2290. The majority of these being drug and/or alcohol addicts who number 251. There were 98 with a combination of disabilities; 28 with a medical dependency; 89 with a mental disability or senility; 24 with a physical disability; and 150 who were possibly suicidal.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

Factors that have influenced trends in missing persons cases

This study is unique as it is the first of its kind to examine the reasons why people go missing and their personal characteristics. These were determined by examining the coded reports of persons that remain missing in the CPIC system for British Columbia. There has been a definite deficiency of research in most areas involving missing persons, and this study has shown that much more research is needed to really understand the "unknown" factor as to why people disappear. The issue of missing persons has become a more fashionable topic recently due to the dozens of women missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, the formation of the Missing Women's Task Force by the RCMP and the impending trial of suspected serial killer Robert William Pickton, who is charged with the first degree murder of 27 women.

The large number of missing women has had an impact on the change of jurisdictions that contained the highest number of missing persons. During the 1950s through the 1970s, most people went missing from commercial fishing centres such as Prince Rupert and Campbell River, but starting in the 1980s there is a shift to more urbanized centres such as Vancouver, Burnaby and Surrey. This shift in missing persons took place for several reasons including the expanding population in these urban centres, less employment opportunities in the smaller coastal communities, and an increase in the number of people involved in recreational activities, such as boating and hiking in the Vancouver area. There is no doubt that the sixty-eight missing women from the

Downtown Eastside boosted the numbers of missing persons cases where the person remains missing in the Vancouver PD. This is clearly shown in the jurisdictional numbers of missing persons from the Vancouver PD during the 1980 to 2004 time periods.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many of the missing females were possibly involved in prostitution from this data set as many of the reports did not contain any information that would indicate that the missing person was a sex trade worker. In those cases in which the information was available, there were five missing females during the period from 1980 to 1989, twenty-five from 1990 to 1999, and nine between 2000 and 2004 that were described as being involved in prostitution. It is important to note that those women who were identified as victims of homicide in the Pickton case have been removed from the CPIC system, those women identified as sex trade workers who remain in the system are those that have not been found either alive or identified through the discovery of human remains.

There has also been a definite change in the probable cause of missing persons through the last fifty four years. From the 1950s to the 1970s the most likely probable cause for someone to go missing was an accident which in most cases involved the person being presumed drowned. In the time period spanning 1950 through 1989 presumed drowning was the probable cause of the missing in 63 percent of missing persons cases where the person remains missing. It was not until the 1990s that the reasons people went missing became more diverse and unknown. The "unknown" category is used when the police agency has no previous record on the missing person; that is, the person has never run away, walked out or wandered off before. It is used

when there is insufficient background information to enable coding the missing person under any of the other causes.

In the first four years of this century, the "unknown" population of missing persons that remain missing has increased dramatically. Nearly half of all cases do not contain enough information about the incident to categorize the nature of the missing. Many reports on the CPIC system have no remarks at all concerning the probable cause. An in depth study of the actual missing persons files rather than just analyzing the remarks that have been input into the CPIC system, may allow for a more comprehensive understanding of why people are going missing.

There are many reasons why the probable cause for missing persons has changed over time. Presumed drowning has been and will remain a constant probable cause for missing persons. In British Columbia, especially on the west coast, many people are involved in activities on the water, either for employment or recreational purposes. It is a logical conclusion that accidents will happen and people will be lost. Improvements in the technology of fishing vessels and fishing equipment as well as improved regulations and safety standards for boaters, such as, better safety equipment and training courses have all aided in reducing the number of boating related accidents. The Lower Mainland bridges have also contributed to the number of people missing due to presumed drowning. There are several cases in each time period of persons committing suicide by jumping off one of the bridges into the Fraser River. These cases are entered into the "other" or "unknown" categories as there is no suicide category on the CPIC system.

The next category that had a significant change was the "runaway." Runaways are those under the age of 18 that are suspected of running away from home or substitute

home care, e.g. foster home, group home, or shelter. There were very few cases of runaways that remain missing until year 2000 to 2004 when the numbers increased from 25 or less for all previous time periods to 176 in the current one. The reasons for this are not clear from the information in the data set however, there were many individuals with a repeat pattern of running away, and nearly fifty percent were involved with drugs or alcohol. Sixty-three percent of these youth were female who most likely got involved in the sex trade and entrenched in the street culture.

The incidents of parental abduction where the child remains missing are also on the rise, the numbers of these incidents has increased steadily from the 1950s. In most cases the mother was responsible for the abduction whether or not there was a custody order in place. As many of these abductions happen after or during a period of divorce between couples and the rates of divorce are also increasing, it is probable that the number of this type of missing will also increase over time.

The age group that the majority of individuals went missing from has remained constant since the 1950s. Those aged 30-49 years had the highest incidents of going missing. Missing incidents involving children under the age of eleven remained a rare occurrence throughout all time periods. There was a sudden rise in the number of missing teenagers, with the period between 2000 and 2004 having a dramatic increase of 33 percent over the previous decade. Those missing over the age of 65 decreased throughout the fifty year period. This is most likely due to improved medical care and geriatric services for the elderly.

The category of "missing from" also changed throughout the decades, the code of disaster, used if the missing person is the victim of a known disaster, e.g. plane crash,

shipwreck, boating accident, train wreck, explosion, fire, earthquake, etc. but has not been found, alive or dead, was the most frequently used category up until the 1990s when the family home became the most likely place for a person to go missing from. This corresponds with the probable cause changing from accident to unknown, for example, if a person disappears in an accident, the reason for the missing is known, but if a person leaves their home and is never heard from again, in many cases the nature of the reason the person went missing remains a mystery.

The limitations of the CPIC System

This study was limited to the data entered into the CPIC system and looked at only those missing persons cases of persons that were reported to police and remain missing. There were several limitations in the system, which need to be addressed. The first issue deals with the definitions for the categories for missing persons, especially in the probable cause category. In some cases the definitions are too broad; for example, the definition of "stranger abduction" includes aunts, uncles, grandparents and other close friends and relatives. This can be confusing as the term "stranger abduction" should refer to some one that is not familiar to the person or child. There appears to also be some confusion between whether to categorize an abducted child under "stranger abduction" or "unknown" as the cause of the child's abduction is usually not known until after the child is found or other information is discovered.

In other cases the category definitions were not followed, for example in the "runaway" category there were many reports of adults (those over 18 years of age) entered in the system as a runaway. This is obviously an error as the definition of a runaway clearly states that the subject coded as a runaway must be under 18 years of age.

This skews analyses of the data when looking at numbers of runaways, in some years as many as half of the entered cases were done so improperly. The results presented in this thesis for the number of runaways have been adjusted to reflect the correct numbers for this group of missing people.

The category of "race" is also problematic on the CPIC system. The categories used are "white" or "nonwhite." There is no clear definition as to which races of people would be considered white and which would be nonwhite. It appears to be based on the colour of skin only. The CPIC instructions for "race" state that if nonwhite is entered for the missing person and the racial origin is documented in the police file, then the recording officer is supposed to clarify the racial origin in the "remarks" column. This appears to be done in approximately ten percent of cases. It is difficult to determine if this was simply not done or if the information was not in the original police file. A more appropriate definition and categorization of race is needed to improve the quality of the data and the CPIC system to aid in the future identification of missing persons.

The "remarks" and "additional remarks" columns are used for listing additional and explanatory information. The issue with these data fields is that there are no guidelines as to the terms that should be used when inputting information. For example, when recording a nonwhite individual as Aboriginal, many different terms were used, such as "aboriginal," "native," "first nations," and "Canadian indian." The same problem arises when addressing those who were involved in the sex trade. Various terms such as; "prostitute," "Sex Trade Worker," "hooker," "working girl," "street worker," and "prostitution" were used to describe someone who was involved in the sex trade at the time that they went missing. In many cases this information was placed not in the

"remarks" column as the CPIC instructions note but in "additional remarks," which creates difficulty when searching for terms for research or identification purposes. Sylvia Port (2005) of the BC Missing Persons Centre stated that the problem arises because, "there is no standard term in use, and what is entered is not even consistently used in the same field." This illustrates an obvious need for the creation of standard terms and data entry guidelines which would be required for those entering data into the CPIC system.

An additional problem that was discovered was that some cases that were categorized as "unknown" or "other" could clearly have been placed in more appropriate predesignated categories, as the definition clearly states that "unknown" is only to be used when there is insufficient background information to enable coding the record under any of the other causes. For example, in the remarks column there were missing persons listed as being involved in boating accidents, plane crashes, lost in the woods, victims of foul play, and those who wandered away from hospitals and mental health facilities. These cases could have been classified into the more appropriate categories of accident, wandered off or lost, or kidnapping/foul play. The data that is shown in the results section of this thesis is reflective of the original CPIC data. The miss-classified cases were not reclassified as there numbers are not large enough to skew the over all results.

The "remarks" column for both the "unknown" and "other" categories is supposed to provide supplementary information to explain why the person has been classified as such. In many instances the remarks placed there provide no clues as to why the person had been categorized as an "unknown" or "other," but simply stated things like "Native," "East Indian," "Race Asian," "smoker" or "NCIC interest" (National Criminal Investigation Center) the US equivalent of the CPIC system, or are left blank.

While these types of comments may be helpful in some parts the missing persons investigation, they provide no insight into the probable cause of going missing.

A final issue that was discovered was in the definitions themselves, one problem was the wording of the code for "accident" it reads; "this code is used when the person is presumed drowned in a swimming or boating mishap, airplane accident, fire, avalanche, hiking fall, etc. and the subject's body has not been recovered". This was most likely a typing error or an oversight, as it is not feasible for a person to be presumed drowned in a fire or an avalanche, etc. It should read presumed drowned in a swimming or boating mishap, or went missing due to an airplane accident, fire, etc. It is important that these definitions be kept current and up to date, under the "other institution" code in the "missing from" category, a home for unwed mothers is listed as a possible place for someone to be missing from. While this may have been applicable in the 1950s and 1960s it seems a bit out of date in the 2000s. It is important that these definitions are made clearer and more current, as it is necessary to be able to do comprehensive and accurate analyses of the missing persons population. The definitions used by CPIC should also be kept in sync with those used by other countries such as the United States so that the data collected can be used in comparisons to produce more valid and reliable statistics for police and policy makers.

Recommendations

The research that does exist with regards to missing persons has shown that there are problems and inconsistencies with how police respond to missing persons cases. It also demonstrates the need to create standardized procedures and definite categories of missing persons to be able to effectively respond to all types of missing persons

investigations (Henderson & Henderson, 1998; Hirschel & Lab, 1988; Newiss, 1999; Swanton & Wilson, 1989). As many police forces currently have separate operating procedures, continuity is difficult, therefore it is necessary for a consistent set of procedures to be developed that will be adhered to by all agencies handling missing persons cases.

One goal of the new RCMP Missing Persons Centre is to ensure that all police members investigating missing persons complaints do so in a thorough and uniform manner (Sylvia Port, RCMP, pers. comm. 2005). A revision of CPIC definitions and coding practices will be very helpful in achieving this goal. Other issues for policy and practice include:

- A revision of the CPIC system,
- Promoting greater public awareness of the issue of missing persons,
- Increasing the availability of information regarding local and national services for both missing persons and family members,
- Through research gain a better understanding of groups that may be at particular risk and the circumstances that make going missing more likely,
- Provide safe supportive accommodation for youth runaways and adults who leave suddenly to avoid exposure to the streets,
- Provide support for families and access to agencies that provide direct or indirect communication between missing people and family members,
- A coordinated effort by agencies such as the RCMP Missing Persons Centre to provide clear policy direction in the handling of missing persons cases by all police members and other agencies involved in missing persons cases.

These recommendations are made as there is a need to create more public awareness to the problem of missing persons, especially of youth and runaways. The

creation of shelters and safe places for both youth and adults that go missing due to abusive situations is essential. Community agencies that would provide information to both missing persons and families in their time of need are very important, as there are very few places in BC to get help when a loved one goes missing. Further research into all types of missing persons and the reasons they go missing is also a vital step in creating policy that will aid in the recovery of missing persons and to prevent them from going missing in a variety of circumstances.

The United Kingdom and Australian missing persons research studies offered some suggestions as to the creation of new policy governing the handling of missing persons cases.

The UK Recommendations

Handling missing persons cases is an everyday occurrence for police departments, the large number of reports and the fact that many of them are resolved fairly quickly makes working them routine. The problem for police officers in the UK is that a very small number of these cases are more serious and requires an immediate and intensive response. All police agencies need to be able to identify these cases and react in a swift and effective manner (Newiss, 1999). The UK report has shown that there are some problems and inconsistencies with how the UK police respond to missing persons cases in general and demonstrates the need for the police to have procedures in place to deal effectively with these cases. The following recommendations were made:

• The identification of clear paths of responsibility for the handling of missing person reports should be taken in all forces. This should include the specific duties of officers of different ranks, the exchange of cases between shifts and the role of different units involved with missing

persons. Forces may wish to consider nominating an officer or unit to oversee all reports of missing persons.

- Forces should think carefully about how they classify the report of a missing person, and the effect this may have on the police response.
- An accurate record should be maintained of the timing and location of all places searched and personnel involved. Forces may particularly wish to consider the development of expertise in the management, supervision and planning of searches specifically for missing persons.
- Each force should agree to the necessary personnel, timing and terms of reference for the effective review of missing person reports. The inclusion of members of the CID (criminal investigation department) and other appropriate departments is recommended.
- Forces should consider the systems they have in place for recording missing person information. In particular, the possible benefits of an enhanced analysis of patterns of disappearances and the collection of intelligence on previous missing 'episodes' may make the use of information technology an attractive proposition.
- The police response to the report of a missing person should be recorded in a manner, which ensures accountability. Actions, personnel, times, observations, decisions and policy should all be readily available should the enquiry become a more serious investigation.
- The recent review of the procedures for dealing with persons missing from care should be consulted by all forces.
- Procedures to ensure the identification of suspicious missing persons are currently under-developed. The reliance on experience and professional judgement makes it particularly important that inexperienced officers receive the appropriate level of supervision and support (Newiss, 1999:35).

The Australian Recommendations

The following is a list of Australian recommendations for areas that need attention based on the study results and consultations with government agencies and community groups (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

- Information and practical advice to assist families in searching;
- Specialized training in unresolved grief counseling and missing person support needs;
- Training in missing person issues for telephone counseling service providers;
- Promoting understanding of missing person issues among special need support groups;
- Establishment of specialized self-help groups for families of long-term missing persons;
- Strengthened information and referral systems at reporting stage;
- Delays before commencing appropriate actions;
- Regular contact and feedback about progress by police;
- Nationally consistent standards and procedures;
- Access to government information for tracing purposes;
- Cost-effective avenues to resolve legal problems of missing person property and assets;
- Continuing operation of the National Missing Persons Unit;
- Establishment of coordinating committees in each State and Territory;
- Nationally coordinated public awareness and educational strategies;
- Integration of home programs within a structure ensuring continuity and national availability;
- A balanced, positive, and sympathetic media approach;
- Awareness of missing person issues, especially post-location reconciliation, by agencies providing intervention or support services to missing persons or families for wider issues; and
- Research to identify, develop and evaluate effective targeted prevention programs (Henderson & Henderson, 1998:49).

Concluding Remarks

The primary goal of the new RCMP BC Missing Persons Centre is to establish provincial policy in British Columbia to govern the investigation, documentation and tracking of missing persons files and found human remains. This new centre will follow and examine trends in missing persons data using the CPIC system. The objective of this study proposed by the RCMP was to explore the characteristics of those individuals that remain missing in the CPIC system; to evaluate the reasons and circumstances in which people go missing and determine how these trends have changed over the last five decades.

The results indicate specific trends in missing cases from the 1950s to the present. These include jurisdictional shifts in missing persons reports from commercial coastal fishing centres to urban centres; and definite changes in the probable cause of the missing from accidents where the persons is presumed drowned or deceased, to reasons that have become much more diverse, including runaways, kidnappings, parental abductions, violent crimes and cases where the nature of the person going missing is unknown. Other trends remained constant throughout the fifty year time span such as the age group of persons that had the highest probability of going missing.

Developing categories for missing persons is vitally important, as dealing with missing persons cases is an everyday occurrence for police departments and the fact that the majority of them are resolved fairly quickly makes working them routine. Police need to be able to identify these cases and react in a swift and effective manner. The best way to accomplish this is to be able to categorize the case as to its priority level very quickly. By creating a set of uniform categories of the characteristics of missing persons

and the circumstances surrounding the disappearances, police agencies will have a set of criteria in place for recognizing those cases which are more critical and will be able to effectively respond to all types of missing persons cases.

The results of this study may well aid in the development of policies that will provide guidance to assist the RCMP BC Missing Persons Centre in identifying suspicious missing persons who are likely to be the victims of serious crime at an early stage in the investigation. By providing background information it could also assist in the development of a set of procedures that will promote effective case solving strategies. Future research of this type will become an integral part of missing persons investigations in British Columbia and Canada by contributing to the development, implementation and reviewing of the policies for missing persons responses that reflect current issues and best practice.

REFERENCE LIST

- Boudreaux, M., Lord, W. & Dutra, R. 1999. Child Abduction: Age-based analyses of offender, victim, and offence characteristics in 550 cases of alleged child disappearance. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*. 44, 539-553.
- Dalley, M. 2002. Canada's Missing Children 2002 Annual Report. National Missing Children Services. Ottawa: Ontario.
- Dalley, M. 2004. Canada's Missing Children 2004 Annual Report. National Missing Children Services. Ottawa: Ontario
- Department of Justice Canada, Research and Statistics Division. 2001. Gap Analysis of Research Literature on Issues Related to Street-Involved Youth. CS/RESORS Consulting Ltd.
- Department of Justice Canada. 1998. Report and Recommendations in Respect Of Legislation, Policy and Practices Concerning Prostitution-Related Activities. http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/news/nr/1998/part2.html
- Farber, E., Kinast, C., McCord, D. & Falkner, D. 1984. Violence in Families of Adolescent Runaways. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 8. 295-299.
- Feitel, B., Margetson, N., Chamas, J. & Lipman, C. 1992. Psychosocial Background and Emotional Disorders of Homeless and Runaway Youth. *Hospital & Community Psychiatry*. 43(2). 155-159.
- Finkelhor, D., Hotaling, G.T., & Sedlak, A.J. 1992. The Abduction of Children by strangers and non-family members: Estimating the incidence using multiple methods. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7(2), 226-243.
- Hagan, J. & McCarthy, B. 1997. Mean Streets: Youth Crime and Homelessness. Cambridge University Press: USA.
- Henderson, M. & Henderson, P. 1998. Missing People: Issues for The Australian Community. Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence: National Missing Persons Unit. Australia
- Hirschel, D. & Lab, S. 1988. Who is Missing? The Realities of the Missing Persons Problem. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 16, 35-45.
- Hope, T., Keene, J., McShane, R., Fairburn, C., Gedling, K., & Jacoby, R. 2001. Wandering in Dementia: A Longitudinal Study. *International Psychogeriatrics*. 13(2), 137-147.

- Janus, M., Archambault, F., Brown, S. & Welsh, L. 1995. Physical Abuse in Canadian Runaway Adolescents. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 19. 433-447.
- Johnston, J., Sagatum-Edwards, I., Bloomquist, M., & Girdner, L. 2001. Early *Identification of Risk Factors for Parental Abduction*. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, United States Department of Justice, March publication.
- Kaufman, J. & Widom, C. 1999. Childhood Victimization, Running Away, and Delinquency. *Journal of Crime and Delinquency*. 36(4). 347-370.
- Kingree, J.B., Braithwaite, R. & Woodring, T. 2001. Psychosocial and Behavioral Problems in Relation to Recent Experience as a Runaway Among Adolescent Detainees. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. 28(2). 190-205.
- Koester, R. & Stooksbury, D. 1995. Behavioural profile of possible Alzheimer's disease patients in Virginia search and rescue incidents. *Wilderness and Environmental medicine*. 6.
- Lindeman, D., Corby, N., Downing, R., & Sanborn, B. 1991. *Alzheimer's Day Care: A Basic Guide*. Hemisphere Publishing: USA.
- Lucero, M. 2002. Intervention Strategies for exit-seeking wandering behaviour in dementia residents. *American Journal of Alzheimer's Disease and Other Dementias*. 17(5).
- McCormack, A., Janus, M. & Burgess, A. 1986. Runaway Youths and Sexual Victimization: Gender Differences in an Adolescent Runaway Population. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 10. 387-395.
- Milke, D. Wandering Tracks: Environmental Strategies that may work too well. 1992. Shelter & Care of persons with dementia. (Ed) Gloria Gutman. The Gerontology Research Centre. Simon Fraser University: Vancouver, B.C.
- Missing Children Society of Canada. 2005. www.mcsc.ca Accessed May 21, 2005.
- Molnar, B., Shade, S., Kral, A., Booth, R. & Watters, J. 1998. Suicidal Behavior and Sexual/Physical Abuse among Street Youth. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 22(3). 213-222.
- National Missing Persons Helpline. 2004. <u>www.missingpersons.org</u> Accessed September 9, 2004.
- Newiss, G. 1999. Missing presumed...? The Police Response to Missing Persons. Policing and Reducing Crime Unit: Police Research Series. London.
- Port, S. Rapid ID Program Manager, Behavioural Sciences Group, RCMP. BC Police Missing Persons Centre. Personal Communication, 2005.
- Port, S. Rapid ID Program Manager, Behavioural Sciences Group, RCMP. BC Police Missing Persons Centre. Personal Communication, 2004.

- Rohr, M. 1996. Identifying Adolescent Runaways: The Predictive Utility of the Personality Inventory for Children. Adolescence. 31(123). 605-623.
- Solicitor General Canada. 1994. Responding to Violence and Abuse: Phase II of The Runaways and Street Youth Project: General Introduction and Overview. Police Policy and Research Division. No. 1994-10.
- Steidel, S.E. (Ed.). 1994. Missing and Abducted Children: A law enforcement guide to case investigation and program management. Virginia: National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children.
- Stiffman, A. 1989. Physical and Sexual Abuse in Runaway Youths. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 13. 417-426.
- Swanton, B. & Wilson, P. 1989. *Research Brief: Missing Persons*. No. 17, Australian Institute of Criminology. www.aic.gov.au Accessed September 9, 2004.
- Swanton, B. 1988. *Missing Persons*. Australian Institute of Criminology Publishing. Canberra: Australia
- Tedisco, J. & Paludi, M. 1996. Missing Children: A psychological approach to understanding the causes and consequences of stranger and non-stranger abduction of children. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- Tyler, K., Whitbeck, L., Hoyt, D. & Cauce, A. 2004. Risk Factors for Sexual Victimization Among Male and Female Homeless and Runaway Youth. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 19(5). 503-520.
- Victims of Violence. 2005. www.victimsofviolence.on.ca Accessed May 28, 2005.
- Weiler, R., Isenegger, J., Hornick, J., & Paetsch, J. 1993. A police reference manual for cases of child abduction and runaway youth. Solicitor General Canada, Canadian Research Institute for Law and the Family.
- Woodson, R. 1997. Reclaiming Lives of Young People. USA Today. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1272/is_n2628_v126/ai_19782196
- Yates, G., MacKenzie, R., Pennbridge, J. & Cohen, E. 1988. A Risk Profile Comparison of Runaway and Non-Runaway Youth. *American Journal of Public Health*. 78(37). 820-821.

APPENDIX

British Columbia Police Detachments with recorded missing persons cases 1950-2004

DETACHMENT	FREQUENCY
100 MILE HOUSE	3
ABBOTSFORD PD	18
ALERT BAY	28
ALEXIS CREEK	7
ANAHIM LAKE	4
ASHCROFT	2
ATLIN	7
BARRIERE	1
BELLA BELLA	66
BELLA COOLA	15
BLUE RIVER DET	1
BURNABY	42
BURNS LAKE	5
CAMPBELL RIVER	71
CASTLEGAR	6
CHASE	2
CHETWYND	5
CHILLIWACK	80
CLEARWATER	26
CLINTON	1
COQUITLAM	29
COURTENAY	17
COURTENAY OCC	7
CRANBROOK	. 7
CRESTON	8
DAWSON CREEK	4
DEASE LAKE	8
DELTA MUNICIPAL PD	22
E DIV OIS	3
ENDERBY	1
ESQUIMALT PD	2
FORT NELSON	13
FORT ST JAMES	10
FORT ST JOHN	9
FRASER LAKE	6
GABRIOLA	3

GOLD RIVER	29
GOLDEN/FIELD	12
GRAND FORKS	4
GRANISLE	3
HOUSTON	5
HUDSON'S HOPE	2
INVERMERE/RADIUM	2
ISLAND DISTRICT HQ	1
KAMLOOPS CITY	21
KAMLOOPS OCC	1
KAMLOOPS RURAL/FNP DET	3
	4
KASLO	-
KELOWNA	53
KELOWNA OCC	8
KIMBERLEY	5
KITIMAT	16
LADYSMITH	4
LAKE COWICHAN	4
LANGLEY	17
LILLOOET	10
LISIMS/NASS VALLEY DETACH	5
LYTTON	7
MACKENZIE	26
MASSET	13
MCBRIDE	3
MERRITT	3
MISSION	- 12
NAKUSP	7
NANAIMO	35
NELSON	8
NELSON CITY PD	2
NEW DENVER	2
NEW HAZELTON	9
NEW WESTMINSTER PD	19
NORTH COWICHAN DUNCAN	10
NORTH VANCOUVER	43
OAK BAY PD	4
OSOYOOS	3
OUTER GULF ISLANDS	6
PARKSVILLE	16
PEMBERTON	29
	10
PENTICTON	
PORT ALICE	34
PORT ALICE	5
PORT HARDY	41
PORT MCNEILL	6

PORT MOODY PD	7
POWELL RIVER	29
PRINCE GEORGE	62
PRINCE GEORGE OCC	9
PRINCE RUPERT	96
PRINCE RUPERT (NORTH DISTRICT)	10
PRINCETON	3
QUADRA ISLAND	7
QUEEN CHARLOTTE	23
QUESNEL	24
REVELSTOKE	16
RICHMOND	44
RIDGE-MEADOWS	35
SAANICH PD	12
SALMON ARM	6
SALTSPRING (GANGES)	17
SAYWARD	10
SECHELT	33
SHAWNIGAN LAKE	
SICAMOUS	2 5
SIDNEY/NORTH SAANICH	3 17
	17
SMITHERS	
SOOKE	11
SOUTHEAST DISTRICT HQ	2
SOUTHWEST DISTRICT OCC	3
SPARWOOD/ELKFORD	2
SQUAMISH	20
STEWART	18
STL'ATL'IMX TRIBAL PS	2
SUMMERLAND MUNICIPAL	3
SURREY	89
TERRACE	52
TERRACE OCC	3
TOFINO	27
TRAIL	12
TSAY KEH	1
UCLUELET	11
UNIVERSITY	13
VALEMOUNT	10
VANCOUVER PD	292
VANDERHOOF	5
VERNON	20
VICTORIA GIS	2
VICTORIA OCC	3
VICTORIA PD	33
WELLS	6
· · · 	~

WEST COAST MARINE DET	6
WEST VANCOUVER PD	11
WESTERN COMMUNITIES	25
WHISTLER	5
WHITE ROCK	1
WILLIAMSTAKE	19