HALIFAX
REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY

P.O. Box 1749
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3J 3A5 Canada

Item No. 3 ii
Halifax Regional Council
April 29, 2014
Committee of the Whole
May 13, 2014

TO: Members of Halifax Regional Council

SUBMITTED BY: Original Signed
Mike Savage, Mayor

DATE: April 16, 2014

SUBJECT: Mayor and Council Review of Task Force on Violence and Public Safety

ORIGIN

On March 5, 2013, Council adopted a recommendation to "endorse a review of the original Mayor's Task on Violence and Public Safety report and accompanying 'current state' assessment of violence and public safety in the Halifax Regional Municipality."

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

The Halifax Regional Municipality Charter—Act of 2008, Part 1 Section 3 Role of the Mayor
(3) The Mayor may:
(a) monitor the administration and government of the Municipality; and
(b) communicate such information and recommend such measures to the Council as will improve the finances, administration and government of the Municipality.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that Halifax Regional Council:

1) Receive the Mayor and Council Review of Task Force on Violence and Public Safety; and
2) Refer the Mayor and Council Review of Task Force on Violence and Public Safety to Committee of the Whole for discussion on May 13th, 2014

BACKGROUND

On February 17, 2009, Council approved a public safety action plan based on 64 associated recommendations in response to the Mayor's Task Force on Violence and Public Safety. On December 4th, 2012 Council signaled public safety as a continued strategic priority area. On March 5th, 2013, Council adopted a recommendation to review the Task Force recommendations. Public Safety was also a theme that was discussed during the Mayor's Conversation on a Healthy and Liveable Community, held in October, 2013. A review of the Task Force Review recommendations was referenced in the backgrounder to the Council Report on the Mayor's Conversation on a Healthy and Liveable Communities, adopted by Council on January 28th, 2014.

DISCUSSION

The recommendation in this report is to receive the Mayor and Council Review of Task Force on Violence and Public Safety, and to refer the Review to Committee of the Whole. The Review consists of three parts: An overview of the main report, including its recommendations; the main report itself; and supplemental reports, which explore in depth many of main of the themes found in main report.

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Financial implications are to be determined in future reports, based on Council direction.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Over 250 individuals were interviewed in the formation of the Review.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

N/A

ALTERNATIVES

N/A

ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1	The 2014 HRM Roundtable Review: Overview and Recommendations
Attachment 2	The 2014 HRM Roundtable Review Volume 1: The Main Report
Attachment 3	The 2014 HRM Roundtable Review Volume 2: Supplemental Reports

A copy of this report can be obtained online at http://www.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/cagenda.html then choose the appropriate meeting date, or by contacting the Office of the Municipal Clerk at 490-4210, or Fax 490-4208.

Report Prepared by: Joshua Bates – Senior Policy Advisor (Mayor's Office) 490-2454

THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

BY

DON CLAIRMONT

In collaboration with

KIT WATERS

CHRIS MURPHY

VERONA SINGER

STEPHEN KIMBER

DON SPICER

JOHN PEACH

STEPHEN SCHNEIDER

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WHAT WAS DONE

The task assigned by Council to this Roundtable Review was "To review the implementation of the recommendations of the Round Table Report of 2008, and provide a "snapshot" assessment of current levels and manifestations of violent crime in Halifax Regional Municipality as well as corresponding public safety initiatives". Specifically the Review was to:

1. Provide an analysis of local and national data on violence and public safety;
2. Review the work done since 2008 with observations about progress and areas that still need attention. Particular attention will be paid to the core recommendations and their relevance today;
3. Identify any new issues that need attention; and
4. Provide suggestions on how to proceed, including identification of possible strategies and associated partnerships that might improve the current landscape.

In accomplishing those tasks, the basic strategy of this Review has been two-fold, namely (a) to assess the core dimensions of violence and public safety that were highlighted in the 2008 Mayor's Roundtable in terms of the implementation and outcomes of the Roundtable recommendations and key developments since 2008 that have impacted on them; (b) to examine other important dimensions of violence and public safety in HRM that had emerged subsequent to the Roundtable or were not considered at that time. In both cases, up-to-date salient data would be gathered and analysed, an environmental scan of policies and programs undertaken, and extensive interviews would be carried out with a large number of diverse stakeholders and informed persons to determine what the achievements and shortfalls have been and the challenges of new, emerging issues for reducing violence and enhancing public safety in HRM.

The dimensions highlighted in the 2008 six volume Roundtable report, and the focus of much attention in the current Review, include

1. Organizational strategies for the municipal government to play a more significant role in dealing with the roots of violence, victimization and social disorder
2. Violence and public safety issues in the Downtown
3. Housing, Violence and Victimization (Virtually all "Roundtables" carried out in large Canadian cities have highlighted housing issues and their resolution as central to dealing with violence and public safety)
4. The challenges for offender reintegration in HRM
5. Variations in violence, offending and victimization by age, race-ethnicity and vulnerable neighbourhoods / communities

Three major dimensions of violence and public safety concern in HRM that were not highlighted in the 2008 Roundtable but have emerged as very significant in recent years and were examined closely in this Review are

1. Guns, Shootings and the Drug Culture (Homicides and attempted homicides have been a major problem in HRM in recent years)
2. Gendered Violence (the 3 aspects focused on here are Intimate Partner Violence, Sexual Assault and Violence directed at Sex Workers, none of which were discussed at length in the 2008 Roundtable report)
3. The impact of the explosive growth of Social Media on the social construction of violence and public safety in HRM

In addition to analyses of trends in violence and crime in HRM and in comparison to other Canadian CMAs, each of the eight dimensions identified above has been reviewed and has its own data, timeline and specific recommendations; as well, supplementary papers have been contributed in Volume Two by the expert Review collaborators for seven of these dimensions. The dimensions do differ significantly and required different interviews, analyses of different data sets and underlying factors, understanding different types of governmental involvement, and awareness of and discussions with different sets of stakeholders. The specifics are detailed in the introductory paragraphs for most dimensions. There is much overlap as well; for example, housing issues are important in considering violence and public safety for several dimensions, and in all cases there is commonality in a basic recommendation, namely what the implications are for the capacity and strategic intervention by municipality government action.

The scope and depth of the complex task required a robust methodology. Pertinent data were sought from all levels of government; over 250 individuals were interviewed, usually in depth and many on several occasions. Virtually all interviews were in-person with many follow-ups by telephone and / or email; also, there were several group sessions held on special themes. Timelines were created for all dimensions, identifying key policies, programs and specific initiatives that were developed since the Roundtable by various stakeholders – elected HRM representatives, the municipal bureaucracy, the Public Safety Office, the police services, the provincial and federal government, and in both the non-profit and private sectors. It was considered crucial to a fair and evidence-based Review that these efforts were acknowledged and, where possible, assessed for their impact on the different dimensions of violence and public safety. Community leaders in the public housing complexes and vulnerable neighbourhoods were also interviewed but no large public survey was carried out, though the analyses of data from the 2007-2008 three large Roundtable surveys were consulted.

A major strategy utilized was to draw upon the expertise of scholars and policy providers and advocates in the different dimensions identified, and to invite their collaboration as part of the Review team. Most collaborators had in fact been engaged in the earlier Roundtable activity and had headed focus groups and prepared position papers for the dimension on which they were asked to contribute in this Review. Their contribution has been enormous. There was close collaboration between the principal investigator and each “Lead”, in most cases reflected in terms of developing strategic outlines, preparing interview guides, co-interviewing and sharing individual interviews (roughly half the interviews were carried out by the collaborators and half by the principal investigator), accessing data and discussing recommendations. The principal investigator wrote Volume One and the collaborators’ authored their own papers found in Volume Two but the cross-collaboration was crucial in all respects.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the 2006-2008 Roundtable there were several major incidents that set the agenda, namely the killing of an American sailor in the Downtown and the random swarmings, exemplified by an older woman being beaten and robbed by a group of young girls in the area of the Halifax Commons. While conventional issues such as Downtown violence and swarmings continue to be important signal crimes (i.e., crimes that effect significant public concern), their number and impact have diminished and, over the past few years, targeted shootings, bullying, gendered violence especially sexual assaults, and the explosive impact of social media in mobilizing attention and calls for response by elected leaders and authorities have dominated. These issues have also shaped the focus of this Review and how it has approached violence and public safety in HRM.

As noted in the 2008 Roundtable Main Volume Report, there were two key premises underlining the Roundtable, namely that (a) there is a real problem of violence and public safety in HRM, reflected in the police and justice data and in public opinion; and (b) municipal government and community initiatives can effect positive changes to the problem. What are the premises in this Review? There are three, namely that (a) for a variety of reasons (demographic, police activity, private security and related technology), there has been a significant and seemingly permanent decline in the types of violence and public safety concerns highlighted in that Roundtable Report (robbery, swarming, and gangs as well as most kinds of property crime). That does not mean that such violence is not still on the police or public radar but that their diminution is real and substantial and their decline evidenced in police stats, GSS victimization data, and public surveys; (b) gendered violence has been more resistant to such change and indeed appears to have been enhanced at points due to technological and societal changes and this in turn has resulted in a different character of violence and a wider net of offenders and victims; (c) much has been accomplished in effecting public security and developing salient governmental policy at all three orders of government but more is required; there is much more that can be done especially at the municipal level either because recommended changes were not implemented to best effect or because new

recommendations can be more effective in responding to the changing violence and public safety milieu.

OVERALL CRIME PATTERNS SINCE THE ROUNDTABLE

Overall, crime, including violent crime, has been on the decline in HRM as it has been in Canada as a whole and throughout Western societies. Three factors have been generally accepted as causing this trend (see for example, "The curious case of the fall in crime", The Economist, July 20, 2013), namely the aging of the population, improvement in policing (e.g., ComStat techniques involving the mapping of "hot spots" and development of accountable strategies include the deployment of officers) and enhanced security measures throughout society (e.g., CCTV). These three factors blend especially well with respect to their major impact for property crimes, so much so that some senior police officials have argued that in HRM "we have crushed crime and can now do more on the prevention side and get ahead of crime". Some violent crimes such as robbery and general assaults do seem readily amenable to this circumstance but others such as sexual assaults and homicide / attempted homicide appear to be more resistant to that general trend and to demand more in the way of understanding their impetus and advancing more strategic interventions.

The overall decline in violence and crime generally in the past five years has been emphasized by HRM elected officials; about two-thirds in their interviews agreed with the common police view that there has been a significant decline, with the remainder contending that there has been little change – no one suggested that the violence and public safety has worsened. It can be noted too that public surveys in HRM has shown a very positive assessment of the situation by the public over the past five years. So, in the case of HRM, significant progress has been achieved in dealing with violence and enhancing public security but the war has not yet been won. The factors that were identified in the 2008 Roundtable Report as conducive to violence – a comparatively high proportion of young adult males, a culture of alcohol misuse and a tradition of violence - are still extant. There is still a high level of violence and in particular there is

the challenge of responding effectively to sexual violence and to homicide / attempted homicide. Both these latter concerns will be expanded upon below. Clearly the societal anti-crime policies and programming and the policing strategies in play have had a positive impact on crime and need to be maintained but with some tweaking (e.g., more utilization of the Crime Free Multiple Housing approach, maintaining police presence in the Downtown) but new thinking and new recommendations need to be developed to deal with the violence crimes more resistant to existing strategies and with regard to the areas and persons associated with the highest levels of crime and victimization.

GUNS, SHOOTING AND THE DRUG CULTURE

Rates of homicide and attempted homicide have increased since the Roundtable report and HRM ranks well above the Canadian average for CMAs in these regards. Special data analysed for this Review clearly locate the causal factors in the drug milieu and the subculture that has developed there with respect to guns and shooting. There is no question that the problems of serious violence largely embedded in the drug milieu are very significant; at the same time there are a number of major initiatives underway which hold some prospect of getting at the root factors. These developments, discussed in the Volume One, are targeted appropriately and have considerable community support as well as buy-in from the criminal justice system (especially the two police services where their espousal of a social development approach seems well reflected in their support for the initiatives). If such initiatives were not in place and ready for implementation they or similar policy thrusts would have been recommended here, but they are, so the key concern is to ensure those projects are integrated into HRM policy strategy and to focus on other recommendations that complement them. The implications for recommendations for this Review are four-fold:

1. The main challenge for HRM government will be its capacity to learn about and develop empirically-based effective policies and programs from these larger extant projects, projects that are essentially one-time, federally funded. Accessing information about the processes and outcomes, meaningfully incorporating it in HRM strategic planning, comparing it with the experience of other municipalities and prioritizing its resources and advocacy accordingly, requires a capacity that does not exist at the moment.

That need is a prime consideration in the Review's recommendations concerning the Public Safety Office, the Office of the Manager of African Nova Scotian Affairs and a more strategically active municipal involvement in areas that pertain to the roots of violence and public concern for safety.

2. It is also recommended that HRM government support the continuation, and expansion to North Dartmouth, of the Uptown Drug Intervention initiative. Some resources will have to be committed to this endeavour to provide for agency participation, modest outreach activity and appropriate evaluation.

3. As noted above, the Ceasefire approach has advanced a stick and carrot model of effecting the desired change. It is important to determine what sticks or punishments can be effective and how enforcement strategies and alternative processes and outcomes in initiatives such as Ceasefire can be mutually reinforcing. For example, are the existing legislated penalties for using guns appropriate? Are they in fact operative (successfully prosecuted, accepted by the judiciary)? How is enforcement impacted by these alternative programs? It is recommended that there be a summit along the lines noted above by the spokesperson for the HRP Association – CJS role players, provincial and HRM representatives - to consider these enforcement issues.

4. The demand for heavy drugs especially fuels the illicit drug trade and the existing projects and above recommendations do not directly deal with that demand. The low level drug dealers they target – the runners if you will – typically are not addicted though reportedly many are frequent users of "soft drugs" such as marijuana and hash. One common policy to deal with this demand has been establishing a Drug Treatment Court (DTC) restricted to addicted offenders and emphasizing treatment rather than incarceration. There are such DTCs in large number in the United States (some 2000) and ten in Canadian municipalities across Canada (all five of the largest municipalities in Ontario have a DTC), some federally funded and some operating largely on a municipal shoestring. In HRM the Mental Health Court now has a drug treatment program for its addicted mentally ill clients so there is a precedent here for a therapeutic jurisprudence approach. It is recommended that HRM call on the provincial government to establish such a court here and collaborate with the provincial and federal governments in that regard.

GENDERED VIOLENCE

Three areas of gendered violence were examined, namely intimate partner violence (domestic violence), sexual assault, and violence directed against sex workers. The data,

both police-reported and self-reported, indicate a significant if modest decline in intimate partner violence but the decline is nowhere near what has happened in conventional violence and property crime. The evidence seems clear, from a meta-study of alternative courts in other Canadian locations and from the Cape Breton experience to date, that a more effective approach to reducing intimate partner violence would be a special Domestic Violence court with specialized judges and crown prosecutors that combined tough sentencing with compulsory treatment for offenders. Courts like the one in Cape Breton usually begin with low-end cases of violence and expand to more serious incidents as the court gains experience and credibility, and as it does, there would be a place for restorative justice programming for the more minor incidents.

It is recommended that

1. The municipal government advocate for such a court in HRM and do so in collaboration with agencies currently providing important services to victims of domestic violence in order to appreciate concerns they may have.
2. Singer, in Volume Two, elaborates on these latter issues and advances a number of additionally useful recommendations in her attached paper, especially in the area of safe, affordable, transitional housing for victims of intimate partner violence, and buttressing the existing programs for responding to intimate partner violence (e.g., funding, training, inter-agency collaboration etc) so that they achieve their objectives more fully.

The evidence indicates that sexual assaults have been quite resistant to the changes that have impacted on other violence and public safety concerns. Given the under-reporting and attrition at each step in Justice's case processing, and the evident resistance to the factors effecting downward trends in other types of violence, one has to consider whether police and crown resources are adequate and whether the criminal justice system can do more to respond to sexual assaults. This is complex given that there have been specialized roles put in place at both police and crown levels under the conventional case processing system. Singer advances some useful suggestions for consideration of enhancements in these regards. One area where the Justice system clearly can be improved is in providing more services to victims since currently there is little collaboration between federal and provincial authorities subsequent to the court

resolution of the case and this is to the detriment of victims' dealing with the long-term harm caused by their being assaulted.

Beyond the Law and the Justice system, getting at the roots of sexual assaults would seem to require changing the culture of alcohol consumption (a key immediate cause of sexual assault) and changing the deep cultural supports for sexual violence. Sexual assault is increasingly seen as a cultural problem and requires activism, education and accountability among both males and females, albeit more an empowerment with females and accountability with males; as one letter to the editor in the Globe and Mail put it recently, what is needed is a resurgence of activism more than tinkering with the law". The general approval for the Public Safety Office's Don't Be That Guy campaign in 2012 speaks to the latter point.

Two general recommendations are advanced here and more detailed suggestions are offered in Singer's attached paper:

1. Clearly the municipal government has a responsibility to do more with respect to both the alcohol issue and the cultural roots of sexual assault. The municipality, perhaps through the recommended relocated public safety office, minimally should be engaged with the on-going Provincial Strategy on Sexual Violence.
2. Given the impact of social media and proliferation of socials network systems, more policy-oriented research on sexual knowledge, values and behaviours among HRM youth will be crucial.

Documented change in the police approach to sex workers - less arrests especially in the "survivalist", street-level sex work - is indicative of the major changes that have been emerging in Canada concerning how society and the justice system (e.g., the recent SCC decisions) view sex work, changes that will likely become the basis for radical policy innovations where the municipal level of government will have to be much engaged. The basis of effective policy is good reliable data on the different dimensions of the matter at hand. That information is currently unavailable for sex work in HRM and needs to be gathered quickly. There are many alternative approaches to the legal organization of sex work; one in high favour currently is the Nordic model which criminalizes the buyers of sex work and not the sellers who are seen basically as victims. An alternative

approach could be the New Zealand model which removes any criminal sanction from the buying and selling of sex (of course criminal law would still apply to human trafficking and to the exploitation of youth) and downloads to the municipality a primary role in the regulation of sex work (e.g., health and safety standards, zoning regulations).

Two general recommendations are advanced here, namely:

1. It will be crucial for HRM to have the capacity to discuss and strategize, concerning the implications of the federal response to the SCC decisions, with its partners both governmental and others. This is especially so since there are many issues such as zoning, housing regulations, and perhaps escort services licensing, that are squarely within even a more narrowly perceived municipal mandate.
2. Clearly, too, the challenge underlines that the required research and deliberations go well beyond a conventional policing role while nevertheless centered on public safety concerns, so a relocated public safety office can meaningfully contribute to that capacity in HRM.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

There is evidence that some progress was made in responding to the 2008 Roundtable recommendations concerning how HRM and its police services could properly engage public perceptions of violence and public safety; however the Roundtable report in 2008 scarcely mentioned social media which have experienced seismic growth over the past decade and produced considerable challenges – as well as great benefits - for society and the justice system. These are explored in both volumes of this Review. HRM's Public Safety Office has limited resources at HRP for its social media thrusts and, being located in the police service, cannot draw on resources of the pertinent HRM bureaucracy. Of course as several elected HRM officials reported, social media can facilitate an incident going viral with attendant pressures on politicians to do something even when there is a dearth of data or what the politicians called a political vacuum; one senior elected official elaborated on that view commenting, "Policy then gets made on the fly since politicians hate a political vacuum".

The recommendations of the Review, consistent with those offered by Kimber in the attached Volume Two, are

1. More investment has to be made in achieving capacity in social media in HRP's Public Affairs and PSO (if it remains where it is presently located) and in front-line policing as has been clearly demonstrated in the text for the school response officers.
2. The experience of the PSO from this social construction perspective clearly highlights the problems of it being located in one police service, charged with multiple responsibilities there but provided with meagre resources and unable to link up effectively with the resources and sophistication of the municipal bureaucracy exemplified in the latter's social marketing initiatives; it is recommended that the PSO be relocated as suggested in the earlier Roundtable report and as highlighted in the section of the Review dealing with organizational changes.
3. Responding effectively to the challenges of social media and garnering net benefit from it, requires more than an enforcement agenda; there are cultural issues to be dealt with, questions such as the advisability of what limitations on anonymity are socially acceptable, and a host of other important policy issues which impact on public safety (e.g., much of the damage of internet posts is done via anonymous "piling-on" comments or images). These are properly matters for the municipal government to consider.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES AT THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

The priority recommendations of the 2008 Roundtable report dealt with this dimension and it was a key focus of this Review, entailing not only a large number of interviews and the examination of many documents but also a telephone survey of municipal governments across Canada conducted by Professor Waters. As in the 2008 Roundtable report, three aspects were emphasized, namely (a) establishing a public safety office, (b) a special municipal government arrangement to respond to race-ethnic variations in vulnerability, offending and victimization, and (c) the role, mandate and possibilities of HRM taking on a greater presence in getting at the roots of violence and public safety concerns. Overall, the evidence established that until 2012 the response to the earlier recommendations was quite inadequate and fell short of what other progressive municipalities in Canada are doing to reduce violence and enhance public safety.

A very strong consensus among the diverse stakeholders interviewed in the Review was that the Public Safety Office (PSO) was not located properly and it would have been much more effective if it had been positioned within the municipal bureaucracy as recommended in 2008. In her cross-jurisdictional research of such mechanisms in large Canadian urban areas Waters found that HRM was unique in having its PSO positioned within the municipal police service. The usual pattern was to link the PSO with overall municipal oversight, namely the CAO or an equivalent. Partnership with the police service was always considered to be critically important but, for the most part, it was to achieve an arms-length relationship with policing that led to PSOs being established in the first place. The very few respondents among elected officials and police officers who spoke in favour of the current positional context for the PSO contended that a move away from direct police administration could result in the politicization of the PSO but they usually added that if it remained with HRP, there would have to be some change in the way the Police Board provides oversight to it.

In the fall of 2012 the African Nova Scotia Affairs Integration Office (ANSAIO) became operational; a manager was hired and the Office was located within the Government Relations and External Affairs Division of HRM. The manager has been consulting with the African Nova Scotia community and other units within the HRM bureaucracy during 2013, developing priorities and functions for the ANSAIO. As has been indicated in several sections of this Review the over-representation of African Nova Scotians, whether as victims or offenders of violence and public safety concerns at the individual and community levels, remains as significant as reported in the 2008 Roundtable. In addition to the supportive statistical data, interviews with HRM elected officials and several leaders in the HRM African Nova Scotian community have generally expressed a similar position, namely that reducing the overrepresentation in violence and enhancing public safety should be a priority while acknowledging the broader mandate of the ANSAIO in the HRM Africville Agreement. Among the elected officials there have been four central themes concerning the ANSAIO, namely (a) it is a work in progress; (b) its core functions need clarification; (c) there should be priority given to reducing the over-

representation as victims and offenders; (d) there should be a strong link and collaborative relationship with the PSO.

A large majority of the elected officials interviewed for this Review contended that the municipal government has to and can play a larger role in getting at the roots of violence and public safety concerns. Indeed there appears to be almost total consensus, with the proviso, strongly emphasized by some councillors, that “do it without being defined as an equal funding partner [with the province]”. As Waters comments, “Concern was expressed by many Councillors regarding the lack of coordination and planning among all levels of government on issues that have a bearing on community safety; such as housing, design of public spaces, recreation, and programs for youth. Councillors noted that the Municipality must be a 'player' in the development of a strategy to address community safety issues, but the challenge is to avoid being defined as an equal funding partner for specific issues outside the mandate of the Municipality and for which it has no resources”.

There is a strongly-held conviction then among the elected officials that HRM has to become more engaged in partnerships with the other levels of government and the private and non-profit sectors in order to deal with the causes and roots of violence and public safety which in addition to their intrinsic value may also be crucial for a continuing strong economy and a vibrant culture in HRM. There was a common concern about the lack of coordination and planning among all levels of government regarding issues that have a significant bearing on public safety. There appears to be much agreement with the reported comments of the Mayor (Metro September 10, 2013) “The municipality has to be at the provincial table … greater involvement in policy making and strategic planning in the next four years is a concern that “overarches” other priorities [that he discussed with the leaders of the political parties during the provincial election campaign].

The following recommendations are quite consistent with those advanced in 2008 and also congruent with those suggested by Waters in her paper in Volume Two of this Review:

1. HRM Municipality should play a greater role in dealing with the causes and roots of violence and public safety along three dimensions – vision and leadership, capacity building in the administration, and partnering and collaborating with the other orders of government, the private sector and the non-profit societies.
2. The public safety office should be moved from its current location within the HRPS to the HRM municipal bureaucracy, linked with the Executive Standing Committee of Regional Council (for policy and strategy direction), and operationally responsible to the CAO. The priorities for the PSO should reflect in part the substantive recommendations of the Review and focus on strategic analyses and municipal collaboration as specified above. The PSO should be appropriately staffed with sufficient capacity to realize these objectives, See Waters' elaboration of the specific objectives that should be assigned to the PSO (Waters, p 27).
3. The office of the manager of the ANSAIO should remain where it currently is with defined functions and a priority to respond to the continuing over-representation of Blacks as offenders and victims in collaboration with the relocated PSO. The delineated responsibilities of the position should facilitate working with the other HRM business units, annually reporting to council through a standing committee and having a significant presence in the HRM bureaucracy perhaps in liaison with an HRM African Nova Scotian Senior Staff Round Table meeting quarterly or an equivalent mechanism. An advisory committee should be considered only in relation to specific policy thrusts. The location and functions of the ANSAIO position should be reviewed after three years.

THE DOWNTOWN

The Downtown was a central focus of the Roundtable. The 2008 report advanced a number of recommendations and most of these were acted upon. That circumstance, along with other initiatives and changing socio-economic conditions, have led to a very significant amelioration of violence and public safety concerns in the Downtown area, the caveat being that much of that significant improvement has occurred only in the past two years, 2012 and 2013. The several recommendations that are advanced here are intended as supplements or complements, not replacements, to the policies and actions discussed in the Timeline analyses where significant changes since 2008 in policing, rules, and inspection procedures for the bars, and collaboration among key

stakeholders, are noted and assessed for their impact. The recommendations are congruent with the more elaborated recommendations advanced by Professor Murphy in his paper in Volume Two which should be taken into consideration. There are 5 recommendations:

1. The transportation issues pertinent to the Downtown late night entertainment scene should be examined and resolved, preferably by the municipality engaging an authoritative external consultant.
2. The municipality should become much more engaged with the appropriate provincial authorities (e.g., Public Health, the Provincial Alcohol Strategy, Alcohol and Gaming), private sector interests (e.g., RANS, Downtown Business Association) and community services and organizations in developing strategies, policies and programs to reduce the level of alcohol abuse in general and in the Downtown Entertainment scene in particular.
3. A holistic examination of the closure hours for liquor serving establishments in the Downtown should be undertaken, focusing on costs and benefits and the effectiveness and feasibility of alternative strategies for reducing violence and social disorder in the area.
4. Given the crucial social and economic importance of the Downtown, there should be a committee established which brings together representatives of the key stakeholders pertinent to matters of violence and public safety in a broad sense.
5. It is important to have the PSO located within the municipal bureaucracy in order to draw upon the municipality's expertise and resources more fully and coordinate a public safety Downtown committee, especially bringing to it information about kindred developments and best practices elsewhere.

HOUSING, VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

The statistical evidence and the general assessments provided by key stakeholders indicate that since 2008 there have been significant improvements with respect to homelessness in HRM. These positive changes have yielded more housing options, much improved services for the homeless, and a commitment by all three orders of government to resolve the problem of homelessness. Still, the challenges remain, especially in responding to the plight of what in the text are described as level three homeless persons, who frequently are reluctant to avail themselves of the shelters and

the extant expanded programming. There are a number of recommendations that should be advanced here, based on two chief premises, namely (a) HRM definitely has a role to play; as the director of the United Way Halifax reportedly stated, "The federal government has the money, the provincial government has the mandate, but the city has the problem", a viewpoint that has been accepted by the majority of the HRM elected officials; and (b) while a more expansive thrust towards affordability and mixed-use developments is important, more holistic policy and investment in services for the level three homeless people remains the key priority in housing from a public safety perspective. The recommendations advanced here are congruent with those that bear on housing in the other dimensions of the Review, most especially Offender Reintegration, and are consistent with those advanced by Spicer in his paper in Volume Two which should be consulted. The key recommendations are:

1. The municipal government should follow up on its recent commitment to partner with the governmental, non-profit and private sector bodies in responding to issues related to homelessness by doing more within its mandate and resources (e.g., regulating sub-standard housing, enforcing by-laws) and effectively taking on an advocacy role beyond it in matters such as the level and kind of rent subsidies by the NS Department of Community Services).
2. The municipal government should advocate with its provincial and federal partners for wrap-around services and intensive counselling with hard-core, chronic homeless persons.
3. The municipal government should take a page from other municipalities inside and outside Canada to maintain and expand its housing stock and, as suggested recently in a brief to council by Grant Wanzel, consider the Community Land Trust approach to a land banking strategy.
4. The municipal government should encourage mixed use / mixed affordability in new developments and facilitate it through various incentives (e.g., tax incentives and density bonus options).

OFFENDER REINTEGRATION, VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

The Review data and analyses for this dimension found high levels of re-incarceration among federal and provincial inmates, and minimal programming at the provincial adult facility. Also, the assessments of informed stakeholders, as in 2008, was that HRM for a

variety of reasons receives more released inmates than it sends to these facilities. Enforcement strategies to deal with violations of parole or probation and any re-offending appear to be well in place. Clearly the municipality has an important stake in effective offender reintegration as well as enforcement. Overall, there appears to be an imbalance as comparatively little attention has focused on programming in the CNSCF adult facility or linking up with community resources to facilitate reintegration upon release. Arguments justifying limited internal programming based on considerations such as the remand factor or the short sentences fail the equity test since in both federal and provincial institutions there has been extensive focus on rehabilitation within, and reintegrative linkages to the community, for female inmates. There is also clearly a need to reduce the isolation of the Correctional facilities where possible by projects and programs that establish bridges for reintegration. New York City has recently been celebrated for its dramatic gains in reducing both crime and incarceration by emphasizing such balance where the innovation has largely been matching defendants with community-based services and supervision. Directing more focus on the rehabilitation and reintegration for the adult offender is not an easy sell to the public and there is no adult equivalent to the YCJA legislation which can push the agenda and advocate for adult offenders but it is important in order to reduce violence and enhance public safety. Nevertheless, as noted in the discussion of Timeline events in the text, recent years have witnessed a number of policies and actions that suggest that the timing is right for a concerted effort at change.

The following are the key recommendations advanced for this dimension. They are congruent with those emphasized by Peach et al in their paper in Volume Two though not as exhaustive and without the specificity of required actions that they highlight, so their recommendations should be additionally consulted.

1. There needs to be a better balance between the enforcement and offender reintegration dimensions of responding to offenders who cause violence and concerns for public safety. That balance can be achieved by emphasizing more rehabilitative programming within the institutions (especially adult facilities), more linkages to community-based services and programs, and

more exit planning for incarcerated offenders. The province and the municipality should be partners in realizing that balance and work as much as possible with community services and organizations to do so.

2. The emphasis should be on the adult provincial jail within HRM namely the CNSCF where extant programs are very limited – essentially, as detailed in the Timeline, four programs namely AA, NA, WOOF and the educational program GED. The arguments of balance and equity require change and that, in turn, requires provincial action and municipal advocacy.
3. As in the 2008 Roundtable, and for the same reasons, it is recommended that the "Housing First" approach be put in place and that, as in the federal institutions, pre-exit planning should include contact with community resources such as Shelter Nova Scotia.
4. Employment is second to housing but crucial for long-run successful reintegration as indicated in the literature on that subject. Employment readiness programs and social enterprises (e.g., HRM's Youth Live where youth is defined to include young adults) are keys to employment and should be encouraged.
5. Persons addicted to drugs are typically multiple repeat offenders, and, in the USA and in the larger CMAs in Canada, drug treatment courts have emerged to reduce crime and re-direct the addicts. In HRM the Mental Health Court has recently added a drug treatment program for its mentally ill clients. Modestly successful DTCs can accomplish both these objectives and as in the 2008 Roundtable it is recommended that HRM call on the province to establish such a DTC in HRM
6. Community agencies and organizations in HRM which are engaged in offender reintegration whether as providing cultural linkages (e.g., Black mentorship), support services (e.g., the Navigator program of the SGRBA) or motivational strategies (e.g., 7th Step) should be facilitated by the provincial and municipal governments.

VARIATIONS IN VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

In this section, there is brief examination of three dimensions of violence and victimization focusing on (a) youth; (b) race/ethnicity and (c) neighbourhoods. As noted in the 2008 Roundtable report, they are closely inter-related as troubled youths and serious youth crime do vary significantly by race-ethnic differentials and both these are empirically correlated with neighbourhood variations in violence and victimization. Linked, they generate significant vulnerability for specific groupings of people and raise the challenge of equity for social policy.

YOUTH

Overall, the data show that violence offences among youths in HRM, unlike in the case of their adult counterparts, have not exhibited a downward trend in their numbers or their rates per 10,000 since 2008. The data also indicate that HRP charges for distinct individuals have risen in number and percentage for youths over the period 2006 to 2012 while for adults there has been no consistent trend though generally the percentages for distinct individual adults charged have declined from the earlier years. Data from both HRP and RCMP charges indicate that multiple offenders have been more common among youth than among adults. While one has to be careful in drawing implications from these analyses it seems fair to say that youth crime, and particularly violent crime, has not declined since the Roundtable and that it may increasingly be caused by a small number of young offenders.

There are a number of recent developments discussed in the Volume One text that may be valuable in dealing with these issues of youth crime and reducing both offending and victimization among youth. Perhaps most salient may be the increased commitment of the HRM police services to advocate and participate in a more holistic, multi-service collaboration with other services and organizations in dealing with youth at high-risk. The RCMP has launched its version of the HUB program and the HRP is advancing its Full Service Policing model, both of which appear to be similar in objectives and processes and to reflect a social development approach to policing which the police services in 2008 declared to be a key dimension of their strategic approach to policing. There are other similar intervention models such as Neighbourhood Integrated Service Team (NIST) which more explicitly also focuses on the neighbourhood and has outreach workers attached to the specific NIST.

These recent developments suggest two general recommendations that are congruent with the more elaborate assessment provided by Schneider's paper in Volume Two which should be consulted. These two recommendations are:

1. The municipality requires greater capacity – presumably in part via a relocated, adequately resourced PSO - to keep abreast of the various initiatives, secure and assess information on their processes and outcomes and play an appropriate role with the provincial and federal governments and other partners in the determination of subsequent steps in crime prevention, enforcement and societal reintegration of young offenders.
2. A second recommendation is that the interventionist model adopted to respond to serious youth offending, acknowledge the complexity and requirement for a collaborative strategic approach and, in that respect, examine best practices associated with established interventions such as HUB, NIST and CURE VIOLENCE. In his companion paper Professor Schneider advances more elaborate and specific recommendations and these should be consulted.

RACE-ETHNICITY

In the case of race / ethnicity, the variable of most interest is the Black – White distinction. The Aboriginal population is small in HRM (the status Indian population was less than 1000 in 2011 as cited in the text) as there are no First Nation settlements of significant population size here. The Aboriginal population in HRM is also quite diverse and not concentrated residentially (Clairmont and McMillan, 2006). The "Other Visible Minority" population is strongly linked to immigrant groupings and is growing but research by Clairmont and Kim in 2010 indicated that there was little criminal justice involvement among them.

There was much emphasis on variation in victimization and offending by race / ethnicity in the 2008 Roundtable report. It was deemed important to highlight not only the statistics on offending but also the victimization that occurs to Black families and communities directly as victims of crime and at risk of violence but also indirectly when family members get assaulted or come under the control of the criminal justice system. It was also crucial to recognize that the multiple repeat, serious offenders constitute a small percentage of HRM's African Nova Scotian population and that there appears to be an increasing divide as in the United States between "inner city" Blacks often living in the "projects" or equally vulnerable low-rent private complexes, and the large majority

of the Black population who reside in middle-class milieus and stable, attractive communities.

Overall, the data presented in this Review indicate that Blacks were over-represented in charges in HRM, both RCMP and HRP jurisdiction, in both remand and sentenced incarceration status at CNSCF, in CSC's five Atlantic Provinces' prisons and its community control program in Nova Scotia and HRM, and in the provincial youth jail at Waterville. The over-representation exceeded the basic demographic standard minimally by a factor of 4, and was significantly greater than for those of Aboriginal descent. There was no indication at any of these points in the criminal justice system of a declining trend in Black over-representation since the 2008 Roundtable report.

The over-representation in violent crime of Blacks as offenders and victims has not diminished over the past six years and the gun violence has become more significant, but there have been a number of recent developments that could impact significantly on race- ethnic variations in violence and victimization, such as the 2012 Uptown Drug Project, the staffing of the ANSAIO in 2012, the 2012 opening of an RCMP detachment office in North Preston, and the launching in 2014 of major interventionist projects (i.e., Cure Violence, Souls Strong). It is clearly too early to know how effective these recent developments may be but they are significantly long-term, well-funded, based on intervention models that have well-known track records, and specifically targeting the issues of violence being discussed here. It will be important for the municipal government to keep abreast of their processes and outcomes and incorporate that knowledge into its strategic planning since funding decisions may well have to be made when the federal funding ceases (i.e., as was the case when federal funding for YAP ended).

The chief recommendations here are two-fold since other recommendations made above with respect to serious youth crime and below with respect to neighbourhoods, would also be applicable. The two suggestions for future direction are:

1. The ANSAIO should have as one of its priorities working with the PSO and others (including community leaders and organizations, directors of the

recent developments noted above) to determine measurable objectives for the reduced over-representation of Black youths and young adults as victims and offenders of violence.

2. HRM, principally through the PSO, should be a repository for the information and best practices on reducing violence among marginal minority persons and have a capacity to assess the value of the processes and outcomes of the projects currently underway for subsequent municipal advocacy and possible resource allocation.

VARIATIONS IN VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION BY VULNERABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS

The 2006-2008 Roundtable assessment found that the core urban areas on either side of the Halifax Harbour – specifically North Dartmouth and the Uptown – were where the combination of violent and property crimes as well as drug offences was the most likely to occur in HRM. Both the 2007 StatsCan study and the Roundtable's specially gathered data reported very similar patterns and identified similar correlates such as the high percentage of single parent and poor families in both areas. The updated data gathered for this Review indicate that the current situation shows only a quite modest improvement. The two areas of HRM's urban core are both similar and quite different but both have significant violence and public safety concerns and these not only generate concern and victimization among the residents but also a negative public image in the municipality. There has been some positive, though modest, diminution of offences in the last two years and some effective initiatives such as the Uptown Drug Intervention project, but it is necessary to enhance these interventions and re-commit to the recommendations set out in 2008. The Uptown area has been impacted along those suggested 2008 lines by the Safer, Stronger Communities program and the UDI project but these initiatives have ended. These HRM and HRP initiatives never did extend to North Dartmouth, something which continues to sustain the widespread feeling there – equally held by the HRP officers serving in that area – that North Dartmouth usually gets "the short end of the stick".

Three chief new recommendations from this Review are

1. Continue the successful UDI initiative in the Uptown and extend it to North Dartmouth. The drug problem exists in both areas to a significant degree and generates much violence and victimization. A UDI project ratchets up enforcement while also providing, in collaboration with the mobilized local communities, a social development approach to the roots of the drug problem.
2. The Uptown and North Dartmouth violence and victimization are neighbourhood issues and require more collaborative strategic planning and action than exists at present. It would appear to require something along the lines of the Safer, Stronger Communities collaboration by the provincial and municipal governments in 2009, perhaps drawing upon other successful strategies such as the Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams discussed by Schneider in his paper in Volume Two.
3. HRP's Community Response Team has sponsored a Crime Free Multiple Housing approach in HRM and has had success in certifying an Independent Supportive Housing Complex for Senior Citizens. It would be a good challenge to explore the possibilities for CFMH in the public and private sector multiple unit dwellings in the Uptown and North Dartmouth.

PUBLIC HOUSING: VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

This Review assembled statistical data and interviewed key stakeholders on the vulnerability of Public Housing residents with respect to violence and victimization. These data sources indicate a high level of vulnerability. Public housing complexes in HRM continue to have a generally poor public image and, whether among elected officials or police officers or otherwise, the common view is negative about life in the "projects". With the apparent exception of Bayers–Westwood, there is not only significant public safety concern in the complexes but also the projects' population is concentrated by family ties, family formation type (i.e., single parents) and race-ethnic identity, and most public housing is not a transitional step in housing but reportedly more a final destination. It is a far cry in these respects from the model of affordable housing that integrates the residents with the broader community in mixed-used, mixed- housing types and mixed socio-economic arrangements.

A number of housing advocates and empathetic others suggested that re-appraisals of the policies and objectives of public housing would be timely as the salient policies reportedly have not been changed for decades. There appears to be significant

widespread frustration concerning the absence of bold, future planning. In the latter regard, several informed advocates cited the apparently significant change brought to Toronto's once notorious Regent Park public housing complex. This transformation, now three years running, involved municipal leadership, in collaboration with tenants and community interests, developing a replacement mix-housing complex that provides a good split between fully subsidized and market rates occupancy, allows for homeownership, and a CPTED design. It reportedly has been well-received by the tenants and the wider community.

There is much that can be done and should be done to reduce violence and victimization in these public housing areas. While such initiatives may lie primarily with the provincial government, the municipality, minimally, has a crucial role to play in leadership and advocacy for progressive change. The following three recommendations are advanced here, namely:

1. In HRM, the Bayers-Westwood complex appears to be more successful, aesthetically, with less violence and public safety concerns, and reportedly providing more of a transitional housing arrangement rather than a permanent residence for generations of a family. It would be valuable to determine if this is indeed the case and whether there are strategies that can be transferred to the other complexes.
2. Reinvigorating the tenants associations, and funding them accordingly, can set the stage for more collaborative activities such as CPTED innovations and perhaps the Crime Free Multiple Housing approach.
3. Perhaps, too, HRM leaders and provincial housing officials should explore developments such as the Regent Park transformation which provides a new model for public housing.

THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

VOLUME I: THE MAIN REPORT

BY

DON CLAIRMONT

In collaboration with

KIT WATERS

CHRIS MURPHY

VERONA SINGER

STEPHEN KIMBER

DON SPICER

JOHN PEACH

STEPHEN SCHNEIDER

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As principal investigator I am tremendously indebted to my colleagues who collaborated in this Review. It was a privilege to work with them and a wonderful learning experience since each, taking responsibility as Lead in his or her dimension of the Review, was informed, committed and truly collaborative. Charlene Gagnon was the central research assistant over the extended period of the Review work and she made a significant contribution. Adrienne MacDonald was the other research assistant and she contributed both in the research on several Review themes and in the writing of one of the supplementary papers.

Roundtable Review Acronyms

AHANS – Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia

ANSAIO – African Nova Scotia Affairs Integration Office

BOD – Black-Out Drunk

CAH – Community Action on Homelessness

CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CFMH – Crime Free Multiple Housing

CMA – Census Metropolitan Area

CMP – Community Maintenance Program

CNSCF – Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility

CPTED - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

CRO – Community Response Officers

CSC – Corrections Services Canada

DCS – Department of Community Services

DOJ – Department of Justice

DTC – Drug Treatment Court

DV – Domestic Violence

GSS – General Social Survey

HCJS – Halifax Community Justice Society

HHH – Halifax Housing Help

HPS – Homelessness Partnering Strategy

HRM – Halifax Regional Municipality

HRP – Halifax Regional Police

HRPS – Halifax Regional Police Service

HSW – Housing Support Worker

HYAC - Halifax Youth Attendance Centre

IPV – Intimate Partner Violence

ISH – Independent Supportive Housing

JEIN - Justice Enterprise Information Network

JHS – John Howard Society

LBGTO – Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Transvestite, Other

LCA – Liquor Control Act

LEU – Liquor Enforcement Unit

MLSN - Mi'kmaq Legal Support Network

MNPHA – Metro Non-Profit Housing Association

MOSH – Mobile Outreach Street Health

MPD – Municipal Police Department

MVA – Motor Vehicle Act

NCPC – National Crime Prevention Centre in the federal Department of Public Safety

NIST – Neighbourhood Integrated Service Team

NSRJ – Nova Scotia restorative Justice

NSYF – Nova Scotia Youth Facility

PSO – Public Safety Office

RANS – Restaurant Association of Nova Scotia

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police

RJ – Restorative Justice

SAP – Strategic Action Plan

SCC – Supreme Court of Canada

SGRBA – Spring Garden Road Business Association

SIRT – Serious Incident Response Team

SNS – Social Networking Site

SoW – Status of Women

SOT – Summary Offence Ticket

UCR – Uniform Crime-Reporting

UDI – Uptown Drug Intervention

UDIP – Uptown Drug Intervention Program

WOOF - Working on Our Future

YAO – Youth Advocate Program

YCJA – Youth Criminal Justice Act

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The task assigned by Council to this Roundtable Review was "To review the implementation of the recommendations of the Round Table Report of 2008, and provide a "snapshot" assessment of current levels and manifestations of violent crime in Halifax Regional Municipality as well as corresponding public safety initiatives". Specifically the Review was to:

1. Provide an analysis of local and national data on violence and public safety;
2. Review the work done since 2008 with observations about progress and areas that still need attention. Particular attention will be paid to the core recommendations and their relevance today;
3. Identify any new issues that need attention; and
4. Provide suggestions on how to proceed, including identification of possible strategies and associated partnerships that might improve the current landscape.

In accomplishing those tasks, the basic strategy of this Review has been two-fold namely (a) to assess the core dimensions of violence and public safety that were highlighted in the 2008 Mayor's Roundtable in terms of the implementation and outcomes of the Roundtable recommendations and key developments since 2008 that have impacted on them; (b) to examine other important dimensions of violence and public safety in HRM that had emerged subsequent to the Roundtable or were not considered at that time. In both cases, up-to-date salient data would be gathered and analysed, an environmental scan of policies and programs undertaken, and extensive interviews would be carried out with a large number of diverse stakeholders and informed persons to determine what the achievements and shortfalls have been and the challenges of new, emerging issues for reducing violence and enhancing public safety in HRM.

The dimensions highlighted in the 2008 six volume Roundtable report, and the focus of much attention in the current Review, include

1. Organizational strategies for the municipal government to play a more significant role in dealing with the roots of violence, victimization and social disorder
2. Violence and public safety issues in the Downtown
3. Housing, Violence and Victimization (Virtually all "Roundtables" carried out in large Canadian cities have highlighted housing issues and their resolution as central to dealing with violence and public safety)

4. The challenges for offender reintegration in HRM
5. Variations in violence, offending and victimization by age, race-ethnicity and vulnerable neighbourhoods / communities

Three dimensions of violence and public safety concern in HRM that were not highlighted in the 2008 Roundtable but have emerged as very significant in recent years and were examined closely in this Review are

- Guns, Shootings and the Drug Culture (Homicides and attempted homicides have been a major problem in HRM in recent years)
- Gendered Violence (the 3 aspects focused on here are Intimate Partner Violence, Sexual Assault and Violence directed at Sex Workers, none of which were discussed in the 2008 Roundtable report)
- The impact of the explosive growth of Social Media on the social construction of violence and public safety in HRM

In addition to analyses of trends in violence and crime in HRM and in comparison to other Canadian CMAs, each of the dimensions identified above has been reviewed and has its own data, timeline and specific recommendations; as well, supplementary papers have been contributed in Volume Two by the expert Review collaborators for seven of these dimensions. The dimensions do differ significantly and required different interviews, analyses of different data sets and underlying factors, understanding different types of governmental involvement, and awareness of and discussions with different sets of stakeholders. The specifics are detailed in the introductory paragraphs for most dimensions. There is much overlap as well; for example, housing issues are important in considering violence and public safety for several dimensions, and in all cases there is commonality in a basic recommendation, namely what the implications are for the capacity and strategic intervention by municipality government action.

The scope and depth of the complex task required a robust methodology. Pertinent data were sought from all levels of government; over 250 individuals were interviewed, some on several occasions, and usually in some depth. Timelines were created for all dimensions, identifying key policies, programs and specific initiatives that were developed since the Roundtable by various stakeholders – the municipal bureaucracy, the Public Safety Office, the police services, the provincial and federal government, and in both the non-profit and private sectors. It was considered crucial to a fair and evidence-based Review that these efforts were acknowledged and, where possible, assessed for their impact on the different dimensions of violence and public safety.

A major strategy utilized was to draw upon the expertise of scholars and policy providers and advocates in the different dimensions identified, and to invite their collaboration as part of the Review team. Most collaborators had in fact been engaged in the earlier Roundtable activity and had headed focus groups and prepared position papers for the dimension on which they were asked to contribute in this Review. Their contribution has been enormous. There was close collaboration between the principal investigator and each "Lead", in most cases reflected in terms of developing strategic outlines, preparing interview guides, co-interviewing and sharing individual interviews (roughly half the interviews were carried out by the collaborators and half by the principal investigator), accessing data and discussing recommendations. The principal investigator wrote Volume One and the collaborators' authored their own papers found in Volume Two but the cross-collaboration was crucial in all respects.

In the 2006-2008 Roundtable there were several major incidents that set the agenda, namely the killing of an American sailor in the Downtown and the random swarmings, exemplified in an older woman being beaten and robbed by a group of young girls in the area of the Halifax Commons. While conventional issues such as Downtown violence and swarmings continue to be important signal crimes (i.e., crimes that effect significant public concern), their number and impact have diminished and, over the past few years, targeted shootings, bullying, gendered violence especially sexual assaults, and the explosive impact of the social media in mobilizing attention and calls for response by elected leaders and authorities have dominated. The issues have also shaped the focus of this Review and how it has approached violence and public safety in HRM.

As noted in the 2008 Roundtable Main Volume Report, there were two key premises underlining the Roundtable, namely that (a) there is a real problem of violence and public safety in HRM, reflected in the police and justice data and in public opinion; and (b) municipal government and community initiatives can effect positive changes to the problem. What are the premises in this Review? There are three, namely that (a) for a variety of reasons (demographic, police activity, private security and related technology), there has been a significant and seemingly permanent decline in the type of violence and public safety concerns highlighted in that Roundtable Report (robbery, swarming, and gangs, as well as most kinds of property crimes). That does not mean that such violence is not still on the police or public radar but that their diminution is real and substantial and their decline evidenced in police stats, GSS victimization data, and public surveys; (b) gendered violence has been more resistant to such change and indeed appears to have been enhanced at points due to technological and societal changes and this in turn has resulted in a different character of violence and a wider net of offenders and victims; (c) much has been developed in effecting public security and developing salient governmental policy at all three orders of government but more is required; there is much more that can be

done especially at the municipal level either because recommended changes were not implemented to best effect or because new recommendations can be more effective in responding to the changing violence and public safety milieu.

PART A: NEW PATHS FOR THE ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

POST-ROUNDTABLE TRENDS IN VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

Overall, HRM crime tables for both the HRP and RCMP jurisdictions indicate that there has been a sharp decline since the Roundtable period. Earlier findings for the five years immediately preceding the Roundtable (i.e., 2002 to 2006) indicated that among the 30 largest municipalities in Canada having an MPD (i.e., independent municipal police service), HRM's urban core HRP jurisdiction's rank for rate of violent crime was 1,2,1,1, 2 respectively. Similarly, for the metropolitan area which in HRM includes both HRP and RCMP jurisdictions, the rate of violent crime was high compared to others among the 30 largest CMAs in Canada, with ranks for the same five years of 5,3,3,3,5 respectively. In other works, HRM unfortunately was far ahead of the other municipalities in terms of its high level of violent crime and had been for a number of years. HRM also had a relatively high rate of property crime, usually ranking #7 or #8 among its Canadian counterparts in the pre-Roundtable years (Clairmont, 2008).

The tables below indicate the considerable decline in violence and property crime in HRM in the years since the Roundtable. Looking at two year averages (a more conservative measure) the decline in HRP's jurisdiction has been consistent and significant especially in property crime (see Table 1.1). Both commercial and residential break and enters have declined by roughly 50% from 604 to 303 and 1004 to 526 respectively in the two year periods from 2006-2007 to 2012-2013 while in other categories of break and enters the numbers have fallen from 306 to 112 (a whopping 66%). Thefts from vehicles and of vehicles have also been sharply reduced in the HRP jurisdiction, the former falling 25% from 2006-2007 to 2012-2013, while the later declined by 50% over the same period. Turning to violent crime, there is, as will be discussed in depth below, a more nuanced picture. Robberies (as categorized by HRP, robbery refers to both institutional and personal robbery, the latter including "swarmings") have declined by well over 50% from 488 in 2006-2007 to 209 in 2012-2013. Assaults (excluding sexual assaults) have fallen off by 30% over the same years 2006-2007 to 2012-2013. Sexual assaults, a clear

exception, have remained roughly at the same level of actual incidents over the 2006 to 2013 years, and homicides / attempted homicides have also not followed the above trend.

Generally, in the RCMP jurisdictional area of HRM, there have been roughly 33% of the HRP annual total of crime against persons and 40% of the HRP annual total of property crime. Essentially the same results as above for HRP – though less dramatically in the case of property crime - are conveyed in the RCMP data. Break and enters have declined by 26% over the past three years, mischief and property damage by over 40% and overall property crime by roughly 30%. Tables 1.2 and 1.3 indicate the patterns for violent crimes and their distribution by district. Weapon offences, robberies and assaults (excluding sexual assaults) have quite consistently been declining; robberies fell 40% from a two year average of 69 in 2007-2008 to 42 in 2012-2013 while assaults diminished 30% from 770 in 2007-2008 to 537 in 2012-2013. These patterns on violent crimes mirror well those pertaining to the HRP jurisdiction. And, as was the case in the HRP jurisdiction, sexual assaults did not exhibit any pattern of decline between 2007 and 2013 and in fact were significantly higher (i.e., almost 40%) in 2012-2013 than in 2007-2008; homicides in the RCMP-police districts were few but not declining.

Table 1.3 shows that among the RCMP-policed districts, the most populous Lower Sackville area clearly regularly had the largest number of assaults and, more interestingly, that Cole Harbour had significantly more assaults than Tantallon, an area of just slightly less population. Also, as shown below in the section on gendered violence, Cole Harbour and Lower Sackville had quite similar levels of sexual assaults over the period 2007 to 2013.

Tables 1.4 and 1.5 provide an update with respect to HRM's ranking on crime and violence compared with other Canadian municipalities – CMAs – on crime severity and violent crime severity indexes created by Statistics Canada. For the five year period 2008 to 2012 HRM ranks #7 with an average index score of 90.16, well above the Canadian CMA average of 82.60, and examination of the five years of index scores reveals no clear pattern of decline. HRM's rank on violent crime severity shows an average index score for the five years of 109.43, well above the Canada average of 88.93 but well below Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina, the perennial leading CMAs for crime, especially violent crime. While this ranking on violent crime severity for HRM as a CMA is within close range of the five year average preceding the Roundtable, Table 1.5 indicates that there has been a trend of decline in the index scores over the past five years, as there has also been for Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina.

Table 1.6 compares HRM with Nova Scotia as a whole for different types of crime over the period 2008 to 2012 inclusive. It confirms the consistent decline in actual incidents involving violent crime in both areas but the decline in HRM was greater, percentage-wise; as reported by HRM police services there was a rate of 172 accused per 10,000 population in 2008 and a rate of 115 in 2012, a decline of 33%; the comparable decline of

rates in Nova Scotia as a whole was 20%. Similarly, there was a rate decline in accused persons (actual incidents) in both areas but the percentage rate decline was roughly half the level for violent crime, namely 15% for HRM and 10% for Nova Scotia as a whole.

Overall, then, crime, including violent crime, has been on the decline in HRM as it has been in Canada as a whole and throughout Western societies. Three factors have been generally accepted as causing this trend (see for example, "The curious case of the fall in crime", The Economist, July 20, 2013) namely the aging of the population, improvement in policing (e.g., ComStat techniques involving the mapping of "hot spots" and development of accountable strategies include the deployment of officers) and enhanced security measures throughout society (e.g., CCTV). These three factors blend especially well with respect to their major impact for property crimes, so much so that some senior police officials have argued that in HRM "we have crushed crime and can now do more on the prevention side and get ahead of crime". Some violent crimes such as robbery and general assaults do seem readily amenable to this circumstance but others such as sexual assaults and homicide / attempted homicide appear to be more resistant to that general trend and to demand more in the way of understanding their impetus and advancing more strategic interventions.

The overall decline in violence and crime generally in the past five years has been emphasized by HRM elected officials; about two-thirds in their interviews agreed with the common police view that there has been a significant decline, with the remainder contending that there has been little change – no one suggested that the violence and public safety has worsened. It can be noted too that public surveys in HRM has shown a very positive assessment of the situation by the public over the past five years. So, in the case of HRM, significant progress has been achieved in dealing with violence and enhancing public security but the war has not yet been won. The factors that were identified in the 2008 Roundtable Report as conducive to violence – a comparatively high proportion of young adult males, a culture of alcohol misuse and a tradition of violence - are still extant. There is still a high level of violence and in particular there is the challenge of responding effectively to sexual violence and to homicide / attempted homicide; both these latter concerns will be expanded upon below. Clearly the societal anti-crime policies and programming and the policing strategies in play have had a positive impact on crime and need to be maintained but with some tweaking (e.g., more utilization of the Crime Free Multiple Housing approach, maintaining police presence in the Downtown) but new thinking and new recommendations need to be developed to deal with the violence crimes more resistant to existing strategies and with regard to the areas and persons associated with the highest levels of crime and victimization.

TABLE 1.1 - SELECTED TRENDS, POLICE-REPORTED ACTUAL INCIDENTS, HRPS JURISDICTION, 2006-2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
B&E COMMERCIAL	618	590	379	518	545	469	344	262
2 year average	604		449		507		303	
B&E RESIDENTIAL	1160	848	733	709	942	713	526	525
2 year average	1004		721		828		526	
B&E OTHER	349	263	210	235	262	170	120	104
2 year average	306		223		216		112	
ROBBERIES	571	404	355	341	272	303	222	195
2 year average	488		348		288		209	
THEFT FROM VEHICLE	3107	2383	1959	2277	2201	1839	1938	1686
2 year average	2745		2118		2020		1812	
THEFT OF VEHICLE	1174	789	643	470	464	532	412	319
2 year average	982		557		498		366	
SEXUAL ASSAULTS	225	240	232	228	240	262	238	212
2 year average	233		230		251		225	
ASSAULTS	2614	2450	2306	2286	2288	2208	1891	1701
2 year average	2532		2296		2248		1796	

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2013

TABLE 1.2

RCMP Halifax District - Persons Crime and Weapons
2007 - 2013 Calendar Years

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Weapons	154	162	116	136	115	122	100
Assaults	808	733	739	649	615	539	536
Robberies	58	80	85	62	51	49	35
Attempted Murders	2	6	5	6	8	5	8
Homicides	0	0	5	3	6	4	2
Sexual Assaults	76	72	86	80	98	107	94
	1098	1053	1036	936	893	826	775

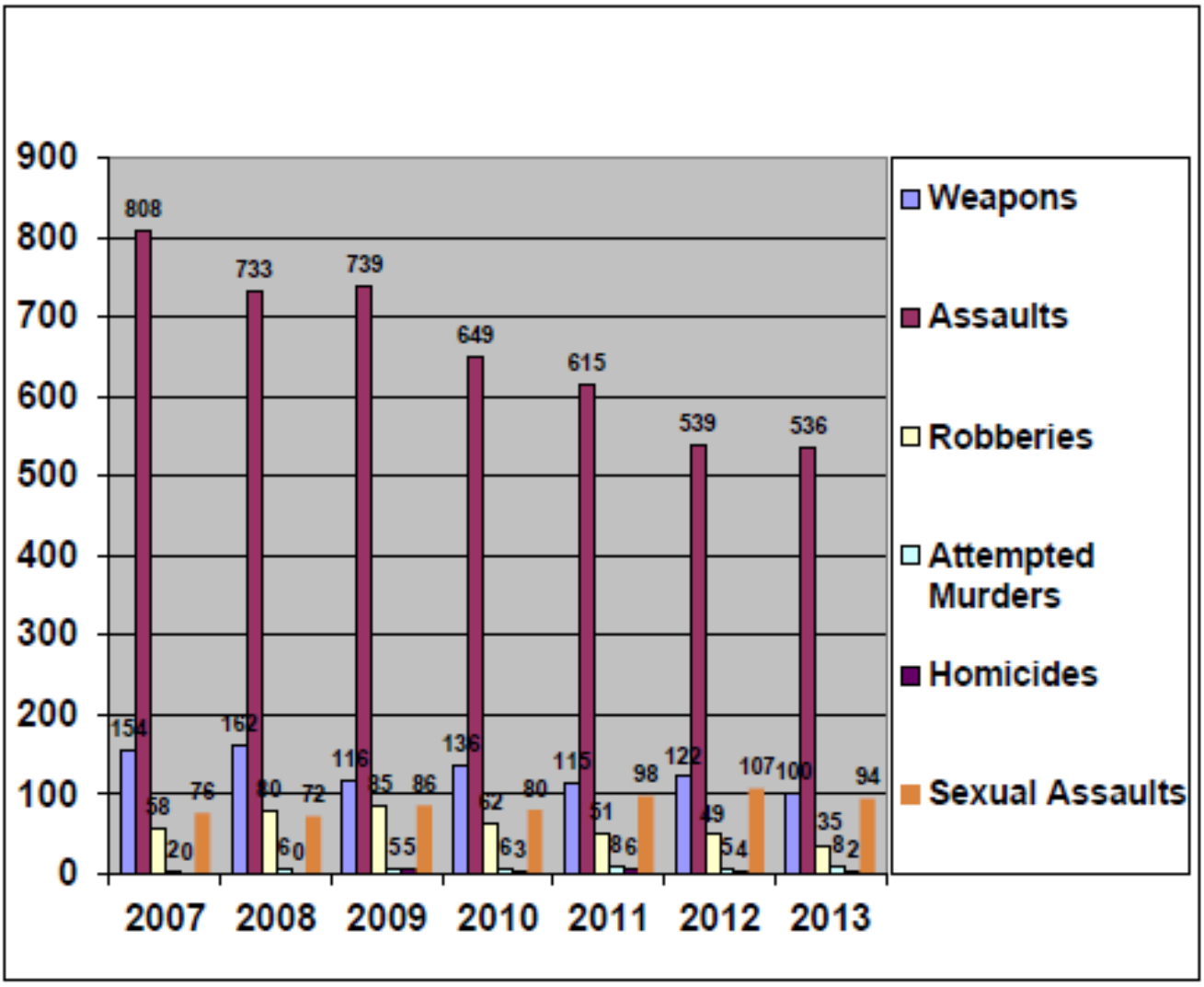

TABLE 1.3

RCMP Halifax District - All Assaults
2007 - 2013 Calendar Years

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Cole Harbour	299	298	296	242	240	228	183
Lower Sackville	404	358	381	335	315	273	250
Musquodoboit Hbr.	47	37	60	51	64	59	58
North Central	20	13	18	16	20	21	15
Sheet Harbour	21	19	17	29	19	20	28
Tantallon	148	165	148	127	120	103	106
	939	890	920	800	778	704	640

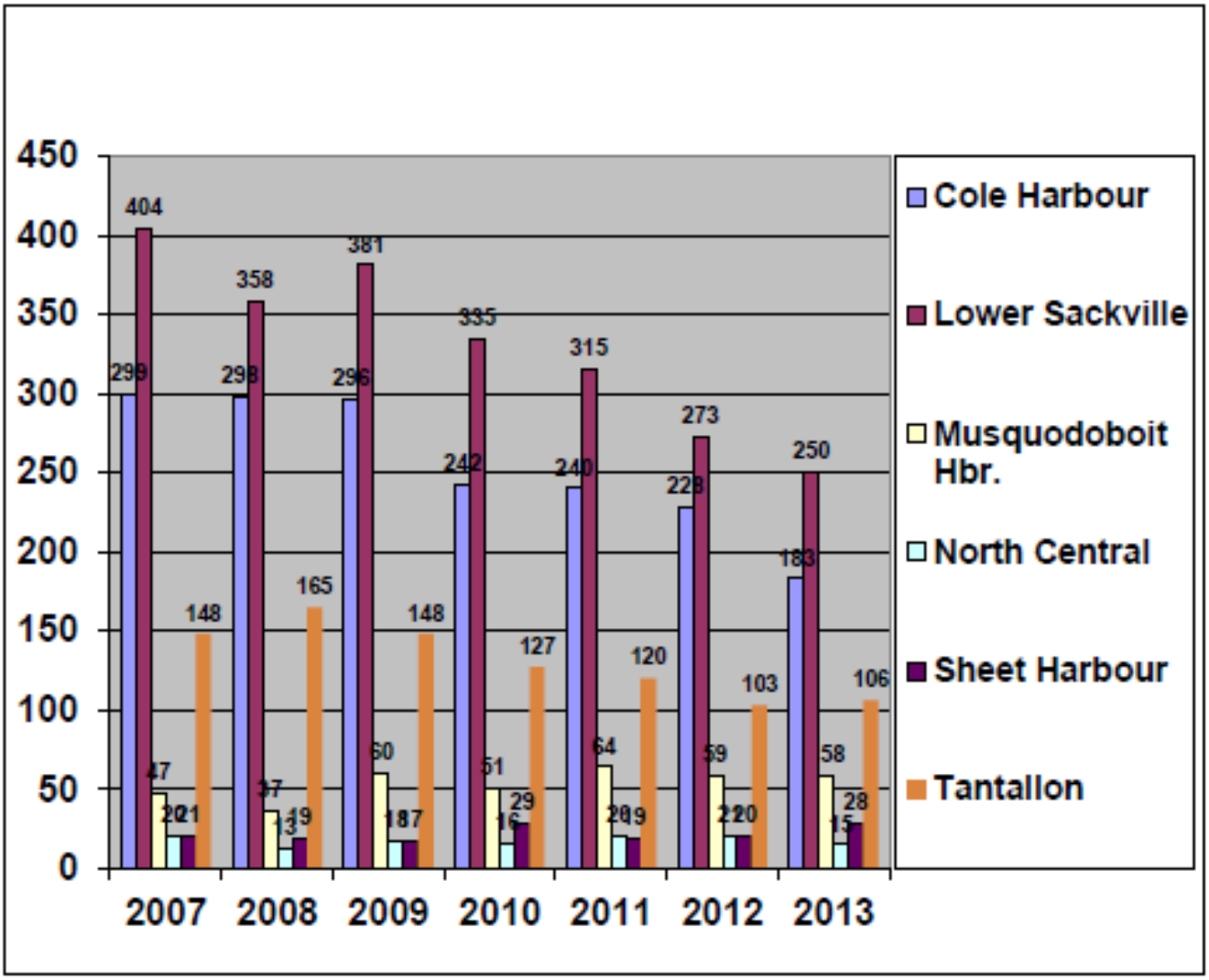

TABLE 1.4 - CRIME SEVERITY INDEX, BY CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA (CMA), 2008-2012

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	5-YEAR AVERAGE
CANADA	**90.39**	**87.53**	**82.67**	**77.43**	**75.00**	**82.60**
REGINA	164.20	143.15	132.54	123.41	116.00	135.86
SASKATOON	138.85	133.49	128.66	114.87	107.08	124.59
WINNIPEG	124.60	135.61	115.53	101.33	96.10	114.63
VANCOUVER	118.85	109.96	101.32	93.78	92.67	103.32
EDMONTON	123.27	115.56	102.78	88.08	85.03	102.94
ST. JOHNS	86.85	90.78	100.69	90.97	86.30	91.12
HALIFAX	**95.95**	**97.15**	**96.39**	**87.02**	**74.28**	**90.16**
VICTORIA	102.10	91.65	85.45	71.06	69.55	83.96
MONTREAL	90.99	88.98	82.44	80.30	75.11	83.56
SAINT JOHN	87.45	82.62	79.72	69.21	67.12	77.22
MONCTON	72.87	75.57	72.21	68.83	79.31	73.76
CALGARY	84.73	80.57	76.15	65.12	60.51	73.41
HAMILTON	77.08	73.76	70.82	63.94	60.06	69.13
TORONTO	66.71	63.85	59.70	55.39	52.13	59.56

Source: Statistics Canada. CANSIM Table 252-0052 - Crime severity index and weighted clearance rates, annual

TABLE 1.5 - VIOLENT CRIME SEVERITY INDEX BY CANADIAN CITY, 2008-2012

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	5-YEAR AVERAGE
CANADA	**94.88**	**94.04**	**88.91**	**85.38**	**81.42**	**88.93**
WINNIPEG	163.32	188.58	164.46	159.73	145.35	164.29
SASKATOON	162.52	156.17	156.44	130.51	126.42	146.41
REGINA	171.05	155.47	151.14	120.69	110.11	141.69
EDMONTON	131.56	118.88	108.29	105.94	95.78	112.09
HALIFAX	**116.22**	**119.96**	**105.33**	**113.28**	**92.36**	**109.43**
VANCOUVER	125.10	120.26	108.46	95.50	92.63	108.39
MONTREAL	105.41	101.75	97.81	97.17	87.83	97.99
TORONTO	97.97	95.62	89.31	82.63	78.40	88.79
SAINT JOHN	87.10	86.07	82.89	76.62	67.95	80.13
MONCTON	65.84	79.96	73.63	71.90	73.40	72.97
HAMILTON	88.09	84.48	80.49	73.72	62.49	77.85
CALGARY	89.43	88.13	80.56	69.81	61.19	77.82
ST. JOHNS	74.02	69.64	89.33	74.86	77.34	77.04
VICTORIA	81.37	81.18	83.73	71.16	63.66	76.22

Source: Statistics Canada. CANSIM Table 252-0052 - Crime severity index and weighted clearance rates, annual

TABLE 1.6 - ACTUAL INCIDENTS (# AND RATE PER 10,000 POPULATION), BY YEAR AND TYPE OF CRIME, NS & HRM (HRPS/RCMP) 2008-2012

		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
		NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM
TOTAL CRIME	# Accused	65495	28446	65146	28471	65792	29623	61496	26495	60042	24023
	Rate	699	724	693	715	696	733	648	647	633	581
VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	16024	6741	15549	6603	14766	6240	13777	5567	12954	4747
	Rate	171	172	165	166	156	154	145	136	137	115
NON-VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	49471	21705	49597	21868	51026	23383	47719	20928	47088	19276
	Rate	528	552	527	549	540	579	503	511	496	466
PROPERTY CRIME	# Accused	38989	17734	39265	18326	40847	19619	38026	17263	37307	15570
	Rate	416	451	418	460	432	486	401	422	393	377
OTHER CRIME	# Accused	10482	3971	10332	3542	10179	3764	9693	3665	9781	3706
	Rate	112	101	110	89	108	93	102	89	103	90

Source: Nova Scotia Community Counts - NS Dept. of Justice - Policy, Planning, and Research Division; Social-Crime by Jurisdiction-Actual Incidents & Rate per 10,000 Population-HRM Justice Police District & NS

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DON CLAIRMONT, **VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY IN THE HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY**, MAIN REPORT AND SIX VOLUMES. HALIFAX: HRM, 2008

GUNS, SHOOTINGS AND THE DRUG CULTURE

THE PROBLEMATIC

As noted above, violence and conventional crime have declined significantly since the Roundtable Report in 2008. Throughout HRM, assaults, robberies, break and enters, and thefts have been sharply reduced. Clearly though HRM still has a serious problem with violence, especially shootings related to the drug milieus. 2011 saw the highest rate ever in the municipality for homicides and 2013 the highest rate for attempted murders. Violence, where there was use of firearms, marks off HRM as one of the more dangerous metropolitan areas in Canada. In 2011 metropolitan Halifax had the second highest rate of homicide among CMAs in Canada and in 2012 the fourth highest. HRM has the highest rate of firearm-caused homicides in Canada. As a well-known and knowledgeable public housing resident / leader observed, in describing the circumstances of violence as so different from previous decades, “the boys got guns now”.

Clearly one strategy to deal with this shooting outrage is to disrupt and shut down the supply of weapons. The police services have tried to do this in a variety of ways, most obviously in programs such as “pixels for pistols” where a person can turn in weapons for cameras or other items (cash is problematic), with “no questions asked”, and also by collaborating as part of the National Weapons Enforcement Support Team (NWEST). There is a federally-funded designated officer linked to the NWEST in the HRP who oversees an RCMP and a HRP member as the team assists with all aspects of firearm investigations and prosecution for the province including warrant preparation, suggestions on charges, and verification and history of seized weapons. Unfortunately, while necessary, such supply-oriented strategies have not been as effective as hoped for (because the black market in weapons and perhaps the cross-border trade for illegal weapons – there are diverse but equally authoritative views about the quantitative importance of guns coming across the border - are not affected in a significant or “game-changing” way by such initiatives), a situation evidenced by the high rates cited above. It appears very unlikely that resorting to more punishing sentencing (such as increased mandatory sentences) would make a difference even if that were an option (unlikely). It would appear then that other strategies directed at impacting demand factors for taking up and using guns would be crucial to complement existing strategies and the six-officer Integrated Guns and Gangs unit fully formed since 2011.

The perspective adopted here is that the emphasis on guns is central in the HRM drug milieu. In this context, being engaged in the drug milieu provides a rationale for guns and vests (e.g., self-defence, intimidation) as well as contacts for obtaining guns and perhaps the funds to buy them. The possession of guns by the young male adults, in addition to conferring status in that milieu, provides them with ways of settling problems / disputes or venting that reinforce their learned dispositions for aggressive and impulsive responses in relationships,

especially given sub-cultural influences that glamorize the criminal role (e.g., life styles, gangsta rap music themes); but, also, since they are usually considered replaceable by the high-ups in the drug trade and there is apparently little in the organization of the local drug business that is reining in their explosiveness and compensating for their low skills or interest in alternative ways to solve problems.

The main themes suggested by the above argument that will be explored below are five, namely (a) that the majority of shootings in HRM occur in the drug trade milieu, (b) that some other societies and urban areas such as Britain and even CBRM may not show that pattern in their drug milieus, (c) that the style reflects an inner city American sub-cultural linkage though now prevalent in HRM among both Whites and Blacks in the illicit drug business, (d) that the shootings, while sometimes serving utilitarian ends (e.g., home invasions to obtain drugs or money), are much more reflective of young men expressing violence over a variety of non-business turf issues and using guns to settle personal grievances; (e) changing these behaviours involves at least in part changing individual dispositions, social relationships and the norms and other cultural supports for the behaviour. Such solutions on the demand side are as difficult to achieve as those in use on the supply side. The following tables and analyses provide evidence for such a perspective.

PATTERNS OF HOMICIDE AND ATTEMPTED HOMICIDES IN HRM

The table below describes the patterns of homicides and attempted homicides primarily since the original Roundtable was initiated in 2006. In the period 2004 to 2012 inclusive there were 92 homicide incidents with 94 victims and 100 accused persons, indicating that the homicides were essentially one-on-one incidents. Males accounted for 90% of the accused and 80% of the victims, so clearly homicide is largely a male phenomenon. Homicides averaged 7.6 per year over the five years 2004 to 2008 but 12 per year in the five years 2009 to 2013 (including here the number of homicides from 2013 that was available separately). Other data not shown in the table indicate that the male accuseds and victims are in large majority young adults less than thirty years of age. The homicides took place essentially within the urban core area of HRM and were well-distributed amongst the three zones – Central, East and West – that constitute the jurisdiction of the HRP. Apart from the urban core, North Preston (RCMP jurisdiction) stood out as a modest sized community (population estimates range from 1500 to 3700 persons presumably in large part because of frequent movement between North Preston and Dartmouth) with a serious homicide problem, accounting for nearly 10% of all HRM homicides. There was a variety of weapons / M.Os. used in the HRM murders but the two dominant ones were firearm shootings (35%) and stabbings (28%). Fights (33%) and drug context (30%) were identified by HRP as the top two contexts for the homicides. In identifying the context as drug-related, interview data indicate that the police were highlighting the fact that the persons involved as accused and victim were known in the HRM drug milieu, not necessarily

that the incident's motivation was specifically linked to a drug deal. Finally, fully 66% of all firearm shooting homicides between 2004 and 2012 were considered in police reports to be linked to the drug milieu by the above definition.

Turning to attempted homicides, the data are available only for the period 2006 to 2012 inclusive but they exhibit a similar, though not identical, set of patterns. There were 158 incidents involving 231 accuseds and 186 victims, indicating some variance from the one- to - one pattern observed for homicides, a variance largely attributable, according to police sources, to "drive-by shootings among rival "gangs". Males were almost exclusively (97%) the accused and also the usual victims (80%) and, again, the interviews with informed police sources indicated that the majority of offenders were unquestionably adults less than thirty years of age. Dividing the years into two four year periods, one finds, as in the case of homicides, a significant increase in the period 2010 to 2013 (as in the case of homicides, data for 2013 were available to supplement the table on this point) compared to the earlier 2006 to 2009, namely an average per annum of 28 attempted homicides in the later period vis-à-vis 19 in the 2006 to 2009 years. The location factor also mirrored the homicide data in that the attempted homicides occurred basically (80%) in urban core of HRM (i.e., especially here in the Dartmouth area of the HRPS jurisdiction) and the most significant site for this offence outside the urban core was North Preston. The weapon in attempted murders was much more likely to be a gun than in the case of homicides (i.e., 60% to 35%), the context overall to be drug-related (61%) and, in the case of shootings, the link to the drug milieu was highlighted by police records in a whopping 84% of all such incidents.

The data illustrate well the significance of firearms in homicides and attempted homicides in the drug trade milieu. This can be underlined by examining shootings outside that drug context. In the case of robberies since the Roundtable Report in 2008, robberies with firearms have consistently accounted for roughly 16% of annual total robberies. Robberies (especially of businesses and institutions) have declined steadily over that time period, and between 2008 and 2013 by approximately 50% for both HRP and RCMP jurisdictions. So, while the percentage involving a firearm generally remained at 16%, the number of such incidents has been halved. Also, some of these incidents (e.g., the 25 robberies with firearms in 2013) have involved home invasions and person-robberies where the offender and victim have been known to each other and been involved in the drug milieu so the number of firearm robberies outside the drug context would be significantly less than 25 in 2013. In the instance of homicides, over the past ten years there have been three robbery homicides and only one where a firearm was used. In the case of sexual assault and family homicides, over the past decade there has been no instance of a shooting murder, while, in domestic homicides, shooting has been identified as the M.O. in two of

the eight cases. In sum, then, firearms and the drug culture are strongly linked and focused around specific kinds of violence and social circumstances.

TABLE 2.1 - HOMICIDES AND ATTEMPTED HOMICIDES IN HRM

	HOMICIDES 2004-2012	ATTEMPTED HOMICIDES 2006-2012
# OF INCIDENTS	92	158
# OF ACCUSED INVOLVED IN INCIDENTS	100	231
# OF VICTIMS FROM INCIDENTS	94	186
GENDER		
MALES ACCUSED	90 (90%)	225 (97%)
FEMALES ACCUSED	10 (10%)	6 (3%)
MALE VICTIMS	75 (80%)	150 (80%)
FEMALE VICTIMS	19 (20%)	36 (20%)
LOCATION OF INCIDENT (TOP 4)		
HRM CENTRAL	25 (27%)	41 (26%)
HRM EAST	22 (24%)	48 (30%)
HRM WEST	20 (22%)	34 (21%)
NORTH PRESTON	8 (9%)	13 (9%)
WEAPON (TOP 2)		
SHOOTING	32 (35%)	94 (60%)
STABBING	26 (28%)	42 (26%)
CONTEXT (TOP 2)		
DRUGS	28 (30%)	96 (61%)
FIGHTS	30 (33%)	23 (15%)
SHOOTING CONTEXT		
DRUGS	21 (66%)	79 (84%)

Source: Halifax Regional Police, Fall 2013

CONTEXT

Homicide rates have been decreasing in Canada and the USA for several decades, receding to levels last seen in the 1960s but, as noted above, this has not been the case in HRM. 2011 was a particularly bad year for shootings and murder (75 shooting incidents and 19 homicides were reported by HRP, both HRM records) and while homicides have declined appreciably since then, HRM currently has the highest rate of firearm homicides in Canada and the number of attempted homicides in 2013 (i.e., 40) has surpassed the previous high-level mark of 32 in 2011. Minutes of the HRM Police Board indicate clearly that beginning in 2009 guns and shootings increasingly became a problem and regular topic of discussion at Police Board meetings and in one 2009 session

the HRP police chief is reported as saying “guns and vests are now tools of the crime trade”. The strong linkage of guns and shootings to the small number of African Nova Scotians involved in the drug milieu was also discussed at these meetings. Strategies and programs to deal with the shootings were frequently discussed, basically targeting the supply side (e.g., pixels for pistols, national firearm registry, the NWEST) and in 2010, just prior to the egregious violence of 2011, it was reported that “HRP police seize illicit firearms once every couple of days and roughly 800 guns were taken off the streets last year, 250-300 of which “can be directly tied to crime”; clearly, even impressive implementation of such supply-side strategies had a limited impact.

It is useful to place the HRM rates in context. While high in Canada, the rates for homicide are quite low compared with American cities, being a maximum of 5 per 100,000 while larger urban areas such as Chicago, New Orleans, Detroit and St. Louis have rates per 100,000 of 16, 58, 48 and 35 respectively and many smaller urban areas there also have much higher rates than HRM. Many observers link the high rates with the availability of firearms and American culture with its “enshrined right to bear arms”. In the larger American cities the high rates have been consistently linked with “inner city” subculture. The “inner city” has been heavily populated by Black Americans (more recently also Latin Americans) where, as Whites and middle class Blacks fled along with factories and large companies to suburbs and other outlying areas, a subculture emerged over generations of unemployment, poverty, single parent families, violence and, in varying degree, a deviance service centre where drug use was rampant and outsiders would come for drugs, alcohol and sex. In that context there also developed a strong association among gangs, guns and the illicit drug trade, an association that was further strengthened and celebrated by “gangsta rap”, hip-hop music and imagery that reflected the experience of some creative people living there, “documenting the culture of the inner city” as some would say (Jenkins, 2013).

Many American studies, television programs (e.g., the critically acclaimed “The Wire”) and movies have described the above developments in great depth and have advanced strategies for ameliorative social policy. Typical has been a St. Louis study (Jacobs and Wright, 2006) carried out over several years and published in 2006 where the authors described and offered explanations for the very high level of homicides (roughly 250 annually) largely involving Black American young adults with linkages to the drug trade. Focusing on street justice and retaliation, they found that in this street-level, low status criminal milieu, the number one preference of the victimized criminals was for face-to-face, immediate retaliation and that they rejected for a variety reasons any recourse to the justice system. The shooters, like their victims, were depicted as marginalized persons, having low status vis-à-vis the mainstream legitimate world, and believing that, should they not retaliate, they would invite further victimization and forfeit whatever status they have in their own milieu. It is

not clear what the retaliation was for but the incidents discussed were ostensibly minor from an outsider's perspective. Research in the mid-1990s spawned by Kennedy in the Boston area (Kennedy, 2011), where essentially the same features characterized its high rate of homicide (i.e., Black males, gangs, guns and drug trafficking), pin-pointed small circles of males goading one another to violence, violence sometimes about turf and money but usually, according to Kennedy, "it's beefs, disrespect, boy-girl stuff".

Though on a smaller scale, it appears that the "guns, gangs and drugs" association in HRM has indeed followed the inner-city pattern discussed above. The connection among the three components however does not follow like a DNA-trait. In CBRM for example there is a high rate of drug trafficking but, according to police and other CJS officials there, there has not been a homicide in the drug milieu for many years and the one recorded in 2000 involved an outsider. The CBRM justice officials, including African Nova Scotians, and community activists, readily agreed that the situation in HRM was different, more like the classic inner-city American model, and several characterized Halifax streets as much more dangerous because of it. In CBRM on the other hand, the drug trade was depicted as controlled by family-like, non-competitive small groups obtaining drugs from groups like the Hell's Angels not the HRM gangs and having no significant young male adult presence wreaking havoc with weapons. Also, there is limited cultural support in CBRM for the inner-city life style – the local Black population is well-integrated and has never had any significant involvement in crime, and while gangsta rap and hip-hop celebration of guns may be popular among youth of all stripes, there seems to be no particular impact on behaviour. In other Canadian areas such as Edmonton, labeled the murder capital in Canada in 2012, the homicides were primarily among street people (i.e., the homeless, often Aboriginal) and the M.O. was the knife. Toronto was seen by both CBRM and HRM respondents as having a drug milieu more similar to that in HRM.

Research for this Review found considerable consensus among various police specialists in HRM that firearm homicides and attempted homicides reflected the "inner city" American cultural style. The underlying motives were seen as basically similar to the patterns described in American studies. As one well-traveled, senior detective officer in HRM commented, "I found here [HRM] there is a high degree of wanton violence and the three Rs – respect, reputation and retaliation – are the immediate causes". And, as in the American inner cities, virtually all informed CJS officials considered that the low level traffickers earned little money and faced serious risks both of being arrested by police and being robbed and assaulted by their peers, a complex circumstance that would presumably generate much frustration (Bourgois, 2003, Venkatesh, 2008). Bourgois in his three year participant observation in Spanish Harlem found that low level dealers frequently quit the business but then drifted back into it; Venkatesh in his similar longitudinal research in Chicago commented on the frustration and noted "For all their braggadocio, to say nothing of the peer pressure to spend money on sharp clothes and cars,

these young members stood little chance of ever making a solid payday … Now I knew why some of the younger BK members supplemented their income by working legit jobs at McDonald's or a car wash". A common opinion among HRM police and informed others also was that the organization of the drug trade at the street level was not conducive to reining in the violent young men. Police officers, White or Black, HRP or RCMP, held views similar to informed community leaders (mostly African Nova Scotians) assembled by the Nova Scotia Department of Justice in 2012 to discuss what to do about the drug milieu-linked violence, namely that the problem was especially critical among young Black men in several areas of HRM, "solving" personal issues with firearms. It was acknowledged by virtually all parties that currently Whites as well as Blacks were involved in the drug milieu and resorted to firearms to deal more or less impulsively with a range of issues, and that while utilitarian motivations (e.g. economic gain) were important factors in their use of firearms, the core was deemed to be the classic "inner city subculture" sustained by both lifestyle and organizational factors.

POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The persons engaged in trafficking in the drug milieu in HRM reputedly are few in number and those involved in the homicides and attempted homicides are usually well-known by the police, as is evident in the common phrases that follow the publication of these events, namely "not a random shooting", and "persons involved known to police". So why should the public worry about safety; as long as they shoot straight, "it's bad guys hurting bad guys". And the significant over-representation of a small minority of a small minority African Nova Scotian population may reinforce such a perspective. Essentially though, the designated drug-milieu minority, usually living in low status rentals, often products of vulnerable and poor families and much exposed to real and symbolic violence, are largely the creation of a sub-culture abetted by societal inequality and a legacy of racism. Their action and its consequences (e.g., high risks of incarceration, murder etc) have grave implications for their families and communities. Shrugging off the violence is not an option. Nor is public safety not threatened in a more general sense. Considerable, costly policing effort is required to keep the violence reined in and for police officers the risk to themselves is quite significant. In December 2013 the head of the HRP Association commented publicly: "There just seems to be an awful lot more incidents where we're running into firearms or getting involved with people who have the edged weapons… We are still rated as number one with respect to the likelihood of being shot and killed in Halifax, which is not really a ranking you'd like to brag about … city officials and police officers [need to] sit down and try to come up with a solution".

Given the huge scale of the drug problems and the high level of homicides associated with drug milieus in the USA it is not surprising that there is considerable American attention to policies and programs directed at radical change. The American emphasis, War on Drugs, until recent years, has been on tough penalties for low level

trafficking (prisons there are overwhelmed with young Black men), gun control (verging on the impossible) and greater police presence through special enforcement units and community based policing. Jacobs and Wright, for example, suggest that the key to reducing the criminal victims' retaliation is police action in seizing the criminal's guns and becoming more proactive in preventing the spread of retaliation and counter-retaliation. Ultimately, though, as the authors acknowledge, the key is getting at the marginality, the zero-level social status that translates into a violent quest for "respect" in the face of slights and modest victimization.

Signs of significant changes in policies and programs are many nowadays in the United States. The War on Drugs has been increasingly criticized for the high levels of incarceration and exorbitant costs it has wrought and the current Obama administration has called for waiving mandatory sentences for low level drug offences. In the Western states (USA) there is a strong trend to regulate, not criminalize, the sale and purchase of marijuana (Colorado in January 2014 will be the first state to launch this approach). In exploring new approaches to the drug and violence problem, the work of Kennedy (Don't Shoot, One Man, A Street Fellowship and the End of Violence in Inner City America, 2011) has become path-breaking in advancing feasible solutions at the local level. His approach in Boston emphasized the police and community agencies working with the small number of persons and gangs ("crews" in the drug business) in the drug milieu who accounted for most of the violence. Through what might be called a "weed and feed" strategy (i.e., clearly conveying an enhanced likelihood of punishment for those individuals and crews continuing the violence while concerned members of their community expressed to them a strong desire for the violence to stop, and social workers offered services to help them detach from the cycle of violence). The Boston initiative led to a sharp reduction in violence for several years and the program, labelled Ceasefire and informally known as the Boston Miracle spread to a host of other American cities, generally operating in poor, predominantly Black neighbourhoods as in Boston. In 2004 Kennedy's approach was implemented in High Point North Carolina but there the focus was not only with violence but also on ending the open-air drug markets that existed. There was apparently much greater involvement from community leaders as well as police and key players in the local drug markets but the same basic carrot and stick strategy was employed whereby key drug gang members were assembled and convinced to cease violence and the open-air drug trafficking or spend "decades in jail beginning tomorrow" – presumably the police had grounds for charges but the charges would be waived if the imposed arrangements held up. This initiative also proved to be successful, virtually ending homicides and open-air trafficking in the area for at least seven years.

The Boston Ceasefire project and its North Carolina adaptation are not without some limitations as is evidenced in the failure of the former to be successfully implemented in some jurisdictions and the significant re-

emergence of violence in the Boston area in the latter part of first decade of the 21st century, and, in the case of the latter project, the ambiguous evidence for a displacement effect. Still, success has been evident too and both projects have much significance for HRM since both types of initiatives were adopted here in 2013. A multi-year, federally funded Chicago version of Ceasefire (known as Cure Violence) is being readied for implementation in several HRM communities (mostly but not exclusively African Nova Scotian) and the HRPS has just completed a modest self-financed version of the North Carolina project through its Uptown Drug Intervention program and is weighing the option of continuing the Uptown initiative and expanding it to North Dartmouth. The Uptown and North Dartmouth are the two most violent and heavy drug traffic areas in HRM as is discussed in- depth elsewhere in this review where evidence will also be presented documenting the success of the Uptown pilot project in 2013. Aside from these two significant developments, the HRM-funded Youth Advocacy Program (YAP) has received five year federal funding for its Souls Strong project where the aim is "With the participation of community residents, community leaders, service providers, and program partners, the Souls Strong Project aims to prevent young men between the ages of 15 to 20 years from engaging in anti-social and criminal behaviours"; the project will operate exclusively in North Preston, an area shown above to have a serious and longstanding violence and drug trafficking problem. YAP brings to the project considerable experience accumulated over the past seven years dealing with younger, mostly African Nova Scotian males and more recently with young teenage girls (i.e., the Girls United project).

While the problems of serious violence largely embedded in the drug milieu are very significant, the above developments generate much hope for their amelioration as clearly they are targeted appropriately and have considerable community support as well as buy-in from the criminal justice system (especially the two police services where their espousal of a social development approach seems well reflected in their support for the initiatives). If such initiatives were not in place and ready for implementation they or similar policy thrusts would have been recommended here but they are, so the key concern is to ensure those projects are integrated into HRM policy strategy and to focus on other recommendations that complement them. The implications for recommendations for this Review are four-fold:

1. The main challenge for HRM government will be its capacity to learn about and develop empirically-based effective policies and programs from these larger extant projects – projects that are essentially one-time, federally funded. Accessing information about the processes and outcomes, meaningfully incorporating it in HRM strategic planning, comparing it with the experience of other municipalities and prioritizing its resources and advocacy accordingly, requires a capacity that does not exist at the moment. That need is a prime consideration in the Review's recommendations concerning the Public Safety Office, the Office of the Manager of African Nova Scotian Affairs and a more strategically active

municipal involvement in areas that pertain to the roots of violence and public concern for safety.

2. It is also recommended that HRM government support the continuation, and expansion to North Dartmouth, of the Uptown Drug Intervention initiative. Some resources will have to be committed to this endeavour to provide for agency participation, modest outreach activity and appropriate evaluation.
3. As noted above, the Ceasefire approach has advanced a stick and carrot model of effecting the desired change. It is important to determine what sticks or punishments can be effective and how enforcement strategies and alternative processes and outcomes in initiatives such as Ceasefire can be mutually reinforcing. For example, are the existing legislated penalties for using guns appropriate? Are they in fact operative (successfully prosecuted, accepted by the judiciary)? How is enforcement impacted by these alternative programs? It is recommended that there be a summit along the lines noted above by the spokesperson for the HRP Association – CJS role players, provincial and HRM representatives - to consider these enforcement issues.
4. The demand for heavy drugs especially fuels the illicit drug trade and the existing projects and above recommendations do not directly deal with that demand. The low level drug dealers they target – the runners if you will – typically are not addicted though reportedly many are frequent users of "soft drugs" such as marijuana and hash. One common policy to deal with this demand has been establishing a Drug Treatment Court (DTC) restricted to addicted offenders and emphasizing treatment rather than incarceration. There are such DTCs in large number in the United States (some 2000) and ten in Canadian municipalities across Canada (all five of the largest municipalities in Ontario have a DTC), some federally funded and some operating largely on a municipal shoestring. In HRM the Mental Health Court now has a drug treatment program for its addicted mentally ill clients so there is a precedent here for a therapeutic jurisprudence approach. It is recommended that HRM call on the provincial government to establish such a court here and collaborate with the provincial and federal governments in that regard.

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GENDERED VIOLENCE

Gendered violence was largely omitted from the Roundtable as it focused on youth violence, gangs, swarmings, the Downtown alcohol-related assault problems, and the municipal government's role in addressing the roots of these social concerns. Large mail-back and telephone surveys were carried out and here significant gender variation in victimization was noted, largely emerging from the different gender responses to issues of personal safety, but not reflected in the public's agenda or in the various Roundtable focus groups or community meetings. In this Review much more attention was given to gendered violence which was much more prominent in the public's and the justice system's awareness and priorities; indeed, as 2013 wore on, issues of gendered violence and associated strategic social policy, especially in relation to sexual assault and sex work, dominated the justice agenda and public concern.

In this Review, Verona Singer, criminologist and the long-term manager of HRP's creative Victim Services Unit, collaborated by preparing a paper for the Review on gendered violence – conceptualizations, analyses, and recommendations for future action by both province and municipality (HRM) – which is included in the accompanying volume, Supplemental Review Reports. Her paper deals with three dimensions of gendered violence, namely Intimate Partner Violence, Sexual Assault and Violence in Sex Work. Singer's methodology included one-on-one interviews following an interview guide adjusted for the different dimensions, with non-profit service providers, activists, provincial government officials, police officers and others, several focus groups of key informed persons, accessing data at the federal, provincial and municipal government levels, and reviewing pertinent documents and academic and policy literature. Additional interviews and data collection were carried out and analysed by the Review's principal investigator.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

The timeline data indicate that for Intimate Partner Violence the crucial year for strategic policy launching was 2010 when the provincial government's Domestic Violence Action Plan was advanced with a variety of initiatives (e.g., proposed amendments to the Residential Tenancies Act that would help abused spouses develop housing options), the announcement of a Domestic Violence Court pilot project to be located Cape Breton, and the release of a significant report by the Nova Scotia Department of Justice, titled "A Statistical Portrait of Intimate Partner Violence: Nova Scotia and Canadian Perspectives". There were important earlier formative steps in 2009 (e.g., launching the provincial Intimate Partner Violence Tracking project) and 2008 (e.g., collaboration of the NS Departments of Justice and Department of Community Services creating the Domestic Violence Prevention Committee); and, later in 2012, in implementation when the Domestic Violence Court actually began sitting, the

NS legislature passed new family law bills, and amendments were made to the Tenancies Act as proposed in 2010.

Table 3.1 indicates that over the period 2006 to 2013 there was a downward trend in the number of incidents of Intimate Partner Violence as recorded by HRP and overall a decline of 20% from a two year average high of 3229 in 2006-2007 to the low of 2579 in 2012-2013. Given the high level of unreported incidents that characterizes Intimate Partner Violence (and sexual assault) one has always to be wary about statistics in this field. There are several reasons however to be confident in this case, namely

a. HRP's Victim Services over the years developed robust measures of Intimate Partner Violence extending well beyond the classic 1049 call for service categorization so its data would likely to be quite inclusive;
b. Statistics Canada's General Social Survey on self-reported victimization of violence, while limited in 2009, does indicate that at least with respect to total violent victimization, there appears to have been a sharp decline between the 2004 and 2009;
c. the 2012 Juristat article, Violence against Women, reported that in Canada " there is some evidence that the severity of spousal violence against women is decreasing" and also noted that in intimate partner violence where the victim is female, Halifax was ranked #12 in 2011 with a rate of 506 per 100,000, slightly below the Canadian average of 542.

In the case of Intimate Partner Violence then, trends in policy development and the number of incidents since the Roundtable have been positive. There are still high levels of Intimate Partner Violence – according to the General Social Services in 2009 some 6% of Nova Scotian women reported that they had been victims of spousal abuse within the past five years - and there is strong evidence that conventional court processing of a wide range of such offenses is ineffective and also costly in court resources as has generally been contended by judges, crown prosecutors and defence counsel throughout Nova Scotia. It was shown in the 2009 in-depth assessment of the Public Prosecution Service's project to achieve an early case resolution through trading a lighter sentence recommendation for a quick guilty plea. In cases of intimate partner violence, the offer was generally rejected by the accused persons often on the advice of their counsel and the accused's decision to delay usually resulted in the charge being withdrawn at a later time for a variety of reasons, including the victim's decision to change her position (Clairmont, 2009).

The evidence seems clear, from a meta-study of alternative courts in other Canadian locations and from the Cape Breton experience to date, that a more effective approach to reducing intimate partner violence would be a special Domestic Violence court with specialized judges and crown prosecutors that combined tough sentencing with compulsory treatment for offenders; courts like the one in Cape Breton usually begin with low-

end cases of violence and expand to more serious incidents as the court gains experience and credibility, and as it does, there would be a place for restorative justice programming for the more minor ones. It is recommended that the municipal government advocate for such a court in HRM and do so in collaboration with agencies currently providing important services to victims of domestic violence in order to appreciate concerns they may have. Singer elaborates on these issues and offers a number of additional, useful recommendations in her attached paper, especially in the area of safe affordable transitional housing for victims of Intimate partner violence, and buttressing the existing programs for responding to Intimate partner violence (e.g., funding, training, inter-agency collaboration etc) so that they achieve their objectives more fully.

SEXUAL ASSAULT

As Singer observes "in the last few months of 2013 there has been unprecedented awareness about sexual violence". The Timeline record from 2007 to 2013 indicates that until 2013, significant new developments pertaining to this dimension of gendered violence were few and modest, essentially initiatives by the Avalon Sexual Assault Center to publicize the problem (e.g., in 2009 establishing the Sexual Assault Awareness Month in May) and the "Sexual Assault in Nova Scotia: A Statistical Profile" report released by the NS Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Perhaps the most important development pre-2013 for the issue of sexual assault – increasing the scope and severity of the criminal justice system's response - was the federal government's passing the Tackling Violent Crime Act which raised the age of consent from 14 to 16, the first time the age of consent had been raised since 1892.

The alleged sexual assault, the cyber-bullying and subsequent suicide of 17 year old Rehtaeh Parsons in 2013 led to dramatic change as reflected in the many important developments for sexual assault that quickly followed her suicide. The Parsons' story went viral in conventional social media (e.g., facebook, twitter) and other social network systems and catapulted Nova Scotia into wide notoriety. It sensitized society to the immense impact of social media, its scope for sexual assault in a less physical sense, and challenges for youth in particular. It generated huge public concern and compelled new government initiatives – new collaborative provincial government committees, conferences, funding for non-profit organizations on the front-line of dealing with victims of sexual assaults such as Avalon, new legislation on cyber-bullying and sexual assault (the Cyber Safety Act) and enhancement of the provincial Justice bureaucracy (i.e., the CyberScan investigative unit). The Parsons incident has also stimulated proposed federal legislation. These developments have been highlighted in the Timeline below and dealt with more substantially in Singer's paper. The changes have been dramatic and have strongly reinforced earlier policy developments responding to bullying in the school system. The hurried provincial government response has been substantial and not without some controversy (e.g., specificity issues,

invasion of individual rights) but it has struck a chord with the public and within three months the cyber investigators were dealing with over 80 files. It is too soon to assess the impact on sexual assault issues. As noted in the Timeline, another event, the "Rape Chant" at Saint Mary's University's orientation, set off another major public storm and professional exchange about the deep cultural roots of sexual assault.

As noted above, sexual assaults have been more resistant to the decline than other violence in HRM since the Roundtable. In both HRP and RCMP jurisdictions of HRM, the number and rate of police-reported sexual assault incidents have not declined. Table 3.3 below highlights the pattern of sexual assaults in the RCMP jurisdiction where, though 2013 witnessed some decline, two year averages for the period 2008 to 2013 have steadily increased. Table 3.2 indicates that, among CMAs in Canada, HRM in 2011 ranked #3 in rate of sexual offences where the victim is female and in the rate for all sexual offences; it ranked fifth highest in the rate of sexual offences where the victim was male. In all these specific rankings, the underlying HRM rate was significantly well above the average for Canada. Table 3.4 provides the actual numbers that Statistics Canada worked with in generating its rates and rankings for HRM; there are several key points, namely:

a. there has been no evidence for a downward trend in the numbers and rates between 2007 and 2012 inclusive;
b. there have been very few level 2 (use of a weapon) or level 3 (aggravated) sexual assaults though here the good news is qualified when one appreciates that some level 1 assaults have been quite vicious as reportedly "even level 1 charges that are registered are alarmingly violent. According to Statistics Canada, victims were injured in 17% of [level 1]cases laid in 2007 and at least 2% involved a firearm, knife or blunt instrument" (Globe and Mail, "Sexual Assaults", October 5, 2013);
c. there is a rather low proportion of the sexual assaults dealt with by the police (and much under-reporting to begin with, some reports suggesting over 90% are unreported) that result in charges being laid (at most 15% of the police-reported actual incidents according to StatsCan's UCR data); further, the conviction rate where charges are laid is estimated to be only roughly 25% (Clairmont, 2009).

Given the under-reporting and attrition at each step in Justice's case processing, and the evident resistance to the factors effecting downward trends in other types of violence, one has to consider whether police and crown resources are adequate and whether the criminal justice system can do more to respond to sexual assaults. This is complex given that there have been specialized roles put in place at both police and crown levels under the conventional case processing system. Singer advances some useful suggestions for consideration for enhancements in these regards. One area where the Justice system clearly can be improved is in providing more services to victims since currently there is little collaboration between federal and provincial authorities

subsequent to the court resolution of the case and this is to the detriment of victims' dealing with the long-term harm caused by their being assaulted (Clairmont, 2011).

Beyond the Law and the Justice system, getting at the roots of sexual assaults would seem to require changing the culture of alcohol consumption (a key immediate cause of sexual assault) and changing the deep cultural supports for sexual violence. Sexual assault is increasingly seen as a cultural problem and requires activism, education and accountability among both males and females, albeit more an empowerment with females and accountability with males; as one letter to the editor in the Globe and Mail put it recently, what is needed is a resurgence of activism more than tinkering with the law". The general approval for the Public Safety Office's Don't Be That Guy campaign in 2012 speaks to the latter point. Clearly the municipal government has a responsibility to do more with respect to both the alcohol issue and the cultural roots of sexual assault. The municipality, perhaps through the recommended relocated public safety office, minimally should be engaged with the on-going Provincial Strategy on Sexual Violence. And, given the impact of social media and proliferation of socials network systems, more policy-oriented research on sexual knowledge, values and behaviours among HRM youth will be crucial.

VIOLENCE AND SEX WORKERS

The 2008 Roundtable Report did not include specific recommendations for the area of prostitution and violence against sex workers though there was acknowledgement of the well-documented grave risks and frequent violence that sex workers have had to contend with. There were several focus group meetings bringing together a wide range of interests – government officials, police, Stepping Stone staff – but no consensus was reached about future directions. The dominant issues for the group discussions concerned how to deal with street solicitation (e.g., sex worker safety, neighbourhood complaints), the implications of indoor sex work (e.g., zoning, municipal regulation, brothels) and the experiences of municipalities elsewhere in Europe and North America. Now in 2014 many of the issues have either been resolved or will need to be in the very near future.

The Timeline below establishes clearly that the major policy development for sex work has been at the court level. In 2007 there was a challenge to prostitution laws filed by Terri Jean Bedford and other sex work professionals on the basis that they violated sections 7 and 2(b) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In December 2013 the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) released its decision on the Bedford case. It struck down what it described as "overblown and grossly disproportionate" current laws on prostitution dealing with street solicitation, living off the avails of prostitution, and keeping a brothel. Parliament was given one year to come up with new legislation should it choose to do so. Prostitution per se had not been a criminal act and unless the federal government comes up with new legislation, none of these specific, prostitution-related laws will be in

place in the future. Of course few people expect the federal government to simply forego new legislation, and, one way or another, governmental authorities at both the provincial and municipal levels will be engaged in serious discussion about their response to the various options and contingencies.

At the actual sex work level, there were significant changes in sex work in the past decade and especially since the Roundtable, and in some ways the court action mirrors these developments. The first big change has been the trend away from street solicitation throughout Canada. In HRM police report very few sex workers engaged any longer in this style of sex work (usually labelled the survivalist mode given the great multi-dimensional vulnerability of the sex workers involved); rarely more than a dozen sex workers, if that, regularly "do the strolls". Sex work has gone "in-door", greatly facilitated in that regard by the cyber technology evolution which now provides a number of on-line sites to communicate through. This change is often seen as a safer, harm-reduction approach to sex work; as Singer notes in her paper, violence is more of a factor for street sex workers than for in-call workers. How much safer and by what means are questions generating some controversy. There are many sceptics among local police and prosecutors and little research on the question. The second big change, very noticeable since the Roundtable, has been the decline in prostitution incidents and persons charged; as Singer's data show, there were 56 persons so charged in 2007 but only 8 in 2011. Evidence from police interviews and actual incidents data indicate that the downward trend continued in 2012 and 2013. Well prior to the SCC's 2013 decision the on-the-ground changes in the police approach had become a common practice basically following the Vancouver Police Department's model which evolved from a zone approach to containing sex workers to a harm reduction model wherein the sex worker was seen as a survivalist, a victim with a right to her livelihood; the transition in the policing perspective was greatly hastened by the horrendous serial killings of sex workers from Vancouver's notorious Downtown Eastside.

Virtually all the criminal justice system role players interviewed indicated that the sex work field had changed profoundly with respect to charges, police response and legal issues in recent years and expected that "it will be more wide open when the SCC position comes in on the Bedford case". More significant changes are still to come and clearly there will be controversy. There is much diversity of views about sex work. The majority of services, advocacy, and harm-reduction programs available in HRM are targeted at the shrinking number of survival sex workers, not the ever-growing internet-based and escort services, and apparently there is very little known about the extent and prevalence of the latter types of sex work in HRM. While the dominant view is that sex work, indoor and facilitated over the Internet is safer than that which takes place on the stroll, the extent to which sex workers experience violence as they engage in their trade is unknown, as are reliable data on the size and pervasiveness of the trade in HRM as a whole. Views differ profoundly too on the exploitation of sex

workers**.** Research for this Review indicates that the common position of non-profit service providers and sex worker advocates in HRM, is that pimping rings are not dominant in the trade and that the majority of sex workers in HRM are not in exploitative situations. Harm-reduction has largely taken the form of legal support, and health and safety rather than "salvation" types of programs. However**,** police and prosecutors point to significant exploitation in the sex work business and that is a problem that cannot be overlooked, especially given long established patterns in HRM of pimps exploiting young girls (some underage as the age of consent for exploitation is 18 and sex work falls under this category), convincing them to move to Ontario and more recently to Alberta and other points for prostitution-related work, and holding them in virtual slavery.

The basis of effective policy is good reliable data on the different dimensions of the matter at hand. That information is currently unavailable for sex work in HRM and needs to be gathered. Also, there are many alternative approaches to the legal organization of sex work, one in high favour currently is the Nordic model which criminalizes the buyers of sex work and not the sellers who are seen basically victims. An alternative approach could be the New Zealand model which removes any criminal sanction from the buying and selling of sex (of course criminal law would still apply to human trafficking and to the exploitation of youth) and downloads to the municipality a primary role in the regulation of sex work (e.g., health and safety standards, zoning regulations). It will be crucial for HRM to have the capacity to discuss and strategize, concerning the implications of the federal response to the SCC decisions, with its partners both governmental and others. This is especially so since there are many issues such as zoning, housing regulations, and perhaps escort services licensing, that are squarely within even a more narrowly perceived municipal mandate. Clearly, too, the challenge underlines that the required research and deliberations go well beyond a conventional policing role while nevertheless centered around public safety concerns, so a relocated public safety office can meaningfully contribute to that capacity in HRM.

TIMELINE – SELECTED DEVELOPMENTS ON GENDERED VIOLENCE, 2007-2013

2007

- Safer Communities Act enacted allowing special provincial investigators to shut down bawdy houses that have received community complaints
- Challenge on prostitution laws filed by Terri Jean Bedford and other sex work professionals on the basis that they violated sections 7 and 2(b) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

2008

- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre receives funding to document the need to build a provincial coordinated Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) network
- Provincial standards for SANEs drafted
- Nova Scotia Ministers of Justice and Community Services create the Domestic Violence Prevention Committee (DVPC)
- The federal government passes the Tackling Violent Crime Act which raises the age of consent from 14 to 16, the first time the age of consent has been raised since 1892.

2009

- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre marks first Sexual Assault Awareness Month in May
- Report of the NS Domestic Violence Prevention Committee released
- The NS Intimate Partner Violence Tracking Project begins
- "Sexual Assault in Nova Scotia: A Statistical Profile" report released by the NS Advisory Council on the Status of Women

2010

- NS Domestic Violence Action Plan unveiled, with a number of well-received initiatives such as amendments to the Residential Tenancies Act that would enable a victim of intimate partner violence to get out of her lease, and a 3-year Domestic Violence Court Pilot Program in Cape Breton is announced.
- "A Statistical Portrait of Intimate Partner Violence: Nova Scotia and Canadian perspectives" report released by the NS Department of Justice

2011

- www.nsdomesticviolence.ca website launched
- Department of Justice's "Family Law Reform Project" initiated
- Domestic Violence "train-the-trainer" education sessions facilitated
- Halifax ranked with 3rd highest sexual assault rate in Canada, according to Statistics Canada
- "Exploring Service Options for Youth/Survivors in HRM" report prepared for Avalon Sexual Assault Centre
- St. Mary's University hosts first ConsentFest , a conference dealing with the "Culture of Consent"
- Stepping Stone runs "Sex Workers are People Too" public education campaign

2012

- Domestic Violence Court opens in Cape Breton
- Phase II of the "Family Law Reform Project" to review the *Maintenance and Custody Act*
- Four family law bills introduced and passed by the Provincial Government in the spring 2012 legislative session
    - Bill 34: *Matrimonial Statutes Repeal Act* (in effect May, 2012)
    - Bill 37: *An Act to Amend the Interjurisdictional Support Orders Act* (In effect, Feb, 2013)
    - Bill 39: *An Act to Amend the Maintenance and Custody Act* (In effect, Feb, 2013)
    - Bill 41*: Grandparents' Rights Affirmation Act* (in effect May, 2012)
- Legislative changes to Residential Tenancies Act allowing Early Termination Provisions for Domestic Violence
- 1-855-225-0220 Domestic Violence hotline started, staffed by Transition House Association professionals
- "Neighbours, Friends and Families" public education and awareness program launched; designed to help people spot signs of domestic violence
- "Parenting Journey Program" for high-risk families held at the Nova Scotia Youth Facility and Cape Breton Correctional Centre
- Department of Health and Wellness hosts a Health Equity Forum on domestic violence
- "Don't Be That Guy" Public Education Campaign initiated by Halifax Regional Police and the Public Safety Office – the well-received initiative was fully funded by the NS Department of Justice

2013

- Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) hears Bedford Case
- Rehtaeh Parsons assault case goes "viral" on the social media
- NS Action Team on Sexual Violence and Bullying initiated by Department of Community Services in collaboration with the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, the Office of Policy and Priorities, and Communications Nova Scotia
- "Acting Together to Respond to Sexual Violence" report released by NS Government
- Nova Scotia "Cyber-Safety Act" legislation is introduced and passed in the spring and proclaimed into force in August. Among other things it allows victims to seek help in identifying anonymous perpetrators, protecting themselves against such attacks and suing the offending party.
- CyberScan investigative unit created to enforce Cyber-Safety Act
- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre receives $100,000 in emergency funding to respond to increased need for service as a result of the Rehtaeh Parsons case
- Provincial Government announces additional $1 million in sexual assault services funding province-wide
- "Sexual Assault: Safety, Help and Healing for Teens in Nova Scotia" developed and released by the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women
- "Bullying & Cyberbullying: What We Need to Know" developed and released by Education and Early Childhood Development
- "Police Leaders Symposium on Bullying and Cyberbullying" hosted by Department of Justice
- New fee schedule in effect for physician examination of sexual assault victims, forensic collection, and physician testimony in sexual assault prosecutions
- "Speak Up! Anti-Bullying Leadership Conference" held

- Halifax Regional School Board launches external review of Rehtaeh Parsons case, calls for review of health care system
- SMU “Rape Chant” incident at orientation reverberated throughout Canada and resulted in the December 2013 MacKay Report on strategies to effect cultural changes with respect to sexual attitudes and behaviours. The report advanced 20 recommendations including creating a team tasked with implementing the recommendations and focusing on structural and processual changes at the university
- The federal government introduces Bill C-13 entailing criminal code changes targeting social media with respect to the transmission / distribution of intimate images without consent.
- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre launches “We Believe” campaign at “Conference to Address Issues of Sexualized Violence”
- External review of Child and Adolescent Mental Health and Addiction Services in HRM prompted and released by the provincial government. The report highlighted gaps in services and called for more psychiatrists in the system.
- The SCC decision on the Bedford case is released December 2013. It strikes down what it describes as “overblown and grossly disproportionate” current laws on prostitution dealing with street solicitation, living off the avails of prostitution, and keeping a brothel. Parliament is given one year to come up with new legislation should it choose to do so

TABLE 3.1 - INTIMATE PARTNER DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS REPORTED TO HRP, 2006-2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013*
TOTALS	3377	3080	2876	2557	2714	2816	2660	2497
MONTHLY AVERAGE	281	257	240	213	226	235	222	227
2 YR AVERAGE	**3229**		**2717**		**2765**		**2579**	

Source: Halifax Regional Police Victim Services, 2013

TABLE 3.2 - VICTIMS OF POLICE-REPORTED SEXUAL OFFENCES, BY SEX OF VICTIM AND CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA (TOP 7 FEMALE VICTIMS) , 2011

	FEMALE VICTIMS		MALE VICTIMS		TOTAL	
	#	RATE	#	RATE	#	RATE
WINNIPEG	477	149	25	8	502	79
EDMONTON	714	146	59	12	773	78
HALIFAX	**238**	**133**	**25**	**15**	**263**	**76**
SASKATOON	149	131	11	10	160	71
KELOWNA	101	128	6	8	107	69
GUELPH	67	125	8	16	75	72
BRANTFORD	66	118	14	26	80	73
CANADA	**14209**	**100**	**1305**	**9**	**15514**	**55**

*Source: Statistics Canada Centre for Justice Statistics, Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (Juristat 2012 article: Measuring violence against women: Statistical trends) *Rates calculated on the basis of 100,000 population*

TABLE 3.3

RCMP Halifax District - All Sexual Assaults
2007 - 2013 Calendar Years

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Cole Harbour	25	22	28	24	25	45	34
Lower Sackville	36	26	29	30	43	38	35
Musquodoboit Hbr.	3	2	7	8	8	7	3
North Central	3	2	2	3	3	3	0
Sheet Harbour	2	1	3	1	1	5	4
Tantallon	7	19	17	14	18	9	18
	76	72	86	80	98	107	94

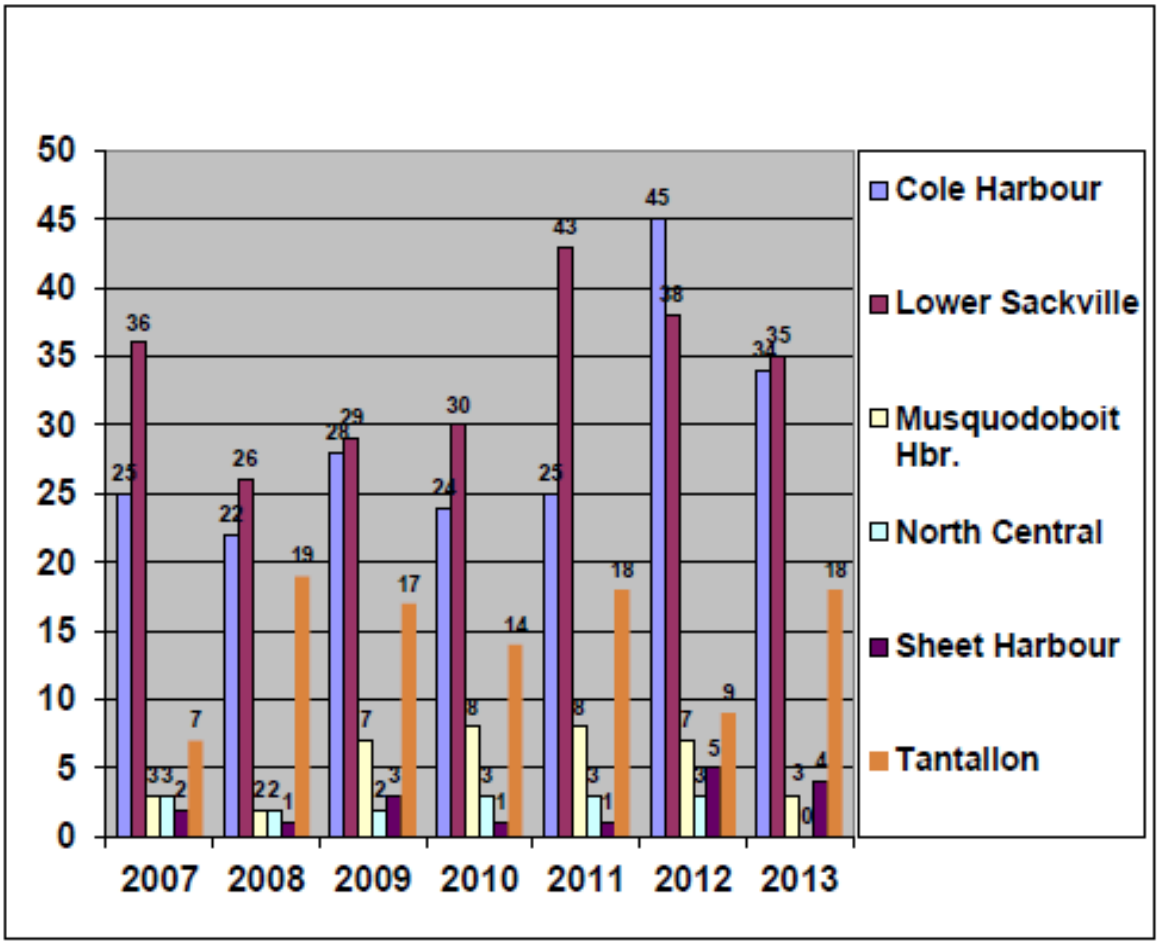

TABLE 3.4 – POLICE REPORTED SEXUAL ASSAULT INCIDENTS AND CHARGES, YOUTH AND ADULT, HRM, BY YEAR 2007-2012

LEVEL OF ASSAULT		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
LEVEL 3, AGGRAVATED	ACTUAL INCIDENTS	1	1	2	4	6	4
	TOTAL, PERSONS CHARGED	0	1	3	1	4	1
	TOTAL, ADULT CHARGED	0	1	3	1	3	1
	TOTAL, YOUTH CHARGED	0	0	0	0	1	0
LEVEL 2, WEAPON OR BODILY HARM	ACTUAL INCIDENTS	4	6	9	10	4	5
	TOTAL, PERSONS CHARGED	1	3	2	6	2	2
	TOTAL, ADULT CHARGED	1	1	2	6	2	1
	TOTAL, YOUTH CHARGED	0	2	0	0	0	1
LEVEL 1	ACTUAL INCIDENTS	329	299	299	303	343	333
	TOTAL, PERSONS CHARGED	67	90	63	72	86	58
	TOTAL, ADULT CHARGED	60	71	51	59	76	52
	TOTAL, YOUTH CHARGED	7	19	12	13	10	6

Source: Statistics Canada. CANSIM Table 252-0051 – Incident-based crime statistics, by detailed violations, annual; Fall-2013

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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

INTRODUCTION

In updating the data and issues concerning the social construction of violence and public safety, assessing outcomes for the 2008 Report's recommendations, and looking forward from the current situation, a wide variety of research strategies and activities were employed. A research outline for this dimension was developed in collaboration between the principal investigator and the Professor Kimber who assumed responsibility for writing the supplemental report reproduced in Volume 2. Interviews, usually following an interview guide, were carried out with twenty key persons, stakeholders and knowledgeables, in this field. These included police officers at all rank levels, especially school liaison officers, provincial officials responsible for policy development concerning social media issues and for the CyberScan investigation unit, pertinent municipal staff, veteran reporters with the local newspapers writing extensively in the area of violence and public safety, and academic-based experts in the social media field. Pertinent information from interviews garnered for other dimensions of the Review was also available. In addition there was modest recourse to documents (e.g., minutes of the Police Board and PSO reports) and to the general literature in this field.

In the earlier Roundtable research it was found via large telephone and mail-back surveys of adults in HRM that respondents (a combined total of 3,189 persons) depended "a great deal" (60%) upon television and radio for their knowledge about crime and public safety, and 50% reported also that they depended on the daily newspapers a great deal for such knowledge. These two media were also cited, in the same rank order, as sources they relied "very much on" (55% and 35% respectively). Surprisingly, friends and relatives were not referred to as providing a great deal of that specific knowledge (just 15%) or as a source relied on very much for it (just 11%). The internet, government and police were each much less acknowledged as providing a great deal of such knowledge or being relied upon for it; for example, just 8% of the respondents stated that they obtained a great deal of information about crime and safety via the internet and only 5% said they relied a great deal on such information obtained from the internet. The Roundtable focus group (see Kimber's paper for a description of the 2007 group) emphasized largely, and appropriately then, the role of the mainstream media in depicting issues of violence and public safety and how that depiction might be altered and what HRM and the police services could do to effect positive change. A general premise of the focus group was that the public was not mistaken in its perceptions and knowledge of serious crime in HRM (i.e., HRM by objective measures was indeed a metropolitan area with a comparatively high level of violent crime) but rather, that there was an imbalance in

media presentations (i.e., it was too negative and emphasizing violent crime) and that more should be communicated to the public by police and others to facilitate crime prevention and allay fear and anxiety.

THE 2008 ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE RESPONSE TO THEM

There were four recommendations advanced in the 2008 Roundtable on the above Social Construction theme, namely: (a) Halifax Regional Municipality needs a new communications strategy for dealing with violence and the fear of violence; (b) Halifax Regional Municipality should develop a social marketing campaign designed to positively influence community attitudes and values — respect, responsibility, accountability — around issues of violence and crime; (c) HRM should strive to achieve a better balance in media accounts by taking some responsibility for communicating the positives and (d) there should be more quality crime prevention information, well distributed to residents. There has been no significant evidence of any "violence and public safety" initiative by HRM Communications in relation to the four recommendations above. HRP's Public Affairs / Public Relations Unit did advance a number of such initiatives as part of a Public Safety Communication Plan developed in collaboration with the HRP's Public Safety Office and the RCMP. Beyond providing supportive activity for these two police services and carrying out its conventional public relations tasks, the Public Affairs / Public relations unit was much involved in HRP's social media launching in 2009.

There is evidence that the police services and the Public Safety Office (PSO) did meet some of the four recommendations. A PSO Spotlight on Safety monthly report was widely circulated among designated stakeholders after 2009 and a social media initiative was inaugurated by the PSO in late 2011, essentially "A Spotlight on Safety" blog and associated Facebook and Twitter accounts which provided information and the possibilities of feedback and exchange. HRP also began to use its Youtube site to present crime prevention videos in late 2011 and made available an interactive "crime mapping site" where residents could examine crime patterns in their own and other areas of HRM. Other related PSO initiatives included the well-regarded "Don't be that guy / Be more than a bystander" video and poster campaign carried out in collaboration with HRP Public Affairs, Avalon Centre, Byrony House and the NS Status of Women, and aimed at encouraging men to actively engage in reducing abusive attitudes and behaviours directed toward women. The PSO had limited resources within HRP (it did draw much on the voluntarism of HRP's Public Affairs / Public Relations Unit) and could not easily tap into HRM's resources or Public Relations expertise (one well-informed stakeholder commented that seeking resources from HRM Communications elicits the response "the PSO is 100% the responsibility of the HRPS"); accordingly, despite the Public Safety officer's considerable activity and showing the public safety "flag" at numerous meetings and events, there was a significant shortfall with respect to the recommendations concerning communications strategy, social marketing and impacting the mainstream media. The extensive

interviewing and examination of documents in this Review clearly conveyed much consensus on that theme; the only qualification was that among the interviewees associated with the mainstream media, there was high praise for the Public Affairs / Public Relations Unit with respect to the dissemination of information such as police reports and public safety warning and for accessibility and responsiveness. Interestingly, there has been a significant stepping up of social marketing in HRM since the municipal election in the fall of 2012 but this has been apart from the HRP and the PSO and there has been little focus on violence and crime.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL MEDIA

The Timeline data below indicates that the major developments for violence and public safety concerns since the 2008 Roundtable report have focused around (a) the developments in social media, in Kaplan and Haelein's words, "the growth of internet-based applications that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content", social networking sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and so on; and (b) the reaction and adaptation to these developments among government leaders, Justice officials, mainstream media and the public; (c) specific developments related to the Public Safety Office.

The growth of these internet applications or social networking sites (SNSs) has been phenomenal, virtually all happening since the Roundtable ended seven years ago. Facebook has gone from a Harvard University–student-only SNS to, by March 2013, having 1.1 billion users world-wide, and, in Canada, being accessed by over 50% of all internet users. In HRM, for example, the HRP established a Facebook page and Twitter account in 2009 and by 2013 it was managing two official Facebook pages with more than 8,300 "likes" and three Twitter accounts with about 15,000 followers. The Public Safety Office embarked upon the social media trajectory in late 2011 "as a way to engage a broader audience in the public safety equation"; it maintains the Spotlight on Public Safety blog (http://spotlightonpublicsafety.com) as well as its Twitter account (twitter.com/HRMpublicsafety).

Along with this growth in social media has come "hot issues" where an incident goes viral (i.e., get widely distributed and commented upon by others' posts locally and beyond) presumably because it touches a major societal nerve / concern, commands the attention of the mainstream media and demands response from government and Justice authorities. The Timeline illustrates the considerable attention and policy implications arising from two such incidents in HRM. The Rehtaeh Parsons' suicide in 2013 reached the social media at a time when society was engrossed with bullying, especially among the young and in the school population, and becoming aware of the invasive power of the social media and its associated mobility which could capture incidents on smart phones and relay the images then and later to an unlimited audience; in the Parsons' case, images of sexual activity at an alcohol-fuelled party were widely transmitted and public shaming accompanied allegations of sexual assault. The other major event, also in 2013, was the "rape chant" at Saint Mary's

University's Frosh orientation which was uploaded on Instagram and widely accessed; the 15-second chant discounted the significance of consent and celebrated having sex with underage girls. As the Timeline indicates, in the Parsons incident, there was quick response by the relevant authorities accompanied by new provincial legislation (the Cyber Safety Act) and a new enforcement unit established in the Department of Justice (the CyberScan Investigation Unit) as well as significant funds allocated to front-line, non-profit services and interest groups to assist their work against sexual assault and assisting its victims; the incident also led to a proposed change in criminal law on the part of the federal government, namely the introduction of Bill C-13 targeting social media with respect to the transmission / distribution of intimate images without consent. In the SMU incident, immediate corrective policies were introduced by university officials in addition to a commitment to follow through on recommendations brought forward by a council - headed by a local expert on bullying and related issues – established by the university to develop strategic plans to counter such behaviour; these recommendations, twenty in all, were delivered in a December 2013 report, just a few months after the incident.

It would be interesting to determine how significant the social media explosion has been for changing the great dependency of HRM adults on the mainstream media for obtaining information about crime and public safety and for the confidence that they place in such information. The large increase in accessing the SNSs and the increasing tendency for people, especially of course teenagers and young adults, to watch TV online and on demand, in a personalized programmed fashion would suggest there would be profound changes from the patterns found in the previous Roundtable surveys, especially much more utilization and reliance on the internet. At the same time, as Kimber and others have argued there remains a symbiotic relationship between the conventional mainstream media and the SNSs. The latter create bubbles of special interest items which the mainstream media sometimes picks up and makes more generally available, and presumably accords some greater credibility to them; if it did not pick up such items, the mainstream media would become increasingly irrelevant, so clearly there is symbiosis at work.

In the case of some internet sites, the number of "likes" and "followers" may not reflect much commitment; for example, the HRP Facebook page was "liked" by thousands and its Twitter feed was presumably followed by about 15,000 people as of October 2013, and reportedly, there were on daily average some 20 interactions from the public. The number of active users for any SNS is difficult to calculate, as one has to distinguish between different accounts, such as corporate and individual accounts, multiple and single accounts and so forth. In the case of these HRP's internet applications, these data are unavailable but it is known that the most frequent subject matter for public interactions has focused around traffic matters. More generally, there are considerable

methodological challenges in determining the number of active social media users, challenges which often require human interface to detect and determine.

Still, there is no doubt that the growth of social media has resulted in deep societal change already and its future implications seem beyond experts' grasp. Kimber states in his supplemental report that "we are in the middle of a continually evolving, often unsettling tectonic shift in the ways in which we understand, talk about and deal with everything, including violence and public safety." Currie and Coughlan also contend that the social media, cyber revolution, does represent a paradigm shift from a legal perspective, enhancing conventional crimes, spawning new ones, generating a much wider net of offenders and victims, and greatly facilitating the mobilization of social pressure for quick policy and program response – appropriately worrisome for many commentators who emphasize that issues of cyber security may needlessly conflict with basic rights so more transparency is needed before they are shuffled off quickly to the "control people". Assaults and harassments take on new features and libel and scams abound but so also do greater awareness of the issues, enhanced surveillance and criminal investigation, and greater possibilities of effective personalized crime prevention knowledge and strategies, not to speak of the many other wonderful benefits of the internet. These internet developments, perhaps on a scale comparable in societal impact to the automobile revolution, create opportunities and challenges with respect to violence and public safety and are now central to the latter's agenda.

There is much evidence from the modest research carried out in this Review that the challenges are immense. For example, front-line school response officers (SROs), where many of the above problems seem most manifest, generally agreed that, as one SRO put it, "The internet is almost always where a problem either begins or ends". The SROs agreed that the new technology and interactive technology are little understood by youth with regard to the legal/criminal implications and the permanency of posted materials. The internet posts were seen as generating pressures on authorities for a quickened pace of incident – response which translate into more complicated and demanding work for the SROs. Generally, the SROs noted the need for more resources (surprisingly, the number of SROs has been almost halved over the past several years) and for more training in SNSs and their implications for public safety and for police enforcement; as it is, some contended, the lack of training in the constantly evolving internet applications used by youth and the limited technology available to the SROs make it challenging indeed to confidently monitor and investigate online violence and public safety concerns. The social media challenge extends to the HRP as a whole since currently there are limited resources dedicated to the technology and development of social media use. HRP reportedly does not have any employee dedicated to social media; rather a few individuals in Public Affairs / Public Relations engage with the social

media as only a small part of their job. The Public Safety Office has limited resources at HRP for its social media thrusts and, being located in the police service, cannot draw on resources of the pertinent HRM bureaucracy. Of course as several elected HRM officials reported, social media can facilitate an incident going viral with attendant pressures on politicians to do something even when there is a dearth of data or what the politicians called a political vacuum; one senior elected official elaborated on that view commenting, "Policy then gets made on the fly since politicians hate a political vacuum".

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of the Review, consistent with those offered by Kimber in the attached volume, are that more investment has to be made in achieving capacity in social media in HRP's Public Affairs and PSO (if it remains where it is presently located) and in front-line policing as has been clearly demonstrated for the school response officers. The experience of the PSO from this social construction perspective clearly highlights the problems of it being located in one police service, charged with multiple responsibilities there but provided with meagre resources and unable to link up effectively with the resources and sophistication of the municipal bureaucracy exemplified in the latter's social marketing initiatives; it is recommended that the PSO be relocated as suggested in the earlier Roundtable report and as highlighted in the section of this Review dealing with organizational changes. Responding effectively to the challenges of social media and garnering net benefit from it, requires more than an enforcement agenda; there are cultural issues to be dealt with, questions such as the advisability of what limitations on anonymity are socially acceptable, and a host of other important policy issues which impact on public safety (e.g., much of the damage of internet posts is done via anonymous "piling-on" comments or images). These are properly matters for the municipal government to consider.

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Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haelein, Users of the world unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. Business Horizons, Indiana University, 2010

TIMELINE - SELECTED DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VIOLENCE 2006-2013

2006

- Twitter, an online micro-blogging site, broadcasts its first 140-character message
- Facebook, launched in 2004 as a Harvard-student-only online social networking service, changes user policies, allowing anyone over the age of 13 with a valid email address to join the social networking site.

2007

- The first iPhone, capable of data communication, is released

2009

- First widespread use of Twitter among HRM residents during the Spryfield fires
- First widespread use of Twitter, Facebook and YouTube for political campaigning during NS provincial election
- Halifax Regional Police launch Facebook page and Twitter account. In 2013 it manages two official Facebook pages with more than 8,300 "likes" and three Twitter accounts with about 15,000 followers.

2010

- Instagram, an online photo and video sharing, social networking site, is launched

2011

- The Internet connects local activists to the global Occupy movement
- The Public Safety Office embarks upon Social Media in November as a way to engage a broader audience in the public safety equation. The Public Safety Office maintains the Spotlight on Public Safety blog (http://spotlightonpublicsafety.com) and the Public Safety Office Twitter account (twitter.com/HRMpublicsafety). In one year the blog reportedly had garnered 18,000 views.
- Halifax Regional Police launch YouTube channel with online crime prevention videos.
- Halifax Regional Police's Public Relations Unit updates its Public Safety Communication Plan to support the Public Safety Office. The document outlines an ambitious agenda of "proposed vehicles" detailing for each the purpose, intended audience, responsibility, timeline and status. Eighteen of the thirty-three proposed vehicles were completed or on-going and fifteen were TBD (to-be-developed) or N/A (not applicable). Province appoints task force on Bullying and Cyber-Bullying

2012

- Widespread public mourning on social media after the murder of local activist Raymond Taavel goes viral; brings spotlight on Mental Health issues in the Criminal Justice System
- Report of the Nova Scotia Task Force on Bullying and Cyber-bullying is released.

- The PSO in collaboration with HRP Public Affairs, Avalon Centre , Byrony House and the NS Status of Women mounted the video/poster campaign “Don’t be that guy / Be more than a bystander” aimed at encouraging men to actively engage in reducing abusive attitudes and behaviours directed toward women.

2013

- Halifax Regional Police launch their public online crime-mapping tool and announce that it will become the first police service in Canada to make the police blotter public (i.e., providing information to the public on all calls for service)
- Local blogger draws attention to violence in the Downtown with a post about a violent incident he witnessed at The Carleton Nightclub where a bar staff and police were accused of using excessive force, in what has become informally known as “The Carleton Incident.” The story went viral and resulted in a review which found no wrongdoing on the part of staff or police
- The Rehtaeh Parsons assault (November 2011), attempted suicide and subsequent death (April 2013) case goes viral after her mother goes public with the story and starts a memorial Facebook page; global “hacktivism” organization Anonymous gets involved; brings spotlight on sexual assault and violence against women in Halifax
- NS Action Team on Sexual Violence and Bullying initiated by Department of Community Services in collaboration with the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, the Office of Policy and Priorities, and Communications Nova Scotia
- Avalon Sexual Assault Centre receives $100,000 in emergency funding to respond to increased need for service as a result of the online response from the Rehtaeh Parsons case
- Provincial Government announces additional $1 million in sexual assault services funding province-wide
- “Sexual Assault: safety, help and healing for teens in Nova Scotia” developed and released by the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women
- “Bullying & Cyberbullying: What We Need to Know” developed and released by Education and Early Childhood Development
- “Police Leaders Symposium on Bullying and Cyberbullying” hosted by Department of Justice
- New fee schedule in effect for physician examination of sexual assault victims, forensic collection, and physician testimony in sexual assault prosecutions
- “Speak Up! Anti-Bullying Leadership Conference” held
- Nova Scotia “Cyber-Safety Act” legislation is introduced and passed in the spring and proclaimed into force in August. Among other things it allows victims to seek help in identifying anonymous perpetrators, protecting themselves against such attacks and suing the offending party
- CyberScan province-wide investigative unit created to enforce Cyber-Safety Act and begins functioning in the Fall
- SMU “Rape Chant” incident goes viral via a 15 second video put on Instagram. It results in immediate actions (e.g., Presidential apology, compulsory sensitivity training for all students and resignation of the student union president). SMU set up a council headed by a local expert to develop recommendations and these, 20 in all, were delivered in a December 2013 report.

- Halifax Regional Police launch online “Re-envision Project”, surveying citizens on their thoughts about future directions of the Halifax Regional Police Service
- The federal government introduces Bill C-13 entailing criminal code changes targeting the social media with respect to the transmission / distribution of intimate images without consent
- As of March 2013, the Associated Press reports Facebook claimed 1.1 *billion* users worldwide and on an average day, the site has 665 million active users. The Internet World Statistics website, <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats2.htm> which gathers data from four global tracking sites reported in September 2012 that 83% of all Canadians are Internet users and that some 53% of Canadian internet users access Facebook
- As of December 2013 Twitter had over 55 million registered users with another 135,000 signing up every day. In 2013 reports (e.g., Peer Reach) conservatively indicated that Twitter was being used by 7% of all Canadian internet users while some put that penetration percentage at 15%
- Instagram now boasts more than 150 million actively monthly users and more than 16 billion photos shared

PART B: THE 2008 ROUNDTABLE DIMENSIONS UPDATED

THE MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION

INTRODUCTION

When the Roundtable was initiated in 2006, HRM had a public image as a comparatively violent metropolitan area where there were significant levels of "signal" crimes such as "swarmings" and alcohol-fueled violence and social disorder, especially in its core urban areas. That imagery actually mirrored well the high rates of such incidents in HRM compared to previous years and also when stacked up against other CMAs in Canada. In the five years preceding 2006 this pattern had become especially prominent despite the municipality having two large and well-regarded police services (i.e., the HRP and the RCMP) with quite credible records of response time and effective enforcement. Amalgamation in the mid-1990s had reduced significantly the municipalities' mandated responsibilities in the social policy and services fields (Clairmont, 2008).This circumstance highlighted the question of what more the municipality could do to get at the roots of the violence and public safety concerns, what its mandate and policy options were, what its capacity was in these regards, and how it was and should be collaborating with other levels of government and community-based services and organizations in responding to the challenges. A major focus of the Roundtable was then not only to examine patterns of violence and public safety concerns but also to explore the above issues for the municipal government. A number of recommendations specific to organizational change and the municipal government's role and capacity in ameliorating the root causes of violence and public safety concerns resulted from the Roundtable multi-dimensional and extensive research and consultation over a two year period (Clairmont, 2008). In this Review section the recommendations and the response to them over the past five years are examined as well as developments in policies and programs since 2008, and current initiatives and best practices from other CMAs across Canada.

In carrying out the above tasks the principal investigator worked closely with Kit Waters, former Director of Policy and Planning with the NS Department of Justice and currently consultant and part-time professor at Saint Mary's University. Waters, who had also participated in the original Roundtable's focus groups, took on responsibility for preparing the paper "Organizational changes in response to the Round Table Report" which is in Volume Two of the Review. The collaboration included preparing an outline of Review tasks for this dimension of the Review, developing interview guides for the interviews, joint interviews with a number of key stakeholders in municipal and provincial government, and individual interviews with a wide assortment of informed stakeholders. There were 70 different respondents interviewed, some on several occasions. Waters especially focused on kindred municipal developments in the rest of Canada and the experiences and

assessments of government bureaucrats in HRM and provincially, while the principal investigator focused on HRM's elected officials and HRP officers; but there was significant overlap. There was always a thorough exchange of data and perspectives. Access was obtained to many documents, minutes and papers including minutes of the HRM"s Board of Police Commissioners which exercised oversight of the Public Safety office, papers and reports generated by the PSO, and other materials from diverse governmental sources in HRM and beyond (e.g., reports of HRP's Public Affairs).

THE ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE RESPONSES

The priority recommendations of the Roundtable report, consistent with the position noted above, had to do with the role of the municipal government and the organizational changes that could enhance municipal capacity in this area of violence and public safety. There were essentially the seven recommendations presented below with capitalized capsule assessment of their realization,

1. HRM Municipality should play a greater role in dealing with violence and public safety along three dimensions – vision and leadership, capacity building in the administration, and advocating for resources. UNTIL 2013 THERE WAS LITTLE EVIDENCE OF THIS OUTCOME.
2. A priority response should be the engagement of a full-time Public Safety Coordinator heading a PSO, functioning as a "business unit" (i.e., responsibilities and budget) linked to Mayor's office and with a broadly-based advisory committee. THE PSO WAS ESTABLISHED, BUT AS PART OF THE HRP, WITHOUT A BUDGET OR AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND WITH MINIMAL CONNECTION TO THE MAYOR'S OFFICE OR MUNICIPAL BUREAUCRACY.
3. The task of the PS coordinator should initially be the development of a strategic action plan (SAP) addressing the violence and public safety concerns and encouraging the establishment of a tripartite committee (i.e., including representatives from the municipal, provincial, and federal governments) for a three year period to consider violence and public safety issues in areas such as housing and offender reintegration. AFTER AN INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS WAS DEVELOPED AND ADOPTED BY COUNCIL IN 2009, A SAP WAS DEVELOPED BY THE PSO IN 2011 BUT TO LITTLE AVAIL GIVEN ITS LIMITED OPERATIONAL VALUE AND THE APPARENT LACK OF INTEREST BY HRP, THE POLICE BOARD AND THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.
4. To be an effective collaborator with the senior levels of government, the municipality must bring something to the table in terms of expertise on local public safety issues, strategic planning and commitment; "regaining" the municipal charter for the amalgamated HRM could help in this regard. THE CHARTER WAS REGAINED BUT, ASIDE FROM THE SHORT-TERM SAFER, STRONGER COMMUNITY INITIATIVE FOCUSED ON ONE PUBLIC HOUSING MILIEU, THERE WAS LITTLE COLLABORATION

WITH OTHER ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL DISORDER AND THE PSO WAS NOT A MECHANISM FOR SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.

5. HRM should become an active participant in the national Municipal Network on Crime Prevention and in networks among cities that are engaged in dealing with violence, fostering public safety and examining best practices. THE PSO DID ADVANCE THIS RECOMMENDATION. HRM IS A MEMBER OF THE MUNICIPAL NETWORK.
6. HRM should respond to Public Health and other provincial initiatives directed at violence and public safety (e.g., Provincial Alcohol Strategy) which have indicated a desire to form partnerships with the municipal government. THERE WAS SOME MODEST COLLABORATION FACILITATED BY THE PSO AND BY OTHER BUSINESS UNITS OF HRM.
7. The municipality should examine ways to deal more effectively and more inclusively with the African Nova Scotian population and communities, re-configuring or replacing the committee, Community and Race Relations, examining HRM staffing strategies and partnering with local Black leaders and the other levels of government to reduce the highly disproportionate rates of victimization and offending among Blacks. IN 2012 THE AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIAN AFFAIRS INTEGRATION OFFICE WAS ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION OF HRM.

The evidence presented below and the Waters' paper in Volume Two support the capsule assessments. The shortfall concerning realization of the priority objectives that can be linked to the PSO is largely a function of the location of the office within HRP and not attributable to the public safety officer for whom most stakeholders concerned with violence and public safety expressed praise for what was accomplished under the circumstances. Subsequent to the municipal election in 2012 there have been significant indications of the municipality adopting a much more active bent in developing partnerships with the provincial government and community organizations in matters related to the roots of violence and social disorder (e.g., race issues, homelessness and neighbourhood security).

ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES TIMELINE

The timeline data indicate that the municipal government's focus on the Roundtable recommendations was largely confined to actions taken within a year of the Roundtable report being issued. In 2009 the HRM municipal charter was "regained" with implicit possibilities for an expansion of the municipal mandate in various areas, including those that might be important to get at the roots of violence and social disorder in HRM (e.g., housing). A public safety action plan – labeled Partnering for Public Safety - was quickly put together in February 2009 with input from the various municipal departments on any of the 64 recommendations pertinent to their respective responsibilities, and a month later the HRM Public Safety Office was in place, headed by an HRP

superintendent and located at the HRP headquarters. Subsequently, HRM's PSO became in effect HRP's PSO. The funding for the PS officer came (via agreement between the province and HRP) from the provincial Boots-on-the-Street program and consequently the establishment of the PSO cost the municipality nothing. No evidence could be found that the HRM public safety action plan was ever substantially implemented. No audit of the SAP was produced for the HRM Police Board by the PSO. No unambiguous reference to the action plan was found in the Board's minutes nor was any PSO reference made to it when PSO achievements were listed. Interview materials support the Timeline data in the conclusion that the HRM bureaucracy and the PSO in HRP were rarely collaborators in initiatives and policy directed at violence and public safety. There were indications of a significant change in that pattern in 2013 as several positions publicly advanced by the mayor pointed to a more engaged Mayor and Council partnering with others in matters such as Housing and staking out a claim for more collaboration with the provincial government over a wide area of policy (see the Timeline below for details).

There were two earlier HRM actions during the post-Roundtable period that were salient for the Roundtable recommendations, namely the municipal involvement in the long-term Youth Advocate Program, targeting high-risk, young teens, which began while the Roundtable was in progress, was funded for five years on a 50-50 basis between HRM and the federal NCPC, and operated under HRM's Community and Recreational Services. Funded solely by HRM since 2011, the program was shifted to the PSO in 2013. The other initiative was HRM's establishment of the Manager of African Nova Scotian Affairs position in 2012 which was a consequence of HRM's Africville Agreement but also advocated by the ad-hoc race relations subcommittee of the PSO.

The Timeline data indicates that the PSO was involved in a wide range of initiatives dealing with the roots of violence and public safety. Much involvement consisted of publicizing and lending encouragement to activities that were carried out by the essentially independent units re-deployed to its administrative umbrella (e.g., the Safe Corridor initiative in 2009 and the CFMH program in 2012, both by the HRP Community Response Team) or by other HRP Units (e.g., the Safer, Stronger Communities initiative in 2009, the Uptown Drug Intervention program and Dalhousie Restorative Justice program, both in 2012). There were several initiatives for which the PSO was largely responsible (e.g. Social Media initiatives and "Don't Be That Guy" campaign, both in 2012), and others where its partnership was reportedly important for the activity's implementation (e.g., the Pixels for Pistols Gun Amnesty in 2009 and Community Forum on the Culture of Alcohol in 2012). It is evident too that significant PSO activity involved meetings and committee work where important collaborative networks were advanced even while it is difficult to assess the PSO's contribution to a specific outcome that impacted on violence and public safety (e.g., the ad-hoc committees on race relations and housing in 2009). The PSO's

Strategic Action Plan prepared in 2011 could have been a milestone event but fell much short of providing a meaningful operational map for its future activity (see Waters' paper in Volume Two, pp11-12 for further discussion of the plan and its impact), and, in any event, it apparently generated little attention from the HRP and the Police Board, let alone the municipal government's bureaucracy.

The Timeline indicates too that non-governmental bodies mounted several valuable initiatives directed at violence and public safety, such as the United Way's 2007-2010 multi-year Vibrant Neighbourhood Strategy in North Dartmouth, and the Spring Garden Road Business Association's on-going Navigator program begun in 2007 providing needed services to ex-inmates and other high risk, often homeless persons. The provincial Department of Justice, in addition to its very significant Boots on the Street funding to HRM's two police services, directed initiatives such as the Dalhousie RJ program in 2012 and Cure Violence in 2013 (see the Timeline entries below for details).

THREE KEY COMPONENTS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The principal components of organizational change at the municipal government level to effect less violence and more public safety in HRM, are in 2014, as in 2008, an effective PSO, a major partnership with the Black community to enhance inclusion and reduce the significant high level of victimization and offending among Blacks, and an increased municipal capacity and collaboration with the provincial and federal governments and community organizations to get at the roots of the problems. Accordingly, it is useful to examine these components in more detail.

THE PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICE

As discussed above in the examination of the implementation of the 2008 Roundtable recommendations and the analyses of Timeline data on selected developments since 2008, the PSO has clearly not been the mechanism of organizational change and strategic action planning in responding to violence and public safety as had been hoped for. Initiatives undertaken by the PSO were basically self-initiated; there was little direction or support provided; a PSO staff member explained that there was little direction from HRP or the Municipality and any interaction with "the higher- ups" focused on the here and now, an immediate incident, not the long-term or big-picture. As Waters shows in her paper (page 8), the PSO officer also did not receive any significant strategic direction from the Police Board, though here it is unclear whether such a role was expected of the Board.

A very strong consensus among the diverse stakeholders interviewed in the Review was that the PSO was not located properly and it would have been much more effective if it had been positioned within the municipal

bureaucracy as recommended in 2008. In her cross-jurisdictional research of such mechanisms in large Canadian urban areas Waters (pp 5-10) found that HRM was unique in having its PSO positioned within the municipal police service. The usual pattern was to link the PSO with overall municipal oversight, namely the CAO or an equivalent. Partnership with the police service was always considered to be critically important but, for the most part, it was to achieve an arms-length relationship with policing that led to PSOs being established in the first place.

In the interviews with HRM elected officials, most respondents acknowledged that they had little knowledge about the PSO's activities and achievements and that the conventional constraints on the relationship between politicians and policing inhibited communications. Even those councilors serving on the HRM Police Board professed little awareness of the PSO beyond, as one stated, "the PSO being largely engaged in P.R. for HRP regarding crime prevention". One senior elected official expressed the common views of the councilors, emphasizing the need to bring the PSO into the municipal bureaucracy, linked up with mayor and council for overall policy development and transparency but accountable to the CAO. They envisioned the PSO taking a broader perspective on public safety issues, being a repository for information and best practices on violence and public safety, and through participating and collaborating with other orders of government and the community, facilitating the involvement of other business units with a role to play in community safety. The partnership with the police services was deemed crucial but the elected officials considered the appropriate PSO role to be a step removed from direct conventional crime prevention and more one of addressing the broader social determinants of violence and public safety**.**

The several provincial officials in the Department of Justice who were interviewed appeared to share a similar perspective about the PSO. They observed that there had been some collaboration with the PSO but overall it has been minimal and largely confined to the PSO's blogs and conventional police programming. There was consensus that the PSO should be positioned more in keeping with the 2008 Roundtable recommendations; as one senior official stated, the best way to proceed is for the municipality to identify specific actions and strategies and then discuss possible initiatives and costs with the province; in order to be effective at doing that**,** HRM would need a capacity for analyses of data and trends, exploring best practices and so forth and these should be the functions of the PSO, not managing directly or indirectly extant HRP crime prevention programs.

Perhaps surprisingly, the above perspectives were also strongly and widely shared by the police officers in the two police services and especially senior HRP officers and those involved in the PSO. Typically, they argued forcefully for the PSO being positioned outside the police service and having a high profile in the municipal bureaucracy. They usually suggested that, given the training and experience required, the PS officer should be a

civilian, having a wider and more long-term vision focused on general issues, working with the provincial and federal levels of government, community organizations and the police service. The diverse units administered under the PSO banner usually also shared the general perspective of the PSO being better positioned in the municipal bureaucracy. Most of these respondents indicated that the net value added from their being associated with the PSO was limited since the relationship with the PSO was not operational but more a paper shuffle with nominal supervision and a few informational sessions with the PSO; so the impact for them of a re-positioning of the PSO outside HRP would be minimal.

The very few respondents among elected officials and police officers who spoke in favour of the current positional context for the PSO contended that a move away from direct police administration could result in the politicization of the PSO but they usually added that if it remained with HRP, there would have to be some change in the way the Police Board provides oversight to it.

AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIAN AFFAIRS INTEGRATION OFFICE

As noted above in discussing the Roundtable recommendations and the response to them**,** the ANSAIO became operational in the fall of 2012, within the Government Relations and External Affairs Division of HRM. Its establishment was primarily as an outcome of the Africville Agreement but also was congruent with the Roundtable recommendation (i.e., #7 above) and with its elaboration by the PSO-coordinated, ad-hoc Consultative Committee on Race Relation in 2009-2010 (see Waters p31-32 for details). The Africville Agreement provided a general mandate for the ANSAIO (i.e., "providing leadership, strategic direction, policy advice and expertise to all parts of the [HRM] organization to strengthen the delivery of municipal services to residents and communities of African descent within HRM"). Over the past year the manager of the ANSAIO has settled into her role, engaged in community consultations with Black communities in HRM and explored issues and possible networks within the HRM bureaucracy as well as meeting with Council and senior HRM leaders (i.e., Mayor, CAO). The essential tasks have been to elaborate and specify its general mandate and determine how best they can be realized in the municipal government. A more finalized SAP is in progress.

As has been indicated in several sections of this Review – especially the section on variations in violence and victimization – the over-representation of African Nova Scotians, whether as victims or offenders of violence and public safety concerns at the individual and community levels, remains very significant as reported in the 2008 Roundtable. It has to be a priority of the PSO and the ANSAIO in collaboration (see Waters, pp 33-34). In addition to the supportive statistical data, interviews with HRM elected officials and several leaders in the HRM African Nova Scotian community have generally expressed a similar position, namely that reducing the overrepresentation in violence and enhancing public safety should be a priority while acknowledging the

broader mandate in the Africville Agreement. Among the elected officials there have been four central themes concerning the ANSAIO, namely (a) it is a work in progress; (b) its core functions need clarification; (c) there should be priority given to reducing the overrepresentation as victims and offenders; (d) there should be a strong link and collaborative relationship with the PSO.

The Black leaders interviewed, whether police officers, leaders in Public Housing complexes, or church ministers, strongly emphasized the need to focus on the reduction of violence and the over-representation of Blacks as victims and offenders. One minister commented that his biggest surprise in recently accepting a ministry in HRM was that violence in the community was so routine it did not generate the attention it would have in his home area. A long-time leader in Mulgrave Park Public Housing emphasized "the biggest issue here is safety and the biggest safety issue is violence not property crime". Police officers and faith ministers stressed the need to draw attention to the over-representation problem. There is no doubt that getting at the roots of violence and over-representation involves dealing with housing (e.g., Blacks disproportionately live in public housing) and employment issues and minimizing the impact of the legacy effects of racism and marginalization. There may be a variety of ways for ANSAIO to bring attention to the broad mandate reflected in the Africville Agreement; one way, suggested by a veteran provincial government official, might be to liaise with an HRM African Nova Scotian Senior Staff Round Table that might be established as a forum for discussion and coordination of issues pertinent for African Nova Scotians in HRM.

THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: CAPACITY, PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATION

The interviews conducted with the elected HRM officials indicated a significant change from similar interviews done for the Roundtable in 2006-2008. There was much less sense of an overarching constraint due to a limited formal mandate in conjunction with the responsibility of provincial funding. Certainly these factors (i.e., formal mandate and resources / responsibilities) were acknowledged but there was also a conviction that HRM can hardly back away when serious issues for improving the lives of its citizens are involved and thus carving out an appropriate involvement via partnership and collaboration is important. The reorganization of HRM – the smaller council, new mayor and CAO – and perhaps the "reclaimed" charter, appear to have sparked a more activist municipal government, reflected for example in the 2013 Council's 15 to 0 decision to formally participate in a coalition attacking issues of homelessness and affordable housing. Council reportedly considered it a moral obligation to address issues such as building affordable homes, helping the working poor and also people without permanent places to live. Other members of coalition included the United Way Halifax, AHANS, private sector interests and of course the provincial government. United Way Halifax had sent a letter to the

Mayor urging HRM's participation and the Mayor responded enthusiastically noting "housing is integral to what we do".

Perhaps a factor in the changing ambience at City Hall is growing sensitivity to the trends in demographics and the economy that increasing mark off HRM from the other municipalities in Nova Scotia. The four tables below capture the demographic trends. While the rates of growth in both Nova Scotia and HRM were quite modest between 2008 and 2012 (every county in Nova Scotia including HRM experienced a decline in the size of the 0 to 14 age cohort over that period), the rate has been greater for HRM which now accounts for 44% of the provincial population. HRM has been garnering virtually all of recent population growth while the other areas consistently are showing declining and more rapidly aging populations. Not shown in the tables is the fact that between 2006 and 2012, all counties in Nova Scotia, save HRM (+7.5%) and Colchester (+2.2), showed population decline. Table 4.3 indicates that net migration has been negative for Nova Scotia every year between 2007 and 2011 while consistently positive (albeit modestly) for HRM. Table 4.4 indicates that HRM has over 60% of the Black population in Nova Scotia and over 80% of the visible minority population (most immigrants to Nova Scotia, increasingly Asian and Middle-Eastern, reside in HRM). The concentration of the Nova Scotia economy in HRM has increasingly spurted (now 72%). HRM is also set apart from the rest of the province in terms of its violence, gangs and what sociologists refer to as its deviance service centers (i.e., drugs, prostitution). As discussed elsewhere in the Review, HRM is the major receiving area in Nova Scotia for ex-inmates, troubled youths and the homeless because provincial services and non-profit initiatives are concentrated here; of course it is also the major receiving area for out-of-province post-secondary students and immigrants. The above socio-demographic features require an active society, gathering and processing information and contributing to the development of appropriate social policies and programs.

A large majority of the elected officials interviewed for this Review contended that the municipal government has to and can play a larger role in getting at the roots of violence and public safety concerns. Indeed there appears to be almost total consensus, with the proviso, strongly emphasized by some, that "do it without being defined as an equal funding partner". As Waters comments in her paper (p.7), "Concern was expressed by many Councillors regarding the lack of coordination and planning among all levels of government on issues that have a bearing on community safety; such as housing, design of public spaces, recreation and programs for youth. The Councillors stated that other levels of government must be brought to the table, as responsibility for addressing some of the root causes of crime does not fall within the purview of the Municipality. Councillors noted that the Municipality must be a 'player' in the development of a strategy to address community safety issues, but the

challenge is to avoid being defined as an equal funding partner for specific issues outside the mandate of the Municipality and for which it has no resources".

There is a strongly-held conviction then among the elected officials that HRM has to become more engaged in partnerships with the other levels of government and the private and non-profit sectors in order to deal with the causes and roots of violence and public safety which in addition to their intrinsic value may also be crucial for a continuing strong economy and a vibrant culture in HRM. There was a common concern about the lack of coordination and planning among all levels of government regarding issues that have a significant bearing on public safety. There appears to be much agreement with the reported comments of the Mayor (Metro September 10, 2013) " The municipality has to be at the provincial table … greater involvement in policy making and strategic planning in the next four years is a concern that "overarches" other priorities [that he discussed with the leaders of the political parties during the provincial election campaign].

TABLE 4.1 - POPULATION ESTIMATES* BY AGE GROUP IN NOVA SCOTIA

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
0-17	179685 (19%)	176625 (19%)	174331 (19%)	171732 (18%)	169199 (18%)	166126 (18%)
18-24	86660 (9%)	87481 (9%)	88228 (9%)	88587 (9%)	88575 (9%)	86653 (9%)
25-49	324513 (35%)	321222 (34%)	318650 (34%)	315004 (33%)	309847 (33%)	302817 (32%)
50-64	202215 (22%)	206560 (22%)	211180 (22%)	215275 (23%)	216936 (23%)	218304 (23%)
65+	142792 (15%)	146306 (16%)	149684 (16%)	153871 (16%)	160504 (17%)	166889 (18%)
ALL AGES	935865	938194	942073	944469	945061	940789

**Postcensal estimates are based on the 2011 Census counts adjusted for census net undercoverage (CNU) (including adjustment for incompletely enumerated Indian reserves (IEIR)) and the components of demographic growth that occurred since that census. Intercensal estimates are produced using counts from two consecutive censuses adjusted for CNU (including (IEIR) and postcensal estimates.*

Statistics Canada. Table 051-0001 - Estimates of population, by age group and sex for July 1, Canada, provinces and territories, annual (persons unless otherwise noted)

TABLE 4.2 - POPULATION ESTIMATES* BY AGE GROUP IN HRM (CMA)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
0-17	75072 (19%)	74289 (19%)	73896 (18%)	73274 (18%)	72539 (18%)
18-24	41158 (10%)	42111 (11%)	42968 (11%)	42388 (10%)	44264 (11%)
25-49	151718 (39%)	152713 (38%)	154227 (38%)	155474 (38%)	155787 (38%)
50-64	77229 (20%)	79558 (20%)	81856 (20%)	83906 (20%)	85171 (21%)
65+	47871 (12%)	49496 (12%)	51192 (13%)	53220 (13%)	55949 (14%)
ALL AGES	393048	398167	404139	409662	413710

**Postcensal estimates are based on the latest census counts adjusted for census net undercoverage (including adjustment for incompletely enumerated Indian reserves) and for the estimated population growth that occurred since that census. Intercensal estimates are based on postcensal estimates and census counts adjusted of the censuses preceding and following the considered year. Population estimates for July 1 are final intercensal from 1996 to 2005, final postcensal from 2006 to 2009, updated postcensal for 2010 and 2011 and preliminary postcensal for 2012.*

Source: Statistics Canada. Table 051-0046 - Estimates of population by census metropolitan area, sex and age group for July 1, based on the Standard Geographical Classification (SGC) 2006, annual (persons)

TABLE 4.3 - POPULATION MIGRATION MOVEMENT ESTIMATES, HRM & NS, 2007-2011

	2007		2008		2009		2010		2011	
	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS
IN-MIGRATION	16,461	11,449	15,618	11,417	15,670	10,909	15,466	10,706	16,136	11,051
OUT-MIGRATION	13,254	14,361	12,361	13,190	11,711	12,073	11,638	12,272	13,187	13,927
NET-MIGRATION	3,207	-2,912	3,257	-1,773	3,959	-1,164	3,828	-1,566	2,949	-2,876

Source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 111-0027 – Provincial and international in-, out- and net-migration estimates by provincial regions annual

TABLE 4.4 - VISIBLE MINORITY POPULATION ESTIMATES, 2011

	TOTAL POP	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY
NOVA SCOTIA	906,175	858900 (94.8%)	20790 (2.3%)	26485 (2.9%)
HALIFAX	384,523	349478 (90.8%)	13780 (3.6%)	21265 (5.5%)

**Aboriginal Identity population numbers for HRM are: 6810 (1.8%) First ethnic identity is Aboriginal; 540 (.1%) Registered or Treaty Natives; 15,827 (4.1%) claiming Aboriginal Ancestry.*

Source: NS Department of Finance, Community Counts, National Household Survey

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are quite consistent with those advanced in 2008 and also congruent with those suggested by Waters in her paper in Volume Two of this Review (pp 26-34)**:**

1. HRM Municipality should play a greater role in dealing with the causes and roots of violence and public safety along three dimensions – vision and leadership, capacity building in the administration, and partnering and collaborating with the other orders of government, the private sector and the non-profit societies.
2. The public safety office should be moved from its current location within the HRPS to the HRM municipal bureaucracy, linked with the Executive Standing Committee of Regional Council (for policy and strategy direction), and operationally responsible to the CAO. The priorities for the PSO should reflect in part the substantive recommendations of the Review and focus on strategic analyses and municipal collaboration as specified above. The PSO should be appropriately staffed with sufficient capacity to realize these objectives, See Waters' elaboration of the specific objectives that should be assigned to the PSO (Waters, p 27).
3. The office of the manager of the ANSAIO should remain where it currently is with defined functions and a priority to respond to the continuing over-representation of blacks as offenders and victims in collaboration with the relocated PSO. The delineated responsibilities of the position should facilitate working with the other HRM business units, annually reporting to council through a standing committee and having a significant presence in the HRM bureaucracy perhaps in liaison with an HRM African Nova Scotian Senior Staff Round Table meeting quarterly or an equivalent mechanism. An advisory

committee should be considered only in relation to specific policy thrusts. The location and functions of the ANSAIO position should be reviewed after three years.

TIMELINE - SELECTED PSO AND MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES, 2008-2013

(This timeline includes only events or policies / programs where the PSO had a principal role in an important event or a policy / program occurred directly impacting on the Roundtable recommendations or the PSO. It does not include numerous adhoc meetings or endeavors or committee work.)

Spring/Summer 2008

- The Roundtable Report is received by HRM Council
- Spring Garden Road Business Association launches its Navigator Program, a major and continuing program working with the homeless, ex-inmates, group home "grads" and others, linking them to agencies and services.

Winter/Spring 2009

- HRM Charter is regained.
- A Public Safety Action Plan in response to the Roundtable Report, developed by a working group at HRM led by the then Chief of the Halifax Regional Police, is adopted by Council. The report identified a champion, strategies, timelines and resources for each of the Roundtable recommendations.
- The Public Safety Office is created. HRP Superintendent Don Spicer is appointed HRM Public Safety Officer and the position is funded under the provincial "Boots on the Street" initiative. HRP redeploys several existing resources to the new office (School Officers, Crime Prevention Unit, Volunteer Services, Victim Services, HRM Community Response Team, Citywatch, Integrated Traffic Unit, an administrative assistant and officers seconded to the Mental Health Mobile Crisis Team).

Summer 2009

- The HRM Community Response Team leads a Safe Walking Corridor working group made up of representatives from HRM, Councillors, Dalhousie and Saint Mary's Universities in assessing the walking corridors from the downtown core to the universities using Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles. Trees were trimmed, lighting was improved and a brochure was provided to all residents along those routes.
- Monthly "Spotlight on Public Safety" reports begin to be submitted by the Public Safety Officer to the HRM Board of Police Commissioners which was designated to serve an additional role as the HRM Public Safety Committee.

Fall 2009

- The Safer, Stronger Communities partnership involving various municipal and provincial government departments aimed at reducing criminal activity and addressing root causes of crime in specific communities with community-based action plans revises its mandate to complement the HRM Public Safety Initiative. The Safer, Stronger Communities program focused on the Uniacke Public Housing complex.
- The Public Safety Office participates in an Ad-hoc Working Group on Race Relations. Regular participants were the PSO, three African Nova Scotia leaders and the author of the Roundtable Report. The group work leads to recommendations to the Mayor's Office that included the creation of a race-

relation committee and contributed to the creation of HRM's Office of African Nova Scotian Affairs and reparations being made regarding the long standing issues involving Africville.

- The Pixels for Pistols Gun Amnesty occurs. Through a partnership with Henry's Camera, the program saw citizens receive a digital camera in exchange for turning in an unwanted firearm. The month-long HRM-wide program saw over 1,000 firearms and 10,000 rounds of ammunition turned into police.
- The Public Safety Office participates in an AD-Hoc Working Group on Housing. The group included the PSO, the author of the Roundtable Report, Vice-president Killam Properties, Director of CAH, representatives from DCS and HRM's Community Development, and Phoenix House for Youths. It met several times and helped form future networks advocating for the reduction of homelessness and more affordable housing.

Spring/Summer 2010

- The Safer Communities Committee comprised of pastors and members from the African Nova Scotian community, HRP Chief of Police, Officer-in-Charge of Halifax District RCMP, and HRM Public Safety Officer, is established to engage the African Nova Scotian community in addressing public safety-related matters.
- Recognizing that sports can help target risk factors for anti-social behavior**,** HRP SportsPals is launched. This annual one-day sport camp for youth who might not otherwise have the opportunity to participate in sport serves as an important pathway for personal/social development.
- The PSO participates in an AD-Hoc Committee on Offender Reintegration which meets several times over the next year. The regular participants included the PSO, the author of the Roundtable Report, the Executive Director of the John Howard Society of Nova Scotia, a representative from provincial Corrections, a representative from the federal NCPC, the Director of the SGRBA, and Mi'kmaq and Black service providers for federal inmates.
- United Way Halifax's Vibrant Neighbourhood Strategy, 2007-2010, in two North Dartmouth neighbourhood ends. Assessment reports stated that it contributed to the development of community capacity to deal with issues in one neighbourhood but much less so in the other.

Fall 2010

- In October 2010, the "Halifax Connects with the Homeless" initiative was launched aimed at the "level three" homeless. It has become an annual one day event in HRM drawing roughly 500 homeless people and a large contingent of service providers and volunteers. Hairdressers cut and style hair, portraits are taken, doctors examine feet, information is provided on extant services, and a hot lunch is served with tablecloths and silverware.

Winter/Spring 2011

- The Public Safety Strategic Plan is presented to HRM Board of Police Commissioners in April providing a list of events and activities for addressing public safety in our community.

Fall 2011

- The Public Safety Office embarks upon Social Media in November as a way to engage a broader audience in the public safety equation. The Public Safety Office maintains the Spotlight on Public Safety

blog (http://spotlightonpublicsafety.com) and the Public Safety Office Twitter account (twitter.com/HRMpublicsafety). Shortly afterwards, online crime prevention videos are also launched by Halifax Regional Police.

Spring/Summer 2012

- The Crime Free Multi-Housing Program (CFMH**)** designed to help apartment owners, residents and police work together to keep illegal and nuisance activity off rental properties begins in HRM. It is the first of its kind in Nova Scotia and is a joint initiative of Halifax District RCMP, Halifax Regional Police and the Atlantic Coordinating Committee on Crime Prevention and Community Safety. Subsequently, a seniors' residence in Northend Halifax, described as "affordable independent living" and operated by Northwood Properties, becomes the first formally credentialized such complex in Nova Scotia.
- The Don't Be That Guy / Be More Than a Bystander Campaigns are launched to coincide with Sexual Assault Awareness Month, striving to help create a culture that stands up against abusive attitudes and behaviours directed towards women early on, before they've had the chance to escalate to violence. HRP partners with Avalon Centre, Bryony House, NS Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and Transition House Association of Nova Scotia on the 'Don't be that guy poster' campaign, and works with influential men in our community on the video campaign to encourage men to 'Be more than a bystander.'
- Through a partnership with Addiction Services and community partners, the HRM Public Safety Officer co-hosted a Community Forum on the Culture of Alcohol in HRM. More than 40 participants, including concerned citizens and representatives from municipal and provincial government, took part in a world café event that identified concerns and solutions for alcohol-related issues in HRM.
- The Dalhousie Restorative Justice Pilot Projec**t** is launched in September. This partnership between HRP police, NS Department of Justice and Dalhousie University provides an opportunity for students involved in Liquor Control Act and minor criminal offences to be diverted from the court system and take part in a restorative justice model that seeks to repair the harms to community and modify the students' offending behavior.

Fall 2012

- HRM hires a Manager for HRM African Nova Scotian Affairs to provide advice to HRM on the further establishment of what becomes the new African Nova Scotian Affairs Integration Office.
- Superintendent Spicer retires. HRP Sergeant Scott MacDonald is appointed interim HRM Public Safety Officer. Remaining HRP resources in the Public Safety Office are redeployed to various other HRP managers.
- The Uniacke Drug Market Intervention Pilot Project is launched in December. This partnership between police and many community partners gives street level drug dealers a chance to turn their lives around by entering life/job skills training instead of facing criminal charges. Four men successfully complete the program during the pilot phase.

Winter/Spring 2013

- HRM Crime Mapping is launched as an interactive online site providing citizens with contextual and timely information about crime in HRM. The site, accessible at www.halifax.ca/Police/PublicSafety/HRMCrimeMapping.html, is updated daily at 12:15 a.m. and plots

incidents of five specific crime types – robberies, assaults, break and enters, thefts of vehicles and thefts from vehicles – on a map of HRM.

- The HRM Youth Advocate Program (YAP), a neighborhood-based intervention program targeting youth between the ages of 9 to 14 years who are at risk of, or involved in, criminal activity and gangs received ongoing municipal funding since federal funding ended in 2011. In 2013 the full YAP budget is transferred to the HRM Public Safety Office under the jurisdiction of the HRM Board of Police Commissioners. HRM Community and Recreation Services staff continues to operate the program as an internal HRM service provider to the PSO and Halifax Regional Police.
- The Girls United program is launched for girls ages 12-14 who face a number of gender-based risk factors which may lead them to be more vulnerable to sexual abuse, prostitution and drug use. Coordinated by HRM's Youth Advocate Program and funded through a provincial crime prevention grant, the program involves a series of experiential learning modules delivered by a wide range of partners and is designed to help girls develop the resiliency and self-reliance they need to succeed.

Summer/Fall 2013

- HRP realigns resources. Sergeant MacDonald is promoted to Staff Sergeant and most of the originally deployed HRP resources again fall under the HRM Public Safety Office (The HRP Mounted Unit is added while Traffic, administrative support and Mobile Mental Health do not return).
- HRM's Youth Advocate Program embarks on the Souls Strong project. With National Crime Prevention Centre funding, HRM's Youth Advocate Program will be delivering a wraparound support model to an older aged group over the next five years in the community of North Preston.
- The Public Safety Office, in conjunction with NS Department of Justice, Halifax Community Justice Society and community partners collaborates on an NCPC-supported Cure Violence (formerly Ceasefire Chicago) initiative in HRM. The model is based on a public health approach to violence prevention and is under the leadership and administrative responsibility of the NS Department of Justice..
- HRM Mayor interviewed in the course of the provincial election campaign (Metro Sept 10, 2013) is quoted as saying "the municipality has to be at the provincial table" adding that in his discussions with party leaders he emphasized a request for greater involvement in policy making and strategic planning in the next four years, a concern he stated that "overarches" other priorities for HRM.
- HRM council approves, by a vote of 15 to 0, formal participation in a coalition attacking issues of homelessness and affordable housing. Council reportedly considered it a moral obligation to address issues such as building affordable homes, helping the working poor and also people without permanent places to live. Other members of coalition included the United Way Halifax, AHANS, private sector interests and of course the provincial government. United Way Halifax had sent a letter to the Mayor urging HRM's participation and the Mayor responded enthusiastically noting "housing is integral to what we do". The newly announced initiative, coordinated by the United Way Halifax, aims to solve the chronic homelessness problem in 5 years.

THE DOWNTOWN

INTRODUCTION

The Downtown was a central focus of the Roundtable in 2006 to 2008. Well-publicized violence (assaults and homicides) as well as frequent "signal" crimes, such as swarmings, and social disorder incidents associated with excessive alcohol consumption, generated serious concern for public safety. Much data were gathered largely from the HRP, many interviews were conducted with a wide assortment of stakeholders and there were focus group sessions held among representatives from diverse interest groups. Professor Murphy conducted much of that research, chaired the focus group and wrote a major paper on the situation. In updating the data, examining the outcomes for the Roundtable recommendations, and exploring the issues now bearing on violence and public safety in the Downtown, a similar variety of methodologies were utilized and Professor Murphy again took responsibility for being the Lead and preparing a paper on the Downtown dimension of the Review; his paper, "Downtown HRM: Then and Now" is in Volume Two. The principal investigator and Professor Murphy collaborated closely in examining the Downtown dimension, sharing thoughts, the interviews each carried out, and the reports and data from HRP and other sources. All told, more than 40 interviews were conducted with HRP police of all ranks and diverse responsibilities for Downtown policing, HRM councilors and senior bureaucrats, provincial bureaucrats, Downtown business association representatives, bar and restaurant management and others.

THE 2008 ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

The chief recommendations of the 2008 Roundtable report were the following

- There needs to be better and stricter regulation of liquor establishments including hours of business, promotion of cheap drinks, training of staff, and in general more oversight by liquor inspectors.
- Transportation issues are pivotal (e.g., more taxi availability, a safe dedicated pick-up zone) and need to be examined given the concentration of liquor serving bars and restaurants in the Downtown and their hours of operation well into the early morning hours.
- HRM municipality should be more engaged directly where there is a clear jurisdictional mandate (e.g., transportation , taxi policy) and through advocacy and mobilization where not (e.g., LCA regulations) both immediate and long-term (e.g., changing the culture of alcohol misuse)
- HRM should establish a subcommittee devoted to public safety issues in the Downtown.

- Safety issues are a key dimension of HRM Downtown development and should be more integral to its planning; for example there needs to be more use of CCTV and CPTED strategies.
- There needs to be more police presence in the Downtown to deal with the extensive social disorder and high level of assaults and swarmings there after midnight.
- Several recommendations pertained specifically to the large post-secondary student involvement and impact on the Downtown bar and restaurant milieu, namely the creation of a Safe Walk Corridor between the Downtown and the university residences, the coordination by the recommended PSO of a metro student public safety committee and its collaboration with the Provincial Alcohol Strategy initiative.
- A restorative justice program should be established initially for university students to better address the roots of minor offences, especially LCA violations.

As will be detailed below in the Timeline data and their analyses and also documented in Professor Murphy's paper, there has been a very significant response to the Roundtable recommendations and the outcomes overall have been as anticipated, namely much less crime and social disorder even though implementing the recommendations on some key points remains a work in progress. The most dramatic change has been the greater police presence in the Downtown which was advanced by the provincial government's "Boots-on-the-Street" funding of more HRP and RCMP officers beginning in 2007-2008. The increased police presence has also facilitated in later years several changes in the policing approach which have directly and effectively impacted violence and social disorder in the Downtown. There have also been significant changes, again detailed below, in the LCA act and its liquor inspection activities. Since the Roundtable there has been much more collaboration between the HRP's special LEU unit and the LCA inspectors. The key remaining issue regarding LCA regulations – a controversial one – is the closure hours for serving liquor in the Downtown bars and restaurants.

While there have been some changes in HRM policy for taxi availability in the Downtown, they have not fully come to grips with the transportation problems identified in the Roundtable. More generally, the response of the municipal government as an entity has been much more modest than recommended. The central recommendation calling for a subcommittee (i.e., standing committee of council or an advisory committee linked to a standing committee) devoted to public safety issues in the Downtown has not been acted upon; apparently, there was briefly a Downtown committee formed but it did not prove effective. Apart from HRP policing, it has been difficult to identify – despite many interviews with key people – any significant involvement of the municipal government or the PSO in advancing the Roundtable recommendations for the Downtown. There has however been an on-going development of an alcohol policy for municipally operated locales or sponsored events and the PSO partnered in a 2012 Community Forum on the Culture of Alcohol; there remains a

major alcohol misuse problem in the Downtown and a need for the municipality to respond to it in collaboration with the province (e.g., Department of Public Health, Provincial Alcohol Strategy).

The Roundtable recommendations pertaining to post-secondary students have been implemented, the Safe Corridor in 2009 and the restorative justice pilot project in 2012; the implementation has been satisfactory to date and is on-going.

Most stakeholders interviewed for this Review – police officers, provincial inspectors, municipal and provincial bureaucrats, bar management and leaders of various business associations – agreed that the Downtown has witnessed positive change since the Roundtable, especially in the last two or three years. The data analyses below on violence, liquor violations and mischief / property damage support that position. Some of the respondents (e.g., the provincial liquor inspectors) observed that in their own area of responsibility they were on track to make the very changes recommended by the Roundtable. Public opinion surveys have also suggested possibly less concern about public safety in the Downtown in recent years. These conventional surveys provide a snapshot of public opinion, presumably one heavily influenced by specific signal events. Media research for this Review identified a dozen or so incidents in 2013 where either assaults or robberies were described as Downtown incidents. A number of councilors suggested that the media's highlighting of Downtown violence has caused a gap between reality and the public opinion such that the improvements in public safety have not been grasped by the public. However, the surveys indicate (see Murphy's attached paper) that public opinion has also been shifting to a more positive perspective; actually a large majority of survey respondents in 2013 described the Downtown as "very or mostly safe" during the day and "only" 40% reported that they would not feel safe in the Downtown at night.

The Mayor and fourteen councilors were also interviewed for the Review on their views about the post-Roundtable trends in the Downtown. A slight majority considered that violence and social disorder have been better managed since the Roundtable and while a few suggested that the situation had not drastically changed, no one contended that it had worsened. There was a strong consensus among the elected officials that transportation problems remained unresolved (i.e., insufficient taxis or unaccommodating taxis' strategies – basically the only commercial transport - in the early morning hours for patrons returning to residences outside the central urban core) and also that alcohol misuse was still rampant. About a third of these respondents considered that the levels of violence and social disorder were aggravated by the late closure hours of some Downtown bars.

ANALYSES OF DOWNTOWN INCIDENTS

The following presentation and analyses of Downtown incidents essentially supports the views of police officers, Downtown bar management and most HRM councillors that there have been significant, positive changes since the Roundtable**.** Table 5.1 shows a clear trend for LCA violations to decline from a high of 1133 in 2007 to 616 in 2013, almost 50% less. There was a huge decline in incidents of LCA violations where no SOT was issued – from a high of 824 in 2007 to but 10 and 19 in 2012 and 2013 respectively. Incidents where violations of LCA resulted in an SOT on the other hand increased sharply from 309 in 2007 to 846 in 2012. The crucial change happened in 2011 when HRP adopted a "charge as first option" approach to LCA violations in the Downtown and the OIC was subsequently required, at least on occasion, to provide in writing an explanation if an SOT was not issued to someone arrested for an LCA violation. In 2011 the number of such incidents (i.e., arrest but no charge) dropped by 300 from 479 in 2010 to 143 in 2011 while the number of incidents where an SOT was given rose by roughly 300 from 414 in 2010 to 708 in 2011. The change in policy not only led to more LCA SOTs but also has ultimately sharply reduced the total number of incidents of LCA violation. The table also indicates that

- Incidents of threats and mischief / property damage declined consistently over the years 2006 to 2013. Using 2 year averages, threats went from 27 to 23, 18, and 12 respectively. Mischief / property damage steadily declined from 122 in 2006-2007 to 72 in 2012-2013.
- Not shown in the table, robberies in the Downtown (i.e., reporting area atom C401) did not change between the two year average for 2007 and 2008 and the 2 year average for 2012 and 2013 - both had 8 incidents. Robbery in the years preceding the Roundtable was much more common, reportedly at least 40 per year (the data are difficult to sort out since the area of record for the earlier Downtown district was much broader and robberies in it were in the 80s range). The current low level of robberies indicates that "swarmings" also have been much reduced in the Downtown.

Assaults are seen as an important barometer of change in the Downtown since their high level was in large part responsible for the concerns that led to the Mayor Roundtable in 2006. Table 5.2 provides the data on assaults and the following are the key patterns

- Total assaults have varied over the past 8 years with no clear pattern of growth or decline but calculating 2 year averages, the totals were highest in 2006-2007 (218) and lowest in 2012 and 2013 (148), the difference representing a decline of 30%.

- Sexual assaults generally have been much fewer in the Downtown, surprisingly so given the culture of alcohol misuse that has characterized drinking patterns there. Still, it exhibits the same pattern as total assaults where the lowest 2 year average was 4 incidents in 2012-2013 compared with 10, 7 and 11 for the three previous 2 year periods.
- Common assault (i.e., assault level one) exhibits the same general pattern as for total assaults, namely some variation by year but largely being a stable pattern with the last 2 years seeing the significant decline; in 2012-2013 there were 112 incidents, a 20% decline from the 137 in 2007-2008.
- More serious assaults – assault with a weapon and aggravated assault –have shown the same pattern, namely no clear trend of increase or decrease but a quite sharp decline in 2012 and 2013, falling to the two year average there of 24 incidents, fully 50% less than the 2 year average of 53 in 2006 and 2007.

Overall, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 point to three basic patterns: (a) LCA violations have been policed differently as of 2011 and are sharply down; (b) threats and mischief have been consistently declining; (b) all types of assaults had a common pattern, namely no clear trend over the 8 years save a significant decline in 2012 and 2013. Will these 2012-2013 features hold? Are they the start of new trend?

HOURS AND INCIDENTS

For several years a major controversy has focused on the late closure hours for serving alcohol in the Downtown bars and restaurants. A Roundtable recommendation was that the existing closure policy – especially the 3.30am closure for the cabarets – be reconsidered. Most councilors in 2007 and again when interviewed in 2013 have favoured a change to much earlier post-midnight hours. The HRP leaders have contended strongly in recent years that current closure hours should be shortened and have prepared position papers with data supporting that perspective for municipal and provincial authorities (the hours are set under the provincial LCA). A paper prepared by Sgt. Gillett, OIC for the department's LEU, examined perspectives and data on closing regulations from other Canadian urban areas as well as in the USA and Europe. He reported that HRM is uncommon in its late closure policy and that most jurisdictions that have examined the costs and benefits of late closure have come out strongly against such a practice. The common finding has been that an increase in the hours of licensed service has led to increased crime, violence and social disorder while a decrease has resulted in a diminution of all three types of incidents (Gillett, 2012). The HRP data are presented and analysed below.

Table 5.3 shows the number of actual incidents in the Downtown during the period midnight to 6am and their percentage of the total Downtown incidents in the representative years 2009, 2011 and 2013. It indicates

- Overall incidents (i.e., offences / violations) during the 12am to 6am hours declined appreciably over the 5 year period, going from 1463 in 2009 to 1006 in 2013 and accounted for a declining percentage (from 58% to 51%) of the total Downtown incidents. The most significant decline occurred in 2012 and 2013.
- Roughly 65% of the 12am to 6am incidents consistently occurred between 2am and 6am.
- Incidents entailing LCA SOTs between 12am and 6am exhibited no clear pattern over the years, ranging from 446 in 2009 to 586 in 2011 (when the new policing policy of laying charges as the first option was put into effect) and dropping to 496 in 2013. The 12am to 6am LCA SOTs in each year accounted for 83% of total Downtown LCA SOTs.
- LCA SOTS occurring in the later hours, 2am to 6am, consistently accounted for 66% of the 12am to 6am LCA SOTs.
- Turning to assaults, 12am to 6am incidents exhibited no consistent pattern over the years but were at their smallest level in 2013, namely 106 incidents. Assaults in the post-midnight hours consistently have accounted for about 80% of the total Downtown assaults.
- Of the 12am to 6am assault incidents, those occurring in the 2am to 6am hours declined sharply from 121 in 2009 to 69 in 2013 (i.e., close to a 50% decline) and accounted for a reduced proportion of all 12am to 6am assault incidents in 2012 and 2013 (65% compared to roughly 75% in earlier years), evidence it would appear that the HRP's proactive approach – the assault strategy of 2012 – has been effective.
- Mischief incidents between 12am and 6am declined consistently from 64 to 48 to 30 over the 2009-2013 time span but always remained roughly 55% of the total Downtown mischief incidents. Similarly, there was a sharp decline in mischief incidents between 2am and 6 am, just 18 such incidents in 2013. Still, incidents in that 2am to 6am time period were consistently 58% of the total 12am to 6am incidents.

Table 5.4 simply underlines the above trends showing the proportionate consistency by year of the hours when the different offences occur. The key findings are

- There has been only modest variation in the annual proportion of each type of incident that occurred between 12am and 6am over the years from 2006 to 2013. Roughly 85% of the LCA SOTs recorded in the Downtown area took place between 12am and 6am, 80% of the assaults, and 50% of the mischief incidents. The corresponding percentages for drug offences varied more, increasing to near 80% in 2012 and 2013.
- Similarly, the proportion of the 12am to 6am incidents that occurred between 2am and 6am has been more or less stable over the years. Roughly 70% of the LCA SOTS occurring after midnight regularly took place between the hours of 2am and 6am, as did roughly 60% of the mischief incidents. In the case of assault incidents, the comparable

percentage was regularly about 75% for the years 2006 to 2011 inclusive but declined to an average of 67% in the 2012-2013 years.

Overall, the analyses of the Downtown's actual incidents over time establishes that

- The years 2012 and 2013 have witnessed significant reduction in the proportion of Downtown incidents of virtually all types that occurred after midnight and especially after 2am.
- With respect to the issues concerning closure hours for liquor establishments, it is clear that the hours 2am to 6am are the ones where liquor act violations, assaults and acts of mischief and property damage are most likely to take place.
- Alcohol abuse and assaults are highly correlated time-wise, with approximately 75% of the post-midnight incidents of each occurring in the hours 2am to 6am, though there has been a decline in assaults to an average of 67% in 2012 and 2013.

The violence and social disorder in the Downtown, a key factor in the establishment of the Mayor's Roundtable 2006-2008, has been significantly reduced, basically through the combination of greater police presence, effective police strategies, the collaboration with liquor inspectors from Alcohol and Gaming, and the policies and practices of bar proprietors and their staffs. The evidence also underlines that the decline in the salient offences has to a large extent occurred in the last two years, 2012 and 2013. A central question is whether 2012 and 2013 have generated a sustainable and increasingly positive trend. Some underlying roots of Downtown violence and public safety concern have still to be effectively responded to, especially the culture of alcohol misuse and the concentration of large numbers of young adults in a Downtown milieu densely packed with bars and restaurants. There are issues too around specific policies (e.g., closure hours, transportation) that reinforce these root factors.

TABLE 5.1 - SELECTED CRIME TRENDS IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX (C401), 2006-2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total LCA files	743	1133	1006	927	893	851	856	616
2 Year Average	938		967		872		736	
LCA (No SOT Issued)	143	824	588	391	479	143	10	19
2 Year Average	484		490		311		15	
LCA SOTs	600	309	418	536	414	708	846	597
2 Year Average	455		477		561		722	
Assaults	229	206	182	189	187	235	162	134
2 Year Average	218		186		211		148	
Threats	25	29	22	23	23	13	11	13
2 Year Average	27		23		18		12	
Drug Incidents	22	26	38	37	17	38	32	32
2 Year Average	24		38		28		32	
Mischief/Property Damage	123	120	119	114	98	109	90	54
2 Year Average	122		117		104		72	

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014

TABLE 5.2 - SELECTED TRENDS IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX (C401) ASSAULTS, 2006-2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total Assaults	229	206	182	189	187	235	162	134
2 Year Average	218		186		211		148	
Sexual Assaults	8	12	7	7	9	13	2	5
2 Year Average	10		7		11		4	
Level 1 Assaults	146	128	128	124	126	153	117	107
2 Year Average	137		126		140		112	
Assault with Weapon/Aggravated Assault	63	43	31	48	36	51	30	18
2 Year Average	53		40		44		24	
Assault police/other peace officer	12	23	16	10	16	18	13	4
2 Year Average	18		13		17		8	

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014

TABLE 5.3 - AFTER HOURS POLICE-REPORTED INCIDENTS IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX BY SELECTED TYPE AND YEAR IN ATOM (C401)

	2009				2011				2013			
	12AM-6AM		*2AM-6AM*		*12AM-6AM*		*2AM-6AM*		*12AM-6AM*		*2AM-6AM*	
	#[1]	%[2]	#[1]	%[3]	#[1]	%[2]	#[1]	%[3]	#[1]	%[2]	#[1]	%[3]
OVERALL	1463	58%	959	66%	1398	56%	909	65%	1006	51%	639	64%
LCA SOT	446	83%	294	66%	586	83%	384	66%	496	83%	338	68%
ASSAULTS	159	84%	121	76%	192	82%	143	74%	106	79%	69	65%
MISCHIEF	64	56%	37	58%	48	44%	31	65%	30	56%	18	60%

1. Total calls in designated time period; 2. % of all C401 incidents; 3.% of all after hours incidents

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014

TABLE 5.4 - DOWNTOWN INCIDENTS, % OF TOTAL CALLS OCCURRING MIDNIGHT TO 05:59AM, BY TYPE, YEAR

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
TOTAL	55%	61%	57%	58%	58%	56%	56%	51%
LCA SOT	85%	86%	85%	83%	84%	83%	86%	83%
ASSAULTS	82%	77%	73%	84%	83%	82%	81%	79%
UTTERING THREATS	20%	29%	27%	26%	9%	8%	27%	23%
DRUGS	68%	65%	68%	57%	71%	47%	78%	78%
MISCHIEF	56%	61%	58%	56%	43%	44%	48%	56%

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014

DOWNTOWN INCIDENTS, % OF MIDNIGHT TO 05:59AM CALLS THAT OCCUR AFTER 2:00AM

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
TOTAL	72%	71%	67%	66%	70%	65%	66%	64%
LCA SOT	74%	74%	69%	66%	72%	66%	70%	68%
ASSAULTS	77%	73%	76%	76%	75%	74%	69%	65%
UTTERING THREATS	80%	75%	83%	83%	50%	100%	33%	67%
DRUGS	73%	76%	54%	71%	67%	56%	56%	48%
MISCHIEF	59%	74%	58%	58%	71%	65%	65%	66%

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014

ANALYSIS OF TIMELINE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DOWNTOWN

Timeline data presented below map out the developments which have shaped the Downtown since 2008 with respect to violence and public safety. An overview of those developments is given here (the details of which are

described in the Timeline) and an elaboration and informative context can be found in the thorough analyses provided by Professor Murphy in his "Downtown HRM: Then and Now" in Volume Two of the Review. The two most significant developments since the Roundtable arguably have been (a) the provincial "Boots on the Street" initiative providing funding for HRM (and other areas in Nova Scotia) to engage more police officers in trouble spots and provide what was labeled in the Roundtable report as "reassurance policing"; (b) the response of the provincial Alcohol and Gaming's LCA inspectors in refocusing their priorities for inspection (targeting the high risk bars and cabarets) and collaborating more closely with the HRP's LEU. These developments were essentially implemented in the years 2007, 2008 and 2009. The Boots on the Street program generated a very significant police presence in the Downtown especially in the Thursday to Sunday late evening and early morning hours, while the more aggressive and targeted LCA monitoring was effected in concert with new regulations about liquor prices and training of the bars' staff.

These early developments could be deemed "infrastructural" in that they set the stage for the major initiatives that occurred in the years 2011 and 2012 and directly impacted on the level of violence and social disorder in the Downtown. These included the 2011 change in the police response to LCA violations and HRP's 2012 proactive Assault Strategy which also featured significant collaboration with the provincial liquor inspectors. In 2011 there were important amendments to the NS Securities Act regarding property liability and insurance for the bars. Subsequent to these changes, if an incident occurred on site it could lead to insurance increases and perhaps affect credit rating. Also among the changes advanced were some dealing with the training and actions of the bars' door staff (e.g., bouncers).

The private business interests owning and managing the Downtown liquor serving establishments also contributed to the "taming" of the Downtown milieu in this two year period. In 2011 a Safe Bars Association was created to improve safety and security in the Downtown, and subsequently a "Patron Accountability, Safety and Service" program (PASS) piloted by the umbrella Restaurant Association of Nova Scotia was developed to encourage and promote a safe and comfortable environment for staff and patrons frequenting licensed establishments. Persons placed on the PASS list for any of a variety of reasons – largely underage drinking, false identification and fighting– are barred for a certain time length from being served at any of the participating bars. The initial membership of 12 participating bars soon reached a total of 25. After six months, 170 people reportedly had been placed on PASS for different lengths of time. A central figure in the business association Downtown, in discussing these

developments in 2011 and 2012. stated “there has been more change in the last two years than in the previous twenty”.

Two other developments are highlighted in the Timeline. Roundtable recommendations, addressing the victimization of students going to and returning from the Downtown, and their own misuse of alcohol, were acted upon. In 2009 the HRM Community Response Team implemented a Safe Corridor strategy based on CPTED principles; and, in 2012, a restorative justice program representing a unique collaboration among the provincial government, HRP and Dalhousie University was implemented, focusing on students’ misuse of alcohol. The Timeline also identified several changes in the business economy of the Downtown bars in 2013 that suggested the need for bars and licensed restaurants there to transcend marketing directly solely at the young adult heavy drinking clientele.

KEY THEMES IN DOWNTOWN VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

This Review analyses, HRP incident data, and views and the related experiences of a wide-range of informed respondents, indicate that there has been a very significant decline in violence and public safety issues in the Downtown district since the Roundtable report. There has been a variety of positive policies and practices implemented, partly in response to the earlier Roundtable publicity and recommendations, that have resulted in a new situation Downtown, one where, when combined with on-going demographic and socio-economic developments, is creating the basis for a Downtown which accommodates a variety of interests and lifestyles, enhances its vibrancy as a place to live and visit, and remains a crucial engine for HRM’s and Nova Scotia’s economic prosperity.

The most significant changes in reducing crime and social disorder have occurred in the last two years, 2012 and 2013, and, while positive, the rates of such offences are still quite high in comparison with those of other metropolitan areas. It is important to continue to focus on the factors that threaten the changes and act as barriers to the further diminution of offending behaviour. And, as well, it is important to take advantage of current socio-economic developments in the Downtown that could facilitate these positive prospects.

The two key factors that can facilitate the continuance of the positive effects realized in 2012 and 2013 are, by consensus, dealing with the late night and after-hours transportation problems in the Downtown, and making gains in reducing the impact of the culture of alcohol misuse. The transportation issues as described above (see also the analysis by Professor Murphy in his companion paper) persist despite the municipal action in 2012 whereby taxi zone exemptions were made between the hours of 12am and 5am Thursday to Sunday such that “a taxi driver may pick up and drop off passengers or parcels within a zone for which the taxi is not licensed”.

According to all reports there are still problems in Downtown patrons' safely securing taxis, not to mention the absence of buses or their functional equivalents after-hours. An authoritative external consultant might well be engaged to assess the situation and provide recommendations to significantly reduce the transportation problem.

Alcohol misuse remains a major immediate cause of violence and social order; for example, LEU officers claim that excessive alcohol consumption is associated with virtually 100% of the assault incidents in the Downtown. Key stakeholders interviewed in this Review highlighted not only the significant level of under-aged drinking, especially but not only among university student patrons, and a continuing if lessened issue of over-service in some Downtown establishments, but also identified "culture of alcohol" patterns such as the practice of Downtown patrons drinking "to get a buzz on before they go Downtown" and excessive drinking patterns such as, among some university students a striving to get "BOD" (black out drunk) in their extreme partying behaviour. The large student population in Metro is a major contributor to HRM having one of the highest percentages of young adults among Canadian CMAs and that demographic seems particularly vulnerable to the misuse of alcohol. Clearly, the municipality has to be more engaged with the provincial efforts to re-configure alcohol consumption in HRM.

Both these factors may be enhanced by the late closure hours for some liquor establishments Downtown. As noted in the analyses of HRP incident data for the years 2006 to 2013, there is little doubt that the hours 2am to 6am generate a disproportionate level of incidents and offences. Earlier closing times for the serving of alcohol would reduce the number of such incidents. On the other hand, stricter enforcement of LCA regulations for cabarets (e.g., live entertainment) and for over-service and resolving transportation issues might also be effective and less intrusive; and if the decline in the cabaret establishments is an indication of future economic trends, that would also mitigate the problem of late hour violence and social disorder.

There are certain recent trends in the economics of the Downtown that could be leading to a different type of nightlife Downtown and the municipality should ensure that these developments emphasize public safety and facilitate the positive prospects referred to above. The apparent decline of the cabaret model and the growth of sports bars and other entertainment in the Downtown that attract a more diversified clientele is occurring as the Downtown is being redeveloped with large projects such as a conference center and condominiums which will bring a different population mix to the area. Such a vibrant dynamic Downtown seems pivotal for the economic well-being of HRM and, as a key stakeholder recently commented **"**The Downtown really is the lifeblood of the community economically, historically, culturally; we may have to start making some tougher decisions to protect that"**.** There should be a strong lobbyist internal to municipal bureaucracy that can

advanced public safety issues (e.g., CPTED strategies of CCTV, appropriate lighting, perhaps open spaces) in close collaboration with HRP, the Downtown business associations and others, in other words a PSO within the municipal bureaucracy, representing that perspective and aware of best practices, collaborating with a Downtown advisory committee or similar body.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The several recommendations that are advanced here flow from the key themes regarding violence and public safety in HRM. They are intended as supplements or complements, not replacements, to the policies and actions discussed in the Timeline analyses here. They are congruent with the more elaborated recommendations advanced by Professor Murphy in his paper in Volume Two which should be taken into consideration. There are 5 recommendations

- The transportation issues pertinent to the Downtown late night entertainment scene should be examined and resolved, preferably by the municipality engaging an authoritative external consultant.
- The municipality should become much more engaged with the appropriate provincial authorities (e.g., Public Health, the Provincial Alcohol Strategy, Alcohol and Gaming), private sector interests (e.g., RANS, Downtown Business Association) and community services and organizations in developing strategies, policies and programs to reduce the level of alcohol abuse in general and in the Downtown Entertainment scene in particular.
- A holistic examination of the closure hours for liquor serving establishment in the Downtown should be undertaken, focusing on costs and benefits and the effectiveness and feasibility of alternative strategies for reducing violence and social disorder in the area.
- Given the crucial social and economic importance of the Downtown, there should be a committee established which brings together representatives of the key stakeholders pertinent to matters of violence and public safety in a broad sense.
- It is important to have the PSO located within the municipal bureaucracy in order to draw upon the municipality's expertise and resources more fully and coordinate a public safety Downtown committee, especially bringing to it information about kindred developments and best practices elsewhere.

TIMELINE - DEVELOPMENTS IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX, 2007-2013

2007

- Christmas Eve brawl occurred at the Dome Cabaret. Immediately after, the Grafton Connor Group (owners of the Dome) eliminated $1 “cheap drinks” enticement and imposed a $2.50 drink minimum.
- The “Boots on the Street” program announced by the provincial government in 2006 began implementation in fiscal 2007-08. Boots on the Street happened in response to the Roundtable recommendations about violence, especially in the Downtown, and was extended throughout NS so every municipality was promised funding for at least one new officer. The program’s target was sustainable funding for 250 officers in increments over the four fiscal years beginning in 2007-2008 (80 were provided in 2007-08, 70 in 2009-09, 33 in 2009-10 and then the program was frozen in 2010-11). Police presence increased considerably in the Downtown and, as well, a dedicated Liquor Enforcement Unit was reinforced and there were new policing policies developed.

2008

- Minimum drink prices of $2.50 were set in amended regulations of Liquor Control Act.
- “Boots on the Street” program funds 70 new police officers across the province, with 39 new HRPS and 13 new RCMP positions allocated to the Halifax Regional Municipality.

2009

- “Boots on the Street” program funds 33 new police officers across the province
- The HRP Liquor Enforcement Unit, with three officers engaged as a result of the “Boots on the Street” provincial funding, provides enhanced policing in the Downtown, including some coordination with liquor inspectors from Nova Scotia Alcohol and Gaming and the HRM Fire Department. The O.I.C. for HRP’s LEU also supervises the special six officer complement of the Downtown beat patrol and other officers regularly seconded to the Downtown during peak activity.
- Partly as a result of the Roundtable publicity and its recommendations, the Alcohol and Gaming liquor inspection of bars and restaurants is amended, with more inspections and the adoption of a ‘high-risk model” and more targeted inspections.
- Safe Walk Corridors to and from the Downtown Bar scene and Dalhousie and Saint Mary’s universities were examined by HRM’s Community Response Team (i.e., a CPTED project) and subsequent changes were made to enhance safe walking after dark.

2010

- “Boots on the Street” program freezes. In a 2010 Police Board Report, it was noted that HRP increased complement had included 16 Downtown beat patrol officers and three for its Liquor Enforcement Unit.

2011

- A Safe Bars Association was created to improve safety and security in the Downtown
- HRP initiates a pro-charge policy for LCA violations in the Downtown
- Reflections Cabaret applies to move from Downtown to old Marquee location on Gottingen St and is denied their request to carry their cabaret licence to the new location.
- Changes were made to the NS Securities Act regarding property liability and insurance for the bars. Subsequent to these changes, if an incident occurred on site it could lead to insurance increases and perhaps affect credit rating. Among the changes advanced were some dealing with the training and actions of the bars' door staff.

2012

- "Patron Accountability, Safety and Service" program (PASS) was piloted by Restaurant Association of Nova Scotia, in collaboration with Halifax Regional Police's Liquor Enforcement Unit and the Alcohol and Gaming Division of Service Nova Scotia. PASS was "developed to encourage and promote a safe and comfortable environment for patrons and staff members frequenting licensed establishments". Persons placed on the PASS list for any of a variety of reasons – largely underage drinking, false identification and fighting– are barred for a certain time length from being served at all of the participating bars. The initial membership of 12 participating bars soon reached a total of 25. After six months, 170 people reportedly had been placed on PASS for different lengths of time. In 2013 PASS was extended to other areas of Nova Scotia.
- The HRP Assault Program / Downtown Safety Strategy begins in Downtown Halifax. A central dimension of the overall Downtown Safety Strategy is the Granville strategy (i.e., a model used in the entertainment and tourist Granville area abutting the Downtown East Side in Vancouver) of having members of the LEU unit and the six assigned Downtown beat patrol walk in uniform with visibly coloured vests through the bars, sometimes with the provincial liquor inspectors, to "show the flag" between midnight and 5am. from Thursday to Sunday. Reportedly it has proved to be a valuable preventative strategy for responding to disputes and nipping violence in the bud. In the past a large proportion of assaults – reportedly as high as 50% - had occurred within the bars.
- Taxi zone exemptions made between the hours of 12am and 5am Thursday to Sunday whereby "a taxi driver may pick up and drop off passengers or parcels within a zone for which the taxi is not licensed".
- After a year of negotiations, the Dalhousie University Restorative Justice Pilot Program begins. It represented a unique collaboration among the provincial government (NSRJ), the Halifax Regional Police Service and Dalhousie University and applied to both on and off campus behaviour of Dalhousie students. A major focus was responding to issues of inappropriate alcohol consumption of students in the Downtown and in the University neighbourhood.
- Co-hosted by the PSO, in collaboration with NS Addiction Services and community partners, there was a public forum on the culture of alcohol misuse in HRM. The 40 plus participants discussed concerns and solutions regarding alcohol-related issues in HRM.

2013

- Local blogger draws attention to violence in the Downtown with a post about a violent incident he witnessed at The Carleton Nightclub where a bar staff and police were accused of using excessive force, in what has become informally known as “The Carleton Incident.” The story went viral and resulted in a review which found no wrongdoing on the part of staff or police.
- Popular Irish bar with students, The Pogue Fado, closes citing a decline in business and sales as the main reason (i.e., owners stated that “the business plan indicated no future profitability**”).**
- Long-time Halifax establishment, The Palace Nightclub Cabaret closes to be reopened as a Sports Bar, citing changing demographics and business in the Downtown as the reason why; owners of the Palace have applied to have Cabaret licence transferred to an adjacent pub under the same ownership, The Alehouse.

HOUSING, VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

INTRODUCTION

In updating the data and issues concerning the housing dimension for violence and public safety, assessing outcomes for the 2008 Report's recommendations, and looking forward from the current situation, a wide variety of research strategies and activities were employed. A research outline for this dimension was developed in collaboration between the principal investigator and Don Spicer, retired HRP superintendent who headed the PSO between the Spring of 2009 and the Fall of 2012 and currently is the Executive Director of Shelter Nova Scotia. Don Spicer assumed responsibility for writing the supplemental report reproduced in Volume 2. Interviews, equally split between Spicer and the principal investigator, usually following an interview guide, were carried out with about 25 key persons, stakeholders and knowledgeables, in this field. These included police officers at all rank levels, provincial officials responsible for policy development concerning housing and community services, non-profit service providers and advocates in the field of homelessness and affordable housing, municipal politicians and staff members, and outside experts. Pertinent information from interviews garnered for other dimensions of the Review (e.g., Offender Reintegration) was also available. In addition, there was modest recourse to documents (e.g., minutes of the Police Board and reports from local sources such as AHANS) and to the general literature in the field of homelessness and affordable housing.

ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS AND OUTCOMES

Housing was an emphasis in the Roundtable report. Examination of the similar Roundtables on public safety that took place during the Roundtable period in other Canadian cities such as Calgary and Surrey, found that the top priority in the strategic recommendations they advanced was "housing first", making supportive safe housing the lynchpin for other recommendations concerning treatment, training and employment of the persons disproportionately associated with street crime and social disorder offences. In the HRM Roundtable report, "housing first" was considered crucial for achieving offender rehabilitation and reintegration; homelessness or unsafe housing was shown to be magnet for violence and lack of safety, and those experiencing homelessness were found to be frequent victims as well as offenders. In focus groups on street crime and on troubled youth and in community consultations and interviews with experts, there were reasonable recommendations made calling on the municipality to collaborate more effectively on housing issues with non-profit societies such as Community Action on Homelessness (CAH) and arms-length, voluntary associations such as the Spring Garden Road Business Association (SGRBA) who were grappling with the consequences of homelessness or unsafe housing. Partnerships with organizations such as CAH and SGRBA were seen as crucial in order to develop more safe housing stock and should be facilitated by municipal policy.

There were also recommendations calling for the municipality's exercising more leadership on these issues within its mandate, and beyond the mandate through advocacy with the provincial government. While, as will be highlighted below, there have been very significant positive and effective policies and programs developed in these areas of housing at the federal and provincial levels, and while strong partnerships among the provincial bureaucracies, non-profit organizations and the private rental sector have emerged since the Roundtable, the municipal government has not been a major player or taken on strong commitments on these housing issues until 2013. The PSO in 2009 assisted in the creation of an ad hoc committee to improve the availability of safe affordable housing, participating with representatives of Capital District Health, Killam Properties, CAH, SGRBA and the NS Department of Community Services DCS. The ad hoc committee provided an opportunity for engaged interests to discuss ideas and possible strategies. Nothing specifically was apparently done to create more safe affordable housing by either the PSO or the municipal government but the ad hoc committee did contribute to the social mobilization that in the subsequent years did produce more safe, supervised housing rentals and significant collaboration among government, non-profit and private interests.

Two major concerns in the Roundtable and in this Review have been (a) how strong and provable is any direct connection between experiencing homelessness / unsafe housing and crime; and (b) what is the scale of homelessness / unsafe housing in HRM. Concerning (a) the crime connection, there is a deep consensus among informed persons from quite different perspectives – elected officials, police, government leaders and bureaucrats and both the non-profit and private rental sectors - that there is indeed a strong direct connection. Every person interviewed for this Review stated unequivocally that this has been the case. It has been difficult to determine the quantitative strength of the connection, from both an offending or victimization perspective, and its specificity in particular offences, in this Review's preliminary analyses of HRP charge data for the years 2006 to 2012, though that research is continuing. As Spicer documents in his supplemental paper, calls for service have over the years frequently and very disproportionately come from shelters and other areas where homeless persons are typically found. Annual reports by the CAH on the urban core homeless population also document the extensive conflict with the law among those experiencing homelessness or unsafe housing, and Spicer cites several studies from other provinces which provide reliable data on the strong direct connection between crime and homelessness. A veteran service provider to street people, interviewed for the Review, pointed out "if you are sleeping in a public place, you're vulnerable … definitely over the years folks have run into situations where there has been violence directed at them while they were sleeping. The cumulative effect of daily violence, threats, assaults, vulnerability has a damaging impact". Several senior HRP police officers interviewed for this Review have linked the recent decline in property damage, social order offences and simple assaults to improved housing and related services for the homeless. Apart from the implications of experiencing

homelessness or unsafe housing, there is also the matter of public perception and experience. Homelessness and its associated behaviours, if extensive enough, presumably have a “broken windows” effect on the public, ratcheting up their fears and anxieties about public safety.

Since the Roundtable there have been many more housing units made available to those experiencing homelessness or unsafe housing as well as a proliferation of services to transition persons into safe affordable rentals and assist their remaining there. Surprisingly, these changes do not appear to have drastically altered the number of persons classified as homeless or in unsafe housing. Reports from CAH and its successor organization, AHANS, indicate that the number of persons who stayed in shelters in Halifax CMA for one or more nights was roughly 1700 in 2009, 2000 in 2011 and 1900 in 2012; presumably others in a similar housing situation may “couch-surf” among acquaintances or stay on the street. Knowledgeable persons have reported that given the challenges of securing solid reliable data, and certain changes in the policies of shelters and data collection there since 2009, these numbers may not indicate any real substantial variation.

A number of factors have been suggested to account for the high level of constancy in the numbers such as the continuing in-migration to the Halifax CMA by youths and young adults who are destitute and may suffer from multiple problems, and the general pressures on rental housing affordability despite high vacancy rates because of inadequate replacement of the appropriate housing stock (apart from high-end condominium development), competition from the large growth in the number of post-secondary students from outside the CMA, and perhaps speculation by property owners, about the coming impact of the ship-building economic boom, inflating housing prices. The evidence seems to be that the Halifax CMA is not above average for Canadian CMAs with respect to the number or rate of its homeless population. Recent articles in the Globe and Mail (October 30, 2013) reported that between 200,000 and 300,000 persons live in shelters or on the street each year in Canada; given that Halifax CMA is “one percent plus” of the Canadian population, that would suggest that the roughly 2000 homeless here would be about average for the country as a whole.

Whether average or not, many studies (e.g., John Howard Society, Making Toronto Safer, Marketwire 06/14/11) have concluded that providing transitional housing could save millions of dollars of tax-payers money while increasing community safety. While the collective efforts of those working for safe affordable units in the housing sector have had positive impact, service providers acknowledge that the present conditions are a long way from the ultimate goal of eliminating homelessness in the Halifax CMA. Shelter administrators have indicated that while there is currently enough space to provide emergency shelter services to those in immediate need, challenges remain in terms of reducing the length of stay in a shelter; as one source put it, “it takes a much longer time to transition out of the shelter system than it does to fall into it”. The Housing First

philosophy contends that once an individual has access to safe, secure and affordable housing, all other issues (such as mental health, addictions and employability) can be appropriately addressed. However, for this model to work effectively, there must be a stock of affordable housing for people to be able to access immediately, and some service providers and housing advocates contend that there is instead a serious shortage. The term, "affordable housing", for those who have little to no income or face serious mental health issues, may itself be problematic. As one tenant-leader in a large public housing complex said when asked about the coming "affordable housing" opportunities which may be made available through a mixed housing project (e.g., the Bloomfield redevelopment), "I hate the term affordable housing… affordable for who? None of the so-called affordable housing in this city is designed for people like us living in the projects."

ANALYSIS OF TIMELINE DATA FOR HOUSING

The Timeline data presented below map out the significant growth in dealing effectively with homelessness and safe affordable housing since the Roundtable in 2008 and Spicer's paper in the attached Supplemental Report volume provides the context and elaborates on the diverse developments. The developments have been noteworthy in three areas, namely the greater availability of rental units for those without satisfactory housing, the greater availability of services that transition such people into more adequate housing and facilitate their maintenance there, and the partnerships that have been formed among the governments, non-profits and private rental sectors. Illustrating all three factors was the partnership between Capital Health and Killam Properties in 2008 whereby homeless or inadequately housed persons on social assistance and with some mental health issues were provided subsidized rentals by Killam and regular check-up services by social workers from Capital Health's New Beginnings program. The initiative was successful and soon Killam expanded this Independent Supportive Housing (ISH) model in similar arrangements with non-profit entities (e.g., Phoenix House), and other private rental businesses also adopted the ISH approach. Three years later, in 2011, the NS Department of Community Services in its Supportive Housing Pilot project adopted the key ISH elements, namely subsidized rental for inadequately housed clients on social assistance plus housing support workers to regularly assist them and the facilitate the transition; the provincial program was made permanent in 2013.

The increase in the housing units available is seen below in the initiatives by non-profit organizations such as, among others, Metro Non-Profit Housing (2008), Shelter Nova Scotia (2009, 2012), and Adsum House (2011). The larger numbers – not surprising since private rental account for 95% of the rental market in HRM - come from the arrangements with private rental managers. A 2013 report on the Housing Support Worker program indicates that for the fiscal year 2012-2013, the support workers, employed with government or specific non-profits, served 1170 people, many of whom had mental illness and/or addictions and were either homeless or

facing that prospect. Some 372 clients were helped to transition from shelters to housing and another 219 to transition from unstable living to housing; roughly 90% of the clients remained in the new housing to date. The Housing Support Worker (HSW) program is essential for assisting those making the transition from homelessness to being housed, as many individuals within the shelter system or outside it, do not have the personal agency or capacity to deal with landlords, leases and the basic tasks of daily living. All persons interviewed for this Review highlighted this provincial program, the HSW, when addressing the issue of how much has the homeless situation improved since the Roundtable. The Timeline notes the other services that have become available to the homeless or those in unstable housing arrangements such as Mobile Outreach Street Health (2009), Metro Turning Point's change in 2009 from a night-based operation to providing 24/7 services and the annual Halifax Connects with the Homeless (2010).

The emergence of enhanced partnerships among the levels of government and with non-profit and private sectors to respond to the challenges of homelessness or unstable housing is also discussed in Spicer's paper and itemized in the Timeline below. Building on the long-time advocacy of the CAH and its AHANS successor, new programs and initiatives by both provincial and federal governments are nurturing these partnerships, the former in its now permanent Supportive Housing Program and the latter in its Homelessness Partnership Strategy with its community entity model where substantial funding is provided for 5 years to a non-profit, credible and inclusive community-based organization (here AHANS) to allocate to and monitor valuable community initiatives to reduce homelessness. Virtually all the persons interviewed for the Review, whether or not they considered the changes since 2008 to represent a dramatic improvement in homelessness, emphasized that valuable partnerships have been put into place. In 2013 the HRM municipal government registered its collaboration with an array of partners to eliminate homelessness. HRM council approved, by a vote of 15 to 0, formal participation in a coalition attacking issues of homelessness and affordable housing. Council reportedly considered it a moral obligation to address issues such as building affordable homes, helping the working poor and also people without permanent places to live. Other members of coalition included the United Way Halifax, AHANS, private sector interests and of course the provincial government. United Way Halifax had sent a letter to the Mayor urging HRM's participation and the Mayor responded enthusiastically noting "housing is integral to what we do".

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The overwhelming majority of the key housing knowledgeables interviewed for this Review clearly held that there have been significant improvements with respect to the challenge of homelessness and safe affordable housing. There were different views about the level of significance, where it has been occurring, and whether

HRM is on course to deal decisively with the challenge. While some interviewees referred to **"**lots of great moments in the past 5 years", several non-profit service providers and advocates observed that the issues are becoming more complex – "people need more wrap-around, holistic services"**.** The divergence directs attention to the different types of homelessness and unstable housing arrangements. One practical typology that emerged from the interviews identified three levels of homelessness, namely

> "The first level, who lost their job unexpectedly etc, simply needs some assistance to get back on their feet and don't require much ongoing support. The next level have been homeless longer and have some issues in their life such as low literacy, addictions or mental health that will require more support to keep them housed and the third level are those who are chronically de-housed and require extensive support. We need to ensure we are providing the right amount of support at each level".

It has been suggested by some interviewees that the percentage total persons at the different levels is 40%, 40% and 20% but that the latter category –the 20% in level three – have been least impacted by the improvements to date and may be growing in a proportionate sense. The analogy to football's "red zone" where success becomes more difficult as one nears the opponents' goal line may be apt. The level three homeless represent complex cases and likely are more the face of the homeless to authorities and the public at large. Several councillors, in discussing homelessness, held that the mental illness was pervasive among the homeless and the solution required supportive, supervised housing. Commenting on persons homeless and outside the shelters, one service provider noted, "it is unfortunate that some homeless may not be comfortable in the shelter setting, since the shelter is the gateway to getting services to help ….it's a warm and safe place to sleep but it's also a spot where we will build a case plan around each individual to determine what their needs are and help them get back into their own apartments or in the community". The record of the Housing Support Workers in HRM and the experience of similar interventions in other areas of Canada as reported by the Mental Health Commission of Canada may hold promise for level three persons but that is uncertain as yet. Certainly though, there is a decided optimism among some politicians and activist organizational heads such as the United Way. The cited newly announced initiative in HRM, coordinated by the United Way Halifax, is on record as aiming to solve the chronic homelessness problem in 5 years and the federal minister responsible for the HPS has publicly stated that she wants to be the first minister to end homelessness in Canada.

There are a number of recommendations that should be advanced here, based on two chief premises, namely (a) HRM definitely has a role to play; as the director of the UWH reportedly said, "The federal government has the money, the provincial government has the mandate, but the city has the problem", a viewpoint that was accepted by the majority of the elected officials; and (b) while a more expansive thrust towards affordability

and mixed-use developments is important, more holistic policy and investment in services for the level three homeless people remains the key priority in housing from a public safety perspective. The recommendations advanced here are congruent with those that bear on housing in the other dimensions of the Review, most especially Offender Reintegration, and are consistent with those advanced by Spicer in his paper which should be consulted. The key recommendations are:

1. The municipal government should follow up on its recent commitment to partner with the governmental, non-profit and private sector bodies in responding to issues related to homelessness by doing more within its mandate and resources (e.g., regulating sub-standard housing, enforcing by-laws) and effectively taking on an advocacy role beyond it in matters such as the level and kind of rent subsidies by the NS Department of Community Services).
2. The municipal government should advocate with its provincial and federal partners for wrap-around services and intensive counselling with hard-core, chronic homeless persons.
3. The municipal government should take a page from other municipalities inside and outside Canada to maintain and expand its housing stock and, as suggested recently in a brief to council by Grant Wanzel, consider the Community Land Trust approach to a land banking strategy.
4. The municipal government should encourage mixed use / mixed affordability in new developments and facilitate it through various incentives (e.g., tax incentives and density bonus options).

TIMELINE FOR HOUSING DIMENSION IN HRM, 2008-2013

2008

- The Independent Supportive Housing Initiative (ISH), a partnership between NS Capital Health's New Beginnings Mental Health Unit and the Killam Properties, the largest private sector rental company in NS, is launched. The pilot program saw Killam provide 12 subsidized units to New Beginnings client-tenants, and New Beginnings providing weekly/monthly support services to those same client-tenants. This enables certain people on social assistance to live in safer, more adequate housing then they could otherwise afford. The ISH pilot was successful and the program has become permanent. Killam took this same ISH model to other housing agencies (e.g., Shelter Nova Scotia, Phoenix House) and now provides these partners with an additional 23 supported housing units. In September 2013 Killam officials reported having "a total of 57 units under the ISH program and it has been as high as 70". Other investment rental operators (landlords) became engaged in the ISH model and provided placements for clients of New Beginnings and non-profit organizations. In 2010, Killam and New Beginnings won a

CMHC National Award for their independent supported housing program. By 2012 these ISH partnerships had yielded more than 100 additional affordable housing units in HRM.

- Metro Non-Profit Housing Association and Direction 180 (serving the addicted and providing methadone) collaborate to start a new program, Halifax Housing Help.
- Metro Non-Profit Housing opens a fifth housing facility namely a 20 unit supportive housing complex on Maynard Street in Central Halifax; its first site, the 16 unit Stewart House, opened in 1990.

2009

- Following a pattern that was developing across Canada, the NS House of Assembly unanimously passed An Act to Establish a Poverty Reduction Working Group In December 2007 and in 2009 launched its Provincial Poverty Reduction Strategy which had a housing strategy dimension (e.g., investment in housing)
- Mobile Outreach Street Health (MOSH) was launched, providing primary health care to the homeless and other marginalized citizens
- Nova Scotia's first Mental Health Court (a specialized court for people with mental health issues) is launched in Dartmouth
- The HRP Public Safety officer began participating with representatives from Capital Health, Killam Properties, Phoenix House, NS Department of Community Services, the Committee for Action on Homelessness and the Spring Garden Road Business Association in an ad hoc Committee on Affordable Housing. The group met on several occasions to discuss housing issues and consider possible strategies to reduce homelessness and improve the availability of safe affordable housing. While spawning no specific housing project or program, it contributed to the social movement to improve housing in the HRM and to the mobilization of subsequent action in these regards.
- "2009 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness" released by the Community Action on Homelessness organization.
- "2009 Health and Homelessness in Halifax" report released by the Community Action on Homelessness organization. It was reported that in 2008 some 1252 persons stayed on one or more occasions at one of four shelters in Halifax CMA while an undetermined number stayed at other shelters or "couch surfed" or simply slept outside.
- Metro Turning Point increases capacity from 65 to 80 beds and moves from a night-only operation to a 24/7 model with enhanced services.
- "Out of the Cold" Shelter reopens providing an additional 15 emergency beds during the coldest months of the year.

2010

- "2010 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness" released by Community Action on Homelessness reported that some 1700 persons stayed in shelters in 2009.
- In October 2010, the "Halifax Connects with the Homeless" initiative was launched aimed at the "level three" homeless. It has become an annual one day event in HRM drawing roughly 500 homeless people and a large contingent of service providers and volunteers. Hairdressers cut and style hair, portraits are

taken, doctors examine feet, information is provided on extant services, and a hot lunch is served with tablecloths and silverware.

2011

- A collaboration of private Investment Rental Operators and non-profit agencies in the housing field pulled together a presentation and a proposal to the Nova Scotia Government and subsequently the Department of Community Services launched its Supportive Housing Pilot program with Housing Support Workers and rent subsidies. The program provided funds for Housing Support Workers in governmental as well as non-profit service agencies such as Tawaak Housing, Salvation Army, Phoenix House, and Byrony House; all told the funds provided for 17 or 18 such workers. The model follows the ISH approach and the Housing Support Workers, like the New Beginnings worker, provide weekly / monthly support to the Department of Community Services clients.
- Adsum Shelter for Women and Children opens The Alders, a 10 unit apartment building.
- "Housing Nova Scotians: A Fresh Look" report released by AHANS (Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia) subsequent to its province-wide consultations on housing, emphasized the need for collaboration and partnerships among the different levels of government, the non-profit and private sectors. It especially called for provincial government leadership given its mandate and resources but also recommended greater municipal governments' attention to building coalitions to bring rental units up to code and more generally increasing their collaborations with non-profits and the private sector.

2012

- Provincial Housing Strategy consultations begin
- Provincial 211 Community Services Phone line is launched
- The federal Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) moves to a community entity model where funding allocations are made at a grassroots level. In HRM, AHANS is that entity. Initial funding was renewed under the HPS providing AHANS with significant long term funding ($1.5 million annually for 5 years ending in 2019) to deliver to community-based groups who can produce valuable initiatives to reduce homelessness.
- CAH, Community Action on Homelessness, a project of the North End Community Health Centre, ends. Established in 1999 CAH essentially was replaced by AHANS.
- NS Housing and Homelessness Network is formed
- Shelter Nova Scotia opens The Rebuilding, a 19 unit transitional apartment complex for men
- Health and Homelessness in Halifax Update Report released by the NS Housing and Homelessness Network
- "2012 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness" released by the NS Housing and Homelessness Network. It was reported that in 2011 a total of 1973 persons stayed in the shelters, accounting for 70,311 shelter-nights.
- The HRM Community Response Team, moved to the administrative oversight of the PSO in 2009, launched the Crime Free Multi-Housing Program (CFMH**),** a well-established program in Western Canada and in the United States to eliminate crime at multi-housing complexes such as apartment buildings. Subsequently, a seniors' residence in Northend Halifax described as "affordable independent living" and

operated by Northwood Properties becomes the first formally credentialized such complex in Nova Scotia.

2013

- Provincial Housing Strategy is launched including the creation of Housing NS, a crown corporation with its own private board, structured like the NSBI
- Federal budget extends the Homeless Partnership Strategy for 5 years. In October 2013 the responsible Federal minister in noting the renewal added that she wanted to be the first minister to end homelessness in Canada.
- HRM council approves, by a vote of 15 to 0, formal participation in a coalition attacking issues of homelessness and affordable housing. Council reportedly considered it a moral obligation to address issues such as building affordable homes, helping the working poor and also people without permanent places to live. Other members of coalition included the United Way Halifax, AHANS, private sector interests and of course the provincial government. United Way Halifax had sent a letter to the Mayor urging HRM's participation and the Mayor responded enthusiastically noting "housing is integral to what we do". The newly announced initiative, coordinated by the United Way Halifax, aims to solve the chronic homelessness problem in 5 years.
- The Supportive Housing Pilot program launched by the NS Government in 2011 is made permanent
- November 2013 AHANS, at a Housing and Homelessness Conference in Halifax, noted that in 2012 there were 1880 who stayed in a shelter, staying a total of 66,154 shelter nights, and that roughly 10% of the 1880 people are classified as "chronically homeless" (i.e., been relying on shelters for many years). The numbers (roughly 1800) were less but consistent with the CAH reports for recent earlier years. AHANS stressed that homelessness is merely the bottom of a housing continuum that ranges from shelters and rooming houses through social housing to high-end condos. As the entire continuum becomes more expensive there is increased homelessness and people are suffering at all levels, paying more than they should be for housing.
- AHANS reports that in 2007 there were 153 rooming houses in HRM but in 2012 there were just 25 and 5 of these were for sale. The manager of the Turning Point shelter noted that every time a rooming house closes, the shelter sees an increase in business!

OFFENDER REINTEGRATION, VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

INTRODUCTION

Offender reintegration, as an important dimension of HRM's response to concerns of violence and public safety, cropped up repeatedly in the focus groups of the 2008 Roundtable and generated a handful of recommendations. Eighteen months after the PSO was established in 2009, a special ad hoc committee on the theme was formed under PSO leadership to discuss the issues, facts, and policies of offender reintegration pertinent to the PSO's evolving strategic action planning. In updating the data and issues concerning this dimension of the Review, assessing outcomes for the 2008 Report's recommendations and the ad hoc committee's discussions, and looking forward from the current situation, a wide variety of research strategies and activities have been employed:

- A research outline was developed in collaboration between the principal investigator and John Peach, executive director of the John Howard Society of Nova Scotia. Peach and his team assumed responsibility for writing the supplemental report reproduced in Volume 2. Interviews, roughly equally split between the Peach team and the principal investigator, usually following an interview guide, were carried out with 22 key persons, stakeholders and knowledgeables in this field. These included police officers engaged in various roles focusing on convicted offenders, provincial officials at different ranks in Nova Scotia Correctional Services responsible for adult and youth correctional facilities, authorities responsible for federal Corrections' management at the regional and HRM levels, provincial bureaucrats responsible for community services, housing and other provincial programs, and non-profit service providers and advocates engaged in offender reintegration activities (especially housing and employment).
- Pertinent information from interviews garnered for other dimensions of the Review (e.g., Housing, Race Relations) was also available.
- Statistical information was obtained for adult and youth provincial incarceration at the Nova Scotia Youth Facility (NSYF) and the adult Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility (CNSCF). CSC provided data on offenders released to HRM from the five federal facilities in Atlantic Canada. The HRP supplied data on charges for the year period 2006 to 2012.
- In addition, there was modest recourse to documents (e.g., reports and papers of the Public Safety Office, provincial Corrections' documents) and to the general research / evaluation literature concerning barriers to the successful community reintegration of offenders.

THE 2008 RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE RESPONSE

The recommendations of the 2008 Roundtable regarding offender reintegration basically centered on six themes, namely:

a. that HRM call on the province to open a drug treatment court (DTC) for addicted persons who typically are multiple repeat offenders as regularly documented by research in HRM and elsewhere in Canada and the United States;
b. that HRM facilitate safe, supportive housing for offenders exiting youth or adult custody;
c. that HRM work with the appropriate provincial and federal authorities to develop a strategic action plan for offender reintegration;
d. that HRM advocate for improved exit planning at the provincial Corrections facilities;
e. that HRM through its PSO examine best practices elsewhere for enhancement of offender reintegration, and
f. that particular attention be given to Black offenders who are quite over-represented at both federal prisons and provincial jails.

Overall, the recommendations were not dealt with in an effective way as the Peach team well-establishes in its detailed assessment of outcomes for the various recommendations that followed from the above themes. There was very little evidence of any engagement of HRM government for any recommendations and while, as indicated in the Timeline below, the PSO was engaged in collaborative meetings on several issues (e.g., supportive housing, reintegration initiatives for Black inmates, an innovative adult restorative justice program for minor offences, usually LCA violations, for Dalhousie University students, and gathering information on best practices elsewhere such as the Ceasefire program for violent repeat offenders in the United States), its role was a limited one, perhaps due to its location and responsibilities within the HRP. For its part, HRM did commit to a major annual investment in the Youth Advocate Program in 2012 when YAP's federal funding ceased; the YAP program however was targeted at young teens, at-risk of becoming involved with gangs, not offender reintegration. As the Peach team elaborates upon in its accompanying paper, it has been especially disappointing that the PSO and the municipal government exercised no apparent advocacy and leverage with respect to programming and exit planning at the adult provincial jail. There was enhancement with respect to the enforcement of parole and probation conditions and monitoring dangerous repeat offenders by HRM's two police services which undoubtedly contributed to public safety but there was little done to improve prospects for successful community reintegration of the inmates.

PATTERNS OF REPEAT OFFENDING AND INCARCERATION

Data for HRP charges over the period 2006 to 2012 showed that some 16,503 different persons were charged, among whom were 3263 (20%) who allegedly committed 4 or more offences; these latter persons, labeled multiple or repeat accused persons in the analyses (see the tables in the section below titled Variations in Violence and Victimization), accounted for 62% of the 48,548 total offences over the 2006-2012 period. Further breakdown of the data indicated that a higher proportion of youth charged was multiple or repeat accuseds than was the case among the adults**;** that is, 25% of all youth accused had 4 or more charges compared to 18% of all adult accused. Among Blacks there was more than double the proportion of repeat accused as among Whites; 33% of all Black accused were repeaters compared to 18% of all White persons charged**.** These data patterns for charges laid are also reflected in convictions, probation and incarceration tables not reproduced here.

There are 5 federal prisons in Atlantic Canada, two of which are located in Nova Scotia, namely Springhill, a medium security institution and triage centre for all adult male prisons in Atlantic Canada, and Nova, in Truro, which is the sole facility for female offenders. In HRM there are 6 half-way houses, two Community Corrections Centres operated by CSC which house the more at-risk ex-inmates and four Community Residential Centres managed by non-profit organizations on behalf of CSC. There are several adult provincial facilities in Nova Scotia but the largest by far is the CNSCF in HRM, while for youth, virtually all are incarcerated at the NSYF in Waterville. While supportive data have been difficult to track down, previous reports and the views of those interviewed for this Review, indicate that HRM typically receives more released inmates than it sends to these institutions, for many reasons (e.g., non-profit programs and advocacy are concentrated in this largest urban centre in Atlantic Canada, the anonymity of the “big city”, government policies favouring a concentration of services and so forth). Best estimates from informed sources are that:

- only 75% of the persons released to HRM from CNSCF had resided in HRM prior to their incarceration,
- that HRM residents constitute roughly 70% of the persons housed in CSC’s six half-way houses,
- that, at the least, 15% of the non-HRM youths at the NSYF come to the area upon release and
- in recent years some 66% of the youths housed in metro’s six Homebridge group homes are from beyond HRM’s border.

HRM then is the major destination point for incarcerated offenders and those “having trouble with the law”, and clearly the municipality has a major interest and stake in the adequacy of the salient enforcement and reintegration policies and practices.

On any given day there are between 175 and 200 federal parolees residing in HRM. They are monitored via an impressive array of police strategies utilized by both HRP and RCMP officers. There is a 4 person HEAT team that focuses on serious offenders and those wanted on warrant, an integrated intelligence team that focuses on gathering intelligence and exchanging it with their CSC counterparts, and an HRP officer working at CSC offices who focuses on parole / probation conditions and some basic reintegration issues (e.g., housing availability). In addition, there are some special programs operated by the separate police services; for example, the RCMP has its Operation Breach initiative which strives to be proactive by contacting high-risk persons upon their release and making them aware of their monitoring; in the last fiscal year, these RCMP officers made 350 checks on 45 persons in HRM. Overall, then, the enforcement dimension of dealing with convicted offenders, especially the more violent ones and federal ex-inmates, and contributing to public safety in that way, seems solidly in place and has been strengthened since the 2008 Roundtable. Small wonder perhaps that the Atlantic region has had in recent years the highest rate of parole revocation (34%) among the CSC regions (Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview, 2013).

Over the past ten years the number of inmates in the federal prisons has gone from roughly 12,000 to roughly 15,000, an all-time high (CBC News, posted November 25, 2013). On the day 2013-09-13, CSC authorities reported that there were 311 persons under CSC community control in Nova Scotia and that 17% of the federal parolee cases being supervised at any given time in HRM are Black persons. Blacks constitute 11% of the 1774 persons in the five federal Atlantic institutions, roughly four times their population percentage in Atlantic Canada. Interview data indicated that federal officials believed that there could be fewer revocations if ex-inmates’ needs for safe supportive housing could be better met and if bureaucratic problems (e.g., the released person’s frequent problem in quickly securing a provincial health card) could be more easily resolved by collaboration between the federal and provincial authorities, and also that more institutional programming at the CNSCF could result in greater eligibility of parole among the provincial inmates. In their view the municipality could play a significant advocacy role, leveraging its resources to achieve provincial program change. It was also noted that, unlike PEI and New Brunswick, Nova Scotia does not participate in a work release program for federal inmates.

Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 provide the patterns for the CNSCF provincial jail in Nova Scotia. Table 6.1 indicates that while total admissions have declined from 2936 in 2007-08 to 2775 in 2012-13, there is no clear pattern save the

usual number being in the vicinity of 2800 admissions (including remand and sentenced to custody). There has also been a significant and consistent rate of re-incarceration in all fiscal years from 2007-08 to 2012-13; about 63% of the persons admitted had previously been incarcerated. Females have usually constituted between 15% and 20% of the CNSCF population. A comparison of Tables 6.2 and 6.3 shows that annually there are roughly twice as many remand admissions than there are persons sentenced to custody. Generally, remand cases spend less time in CNSCF but even those sentenced to custody on average stay less than three months. The short time in custody and large proportion of persons on remand are commonly cited as major factors for the limited rehabilitative programming at the CNSCF. No data were available on the offences that led to remand or custody sentence but previous research indicated that a little over 20% of the provincial inmates are incarcerated each year for violent offences.

Table 6.2 shows that the remand cases vary but on average – save for the dip in 2009-10 and 2010-11 which is evident in all three tables - have been about 1800. Blacks have constituted roughly 18% of the remands, about 5 times their proportion in the HRM population and 9 times their provincial proportion. The Aboriginal remand cases have increased modestly in recent years. On the whole though there has been no evident numerical trend for any of the racial/ethnic groupings. Table 6.3 presents the patterns for cases where the offender has been sentenced to custody. It is a picture similar to Table 6.2 for remands, the major difference being that the sentenced to custody admissions average about only 850 (the variation over time is quite modest if two year averages are calculated). The significant overrepresentation of Blacks is again evident and at the same level (i.e., 18%) though here an upward trend is evident whereas there is no clear trend for the other racial-ethnic groupings.

The number of youths incarcerated at the NSYF has declined from usually over 100 in the pre-YCJA era to roughly 40 or so in recent years. Extrapolating from a large sample completed in 2012, 70% of the youths were either 16 or 17 years of age and mostly Caucasian (63%) with 30% linked to African Nova Scotian ethnicity/race and 7% Aboriginal. Their home residence was 48% HRM and 52% other. 26% were engaged in school work presumably beyond the basic grade 10 level. The majority of youths (56%) were in the NSYF for serious violent offences against persons; fully 52% were currently under sentences of at least 180 days in custody and only 40% had been in their current NSYF unit (2A or 3B) for 60 days or less. 26% were in their unit on a remand basis. Fully 80% of the youths had prior incarceration at NSYF and 40% had been in custody there on many different occasions.

Declining inmate numbers driven by demographics (e.g., the aging population and the small provincial population growth over the past decade) and especially the significant changes in laws (e.g., YCJA in 2003) and

sentencing policy for young offenders (e.g., court decisions have minimized the 'step policy' in sentencing – harsher punishment for repeat violations - save for offences clearly placing the public at risk) have created opportunity and pressures for more programming. A widespread view is that, while nowadays youths are in custody typically because of violent offences and egregious offending that do indeed place the public at risk, their small number, combined with a revulsion among policy makers at mere "warehousing", do call for imaginative programming that may involve teaching new skills and ways of thinking that can better balance incarceration with opportunities for reintegration.

The above approach to the custodial situation of young inmates arguably has been a feature of NSYF programming in recent years. Its Centre 24/7 program, established for about twelve years, has been unique in Canada for its off-site program that brings together NSYF and community-based youths. It provides a comprehensive educational, and lifestyle support program and occasionally has held circles with family members and employed other restorative practices strategies. In addition, the NSYF has funded a biweekly restorative justice for newly received inmates for the past ten years. Within the institution, there are educational, anger management and substance abuse programs; as well, other programs have been put in place with the assistance of outside organizations for minority groups (especially African Nova Scotians and Aboriginals (e.g., regular sweats by gender are open to all interested youths)). For its approach to working with young inmates the NSYF has recently received the high praise from retired Justice Merlin Nunn whose commission in 2006 produced a number of recommendations for major changes in how young offenders, responsible for serious and / or multiple repeat offences, should be dealt with by the NS justice system. In 2012 Nova Scotia Youth Facility (NSYF) launched its Restorative Practices Initiative. Staff and youths in a unit of the NSYF were trained and became regularly engaged in a far-reaching restorative practices approach which included morning circles, use of an everyday restorative relationship style, and informal, small group dispute resolution. The objectives included transforming the sub-culture of the incarceration experience, developing more positive relationships between and among the youth workers and the incarcerated youths, and facilitating the youths' reintegration in mainstream society.

While the NSYF has mounted a number of programs aimed at rehabilitation, has designated youth workers regularly collaborating with probation officers in assisting the youths in their exit planning, and overall adopted a progressive approach to reintegration, its programming has some shortcomings (e.g. very few NSYF youths actually ever participate in the Centre 24/7 program) and the youths often do have serious personal problems as well as involvement in criminogenic social situations and relationships on the outside beyond the reach of the NSYF programming. A major challenge is how to link up positive familial and community relationships and

circumstances with what might be accomplished in the NSYF to reduce the high level of re-incarceration and facilitate successful community reintegration. And, since the majority of the NSYF youths upon release establish residence in HRM, a related challenge would be what can the municipality do to assist in that regard.

TABLE 6.1 - TOTAL NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO CENTRAL NOVA SCOTIA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BY FISCAL YEAR INCLUDING PERCENTAGE WITH PREVIOUS PERIODS OF INCARCERATION.

Fiscal Year	Previous incarceration (%)	Total Admissions
2007-2008	63	2936
2008-2009	66	2865
2009-2010	63	2649
2010-2011	64	2680
2011-2012	63	2800
2012-2013	64	2775

A previous period of incarceration includes any type of admission to custody including sentenced, remanded, and other statuses. Rates of re-incarceration are self-reported.

Source: Justice Enterprise Information Network (JEIN), Nova Scotia Department of Justice

TABLE 6.2 - REMAND ADMISSIONS TO CENTRAL NOVA SCOTIA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BY ETHNICITY 2007-2013

	BLACK	CAUCASIAN	ABORIGINAL	OTHER	TOTAL
2007-2008	286 (16%)	1214 (67%)	76 (4%)	241 (13%)	1817
2008-2009	329 (19%)	1180 (67%)	93 (5%)	150 (9%)	1752
2009-2010	302 (19%)	1133 (71%)	68 (4%)	96 (6%)	1599
2010-2011	318 (20%)	1099 (69%)	91 (6%)	84 (5%)	1592
2011-2012	320 (18%)	1225 (68%)	123 (7%)	124 (7%)	1792
2012-2013	313 (18%)	1255 (69%)	130 (7%)	122 (7%)	1820

**The ethnicity of an incarcerated person is identified by Corrections staff using: (a) observation of physical characteristics and (b) information obtained from the incarcerated person during the admission process.*

Source: JEIN, NS Department of Justice, 2013

6.3 - SENTENCED CUSTODY ADMISSIONS TO CENTRAL NOVA SCOTIA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BY ETHNICITY 2007-2013

	BLACK	CAUCASIAN	ABORIGINAL	OTHER	TOTAL
2007-2008	123 (15%)	622 (74%)	28 (3%)	71 (8%)	844
2008-2009	130 (15%)	657 (75%)	35 (4%)	59 (7%)	881
2009-2010	131 (16%)	591 (74%)	28 (4%)	49 (6%)	799
2010-2011	168 (19%)	648 (72%)	45 (5%)	33 (4%)	894
2011-2012	170 (20%)	606 (70%)	60 (7%)	29 (3%)	865
2012-2013	144 (18%)	589 (72%)	38 (5%)	51 (6%)	822

Source: JEIN, NS Department of Justice, 2013

ANALYSES OF TIMELINE DEVELOPMENTS IN OFFENDER REINTEGRATION

The Timeline below for offender reintegration highlights programs and policies that emerged in the period 2008 to 2013 inclusive. Several themes stand out. There were several developments in Corrections Services Canada (CSC) policies and programming for federal inmates while in prisons and subsequently when released back into the community. Given the high proportion of federal inmates identified by CSC as having significant mental health problems (minimally 25%), it is not surprising that programs responding to that problem were developed and honed for federal offenders in both milieus. In 2009, subsequent to preparing a Mental Health Strategy for Corrections in Canada, CSC established its Mental Unit Post-Release Program providing, through staff and contracted specialists, a mental health team to facilitate federal offenders' reintegration.

Other supportive CSC programs, such as CORCAN in 2008, providing employment and education programs for offenders under its authority, were expanded within the institutions. In 2011 CSC's Community Maintenance Program (CMP) was elaborated through subcontracting the handling of evening sessions in Metro Halifax to the

John Howard Society while its staff continued to be responsible for daytime sessions. The CMP evening sessions focus upon parolees who are recently released and employed. It is a community-based follow-up for all CSC core institutional programs. The CMP includes 12 weekly sessions where treatment targets are problem solving, high risk thinking, self-management skills, goal setting, healthy relationships, and emotions management. In 2013 CSC expanded on its exit planning programs by contracting with Shelter Nova Scotia in 2013 to come to the facilities and discusses the possibilities for housing with inmates soon-to-be released into HRM. CSC's special programming for Aboriginal inmates over the past fifteen years has been quite impressive even while not reducing the considerable over-representation of Aboriginal males and females in the federal institutions (Clairmont, 2011). Some much more modest initiatives have sporadically been launched for Black and other visible minority inmates but recent internal assessment by the CSC Investigator has emphasized their inadequacy (Office of the Corrections Investigator, 2013). While no strong evidence has been gathered in this Review, aside from positive testimonials by some interviewees, to assess how effective overall the CSC programming has been in increasing the rate of successful reintegration, the recidivism rate appears to be substantially below that of the provincial correctional facilities in Nova Scotia (Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview, 2012).

The Timeline provides only modest evidence of any significant initiatives in rehabilitation programs or exit planning at the provincial level applicable to the large majority of its adult inmates. The exceptions have included programs offered to female inmates by the Elizabeth Fry Society within the jail (paralleling their work in the federal institutions) and upon release, and, much more modestly, some supportive response to Aboriginal projects attempting to bridge the gap between correctional facilities and the Mi'kmaq communities. There are indications that the time is appropriate for advocacy regarding more substantial changes that could impact the majority adult male inmates in the institutions and upon release. In 2009-2010 the province established an adult mental health court in HRM which emphasizes treatment and services (e.g., housing) rather than incarceration. In 2011 the Department of Community Services launched its Supportive Housing Pilot program featuring funding for Housing Support Workers and rent subsidies and which could be accessed by released inmates. In 2013, as the Timeline indicates, several initiatives were announced such as the provincial mental health and addictions strategy, an Employment Readiness Programs to be managed by the John Howard Society for released inmates on social assistance, and some negotiations were undertaken between CNSCF and organizations such as the 7th Step and Elizabeth Fry to engage with adult male inmates at the facility.

There have been significant developments at the NSYF, the youth facility, presumably occasioned by several factors such as a more generous societal disposition to programs aimed at young offenders' rehabilitation, a

greater Corrections' sensitivity to the emphasis on rehabilitation in the 2003 YCJA and its subsequent interpretations by the courts, and the deep decline in the number of youths incarcerated which permits more intensive programming. The Timeline details a number of such initiatives for young offenders, some diverting youth from the NSYF and some pertaining to the facility itself (e.g., see the items HYAC in 2007, YAP in 2008, iMOVe in 2009, Restorative Practices in 2012 and the MLSN's Bringing in the Culture in 2013). The NSYF has developed a good reputation for its progressive programs that have complemented earlier initiatives (e.g., Centre 24/7, an off-site facility educational program, CALM, an anger management program) but the very high rate of re-incarceration there clearly establishes the importance of services and programs that link the jail and the community and counter the post-release barriers to successful reintegration.

As would be expected given the thorough assessment of outcomes for the 2008 Roundtable recommendations by Peach et al in their attached paper, there is little evidence of any significant initiative by HRM or the PSO bearing on offender reintegration. There are many references in the Timeline to community-based initiatives such as those offering services to addicted persons (e.g. Mainline Needle Exchange and Direction 180 providing methadone), mobile street health services (MOSH) and various housing-based programs, virtually all of which are funded by the province and largely operating independently of one another (Peach, p19). HRM's PSO did coordinate several meetings on strategies for offender reintegration but there was no clear follow-up; the PSO played a modest role in the establishment of a restorative justice program for minor, essentially statutory offences, which represented an interesting collaboration of the provincial NSRJ program, HRP and Dalhousie University; and also a supportive voice for a drug intervention project which provided a community-based program alternative to incarceration for low level, non-addicted drug dealers. Both these programs may be developed more elaborately in the future with implications for effecting more successful offender reintegration.

KEY ISSUES IN OFFENDER REINTEGRATION

The Peach team in their appended paper has dealt in depth with the major barriers to successful offender reintegration as determined through review of the pertinent literature, interviews done in this Review, and their own considerable experience in working with released inmates. They highlight (a) employment and / or employability training, (b) release planning and programming, (c) safe appropriate housing, (d) mental health and / or substance abuse, (e) access to and continuity of income assistance programs, (f) community support and navigating systems and support services especially for adult men and, not least, services or programming within the Corrections institutions. They emphasize in particular the inadequacy of the provincial Corrections facilities in these respects and the absence of any significant engagement by the municipality and recommend significant changes in both these regards.

These observations have much salience for HRM. As discussed above, there are many serious offenders to respond to and, as well, more incarcerated persons upon release take up residence in HRM than were formerly residents here; also, there are high levels of repeat offending and re-incarceration for both youths and adults; so, from a violence and public safety perspective, HRM has to be concerned with offender reintegration and partner and advocate with the provincial authorities and other community agencies to respond to the barriers the Peach team has clearly identified. Currently the chief feature of the societal response to serious adult offenders thus far has been the emphasis on enforcement. The evidence is that a reasonably effective enforcement response has been achieved to monitor released persons and effect their re-incarceration for violations of release conditions or new offences. Within institutions, there has also usually been an emphasis on security and enforcement as indicated by Peach et al with respect to initiatives in recent years at the CNSCF.

Overall, though, there appears to be an imbalance as comparatively little attention has focused on programming in the adult facility or linking up with community resources to facilitate reintegration upon release. Arguments justifying limited internal programming based on considerations such as the remand factor or the short sentences fail the equity test since in both federal and provincial institutions there has been extensive focus on rehabilitation within and reintegrative linkages to the community for female inmates. There is also clearly a need to reduce the isolation of the Correctional facilities where possible by projects and programs that establish bridges for reintegration. New York City has recently been celebrated for its dramatic gains in reducing both crime and incarceration by emphasizing such balance where the innovation has largely been matching defendants with community-based services and supervision. The Corrections Commissioner of New York recently noted “Discharge planning and pre-release preparation are critical to reducing recidivism for both pretrial and sentenced inmates**”,** and the Deputy Mayor stated**,** “By working with communities and individuals, we are successfully preventing crime and saving thousands from a life of cycling through the criminal justice system.”**.** Directing more focus on the rehabilitation and reintegration for the adult offender is not an easy sell to the public and there is no adult equivalent to the YCJA legislation which can push the agenda and advocate for adult offenders but it is important in order to reduce violence and enhance public safety. Nevertheless, as noted in the discussion of Timeline events above, the last few years have witnessed a number of policies and actions that suggest that the timing is right for a concerted effort at change.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the key recommendations advanced for this dimension. They are congruent with those emphasized by Peach et al in their paper though not as exhaustive and without the specificity of required actions that they highlight, so their recommendations should be additionally consulted.

1. There needs to be a better balance between the enforcement and offender reintegration dimensions of responding to offenders who cause violence and concerns for public safety. That balance can be achieved by emphasizing more rehabilitative programming within the institutions (especially adult facilities), more linkages to community-based services and programs, and more exit planning for incarcerated offenders. The province and the municipality should be partners in realizing that balance and work as much as possible with community services and organizations to do so.
2. The emphasis should be on the adult provincial jail within HRM namely the CNSCF where extant programs are very limited – essentially, as detailed in the Timeline, four programs namely AA, NA, WOOF and the educational program GED. The arguments of balance and equity require change and that, in turn, requires provincial action and municipal advocacy.
3. As in the 2008 Roundtable, and for the same reasons, it is recommended that the "Housing First" approach be put in place and that, as in the federal institutions, pre-exit planning should include contact with community resources such as Shelter Nova Scotia.
4. Employment is second to housing but crucial for long-run successful reintegration as indicated in the literature on that subject. Employment readiness programs and social enterprises (e.g., HRM's Youth Live where youth is defined to include young adults) are keys to employment and should be encouraged.
5. Persons addicted to drugs are typically multiple repeat offenders, and, in the USA and in the larger CMAs in Canada, drug treatment courts have emerged to reduce crime and re-direct the addicts. In HRM the Mental Health Court has recently added a drug treatment program for its mentally ill clients. Modestly successful DTCs can accomplish both these objectives and as in the 2008 Roundtable it is recommended that HRM call on the province to establish such a DTC in HRM
6. Community agencies and organizations in HRM which are engaged in offender reintegration whether as providing cultural linkages (e.g., Black mentorship), support services (e.g., the Navigator program of the SGRBA) or motivational strategies (e.g., 7th Step) should be facilitated by the provincial and municipal governments.

TIMELINE - OFFENDER REINTEGRATION DIMENSION

2007

- The Halifax Youth Attendance Centre opens. A recommendation of the Nunn Commission, HYAC provides programming and services to "moderate-high risk youth under court-ordered community

supervision". There is multi-provincial departmental collaboration with the initiative administered by the Department of Justice.

2008

- Spring Garden Road Business Association launches its Navigator Program, a major and continuing program working with the homeless, ex-inmates, group home "grads" and others, linking them to agencies and services.
- Our Thyme Café, a social enterprise owned and operated by the Elizabeth Fry Society, which provides training and work experience in the food industry for females released from prison / jail, opens in Downtown Dartmouth. This initiative builds upon E. Fry's core programs (Provincial and Federal Outreach and Pre-release Planning at CNSCF and NOVA respectively) in place since 1985.
- Metro Non-Profit Housing Authority and Direction 180 serving the addicted and providing methadone, collaborate to start Halifax Housing Help, working with those who struggle finding and keeping housing.
- Give Right Back, a youth program aimed at high risk youths, is initiated by the Educational Program Innovation Charity (EPIC)
- Corrections Services Canada permanently institutes its "Institutionalized Mental Health Initiative".
- Corrections Services Canada (CSC) expands CORCAN employment and education programs for offenders under its authority.
- The Federal-Provincial-Territorial Working Group on Mental Health is created by the corresponding Heads of Corrections.
- Mainline Needle Exchange and Stepping Stone (a service for sex workers) collaborate to provide a mobile needle exchange service which lasted only a year
- The Mi'kmaq Native Friendship Centre received multi-year funding from the federal Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit for its Seven Sparks Healing Path program working with Aboriginal inmates in federal correctional institutions and also, and especially, with Aboriginal ex-inmates relocating in HRM.

2009

- Holly House opens - Elizabeth Fry Society establishes its own second stage supportive housing facility in Dartmouth. Its focus is on assisting females, whether ex-inmates or not, in developing skills and achieving stability in independent living. Operating on strict rules (e.g., drug use including methadone is not permitted) occupants (up to 8) apply, pay rent, sign a lease and may stay for beyond a year.
- The Mental Health Strategy for Corrections in Canada is released by CSC.
- Correctional Services Chaplaincy begins its 5 year Circles of Support and Accountability (COSA Halifax) program funded by Crime Prevention Canada
- Mobile Outreach Street Health (MOSH) is launched, providing primary health care to the homeless and other marginalized citizens. MOSH has outreach collaborations with a number of the shelters as well as Mainline Needle Exchange and Stepping Stone.
- CSC established its Mental Unit Post-Release Program. CSC since 2009 has managed through staff and contracted specialists a mental health team to facilitate federal offenders' reintegration (CSC data indicate that roughly one quarter of all inmates had mental health issues).

- The first sitting of the Nova Scotia Mental Health court was held November 2009 in Dartmouth. It follows a therapeutic jurisprudence approach where the focus is more on long-term, in-depth treatment than punishment for offenders with proven mental health issue. In 2012 the Mental Health court added a drug treatment program.
- iMOVe supported by Halifax Community Justice Society (HCJS), Nova Scotia Department of Justice and the NSYF, begins its special program for incarcerated youth, especially African Nova Scotians. The program complements a HCJS outreach initiative at the NSYF begun eight years earlier called Rites of Passage which was based on an Africentric philosophy. The iMOVe program involved the use of creative arts and diverse media whereby the youths explored their life experiences and possible futures. In 2010 iMOVe via the HCJS received multi-year funding to the end of 2013 from the federal Department of Justice Youth Fund.
- The Mi'kmaq Legal Support Network launches its Bridges project linking Aboriginal communities and incarcerated Aboriginal people through meaningful involvement in release planning and reintegration of Aboriginal offenders.

2010

- HRM Public Safety Office initiated an Ad Hoc Committee on Offender Reintegration (the Committee met on several occasions to discuss successful reintegration and sensitize the PSO to the various policy and program options).
- The federal Truth in Sentencing Act comes into effect. This Act calls for a 1:1 ratio in sentencing for credit for time served rather the 1:1.5 (or more) which has been commonplace. The expected result will be longer sentences.
- CSC hires 50 social workers and mental health professionals as part of its Community Mental Health initiative**.**

2011

- Nova Scotia Youth Facility (NSYF) launches its Restorative Practices Initiative. Staff and youths in a unit of the NSYF were trained and became regularly engaged in a far-reaching restorative practices approach which included morning circles, use of an everyday restorative, relationship style, and informal, small group dispute resolution. The objectives included transforming the sub-culture of the incarceration experience, developing more positive relationships between and among the youth workers and the incarcerated youths, and facilitating the youths' reintegration in mainstream society.
- The Nova Scotia Department of Community Services launches its Supportive Housing Pilot program featuring funding for Housing Support Workers and rent subsidies.
- CSC 's Community Maintenance Program (CMP) subcontracts (via Public Works Government Services Canada) evening sessions in Metro Halifax to be handled by the John Howard Society while Corrections staff handles the day-time sessions. The CMP focuses upon parolees who are recently released. It is a community-based follow-up for all CSC core institutional programs and deals with all offenders save those from the Sex Offender Programs. The CMP includes 12 weekly sessions and treatment targets are problem solving, high risk thinking, self-management skills, goal setting, healthy relationships, and emotions management.

- A coalition of Restorative Justice Agencies for Nova Scotia co-hosted with the International Institute for Restorative Practices, the Province of Nova Scotia and the CURA Research Program, an international conference on restorative practices in Halifax.

2012

- The Uptown Drug Intervention Project, an HRPS pilot project which provides selected, low-level, arrested drug traffickers with the option of enrolling in long-term community-based programs emphasizing attitudinal and behavioural change and employment readiness or, alternatively, having their case dealt with through the regular criminal justice system processes, is launched in the Uniacke Square area of Halifax.

2013

- Direction 180 mobile methadone clinic takes to the road, providing interim methadone therapy (i.e., distributing methadone) for individuals on the waiting list for full in-house treatment.
- Shelter Nova Scotia formalizes a contract with CSC for exit planning with soon-to-be released inmates concerning exit planning for housing options.
- The Working on Our Future (WOOF) program begins at the Central Nova Correctional Facility for adult inmates, pairing inmates with dogs for training and socialization.
- The Provincial Mental Health and Addictions Strategy, Together We Can, is released with a section devoted to offender reintegration planning. While not directly focused on the latter, the strategy calls for support being provided to those released and living in the community**.**
- JHS' Employment Readiness Program is initiated. It focuses on persons with a criminal record who are also on income assistance with DCS. It provides both classroom and work experience. A co-operative form of employment is a central feature of the program as the participant is placed in employment for a month or so at no cost to the employer but subsequently it is hoped (there is no formal obligation) that the employer will hire the individual. The employment is low end and often seasonal but provides a starting point. The project is funded by the provincial government.
- **7**th Step Initiative is re-introduced in the Halifax area. The Seventh Step Society is an international movement self-described as follows, "7th Step is a program designed to help the ***incorrigible*** and ***recidivist*** offenders change their behavior and attitudes using a basic self-help philosophy. Its fundamental principles are ***realistic thinking*** and *positive peer pressure"***.** The 7th Step Society operated "a street group" in the Halifax area and "an institutional group" in Springhill prison in the 1980s. It receives some funding from Public Safety Canada**.**
- The Mi'kmaq Legal Support Network and the Nova Scotia Department of Justice receive federal funding for a multi-year project, "Bringing Culture Inside" which focuses on Aboriginal youth incarcerated at the NSYF and involves elders and specially culturally-trained MLSN staff bringing culturally salient programming into the institution to facilitate their reintegration. The initiative complements the MLSN's "Building a Bridge" program in place since 2009 which helps all Aboriginal inmates prepare for their release and connect with services and programs once they are back in their communities**.**

VARIATIONS IN VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

INTRODUCTION

In this section, there is brief examination of three dimensions of violence and victimization focusing on (a) youth; (b) race/ethnicity and (c) neighbourhoods. They are closely inter-related as troubled youths and serious youth crime do vary significantly by race-ethnic differentials and both these are empirically correlated with neighbourhood variations in violence and victimization. Here the focus is on that inter-connectedness. In the case of race / ethnicity, the variable of most interest is the Black – White distinction. The Aboriginal population is small in HRM (the status Indian population was less than 1000 in 2011 as cited above) as there are no significant First Nations settlements here though the Shubenacadie and Millbrook FNs have reserve properties in places such as Hammonds Plains, Sheet Harbour and Cole Harbour. The Aboriginal population in HRM is also quite diverse and not concentrated residentially (Clairmont and McMillan, 2006). The Other Visible Minority population is strongly linked to immigrant groupings and is growing but research by Clairmont and Kim in 2010 indicated that there was little criminal justice involvement among them.

The inter-connectedness of these three dimensions was a major theme of the 2008 Roundtable report. In examining the responses to the Roundtable recommendations, updating the empirical patterns of violence and victimization, and identifying current issues and possible future directions, there has been significant collaboration between the principal investigator and Professor Schneider of Saint Mary's University. Professor Schneider, a well-recognized scholar and policy advocate in these fields, was involved in the original Roundtable and wrote a significant piece there on the interconnectedness of neighbourhoods, race-ethnicity and youth crime. His paper in Volume Two for this Review captures well the inter-relationships among these key dimensions. All told some 50 individuals were interviewed by the principal investigator or Professor Schneider for this broad dimension, including a bevy of HRP and RCMP police officers of different rank and responsibility, Public Health officials (mapping assault density by area), tenant leaders in the five major public housing complexes, private sector property managers (i.e., Killam Properties and Atlantic Living), ten community leaders in the Uptown area, eight provincial officials (DCS, Halifax Housing Authority, Department of Justice), two Correctional Services Canada officials, three School Board officials, four municipal officials, six non-profit service providers, several faith leaders in the Black community and a handful of youths. Documents and data were made available by the CSC, Corrections Nova Scotia, HRP, the RCMP, Public Health, HRM Police Board, the PSO and AHANS.

YOUNG OFFENDERS: THE 2008 REPORT AND RESPONSES

There were five recommendations advanced by a knowledgeable and experienced focus group in 2007; they are presented below with a capitalized comment on the response to them

1. The issue of serious youth crime and quasi-gangs should be as a focal point for HRM and PSO activities. THE YOUTH ADVOCATE PROGRAM FOCUSED ON PRE-GANG, AT-RISK YOUTH AND JOINTLY FUNDED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND HRM BEGAN IN 2006 AND HAS CONTINUED ON AFTER THE FEDERAL FUNDING CEASED IN 2011. IT IS UNIQUE IN CANADA FOR A MUNICIPALITY TO MAKE SUCH A LARGE FINANCIAL COMMITMENT TO SUCH A PROGRAM. YAP HAS RECENTLY EXPANDED ITS WORK TO YOUNG FEMALE TEENS AT-RISK. SECONDLY, PROVINCIAL FUNDING IN 2007 FOR MORE HRM OFFICERS HAS FACILITATED COLLABORATIVE PROGRAMMING FOR AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIAN YOUTHS (e.g., THE CENTERLINE MUSIC STUDIO) AND ALSO ENHANCED THE AVAILABILITY OF HRP AND RCMP COMMUNITY RESPONSE OFFICERS AND SCHOOL RESPONSE OFFICERS.
2. HRM should facilitate by advocacy a more robust restorative justice program for youths who are multiple offenders or responsible for serious offences. THERE WAS NO SPECIAL INITIATIVE LED BY HRM OR THE PSO BUT THE HCJS DID DEVELOP A PROGRAM FOR MORE SERIOUS OFFENDERS. AND IN 2012 THE NSRJ PROGRAM, HRP AND DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY COLLABORATED TO MOUNT AN RJ PILOT PROJECT FOR STUDENTS, ESPECIALLY FOCUSED ON ALCOHOL VIOLATIONS.
3. HRM should be more engaged in seeing that the homelessness problems for youth are dealt with. THERE WAS NO SPECIAL INITIATIVE BY HRM BUT THE PSO DID ADVOCATE FOR MORE SAFE SUPERVISED HOUSING AND THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN PHOENIX HOUSE (A MAJOR NON-PROFIT SERVICE ORGANIZATION FOR YOUTH) AND KILLAM PROPERTIES FOR MORE AVAILABILITY OF PRIVATE RENTALS. SUBSEQUENTLY TOO THE PROVINCIAL DCS PROVIDED FUNDS TO ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS PHOENIX HOUSE TO ENGAGE A HOUSING SUPPORT WORKER TO ASSIST THE HOMELESS.
4. There was a recommendation to reduce the disturbances and property incidents and improve the relationship between the troubled youths in designated group homes and their immediate neighbours. THERE WAS NO SPECIAL INITIATIVE UNDERTAKEN BY EITHER HRM OR THE PSO BUT THE HCJS DID LAUNCH A PILOT PROJECT TO ORIENT THE STAFFS OF GROUP HOMES IN RJ PRACTICES.
5. HRM should be advocating and developing more early intervention programs for early crime prevention especially for high-risk youths. These could be educational, recreational and so forth and pitched at the junior high level. It was considered that the municipal government could directly act on such projects if it had a PSO with a strategic action plan. APART FROM PROGRAMS SUCH AS YAP WHICH HAD A MORE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE AND THE HRP'S ANNUAL SPORTS PAL DAY, NO SPECIAL INITIATIVES WERE DEVELOPED BY EITHER HRM OR THE PSO.

THERE WERE TWO PROGRAMS THAT DID ADDRESS THIS RECOMMENDATION. THE SCHOOL BOARDS DEVELOPED IN 2008 A SCHOOLSPLUS PROGRAM WHICH FOCUSED ON ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR STUDENTS, PROVIDING A WIDE RANGE OF POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES IN THE EVENING AND ON SATURDAY FOR YOUTHS AND THEIR FAMILIES. IT FOLLOWED THE RECOMMENDATION OF COMMISSIONER NUNN TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTHS AT RISK. THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE'S LIGHTHOUSE PROGRAM, ONGOING SINCE 2009, HAS HAD SIMILAR FOCUS, PROVIDING FUNDS AS A CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS TO MOUNT AFTER SCHOOL PROGRAMS, SUCH AS RECREATIONAL, CRAFTS, ANDVOLUNTEERING, FOR AT-RISK YOUTH.

IN ADDITION A COMMUNITY-BASED PROJECT, HOPE BLOOMS, WAS PUT INTO PLACE IN 2008 AND CONTINUES. IT STARTED WITH A COMMUNITY GARDEN BUT HAS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED A SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL ENTERPRISE PROJECT, MARKETING A SALAD DRESSING FROM THE GARDEN PRODUCE. THE ENTIRE PROJECT IS MEANINGFULLY OPERATED, WITH ADULT ASSISTANCE, BY A GROUPING OF 40 INNER CITY YOUTHS AGED FROM 9 TO 15.

YOUTH CRIME PATTERNS SINCE THE ROUNDTABLE

Tables 7.1 AND 7.2 and the associated graphs describe the crime patterns for youths and the total population for Nova Scotia and HRM over the years 2008 to 2012. The data includes both HRP and RCMP jurisdictions in HRM, providing both the raw numbers of incidents and the rate per 10,000. Table 7.1, dealing with youth, indicates that in the case of violent incidents there has been no consistent change over the five year period, any variation being very modest after 2008. The rate was highest in 2008 (i.e., 241 per 10,000 and lowest in 2009 (186 per 10,000). For property crimes there was the same pattern of no consistent change after 2008 and again 2008 had the highest rate (i.e., 415 per 10,000) while 2009 had the lowest (i.e., 361 per 10,000). An interesting aside is that the rate of both violent and property crime was consistently lower among HRM youth than among the total NS youth population.

Table 7.2 presents similar data for the total HRM population (including both youths and adults). Here there is a consistently declining rate of violent crime and a mixed pattern for property offences. In the case of violent offences, the rate steadily went from 172 per 10,000 down to 115 per 10,000; in the case of property crime, the rate was at its highest in 2010 (486 per 10,000) and lowest in 2012 (i.e., 377 per 10,000). For this inclusive age population, there was no pronounced difference in the rates of violence between HRM and NS as a whole save in 2012 when HRM's rate declined more sharply to a low of 115 while the provincial decline was less.

The graphs capture the difference between the rates for youth and the overall HRM population. The youth rates for violence have been consistently higher and do not show the pattern of a downward trend. Property crime in HRM does not follow that pattern; here the overall HRM population compared to youths has a consistently

higher rate of such offences until 2012 when the difference narrows to just 3%. The indication from these tables is that youth are more likely than adults to engage in violent offences. The differences are even greater than described in the tables and charts since youths are included in the comparison category. One issue though is whether the violence in which youths are engaged is as serious as the violence for which the adult offenders are charged. It is interesting that in the case of sexual assault, the most serious incidents, aggravated assault and assault with a weapon, are far more likely to be committed by adults; in the table presented in the section above on Gendered Violence, the ratio of adult to young offenders for these offences is 22 to 4 or minimally five times as many adults but then the number of adults in the population is much greater by a factor of eight. More research would be necessary to assess such age-related differences in the charges for violence.

HRP charge data for youths and adults over the years 2006 to 2012 shows that the number of different youths charged increased fairly consistently over these years, rising from 165 in 2006 to 273 in 2012 and representing respectively 5% and 8% of the total distinct persons charged. In the case of adults there was not a clear trend but there was a decline from 3255 distinct adults charged in 2006 to 3072 in 2012, representing 92% and 88% respectively of the total persons charged.

Table 7.3 and 7.4 present data from HRP and the RCMP for charges in HRM. Table 7.3 provides the HRP data for the combined years 2006 to 2012. Youths accounted for 6% of the total number of different persons charged while an additional 2% committed some of their later offences as adults. Calculating “repeat charged” as those accused of 4 or more charges, 7% of youth were “repeat charged” and another 8% were youths initially charged as a youth but some of their subsequent charges occurred when they were adults in the 2006 to 2012 period. Fully 25% of the youths were “repeat charged” compared to 18% among the adults. The RCMP data (Table 7.4) were limited to two years, 2012 and 2013, but essentially conveyed the same pattern. 6% of the distinct persons charged were youths and among the different individuals classified as “repeat charged” (i.e., had four or more charges) 7% were youth. 21% of all accused youths were “repeat charged” while the “repeat charged” among adults were 16%.

Overall, then, the data show that violence offences among youths in HRM, unlike in the case of their adult counterparts, have not exhibited a downward trend in their numbers or their rates per 10,000. The data also indicate that HRP charges for distinct individuals have risen in number and percentage for youths over the period 2006 to 2012 while for adults there has been no consistent trend though generally the percentages for distinct individual adults charged have declined from the earlier years. Data from both HRP and RCMP charges indicate that multiple offenders have been more common among youth than among adults. While one has to be careful in drawing implications from these analyses it seems fair to say that youth crime, and particularly violent

crime, has not declined since the Roundtable and that it may increasingly be caused by a small number of young offenders.

Generally, the interviews with police officers, community leaders and the elected HRM mayor and councilors generated a positive picture of declining youth crime since 2008. A clear majority of councilors contended that there has been less youth crime since the Roundtable though several qualified that opinion by adding that youths are still engaged in much minor crime such as theft from motor vehicles. Police interviewees typically contended that youth quasi-gangs (i.e., small numbers, based on kinship and friendship, living in the same residential area) had declined from the Roundtable era though were still visible in three public housing areas (Mulgrave Park, Uniacke Square and Greystone), as well as in North Dartmouth and Spryfield. It was a wide-spread police position that swarmings nowadays have more to do with rivalry among these quasi-gangs (often to steal drugs and money from one another) than with random assaults and thefts from the public. Data on youth gangs were not as accessible to the Review researchers as they had been in 2006-2008 so caution must be exercised.

It is interesting that minutes of the HRM Police Board show that discussions on youth crime, especially violence, were second only to those concerned with guns and shooting in frequency. There also was a common view expressed by officials in youth and adult provincial jails and in group homes in HRM that the youths they are responsible for are more explosive, violent and problematic than in earlier years, suggesting a smaller but more problem-ridden number of young offenders. Research conducted in other jurisdictions of Nova Scotia, such as New Glasgow and Truro, indicated that generally no more than 15 to 20 youths account for the majority of the annual docket entries for youth in these small urban areas; a comparable analysis has yet to be done for HRM but it is likely that the docket is similarly dominated by a minority of the accused youths.

YOUTHS: FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The above brief overview of youth crime and young offenders is congruent with the more elaborate assessment provided by Schneider's paper in Volume Two which should be consulted. They are several key issues going forward, namely:

1. Violent crime among youths is still significant and there is no unambiguous evidence for a declining trend.
2. A small minority of the young offenders may be responsible for much of the violence and for clogging up the court processing of youth cases.
3. The violent, multiple repeater, young offenders likely have a number of serious personal issues along with being located in a criminogenic social environment.

4. The crime prevention and societal reintegration programming in place appear to focus heavily on youths under 16 years of age and much less on older teenagers and young adults.

There are a number of recent developments that may be valuable in dealing with the above four points. These include:

1. The Souls Strong and Cure Violence (Ceasefire) multi-year intervention programs become operational in various Black communities in 2014. Both focus on older teens and young adults, an age grouping largely neglected in societal / community reintegration programming. They complement the continuing YAP intervention which is solely a municipal program.
2. The increasing trend to restorative justice and restorative practices both in the school system (at all levels) and in the provincial youth jail.
3. The change in the HYAC approach from working with youths diverted from incarceration, in a separate context to working with them in the regular school context
4. The increased commitment of the HRM police services to advocate and participate in a more holistic, multi-service collaboration with other services and organizations in dealing with youth at high-risk. The RCMP has launched its version of the HUB program and the HRP is advancing its Full Service Policing model, both of which appear to be similar in objectives and processes and to reflect a social development approach to policing which the police services in 2008 declared to be a key dimension of their strategic approach to policing. There are other similar intervention models such as Neighbourhood Integrated Service Team (NIST) which more explicitly also focuses on the neighbourhood and has outreach workers attached to the specific NISTs.

These major recent developments could be effective in dealing with the issues of youth crime noted above. They suggest two general recommendations:

1. The municipality requires greater capacity – presumably in part via a relocated, adequately resourced PSO - to keep abreast of the various initiatives, secure and assess information on their processes and outcomes and play an appropriate role with the provincial and federal governments and other partners in the determination of subsequent steps in crime prevention, enforcement and societal reintegration of young offenders.
2. A second recommendation is that the interventionist model adopted to respond to serious youth offending, acknowledge the complexity and requirement for a collaborative strategic approach and, in that respect, examine best practices associated with established interventions such as HUB, NIST and CURE VIOLENCE. In his companion paper Professor

Schneider advances more elaborate and specific recommendations and these should be consulted.

RACE / ETHNIC VARIATION IN VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

There was much emphasis on variation in victimization and offending by race / ethnicity in the Roundtable report. It was deemed important to highlight not only the statistics on offending but also the victimization that occurs to Black families and communities directly as victims of crime and at risk of violence but also indirectly when family members get assaulted or come under the control of the criminal justice system. It was also crucial to recognize that the multiple repeat, serious offenders constitute a small percentage of HRM's African Nova Scotian population and that there appears to be an increasing divide as in the United States between "inner city" Blacks often living in the "projects" or equally vulnerable low-rent private complexes, and the large majority of the Black population who reside in middle-class milieus and stable, attractive communities. The 2008 Roundtable discussed the achievements of the latter grouping with respect to professional work (e.g., lawyers, teachers and social workers) and artistic endeavours; these patterns have not been updated for this Review but there is little reason to think they have declined.

THE 2008 ROUNDTABLE RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE RESPONSE TO THEM

There were three chief recommendations specifically grouped with respect to race relations issues in the 2008 report but a number of the other recommendations dealing with troubled youth and vulnerable neighbourhoods were also salient**.** Here the focus is on the three race relations recommendations, again with capitalized comments regarding the response:

1. The municipality should examine ways to deal more effectively and more inclusively with the African Nova Scotian population and communities, re-configuring or replacing the Community and Race Relations committee, examining HRM staffing strategies and partnering with local Black leaders and the other levels of government to reduce the highly disproportionate rates of victimization and offending among Blacks. IN 2012 THE AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIAN AFFAIRS INTEGRATION OFFICE WAS ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION OF HRM.
2. The violent offending, especially the random swarmings, the gang activity (e.g., drug dealing), and the intimidation have to be confronted with both good enforcement and with social development strategies that involve community leaders, the majority Black population and others in responding to the pockets of crime, despair, offending and victimization. THE SAFER, STRONGER COMMUNITIES PROGRAM IN 2009 WAS A SIGNIFICANT COLLABORATIVE RESPONSE AMONG THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE / DCS, HRM, HRP AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. IN 2012 THE

UPTOWN DRUG INTERVENTION PILOT PROJECT SHUTTING DOWN OPEN-AIR DRUG DEALING AND PROVIDING ALTERNATIVES TO COURT PROCESSING FOR SOME LOW LEVEL DRUG DEALERS WAS A SUCCESSFUL COLLABORATION BETWEEN HRP, COMMUNITY LEADERS AND NON-PROFIT SERVICE PROVIDERS.

3. The municipality should encourage more robust restorative justice initiatives in the Black communities and effective alternatives to court processing and incarceration in order to facilitate offender reintegration. THERE WAS SOME EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY OUTREACH BY THE HCJS, AND, AS NOTED, THE UDI PILOT PROJECT IN 2012. BOTH WERE MODEST INITIATIVES. THE PSO COORDINATED A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS ON OFFENDER REINTEGRATION AMONG THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS BUT NO DIRECT ACTION ENSUED.

PATTERNS OF RACE / ETHNIC INVOLVEMENT IN THE CRIMINALLY JUSTICE SYSTEM

Tables 7.3 and 7.4 below present data on charges by race/ethnicity. In 23% of the charges made by HRP over the period 2006 to 2012 (i.e., Table 7.3) the accuseds were different Black persons and, in 72%, different White persons. Since Blacks constitute at best 4% of the HRM population (and much lower in Nova Scotia as a whole), clearly they are over-represented demographically among the accused persons – roughly 5 times greater than the demographic-based expectation. The table also shows that, considering only individuals with four or more distinct charges, here labeled “repeat charged”, 33% of the Black accused persons were ‘repeat charged”, almost twice as many compared to the 18% among Whites. RCMP data (table 7.4) were only available for the combined period 2012 and 2013 but that data exhibited the same pattern. Black individuals constituted 12% of all individuals charged (i.e., 4 times the demographic expectation for the RCMP jurisdiction) and fully 30% of Blacks charged were “repeat charged”, even though the time frame was only two years.

Table 7.5 examines the race / ethnic differentials for persons (not necessarily different individuals) remanded and sentenced to the CNSCF provincial jail during the years 2007 to 2013. According to CNSCF’s records, Black persons on average accounted annually for roughly 300-plus and 18% of total remands (ranging from 16% to 20% over the six year period). The percentages were quite similar for persons sentenced to custody where the averages over two year periods were 15%, 17% and 19% respectively; the number of Black sentenced to CNSCF increased from an average of 126 in 2007-2009 to 157 in 2011-2013. Clearly, then, since the Roundtable there has been no decline but in fact a slight upward trend for Blacks to be jailed at CNSCF whether by being remanded or sentenced to custody. The level of over-representation has been approximately 4 to 5 times the demographic-based expectation.

The same pattern of a slight upward trend for both categories of incarceration status is found for Aboriginals but the raw numbers and the percentages have been lower. The number and percentage of the total remands accounted for by Aboriginal persons rose from a yearly average of 84 in 2007-2009 to 126 in 2011-2013 and the corresponding percentages of total remands rose from 4% to 7%. Aboriginals sentenced to custody increased from a yearly average of 32 in 2007-2009 to 49 in 2011-2013 and their corresponding percentages of all persons jailed at the CNSCF during those specific periods rose from 4% to 6%. There clearly is some over-representation of Aboriginals in the CNSCF but taking several factors into account (e.g., the diversity of the Aboriginal linkage, the concentration in the CNSCF of provincially incarcerated persons) the over-representation would be less than half that of Blacks.

Over the past ten years the number of inmates in the federal prisons has gone from roughly 12,000 to roughly 15,000, an all-time high (CBC News, posted November 25, 2013). On the day 2013-09-13, CSC authorities reported that there were 311 persons under CSC community control in Nova Scotia and that 17% of the federal parolee cases being supervised at any given time in HRM are Black persons. Blacks constituted 11% of the 1774 persons in the five federal Atlantic institutions, roughly 4 times their population percentage in Atlantic Canada. Again, the over-representation of Blacks in the federal prisons is quite significant. Metis aside, the over-representation is greater than among status and non-status Indians combined.

The number of youths incarcerated at the NSYF has declined from usually over 100 in the pre-YCJA era [prior to 2003] to roughly 40 or so in recent years. Extrapolating from a large sample completed in 2012, 70% of the youths were either 16 or 17 years of age and mostly Caucasian (63%) with 30% linked to African Nova Scotian ethnicity / race and 7% Aboriginal. Their home residence was 48% HRM and 52% other. The majority of youths (56%) were in the NSYF for serious violent offences against persons; fully 52% were currently under sentences of at least 180 days in custody and only 40% had been in their current NSYF unit (2A or 3B) for 60 days or less. 26% were in their unit on a remand basis. Fully 80% of the youths had prior incarceration at NSYF and 40% had been in custody there on many different occasions. The number and characteristics of youths incarcerated at the NSYF varies due to short sentences and many remanded youths but during the year 2012 the percentage of Black youths rarely dipped below 25%, clearly a huge over-representation.

Overall, then, Blacks were over-represented in charges in HRM, both RCMP and HRP jurisdiction, in both remand and sentenced incarceration status at CNSCF, in CSC's five Atlantic Provinces' prisons and its community control program in Nova Scotia and HRM, and in the provincial youth jail at Waterville. The over-representation exceeded the basic demographic standard minimally by a factor of 4, and was significantly greater than for those

of Aboriginal descent. There was no indication at any of these points in the criminal justice system of a declining trend in Black over-representation since the 2008 Roundtable report.

Information is not available on the views of police officers or elected HRM officials concerning trends in Black over-representation since the Roundtable. Most respondents did consider that random swarmings had declined appreciably since the Roundtable and been somewhat replaced by targeted swarmings (the HRP data does not capture such nuance without one reading the actual incident files). As discussed earlier in the section on Guns, Shootings and the Drug Culture, virtually all these respondents identified a significant over-representation of Black persons as shooters and as victims and considered guns and drugs as the most serious threat to public safety in HRM. The Black leaders interviewed, whether police officers, leaders in Public Housing complexes, or church ministers, strongly emphasized the need to focus on the reduction of violence and the over-representation of Blacks as victims and offenders. One minister commented that his biggest surprise in recently accepting a ministry in HRM was that violence in the community was so routine, it did not generate the attention it would have in his home area. A long-time leader in Mulgrave Park Public Housing emphasized "the biggest issue here is safety and the biggest safety issue is violence not property crime". There is significant consensus that getting at the roots of violence and over-representation involves dealing with housing (e.g., Blacks disproportionately live in public housing) and employment issues and minimizing the impact of the legacy effects of racism and marginalization.

RACE – ETHNICITY: FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Clearly the over-representation in violence of Blacks as offenders and victims has not improved since the Roundtable and indeed the gun violence has been more significant than it was at that time. There have been a number of recent developments that could impact significantly on race-ethnic variations in violence and victimization, namely:

1. The 2012 Uptown Drug Intervention project, focused on the primarily Black community in the Uniacke Square neighbourhood combines enhanced enforcement and community-supported alternatives to incarceration.
2. The establishment in 2012 of the ANSAIO role in the HRM bureaucracy.
3. The 2014 launching of the Souls Strong and Cure Violence (formerly Ceasefire Chicago) multi-year projects funded by the federal NCPC; the former focuses on older teens and young adult males in a high crime Black community while the latter focuses on similarly aged primarily Black males of high-risk in four different communities / neighbourhoods.
4. The 2013 Rites of Passage project, developed by African Nova Scotian ministers targeting four Black communities.

5. The 2012 opening of an RCMP detachment in the Black community of North Preston.
6. In addition to the above recent projects there are on-going initiatives that focus primarily on African Nova Scotian youths such as YAP (and its more recent Girls United project) and iMOVe a project linked with the Centerline Music Studio project in Uniacke Square Public Housing.

It is clearly too early to know how effective the more recent developments may be but they are significantly long-term, well-funded, based on intervention models that have well-known track records, and specifically targeting the issues of violence being discussed here. It will be important for the municipal government to keep abreast of their processes and outcomes and incorporate that knowledge into its strategic planning since funding decisions may well have to be made when the federal funding ceases (i.e., as was the case when federal funding for YAP ended).

The chief recommendations here are two-fold since other recommendations made above with respect to serious youth crime and below with respect to neighbourhoods, would also be applicable. The two suggestions for future direction are:

1. The ANSAIO should have as one of its priorities working with the PSO and others (including community leaders and organizations, directors of the recent developments noted above) to determine measurable objectives for the reduced over-representation of Black youths and young adults as victims and offenders of violence.
2. HRM, principally through the PSO, should be a repository for the information and best practices on reducing violence among marginal minority persons and have a capacity to assess the value of the processes and outcomes of the projects currently underway for subsequent municipal advocacy and possible resource allocation.

VARIATION IN VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION BY VULNERABLE NEIGHBOURHOOD

There is of course variation in risk level for violence and victimization by neighbourhoods. As in 2008, the main areas of high-risk for violence and social disorder offences are in the urban core on either side of Halifax harbour, especially the areas of North Dartmouth (particularly the vicinity of Pinecrest/Albro Lake Road/Highfield Park Drive) and the Uptown (the Gottingen St. area, between Cogswell and North; Barrington to Agricola) in Central Halifax. Since 2008 there have been community-based initiatives in both areas but the problems have still to be satisfactorily resolved. Public Health mapping of crimes such as assault clearly highlight the greater risk levels in these neighbourhoods and regular HRP comstat briefings reportedly usually identify the areas as “hot spots” for violence and public safety concerns. To some extent the areas have become deviance

service centers, places to go to purchase drugs or sex. While the majority of the population in both areas is not engaged in violence or the trade for drugs or sex, they are vulnerable to intimidation and perhaps more importantly to having their offspring lured into such activities and crime more generally. Essentially the same general circumstances of victimization and violence apply to certain public housing complexes and low-cost, multiple housing private sector rental complexes in both areas.

VULNERABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS: THE 2008 RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESPONSES

There were three recommendations in the 2008 Roundtable concerning neighbourhood violence and public safety in the urban core areas. They are presented below with capitalized comments on the response to them:

1. In collaboration with organizations such as the United Way Halifax, HRM municipal government should facilitate more collective efficacy among individuals and community organizations in these areas to secure more public safety. THERE WAS A UNITED WAY HALIFAX'S VIBRANT NEIGHBOURHOOD STRATEGY, 2007-2010, IN TWO NORTH DARTMOUTH NEIGHBOURHOODS WHICH REPORTEDLY WAS SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING GAINS IN CAPACITY FOR COLLECTIVE EFFICACY IN ONE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS. IN 2009 THE NOW DEFUNCT SAFER, STRONGER COMMUNITIES PARTNERSHIP INVOLVING VARIOUS MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS BEGAN. IT WAS AIMED AT REDUCING CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND ADDRESSING ROOT CAUSES OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES WITH COMMUNITY-BASED ACTION PLANS. IT FOCUSED ON THE UNIACKE SQUARE PUBLIC HOUSING COMPLEX IN THE UPTOWN AREA.
2. The municipal government should assume a higher profile in addressing the violence and victimization in these urban core areas and, especially through the proposed PSO, develop a strategic action plan for strengthening community engagement and supporting both enforcement and a more social development approach to the violence, drug dealing and other crime. ASIDE FROM THE SAFER, STRONGER COMMUNITIES INITIATIVE WHERE THEIR ROLE WAS MODEST, HRM AND THE PSO WERE NOT INVOLVED NOR WAS A SAP DEVELOPED THAT TARGETED THIS RECOMMENDATION. IN 2012 THERE WAS AN INITIATIVE THAT ENGAGED COMMUNITY LEADERS IN A SHUT DOWN OF OPEN-AIR DRUG DEALING IN THE UPTOWN. THE ONE-YEAR INITIATIVE COMBINED ENFORCEMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES.
3. It was recommended that HRP should respond to the victimization experienced by residents in the two main problem neighbourhoods by committing more to "reassurance policing", placing more officers full-time in community contexts such as the public-housing complexes with objectives to reduce crime and work with community leaders to get at the roots of the violence and social disorder. IN 2007-2008 AS PART OF THE PROVINCIAL FUNDING FOR MORE BOOTS-ON-THE-STREET, COMMUNITY RESPONSE OFFICERS WERE DEDICATED FULL-TIME TO THE PUBLIC

HOUSING COMPLEXES AND TO THE LARGER NEIGHBOURHOODS. THE INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN WELL-IMPLEMENTED AND MUCH APPRECIATED BY THE RESIDENTS.

VULNERABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS: KEY ISSUES FOR VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

Both the Uptown and North Dartmouth areas have been identified as the major at-risk areas in metropolitan Halifax by the Roundtable on Violence and Public Safety (2008) and by the Statistics Canada's Geo-Coding of person violence and property crime (Wallace, 2008); the latter research suggested that the key variable found in the geo-coding of census and crime statistics was the proportion of single parent (female-headed) families, significant in both areas' population. Other common features included many low-cost rental complexes, some public and social housing, a disproportionately large poor Black population (compared to elsewhere in the HRP jurisdiction), and high levels of calls for service and frequently-cited HRP hot-spots for offences. The Public Health map below depicts the patterns of "assault density" by area in HRP jurisdiction for the period since the Roundtable, 2008 to 2012 inclusive. The red and orange colours indicate respectively the highest and second highest levels of assault density and they are exclusively found in the Uptown / Downtown and North Dartmouth neighbourhoods. The charts that follow compare the Uptown and North Dartmouth on several crime and public safety issues (for more tables and elaboration see Clairmont 2012) for the 5 month sample period November to March, 2008-2009 through 2012-2013; the comparisons show that

- North Dartmouth has had consistently larger levels of violence incidents though the differences have declined in recent years.
- Property offences have been consistently greater in North Dartmouth.
- Drugs offences have been greater in the Uptown but the difference lessened as years passed due to some decline in the Uptown numbers and an increase in North Dartmouth's. Both areas are defined by police sources as "heavy drug areas".
- Administration of Justice offences (e.g., breaches, failure to appear) have been consistently higher in the Uptown due in large part to the Uptown being a central site for released inmates, shelters, addicted persons and crisis services.

Since its establishment under the Safer Communities Act in 2007 as a provincial unit in the Department of Justice, the Safer Communities team has responded to complaints about houses or apartments that are locales for illicit activities (i.e., drugs, bootlegging and prostitution). Typically, where a complaint is found to be justified, the unit's investigators attempt to resolve the problems through informal resolutions, written warnings and voluntary evictions but as a last resort can apply to the court for a community safety order which can force eviction. Over the period 2007 to the summer of 2013 there have been only 12 community safety orders (CSOs)

issued in Nova Scotia but North Dartmouth and the Uptown area have accounted for most of 8 CSOs in HRM. During that same six year period there have been 112 case files acted upon (i.e., investigators determined that there was activity to justify action) by the Safer Communities team for HRP Halifax East, primarily North Dartmouth, and 97 for HRP Halifax Central, primarily the Uptown area. In HRP Halifax West there have been 76 case files acted upon for an area that ranges from Bedford to Sambro. In the RCMP jurisdiction in HRM there were 40. The complaints usually have been initiated by police officers (50%), Housing Authorities and private rental management. Clearly these data reflect the extent to which these criminal offences and social disorder problems are concentrated in the two areas of North Dartmouth and the Uptown and generate significant victimization and poorer quality of life for their residents.

Apart from the different kind of offences characteristic of each area, the two areas also differ in the following ways:

1. The Uptown as a low-cost rental site is essentially an area of public housing and social housing while North Dartmouth's low cost rental units are in the private sector (e.g., one of the property management firms controls some twenty two different multi-unit complexes in the general area and is cited in a tenancy board hearing (October 2012) as "always looking for opportunities in downtrodden neighbourhoods"). In both areas there is a significant level of provincial housing subsidy and a high level of complaints about the quality of the housing and its maintenance.
2. The Uptown is in the course of a long-term gentrification process as middle class single family homes and modest-sized condominiums have been increasingly established in the area because of its central location and presumably the lower purchasing prices there for land and houses to upgrade.
3. The Uptown has also become a major area for services and advocacy organizations for addicts, the homeless and others requiring special services so it is a uniquely diversified area in the municipality and has been characterized as having many bubbles of subculture and lifestyles but little integration among these sub-groupings.
4. The Uptown is apparently a more complex and changing neighbourhood than North Dartmouth. Long-time residents are ambivalent about the implications of these changes for their future accommodation and that of their offspring.

VULNERABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS: FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The two areas of HRM's urban core are then both similar and quite different but both have significant violence and public safety concerns and these not only generate concern and victimization among the residents but also a negative public image in the municipality. There has been some positive, though modest, diminution of

offences in the last two years and some effective initiatives such as the UDI project, but it is necessary to enhance these interventions and re-commit to the recommendations set out in 2008. The Uptown areas have been impacted along those 2008 lines by the Safer, Stronger Communities program and the UDI project but these initiatives have ended. These HRM and HRP initiatives never did extend to North Dartmouth, something which continues to sustain the widespread feeling there – equally held by the HRP officers serving in that area – that North Dartmouth usually gets "the short end of the stick".

Three chief new recommendations from this Review are:

1. Continue the successful UDI initiative in the Uptown and extend it to North Dartmouth. The drug problem exists in both areas to a significant degree and generates much violence and victimization. A UDI project ratchets up enforcement while also providing, in collaboration with the mobilized local communities, a social development approach to the roots of the drug problem.
2. The Uptown and North Dartmouth violence and victimization are neighbourhood issues and require more collaborative strategic planning and action than exists at present. It would appear to require something along the lines of the Safer, Stronger Communities collaboration by the provincial and municipal governments in 2009, perhaps drawing upon other successful strategies such as the Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams discussed by Schneider in his paper in Volume Two.
3. HRP's Community Response Team has sponsored a Crime Free Multiple Housing approach in HRM and has had success in certifying an Independent Supportive Housing Complex for Senior Citizens. It would be a good challenge to explore the possibilities for CFMH in the public and private sector multiple unit dwellings in the Uptown and North Dartmouth.

THE PUBLIC HOUSING COMPLEXES: KEY ISSUES

Five urban core public housing projects were briefly examined for violence and victimization, three in the Uptown and North Dartmouth areas and two beyond. They ranged in resident population from approximately 950 (Bayers-Westwood) to 225 (Scotia) and all the complexes have been in place for decades. African Nova Scotians (more broadly, persons directly linked to that race / ethnicity identity) are heavily concentrated in these public housing projects, especially in Mulgrave Park, Uniacke Square and Scotia where they reportedly make up 70% or more of the population, but they also constitute large minorities in Greystone and Bayers-Westwood; unfortunately more precise data were not available from the Housing Authority.

The charts below indicate the patterns of total police-reported incidents by public housing site over the years 2006 to 2012. The sites with the highest annual number of actual incidents – roughly 400 - were Mulgrave Park and Uniacke Square, followed by Greystone with an annual average of roughly 250; although there is no clear

trend line, all three exhibited a pattern of more incidents in later than in earlier years. Bayers–Westwood, the largest public housing complex in terms of total residents was well back with an annual average of roughly 175 incidents and it exhibited a trend of decreasing incidents. In the case of drug incidents (a proxie for drug offences) Uniacke Square accounted for approximately 50% of the total drug incidents over all five sites and, again, Mulgrave Parke, Uniacke Square and Greystone each have had more drug incidents than the larger Bayers -Westwood complex (table available upon request).There was no clear trend in any of the four largest sites with respect to violence but Bayers-Westwood annually had the least number of violent incidents and also their numbers reflected a downward trend over the period 2007 to 2012 inclusive (table available upon request). Clearly, even on the basis of simple numbers, nevermind rate basis, Bayers-Westwood has been different. A senior officer in discussing that fact commented, "Stats for the area are absolutely fantastic. We are halfway through the year and to see only 1 break and enter, 3 thefts from MV, zero robberies and only 2 assaults, is absolutely incredible. They actually live in one of the most crime free areas of Halifax. I only wished that my neighbourhood had similar stats".

There was a tendency among the tenant leaders interviewed, as well as the Community Response officers (CROs) at each site, to contend that the violence and social disorder had diminished in recent years. Nevertheless, when asked what their priority issue was, the Mulgrave Park, Uniacke Square and Greystone representatives emphasized violence or crime or safety. The Bayers-Westwood representative, consistent with the much lower level of violence and crime there, pointed instead to issues of housing maintenance. Asked about quasi-gangs of youths, the tenant leaders typically indicated that there were gangs members residing in their complex but little gang activity occurred there; there was one exception where youth gangs were said to be a serious problem in the complex. The tenant representatives typically readily identified the need for more CPTED to enhance safety (e.g., CCTV, lighting); apparently requests have been made to the Housing Authority and to elected officials but with little result. Generally, the tenant spokespersons were very pleased with the greater protection and style of policing provided by the CROs; their only criticism was that the CROs are available only during the day (though in one case the tenant leader claimed that she could at least contact the officer almost any time).

There are four other themes that were prominent across the public housing sites, namely:

1. According to virtually all informants, inter-generational patterns of public housing residence appear to be quite common in Mulgrave Park, Uniacke Square, Greystone and Scotia. As one tenant leader commented, "There are a few new people coming in, but a great deal of it is intergenerational". The extent of intergenerational occupancy is unclear in Bayers-Westwood where over 50% of the tenants are immigrants but reports suggest it is much

less. The concept of public housing as transitional does not appear to match up with the reality, though caution must be exercised here since data were not available from the Housing Authority.

2. Youth, especially male youths, appears to be central to the public housing lifestyle in Greystone, Mulgrave Park and Uniacke Square. The concentration by family according to some respondents generates a kind of territorialism which is linked to violence and intimidation that impacts the whole neighbourhood. Small wonder then that the modest programs / activities that are available in public housing are targeted at youths by concerned parents.
3. Three of the four largest Public Housing complexes, according to tenant leaders do not receive any support from the Housing Authority for a tenants association and the fourth one has had funded support only for the past four years. The representatives claim that the requirements for funding are too difficult for them to deal with. There are units made available for food banks and resource centers but clearly tenants lack a significant voice in suggesting and responding to changes in their complex. All tenant association leaders interviewed stated that they were volunteers, clearly reflecting an issue of limited administrative capacity.

4. Tenant representatives, while more positive about the response of the Housing Authority to emergencies, generally complained about upkeep and maintenance, the aesthetics of public housing. Tenants are offered no incentives to beautify and upgrade their units and reportedly suspect that the province does not view the property as an investment but basically as a liability. The public housing complexes do vary in their layout and attractiveness and most outsiders interviewed for this Review considered Bayers – Westwood to be at the top end.

PUBLIC HOUSING: FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Public housing complexes in HRM continue to have a generally poor public image and, whether among elected officials or police officers or otherwise, the common view is negative about life in the “projects”. With the apparent exception of Bayers–Westwood, there is not only significant public safety concern in them but also the projects’ population is concentrated by family ties, family formation type (i.e., single parents) and race-ethnic identity, and most public housing is not a transitional step in housing but reportedly more a final destination. It is a far cry in these respects from the model of affordable housing that integrates the residents with the broader community in mixed-used, mixed- housing types and mixed socio-economic arrangements. A number of housing advocates and empathetic others suggested that re-appraisals of the policies and objectives of public housing would be timely as the salient policies reportedly have not been changed for decades. There appears to be a widespread frustration concerning the absence of bold, future planning. In the latter regard, several informed

advocates cited the apparently significant change brought to Toronto's once notorious Regent Park public housing complex. This transformation, now three years running, involved municipal leadership, in collaboration with tenants and community interests, developing a replacement mix-housing complex that provides a good split between fully subsidized and market rate occupancy, allows for homeownership, and a CPTED design. It reportedly has been well-received by the tenants and the wider community.

In HRM, The Bayers-Westwood complex appears to be more successful, aesthetically, with less violence and public safety concerns, and reportedly providing more of a transitional housing arrangement rather than a permanent residence for generations of a family. It would be valuable to determine if this is indeed the case and whether there are strategies that can be transferred to the other complexes. Reinvigorating the tenants associations and funding them accordingly, can set the stage for more collaborative activities such as CPTED innovations and perhaps the Crime Free Multiple Housing approach. Perhaps, too, HRM leaders and provincial housing officials should explore developments such as the Regent Park transformation which provides a new model for public housing. There is much that can be done and should be done to reduce violence and victimization in these areas.

References Cited

Don Clairmont and Jane McMillan**, Directions in Mi'kmaq Justice**. Ottawa: Department of Justice, 2006

Don Clairmont and Ethan Kim, **Immigrants and the Nova Scotia Justice System**. Halifax: Dalhousie University, Atlantic Institute of Criminology 2010

Don Clairmont, **An Assessment of the Uptown Drug Intervention Project**. Halifax: Dalhousie University, Atlantic Institute of Criminology, 2013

TABLE 7.1 - YOUTH ACCUSED, (# AND RATE PER 10,000 YOUTH POPULATION), BY YEAR AND TYPE OF CRIME, NS & HRM (HRPS/RCMP) 2008-2012

		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
		NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM
TOTAL CRIME	# Accused	6,876	2,191	6,390	1,789	6,020	1,822	5,721	1,956	5,492	1,869
	Rate	985	773	957	655	915	682	896	751	882	735
VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	1,952	682	1,810	509	1,807	526	1,707	572	1,715	501
	Rate	280	241	268	186	275	197	267	220	276	197
NON-VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	4,924	1,509	4,580	1,280	4,213	1,296	4,014	1,384	3,777	1,368
	Rate	705	532	677	469	641	485	628	531	607	538
PROPERTY CRIME	# Accused	3,643	1,176	3,432	985	3,113	1,000	2,826	982	2,667	934
	Rate	522	415	507	361	473	374	442	377	428	367
OTHER CRIME	# Accused	1,281	333	1,148	295	1,100	296	1,188	402	1,110	434
	Rate	183	117	170	108	167	111	186	154	178	171

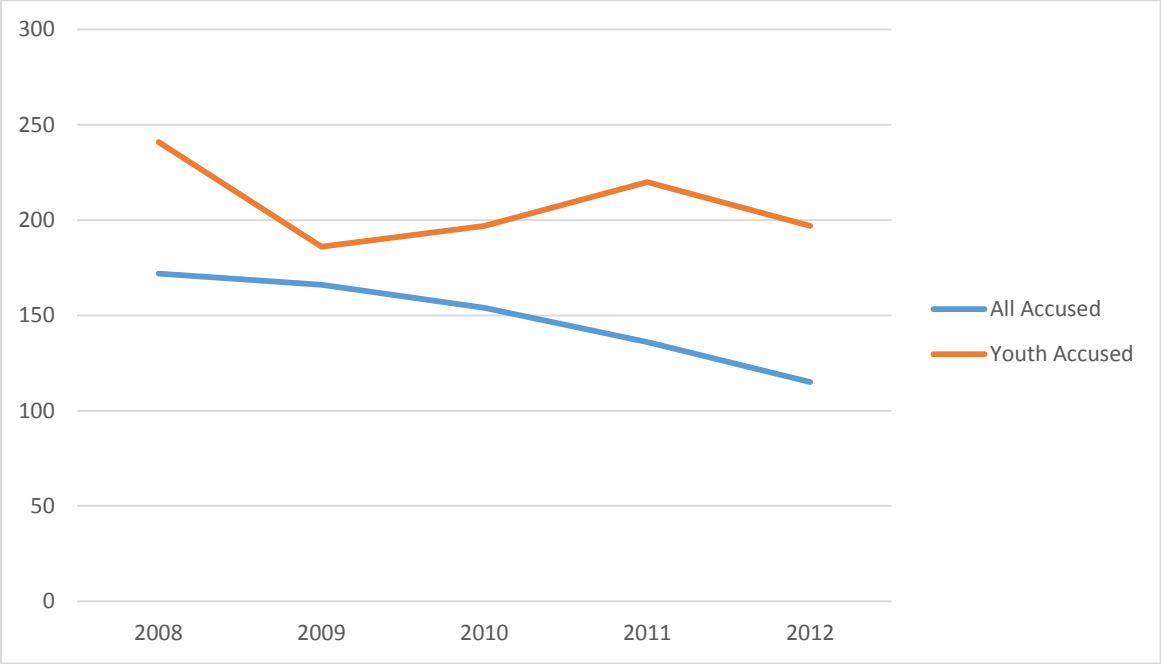
Source: Nova Scotia Community Counts - NS Dept. of Justice - Policy, Planning, and Research Division; Social-Crime by Youth-Youth Accused & Rate per 10,000 Youth Population-HRM Justice Police District & NS

TABLE 7.2 - ACTUAL INCIDENTS (# AND RATE PER 10,000 POPULATION), BY YEAR AND TYPE OF CRIME, NS & HRM (HRPS/RCMP) 2008-2012

		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
		NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM	NS	HRM
TOTAL CRIME	# Accused	65495	28446	65146	28471	65792	29623	61496	26495	60042	24023
	Rate	699	724	693	715	696	733	648	647	633	581
VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	16024	6741	15549	6603	14766	6240	13777	5567	12954	4747
	Rate	171	172	165	166	156	154	145	136	137	115
NON-VIOLENT CRIME	# Accused	49471	21705	49597	21868	51026	23383	47719	20928	47088	19276
	Rate	528	552	527	549	540	579	503	511	496	466
PROPERTY CRIME	# Accused	38989	17734	39265	18326	40847	19619	38026	17263	37307	15570
	Rate	416	451	418	460	432	486	401	422	393	377
OTHER CRIME	# Accused	10482	3971	10332	3542	10179	3764	9693	3665	9781	3706
	Rate	112	101	110	89	108	93	102	89	103	90

Source: Nova Scotia Community Counts - NS Dept. of Justice - Policy, Planning, and Research Division; Social-Crime by Jurisdiction-Actual Incidents & Rate per 10,000 Population-HRM Justice Police District & NS

GRAPH 7.1 - RATE OF YOUTH & TOTAL PERSONS, VIOLENT CRIME, HRM 2008-2012



GRAPH 7.2 - RATE OF YOUTH & TOTAL PERSONS, PROPERTY CRIME, HRM 2008-2012

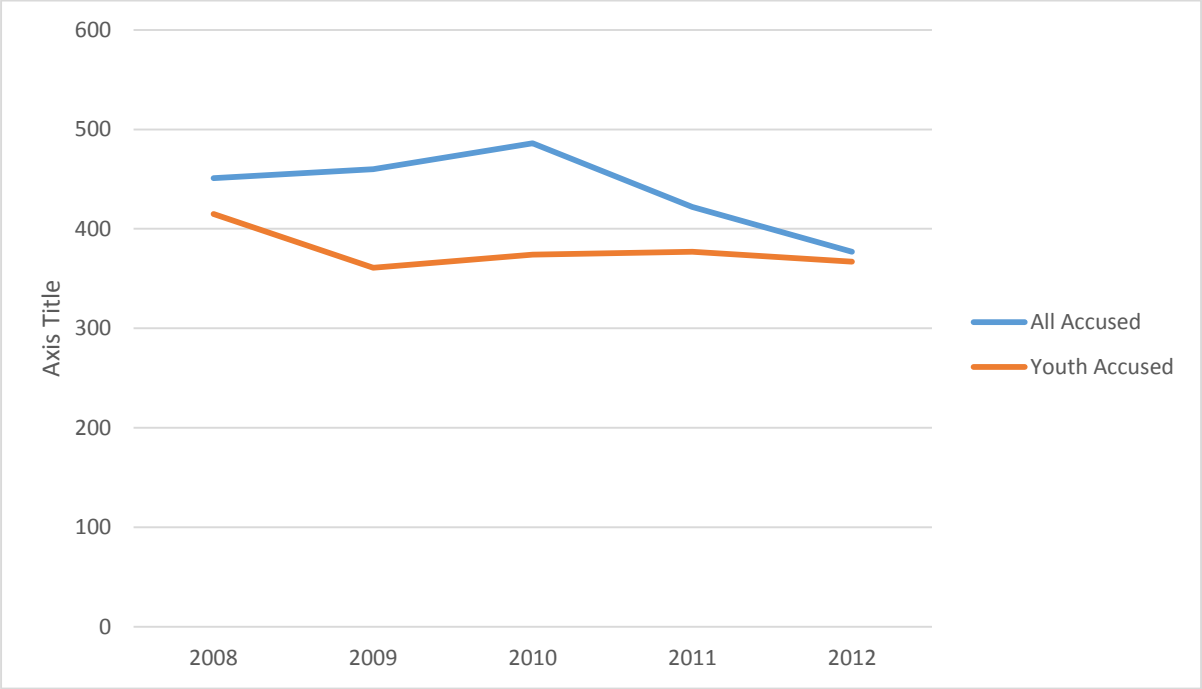


TABLE 7.3 - # OF CHARGES AND PERSONS ACCUSED BY ACCUSED ETHNICITY AND REPEAT OFFENCE, HRP 2006-2012

	2006-2012
TOTAL # CHARGES*	48,548
TOTAL # OF DIFFERENT ACCUSED	16,503
# & % BLACKS ACCUSED	2246 (14%)
# & % OF WHITES ACCUSED	12826 (78%)
# & % OF ADULTS ACCUSED	15221 (92%)
# & % OF YOUTH ACCUSED	955 (6%)
# & % OF YOUTH-ADULT ACCUSED	327 (2%)
REPEAT OFFENDERS*	
TOTAL # OF REPEAT ACCUSED	3263
TOTAL # OF CHARGES FOR REPEAT ACCUSED	30,139
# & % OF BLACK REPEAT ACCUSED	739 (23%)
# & % OF WHITE REPEAT ACCUSED	2357 (72%)
# & % OF YOUTH REPEAT ACCUSED	243 (7%)
# & % OF ADULT REPEAT ACCUSED	2764 (85%)
# & % OF YOUTH-ADULT REPEAT ACCUSED	256 (8%)

** *Youth-Adult Accused indicates the number of accused who were entered as a youth accused in one year, and as an adult accused in a subsequent year. Not captured are those who went from a youth accused to an adult accused in the same year*

Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, Summer 2013

TABLE 7.4 - # OF CHARGES AND PERSONS ACCUSED BY ACCUSED ETHNICITY, AGE AND REPEAT OFFENCE, RCMP 2012-2013 CALENDAR YEARS INCLUSIVE

	2012-2013
TOTAL # CHARGES[1]	3,086
TOTAL # OF DIFFERENT PERSONS CHARGED	2,186
# & % OF MALES CHARGED	1,747 (80%)
# & % OF FEMALES CHARGED	439 (20%)
# & % BLACKS CHARGED	260 (12%)
# & % OF WHITES CHARGED	1,807 (83%)
# & % OF ADULTS CHARGED	2,011 (92%)
# & % OF YOUTH CHARGED	175 (6%)
# & % OF YOUTH-ADULT[2] CHARGED	?
# & % OF PERSONS REPEAT CHARGED	121 (6%)
# & % OF CHARGES FOR REPEAT CHARGED	779 (25%)
REPEAT CHARGED[3]	
# & % OF REPEAT CHARGED	121 (6%)
# & % OF BLACKS REPEAT CHARGED	24 (20%)
# & % OF WHITES REPEAT CHARGED	95 (79%)
# & % OF ADULTS REPEAT CHARGED	112 (93%)
# & % OF YOUTHS REPEAT CHARGED	9 (7%)
# & % OF YOUTH-ADULTS REPEAT CHARGED	?
% REPEAT CHARGED AMONG BLACKS ACCUSED	30%
% REPEAT CHARGED AMONG WHITES ACCUSED	23%
% REPEAT CHARGED AMONG YOUTH ACCUSED	21%
%REPEAT CHARGED AMONG ADULT ACCUSED	16%

[1] this number does not reflect the number of unique incidents, as some of these incidents will involve more than one accused person, or multiple charges are attached to a single incident [2]Youth-Adult Accused indicates the number of accused persons who were entered as a youth in one year, and as an adult accused in a subsequent year. Not captured are those who went from a youth accused to an adult accused in the same year [3] Repeat is defined as accused of 4 or more offences*

Source: RCMP Halifax District Police

TABLE 7.5 - REMAND ADMISSIONS TO CENTRAL NOVA SCOTIA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BY ETHNICITY 2007-2013

	BLACK	CAUCASIAN	ABORIGINAL	OTHER	TOTAL
2007-2008	286 (16%)	1214 (67%)	76 (4%)	241 (13%)	1817
2008-2009	329 (19%)	1180 (67%)	93 (5%)	150 (9%)	1752
2009-2010	302 (19%)	1133 (71%)	68 (4%)	96 (6%)	1599
2010-2011	318 (20%)	1099 (69%)	91 (6%)	84 (5%)	1592
2011-2012	320 (18%)	1225 (68%)	123 (7%)	124 (7%)	1792
2012-2013	313 (18%)	1255 (69%)	130 (7%)	122 (7%)	1820

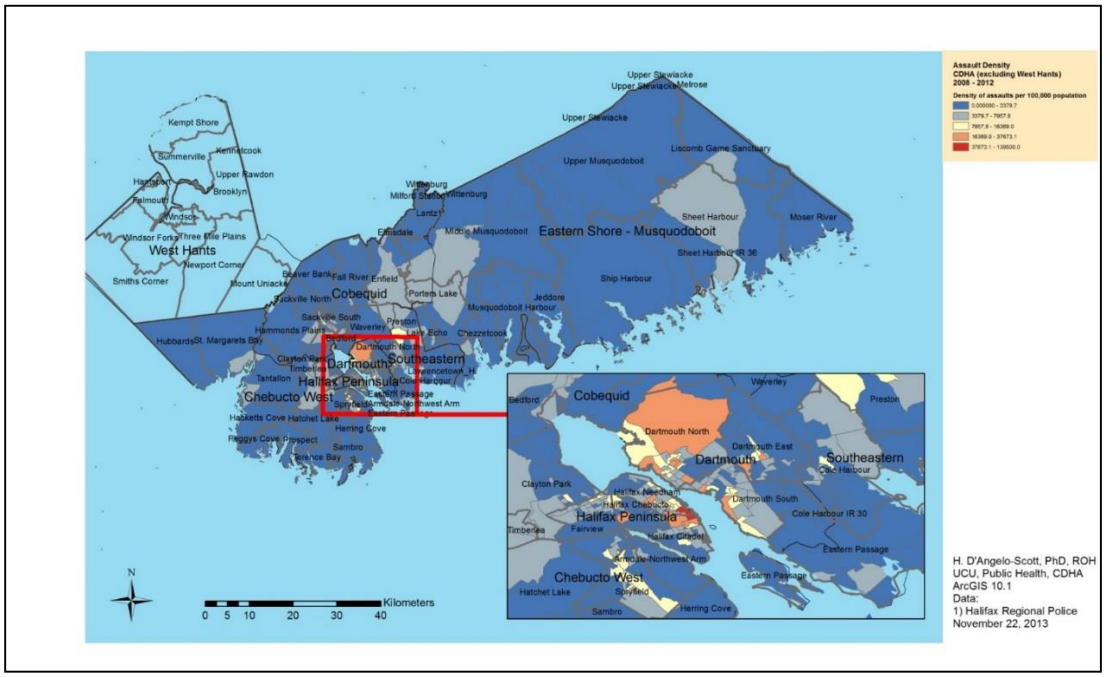
Source: JEIN, NS Department of Justice, 2013

SENTENCED CUSTODY ADMISSIONS TO CENTRAL NOVA SCOTIA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BY ETHNICITY 2007-2013

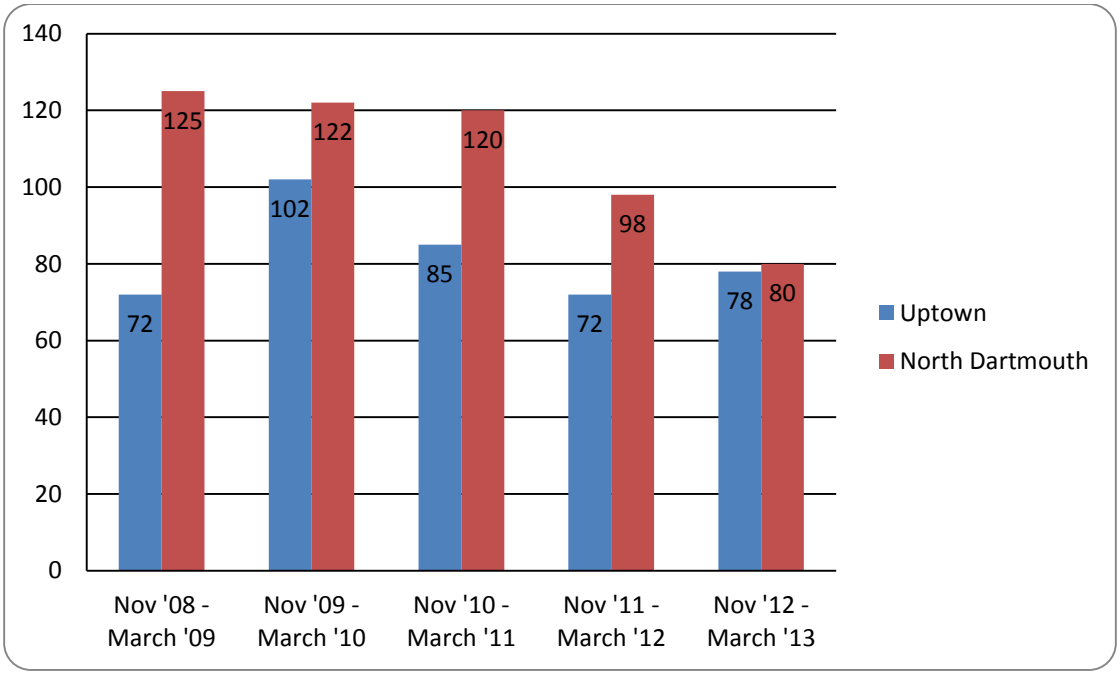
	BLACK	CAUCASIAN	ABORIGINAL	OTHER	TOTAL
2007-2008	123 (15%)	622 (74%)	28 (3%)	71 (8%)	844
2008-2009	130 (15%)	657 (75%)	35 (4%)	59 (7%)	881
2009-2010	131 (16%)	591 (74%)	28 (4%)	49 (6%)	799
2010-2011	168 (19%)	648 (72%)	45 (5%)	33 (4%)	894
2011-2012	170 (20%)	606 (70%)	60 (7%)	29 (3%)	865
2012-2013	144 (18%)	589 (72%)	38 (5%)	51 (6%)	822

Source: JEIN, NS Department of Justice, 2013

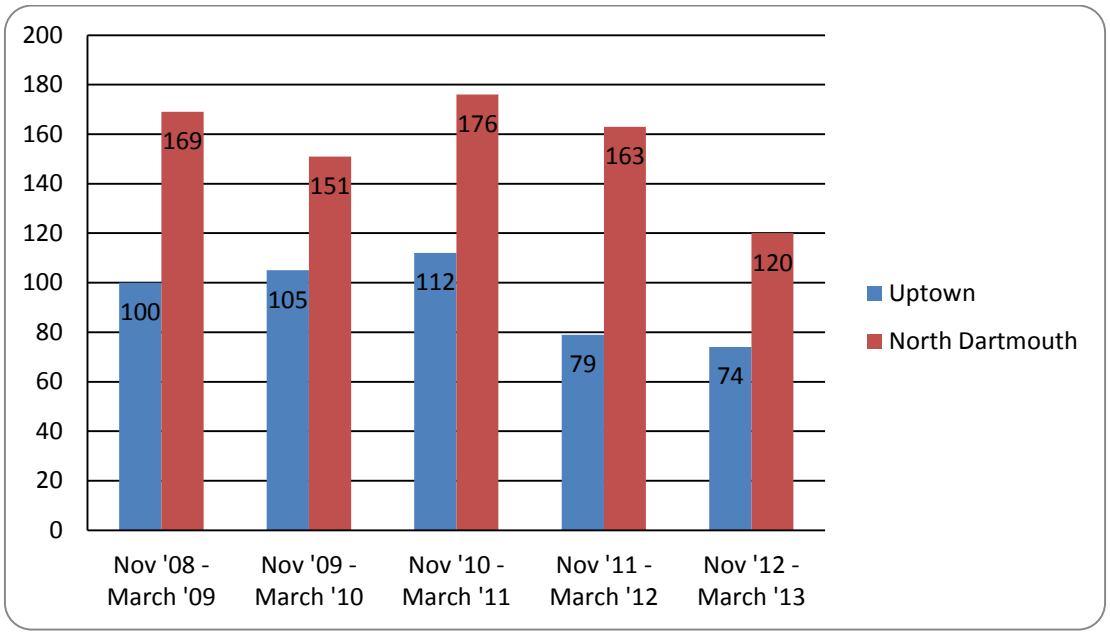
FIGURE 7.1 – ASSAULT DENSITY HRM, 2008-2012



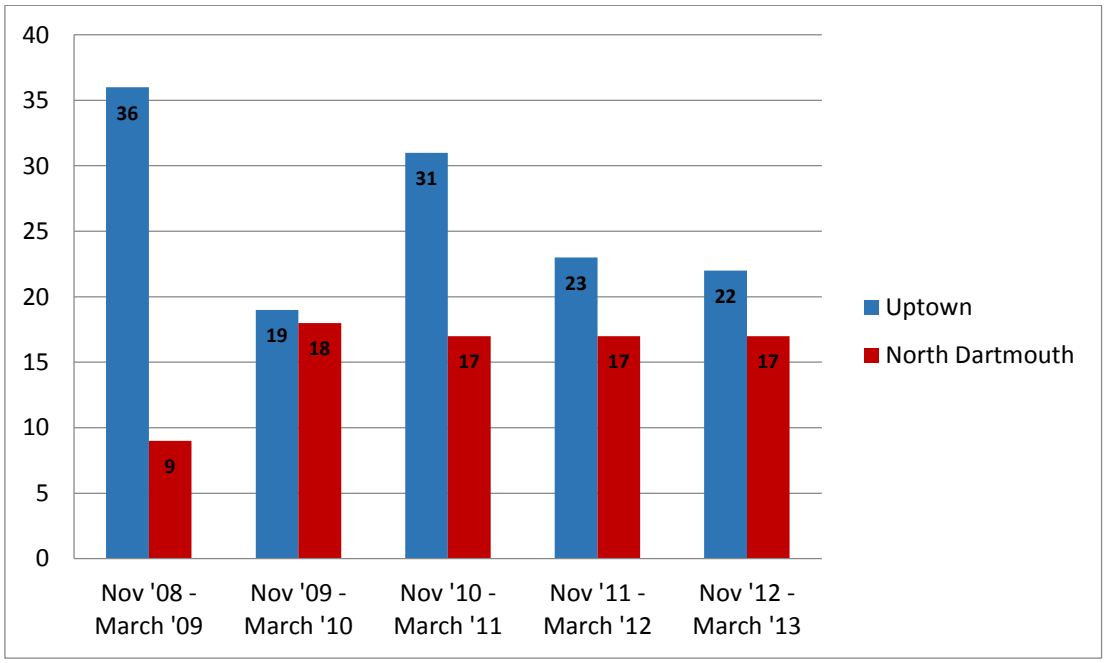
GRAPH 7.3 – INCIDENTS OF VIOLENT CRIME, UPTOWN AND NORTH DARTMOUTH, 2008-2013



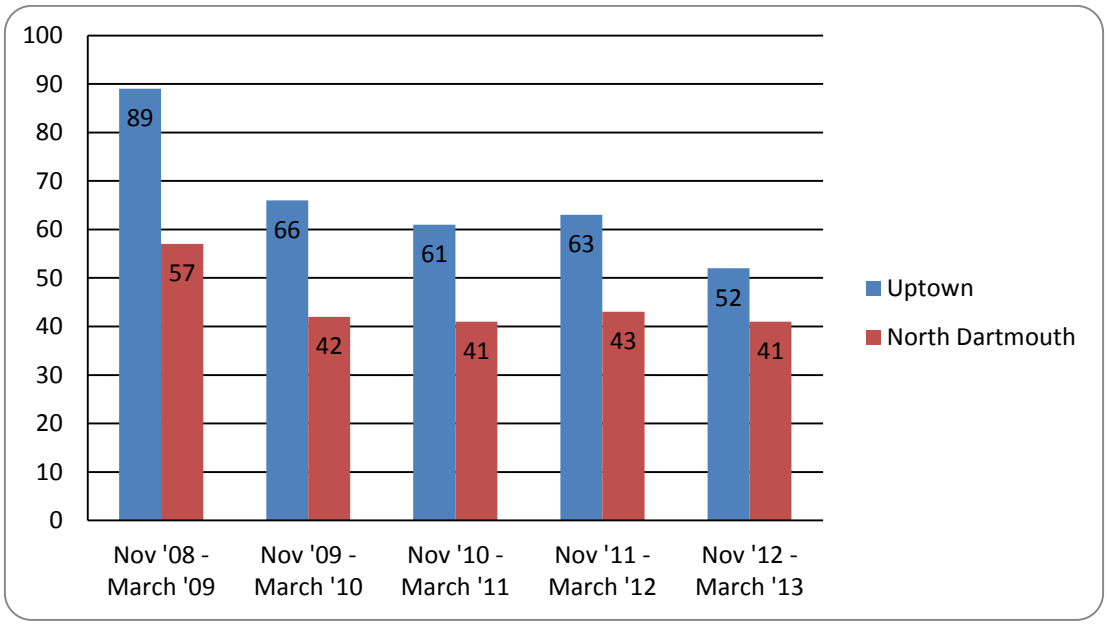
GRAPH 7.4 INCIDENTS OF PROPERTY CRIME, UPTOWN AND NORTH DARTMOUTH, 2008-2013



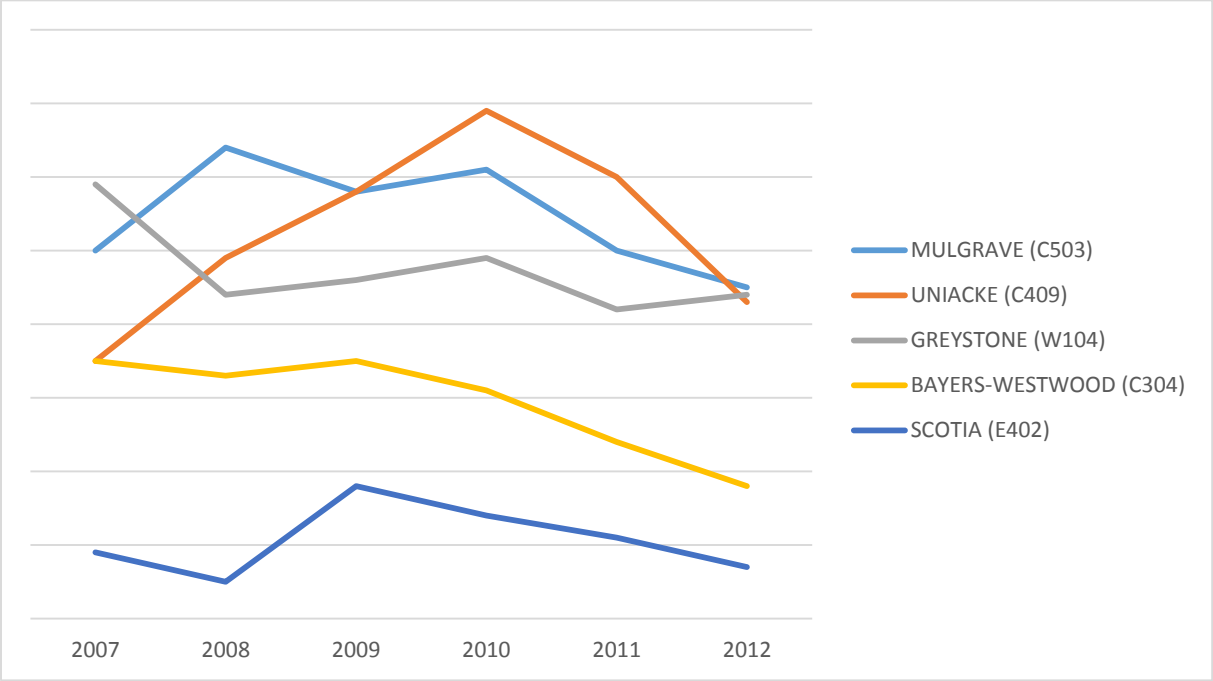
GRAPH 7.5 – INCIDENTS OF DRUG CRIME, UPTOWN AND NORTH DARTMOUTH, 2008-2013



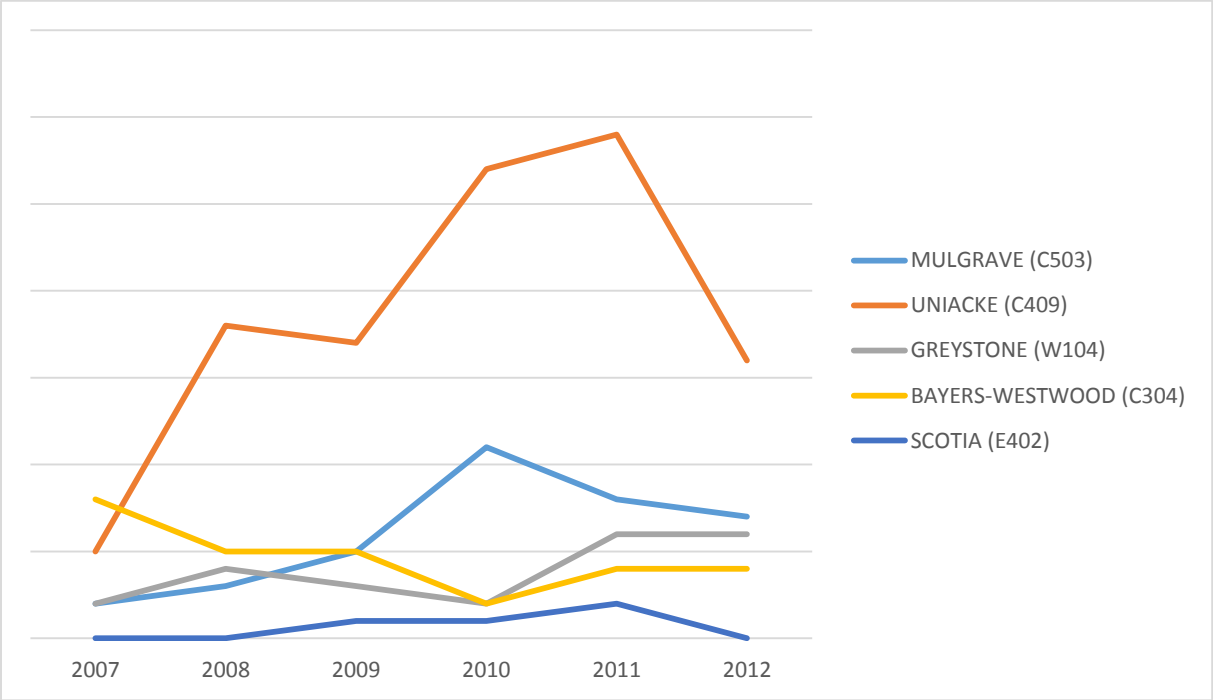
GRAPH 7.6 – INCIDENTS OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, UPTOWN AND NORTH DARTMOUTH, 2008-2013



GRAPH 7.7 - PUBLIC HOUSING POLICING ATOMS, ACTUAL VIOLENT INCIDENTS, 2006-2012



GRAPH 7.8 - PUBLIC HOUSING POLICING ATOMS, ACTUAL DRUG INCIDENTS, 2006-2012



THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

VOLUME II: SUPPLEMENTAL REPORTS

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THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY IN THE HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY:

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN RESPONSE TO THE ROUNDTABLE REPORT

Kit Waters

Introduction

The 2008 report *Violence and Public Safety in the Halifax Regional Municipality* (Roundtable Report) provided a broad range of recommendations for guiding the municipality's response to problems of violence and public safety. The report stated that a successful response to the recommendations would require organizational and structural changes to build capacity and coordinate a multi-dimensional, collaborative approach to community safety challenges. This report examines progress that has been made to date in responding to these recommendations and offers some observations regarding possible future directions.

Methodology

Jurisdictional review

A number of municipalities have developed special structures/mechanisms as focal points for the development of a coordinated approach to community safety. For the purposes of this report, a survey of selected larger municipalities in Canada was undertaken to determine the nature of these structures and mechanisms. A questionnaire[1] was circulated to a number of members of the national Municipal Network on Crime Prevention[2] followed up by a telephone interview.

Interviews with key stakeholders

In order to determine the nature and impact of organizational changes in HRM resulting from implementation of Roundtable Report recommendations, interviews were conducted with senior officials at the provincial and municipal levels. Regional Councillors and Police Board members were also consulted for their views. Interviews were conducted with the individuals directly responsible for the operation of the new organizational structures resulting from the Roundtable Report recommendations. In addition, a number of individuals with expertise in various aspects of community safety were consulted.

Review of documentation.

[1] a copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix A

[2] The national Municipal Network on Crime Prevention was established in 2006 through the efforts of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (University of Ottawa). It is composed of representatives from 14 municipalities: Vancouver, Surrey, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatchewan, Regina, Waterloo Region, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec City, Saint John and Halifax. Members share knowledge and experience with the goal of strengthening the capacity of Canadian municipalities to reduce crime and enhance community safety.

A number of reports detailing the Municipality's response to the Roundtable Report recommendations were reviewed including: *Partnering for Public Safety*, February 2009 (a report to Mayor and Regional Council submitted by the Chief of Police and Chief Administrative Officer, HRM outlining an action plan in response to the Roundtable recommendations); *Status Report to the HRM Board of Police Commissioners*, December 2009; *Public Safety Strategic Plan*, 2011; *Spotlight on Public Safety*, a monthly report on activities prepared by the Public Safety Officer; minutes of the meetings of the Board of Police Commissioners from 2008-June 2013.

Organization of the report

Two key organizational changes within HRM were recommended in the Roundtable Report: establishment of a Public Safety Office and creation of a Race Relations Advisory Group. These functions will be addressed separately in this report: Part 1 - the Public Safety Office and Part 2 - HRM response to the recommendations relating to race relations.

The report presents an overview of progress that has been made in responding to the structural/organizational recommendations of the Roundtable Report, impact of the actions that have been taken, observations regarding remaining challenges and some recommendations for future action.

The report also presents findings from a review of structures/mechanisms developed in selected Canadian cities to respond to public safety issues.

PART 1: The Public Safety Office (PSO):

Recommendations of the Roundtable Report:

The Roundtable report documented the 'widespread view' that "the municipality lacks vision and capacity at present with respect to dealing directly with outstanding public safety issues or effectively lobbying senior levels of government for needed change in HRM."[3] "To stake out a greater public role, to provide leadership on matters of public safety, and to be the expertise centre for local problem identification and response, there will have to be more organizational specialization at City Hall, backed by strong leadership from the Mayor."[4] The Roundtable recommended the appointment of a "full-time Public Safety Coordinator and advisory committee, both linked to the Mayor's Office to enhance visibility and quick response and implementation"[5].

The following specific recommendations were made regarding the role of the municipality in public safety:

1. There is widespread consensus that the municipality as a government must play a greater role in dealing with violence and public safety. That role involves three dimensions: vision and leadership; capacity-building in the municipal administration; and resources.
2. It is recommended that a priority response to the Roundtable initiative should be the municipality's engagement of a full-time Public Safety Coordinator linked to the Mayor's Office and with a standing Public Safety Advisory Committee appointed by the Mayor and possibly made up of several councillors, representatives from law enforcement agencies, business activists in the public safety field, and representatives from the United Way, minority groups and other pertinent HRM voluntary organizations. It is important that the municipal government indicates its commitment to fighting violence and crime by developing a 'business unit for public safety'.
3. The central activities/responsibilities for the Public Safety Coordinator and the accompanying advisory committee should be: development of a strategic action plan; promoting the establishment of a Tripartite Forum on Justice that would bring together municipal, provincial and federal representatives for a three-year period to consider violence and public safety issues and strategies to deal with them.
4. Recognizing the significant developments in conceptualizing and advancing the place of Canada's larger municipalities in public safety activity, HRM (through the proposed office of the Public Safety Coordinator) should become an active participant in cross-

[3] Clairmont, D., Atlantic Institute of Criminology and Halifax Regional Municipality (N.S.) (2008) *Violence and Public Safety in the Halifax Regional Municipality. A Report to the Mayor as a Result of the Roundtable*. Halifax, N.S.: Halifax Regional Municipality. p. 68

[4] ibid. p.69

[5] ibid. p.70

jurisdictional bodies such as the National Municipal Network on Crime Prevention sponsored by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and the Institute for the Prevention of Crime (University of Ottawa).[6]

Establishment of the Public Safety Office:

Responsibility for responding to the Roundtable Report was assigned to the Chief of the Halifax Regional Police. Former Chief Frank Beazley convened a working group "to conduct a comprehensive review of the Clairmont [Roundtable] Report and other initiatives impacting policing and public safety. In February 2009 *Partnering for Public Safety: Response to the Report to the Mayor as a Result of the Roundtable* was tabled with Halifax Regional Council. The report identified a champion, stakeholder commitment, strategies, timelines and resources for each of the recommendations included in the Clairmont Report."[7] Council approved the recommendations and action plan.

In February 2009, a Public Safety Office (PSO) was established within the Halifax Regional Police Service (HRPS). It was to be comprised of a Public Safety Officer and the following divisions/sections which already existed within HRPS: i.e. Mental Health Mobile Crisis Team, Integrated Traffic Unit, the Community Response Team and other services administered through the Community Relations and Crime Prevention Services (Victim Services, Volunteer Services, School Liaison Program). The HRM Board of Police Commissioners was designated as the Public Safety Committee to provide civilian oversight to the PSO.

In March 2009, Superintendent Don Spicer of the Halifax Regional Police was appointed to the position of Public Safety Officer. In November 2012 ,Superintendent Spicer resigned from the position of Public Safety Officer and was replaced by Sergeant Scott MacDonald[8] of the HRPS. In November 2012, the operational Divisions reporting to the PSO were removed from this Office; the majority were reinstated in July 2013[9]. In addition, the Youth Advocate Program[10] was transferred to the PSO in the spring of 2013.

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[6] ibid. p.71

[7] Halifax Regional Municipality (2011) *Public Safety Strategic Plan: Partnering for Public Safety*, p.3

[8] MacDonald was promoted to the rank of Staff Sergeant in the summer of 2013

[9] The Mounted Unit was added to the PSO; the Mental Health Mobile Crisis Team and the Integrated Traffic Unit are no longer located within the PSO. An administrative assistant position was originally assigned to the PSO but was removed in November 2012.

[10] See FN 27. Regional Council transferred the YAP budget to the PSO to align with *Halifax Charter* requirements regarding expenditures for 'police services', bringing the program within the oversight responsibilities of the

Observations re the impact of PSO:[11]

Virtually every individual interviewed who was familiar with the PSO spoke very favourably about the dedication of the two individuals who have performed the role of Public Safety (PS) Officer. Interviewees were more familiar with the work of Superintendent Spicer because he occupied the position for a longer period of time. He was variously described as community-minded, a doer, a partnership-broker. Almost uniformly, any critiques of progress made to date by the PSO were directed at structural concerns rather than at the individuals performing the role of PS Officer: e.g. limitations due to location of the PSO within the HRPS; lack of connection to the Mayor and Regional Council; inadequate oversight and strategic direction; lack of clarity re mandate; and inadequate resources.

Location of PSO within the HRPS:

It is interesting to note that of all the PSOs surveyed in other Canadian cities (see below for further detail), the PSO in the HRM is the only one situated within a police department. Many of the jurisdictional contacts noted that it was a deliberate decision not to locate the office within a police service. While each jurisdiction noted that law enforcement agencies have a key role to play in maintaining community safety and must be a partner in any public safety initiative, they expressed the view that the mandate must be shared by many other organizations and individuals. They noted the importance of conveying the message that 'community safety is everybody's business' and were concerned that situating the PSO within a police department signalled the notion that public safety is really primarily a police responsibility.

The HRM is policed by both the HRPS and the RCMP. The RCMP are responsible for 33% of the calls for service[12] (policing 41.5% of the total population of HRM[13]) and 94% of its geographic area[14]. A number of those interviewed for this report noted that the location of the PSO within one police service presented some challenges vis-a-vis the other force. Some observed that the RCMP management did not perceive a strong connection to the PSO. Certainly, a number of the operational sections reporting to the PS Officer (i.e. School Response Officers, Victim Services, Volunteer Programs and Crime Prevention Officers) are specific to HRPS. The RCMP operate their own similar programs, unconnected

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Board of Police Commissioners. The program continues to be operated by the HRM Department of Community and Recreation Services, not the PSO.

[11] This report does not address the impact of specific programs developed or overseen by the PSO; these matters are addressed in other sections of the Roundtable Review.

[12] total police reports and/or calls for service 2012. Source: Public Safety Office

[13] Statistics Canada. Police Resources in Canada 2012. cat.85-225-X. p.33

[14] http://www.rcmp-grc.ca/ns/detach/halifax/halifax_co-eng.htm

to the PSO. In summary, it appears that RCMP operations were not significantly affected by the creation of the Office[15].

Establishment of the PSO did not appear to have an impact on the majority of the operational units ostensibly reporting to the Office[16]. The supervisors of the operational units reported that, after the establishment of the PSO, it continued to be 'business as usual'. Initially, it was determined that the units would meet bi-weekly with the PS Officer, but in fact only the Community Response Team and Community Relations and Crime Prevention Unit supervisors attended the meetings. Operational units continued to go about their regular business - for the most part, the PSO did not make a substantial difference to their operations[17].

A number of respondents commented that location of the PSO within the police department prevented the development of a strong relationship with Mayor and Regional Council. There is a strong interdiction against political involvement in policing operations. It is for this reason that oversight of policing matters is the responsibility of the Police Board, not Regional Council. As a result, many Regional Councillors stated that they were unfamiliar with the work of the PSO.

Some respondents were of the view that the PSO location was an obstacle to the development of productive relationships with other business units within HRM[18]. It is clear that many of these units have a role to play, either directly or indirectly, in crime prevention and it is essential that a mechanism be established for collaboration with the PSO.

There were some issues associated with the rank of the two individuals who have performed the role of PS Officer. The first PS Officer occupied the position of Superintendent, the highest rank below the Chief and Deputy Chief within the HRPS. Interview respondents noted that rank is significant within policing organizations and that highly ranked officers command significant authority. The officer currently performing the role of PS Officer is a Staff Sergeant (recently promoted from the rank of Sergeant in the summer of 2013). Many respondents noted it was problematic that the operational divisions reporting

[15] Some examples of joint HRPS-RCMP crime prevention partnerships can be cited; e.g. the Cops 'n Kids weekend camp program for approximately 80 HRM youth sponsored by the Tim Horton Children's Foundation. In addition the HRPS and RCMP in partnership with the provincial Department of Justice will soon embark on an ambitious crime prevention program 'Ceasefire'.

[16] It should be noted that the supervisor of one of these operational units expressed the view that the PSO was successful in identifying the importance of a community development approach to crime prevention

[17] Some of the operational units (e.g. Integrated Traffic Unit) were seen as having a tenuous connection to the core business of the PSO and did not appear to 'belong' there.

[18] Examples were given of the difficulty in securing meeting spaces and the lack of support for social media initiatives.

to the PS Officer were headed by officers of equal rank and (frequently) longer service and that this reporting is atypical and dysfunctional within a policing organization.

A number of respondents noted there were certain advantages associated with the appointment of a serving police officer as PS Officer. In their view, police officers have established considerable credibility in the community and have had success in bringing various community groups together to address public safety issues. It is universally accepted that any community safety initiative requires excellent relationships with law enforcement and some suggest that it is easier for a serving member to establish and sustain these relationships than it would be for a non- police officer.

Some respondents expressed concern that commitment of the police service as an institution to the PSO could decrease were the office to be located elsewhere. Clearly, the police service must be a key partner in any public safety initiative and any moves which could jeopardize this commitment must be analyzed carefully. Some have expressed concern that location of the PSO within the HRM bureaucracy would perhaps open the door to political interference with the function.

Partnerships:

The PS Officers in other jurisdictions identified the need to develop partnerships and funding agreements with community agencies and other levels of government. It is evident that both PS Officers in HRM recognized the need for community partnerships and spent considerable time and effort in reaching out to a variety of agencies. For the most part, these relationships were project-specific and the absence of a structure to cement the partnerships over the long-term appeared to limit their long-term impact.

In 2009, an intergovernmental committee (Safer, Stronger Communities) was established by the then Chief of Police and the provincial deputy ministers of Justice and Community Services, initially as a mechanism to address inter-jurisdictional issues related to community problems being experienced in Uniacke Square by providing coordinated services to crime 'hotspots'. In September 2009 this committee "revised its mandate to complement the HRM Public Safety initiative".[19] The work of this committee was place-based, essentially confined to Uniacke Square, although there was some intention to subsequently address problems in North Dartmouth. Reports of the accomplishments of this committee were mixed. Although the committee is no longer operational, it is unclear when it was disbanded.

[19] Halifax Regional Municipality (2011) Partnering for Public Safety: Public Safety Strategic Plan. p.11

There is no formal on-going mechanism for provincial-municipal discussions or partnerships related to community safety. A number of respondents voiced the need for such a coordinating mechanism. Criticisms were voiced that programs have been implemented on an ad hoc basis, independently by both provincial and municipal governments (frequently in response to federal funding initiatives) and the opportunity for a coordinated, integrated approach has been missed[20]. It was suggested that the Province should develop a set of fundamental principles/tenets related to community safety which would facilitate the strategic implementation of inter-related initiatives by each level of government according to a comprehensive plan.

In 2007 the then provincial government published *Time to Fight Crime Together*, described as a provincial strategy to prevent and reduce crime. This strategy was replaced in 2012 by a document published by the provincial Department of Justice entitled *As We Go Forward: Nova Scotia's Approach to Crime Prevention 2012-13*. The document contains a statement of guiding principles for crime prevention and also a list of actions. The document confirms a commitment to partnerships by the provincial government and indicates that a Crime Prevention Advisory Circle will be established "to identify actions that can make a positive impact in communities...and identify ways to support communities". Provincial representatives report that terms of reference for the circle have been developed but the committee has not yet been struck.

Some Regional Councillors expressed the need for the Municipality to adopt an over-arching strategy to address the development of safer, stronger communities. Concern was expressed by many Councillors regarding the lack of coordination and planning among all levels of government on issues that have a bearing on community safety; such as housing, design of public spaces, recreation and programs for youth. The Councillors stated that other levels of government must be brought to the table, as responsibility for addressing some of the root causes of crime do not fall within the purview of the Municipality. Councillors noted that the Municipality must be a 'player' in the development of a strategy to address community safety issues, but the challenge is to avoid being defined as an equal funding partner for specific issues outside the mandate of the Municipality and for which it has no resources.

[20] This is not to suggest that there have not been some productive joint initiatives of the PSO and the provincial Crime Prevention Office; e.g. the Housing First Table; Ceasefire Project proposal; and the Sexual Violence campaign ("Don't be that Guy").

Oversight:

Responsibility for civilian oversight of the PSO was assigned to the HRM Board of Police Commissioners (Police Board) in February 2009. The Nova Scotia Police Act requires that each municipality that establishes a police department must establish a Police Board[21] and that its function is to provide "(a) civilian governance on behalf of the council in relation to the enforcement of law, the maintenance of law and order and the prevention of crime in the municipality, and (b) the administrative direction, organization and policy required to maintain an adequate, effective and efficient police department."[22] Because the PS Office was established within the HRPS, the municipality determined that civilian oversight was to be provided by the Police Board. In view of the fact that the HRM is jointly policed by the RCMP, it should be noted that the Police Act requires that any municipality receiving police services in whole or in part from the RCMP must establish a police advisory board.[23] Accordingly the Police Board states its mission as follows:

> "The Halifax Board of Police Commissioners provides *civilian governance* in regards to strategic policy planning and policy driven budget planning for police service delivery within the communities serviced by *Halifax Regional Police* and carries out an *advisory rol*e in respect of police matters within communities serviced by the Provincial Police Service (*RCMP*)."[24]

Therefore, although the HRM is policed by both the HRPS and the RCMP, civilian oversight of the PSO (because of its location within the HRPS) is the responsibility of the body that provides *civilian governance* to the HRPS only.

The Police Board is comprised of 7 members: 3 members of Regional Council, 3 members appointed by Regional Council (who are neither councillors nor HRM employees), and 1 member appointed by the provincial Minister of Justice.

In order to determine the extent to which PSO business was discussed by the Police Board, a review of Police Board meetings was undertaken for the period October 2008- June 2013. The first discussion of the PSO occurred at the Police Board's November 2008 meeting, during which members of the Board were invited to participate in a discussion of the Roundtable Report recommendations. A draft of the

[21] Police Act, RSNS 2004, c.31, s.44
[22] Police Act 2004, RSNS, c31,. s.55(1)
[23] Police Act. s.57
[24] Board of Police Commissioners website. www.halifax.ca/boardscom/bpc/index.html

document *Partnering for Public Safety* (a response to the Roundtable recommendations) was presented to the Police Board in early 2009, but little discussion ensued. In fact, this very limited response to the business of the PSO was characteristic of the Police Board meetings. While a report from the PS Officer has been a standing item on the agenda of the Board since the establishment of the PSO, for the most part these reports (the *Spotlight on Safety* monthly report prepared by the PS Officer) have been received without any comments from the Board. This suggests, therefore, that the PS Officer did not receive any significant strategic direction from the Police Board.

This conclusion is supported by comments from the two individuals who have occupied the position of PS Officer as well as some members of the Police Board. There was a sense that the role of the Police Board vis-a-vis the PS Office was essentially *pro forma* and that there was little input into PSO policies, priorities or activities. Monthly Police Board meetings typically address a broad range of policing issues and it seems evident that, for the most part, the PSO matters did not occupy any significant amount of time during these meetings.

A number of respondents indicated that there was little direction provided to the PSO by the leadership of the HRPS. Some noted that the accomplishments of the PSO were solely attributable to the individual efforts of the two PS Officers, who were able to succeed with some projects, despite lack of institutional support.

In view of the very limited guidance provided to the PSO by the Police Board and the HRPS, it can be concluded that there has been a lack of strategic direction to the PSO from any source.

Role of Halifax Regional Council:

The role of the elected body is to set policy and determine priorities regarding matters that are within the jurisdiction of the municipality. The HRM Charter states that one of the functions of the Municipality is to "develop and maintain safe and viable communities".[25] It could be expected therefore that Regional Council would be cognizant of the work of the PSO.

As part of the research for this report, all but one of the current Regional Councillors were interviewed.[26] Some of these Councillors were currently, or had been, members of the Police Board. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Councillors were not familiar with the work of the PSO - neither with the mandate of the Office, nor with its activities. This was a source of concern to a number

[25] Halifax Regional Municipality Charter, RSNS 2008, c.39, s.2(c)(iii)

[26] Professor Don Clairmont conducted the bulk of these face-to-face interviews on a range of topics germane to the terms of reference. A copy of the survey instrument is provided in Appendix B.

of Councillors, who felt that Council should have a better grasp of a structure charged with an issue as important as public safety.

A number of Councillors were of the view that the PSO should report to a Standing Committee of Council rather than to the Police Board. This would ensure that Councillors receive regular reports from the PSO and have an opportunity to provide input into policies. The majority of Councillors felt that the PSO should be located within the HRM bureaucracy, reporting to the Chief Administrative Officer. They did note that caution should be exercised to ensure the office is not 'buried' within the overall bureaucratic structure and that its location should reflect the weight or importance placed on the issue by Council. One Councillor did express the reservation that location within the bureaucracy could result in the office being "bogged down in red tape" and that it could lose its ability to be nimble in terms of being able to respond quickly to emerging issues.

One Councillor argued that the PSO should remain within the police department, as it could be inundated with special ad hoc requests were it to be located within the bureaucracy and more open to Council requests. This Councillor did feel that the PSO could be strengthened if the Police Board functions and objectives were expanded to include more engagement with Council. One Councillor was critical of the Police Board's limited jurisdiction over the RCMP and stated that the national force did not appear to be an active participant in the PSO.

A number of Councillors stated that the core functions of the PSO have never been adequately articulated. Some suggested that there was value in having a more transparent public safety office, one connected to the HRM bureaucracy and engaged collaboratively with the other orders of government. Location within the bureaucracy would promote the PSO/municipality taking a broader perspective on public safety issues and would facilitate the involvement of other business units with a role to play in community safety. In the view of one Councillor, the PSO has been too focussed on conventional police crime prevention strategies and has not given adequate attention to programs addressing the broader social determinants of crime (such as early intervention programs for disadvantaged persons). The point was made that the Municipality must adopt a more expansive role in responding to issues such as poverty and housing, etc. in order to deal with the direct causes and roots of violence.

It should be noted that Regional Councillors have been provided with the monthly *Spotlight on Safety* reports prepared by the PS Officer. It appears, based on the limited knowledge of most Councillors regarding PSO operations, that these reports are not widely read by them.

A number of Regional Councillors who had been members of the Police Board were critical of the lack of involvement by the Board in strategic discussions of policing matters in general (including the PSO), noting that it had adopted a more passive role of listening to presentations by police personnel. A number of Councillors advocated a more active role for Regional Council in addressing issues of violence and public safety.

Some Councillors voiced the opinion that the PSO needed to have a much more significant public profile and that opportunities should be provided for public engagement through more extensive use of social media.

Clarity re Mandate:

In June 2010, the PSO convened a meeting of 30 key stakeholders (representing municipal and provincial governments and community agencies) to develop a strategic plan to serve as a blueprint for the work of the PSO. The strategic planning document was completed in 2011. Key components of the plan are as follows:

***Vision*:**

HRM is a safe, inclusive and welcoming community.

***Mission**:*

To develop and implement a strategy to achieve a safe, inclusive and welcoming HRM.

***Guiding principles*:**

Collective purpose, collaborative decision-making, shared accountability, comprehensive information sharing, commitment to sustainability.

***Strategic Directions*:**

Communication - outline the research, target audiences, communication vehicles and key messages required to address and create a communication culture surrounding public safety internally and externally.

Community engagement - engage citizens and community groups in playing an active role in public safety in HRM.

Diversity - Strengthen HRM's connection with diverse communities while at the same time addressing quality of life issues with these communities.

Partnerships - Align with all levels of government, social agencies and community partners to realize efficiencies and improve public safety programs and services in HRM.
Police Community Response - HRP and Halifax District RCMP must continue to implement strategies which reduce crime and enhance public safety.
Race/Ethnic Relations - Learn more about and develop strategic actions to effectively address the underlying issues of the over-representation of young Black males in the criminal justice system.
Safer, Stronger Communities - Identify strategies that will enhance public safety and the perception of public safety.
Social Development -Work with partners to address the root causes of crime including but not limited to education, employment, housing, transportation, mental health and addictions.
Sustainability Initiatives - HRM as an organization must undertake a variety of initiatives to improve public safety.

While this list could be regarded as a general statement of direction, it cannot be viewed as a strategic plan. No priorities were set. No goals with measureable outcomes were established. No implementation plan was provided, with specific actions and timeframes for completion.

In the absence of a strategic plan, the PSO approach has tended to be somewhat ad hoc. A list of activities initiated is provided in the monthly *Spotlight on Safety* report, but it is not clear how the activities fit within a larger plan for the PSO.

Many respondents commented on this lack of direction and identified the need to develop a coherent, comprehensive strategic plan, articulating priorities and measureable outcomes. Some noted that the lack of direction was reflected in the makeup of the PSO itself; i.e. that a number of business units incorporated within the Office were not a good fit with the overall objectives of the PSO, serving as a distraction from the 'real business' of the PSO.

Resources:

In a report to the Board of Police Commissioners, the Chief of Police noted that the PSO was "initially composed of 32 police officers, 14 civilians and volunteers with a budget of $3.2M from realigning existing resources."

Funding for the creation of the position of PS Officer was provided by the provincial Additional Officer Program (formerly the "Boots on the Street" program). Although at the outset an administrative

assistant position was attached to the office, this was later eliminated. The operational units assigned to the PSO were already in existence and thus did not require any new funding. Therefore the budget assigned to the PSO (net of the operational unit expenditures already committed) was approximately $100,000.

In April 2013, Regional Council approved the transfer of $526,300 (fiscal year 2013/14) to the Public Safety Office for the Youth Advocacy Program[27], formerly within the budget of the municipality's Department of Community and Recreation Services. This program continues to be operated by that Department, not the PSO.

The PS Officers indicated that they did not exercise any budget control over the PSO, as the budget did not include any program funding. Lack of funding was regarded as a severe impediment to the accomplishment of PSO objectives.

Role of municipal government in public/community safety

The Roundtable Report noted that municipalities in Nova Scotia have a limited legislated mandate for responding directly to the social factors associated with crime or public safety[28]. The mandate does include policing, recreation, local transportation and some community development. It was noted that the HRM has regularly stepped outside the formal mandate through, for example, the Grants Committee of HRM Council which provides modest funding to various non-profit and community groups for programs aimed at contributing to enhanced community safety. The report noted that it could be problematic for several reasons for the municipality to step significantly beyond its mandate; e.g. constitutional barriers and lack of funding being some of the most salient[29].

[27] See FN 10. YAP is a neighbourhood-based intervention program targeting youth aged 9-14 who are at risk of, or involved in, criminal activity and/or gangs. The program was originally funded through Public Safety Canada's National Crime Prevention Program for four years (extended for one year). Upon termination of federal funding and following a very positive external review, Regional Council, in March 2011, approved funding of $550,000 (Community Development operating budget) to continue the program. The program has continued to operate, although funding was reduced to $504,000 in 2011/12. In April 2013 the budget was transferred to the PSO. With funding from the provincial and federal governments, the YAP is planning to expand through the delivery of the Souls Strong program (North Preston) and the Girls United program.

[28] ibid. 3, p.15

[29] It should be noted that the current Regional Council has shown a willingness to become involved in broader social issues. In October 2013 Regional Council voted in favour of participation in a coalition (involving United Way Halifax, the provincial government, private sector and the Affordable Housing Association of NS) to tackle homelessness and affordable housing.

The significance of the role of the municipality in community safety is reflected in the Halifax Regional Municipality Charter which lists, as one of three key functions of the Municipality "to develop and maintain safe and viable communities".[30]

The first European and North American conference on Urban Safety and the Prevention of Crime produced an Agenda for Safer Cities which articulated a vision for the role of municipalities in community safety. The main conclusions of the document are as follows:

- The community is the focal point of crime prevention. Government at all levels must nurture community-based anti-crime efforts.
- We must go beyond the criminal justice system response - police, courts and corrections - if we are to prevent crime in our cities. Our response must be part of a long-range approach, yet responsive to immediate needs.
- Crime prevention must bring together those responsible for housing, social services, recreation, schools, policing and justice to tackle situations that breed crime.
- Elected officials at all levels must exert political leadership and assume responsibility for crime prevention. Without this, our belief in community, the quality of life in our cities and human rights can be threatened.
- Crime prevention must be supported by the whole society. Political leaders should encourage the development of solidarity of community members.[31]

It is widely acknowledged that community safety is a shared responsibility of all levels of government, societal institutions, private and public sector organizations and individual citizens. Most certainly, police have a significant role to play in responding to crime. However, increased awareness of the social determinants of crime (among many other factors) has resulted in a heightened appreciation of the necessity for a more broad-based approach aimed at addressing the root causes of criminal activity.

In 2007, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (University of Ottawa) conducted consultations with members of the national Municipal Network on Crime Prevention[32] which resulted in a profile of the various approaches to community safety adopted by the municipalities and the identification of "four key components" to successfully reducing crime and enhancing community safety:

1. Strong commitment and leadership (e.g. mayor, chief of police) and alignment of community safety with other local priorities (e.g. children's services, youth programs, housing, recreation);

[30] Halifax Regional Municipality Charter, RSNS, 2008, c.39, 2(c)(iii)
[31] Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2000) Primer on Municipal Crime Prevention. www.fcm.ca/Documents/reports/Primer_on_Municipal_Crime_Prevention_EN.pdf. p.8
[32] see FN2

2. Coordination among all orders of government and appropriate funding for municipal and other actions to develop, improve and sustain initiatives, strategies and programs to target root causes of crime;
3. Partnerships and public engagement which fosters priority setting at the local level; and
4. Effective use of data, knowledge and evaluation to guide decisions on what works and how to apply resources to tackle local problems.[33]

The Network also developed a set of 'guiding principles' as follows:

1. Establish responsibility centres at all levels of government
2. Address priorities at the local and community level
3. Effective use of knowledge and data
4. Sustained funding for targeted programs and networking
5. Public engagement

Cross-jurisdictional review:

A comprehensive response to public safety issues requires the involvement of all levels of government, community organizations and citizens. The specific nature of the contribution of each of these entities is influenced by many factors including legislation, policy, fiscal and organizational capacity and historical practice. Regional and local differences, overlapping mandates and gaps in service delivery can result in a patchwork of inefficient use of the resources of the various partners. These concerns have been recognized by governing bodies and efforts have been made to address these issues.

A number of municipalities have developed special structures/mechanisms as a focal point for the development of a coordinated approach to community safety. For the purposes of this report, a survey of selected larger municipalities in Canada was undertaken to determine the nature of these structures and mechanisms. A questionnaire[34] was circulated to a number of members of the national Municipal Network on Crime Prevention[35] members, followed up by a telephone interview.

The community safety challenges experienced by Canada's largest cities vary. They are a function of local variations in the frequency and type of crimes committed, varying demographics and levels of the social determinants of crime and the capacity of governments and neighbourhoods to address the root causes of crime. The ways in which these cities have organized to address the challenges also vary in the

[33] Institute for the Prevention of Crime (2008) Making Cities Safer: Canadian Strategies and Practices. www.sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/ipc/eng/documents/ipc_MR2-Eng.pdf . p.iv

[34] a copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix A. Detailed responses to the questionnaire are available upon request.

[35] see FN2

extent to which they involve other business units within the municipal bureaucracy, their connection to municipal councils and the strength of partnerships with other levels of government and with community agencies.

For most municipalities, the genesis of a structure to address community safety was a task force or similar report noting deficiencies in the capacity of the municipality to address broad community safety issues (i.e. beyond the crime prevention and enforcement mandate of the police).

A number of municipalities have created a specific business unit focused on public safety.[36] Many have established a council or advisory group to provide strategic direction regarding public safety initiatives.

Waterloo Region, Ontario:

The Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council (WRCPC) is a broad-based community partnership of approximately 40 members, representing the community-at-large, social service agencies, schools, public health, municipal planning, justice, corrections, police, media, community and neighbourhood support agencies and political representatives. Created by Waterloo Regional Council, the WRCPC establishes policies for its own governance which are consistent with the terms of reference of the Region. Daily activities are managed by an Executive Director, under the direction of the WRCPC, within the policies and procedures of the Region of Waterloo.

The Executive Director's office is a Division of the Regional Chair's office. There are seven staff and the office functions with core funding of $750,000/year provided by Regional Council.

According to its mandate, first approved in 1993, the WRCPC seeks to advise, recommend and stimulate actions which reduce and prevent crime, victimization and fear of crime through:

- Information sharing
- Public education and awareness programs
- Promotion of partnerships among key players
- Crime prevention problem solving
- Advocacy

The WRCPC consulted with 700 individuals in a broad-based community consultation, resulting in the WRCPC's strategic plan for the period 2010-2014: *Smart on Crime in Waterloo Region*.

The four priority directions identified in the plan are:

[36] note that this is separate from the crime prevention and enforcement activities carried out by police agencies.

- Research and Inquiry
- Education and Learning
- Strategic Leadership
- Organizational Design

City of Surrey, British Columbia:

Surrey has established a Community Safety and Crime Reduction Office in the City Manager's Department. The Office, created in 2007, is mandated with the responsibility of implementing the recommendations contained in the City of Surrey Crime Reduction Strategy (2006) in partnership with other stakeholders.

The primary objectives of the Strategy are as follows:

- Reduce crime and increase community safety
- Increase public involvement in reducing crime
- Increase integration between all stakeholders involved in crime reduction
- Improve public awareness around the reality and perception of crime.

The objectives are to be achieved through strategic actions in each of the following four strands:

- Prevent and deter crime
- Apprehend and prosecute offenders
- Rehabilitate and reintegrate offenders
- Reality and perceptions of crime

The Office's two employees report to the City Manager, but also meet regularly with the City Councillor who chairs the *Community Safety Committee*. The annual budget for the Office is $300,000.

The *Community Safety Committee* is chaired by a City Councillor and includes 2 key RCMP representatives (Inspector, Strategic Operations and his Sergeant), Fire Chief, By-law Enforcement Manager, City Solicitor, Mayor, staff of the Crime Reduction Office, manager of the Options program (not-for-profit responsible for outreach for homeless persons) and the Warden of Surrey Remand Centre. The Committee meets every 6 to 8 weeks to discuss progress on annual initiatives and to discuss emerging issues.

City of Thunder Bay, Ontario:

The Thunder Bay Crime Prevention Council (CPC) was established in 2010 at the direction of City Council. The Council is described as "a unique partnership between citizens, community groups and service

providers", composed of a maximum of 32 members. The CPC is an advisory committee of City Council and reports to Council through the Administrative Services Committee of the Whole Session.

The City provides 'administrative leadership' of the crime prevention initiative by funding a coordinator's position. The Crime Prevention Coordinator reports directly to the City Manager, but is administered through the Corporate Communications and Strategic Initiatives Division of the City Manager's Office. The annual budget for the position and some project funding totals $120,000.

The mission of the CPC is to engage the community in the task of preventing crime, increasing safety and security, and fostering the well-being of all citizens in Thunder Bay. Strategic directions are as follows:

- community ownership and interaction
- research and planning
- communication and education
- crime prevention initiatives (in priority areas)

The 'neighbourhoods' initiative has been key for the CPC. Target neighbourhoods are selected on the basis of demographics such as low income, incidence of crime, poor housing and fear of crime. Based on the Action for Neighbourhood Change model, community leaders are identified, problems are prioritized by the community and CPC provides support for local events. In its Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy 2011-2014, the CPC identified a Neighbourhood Support Program as a priority. A funding request has been submitted to the provincial government for a two-year pilot Neighbourhood Support Program, the goal of which is to build restorative neighbourhoods (building on the concept of Restorative Practice in schools), community kitchens and community hubs.

City of Winnipeg, Manitoba:

Intersectoral crime prevention activities are coordinated through the LiveSAFE Advisory Network. The City of Winnipeg does not have a dedicated public safety office. Approved by City Council in 2008, LiveSAFE is a cross-sectoral partnership and network comprised of citizens, neighbourhoods, community organizations, business and other levels of government. The LiveSAFE Advisory Network is co-chaired by the Chief of Police and the Director of Community Services, City of Winnipeg.

Guiding principles for the initiative are as follows: prevention, leadership and coordination, interconnectedness and partnerships, sustainability and accountability.

LiveSAFE has identified six 'strategic action themes', based on a model of crime prevention through social development:

- Community and Winnipeg Police to work together in neighbourhoods using a preventive approach to reduce crime and disorder
- Resources targeted at high risk neighbourhoods for 'quality programs' (including early childhood development) for families
- Build community capacity to develop resiliency in youth, children and families by focusing on recreation and school attendance
- Ensure culturally vibrant education systems
- Responsible and balanced media that recognizes its role in crime prevention. Access to connectivity and computers for citizens
- Establishment of community driven organization engaging citizens in crime prevention through social development *(not yet established*). Promotion of best practices.

The City has taken a leadership role with respect to action themes 1 and 3, reflecting the scope of the municipality's mandate (i.e. police services, recreation). Leadership for the other action themes is provided by other individuals/organizations.

No specific funds are allocated to LiveSAFE. City representatives report that their focus is on supporting and leveraging Crime Prevention through Social Development initiatives in Winnipeg which are undertaken by a broad array of government and community organizations.

City of Regina, Saskatchewan:

A crime prevention committee has been in existence for many years, established first as the Regina Crime Prevention Commission in 1989. The current Crime Prevention Advisory Committee (CPAC), established by City Council in 2009, consists of 17 members: Mayor, Chief of Police, a representative of the Community and Protective Services Committee of City Council, 8 citizen members and representatives from a number of other organizations (e.g. school board, provincial Ministry of Justice, health board, Social Services). Terms of reference are as follows:

- Serve as a resource, information gathering and advisory body to Council on matters pertaining to safety and prevention of crime in Regina;
- Advise Council regarding ways the City and other stakeholder members can participate in:
    - Identifying strategies, policies and programs that address the root causes of crime and opportunities for crime reduction;
    - Bringing information and understanding on crime prevention and justice related issues to Regina residents so that residents can better understand some of the roles they can play in crime prevention and safety issues; and
    - Encouraging individuals and groups to become more actively involved in crime prevention and safety issues.

- Develop programs to acknowledge and formally recognize the actions and activities of individuals and groups who are actively involved in crime prevention; and
- Facilitate the coordination of crime prevention and crime reduction resources among institutions, agencies, community based organizations and residents.

The City of Regina does not have a dedicated public safety office. A City staffer (Coordinator of Social Development, Planning Department) is assigned to the CPAC as subject matter expert for crime prevention and social development issues. The City Clerk's office has overall responsibility for the committees of City Council (including CPAC) and provides administrative support. CPAC presents an annual report to City Council, reporting on the results of the work plan. There is no dedicated budget for this initiative.

City of Edmonton, Alberta:

REACH Edmonton Council for Safe Communities (a community-based, stand-alone organization with independent Board of Directors) was established in 2010, replacing Safedmonton which was located within the City administration. The mission of REACH is "to be a centre of excellence that inspires citizen engagement and coordinated agency action to strengthen and sustain community safety in Edmonton. The role of REACH is to initiate, coordinate and integrate, not duplicate what already exists."

The organization is directed by a Board of Directors (15 members), comprised of influential people representing key organizations. There are also three advisors: a senior executive from the provincial government, one representative from the City and one from the Edmonton Police Service. The Executive Director of REACH Edmonton reports to the Board of Directors.

Total staff of the organization numbers approximately 10 (Executive Director, corporate services (human resources/finance), communications and project leaders/coordinators).

The total budget for REACH Edmonton (2012) was $3M with funding provided by the City of Edmonton and the Province (Safe Communities and Innovation Fund). REACH also has a membership structure ($25 annually for individual memberships; corporate memberships from $50-$200) which generated $6105 in 2012.

A Task Force on Community Safety, appointed by the Mayor of Edmonton in 2008, generated nine recommendations in three strategic areas (investing in children, youth and families; catalyzing change; and new leadership) which serve as the foundation for the activities of REACH:

- A new model of family and community safety focussing on Schools as Neighbourhood Access Points to social support services
- Develop 'Turn away from Gangs" initiative focused on at-risk youth
- Community coordination on fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD)
- A 24/7 Service Delivery Model for high-needs individuals
- Cultural Community Groups: work with community leaders from Aboriginal and Multicultural Communities to develop and implement innovative models for engagement within cultural contexts
- Neighbourhood Organizing Initiative: Implement a new Neighbourhood Organizing Model in several diverse areas of Edmonton to develop grassroots community leaders who support a preventative approach to community safety
- A new Community Safety Coordinating Council to facilitate and integrate sustainable community safety efforts
- A Sustainable Strategy for Prevention
- An Innovative Evaluation Framework to measure success

City of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan:

The Neighbourhood Safety Office is part of the Neighbourhood Planning Section of the Planning and Development Branch of the Community Services Department of the City. The purpose of the Neighbourhood Safety program is "to add value to existing civic programs and help make the City safer" through:

- Creation of neighbourhood safety plans in conjunction with Local Area Plans;
- Implementation of Neighbourhood Safety recommendations;
- Safe Growth/Crime Prevention through Environmental Design Review Committee;
- Response to ad hoc requests for assistance from affected neighbourhoods, administration and referrals from City Council; and
- Program support.

In 2008, City Council adopted the philosophy of Safe Growth and the principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design in its official Community Plan.

The Office is staffed by two employees and has an annual budget of $60,000 in addition to staffing costs. It does not have an advisory committee.

In addition, City Council approved the establishment of the Safe Streets Commission in February 2012. The Commission is a City-appointed corporation with all members appointed by City Council. It is led by a corporate CEO and board and its major focus is on addressing safety issues related to homeless people on the streets of Saskatoon. Two major priorities identified by the Commission are the establishment of a referral centre to which Community Support Officers and police could direct people on the street

viewed as being 'at risk' (i.e. under the influence of alcohol/drugs or suffering from mental health issues); and the establishment of drop-in centres for at-risk youth.

City of Toronto, Ontario:

In March 2004, Toronto City Council approved a Community Safety Plan that pursued an approach to community safety in Toronto which balanced crime prevention with law enforcement and included both short- and long-term initiatives in Toronto neighbourhoods for investing in youth and building on the strengths of neighbourhoods and communities. The Plan established nine (9) priority strategic actions that included the creation of a Mayor's Advisory Panel on Community Safety and a City Community Safety Secretariat to support the efforts of the Mayor's Panel and coordinate the components of the overall Safety Plan. In April 2004, the Mayor's Advisory Panel on Community Safety was established, chaired by Chief Justice Roy McMurtry, with a mandate "to guide the City in building safe communities and bring together public, private and community-based civic and community leaders to focus on solutions to combat violence." In June 2004, the Community Safety Secretariat was formed within the City, housed inside the Social Development, Finance and Administration Division (SDFA). To ensure coordination with Toronto Police Service, two (2) senior officers were appointed to liaise with the Secretariat.

Following an increase in gun violence, primarily among youth during the summer of 2005, Toronto City Council approved the 2005 *Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy,* a robust 'place-based' approach to service planning and investment in social/recreational infrastructure, youth-focused programming and supports and community capacity-building in 13 priority neighbourhoods[37] (PNs) for investment identified by the Strategy. The Strategy was jointly developed with the City by a Task Force composed of civic leaders from the private, labour, community-based, academic and public sectors of Toronto who met over a one-year period. The Strategy was a joint project of the United Way Toronto and the City, with federal and provincial financial support.

The Strategy called for a comprehensive, long-term approach to addressing under-invested neighbourhoods, which as a result, were experiencing issues of violence and crime.

[37] The City of Toronto is organized geographically into 140 'social planning neighbourhoods' for service planning, analysis and delivery purposes. Using a broad range of indicators to assess the level of community infrastructure in Toronto neighbourhood versus the demographic profile of the neighbourhood, the Strategy identified 13 "priority neighbourhoods" for immediate investment. The analysis included the *distribution of key services/facilities* in each neighbourhood and *indicators of vitality*.

Implementation Pillars from the Task Force Recommendations	City of Toronto Implementation
Local neighbourhood investment partnership: neighbourhood-based group of influentials (businesses, community service providers, government, faith groups, local residents, etc) responsible for developing the Neighbourhood Investment Plan, which identifies local priorities and addresses community needs. Supported by staff of the Strong Neighbourhoods Unit of the City.	In each of the 13 priority neighbourhoods, the City's Social Development, Finance & Administration (SDFA) Division convened and supported Neighbourhood Action Partnerships (NAPs). The NAPs are supported by an SDFA Community Development Officer and a senior City manager from across the Corporation.
Inter-governmental table: provides over-arching governance ensuring that the Strategy is "politically led and publicly accountable." Determines level of resources required from all levels of government; establishes broad goals and objectives for the Strategy.	At the request of the Prime Minister, Premier of Ontario and Mayor of Toronto, the Intergovernmental Working Group on Gun Violence ("Tri-Level") was established in January 2005 to better coordinate the work against gun and gang violence in Toronto. All three orders of government discussed the initiatives underway and identified areas for greater collaboration and shared solutions.
Strong Neighbourhoods Investment Board: key body that guides implementation of the strategy across investment neighbourhoods. Comprised of 15 members (representatives from each level of government, each of the school boards, United Way and 6 community members, 2 appointed by each of the 3 levels of government)	Investments Boards were not established. Instead, the City, other funding partners like United Way Toronto, and other orders of government have aligned funding to the youth and community development priorities of the 13 Priority Neighbourhoods. The NAPs, in each PN, developed coordinated community priorities, including required service and capital projects and initiatives. these priorities were used to guide investments where possible from all partners
Strong Neighbourhoods Unit: staff of City, work with local neighbourhoods	SDFA is the lead division for the implementation of Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy. Community Development Officers facilitate the NAPs in each PN. Managers and frontline staff from across the City's Divisions and Agencies participate in the NAPs as members to help improve services and spaces locally. Because City staff participants come across many business units, there are multiple champions for the City's place-based work with residents.
Each neighbourhood is required to have 'anchor' agency (non-profit) to serve as local hub and focal point for implementation of the Strategy in each neighbourhood.	Recognizing that each of the 13 neighbourhoods had different community infrastructure, no anchor organization model was pursued. Instead, the City's Community Development Unit was the anchor support and in each PN,

	a number of community agencies were engaged and leads on specific local initiatives and community spaces such as hubs.

At its creation, the Community Safety Secretariat was a separate business unit within SDFA, reporting to the Division's Executive Director. However, as efforts of the Secretariat evolved in tandem with the City's cross-Corporate work to advance meaningful safety, security and opportunities in Toronto's neighbourhoods, the Community Safety Secretariat was realigned to match the City's 'place-based' approach to community safety. The work of the Secretariat is now divided between two separate Sections of the SDFA[38] which continues to be the City's lead for non-law enforcement community safety coordination.

Working in partnership with residents, community agencies, businesses, the federal and provincial governments and key partners, more than 1,200 initiatives took place in the 13 PNs between 2005 – 2012, reaching more than 50,000 youth and 38,000 other residents. Some of these initiatives focused on community safety include the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy, Community Crisis Response Program, Prevention and Intervention Team, Reclaiming Outdoor Space and Partnership Opportunities Legacies Fund.

In March 2012, City Council adopted the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020, an updated version of the 2005 Strategy, to ensure "equitable outcomes for all neighbourhoods" in Toronto. Based on current data regarding Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods and the results of community consultations, City Council will select neighbourhoods for coordinated investment in 2014.

Observations from the jurisdictional review:

Importance of the location of the PSO:

Jurisdictional respondents noted the importance of locating the public safety function where it is perceived as being a priority for the municipality. According the office a high profile is necessary to send a message to citizens and to municipal staff that this is a key role of the municipality. Failure to provide a

[38] Neighbourhood-specific services/supports such as the Community Crisis Response Program were integrated with the SDFA's Community Resources Section, while community safety policy supports (including intergovernmental and Mayor's Advisory Panel supports) were relocated and ultimately integrated into SDFA's Social Policy, Analysis & Research Section.

distinct and identifiable public safety function was viewed as creating a serious obstacle to the achievement of public safety objectives.

None of the jurisdictional respondents expressed support for locating the function within a police department. Many suggested it would send a message that public safety is being 'handled' by the police, when in fact it is essential to convey the concept that public safety is the responsibility of all levels of government, the municipal bureaucracy, community agencies, business and citizens. Some respondents noted that police departments in major cities are very large operations and that, consequently, a relatively small unit (e.g. a PSO) could be lost in the bureaucracy and overpowered by other important police functions. All respondents viewed the police as key partners in the public safety enterprise, but did not feel they should be seen as 'owning' the problem of crime and public safety.

Edmonton was the sole municipality surveyed that had created a stand-alone public safety office. Prior to the creation of REACH Edmonton, the public safety function resided within the municipal bureaucracy as *Safedmonton*. The rationale for creating a separate body was articulated as allowing for more independence, flexibility and creativity. A number of respondents from other jurisdictions expressed concern that a stand-alone structure would be quite vulnerable to funding cuts in times of austerity. Many noted the beneficial contribution of municipal finance and personnel services and that securing independent services would be prohibitively expensive. It was generally acknowledged, however, that location within the municipal bureaucracy brings the constraints that come with all municipal operations: approval of projects can become bogged down in 'red tape'; and other priorities of the municipality can sometimes 'derail' planned activities in the public safety sector.

Some respondents expressed concern about locating the PSO within the Mayor's office. While it can give the office a high profile with an activist mayor who sees public safety as a priority, it was also seen as leaving the office vulnerable to political interference with ever-changing priorities in response to the 'issues of the day'. The majority of respondents felt that the PSO should be located in the office of the City Manager (Chief Administrative Officer), to ensure the buy-in and collaboration with other municipal business units. Respondents did caution that locating the PSO too far down in the municipal hierarchy would prevent it from receiving adequate attention and funding.

Functions:

The public safety function in the cities surveyed has taken many forms. There is considerable variation in the nature of the objectives defined and activities undertaken in the different jurisdictions. Most PSOs

would define their role as being one of a catalyst - bringing together individuals and groups to collectively define and address public safety priority issues.

Some have defined themselves as 'centres of excellence', serving as a repository of information regarding best practices in the field of public safety. Some provide workshops and other training to municipal employees and those working in various community agencies.

For the most part the PSOs note that they do not provide any direct services, but rather assist in bringing parties/agencies together for a synergistic, more effective, multilateral approach to community safety problems. To this end, they were of the view that they play a significant role in improving interagency coordination and cooperation.

Many PSOs address diversity issues within their mandates. Significant differences in demographics in the various cities are associated with differing crime prevention issues. In some cities, factors associated with the root causes of crime (poverty, substandard housing, lack of employment opportunities) are disproportionately experienced by some diversity groups and the PSOs are typically engaged in activities to address these issues.

Virtually all of the jurisdictions noted the priority they place on informing the public about public safety issues; i.e. what is being done to address these issues and how the public might become involved. Many saw public engagement as an important function.

Some PSOs defined advocacy as a key function - lobbying for changes in legislation and policy at the provincial and federal levels.

Place-based initiatives:

A number of cities have adopted a place-based approach to public safety initiatives. Recognizing that resources are limited, these cities have identified specific neighbourhoods for investment and targeted programs. For example, the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy notes that "under-investments have created inequitable access to services and opportunities for residents and have contributed to inequitable outcomes, including low educational attainment, high levels of unemployment and gang activity in these neighbourhoods"[39].

REACH Edmonton has invested in a Neighbourhood Organizing Initiative (developing grassroots community leaders to support a preventative approach to community safety). One of Winnipeg's

[39] Toronto, Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020, staff report to Community Development and Recreation Committee, Feb.8, 2012, p.4

'strategic action themes' is the targeting of resources at high risk neighbourhoods for 'quality' programs (including early childhood development) for families.

Thunder Bay has initiated a Neighbourhood Support Program based on the Action for Neighbourhood Change model. Community leaders are identified, problems are prioritized by community and support is provided by the local Crime Prevention Council. Neighbourhoods were selected based on demographic factors such as low income, fear of crime, poor housing and incidence of crime. Saskatoon has identified the creation of neighbourhood safety plans as a key element of their crime prevention strategy.

Importance of partnerships:

All jurisdictions noted that achievement of their objectives was tied to the strength of their partnerships (e.g. "we are stronger when we work together"). Many cautioned that cultivating and maintaining relationships is time-consuming and difficult, but recognized that collaboration was the key to success.

Advisory committees:

Significant variations among jurisdictions were observed in the mandate and composition of advisory committees. In Edmonton, REACH Edmonton Council for Safe Communities functions as a community-based, stand-alone organization with an independent Board of Directors (15 members, representing key organizations, including provincial and municipal governments and Edmonton police).

The Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council (a 40-member multi-agency group) was created by Regional Council, with members approved by Regional Council as part of the municipal advisory committee membership process, and under terms of reference approved by Regional Council. The WRCPC operates fairly independently in setting priorities and overseeing crime prevention activities.

In Surrey, the office of the Crime Reduction Strategy is located within the municipal bureaucracy and reports to the City Manager. Input regarding priorities is provided by the Community Safety Committee, a committee of Surrey City Council, chaired by a City Councillor. The committee is composed of 12 members, representing municipal leadership, law enforcement, by-law enforcement, fire, corrections and the Options program (not-for-profit responsible for outreach for homeless persons.

In Thunder Bay, the Crime Prevention Council is an advisory committee of City Council that reports to Committee of the Whole. It is composed of 32 members - a partnership of citizens, community groups and service providers.

In Regina the Crime Prevention Advisory Committee is an advisory committee of City Council. It is composed of 17 members (Mayor, Chief of Police, one City Councillor (non-voting), 8 citizens and 6 'institutional' members). The Committee is attached to the City Clerk's office with administrative support provided by that office.

In Winnipeg, the LiveSAFE Advisory Network is a cross-sectoral partnership composed of citizens, neighbourhoods, community organizations, business and other levels of government, co-chaired by the Chief of Police and the Director of Community Services (City of Winnipeg). The Network identified a series of strategic action themes and meets quarterly to review progress. The City has assumed responsibility for progress in two of the action themes that directly bear upon the City's responsibility for recreation and police services.

Although input from a diverse range of stakeholders in the development of priorities was generally viewed as healthy and beneficial, some respondents voiced notes of caution regarding the role of advisory committees. With the inevitable changes in membership, sustaining interest and participation of key organizations and individuals over the long term have proven to be problematic for some PSOs. Problems can also arise when advisory committee recommendations are incongruent with the overall priorities of municipal councils and bureaucracies - the bodies which are accountable for municipal operations.

Adequate funding:

Inadequate funding was noted as an issue by most respondents. The majority of funding is provided by municipal governments but, in some cases, project funding is contributed by the provincial or federal government. REACH Edmonton has established a membership structure and receives a limited amount of funds from membership fees. Thunder Bay municipal council contributes $1 per citizen toward the crime prevention initiative[40].

Communication:

All respondents noted that communication is a key function for the PSOs aimed at informing the public and potential partners of their existence and role. Many dedicate considerable ongoing efforts (through diverse media) to communication activities.

[40] This was based on a proposal by Irvin Waller of the Ottawa-based Institute for the Prevention of Crime to the Thunder Bay City Council that cities should contribute $1 per citizen for crime prevention activities.

Support of municipal leadership:

Many respondents pointed to the importance of strong support from the Mayor and Council for their activities. In a number of jurisdictions the Mayor played a key role in the establishment of the public safety office/function. This serves to send the message that the function is regarded as important within the municipality and promotes the involvement and support of the municipal bureaucracy and other community organizations.

A number of respondents identified the need for the PSO to establish and maintain a strong relationship with Municipal Council. Councillors are elected to represent the interests of all of their constituents and PSO directors/coordinators were of the view that they should be kept informed of activities and have an opportunity for input into PSO priorities.

Relationship with Province:

All jurisdictions noted that the provincial government has an important role to play because of its constitutional responsibilities in the area of the administration of justice and for many social programs required to address the root causes of crime. Many stated that it was incumbent upon provinces to develop provincial crime prevention strategies to set guiding principles, global direction and priorities for action. Respondents stated that these strategies must recognize the important role played by cities in the response to public safety issues. Furthermore, because of their much greater revenue-generating potential, provinces must be prepared to contribute funding to municipalities and recognize, through their contributions, that cities are disproportionately burdened with social and economic conditions responsible for the highest rates of crime.

Elements of an Effective Organizational Structure of a Public Safety Office in HRM:

Based on the jurisdictional review and views of key informants regarding the operation of the PSO in HRM since its inception, the following elements of an effective organizational structure for the PSO were identified:

Location of the PSO:

The PSO should be moved from its current location within the Halifax Regional Police Service (HRPS) to a location within the HRM administrative structure, reporting to the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO).

The current location of the PSO sends the message that public safety is the responsibility of the police, instead of being jointly shared by all levels of government, community organizations and citizens. Even at that, the location within HRPS has meant that the operation of the PSO has related mainly to the functions of that service, not the RCMP.

The location within the HRPS resulted in the Police Board's designation as the oversight body. Given the significant responsibilities of the Board in providing civilian oversight to all policing functions, the Police Board was not able to provide strategic direction to the PSO.

Consideration was given to the establishment of a stand-alone PSO (as per the REACH Edmonton example) but this was rejected. This option was assessed as being prohibitively costly and vulnerable to funding cuts during times of austerity. Consideration was also given to locating the PSO in the Mayor's office, but attachment to the political office was rejected. This location was viewed as being too vulnerable to political interference and is highly dependent on the characteristics of one individual. The PS Officer, as a public servant, should not report to a political office.[41]

The HRM *Charter* states that one of the functions of the Municipality is to "develop and maintain safe and viable communities". Location of the PSO should reflect the priority of public safety for HRM and that it is an integral part of the City's infrastructure. This can best be accomplished by according the PSO a prominent position within the office of the CAO.

A reporting relationship to the CAO demonstrates, facilitates and promotes the over-arching connectivity across all city functions/operational units which is required for an effective public safety strategy. The PSO must be given observable priority within the HRM bureaucracy as a message to other business units, other levels of government and citizens that HRM views public safety as a key issue.

Although this recommendation is substantively supported by the evidence presented in this report, it should be noted that additional legal research may be required to determine whether a *Charter* amendment is needed to authorize the establishment of the PSO in the office of the Chief Administrative Officer[42].

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[41] based on the notion that municipal public servants are responsible for the implementation of laws and policy as determined by a democratically elected council (doctrine of separation of powers between executive and legal powers)

[42] Colin Taylor, Solicitor, Legal, Insurance and Risk Management Services, HRM, personal communication, Nov.7, 2013. The *Charter* (s.79(1)) does not enumerate 'public/community safety programs' as a specific category for which expenditures by the Municipality are authorized. While 'police services' is enumerated in the expenditure clause, this report supports the conclusion that the PSO should not be considered a 'police service'.

Functions:

It is critical that the PSO have a statement of purpose that clearly defines the public policy mandate it is established to fulfil. As reflected in the jurisdictional review and in comments by those interviewed for this report, 'public safety' should be defined expansively and holistically to include a host of factors linked to the protection of citizens and property from harms caused by crime. These factors extend beyond the crime prevention functions typically performed by law enforcement to include considerations of planning functions (to promote crime prevention through environmental design) and root causes of crime. Not all of these public safety functions fall within the jurisdiction of the Municipality, which is why a comprehensive public safety strategy requires partnerships with other levels of government and the community. But the Municipality, as the level of government closest to the community, has a key coordinating role to play. Furthermore, the functions for which the Municipality bears important responsibilities (law enforcement, municipal planning, some aspects of housing, recreation and transit) are essential to the design and delivery of a comprehensive public safety strategy.

The PSO should serve as:

- the focal point for HRM's public safety agenda;
- a 'centre of excellence' and a repository for relevant research (both internationally and locally), best practices, training and development materials;
- the key contact in negotiations and consultations with other levels of government regarding public safety issues affecting HRM and in leveraging funding for programs;
- an expert advisor to the municipality on emerging issues relating to public safety[43];
- a catalyst to bring key stakeholders together to assist in the identification of key public safety problems and appropriate responses;
- the 'subject matter specialist' for public safety in HRM to ensure that all municipal operations incorporate public safety principles (e.g. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design);
- the focal point for public information and engagement regarding public safety issues;
- coordinator for the development of a public safety strategic plan; and
- the focal point for the development of an outcome framework and an evaluation process with the analytical tools to provide for regular reporting of results measured against goals and objectives.

[43] for example, the challenge to the *Criminal Code* provisions relating to prostitution currently before the Supreme Court of Canada could result in the requirement for municipalities to adopt new strategies for responding to this issue.

The Roundtable review has documented a continuing serious concern regarding the over-representation of African Nova Scotian youths and adults in the criminal justice system, both as perpetrators and victims of crime. The statement made in the original Roundtable Report - "this is a complex, longstanding problem involving a volatile mix of racism and socio-economic disadvantage (including parenting issues) that needs attention and requires social action in HRM"[44] - continues to resonate.

Efforts have been made since the 2008 report to address the concerns and some progress has been made in delivering programs such as the Youth Advocacy Program, and planning for the Souls Strong, Girls United and Ceasefire programs, all of which aim to address factors which place young African Nova Scotians at risk to commit crimes. However, many of the efforts have been ad hoc and there is an acknowledgment of the need to promote a more coordinated approach, inviting input from African Nova Scotians in HRM, community and government agencies.

It is proposed that these efforts be coordinated through the Public Safety Office as a priority undertaking for the Office in its new location within HRM. The recommendations of the Ad Hoc Consultation Committee[45] provide a useful foundation for the work. A special 'table' with representation from African Nova Scotian leaders, other relevant community organizations and provincial and federal representatives should be constituted to inform the initiative. The African Nova Scotian Affairs Integration Office should also be involved to provide expert advice.

The jurisdictional review highlighted the importance of place-based initiatives in an overall strategy to improve the health and safety of the broader community[46]. This reflects a growing body of research indicating that, in some neighbourhoods, inequitable services and opportunities for residents have contributed to significant negative outcomes, including concentrations of crime and public disorder. Neighbourhood initiatives seek to engage local citizens and organizations to build social capital. The United Way of Halifax adopted the Action for Neighbourhood Change[47] model in 2005. Work has continued in the neighbourhoods of Spryfield and Dartmouth North and commitment to a

[44] ibid. 3, p.69
[45] see page 35
[46] "To have a significant impact, both *people* and *place*-based approaches are needed. General policies not focused on place (e.g. national income and employment policies) need to be coordinated with programs and policies focusing on place. Neighbourhood-based initiatives should complement, not replace or displace, structural measures such as income and employment policies." Strong Neighbourhoods Task Force Toronto (2004) Why Strong Neighbourhoods Matter. p.31
[47] www.anccommunity.ca

Neighbourhood Strategy was confirmed for the period 2013-2015 by the United Way Board of Directors. It is suggested that the Municipality investigate the work being done by the United Way and the potential for partnership in this place-based initiative.

Key attributes of a Public Safety Officer[48]

- strategic planning expertise
- experience working within a government structure
- consensus-builder
- demonstrated problem-solving skills
- subject matter expertise
- strong organizational and communication skills

Relationship with Regional Council:

The proposed organizational structure must ensure an effective relationship with Regional Council in order for this governing body to exercise ultimate responsibility for determining the strategic direction and priorities of the PSO. There must also be a mechanism for regular reporting to Council so that it may be adequately informed about the activities of the PSO and the extent to which the Office is achieving its objectives. Accordingly, it is recommended that the PSO report to a Standing Committee of Regional Council. The strategic direction and priorities provided by the Standing Committee (and ultimately Regional Council) would be translated into specific actions and programs at the operational level, for which the PS Officer would be accountable to the CAO of the Municipality.

It is understood that the current committee structure of Regional Council is under review. Presently there are six Standing Committees[49] of Council: Executive, Appeals, Audit and Finance, Community Planning and Economic Development, and Transportation. The Executive Committee is chaired by the Mayor and the others by Regional Councillors. There are also a number of advisory committees composed variously of Regional Councillors and citizens which provide advice on specific municipal issues. Council has identified a number of focus areas: economic development, governance and communication, healthy communities and transportation. At the staff level, outcome teams are aligned

[48] These attributes are based on the functions of the PSO which are not those of a law enforcement agency. This would not exclude a police officer who possesses these attributes from being considered for the role of coordinator/director of the PS Office.

[49] "Standing Committees are intended to focus on the more strategic initiatives in their areas of oversight and responsibility...Standing Committees are responsible for carrying out Council's governance responsibilities such as oversight, review of policies...and oversight of Advisory Committees..." www.halifax.ca/boardscom/documents/SCQuestions.pdf

with these focus areas. The Healthy Communities outcome team is chaired by the Chief of the Halifax Regional Police Service.

It is key that the Municipality adopt an expansive view of public safety to encompass the broad range of contributing factors identified earlier in this report. This will require 'horizontal' connectivity of many functions for which the municipality has responsibility[50]. It is not clear that any of the existing standing committees provide the comprehensive oversight that is envisaged. The current review of the Regional Council committee structure may ultimately identify a governance structure within which the PSO may fit most appropriately. However, at this point, the Executive Standing Committee, chaired by the Mayor, would appear to be the best option to provide the leadership and over-arching framework most closely aligned with the overall PSO objectives.

Partnerships:

Because of the broad scope of the public safety agenda (i.e. the need to address root causes and social determinants of crime by committing to multidisciplinary, multilayered approaches), it will be necessary for the PSO to cultivate partnerships with a diverse group of government agencies, community organizations and the private sector.

As the new PSO begins to define its agenda for the next five years, it should seek the input of key stakeholders to map out broad strategic directions as well as specific activities to achieve goals and measurable outcomes. Recommendations of the Roundtable Review can serve as the foundation for this process. Responsibilities of relevant partners for various elements of the strategic plan should be clearly stated. Authority for approval of the plan and monitoring progress rests with Regional Council.

Advisory Committee:

Some cities have established committees or community councils which have the authority to direct activities of their public safety offices. As it is being recommended that the PSO be located within the HRM administration, accountability for PSO activities rests with the Municipality, not an exterior body.

Instead of a standing advisory committee structure, it is recommended that separate consultative groups/tables be established (composed of relevant subject matter specialists, key community

[50] It has been identified earlier in this report that many operational units have a role to play in public safety; e.g. transit, recreation, planning & design, law enforcement

organizations and representatives of other levels of government) to provide advice to the PSO on specific initiatives to be undertaken. This structure has the advantage of being task-specific and outcome-oriented, with a focused agenda and defined time horizons. It is generally easier to engage key advisors for a specific purpose and timeframe. In addition, the structure is more likely to be nimble and better equipped to respond to emerging issues. It is less likely to be vulnerable to the concerns which are associated with standing advisory committees (e.g. agendas that are too general, changing membership, declining interest over time, and ensuring active engagement in business that is not 'top of mind' for individual members).

Budget:

The core budget requirements of the PSO are linked to its functions as described above. Because its primary role is not to operate programs directly, the budget requirements would be quite modest. It is clear, however, based on the comments by other jurisdictions and the current and former Public Safety officers, that some funding additional to the current level of $100,000 would be required for the office to effectively perform its communication, coordination and catalyst role. Specific budget requirements should be determined in the course of developing a comprehensive public safety plan for the municipality.

PART II: HRM Response to the Recommendations relating to Race Relations

Recommendations of the Roundtable Report:

The Roundtable Report documented the over-representation of Black youths and adults in the justice system and pointed to a broad range of factors apparently responsible for the situation. As noted on page 32 above, "this is a complex, longstanding problem involving a volatile mix of racism and socio-economic disadvantage (including parenting issues) that needs attention and requires social action in HRM."[51] The report concluded that "the municipality must work with the majority African-Canadian population and with Black community leaders and other activists working with the pockets of problem to change that situation."[52]

[51] ibid. 3, p.69
[52] ibid. p.70

The report called for a greater leadership role for the municipal government in responding to public safety issues of minorities. It was noted that the standing committee of HRM Council (the Community and Race Relations Committee) appeared to have been "ineffective and scarcely able to function".[53]

The report recommended that "a special subcommittee be established, linked to the Mayor's office and proposed Public Safety Coordinator, to advise on what strategies could be effective and how the extant Community and Race Relations Committee might be revitalized and tasked".[54] The report further recommended that the Municipality commit to "reaching out to the Black and other minority communities in its own staffing strategies"[55].

Response to Roundtable Report recommendations:

Community and Race Relations Advisory Committee:

Revitalization of the committee has not occurred; it last met in April 2008.

Ad Hoc Consultation Committee:

Following the release of the Roundtable report in 2008, an ad hoc consultation committee was formed to "discuss issues of violence and public safety in relation to race relations." The committee met six times and was composed of a small group of informed individuals from the provincial and federal governments, the Public Safety Office and the African Nova Scotian community. The group prepared a progress report in September 2009, documenting the results of their consultations, and proposed that this serve as the basis for a strategic action plan to be developed by the HRM Public Safety Office. The ad hoc committee identified the following 'key mechanisms required for success':

- A Race Relations Committee focussing on violence and African Nova Scotian issues with representation from various Black communities and groupings, with a proactive mandate and some resources (modest funding for assessing progress and for special projects), being a sounding board for suggestions and having a capacity to assess initiatives.
- The Public Safety Office must have a capacity to obtain and examine a wide range of reports, best practices, etc. from elsewhere bearing on the salient issues.
- Tripartite approach/partnership with other levels of government (HRM should especially bring to the Tripartite 'table' detailed knowledge/awareness of the public safety issues and what best practices have emerged from consultations and the many

[53] ibid. p.73
[54] ibid. p.70
[55] ibid. p.73

past and ongoing salient projects) and networking with relevant NGO and other community organizations.

- Emphasize the social marketing dimension of the initiative, informing the HRM public and especially the Black communities about what is being done and what has been accomplished.

Africville Agreement:

In February 2010, HRM, as part of the Africville terms and conditions of settlement, announced the "establishment of an African Nova Scotia Affairs Office or function within HRM that would enable our organization to better engage with the African HRM community". No specific mandate was provided for the Office/function.

The African Nova Scotian Affairs Integration Office (ANSAIO):

It should be noted that the establishment of this office was as a result of the Africville Agreement and was not specifically recommended in the Roundtable Report. The office was established in September 2012 within the Government Relations and External Affairs Division of HRM and is described as "providing leadership, strategic direction, policy advice and expertise to all parts of the organization to strengthen the delivery of municipal services to residents and communities of African descent within HRM". The Office's sole full-time position (manager) is currently filled by an individual on secondment from the provincial government for a two-year term. The Office also has a half-time community development position shared with another HRM department and has been assigned an intern position for the period June 2013-November 2014.

Throughout the first year, the manager has been engaged in consultations, both internally with HRM staff, and externally with members of the African Nova Scotian (ANS) community. The purpose of the consultations was to determine the strengths and weaknesses in the response of HRM business units to issues of concern to the ANS community, which in turn would determine the focus of the ANSAIO and its priorities for action.

During the past year, the manager indicated that she has been involved in a number of internal HRM issues: e.g. working with the Racially Visible Employee Caucus[56] (composed mainly of ANS employees); working with unions and other 'affinity groups' to address recruitment and training issues; and providing assistance to HRM business units on engagement with ANS communities regarding specific projects (e.g. the Preston Area Watershed Study).

In May 2013 the ANSAIO sponsored a *Big Ideas Breakfast* attended by the Mayor, Chief Administrative Officer, four other city staffers and eight 'influential African Nova Scotian community leaders'. The purpose was to provide an opportunity for these ANS leaders to share their 'innovative big ideas' with HRM leadership. The themes identified were: "collaboration, coordination, leadership, youth engagement, spirituality, entrepreneurship and African-centred." There appeared to be little discussion of crime other than one statement that "the approach to the over-representation of violence in some Black communities should be the one recommended in the Nunn Report (shared collective response)". There was a general sense that there is a need in HRM for an advisory body, connected to the various ANS communities, to make "courageous decisions" and to provide support to the ANSAIO.

Observations re the ANSAIO:

It is too early to assess what the impact of the ANSAIO will be. The manager has been in the role for one year, a period which appears to have been dominated by consultations with key interest groups regarding potential priorities for the office.

The impact of the Office has not yet been fully felt. The majority of HRM Councillors were not certain of its mandate. Some expressed concern that the Office did not report to a standing committee of Council and that, as a result, Council did not receive regular information about its activities. The Public Safety officer indicated that his contact with the ANSAIO has been minimal.

The manager of the ANSAIO has indicated that consultations with the African Nova Scotian community in HRM have identified priorities for action in the following areas: land use (development); facilities (equitable access); transit and employment. The manager stated that issues related to crime and violence were not identified as priorities during the community consultations.

[56] Racially Visible Employee Caucus (RVEC) was established in 2003 "to provide a safe and confidential forum to offer support and guidance to racially visible employees of HRM. It also acts as a resource to HRM by increasing the knowledge and awareness of HRM leadership regarding areas of diversity and social inclusion" (news release Feb. 22/13 HRM Communications)

The manager indicated that she was in general agreement with the concept of establishing an advisory committee to provide support and advice to the ANSAIO. She was of the view, however, that the focus on the committee should be strictly on African Nova Scotian issues and should not be combined with a body addressing diversity issues in general.

Potential role for the ANSAIO:

The role and functions of the ANSAIO have not yet been specifically defined. However it seems likely that the Office will serve as a resource to all HRM business units to assist those working in the various service areas to become more competent in addressing issues of race. It will no doubt play a role in addressing employment equity issues and continue to work in collaboration with the Racially Visible Employee Caucus in providing support and guidance to racially visible employees of HRM. The Office could also provide policy advice to HRM staff and Regional Council on issues relating to African Nova Scotian matters.

The ANSAIO will also likely play a role in facilitating dialogue between HRM and the African Nova Scotian communities in HRM to ensure their concerns and priorities are acknowledged and addressed by the Municipality. There may also be a public education role to increase understanding of ANS culture, heritage and community issues.

The Roundtable review identified that the serious concern regarding the over-representation of African Nova Scotian youths and adults in the justice system (as perpetrators and victims of crime), highlighted in the original Roundtable Report,continues. It is recommended[57] that efforts to address these persistent problems be coordinated through the Public Safety Office as a priority undertaking for the Office in its new location within HRM. The ANSAIO should be involved in this initiative to provide expert advice.

In order to effectively perform its role, it is essential that the ANSAIO report to a Standing Committee of Regional Council. This would assist in ensuring that all Councillors are aware of the work being done by the Office and that they are able to provide input and strategic direction.

The Africville Agreement signalled that matters of concern to African Nova Scotians must be accorded particular attention by HRM leaders at the elected and bureaucratic levels. The ANSAIO must be positioned in such a way that it can provide expert advice to all HRM business units and input on

[57] see page 31 of this report

matters both internal and external to HRM which are considered to impact African Nova Scotian citizens and communities.

In keeping with the views of the ANSAIO manager and members of the African Nova Scotian community consulted by her over the past year, it is suggested that it would be beneficial for the Office to strike an advisory committee with specific terms of reference relating to the priorities of the Office, once these are determined. The committee would be comprised of individuals identified as providing influential leadership throughout the African Nova Scotian communities in HRM.

A number of individuals consulted in the preparation of this report cautioned against combining a proposed ANSAIO advisory committee with a potentially 'revitalized and retasked' Community and Race Relations Advisory Committee as recommended in the Roundtable Report. In view of the Africville Agreement, the history of the relationship between the African Nova Scotia community and HRM and the pressing and specific issues related to African Nova Scotian affairs, it is recommended that a separate ANSAIO advisory group be constituted.

No definitive conclusions can be drawn regarding the impact of the ANSAIO. In establishing the Office, the Municipality has clearly acknowledged the need to provide a mechanism to better engage with African HRM communities. It is incumbent upon the Municipality to provide a statement of purpose and list of functions for the Office, develop measurable outcomes and determine the extent to which they have been achieved. It is recommended that this evaluation of the ANSAIO be conducted within 3-5 years. The evaluation should also address organizational issues to ensure that the location of the ANSAIO within the HRM structure, its reporting relationships (within the bureaucracy and to Regional Council), budget and staff complement promote and facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the Office.

APPENDIX 'A'

Municipal public safety offices – cross-jurisdictional survey

1. Is there a business unit (Office) within the municipality focused on public safety? (This would be in addition to the regular crime prevention programs run by the police)
2. What is its mandate?
3. Where is it located: Within the police department? Attached to the Mayor's office or other municipal administrative office? Other? Is this the original location or has there been a change?
4. What was the rationale for the decision re location in the municipal administrative structure?
5. Description of organizational structure; reporting relationships (external/internal)
6. Is there a governance document or municipal by-law establishing the Office and its mandate?
7. Structure of office itself; number of employees by function
8. Annual budget? By functional area?
9. How/when/why was the office established? (Was it the result of a report e.g. Crime Reduction Strategy?)
10. What is the relationship to any relevant provincial initiative/ office?
11. Summary of activities (link to annual report?)
12. How are the priorities/activities for the Office established?
13. Is there an advisory/steering committee? Role and composition?
14. Nature of the relationship between the Office and local police force?
15. What key challenges has the Office faced? Steps being taken to address these challenges?

16. Have there been any evaluations/assessments of the Office? Obtain copy/link to information.
17. Are there any municipalities in Canada you are aware of which have a similar Public Safety Office?
18. Are there some special advantages for dealing with violence and public safety that flow from the way the Public Safety Office has been established in your municipality?

APPENDIX 'B'

Survey instrument - HRM Regional Councillors

REQUEST TO COUNCIL MEMBERS

As in the Roundtable initiative of 2006-2008 I am committed to interviewing all current councillors in the Roundtable Review process. As a first step, I am sending each of you a short questionnaire to elicit your views on a few of the central Roundtable issues. This will be followed up, I hope, by my meeting individually with those who are interested in such a meeting. The responses to this short questionnaire could enhance the value of the individual meeting but if you wish to forego the questionnaire and just have an individual meeting that is fine. Whatever your decision, I would be very grateful to have the opportunity to hear from you on the issue of Violence and Public Safety in HRM. As in the 2006-2008 Roundtable, individual views would be considered confidential and anonymous and no one would be identified or cited by name in any oral or written report of the Roundtable Review.

1. How would you compare the levels of violence and public safety in HRM today with those in 2007-2008?
2. What specific concerns do you and/or your constituents currently have with respect to issues of violence and public safety? (the ask about the following specifically)
    i. Downtown scene
    ii. Youth crime
    iii. Gender violence
    iv. Shootings
    v. Guns
3. Some root factors identified in the Roundtable Report were (below); are these relevant concerns of the Municipal Government?
    i. Legacy of poor race relations
    ii. Housing issues
    iii. Lack of coordination of the 3 levels of government
    iv. Others?
4. Key recommendations of the 2008 Roundtable Report included the creation of a Public Safety Office and more active engagement of the municipality with the other orders of government (and community groups) in responding to the underlying roots of violence and concerns about public safety.
    i. Are you aware of what the PSO has been engaged in?
    ii. How do you get your knowledge of its activities?
    iii. Are there some PSO accomplishments that you consider important in reducing violence and enhancing public safety?

iv. Are there some areas or activities where you wish the PSO would be more engaged? If so, why has it not been in your view?

v. The PSO has been located in the HRPS and under the jurisdiction of the Police Board. Is this in your view the best place for it? What are the advantages of this location? The disadvantages?

vi. What changes should be considered for the Public Safety Office?

5. One of key recommendations of the 2008 Roundtable Report and its follow-up was the creation of a Race Relations Coordinator. What are your views of the position, Manager, African Nova Scotian Affairs Integration Office, filled in the fall of 2012 to assist in addressing violence and public safety issues?

    i. To your knowledge are African Nova Scotians in HRM over-represented as offenders and victims of violence?

    ii. How can the position (Manager etc) provide an effective linkage of the Black communities and HRM government to deal with the over-representation issues?

6. In your view, over the past 5 years, has HRM become more actively engaged with other levels of government and local community groups regarding issues of violence and public safety.

    i. In what areas has there been adequate coordination and collaboration?
    b) In what areas have there been shortfalls?

    ii. Should the municipal government become more actively engaged?

    iii. Do the formal mandate and charter pose significant obstacles to a larger role for the municipality in responding to root problems pertinent to violence and public safety?

APPENDIX C

List of individuals interviewed

Jean-Michel Blais	Chief, Halifax Regional Police Service
Chris Bryant	Leading the HRM Governance Review
Richard Butts	Chief Administrative Officer, HRM
Marion Currie	Project coordination, Intergovernmental Affairs, HRM
Judith Ferguson	Deputy Minister, NS Department of Justice
Jeannie Flynn	Nova Scotia Council for the Status of Women
Pat Gorham	Crime Prevention, NS Department of Justice
Scott MacDonald	Public Safety Officer, Halifax Regional Police Service
Bill Moore	Deputy Chief, Halifax Regional Police Service
John Moreash	Commissioner, Board of Police Commissioners
Sylvia Parris	Manager, African Nova Scotian Affairs Integration Office
John Peach	Executive Director, John Howard Society of Nova Scotia
Bob Purcell	Executive Director, Public Safety, NS Department of Justice
Micki Ruth	Chairperson, Board of Police Commissioners
Fred Sanford	Public Safety, NS Department of Justice
Michael Savage	Mayor, Halifax Regional Municipality
Verona Singer	Victim Services, Halifax Regional Police Service
Don Spicer	Executive Director, Housing Nova Scotia
Jennifer Watts	Regional Councillor[58], Halifax Regional Municipality
Allan Waye	Special Projects, Halifax Regional Fire and Emergency
Robert Wright	

Jurisdictional review:

Kaylin Betteridge	Racism Free Edmonton
Jan Fox	Executive Director, REACH Edmonton
Colleen Kerr	Manager, Crime Reduction Strategy, City of Surrey
Kathy Knudsen	Manager, Strategic Services Division, Community Services Department, City of Winnipeg
Elisabeth Miller	Senior Planner, Neighbourhood Safety, City of Saskatoon

[58] the remaining Regional Councillors, with one exception, were interviewed by Professor Clairmont

Brendan Nolan	Corporate Management & Policy Consultant, City Manager's Office, City of Toronto
Councillor Barinder Rasode	Chair, Community Safety Committee, City of Surrey
Christiane Sadeler	Executive Director, Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council
Amy Siciliano	Crime Prevention Coordinator, Thunder Bay Crime Prevention Council
Janice Solomon	Coordinator of Social Development, City of Regina
Clive Wightman	Director, Community Services Department, City of Winnipeg

DOWNTOWN CRIME AND PUBLIC SAFETY:

THEN AND NOW

Dr. Christopher Murphy
Dept. of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University

Introduction

In 2008 the Mayor's Task Force Report on Crime and Public safety in the Halifax Regional Municipality (Clairmont) and the research report on HRM's Downtown entertainment zone (Murphy) identified a number of significant and distinct crime and public safety problems. The assessment was based on an analysis of area crime stats, victimization and survey data, the level of police service calls and a number of highly publicized alcohol-related assaults and homicides. The report provided an analysis of a variety of downtown crime and pubic disorder problems and identified a number of contributing causal factors and made a number of specific recommendations regarding policing, liquor licensing enforcement as well as regulations and transportation issues in order to better address the problem.

Drawing on a combination of police statistics and interviews with key stakeholders, this 2013 update assesses the current status of downtown problems by examining current crime and disorder patterns and trends and explores the development and the impact of the key policing, regulatory and transporting response strategies that have been implemented since the 2008 report. Based on this analysis, the report also provides some recommendations for improving current and future responses to HRM's downtown crime and public safety problem.

1) DOWNTOWN CRIME AND DISORDER PROBLEMS – STATISTICAL TRENDS AND PATTERNS

In the 2008 report, the downtown district (statistical atom C-14) was distinguished by significantly higher rates of assault, robberies, calls for police service and alcohol-related charges and incidents etc. than any other district or atom in HRM. This distinction has not changed significantly since 2008 and the downtown remains the most active police response atom, still with the highest rates of alcohol-related crimes such as public intoxication, assault, mischief and robberies. While the offence rate has declined gradually since 2008, so have general offence rates in other atoms in HRM. Thus while Table 1 suggests that previously high rates of crime and disorder have moderated in downtown HRM since 2008, they remain significantly higher than any other location in the city and they remain high enough to warrant ongoing concern and further response. The following (Table I) summarizes the HRM police data on crime pattern and trends in the downtown since the 2008 report.

Table 1: SELECTED CRIME TRENDS IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX (C401), 2006-2013

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total *LCA files	**743**	**1133**	**1006**	**927**	**893**	**851**	**856**	**616**
2 Year Average	938		967		872		736	
***LCA (No SOT)**	**143**	**824**	**588**	**391**	**479**	**143**	**10**	**19**
2 Year Average	483.5		489.5		311		14.5	
LCA SOTs	**600**	**309**	**418**	**536**	**414**	**708**	**846**	**597**
2 Year Average	455		477		561		722	
Assaults	**229**	**206**	**182**	**189**	**187**	**235**	**162**	**134**
2 Year Average	218		186		211		148	
Threats	**25**	**29**	**22**	**23**	**23**	**13**	**11**	**13**
2 Year Average	27		23		18		12	
Drug Incidents	**22**	**26**	**38**	**37**	**17**	**38**	**32**	**32**
2 year Average	24		38		28		32	
Mischief/Property Damage	**123**	**120**	**119**	**114**	**98**	**109**	**90**	**54**
2 Year Average	122		117		104		72	

** LCA: liquor control act (SOT) summary offense ticket Source: Halifax Regional Police Service, 2014*

Downtown Crime and Disorder Trends and Patterns

Generally the crime data described in Table 1 indicates that since 2007 there has been a gradual but uneven decline in general police enforcement stats in the downtown area. This positive downward trend in crime and disorder incidents is particularly evident in the last 2 years and the latest 2013 data suggests a continuation of this trend. More detailed analysis of specific crime and disorder rates and patterns reveal similar but more complex micro level trends.

Public Disorder Order Trends and Patterns

Public Disorder refers to various offences and behaviors that threaten or disturb the public peace and public safety and includes activities such as public drunkenness, public mischief, assault, excessive noise and vandalism. Many of these activities take place in the downtown core, outside bars, on public streets, late at night and most are alcohol-related. As a result the y are the primary focus of police response and enforcement strategies. The data in Table 1 indicates that the number of incidents and charges under the liquor control act remain high in frequency, though there has been a recent decline in the total amount of liquor related charges. The number of Summary Offense Tickets (SOT) went from a combined (No SOT and SOT) high of 1096 in 2008 to a low of 616 in 2012, a 30 % decline in 4 years. A recent shift in police enforcement policy emphasizing the more formal use of SOT as deterrence explains

the changing mix of intoxication charges in Table 1. Thus while the number of summary offense tickets issued for public intoxication increased significantly in 2011 and 2012, the overall total number of public intoxication charges has actually declined since 2008.

While it is difficult to assess the impact of changes in enforcement efforts and policy on these statistics, HRM police and bar spokespersons believe these statistics indicate a real decrease in the number of public intoxication incidents and suggest that police patrol and bar enforcement strategies are the key reason for this decline. While this recent downward trend in public disorder incidents is hopeful, its continuation remains dependent on maintaining current police resources and active patrol enforcement as well as other preventative or regulatory responses. Given the highly visible nature of late-night alcohol-related disorders in the downtown core and its negative effect on general public perception of the safety of the downtown in general, the downtown public order problems should remain an ongoing public safety priority.

Argyle Street: a manageable public disorder problem? *Argyle Street is the most visible and active public space in the downtown core and as a result is the center of most "public" disorder problems. As it attracts the most people, it is where most assaults, accidents, noise ,and disturbances are likely to happen—in short, it's where the action is. Its heavy concentration of bars result in both pedestrian and vehicular congestion, created by sidewalk bar lineups, wandering intoxicated pedestrians, parked cars and a constant stream of vehicular traffic. Police and a number of key respondents identified the problematic nature of Argyle late-night disorder, noise, and congestion and have on occasion limited vehicle access, others have called for regular street closure on weekend nights to all traffic—essentially turning Argyle Street into a pedestrian only walkway during that time. This street closure strategy would allow for more effective police management of public disorder and public safety by limiting or eliminating all vehicles-except possibly taxis, and making Argyle a pedestrian only space for those particular hours. A safer and more orderly late-night Argyle Street could be an important element in enhancing both the reality and the public perception of the downtown as a safe and secure late-night destination.*

Assaults: Excessive alcohol consumption and frequent incidents of violent physical assaults were identified as serious problems in the downtown in the 2008 report. Both the number of violent assaults and the occasional assault homicide also remain an ongoing problem in the downtown core. Two high

profile late night downtown assault-homicides of bar patrons in 2012 illustrate the occasional but serious problem of alcohol-related violence in the late night downtown. The five year assault trend displayed in Table 1 indicates little change in the high level of criminal code assaults between 2007 and 2011 (235), but does indicate a recent and significant decline in assaults beginning in 2012 (162) and continuing in 2013 (134). This two year decline may be a temporary fluctuation or the beginning of a hopeful downward trend. Nevertheless the two year 2012-13 average of 148 assaults per year for the downtown zone indicates the persistence of the problem and the continuing need for police presence and ongoing violence reduction strategies.

Street Robbery and Swarming: At the time of the 2008 report there was evidence that planned group assaults of late-night bar customers on their way home was becoming a serious problem often resulting in personal injury and theft. Whether these visible “signal crimes” were planned or spontaneous "swarmings", their impact on victims and perceptions of public safety were significant. Interviews with police and other key respondents suggest that the organized group or gang nature of street assault/robberies have diminished. While periodically incidents of group assault/robberies are reported (“Halifax Police Arrest 3 in Downtown Swarming”, C Herald, Jan 13/14), they appear to have diminished in frequency. However given their unpredictable and opportunistic nature and high public profile, their possible return reinforces the importance of police presence and other strategies such as access to adequate and safe bus and/or taxi transportation as a way of reducing swarming opportunities and incidents.

Changing Public Perceptions of Downtown Safety and Threat: Almost as important as the actual incidents or statistics on crime and disorder in the downtown is the impact on public perception of the general safety of the downtown area as a place to visit, shop and live. The downtown core has historically had a poor reputation as a safe and secure place, particularly late at night. In the 2008 report an Omni- fax Daily News Poll indicated that 44% of HRM residents saw the downtown area as mostly unsafe and that 29% of them avoided the downtown for safety reasons. More recent Metro News (2013) Poll Data indicated that while the majority of HRM public now see the downtown as “very or mostly safe”, 40% of the population also said they would not feel safe “at night”. So while the majority of HRM’s population feel safe during the day, a significant proportion of HRM's residents still don’t feel safe downtown, at night. This suggests that managing the night time crime and disorder problems remains critical in terms of improving general public perceptions about the downtown as a safe place for everyone, both day and night.

Summary

The summary table of HRMP enforcement data displayed in Table 1 and interviews with key sources support the general premise that there has been a recent decline in the general level of crime and disorder in the downtown core area and that " the problems are less serious now than they were in the past ". This decline began in 2011 and continues according to the latest 2013 police data in a generally downward direction. However despite this recent positive trend, the data also indicates that there remain enough persistent and significant policing and public safety problems to require the ongoing dedication of extraordinary police resources and other varied response strategies in order to sustain this trend. It would be premature from this limited data and time frame to conclude that current trends will necessarily continue and that the downtown public crime and safety issues have been resolved. However it is reasonable to assume that a continued downtown public safety focus, current policing efforts and additional enhanced regulation and transportation strategies should sustain this downward trend.

2) POLICING RESPONSES AND STRATEGIES

The 2008 report made a number of recommendations regarding enhanced policing in the downtown. The recommendations included more visible police presence and proactive collaborative work with liquor enforcement and bar owners. Since then, HRM police have responded with a variety of policing initiatives targeting the downtown that appear to be having a positive impact on the problem. While various enhanced policing strategies were developed earlier, they were recently formalized in 2012 by HRM in a Downtown Public Safety Strategy with the explicit goal of "increasing public safety by reducing the number and level of public intoxication and assaults in the downtown core". The following are the some of the key policing initiatives introduced by HRM police that appear to be having a positive impact on the downtown crime and disorder.

Crime Analysis: HRM police conduct regular statistical crime analysis of the downtown area; relevant crime stats are collected by HRM police on geographic basis for all service calls and crime related incidents, charges laid and so on by date, time and location. The data is compiled and assessed by HRMP crime analysts and distributed to various users. This allows for detailed collective and comparative analysis that can be used to allocate and target police resources and assess policing response strategies. It also allows for more reliable and detailed assessment of specific crime and disorder trends and patterns in downtown. Data provided by HRM police crime analysts was particularly useful in describing valid past and current crime and disorder trends for this report.

Downtown Patrol and Enforcement Unit: Though HRM police previously have had foot and motorized patrols in the downtown area; they recently formally dedicated a special Patrol and Enforcement Unit specifically to better manage late-night weekend violence and disorder in the downtown area. This has required the re-allocation of six police officers from other HRM districts to work in three teams of 2, on weekend night shifts. The officers pro-actively and visibly patrol all key streets and also bars and restaurants, intervening when necessary to prevent or manage potential crime and conflict. Police argue that their active visible presence provides a deterrent function in addition to providing a rapid response capability for incidents. The response of bar owners and many customers to this active police presence has generally been welcomed and is seen as positively enhancing both the reality and the perception of public safety and security in the downtown.

Liquor Enforcement Unit (LEU): In addition to the downtown patrol response unit HRM police have partnered with The Nova Scotia Government Alcohol and Gaming Division to create a joint Liquor Enforcement Unit (LEU). HRM police have dedicated three full-time officers who work directly with liquor enforcement personnel to enforce liquor regulations in the downtown bars. The combination of police and liquor enforcement inspectors provide inspectors with additional authority and protection allowing them to more effectively enforce liquor regulations in bars and also provide the police with additional access and information on potential bar related crime and disorder problems. Both HRM police and Nova Scotia Alcohol and Gaming Commission Enforcement Units endorse this collaborative policing and enforcement models as being more productive and effective than their previous separate regulatory and enforcement practices.

In addition to these specific policing responses, HRM police have developed a number of other enforcement and management strategies such as emphasizing high visibility police presence, conducting proactive bar patrols and initiating occasional street closures and selective CCTV monitoring of key street locations. In general HRM's policing initiatives are strongly supported by most downtown merchants and bar owners who believe they are having a real impact and are primarily responsible for what they see as a recent decline in crime and disorder incidents. They strongly support continued enhanced police visibility and presence and support an ongoing commitment to the downtown policing strategy as critical to the viability and sustainability of the downtown and its future development. It would seem that the current HRM policing initiatives are having a significant impact on reducing late night crime and improving public order in the core downtown area.

Recommendation: Given the special policing mandate, resources and expertise that HRM police are bringing to the management of the downtown and given the positive impact on ongoing crime and disorder problems, HRM police should be encouraged to maintain its successful downtown policing strategy and to play a central role in the proposed downtown public safety and security committee.

3) REGULATORY RESPONSES: PROVINCIAL LIQUOR ENFORCEMENT, LICENSING AND CLOSING HOURS

The 2008 report identified a number of important liquor licensing and regulatory issues that were having a direct impact on downtown alcohol-related assaults and disorder. These issues had to do with limited provincial liquor regulation enforcement, inadequate bar security and management, liberal bar licensing, late closing hours and cheap drink prices. The report made a number of licencing and regulatory recommendations. The following describes some of the key relevant regulatory issues and developments that have evolved since the 2008 report.

Price Regulation: Eliminating Cheap Drinks: The 2008 report identified a particularly problematic practice at that time— some downtown bars were selling alcohol at extremely low prices, as low as .99 on "slow" nights such as Wednesday and Sunday. The impact of "dollar drink" nights was reflected in a dramatic increase in downtown crime and disorder statistics for those designated nights. There was consensus among most downtown stakeholders, including some bar owners, that this new pricing practice was harmful and a source of a variety of alcohol-related problems. The report recommended that the NS provincial government raise minimum drink standards. In response, the Provincial Government amended the regulations in 2008 and raised the minimum drink price to $2.50. As a result, bars stopped serving and promoting cheap drink nights in HRM and the level of crime and disorder returned to normal levels for those designated nights. This positive development demonstrates the impact that changing liquor regulations can have on excessive alcohol consumption and on its negative public consequences.

Bar Management and Training Issues: The 2008 report identified problems associated with bar management—specifically the apparent lack of control of "over serving", underage serving and the management and prevention of in-house bar assaults and conflicts. Various recommendations were made to address these issues.

Bar Conflict Management: The "PASS" Program: Recognizing the negative impact of being associated with alcohol-related violence both in and outside bars, the Nova Scotia Restaurant Association and some downtown bar owners have responded by implementing the PASS program—a " patron accountability, safety and service program". Its stated objectives are to "encourage and promote safe and comfortable environment for patrons, staff that frequent licensing establishments". The PASS program is a bar suspension program which works with Halifax regional police and the liquor enforcement unit of alcohol and gaming Nova Scotia. Participating bars can issue suspensions to patrons who may be involved in incidents that occur on or off the premises related to weapons, underage drinking, excessive intoxication and various forms of violence. A suspension means individuals are no longer allowed in the bar or restaurant for a set period of time in all participating downtown bars and restaurants. Suspensions range from six months to an indefinite suspension. PASS reports that approximately 170 suspensions have taken place since its introduction in 2012, the majority being for underage drinking. Both police and participating bar owners believe the PASS program is having a positive impact and that it deters some potential problem customers while eliminating known problem customers from their establishments. While it is difficult to clearly establish the actual effectiveness of this program, it is a positive industry response to the problem and recognizes their responsibility as an important part of any effective solution.

Recommendation: Given the importance of the bar entertainment industry in the downtown area and its role in the prevention and management of potential alcohol-related problems, it is important that the downtown business community be encouraged to continue to play an active role in enhancing staff training and customer management through programs like PASS and that they become participating partners in the development of a downtown public safety and security plan.

Provincial Liquor Enforcement

The 2008 report was critical of what appeared to be limited enforcement resources and efforts in terms of existing liquor laws and regulations by the provincial government enforcement unit. The report suggested that more vigorous and visible enforcement of liquor regulations would have a positive impact on reducing underage drinking and the "over serving" of intoxicated bar patrons.

The Alcohol and Gaming and Municipal Relations Division of the Nova Scotia Provincial Government are responsible for the licensing of all establishments that serve alcohol and the enforcement of the rules

governing their operation under the liquor control act. Therefore most of the rules and regulations concerning licensing and the operations of bars in the downtown area of HRM are under provincial, and not municipal, jurisdiction.

Since 2008, but especially in the last two years, enforcement statistics provided by the provincial alcohol and gaming division liquor enforcement unit indicate that there has been an increase in both enforcement resources and efforts focused on HRM downtown bars and restaurants. This has been facilitated in part by policy changes in enforcement philosophy from an equity-based enforcement model to a targeted risk-based model and realigned enforcement efforts on three main safety regulations: over service, overcrowding and underage access. Alcohol and gaming statistics provided indicate that inspections of the 164 licensed downtown premises went from 3,500 in 2007/08 to 5,700 in to 2011/12. The unit has committed their enforcement personnel to work with police on the combined liquor enforcement unit, which they argue has been an effective way of reinforcing their authority and the impact of their work. In addition, the Division has developed training programs to assist licensees with compliance issues and ID check training. These programs are now voluntary but there are ongoing discussions regarding compulsory training for bar security and bar servers etc. and provincial legislation and regulations may be enacted in the near future.

The general impression from the data and interviews with both enforcement and bar owners is that provincial liquor enforcement through more active deployment of provincial liquor inspectors in the downtown has significantly increased since the 2008 report and that is having a positive impact on the regulation and management of downtown alcohol consumption.

Recommendation: Given the importance and demonstrable impact of the provincial liquor enforcement unit activities on the regulation, licensing and enforcement of liquor related rules in the downtown, it is recommended that the unit should play an active role in the proposed downtown public safety committee and keep that committee regularly informed on its licensing regulatory activities and programs.

Bar Closing Hours and Cabarets' Licensing: The HRM downtown bar entertainment district is distinguished from similar settings in the rest of Canada (i.e. exception St John's-Nfld) by the late closing hours of some of its largest bars. While regular bars stop serving at 2:00 am, 4 large downtown cabaret licensed bars are allowed to serve drinks until 3 am and their customers must exit by 3.30 am. International research and HRM police statistics indicate that there is a relationship between later

closing hours and higher level of alcohol-related violence and disorder. HRM police data indicates that approximately 80% of all alcohol-related crime disorder incidents in the downtown take place between 2 am and 6 am in the morning. Emergency room statistics further support the link between late nights and alcohol-related violence. Cabaret licenced bars are thought to contribute disproportionately to this late night violence problem given their typically large seating capacity (up to 1000 seats), often already inebriated clientele and the potential for further excessive alcohol consumption. As their clientele typically don't leave the bar until 3:30 am, this may also encourage the current widespread practice of extensive pre- pub/club drinking and a late start to a downtown evening; for many this begins at midnight and ends at 5 or 6 am in the morning. As a result, late bar closing times require HRM police to commit additional police resources to police the downtown and related neighborhoods until at least 6 am in the morning, 3 nights a week.

However Cabaret and entertainment industry representatives argue that the bar entertainment district is an important economic and social driver of the downtown and they cite their bars' popularity as proof of public support. Earlier closing hours, they argue, would threaten their business model and ultimately the economic viability of the downtown. Also they say that later closing hours are not proven to be directly related to downtown crime and disorder problems and that there are positive policing advantages in staggered closing hours. While these industry claims can and have been challenged, they should be assessed in relation to their ongoing public costs, such as the allocation of extra police resources and the negative consequences of downtown late-night alcohol-related violence and disorder. Given the seriousness the downtown crime and order issue, the importance of a vibrant entertainment district and disagreement over the problem and its solutions, this issue deserves more research and analysis before changes to the current situation.

Recommendation: Given the mixed evidence on the impact of late-night closing hours, specifically cabaret licensing hours and their contribution to the crime and order problems of the downtown and given the importance of a vibrant downtown entertainment district, it is recommended that the issue of bar closing hours and it impact on both the downtown bar business and related crime and disorder be explored further as a basis for a more informed discussion and possible changes to the current situation.

4) DOWNTOWN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION ISSUES

Lack of adequate public transportation to and from the downtown bar area, particularly late at night was identified in the 2008 report as a problem that contributed significantly to downtown congestion, conflict and assaults. Taxi access, limited by restrictive zone licensing, and the lack of public bus transportation after midnight were identified as key contributors to downtown congestion and related disorder. The report recommended a number of possible transportation solutions to be addressed by HRM.

Downtown Taxies: Still Not Enough? Since the 2008 report the transportation issue in the downtown has been discussed in Council regarding both taxis and buses but no significant changes were introduced until recently. In 2012, in order to increase the number of taxies available for the downtown, HRM council relaxed zone restrictions by amending municipal by-laws in order to allow taxies from all zones to work the downtown area from 12 am – 5 am from Thursday to Monday mornings. However this modification appears not to have adequately increased the number of taxies available as there was broad consensus among downtown stakeholders that despite the change, there were still not enough taxes available or willing to move late night bar patrons out of the downtown. A variety of possible explanations were offered ranging from the often unpleasant and potentially risky nature of intoxicated fares, the unattractive nature of late night shifts, the preponderance of part-time and older risk adverse drivers, the unwillingness of drivers to invest in cab safety equipment and the limited profitability of short downtown fares. Whatever the problem, it appears that resolving this issues is also complicated by a variety of conflicting opinions and competing interests regarding both the nature of the problem and desirable solutions. A number of respondents suggested that under these circumstances, an external consultant should be hired to do an independent study and review of the problem and make recommendations for change to HRM council. Thus improving taxi access in and out of the downtown, especially late at night, remains an important and unresolved problem requiring more exploration and political action.

Bus Transportation: The 2008 report also recommended exploring the issue of using HRM buses after regular hours on selected routes as another possible transportation option to move people from the downtown. This particular recommendation failed to generate any apparent serious consideration. While recognizing that late night bus transportation presents both security and financial challenges, its potential for addressing the downtowns transportation problems should be explored by HRM as a possible transportation option and part of its public service and safety response.

Recommendation: The issues involved in providing more taxies and buses to address late night downtown transposition problems are complex and controversial; therefore it is recommended that HRM engage an independent consultant to analyze the situation and make recommendations to Council that would improve current downtown late night transportation options.

A CHANGING SAFER HRM DOWNTOWN?

While many merchants and bar owners have serious concerns about the impact of the crime and disorder problem of the bar entertainment district on downtown business in general, there are some recent changes in consumer habits and demographics that may ultimately be positively affecting the environment within which the current problem is evolving. Since 2008 there have been a number of socio-economic developments in the downtown area that may have long-term ameliorating effects on current public safety and security problems. These changes relate to shifting demographics, consumer tastes and current and planned development of both commercial and residential space both in the core bar entertainment zone and surrounding areas.

A number of downtown merchants and bar owners indicated that there seems to be a general diminishing number of traditional customers or consumers coming downtown and those who do, appear to have less disposable income. As result, a number of bars, restaurants and small business have recently closed or moved out of the downtown core and others are rebranding or revising their business model. Whether this is simply part of the normal business cycle is not clear, but it does suggest that the economic viability of existing bar and restaurant entertainment business models in a changing downtown environment is uncertain and may be in transition. One response to this challenging environment is reflected in the remodelling and rebranding of some downtown bars. One large bar has shifted from being primarily a youth oriented-music bar to a sports bar, presumably in order to attract a more diverse and sustainable clientele. Another bar is renovating and expanding its food business to broaden its market and extend it daytime business. This may be the beginning of a new trend to broaden and diversify the appeal of the downtown bar business in order to attract a more diverse clientele in terms of age, gender and taste. This should become an even more attractive business model as the downtown resident and visitor population expands and becomes more diverse, as result of the

new convention center and various new downtown residential developments. This trend has potentially positive implications for improving public safety and order in the downtown as both experience and research suggests that downtown residential development creates a more stable, diverse and mature public, with broad consumer and entertainment tastes and interests. This new now resident and diverse visitor population base tends to be more heavily invested in an orderly and safe environment than a downtown populated exclusively by a visiting young, non-resident, late-night entertainment focused demographic.

This projected shift is important because there are growing concerns about the spillover effect of the negative reputation of the late night downtown "bar area" on other non-bar businesses and residential areas. Some interviewees felt that potential customers and residents were deterred from coming downtown to shop, eat and live especially in the evenings and at night because of the negative reputation and perceived safety issues of the downtown bar area. One well-known Argyle restaurant recently closed and moved to a safer and more accessible location, citing a decline in customers willing to risk coming downtown in the evenings and also the lack of parking and taxies. While this negative identification of the downtown as a problematic or risky area may be inaccurate or exaggerated, it does have serious implications for future residential and commercial development in the downtown and emphasizes the importance of continuing to effectively manage both the reality and perception of public safety in downtown bar area.

These developing trends suggest that a more expansive focus and approach to downtown public safety and security encompassing the whole downtown and not just the bar entertainment district, may be desirable in order to support its ongoing and future development.

A New Public Safety Vision for HRM: A Vibrant and Safe Downtown

The widespread perception of HRM's downtown core as an essentially risky and disorderly bar-focused youth entertainment district, while exaggerated is nevertheless an unfortunate and limiting image for the HRM's downtown and may inhibit its future residential and commercial development. Though many of the current initiatives described in this report are having a positive impact on downtown public safety and disorder and need to be sustained, it is also important that HRM shift some of its policing and security resources away from the negative problems of the bar entertainment district to achieving a broader positive public safety and security vision for the whole of the downtown area.

Developing a comprehensive public safety and security strategy beyond the bar district would require addressing the rundown or neglected condition of some parts of the downtown area (i.e. Barrington Street), characterized by dark streets, poor lighting, neglected property, graffiti and limited police and security presence. These "signs of crime" make the downtown appear to be unsafe, especially at night and more than one respondent described some parts of the downtown as "dark, dingy and a bit scary". Hopefully recent and planned residential and business developments and increased HRM investment in the downtown core will begin to change this perception. A positive vision of downtown public safety would require a more active populous street life with a diverse range of visitors, residents and shoppers moving freely and securely in safe, clean, well lit, policed and regulated mixed-use public and private spaces. A downtown public safety strategy would employ a variety of planning, policing and crime prevention techniques such as environmental design or CPTED strategies such as enhanced street lighting, forms of streetscaping, selective use of CCTV cameras, and combination of private security and public police etc. This combination of environmental planning , urban design and preventative policing and security has been used in a number of urban settings with positive impacts on both public safety for visitors and residents but also on residential and commercial development. This new vision of downtown public safety will require extensive consultation and collaboration with relevant public and private stakeholders and should be embedded in the downtown planning and development process.

Recommendation: **That the proposed Downtown Public Safety and Security Committee develop a new public safety vision and plan as part of the HRM downtown development strategy by consulting with a broad range of stakeholders, partners and security and planning experts.**

Summary

This update identified that a number of the recommended policing and regulatory initiatives that have been developed and implanted since the 2008 report that appear to be having a positive impact on the policing and management of alcohol-related crime and disorder in the downtown district of HRM. While recent data reveals a decline in key crime and disorder enforcement statistics, the downtown core area still shows disturbingly high levels of alcohol-related crime and public disorder, despite the allocation of extra police resources and bar management and liquor enforcement efforts. This report identifies and makes recommendations regarding a number of unresolved issues related to late bar closing hours, downtown transportation and the lack of a general downtown public safety vision and strategy. By building on the progress made by the existing policing and industry initiatives and addressing some of

the remaining identified problematic issues, it should possible to move beyond the current negative and narrow focus on both the real and perceived crime and disorder problems of the downtown bar district to a truly more positive, safe, secure and vibrant HRM downtown.

Summary of Key Recommendations;

1) **Specific Recommendations - that appropriate committees i.e. personnel address the following outstanding core issues related to the management and regulation of the downtown bar district:**
   a) **A closure strategy for better managing street disorder and safety issues due to late night pedestrian and vehicular congestion on Argyle Street**
   b) **Development of a new and more effective transportation strategy including the deregulation of taxis and the possibility of increased public bus transportation**
   c) **The exploration and re-assessment of modifying of late-night closing bar hours. I.e. review of bar and Cabaret licensing.**
2) **General Recommendation That HRM create a Downtown Public Safety Committee composed of various public and private partners and stakeholders. This committee would be responsible for coordination, development and support of various crime and public safety initiatives as part of the overall process of the planning and managing the downtown as a residential and commercial area. The committee could be co-ordinated or chaired by the proposed HRM public safety office and possibly be a standing committee of counsel.**

Research Sources:

Research for this update was conducted from May 2013-until November 2014.

Interviews: The findings for this update report are based on a number of interviews with a variety of selected key informants; 11 in people, 4 groups and 2 telephones. They included representatives of the HFX RCMP, HRM Police, N.S. Provincial Alcohol and Gaming- enforcement division, Downtown Business Association Reps, Bar and Restaurant Owners, a Bar Industry Rep , Taxi Drivers, some HRM staff, and an HRM Councillor.

Additional data and information were obtained from HRM police, NS Alcohol and Gaming Division, Halifax Newspapers, *The Chronicle Herald* and *Metro*, Research Assistant field observation notes and interviews. The author also consulted relevant published research on relevant urban crime and disorder issues.

THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

GENDERED VIOLENCE IN THE HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY

Verona Singer, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Gendered violence is an issue that received more explicit attention in the 2013 Halifax Regional Municipality's (HRM) Roundtable than it did during the 2008 Roundtable Report. This is for several reasons including, its' continuing high rate of occurrence in HRM, recent major incidents in HRM (the Rehtaeh Parsons case and St. Mary's University frosh week chant) which have underlined the depth of cultural factors that sustain gendered violence, combined with technological/societal changes that have increased public concern, and policy developments aimed at all the major dimensions of gendered violence. Generally, this report attempts to identify the scope of gendered violence—what is currently working, what is missing and what we can do about it. [59]

HRM is the largest municipality in Nova Scotia and it provides a significant number of services and organizations serving women who have been subjected to violent victimization. It is home to the largest and oldest sexual assault centre in the province, Avalon Sexual Assault Centre, as well as the only agency that serves sex workers, Stepping Stone. Moreover, Bryony House, the shelter for abused women and their children is the first and largest transition house in Nova Scotia. The expertise and knowledge of these agencies along with service providers in victim services, men's treatment programs, second stage housing, and within the government, provide the foundation for this chapter on gendered violence.

An interview guide was developed for three sectors of gendered violence; intimate partner violence, sexual violence and violence in sex work (Appendix A) and interviews were conducted either in person or by phone. Notes were taken during each interview and then analyzed for consistent themes. A list of the service providers who participated in the interviews is attached at the end of this report (Appendix B).

The report begins with the overarching themes that consistently emerge from all the interviews. These themes include: youth sexuality, use of technology, and men's accountability. Then each sector is presented with a brief literature review supported by evidence from statistics and research, the themes from the data in the interviews, and data tables using local data sources. The report ends with future directions and pulls together recommendations to move forward.

Youth sexuality

The topic of youth sexuality is present along all three dimensions of gendered violence. One identified trend is that younger women are at higher risk in intimate partner violence, sexual violence and violence

[59] I would like to thank Charlene Gagnon and Don Clairmont for this assistance with this report.

in sex work. Another perceived trend identified through the interviews is that cultural norms of youth sexuality are shifting, and are in many ways disturbing, compared to the mainstream or traditional sexual norms of society. It is unclear to what extent the extreme cases represent the actual sexual norms among youth in HRM; however the anecdotal stories heard in the interviews and high-profile cases reported in the media, which are now thought to exemplify youth sexual norms, are disturbing and shocking.

Use of technology

Use of technology to intimidate, harass, threaten, expose and humiliate young girls and women is also indicated as a trend along all three dimensions of gendered violence. Social media and mobile technology are powerful mediums, which have outpaced our traditional institutions of social control; we don't know how to regulate technology in our own adult lives or in the lives of our children. Technology can be an extremely powerful tool for controlling and abusing others and is creating new offences, creating more avenues for harassment, and providing challenges for police regarding how to investigate and control the abuses.

A second aspect of the technology trend was the view that social media and mobile technology can be used positively to combat and prevent gendered violence. The positive use of technology can take place through public education and awareness campaigns, and by providing a venue for an enhanced public dialogue around the issues.

Men's accountability

The lack of men's accountability in the way we approach and deal with gendered violence is the final theme that emerged along all three dimensions of gendered violence. There is a commonly held view that men must accept more responsibility for their violence against women, the suggestion is that there must be a redirected focus on the behavioural and social norms among boys and men, not just women and girls. Getting men to take responsibility for their violence can reduce future violent behavior and enhance women's safety (Singer, 2012).

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Intimate partner violence is defined as abuse between two people who are or have been in an intimate relationship. It can include verbal, emotional, psychological, financial and physical abuse, as well as

stalking and the use of technology to intimidate and harass. There are different levels of severity of the abuse which are important to distinguish when it comes to response and treatment options (Johnson, 2011).

Many women can be at risk for intimate partner violence. It occurs in all countries, all cultures and at every level of society without exception, although some populations (for example, women of low socio-economic status and / or those belonging to racial and ethnic minorities) are at greater risk of violence by their male partner than others (Renzetti, 2011). For example, aboriginal women in Canada are at greater risk of being abused by their husband, boyfriend or ex-partner than non-aboriginal women (Perreault, 2011). Some of this is due to the consequences of colonization, the impact of residential schools, racism and poverty (McMillan, 2011). Furthermore, there is an under-reporting by aboriginal people to the police due to systemic discrimination and inadequacy in the criminal justice system (McMillan, 2011).

Women who are young, living in isolated communities or from minority cultural groups may not have access to services and resources, making them more vulnerable and unable to leave relationships (Dawson, 2010). Women who are disabled are likely to experience more severe forms of violence for extended periods of time (Disabled Women's Network, 2013). Immigrant women are often economically dependent and, therefore, in fear of deportation (Miller, Iovanni, Kelly, 2011). The majority of victims, 66 percent, do not access formal services for help, instead seeking help from informal supports such as friends, family and co-workers. Approximately 22 percent report their abuse to the police (Brennan, 2011).

Intimate partner abuse is distinctly gendered. Women report being abused far more than men (Brennan, 2011). Further, when men report abuse by their spouses, the level of violence and its consequences seem to be significantly less severe: women are more likely to report injuries, lost productivity, multiple assaults, fear for their lives, and to experience negative emotional consequences (Sinha, 2013). Women are more likely to be choked, beaten, threatened with a gun or knife, stalked, sexually assaulted or killed (Brennan, 2011). In contrast, men are more likely to be pushed, shoved, slapped or kicked (Brennan 2011). The more severe intimate partner violence experienced by women has been reflected by the continuing and indeed growing need for shelters in Canada. Overtime the number of shelters in Canada has increased to 593, with Nova Scotia demonstrating the highest rate of positive change with increasing shelter usage over the period since the 2008 Roundtable Report (Sinha, 2013).

According to police reported data from Uniform Crime Reporting, the trend shows a decrease in police-reported attempted murders and physical assaults against women between 2009 and 2011. Following nearly three decades of decline, the rate of homicide against women has been relatively stable over the past decade (Sinha, 2013). Statistics Canada General Social Survey indicates there has been a decline in self-reported spousal violence between 1999 and 2009 (NS Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 2012). However women report more incidents of spousal violence, are assaulted multiple times, experience more severe forms of spousal violence than men, and are more likely to be seriously injured or killed (Brennan, 2011; Sinha, 2013).

In 2009, in Nova Scotia there were 31,000 victims (5.5%) who self-reported that they had experienced spousal violence in the past five years. This is a decrease from 2004 when the same statistic was 7.5 percent and 1999 when it was 7.2 percent. In 2010, there were 3,255 incidents of intimate partner violence reported to the police with 78 percent being female victims and 22 percent male victims (Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 2012). According to the Nova Scotia Family Violence Tracking Project (2012), data from 2007 indicates that 81 percent of victims were female and dating relationships made up over half of these cases. The average age of both victims and suspects was in the mid-thirties. The most common offences were physical assault and uttering threats. Fifty-nine percent of victims sustained injuries, particularly when the suspect had been consuming alcohol or drugs. One quarter of the cases had a prior history of domestic violence and 55 percent involved the use of alcohol and/or drugs.

According to the community group Silent Witness Nova Scotia, 41 confirmed intimate partner femicides have occurred in Nova Scotia since 1990. The group estimates another 34 unconfirmed or suspected cases, including cases where no charges were laid or the case has not yet been dealt with in the courts (D. Mosher, personal communication, August 29, 2013). Recently, two women were murdered by their intimate partners in HRM in May and June 2013. In Halifax, the police responded to 2660 domestic dispute calls in 2012, 140 of which were classified as high risk for lethality (Singer, 2013). In these cases the police deemed that the victim, most often a woman, was at risk of being killed by her partner.

Table 1 – Police reported domestic dispute calls 2007-2012

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
# of domestic incidents reported to police	3080	2876	2557	2714	2816	2660

Monthly average of incidents	257	240	213	226	234	221

Source: HRP Victim Services

Currently, there is a three year pilot of a domestic violence court in Cape Breton. It is a post plea court, meaning, the offender must plead guilty. Offenders must go through a risk assessment and volunteer to participate in the programs. There is dedicated court staff, including a crown prosecutor, legal aid defense, victim services and a probation officer. The goals of the court are to increase safety for victims of intimate partner violence and their children, provide timely and effective interventions for offenders—to hold them accountable for criminal behavior and reduce or deter offender recidivism—and to provide a collaborative response within the criminal justice system to address complexity of issues in intimate partner violence. Other objectives include, efficiency in court processing of cases and establishing a strong community linkage conveying the message that intimate partner violence is a community problem and not just a criminal justice system concern.

As of April 2013, the court had processed 493 cases and 242 accused showed interest in participating in the program. There have been 92 guilty pleas and 91 offenders were sent to programming. The sentencing dispositions for 50 of these cases were absolute discharges (42), the remaining received probation, conditional discharges or time served by attending court (Jewkes, 2013). The lack of any jail sentences to date indicates that, at least initially, only minor instances of intimate partner violence are being dealt with.

Specific themes from the interviews

The intimate partner violence interviews were conducted with service providers from the non-profit sector, police victim services, public prosecution service, and policy-makers. Overall, they identified several issues that emerged in the response to intimate partner violence. These include issues with the criminal justice system's response to intimate partner violence, restorative justice, the lack of housing for women trying to leave a violent home, the province's response and HRM's response.

Criminal justice system response

In the mid 1990's the criminal justice system became more proactive in its response to intimate partner violence. Police adopted a pro-charge policy (police lay charges with or without the consent of the victim when reasonable grounds and evidence exist that an offence occurred) while the crown implemented a pro-prosecution policy. Over the years, challenges have been identified. Various service providers identify court delays in HRM as problematic for intimate partner violence. The problem in

cases of intimate partner violence is the longer there is no resolution, the less likely there will be a successful outcome which increases recantations and victim disinterest (Clairmont, 2009). *"Intimate partner violence makes up a substantial part of the court docket, it is mostly male accused and female victims and often repeat offenders with the same or new partners"*[60].

> *"There is no recognition from the court of the level of poverty, acute risk, lack of support and the acute trauma that is played out in intimate partner violence. The criminal justice system loses sight of the humanness of the people involved and they are either a credible or un-credible witness. The repetitive times that people go into court with the same outcome, a one-size-fits-all approach and where is an alternative approach? How do we get a different result if we don't try different approaches? People say that when we know better we do better. However the focus still remains on the victim and not the offender."*

One service provider identifies a lack of cultural competency within the court system particularly when dealing with cases involving new Canadians, where criminal justice service providers do not appreciate the cultural context of the home country and issues from whence the immigrants have come. When legal aid does not spend the time to explain to the immigrant what is happening, staff from Immigrant Settlement and Integration Services (ISIS) (a local immigrant settlement service) often support and prepare the immigrant for meetings with the various criminal justice service providers. Sometimes interpreters are not used for first court appearances so immigrant men do not have a good understanding of what is happening to them.

> "*Unless people come to ISIS immediately after the incident the systems get involved and the immigrant families don't understand what is going on. They may not understand the language; police are not trusted due to violations and experiences with police in their own country. Refugees who have dealt with powerful and intimidating systems from the past are not going to be trusting of the systems in Canada. This can include victim services, child welfare, and police. The immigrants feel lost and panicked and they are afraid of their status in Canada particularly if they are being charged (if charges are being laid). This can push families underground into silence and not reporting the abuse".*

Pro-charge was also identified as a problem for a number of immigrant women. Many women say they call the police to have them just talk to their husband but they don't want him charged. In research conducted with women in Nova Scotia who were abused, many also stated they would like officers to use more discretion when deciding to lay charges. The reasons were varied, ranging from women wanting more decision making control over how to respond to their partner's violence to just wanting the violence to stop but not having their partner charged (Singer, 2012).

[60] All the italicized sentences are quotes from service providers and taken from the interviews.

Service providers were asked for their thoughts on the domestic violence court pilot project, in Cape Breton, and their responses were varied. Some would like to see it rolled out across the province, claiming it is a good model, holistic and integrated with a wide spectrum of stakeholders at the table. Others were concerned it is not addressing the habitual offenders and some service providers felt the model was not necessary in every community in the province. Consensus is that a domestic violence court needs to be well thought out and regulated. At present, an evaluation is being conducted on the court pilot. It has been suggested that before pursuing more domestic violence courts, it would be prudent to wait for data from the domestic violence dialogue program (a project where those impacted by intimate partner violence record their stories which are subsequently analyzed) and to view the court evaluation, in order to create an innovative domestic violence court model that is suitable to Nova Scotia, rather than borrow one from another jurisdiction (D. Crocker, personal communication, September 13, 2013).

Restorative justice

The restorative justice program in Nova Scotia, initiated with young offenders, was to be rolled out to include adults but while pilot projects have been launched for adult restorative justice, it still formally deals only with youth offending in HRM and throughout most of the province. Due to concerns from the violence against women's sector, a moratorium was placed on using restorative justice with intimate partner violence and sexual violence, however there seems to be a shifting of attitude.

While some service providers do not think restorative justice is a good vehicle for intimate partner violence as the issue is too complex, they did wish to see more restorative types of programming for offenders. Others suggested restorative justice might not be appropriate for high risk intimate partner cases but felt restorative justice might be useful for mutual couple violence or low risk intimate partner violence. One service provider thought there would be value for restorative justice to be used with young people as it would teach them how to deal with relationships. For low risk violence by young people, restorative justice could present a more preventative approach, which may lead to less violence in the future.

Others see restorative justice as a positive development that increases women's safety and male accountability while increasing women's opportunity to be heard by the courts. The moratorium on restorative justice for intimate partner violence came about at a time when the thinking was that if intimate partner violence was not dealt with in the traditional criminal court, it was being swept under the rug. Restorative justice could be seen as part of a domestic violence court model. Service providers

identify that immigrants and aboriginals have consistently emphasized the need for alternative approaches such as restorative justice for some cases of intimate partner violence.

> *"The nugget of restorative justice is based on relationships not punishments and the relationships that the man has with significant others in his life and in the community. He has not only to be accountable to his partner but to all these other relationships in his life".*

Housing

Where traditionally transition houses in HRM are meant to provide women with a safe haven from violence, many abused women going to transition houses are doing so for housing reasons. Service providers say the shelter is playing more of a housing role, as a place women utilize for housing needs in addition to safety needs, whereas in the past it was mostly for safety. Women are staying in transition houses for longer periods of time as many of these women are on social assistance and unemployed. Financial barriers leave abused women feeling as if there is less choice for them. Contributing to this trend are low social assistance rates and fewer affordable housing options for women leaving abusive relationships. Service providers identify several major problems that abused women face with respect to their housing needs, issues including the fact that large companies control many apartment complexes, which may cause a woman with a bad tenancy history difficulty in obtaining another apartment because the same landlord controls the building. Additionally, at times the only affordable housing available tends to be located in violent neighborhoods.

Immigrant women try to avoid the shelters and look to neighbours and friends for support; however, with the immigrant communities being so small it can often be difficult to achieve safety which presents complications for women attempting to hide.

Transition houses are seeing more women with mental health issues than ever before. These increases have developed because women do not have good access to mental health services in the community. Given that women are finding it hard to access professional services, and since it takes longer to get into mental health services, they become transient and therefore return to the abuser. Service providers are concerned how the province's new mental health strategy and addiction strategy with emphasis on shared care and collaboration, and indeed how the housing strategy as a whole, will support women who are living in a shelter.

Provincial government's response

The Domestic Violence Action Plan is a provincial government initiative launched in 2009 that outlines how the province will address intimate partner violence. Service providers have generally identified it as a solid plan and as a positive response to address intimate partner violence, but they also contend that the initiative could be sharpened

Service providers outlined two positive outcomes of the action plan, first, the Neighbours, Friends and Family education campaign to raise awareness on intimate partner violence, and secondly, amendments to the Residential Tenancies Act that enable a woman to get out of her lease if she is experiencing domestic violence. Service providers also indicate that while there has been a lot of good will, government staff are being asked to do this work in addition to their regular duties. Further, no staff members have been allocated to monitor the initiatives from the action plan or to ensure the continuance of those initiatives. Moreover, there has been little to no funding attached to the initiatives with the exception of the pilot domestic violence court program in Cape Breton.

> *"All the seeds are there in the Domestic Violence Action Plan but it hasn't bloomed*."

Halifax Regional Municipality's response

As a municipal government HRM has not played a significant role in intimate partner violence since amalgamation. Prior to amalgamation, the City of Halifax (through the Social Planning Department) spearheaded initiatives such as community safety audit tools for women in the early 1990's. Since then, many of the service providers are questioning HRM's investment in intimate partner violence, except through its extant services such as policing and victim services. Moreover, some service providers feel that police outreach to organizations and agencies that work in gendered violence has been lacking. One service provider identified the issue of a lack in adequate interpretive services, contending that when police conduct an interview with immigrants there is a lack of communication. *"When you have to express your emotions in English which is not your first language, there can be a breakdown in understanding of what has happened."*

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual violence is defined as an act or encouragement that includes any violence, physical or psychological, carried out through sexual means or by targeting sexuality. It takes many forms including: assault, rape, incest, harassment, stalking, indecent or sexualized exposure, degrading imagery,

voyeurism, cyber harassment, trafficking and exploitation (Acting Together, Responding to Sexual Violence, 2013, p.3)

In 2011 just over 173,600 women aged 15 years and older were victims of violent crime in Canada. Sexual crimes are the most common offence against girls. Girls under the age of 12 years were reported as victims in 47 % of all violent crimes which were sexual offences. Level one sexual offence, defined as minor and causing no physical injury, was the most common. Women are 11 times more likely than men to be victims of sexual offences. There was an increase from 2010 to 2011 in sexual assaults against women reported to the police. However a large number of sexual assaults are not reported to police (Sinha, 2013). Disabled women are four times more likely to experience a sexual assault than women without disabilities (Disabled Women's Network, 2013).

Sexual assault is under reported, with approximately 9 in 10 incidents (88 percent) going un-reported. Halifax has one of the highest police reported sexual offences, with the third highest rate for female victims and also the third highest total rate in Canada (Sinha, 2013). Of those reported offences, 75 percent know the accused as a casual acquaintance, friend, intimate partner or family member (Sinha, 2013).

According to Halifax Regional Police, the sexual assault investigation unit averages about 35-40 files per month which is about 420-530 files a year. A very small percentage end in a charge, perhaps 10 percent, for various reasons (M. Hobeck, personal communication, June 12, 2013). In 2011 in Nova Scotia, 708 sexual assaults were reported to police. Of these: 98 per cent were level one assaults, 82 per cent of survivors were women and 97 per cent of suspects were men and there were 105 sexual violations against children (Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 2012). There is also a strong link between youth and over-consumption of alcohol leading to sexual assaults (Rubin, 2011). In a 2008 needs assessment, focusing on sexual assault services across Nova Scotia, for adults, many core services of a comprehensive response were identified as missing in the Halifax Regional Municipality. These missing elements include a dedicated hotline, adequate resources to accompany a victim to the hospital, police station or court, adequate counselling resources, adequate outreach and education resources and adequate advocacy resources (Rubin, 2011).

Table 2 – Police Reported Sexual Assault in Halifax, 2007-2011

Level of Sexual Assault	Statistics	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Level 3, aggravated	Actual incidents	1	1	2	4	6
	Total, persons charged (23)	0	1	3	1	4
	Total, adult charged	0	1	3	1	3
	Total, youth charged (39,40)	0	0	0	0	1
Level 2, weapon or bodily harm	Actual incidents	4	6	9	10	4
	Total, persons charged (23)	1	3	2	6	2
	Total, adult charged	1	1	2	6	2
	Total, youth charged (39,40)	0	2	0	0	0
Level 1	Actual incidents	329	299	299	303	343
	Total, persons charged (23)	67	90	63	72	86
	Total, adult charged	60	71	51	59	76
	Total, youth charged (39,40)	7	19	12	13	10

Source: Uniform Crime Reporting Survey; Canism table 252-0051

The province of Nova Scotia has established a sexual violence team in response to the tragic circumstances surrounding the suicide of Rehtaeh Parsons, a 17 year-old girl who was sexually assaulted, bullied and harassed through technology. Rehtaeh died by suicide in April 2013. The response to this tragedy has been swift and several initiatives have been rolled out in the last few months (some which directly respond to issues raised in this report); one example is the cyber-bullying legislation, where a cyber safety unit has been created to investigate incidents of bullying through the use of technology. Another result is the creation of a sexual assault resource guide produced for youth on sexual violence. An awareness campaign has been launched with a series of posters that use provocative phrases to address young people about asking and consent. There is a community sexual assault conference being held in September and $700,000 in funding has been established for community organizations and government to collaborate on projects and programs to address sexual violence.

Finally, student unions in several universities across the province are examining their policies on alcohol use and sexual violence and establishing an awareness campaign (Action Team on Sexual Violence and Bullying, 2013).

Specific themes from the interviews

The interviews on sexual violence were conducted with service providers from the non-profit sector, the police and policy-makers. Themes that emerge from the interviews about the prevalence of sexual assault in HRM include issues with youth, the role of alcohol in sexual assault, lack of men's accountability for their behavior, inter-agency cooperation and the criminal justice system's response to sexual assault.

Youth

Service providers are seeing an increase in the complexity of sexualized violence. There appears to be increased violence with multiple perpetrators and an increase in the number of young women being socialized to pleasure men. For youth, oral and anal sex are not considered *sex* but as a birth control measures and more young boys are being gratified sexually by young girls. The socializing of boys and girls is a problem with boy's expectations of what a sexual relationship is reportedly being based on pornography.

> "*People are having difficulty having conversations with youth on healthy sexuality; it is either all bad or all okay. There doesn't seem to be conversations with the teens, sexuality becomes a commodity and uneasy."*

The police find that some of the information they are getting about youth and sexual violence is coming through third parties, the youth are not coming directly to police. The sexualized act does not come to light until a photo or a video has been shared and then police are notified after the images have spread. It may be that young people do not realize it is sexual violence; as instead they are concerned with the release of the image.

In a report developed for Avalon Sexual Assault Centre entitled "Exploring service options for youth/survivors in HRM" (Rubin, 2011), youth identified gaps in services for sexual violence in HRM. The gaps include lack of basic information, lack of counseling, lack of trust with systems, lack of interventions in hyper-sexualization and sexual exploitation of youth, and a lack of specialized services for youth. There is also a lack of services for male victims of sexual violence.

Service providers identified that many youth do not understand what sexual assault means. While the stereotypical myth is that you are raped by a stranger and severely assaulted, most sexual assault is committed by acquaintances and therefore youth don't have solid understandings of what is implied by consent. They do not know how to determine consent, they do not understand sexual exploitation and trafficking, they do not lay responsibility for a sexual assault on the perpetrator, they do not know their options after an assault, nor can they define myths and stereotypes and how to support peers who have been sexually abused or assaulted (Rubin, 2011).

Specialized counseling for youth is only available through Avalon sexual assault centre (after 16 years) and the IWK children's hospital has long wait lists. Other options are not available except through the private health plans of parents. The report identified there is a strong resistance in the school system to include sexual violence prevention in the core curriculum offerings in HRM. School administrators are concerned about stigma and backlash from parents (Rubin, 2011).

Finally, there was a lack of specialized training for service providers on sexualized violence. The report stated that more research is needed in the HRM area on sexualized violence, evaluation templates for what is working and what is not, longitudinal evaluation with youth and more research on alcohol and sexual violence in HRM (Rubin, 2011).

Alcohol

Service providers identified alcohol as playing a significant role in the sexual violence in HRM. Most of the sexual violence is committed by someone known to the victim such as causal or new acquaintances and many of the sexual violence acts are related to alcohol and bars. It appears many young women are drinking excessively and engaging in sexual activities that end up in violence or non-consensual sex acts. In this case, non-consent is interpreted as meaning women being too drunk to be able to give consent in the first place, even if the victim appears to be "into it." The question asked by police in these cases is, would a woman have given consent if she was sober?

Another issue with alcohol and sexual assault is in transportation home after a night of drinking downtown. One service provider stated they are seeing more women being sexually assaulted by cab drivers. This has ranged from grabbing and touching women to asking women to perform sexual acts to pay for the cab fare.

Awareness and men's accountability

Service providers stated the "Don't Be That Guy" poster campaign (initiated by Halifax Regional Police) was positive in that it addressed the accountability and responsibility of men to stop sexual violence, however they questioned whether there could be a more effective means of increasing awareness for everyone and not just "that guy"? Awareness campaigns can be targeted at the general public so the public has an understanding of what is happening around sexual violence in their community.

> "*Ways need to be found to have conversations, actions and programming that does not dilute the supports and resources to women but also addresses men".*

This also needs to occur in schools. Prevention is a key component with early intervention and preventative initiatives. The public and policy makers can sometimes see sexual violence as an individual problem not a societal problem. If it is an individual problem it is easier to neglect. Sexual assault awareness month has been running for the last five years with the province participating along with community and this year, HRM.

> *"The messages sent out are "Don't Get Raped", not "Don't Rape". There seems to be a lack of public discourse on what the collective values are around gendered violence".*

Service providers also identified a lack of programming for male perpetrators of sexualized violence.

Inter-agency cooperation

Service providers stated that sometimes they are in their own bubble and to interact with others and get involved on inter-agency teams increases the diversity and growth of their agency and would allow them to expand their scope. Inter-agency groups can help service providers re-conceptualize their thinking on sexual violence. The provincial government, through the sexual violence action plan, has been leading the way since the Rehtaeh Parsons case. Public servants are much more aware and have created dialogue about sexualized violence outside the confines of a couple of departments, including community services and justice. The provincial government has provided a leadership role in sexual violence and funding support. It was also noted that some of the protocols found in intimate partner violence (such as the high risk case coordination model, where confidential information is shared among service providers) were missing in sexual violence protocol which may be a factor in the lack of inter-agency cooperation. Service providers suggest there should be incentives for funders to support collaborative efforts. Both the provincial and municipal governments support initiatives and provide leadership but there must be increased support in terms of translating more of the efforts into action.

Criminal justice system response

Service providers stated one of the biggest hurdles in the criminal justice system's response to sexual assault is the length of time it takes to resolve cases, as many cases drag on in court; this can range from several months to get forensic results back from the lab to a couple of months for an arraignment, and then six to eight months for a trial.

> *"For victims to wait one and a half years for closure is a huge issue".*

As one service provider stated, the criminal justice system does not view the victim as a whole person with needs and issues beyond the incident of sexual violence. The tendency is to see victim and perpetrator as separate and distinct. It is expected that a life changing event is to be dealt with in the court system and then everyone's lives go back to the way they were. Unless we support the whole person and direct our interventions that way it just becomes a one-time intervention that doesn't make a difference. Support needs to be with them before and after the event, not just during.

Some service providers state there are not enough sexual assault investigators with the police and it would be good to have a specialized unit (although the Halifax Regional Police and RCMP have an integrated sexual assault investigation team). It was also suggested that the public prosecution services either have dedicated specialized crowns or a specialized court to handle time delays and to develop expertise that would then smooth out delay issues.

> *"Going forward, if anything good is to come of this progress, is for police to acknowledge there are things we can do better such as internal awareness and sending investigators on adequate training. If we want to do this right we have to back it up".*

Another service provider inquired how victim services fit into the Halifax Regional Police in their response to sexual violence and questioned whether there was a bigger conversation to be had there. They suggest there is a great opportunity for HRM to open up the conversation because, as a small city, some really unique initiatives could be accomplished and HRM could become a leader.

VIOLENCE IN SEX WORK

Sex work is defined as the exchange of sex for goods, services or money. There are many different kinds of sex work and no agreed upon definition by sex workers. There is the traditional sex worker, meaning there is physical sexual contact or intimate acts are carried out for money. However sex work can also be identified as stripping and the production of pornography, though many porn stars do not view themselves as sex workers. Thus, the definition of sex work can be very broad. In terms of the diverse categories, there exists: street-based, escort, phone-sex, internet-based, pornography, erotic dancers,

video-based, services that are in-call (where the client comes to the sex worker's location such as a massage parlour), or out-call (where the sex worker goes to the client's location such as a hotel).

There is also survival sex work which is sex work for survival purposes, regardless if there is an addiction issue present or not. For some, the decision to engage in sex work is economic-based as there is not enough money to live on from social assistance. There are different levels of survival—a sex worker who is making enough money in a safe environment is not necessarily engaging in survival sex work. There is also the practice of supplementing income with money from sex work; this might be better considered subsistence sex work as opposed to survival sex work. It is the level of economic poverty and vulnerability which draws the lines between survival versus non-survival based sex work. With survival sex work it is not always only cash that is changing hands, sometimes it is material goods and other resources (such as a place to stay) that is traded for sex—exchanging things that have value to the sex worker for their services (McCann, Akin, Airth, 2012). This is a complex issue where there is an absence of any alternative feasible coping strategy because of addiction, lack of treatment and other programs, perceptions of the sex worker and economic marginality.

> *"In Halifax there is a bunch of sex work such as in and out call work, street based, and youth who exchange sex for money. There is huge debate about youth such as do they have agency or are they exploited? There is street based survival sex and underground sex work such as fetish clubs, the kink community, bars and bathhouses. This underground sex work is not necessarily gay but heterosexual as well. We do not know the true extent of the sex trade in Halifax. In the 1980s and 1990s there used to be a stroll and much of the work was street based. Now there are only a handful (of sex workers) on the street. "*

Most sex workers identified violence as the worst part of the trade. Being beaten, raped, taken advantage of and not being paid are some examples of the violence sex workers encounter (Jeffrey & MacDonald, 2006). Sex workers are subject to situational violence where something goes wrong in the transaction, and predatory violence, where sex workers are being targeted. Further, according to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, sex workers face the highest occupational risk for homicide (Jeffrey & MacDonald, 2006, p. 80). Violence is more of a factor for street survival workers than for in-call workers. Halifax police have identified that in the past 20 years, 8 women associated with the sex or drug trade have gone missing or have been murdered, therefore since 2002 police have been collecting DNA samples from sex workers (Jeffrey & MacDonald, 2006).

Violence against sex workers has also been seen as a function of state policies as the policies and actions of police, courts, municipality, and health programs may contribute to a social context which directly or indirectly generates violence. Some examples might be police misusing the laws, a municipality enacting by-laws such as boundaries, or a doctor refusing to examine sex workers due to their occupation (Shah, 2009).

Research conducted in the mid 1990s in Vancouver with 85 street sex workers identified that 99 percent of sex workers stated they had experienced violence and most had experienced multiple forms of violence. Most of these violent experiences were from a client and at least half of the victims contacted the police (O'Doherty, 2007). In a simultaneous study in British Columbia, sex workers stated that for every 100 dates, up to 15 were "bad dates" which indicated some form of violence. In a 2001 study in British Columbia, sex workers identified harassment, threats and robbery as the violence most commonly experienced (O'Doherty, 2007).

For in-call and out-call sex workers, fear of violence was the reason most sex workers moved off the street, as they felt better protected by an agency (such as a massage parlour or escort service). However exploitation by the agency is another concern and sex workers often do not believe they can report these workplace violations to the authorities who regulate them. Reluctance to report to police agencies was also a constant theme in research (O'Doherty, 2007).

According to various service providers, many of the sex workers they support are engaged in survival sex work as they have addiction issues and experience poverty. Sex workers in Halifax have been harassed by police, charged with jaywalking and told to move along by police (MacDonald, Jeffrey, Martin & Ross, 2013). Moreover, the boundary issue in Halifax (restricting sex workers to specific geographical areas) has historically been a source of frustration and increasing restriction for sex workers. When the boundary conditions are breached, sex workers receive more harsh and punitive restrictions and sentences (MacDonald, Jeffrey, Martin & Ross, 2013). Boundary conditions and other restrictions make sex work more dangerous for the women as they increasingly rely on other methods to complete their work day and are placed at greater risk. It should be noted that boundaries have not been used with sex workers in Halifax since 2010. This is reflected in the police-reported crime statistics for prostitution in Halifax.

Table 3 - Police Reported Statistics on Prostitution 2007-2011

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Actual prostitution incidents	**105**	**92**	**59**	**65**	**40**
Total, persons charged	**56**	**59**	**29**	**38**	**8**
Total, adult charged	**56**	**59**	**29**	**36**	**8**
Total, youth charged	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**

Source: Uniform Crime Reporting Survey; Canism table 252-0051

Service providers indicate that street based sex work in Halifax is almost non-existent and mostly considered survival sex work where addictions are present and sex workers are working to meet basic needs and support their drug use. It is estimated that less than five percent of sex workers in Halifax are street based and of that amount, approximately 75 percent have drug issues. Most of the sex work is now advertised on Back Pages, Craigs List, or through internet ads and escort agencies. This type of sex work is carried out in private, indoor spaces and is either in-call or out-calls. Young girls are involved in sex work in Halifax and are advertising themselves online as "young and fresh." Very few of the sex workers in Halifax are men and those who are male are typically younger.

Specific themes from the interviews

The interviews were conducted with non-profit organizations, police and policy makers. The themes were safety issues for sex workers and enforcement and the criminal justice system response.

Safety

Identified safety issues for sex workers in HRM are related to a disconnect between the trade and police. Where women are engaging in an activity considered “deviant” or criminal, they are reluctant to turn to the police when they are victims of violence.

Service providers were mixed about whether safety was increasing for sex workers now that stroll has declined and more in-call work is the norm; some service providers believe sex workers are more vulnerable to violence, while others think sex workers are more careful. Now that most of the sex work

is being conducted indoors, it appears sex workers are not sharing information with each other as they did historically about "bad dates" and other safety concerns, thus increasing their vulnerability to violence and harm. Service providers also stated that sex workers are not reporting their victimization to the police.

One service provider stated there are a number of young women being recruited and trafficked to larger markets such as Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and Fort McMurray. It is difficult for the police to manage this due to the transient nature of these sex workers and the level of violence and threats directed at the sex workers from recruiters and managers.

Service providers also mentioned that the various government departments and agencies are not working with each other to create a more holistic approach to include wrap around services that could address the health and education issues of sex workers. Service providers recognize that change is needed to address the impacts, health and safety, and harm reduction issues sex workers encounter and that collaboration will present a way forward. One service provider stated that while the federal government has put forth initiatives, there is no discussion on harm-reduction, sex workers are perceived as only victims and not agents, and funding is taken away from harm reduction programs to be put into trafficking programs thereby impacting service organizations that do not view sex work as trafficking.

None of the service providers indicated support for tolerance zones or red light districts. Instead it was suggested the focus should be on health, safety and human rights for sex workers.

> *"Tolerance spaces are recipes for violence and death because the location of sex workers is known and it opens them up to potential violence. It can also create sex ghettos. There are huge concerns around the legalization of red light districts because then the government becomes their pimps."*

Enforcement and criminal justice system response

Some service providers argue that general beat officers stigmatize sex workers and do not treat them respectfully due to their work. This can result in sex workers not wanting to report violence to the police. There is a lack of communication between senior police management (who seem collegial and open to suggestions) and beat cops. The reality on the streets is a relationship of mistrust and often the officer's hands are tied due to the law. There are also undercover stings that are problematic for some service providers, however police say they use the stings in order to be in touch with sex workers and to

try and help them out. Police need to balance the need to enforce laws with the need to build relationships with sex workers. Police have stated they are looking for improved relations with sex worker services. It does appear, given the significant decline in arrests and the views of officers close to the sex worker scene that a harm reduction approach patterned after that of the Vancouver Police Service (McCann, Aiken, Airth, 2012) may be adopted in an HRM context.

In the past there was the boundary enforcement issue where the courts would release sex workers on boundary conditions stipulating that they avoid specific locations in the city. The problem was often the boundaries included areas where the worker's medical clinic or drug treatment program was located. Workers would then be breached by police and sent back to court for being in violation of their boundary conditions. It appears that boundary enforcement by police has declined in the past couple of years. Sex workers are not being charged, nor seem to be released on boundaries. Service providers believe a clear policy on the discontinuation of boundaries would be useful in preventing this type of enforcement from being used discretionarily. Boundaries are brought about by public complaints therefore it is important to educate the public around sex work so police do not have to enforce boundaries.

One service provider stated there is no clear policy or procedure around missing persons. For example, if a sex worker goes missing, sometimes her mug shot is used in a media release, instead of a less stigmatized picture. Other questionable information in media releases are comment's such as "has been known to run away". Some question how useful that information is to the public.

Currently, the Supreme Court of Canada is reviewing the Bedford Case which is a legal challenge to Canada's prostitution laws, more specifically, it challenges provisions such as communication for the purposes of prostitution in public spaces, operating a bawdy house, and living off of the avails of prostitution. The argument is that the laws deprive sex workers of their right to liberty and security by forcing them to work in secret (Santini, 2013). Service providers note that sex work cases are not being processed much through the courts now in anticipation of the outcome of the Bedford case. It could be said that police are adopting a health and safety approach to adult sex work until the Supreme Court ruling. Service providers also state that if the Supreme Court strikes down the laws, then sex work will be regulated through provincial and municipal regulations such as labour standards, zoning by-laws and legislation such as the Safer Communities Act where sex workers working inside will be removed from their homes.

The Safer Communities act is provincial legislation enacted in 2007 to make communities and neighbourhoods safer. It uses civil law and allows a community impacted by illegal activity to reclaim their neighbourhood. The main mandates deal with complaints about public or private property that are being used for specified purposes such as illegal drug use and trafficking, prostitution, and illegal gaming or liquor. Half of the complaints come from the police and the other half from the public. Most of the complaints investigated have been drug activities with some prostitution complaints. In HRM there have been 7 cases of suspected illegal activity involving drugs and prostitution, 3 of drugs, alcohol and prostitution, and 11 solely of prostitution under the Safer Communities Act (F. Sanford, personal communication, July 4, 2013). Many of the cases do not go to court but are resolved through an informal resolution with a voluntary notice to vacate the property. There can also be warning notices for minor infractions. Speculation is if the Bedford case is successful the unit may get more complaints.

Some service providers stated there have been sex workers who have gone through the mental health court which has been a very positive experience for these women. The court checks in with the woman each week and the court staff talk with the woman about what she has accomplished. The woman comes into the court once a month and after a year of programming, charges are dropped. Most of the women who have gone through this court have been successful at meeting the courts' requirements.

Some service providers identified changes to the pardons program as causing more hardship for sex workers to start a new life. Under new regulations, pardons can only be applied for five years (previously three years) after a sentence has been fully served, anyone with more than three convictions for offences with two-year sentences cannot be pardoned, and the cost has risen from $50 to $631.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The service providers suggest various recommendations to address the issues raised about gendered violence. Many of these recommendations overlap so they are grouped together under broad goals such as; improved cooperation across sectors, safe and affordable housing, funding for service providers and training issues. More specific recommendations for each sector follow.

1. Improved cooperation across sectors

Cooperation, information sharing, eliminating silos, sharing expertise and knowledge exchange were consistently identified as necessary to remove barriers to improved services and resources to address gendered violence in HRM. Many service providers noted the good work being done by their colleagues

in government and non-profit agencies and organizations across the region, however the information is not being shared or disseminated in a systematic way which would allow others to become aware or learn from it. Suggestions ranged from carrying out more research on gendered violence initiatives across the province, to conducting evaluations, analysis and qualitative conversations so the helpful initiatives are acknowledged and the unhelpful ones adapted or removed. As one service provider stated, *"The stronger the work becomes the better it is for others."*

Other service providers noted that there could be more partnerships between HRM and the province with an investment to share the responsibility for gendered violence. This could include more liaison and coordination with the federal government so their decisions are not made in absence of provincial and municipal priorities. It is useful to note that both police departments (Halifax Regional Police and RCMP) along with the provincial government have of late advanced models to greatly facilitate inter-agency collaboration and a holistic strategy using the RCMP HUB approach (ISIS, 2009) and HRP's Full Circle approach (Deputy Chief Moore, personal communication, April 8, 2013). These models are similar in that both advocate proactive and social development styles of policing and call for more inter-agency collaboration in dealing with problems with both offenders and victims. They are made more feasible by provincial legislation that facilitates the sharing of hitherto privileged information.

Service providers acknowledged that HRM has improved its collaboration, largely reflected in improvements in police and victim services, but in addition to being a funder and facilitator, HRM could also be an advocate for change, and a repository for information and research. This could include developing meaningful, collaborative relationships between community organizations and police or more analysis from the police on gendered violence. Further, one service provider raises the suggestion of creating a social development planning capacity in HRM that looks at gendered violence from a holistic approach. This might require a different structuring of bureaucratic roles. Thus the public safety unit would not be attached to the police department but involved in the broader social and cultural purview of a social planning concept that moves gendered violence outside the narrow confines of a legal framework. It was also recommended that HRM should partner with Cape Breton Regional Municipality to demonstrate leadership in the area of intimate partner violence.

2. Safe and affordable housing

Housing needs for women experiencing violence were mentioned many times, particularly with intimate partner violence and sex work. Given that many of the women experiencing violence are on fixed and low incomes, having access to safe and affordable housing is an essential requisite to improve women's

health and safety. When basic needs such as adequate and affordable housing are targeted as a priority, women can then focus their time and energy to address other pressing issues they face. Service providers want to ensure that HRM is involved to secure and support affordable housing initiatives for women who are poor and are working in partnership with other government departments such as the province's housing strategy.

3. Funding for service providers

Service providers overwhelming recommend that HRM develop a funding strategy for organizations and agencies across all spectrums such as shelters, second stage housing, counseling services and supports, men's programs, along with greater resources for police and their victim services. Suggestions also include in-kind support such as municipal tax breaks for non-profits to providing rent free office space in municipal buildings. It was also recommended that the municipality work more with community groups around sexual violence, alcohol issues and what is cutting edge in the work on violence with sex workers by developing and funding awareness campaigns.

Finally one service provider believes that HRM needs to spend money and resources to evaluate their policy and programs from a gendered lens. This means that all programs and policies developed and implemented in HRM are reviewed for how they will impact the safety and well-being of women; issues such as bus routes, placement of bathrooms, and housing.

4. Training for service providers

Training of service providers in community and government on gendered violence was a consistent recommendation. This included initial training in organizations and agencies such as how to conceptualize and respond to IPV, to ongoing training as in how to support a person experiencing sexual violence. Training for police was repeatedly mentioned ranging from providing officers with refresher and updated courses on IPV and the immigrant community, to more training on complex sexual assault investigations, and the realities of sex work.

5. Specific priorities for each sector

Service providers have specific recommendations for each sector that are discussed in this next section.

Intimate partner violence

Several service providers suggest the police department establish a domestic violence unit or domestic violence police officer as a better resource tool for the police. Developing and delivering curriculum in

schools for IPV and sexual violence was also recommended. The response of child protection services to IPV was identified as not helpful and needs work. Service providers stated that child protection workers need to engage fathers as well as mother's by using more restorative approaches and models such as family group conferencing. Finally, there needs to be staff solely dedicated to the domestic violence action plan to ensure recommendations are implemented, evaluated and reported on.

Sexual violence

For the last few years in HRM the month of May has been designated as sexual assault awareness month. While the scope of the activities has improved, going forward it would be useful to have them backed up with resources.

Awareness campaigns such as "Be More Than a Bystander" spearheaded by the police and the "We Believe" campaign by Avalon Sexual Assault Centre need to occur regularly and become more prominent with features such as billboards.

It is recommended there be more cooperation interdepartmentally within the police and with other partners such as a team of crowns to be trained on sexual violence and other sex offences to ensure there is a core section dedicated to work on sexual violence files. It was also recommended that police establish a sex crimes unit that would include vice, the integrated child unit and sexual assault team. Finally, it was suggested that HRP enhance their victim services section to include addressing sexualized violence.

Violence and sex work

The media was specifically mentioned in relation to sex workers. How the media portrays violence against sex workers must change. For example the media should avoid using the term *prostitute* as it conjures stereotypical perceptions of sex workers, does not acknowledge the wide range of sex work and that sex work is an occupation. Furthermore it raises privacy issues when a sex worker has been victimized. When the media outs the victim through their reporting, the victim is impacted so the media needs to improve its coordination and collaboration with community agencies and authorities.

CONCLUSION

The findings and recommendations on gendered violence in HRM are not new. Reports from various provincial departments and community groups have echoed the same concerns and recommendations. Frustration arises when the concerns are repeatedly highlighted yet nothing happens. It is reasonably clear that, overall, a more nuanced picture emerges; there is some decline in police-reported intimate

partner violence and there have been changes in approach to sex workers by the police but there are also incidents reinforcing gendered violence as a major violence and public safety issue. There have also been numerous policies and strategies to deal with different dimensions of gendered violence. In the last few months there has been unprecedented awareness about sexual violence. Most recently the frosh chant during orientation activities at St. Mary's University in Halifax has raised the profile about sexual violence on university campuses. It is always the right time to address gendered violence; however, with public opinion at a high and some forward movement from the provincial government, it would be appropriate and timely for HRM to become more involved in a responsive and collaborative manner and to work with their partners in government and community to address gendered violence.

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APPENDIX A

Interview questions for three sectors

Intimate partner violence

1. IPV – how do we conceptualize it? Are there crucial different types of IPV to be differentiated?
2. What are the trends in IPV (or crucial subtypes) as regards public acknowledgement and prevalence? - Has there been a decline or increase in these trends? What do you think drives some of these trends?
3. What are some of the problems in the Justice system's (police, crown, courts, probations) response to intimate partner violence (IPV) in HRM? Are there better Justice system responses elsewhere in Canada?
4. Has there been any improvement in the federal or provincial government's response to IPV in the last five years?
5. What kinds of programs and policies have been developed in the last 5 years to respond to IPV in HRM? What has been their impact on the problem?
6. What are your thoughts on some recent initiatives such (a) the establishment of a domestic violence court in CBRM; (b) talk of negotiating an end the restorative justice moratorium on IPV?
7. What are some of the specific government responses at the federal, provincial and municipal level to IPV that you would wish to see developed or elaborated upon?
8. What are the needs and resources for your own organization and/or for non-governmental bodies trying to deal with the problem(s)?
9. What do you think the municipal government can do to address IPV? Are there other Canadian municipalities where the municipal government is more active in responding to IPV?
10. Are there accessible informative data sources that you are aware of dealing with IPV? Is there particular data that you think should be gathered to assist in dealing with the problem?

Sexual violence

1. Sexualized violence – how do we conceptualize it? Are there crucial different types of IPV to be differentiated?
2. What are the trends in sexualized violence (or crucial subtypes) as regards public acknowledgement and prevalence? - Has there been a decline or increase in these trends?What do you think drives some of these trends?
3. What are some of the problems in the Justice system's (police, crown, courts, probations) response to sexualized violence in HRM? Are there better Justice system responses elsewhere in Canada?
4. Has there been any improvement in the federal or provincial government's response to sexualized violence in the last five years?
5. What kinds of programs and policies have been developed in the last 5 years to respond to sexualized violence in HRM? What has been their impact on the problem?
6. What are your thoughts on some recent initiatives such (a) response to Rehtaeh Parsons case; (b) sexualized violence action plan; (c) police poster campaigns?
7. What are some of the specific government responses at the federal, provincial and municipal level to sexualized violence that you would wish to see developed or elaborated upon?
8. What are the needs and resources for your own organization and/or for non-governmental bodies trying to deal with the problem(s)?
9. What do you think the municipal government can do to address sexualized violence? Are there other Canadian municipalities where the municipal government is more active in responding to sexualized violence?
10. Are there accessible informative data sources that you are aware of dealing with sexualized violence? Are there particular data that you think should be gathered to assist in dealing with the problem?

Violence in sex work

1. Sex work – how do we conceptualize it? Are there crucial different types of sex work to be differentiated?
2. What are the trends in sex work (or crucial subtypes) as regards public acknowledgement and prevalence and the implications for violence and harm? Has there been a decline or increase in these trends? What do you think drives some of these trends?
3. What are some of the problems in the Justice system's (police, crown, courts, probations) response to sex work in HRM? Are there better Justice system responses elsewhere in Canada?
4. Has there been any improvement in the federal or provincial government's response to sex work in the last five years?
5. What kinds of programs and policies have been developed in the last 5 years to respond to sex workers in HRM? What has been their impact on the problem?
6. What are your thoughts on some research such as (a) urban space and red light districts or tolerance sex work activity?
7. What are some of the specific government responses at the federal, provincial and municipal level to sex workers that you would wish to see developed or elaborated upon?
8. What are the needs and resources for your own organization and/or for nongovernmental bodies trying to deal with the problem(s)?
9. What do you think the municipal government can do to address sex workers? Are there other Canadian municipalities where the municipal government is more active in responding to sex workers?
10. Are there accessible informative data sources that you are aware of dealing with harm done to sex workers? Are there particular data that you think should be gathered to assist in dealing with the problem?

APPENDIX B

Service providers interviewed

Alice Housing
Avalon Sexual Assault Centre
Bridges
Bryony House
Department of Community Services
Department of Justice Victim Services
Halifax Regional Police Victim Services
Immigrant Settlement and Integration Services
New Start Counselling
Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women
Public Prosecution Service
Public Safety Unit, Department of Justice
Halifax Regional Police/RCMP
Rene Ross
Silent Witness Nova Scotia
Stepping Stone

HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING & THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC SAFETY IN HRM: ACCOMPLISHMENTS, OPPORTUNITIES AND HRM'S FUTURE ROLE

Don Spicer

Purpose

Mayor Mike Savage commissioned Professor Don Clairmont to conduct a review of the Mayor's Roundtable Report on Violence and Public Safety which was authored by Professor Clairmont in 2008. The review, entitled *HRM Roundtable Review*, has provided Professor Clairmont with the following mandate:

> *To review implementation of the recommendations of the Round Table Report of 2008, and provide a "snapshot" assessment of current levels and manifestations of violent crime in Halifax Regional Municipality as well as corresponding public safety initiatives.*

As part of the review, homelessness has been identified as a precursor to violence and as a factor that may decrease public safety. The purpose of this document is to identify issues surrounding homelessness and lack of affordable housing and their impact on public safety in HRM. In doing so, this document will provide contextual background and a synopsis of what has been done in the past five years to address the issues. It will also identify gaps and highlight the role HRM, as a municipality, could play in improving the homelessness and affordable housing situation.

Background: Homelessness, housing and crime

Homelessness is a complex, multi-faceted social problem with diverse precursors and risk factors. The many interviewees who helped inform this report assert that people experiencing homelessness and a lack of adequate affordable housing are more likely to commit a crime than their housed counterparts and are, therefore, more likely to be incarcerated. An oft overlooked fact is people in this sector are also more likely to be victimized.

This assertion is supported by several studies as identified in a document prepared by the University of Ottawa titled *Homelessness, Victimization and Crime* (Roebuck, 2008.) Studies in this report indicate that as many as 77% of those experiencing homelessness have been jailed at some point in their lives. This is by far a greater percentage than their housed counterparts. According to Statistics Canada, in 2011 1/100th of one percent of Canadians were incarcerated.

Why HRM should be involved

It has oft been said that housing and social issues are the mandate of the Province of Nova Scotia and not the municipality. Why then, should HRM play a role?

The benefits of HRM playing a role in enhancing the well-being of its citizenry are numerous. Doing a better job of assisting its citizens affects the health and well-being of a community. This can also have

economic spin-offs that will benefit HRM. It's encouraging to note HRM already recognizes it has a role in addressing homelessness and housing as evidenced in this statement on its website:

> Housing is fundamental to HRM's quality of life, social inclusion, future growth and the development of vibrant and sustainable communities. The need for shelter is universal, and housing is a powerful determinant of health, safety, and access to public amenities. Although HRM is not responsible for the delivery of social services and social housing, HRM planning processes and regulations can help to provide for a suitable supply of housing in a range of types and locations to meet the needs of HRM's diverse population. HRM can also contribute to partnerships formed to address homelessness and the shortage of safe and affordable housing.
>
> (HRM website, 2013)

It has also been identified in *The Real Cost of Homelessness Report* (Gaetz, 2012) that relying on emergency services is expensive. Many of the emergency services referenced in the report are the responsibility of the province (health care, shelter beds, social services, etc.) but not all. For instance, the cost of policing associated with homelessness and the lack of adequate, affordable housing alone is high. As an example, from 2010-12 Halifax Regional Police responded to one homeless shelter 458 times as compared to a private residence next door, where they responded three times. In 2012 alone, police responded to Metro Turning Point, an 80 bed men's shelter, 460 times. This, in comparison to a nearby 80 unit apartment building where officers responded only 11 times in the same time period (C. Fisher, personal communication, June 12, 2013).

The homeless population being statistically more likely to be victimized by crime than their housed counterparts (Roebuck, 2008) also places a great burden on the municipality's police resources. Those experiencing homelessness are also more likely to commit drug and property related offences and create nuisances and municipal by-law offences (Roebuck, 2012). It is these types of offences that have the greatest impact on people's perception of safety (Police Town Hall meetings, personal communication, 2003-2006).

Looking back – What has transpired in the past five years?

The consensus among key informants is that much has happened in the past five years to impact the housing situation in HRM. Better services exist for people experiencing homelessness and more affordable units are available (see Appendix 'A'). That said, there is also a consensus that even though much has been done, there is still a great need for more.

Partnerships with private sector

A number of partnerships are in place with private sector landlords as a result of initial meetings with Killam Properties, Capital Health and the former Community Action on Homelessness, now the Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia. One such partnership, initiated in 2008, allows people receiving mental health care access to apartments at below market rent. This enables people on social assistance to live in safer, more adequate housing then they could otherwise afford. This model has expanded to include shelter partners such as Shelter Nova Scotia, Adsum House, Halifax Housing Helps, etc. These partnerships have created more than 100 additional affordable housing units in HRM. The goal was to provide 250 homes but with limited capacity this has stalled at just over 100 homes.

Shelter improvements

Metro Turning Point increased its capacity from 65 to 80 beds, moved from a model that saw it open from 11 p.m. – 8 a.m. to a 24/7 model with enhanced outreach services directly in the shelters, including partnerships with Mental Health and Addiction Services. The Out of the Cold Shelter was also reopened, providing an additional 15 emergency beds during the coldest months of the year.

Housing Support Workers were added to shelters to help transition clients back into the community. This will be discussed in greater detail under the 'provincial initiatives' section of this paper.

Increase in supportive housing units

Initiatives such as Shelter Nova Scotia's Rebuilding (19 units), Adsum for Women and Children's The Alders (10 units) and Metro Non Profit Housing's Maynard Street building (20 units) are all new initiatives in the past five years which have increased supportive housing stock in HRM. Other providers such as the YWCA, through their Women in Supported Housing and Young Mothers in Supported Housing programs, have also increased their supportive housing unit numbers.

Provincial Initiatives

Housing Support Worker Program

A housing support worker pilot program was launched in 2011 and made permanent in 2013. This program consists of nineteen housing support workers across the province, fourteen of which are in HRM, whose role it is to develop relationships with clients, landlords and service providers in order to

assist clients in getting and maintaining a home. As an example of the program's early success, over 160 men, women and children were housed in the Shelter Nova Scotia program in 2012. Of those housed, 87.5% have remained housed, which is consistent with national numbers (M. Phillips, personal communication, August 7, 2013).

Poverty reduction strategy

The Nova Scotia government released its Poverty Reduction Strategy on April 3, 2009. The purpose of the strategy is to provide a framework for addressing the needs of those most vulnerable and those at risk of falling into poverty. The four main goals of the strategy are: enable and reward work: improve supports for those in need; focus on children; collaborate and coordinate.

Housing Strategy

Launched in 2013, the provincial Housing Strategy's goal is to ensure that Nova Scotians can find the housing choice that's right for them and their families, at a price they can afford, in a healthy, vibrant community that offers the services, supports and opportunities they need.

To that end, it will focus on building diverse, mixed communities; using government as a catalyst for partnership and change; providing options to make home ownership and rental more affordable; and providing housing options for seniors and vulnerable Nova Scotians. In support of the strategy, the province created Housing Nova Scotia as a crown corporation with its own private board.

The provincial housing strategy and Housing Nova Scotia are in their infancy and as such it is too early to measure their impact.

211 system

In many cases, there are services available to Nova Scotians but people either do not know they exist or do not know how to access them. In 2012 a province-wide 211 system was launched. It is a free, confidential information and referral service for thousands of community and social services available across the province. It is available 24-hours-a-day, 365-days-a-year – by dialing "2-1-1" to speak with a staff member or by searching the online database at www.ns.211.ca. This is a useful tool for people in need or their friends, family members or care providers looking to connect them with services.

Mental Health and Addiction Services

A number of initiatives aimed at better addressing mental health and addiction concerns have been launched since the original roundtable report was released.

In June 2006 a partnership between Capital Health, IWK Health Centre, Halifax Regional Police and Nova Scotia Department of Health was formed. The Mental Health Mobile Crisis Team (MHMCT) provides crisis support for children, youth and adults experiencing a mental health crisis

Telephone crisis support and mobile response is offered for work, home, school, and community agencies. Mobile response is available in most communities within the Halifax Regional Municipality. Service is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week (Capital Health, 2013). The team, which is a co-response model with police officers and mental health clinicians, averages over 1000 calls per month.

In November 2009, the Province of Nova Scotia opened its first ever mental health court in HRM. This new court hears cases which have been recommended by a mental health court team as being eligible for the program, and a team of mental health clinicians and lawyers will be at the courthouse to assess potential clients and assist with their needs through counselling and other support. The goal of this new court is to treat Nova Scotians with mental disorders who commit criminal offences, fairly and compassionately, and to help them improve their mental health to reduce the risk to public safety.

In 2012, IWK Mental Health began a new outreach program designed to connect with clients and their families in the community in an effort to be more accessible and reduce wait times for accessing services.

Beginning in January 2013, Capital Health moved from a Withdrawal Management model to one of Intensive Treatment Services for both inpatient and in-community clients. The move is designed to offer more effective treatment and reduce wait times.

Other initiatives impacting housing

Mobile Outreach Street Health

Created in 2009, Mobile Outreach Street Health (MOSH) provides accessible primary health care services to people who are homeless, insecurely housed, street involved and/or underserved in our community. The MOSH team is a collaborative primary health care team of two full-time nurses, a half-time occupational therapist, a half-time administrative support and 12 hours of physician care per week.

Homelessness Partnering Strategy

The Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) is a national program through Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) that assists not-for-profit agencies with funding for housing initiatives. HPS moved to a community entity model in 2012 where allocations of funds are made at a grassroots level. In HRM, the Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia serves as the entity and funds are administered based on recommendations of a community advisory board which uses a community plan as a guide. This results in a more effective use of funding.

Opportunities going forward

While much has happened in the past five years to improve issues around homelessness and housing, the demand for safe, affordable housing remains high. As an example, Shelter Nova Scotia operates Metro Turning Point, an 80 bed shelter at or near capacity. In 2012, it opened a 19-unit apartment building to transition men from shelter to supportive housing. At the same time, through the work of a housing support worker, it transitioned approximately 100 men from the shelter to their own apartments. Despite these tremendous accomplishments, Metro Turning Point continues to operate near capacity (M.Phillips, personal communication, August 7, 2013).

Barriers to obtaining adequate housing continue to exist with rising rental costs and increases in the cost of living. In a recent survey conducted by the Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia (AHANS, 2012), 69 percent of those surveyed identified a lack of affordable housing as the main barrier to being housed. Further, 50 percent are living on $0-$200 per month.

As evidenced in Figure 1, from the fall 2012 – CMHC Rental Market Report, rent continues to increase far beyond the housing allowance for people on assistance.

Zone	Bachelor		1 Bedroom		2 Bedroom		3 Bedroom +		Total	
	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12
Peninsula South	718 a	756 a	935 a	945 a	1,368 a	1,368 a	1,789 b	1,762 a	1,067 a	1,099 a
Peninsula North	646 b	675 b	784 a	805 a	937 a	962 a	1,129 b	1,221 b	879 a	906 a
Mainland South	515 b	479 b	582 a	605 a	748 a	808 a	1,030 c	975 b	693 a	741 a
Mainland North	623 a	647 a	726 a	743 a	941 a	961 a	1,135 a	1,132 a	894 a	907 a
City of Halifax (Zones 1-4)	690 a	718 a	803 a	819 a	987 a	1,014 a	1,278 a	1,290 a	922 a	946 a
Dartmouth North	518 a	518 a	630 a	657 a	771 a	803 a	846 b	902 b	700 a	729 a
Dartmouth South	530 a	553 a	636 a	649 a	705 a	726 a	803 a	835 a	686 a	706 a
Dartmouth East	830 a	**	726 c	707 a	955 b	955 b	1,053 d	930 c	898 b	893 b
City of Dartmouth (Zones 5-7)	542 b	527 a	641 a	660 a	800 a	822 a	845 a	878 a	730 a	752 a
Bedford	592 a	565 d	670 a	756 b	843 a	883 a	1,057 b	1,074 a	820 a	879 a
Sackville	**	545 a	727 c	740 a	866 b	880 a	992 b	1,019 a	832 b	864 a
Remainder of CMA	**	n/s	661 a	735 a	748 a	795 a	**	**	730 a	810 a
Halifax CMA	**670 a**	**690 a**	**753 a**	**773 a**	**925 a**	**954 a**	**1,182 a**	**1,191 a**	**866 a**	**893 a**

Figure 1 – Private Apartment Average Rents ($) by Zone and Bedroom Type, Halifax CMA

Source: CMHC Rental Market Report, Fall 2012

Figure 2 from the same report shows that overall vacancy rates have also increased, from which one could draw the conclusion that fewer people can afford to rent the apartments.

Figure 2 – Private Apartment Availability Rates (%) by Zone and Bedroom Type, Halifax CMA

Zone	Bachelor		1 Bedroom		2 Bedroom		3 Bedroom +		Total	
	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12	Oct-11	Oct-12
Peninsula South	1.7 b	2.7 c	1.9 a	2.7 a	3.1 b	3.8 c	4.4 d	4.0 d	2.4 a	3.1 b
Peninsula North	1.3 d	2.9 c	2.4 a	2.8 b	3.7 b	3.3 b	2.8 c	**	2.9 a	3.0 b
Mainland South	0.0 c	0.0 d	2.9 b	4.0 c	4.8 b	6.5 b	0.0 c	1.7 c	3.7 b	5.1 b
Mainland North	0.6 a	2.1 b	2.0 a	2.6 a	1.5 a	3.4 a	1.0 a	2.4 a	1.6 a	3.1 a
City of Halifax (Zones 1-4)	1.4 a	2.6 b	2.1 a	2.8 a	2.6 a	3.8 a	2.0 a	2.8 b	2.3 a	3.3 a
Dartmouth North	13.3 d	11.1 d	6.5 b	7.6 b	6.2 b	5.6 b	**	**	6.4 b	6.7 a
Dartmouth South	**	**	3.3 a	3.5 a	5.1 a	5.8 a	4.8 b	6.8 b	4.5 a	4.9 a
Dartmouth East	0.0 a	**	0.7 a	4.3 c	2.2 b	3.0 a	10.1 c	1.6 c	2.5 a	3.1 b
City of Dartmouth (Zones 5-7)	12.7 d	9.0 c	5.2 b	6.4 a	5.1 b	5.0 a	4.8 c	4.6 c	5.3 a	5.7 a
Bedford	2.9 b	**	1.5 a	2.3 a	2.1 a	6.8 a	0.7 a	0.8 a	1.9 a	4.9 a
Sackville	11.7 d	12.0 a	3.1 d	**	4.2 d	2.5 b	**	4.1 b	4.6 c	3.7 b
Remainder of CMA	**	**	0.0 d	1.1 a	1.1 a	1.1 a	**	**	0.9 a	1.0 a
Halifax CMA	**2.9 a**	**3.5 c**	**3.0 a**	**3.8 a**	**3.2 a**	**4.1 a**	**2.7 a**	**3.1 b**	**3.1 a**	**3.9 a**

Source: CMHC Rental Market Report, Fall 2012

The above tables refer to the cost and availability of housing in HRM. Among those who are housed, Halifax has a high rate of people who are deemed to be in a severe housing need; that is, they are spending more than 50% of their total income on housing. Based on Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) information, CMHC has identified Halifax (12.8%) as being above the national average (10.5%) for percentage of households in the severe housing need category. This places Halifax second only to Toronto. Essentially, this means that a number of people in Halifax who are housed are at an increased risk of homelessness.

High housing insecurities, as noted above, go hand in hand with high food insecurities. Once again, Halifax (18.9%) is above the national average (12.2%) and second only to Moncton for percentage of households experieincing food insecurities. It is reasonable to expect that an area with high housing and food insecurtities is more vulnerable to crime and could experience deteriorating public safety if these issues are not addressed.

Based on the information obtained for this report, the author asserts that the successful programs listed above need to be expanded and new strategies need to be implemented.

What role can HRM play?

The following recommendations are derived directly from the Homelessness, Victimization and Crime report prepared by the Institute for the Prevention of Crime, University of Ottawa (Roebuck, 2008). These recommendations were developed in consultation with the Municipal Network on Crime Prevention, city housing authorities, academic researchers, service providers, and community action groups on homelessness from Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver:

- Increase the availability of affordable housing
- Develop municipal homelessness prevention strategies that include services such as rental subsidies for low-income individuals at risk of losing their housing
- Work to reduce barriers to employment experienced by former offenders
- Demonstrate leadership on reducing homelessness, set actionable reduction targets based on homelessness indicators, and develop long-term housing strategies
- Support and increase inter-sectorial coordination and collaboration
- Work with school board to:
    - invest in programs to help youth attend and stay in school
    - implement programs aimed at preventing family and interpersonal violence in school curricula
    - provide life skills training to at-risk children and youth
    - provide alternative education tailored for young adults excluded from schools apart from traditional adult high schools
- Provide public education that challenges prejudices about homeless people
- Since family violence and violence against women are known risk factors that contribute to the homelessness of youth, women and children, investments should be made in programs that:
    - prevent child abuse and neglect
    - prevent intimate partner violence; and

    - facilitate early intervention in at-risk families
- Provide training for local police and private security on best practices when intervening with homeless persons
- Develop alternatives to traditional punitive responses, such as ticketing homeless individuals for breaking municipal by-laws. Use by-law intervention as an opportunity to make referrals to community services
- Provide victim assistance to homeless persons who report crimes, and work to improve relations with homeless people to improve reporting rates
- Reduce the use of incarceration for minor incivilities and breaches of municipal by-laws.

As indicated above, these recommendations are a result of research and consultation in municipalities across Canada. Many of these recommendations are supported by the information this author gleaned in interviews conducted for this report and all can be impacted by municipal intervention.

Recommendations as a result of interviews

Based on the results of more than a dozen interviews conducted with service providers, community leaders, provincial and municipal government leaders and the private sector, the author is putting forth the following further recommendations, listed in order of importance:

1. It is ineffective for several people to look at housing and homelessness off the corner of their desks. HRM needs a champion for housing and homelessness and they should create a 10-year community plan to address homelessness.
2. Ensure new developments, buildings or communities, are mixed use/mixed affordability with single units and family units. Mixed use provides role models in the community. People experiencing homelessness or insecure housing need to be in a place where there is a sense of community.
3. Work with the province of Nova Scotia to create a HRM-led land bank[61] and establish a trust fund to assist not-for-profits in purchasing quick turn-around opportunities for land/buildings (see Appendix 'B').
4. Fast track development planning and approval processes for supportive and affordable housing projects.[62]

[61] See Appendix 'A' a letter to Mayor Savage from the Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia.

[62] This has been implemented in other cities such as Victoria BC where, according to a 2007 report titled 'Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness,' the city implemented a recommendation to fast-track development planning and approval processes for supported housing projects. In an interview with this author, a Victoria city employee stated "All of the processing aspects handled within the Administration for all approvals (rezoning, development permits with or without variances, development variance permits and all of the construction-related permits regarding building, plumbing and electrical permits), these files are treated as the top priority and they jump the "queue" of other files that might have entered the system earlier" (K. Perkins, personal communication, August 23, 2013).

5. Offer tax incentives and explore density bonusing options for developers who include a percentage of adequate affordable housing in their projects. Initiatives should also include basement apartments, in-law suites, nanny-suites and so on. This would encourage a greater pool of affordable units and also enable extended families to remain in homes.
6. Find ways to work with not-for-profits that provide housing to buy or use city-owned property.
7. Recognizing that some people need rooming houses, they must be adequate. To that end, HRM should provide better controls over landlords who are providing sub-standard housing and enforce by-laws around inadequate rooming houses.
8. Parking space requirements for new developments that offer affordable housing should be relaxed to encourage more development in the urban core. This will enable developers to create more affordable units.
9. Good public transit is critical. It can influence people's decision/ability to live in the urban core and closer to work and services. HRM should examine ways to improve public transit and to offer free or discounted fares to people experiencing homelessness, perhaps through the shelter system.
10. Maintaining adequate housing is predicated on being able to pay your rent. This is hampered by a lack of opportunities to build job skills/resumes. HRM should explore the possibility of intern-style programs for entry level jobs so marginalized people can build their job skills, confidence and resumes.
11. Make recreational programs and workshops available for those who cannot afford them.
12. Examine ways to establish more social enterprise or offer bonuses to businesses for hiring marginalized people.
13. Evolve from the current passive zoning model to a proactive one by taking a leadership role to be visionary about what they want our communities to look like (mixed use, etc).
14. HRM should work with the Province to:
    a. Develop a wrap-around service delivery model to address the underlying causes of homelessness.
    b. Examine ways to support tenants' insurance. Many marginalized people cannot afford it but it is required by all landlords.

Conclusion

This document identifies issues surrounding homelessness and lack of affordable housing and their impact on public safety in HRM. In doing so, it provides contextual background and a synopsis of what has been done in the past five years to address the issues. Through national research and more than a dozen interviews with key informants, it also identifies gaps and highlights the role HRM, as a municipality, could play in improving the homelessness and affordable housing situation.

Notwithstanding the mandate of the Province of Nova Scotia to address housing issues, it is clear the municipality has an obligation to its citizens to ensure HRM is a safe, inclusive and welcoming community. Effectively dealing with homelessness and the lack of affordable housing will assist HRM in fulfilling this obligation.

This document provides HRM with a number of recommendations for improving the homelessness and affordable housing situation in the municipality. All of the recommendations are within the scope of what HRM is responsible for and, in fact, they are related to its current business practices. For the most part, the recommendations challenge HRM to stretch the boundaries and think a little differently about how it does business.

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APPENDIX 'A'

Selected Developments in Homelessness and Housing, 2008-2013

2008

- The Independent Supportive Housing Initiative, a partnership between Capital Health's New Beginnings and Killam Properties, launched
- Metro Non-Profit Housing Association launches new program, Halifax Housing Help, and opens a 20-unit supportive housing complex on Maynard Street

2009

- Provincial Poverty Reduction Strategy launched
- Mobile Outreach Street Health (MOSH) launched, providing primary health care the homeless and other marginalized citizens
- Mental Health Court launched
- 2009 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness released by Community Action on Homelessness
- 2009 Health and Homelessness in Halifax report released by Community Action on Homelessness
- Metro Turning Point increases capacity from 65 to 80 beds and moves to a 24/7 model with enhanced services
- Out of the Cold Shelter opens providing an additional 15 emergency beds during the coldest months of the year

2010

- 2010 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness released by Community Action on Homelessness

2011

- Department of Community Services launches its Supportive Housing Pilot program with Housing Support Workers and rent subsidies
- Adsum Shelter for Women and Children opens The Alders, a 10 unit apartment building
- Housing Nova Scotians: A Fresh Look report released by Nova Scotia Affordable Housing Association

2012

- Provincial Housing Strategy consultations begin
- Provincial 211 Community Services Phone line

- The Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) moves to a community entity model where funding allocations are made at a grassroots level
- Community Action on Homelessness, a project of the North End Community Health Centre, ends
- NS Housing and Homelessness Network formed
- Shelter Nova Scotia opens The Rebuilding, a 19 unit transitional apartment complex for men
- Health and Homelessness in Halifax Update Report released by the NS Housing and Homelessness Network
- 2012 Halifax Report Card on Homelessness released by the NS Housing and Homelessness Network

2013

- Provincial Housing Strategy launched including the creation of Housing NS, a crown corporation with its own private board, structurally like the NSBI
- Federal budget extends the Homeless Partnership Strategy for 5 years
- Supportive Housing Pilot program made permanent
- 2013 Report Card on Homelessness released by the NS Housing and Homelessness Network
- HRM council approves by a vote of 15 to 0 formal participation in a coalition with the United Way and AHANS, attacking issues of homelessness and affordable housing. Council reportedly considered it a moral obligation, and have set a target year of 2019 to eliminate homelessness in the city

APPENDIX 'B'

May 23, 2013

Mayor Savage
HRM
PO Box 1749
Halifax, NS
B3J 3A5

Your Worship:

Recently, three important initiatives converged to offer considerable hope for the future of decent, affordable and sustainable housing in the HRM. We are referring to the Housing Strategy for Nova Scotia, the Stantec Report on the costs of urban sprawl, and the soon-to-be approved Bill 83 which seeks legislative changes to enable density bonusing in return for affordable housing. In light of these events, we suggest that HRM take the lead in establishing a Community Land Trust (CLT). Nova Scotians are very familiar with the concept. Indeed, we would not have the Forest Hills, Lower Sackville and Millwood Village communities were it not for the visionary activities of the Nova Scotia Housing Commission as a banker and developer of land in the 1960's, '70's and '80's.

In cities as diverse as Vancouver, Saskatoon, Vienna (Austria) and Albuquerque (NM) land banks are proving to be highly effective tools in the development of income integrated communities which include amenities, services and affordable housing. Since the 1920's, the City of Saskatoon has maintained a land bank and since the 1950's it has deployed and replenished its assets as a means to securing that City's planning and development objectives. More recently it has successfully applied its land bank to achieve affordable housing in large scale, income-integrated communities. Since the 1920's, Vienna, Austria, has developed and sustained a massive stock of affordable housing which now accommodates fully 60% of the City's households. At present, Vienna purchases and releases land through carefully crafted Calls for Proposals which require the partnering of for-profit developer/builders and not-for-profit community-based owner-managers.

In the United States, Community Land Trusts are helping low and moderate income households to build equity through homeownership, while preserving the affordability of these homes for future residents. At the same time, as the authors of a useful introduction to CLT's point out,

Preserving housing affordability requires long-term monitoring and enforcement, an administrative burden that local governments are neither equipped for nor generally interested in taking on. CLTs are well positioned to play this stewardship role by administering the municipality's eligibility, affordability, and occupancy controls, while also "backstopping" lower-income owners to protect subsidized homes against loss through deferred maintenance or mortgage foreclosure. (1)

Many of the CLTs initiated by municipal governments in the US are community-based and somewhat at arm's length from the municipalities themselves. The benefits are considerable. The municipalities establish the ground rules and profit from the sales, while the heavy lifting is transferred to the private and not-for-profit sectors. In the end, it seems successful CLTs come about as a matter of effective leadership, team-building, the inclusion of the private and not-for-profit sectors and the active cooperation and collaboration of other levels of government.

Were the HRM to establish a Community Land Trust, the City would have an effective means for: making strategic purchases of its own; gently 'guiding' the disposal of the surplus land and properties of other levels of government; and accumulating charitable donations, land and funds-in-lieu, surplus buildings, and properties acquired through tax arrears. More importantly, following the example of Vienna, it would have a measured way of disposing of and managing assets such as former school sites, fully informed by the City's Land Use By-Laws and Urban Design Strategy.

CMHC tells us that many thousands of HRM's households are in Extreme Housing Need and thousands more are in Core Housing Need. Unfortunately, at our present pace their demands for decent, affordable and sustainable housing will never be met. We deeply appreciate that you are fully aware of this and that HRM is in urgent need of sustained planning and development interventions which are both bold and thoughtful. The circumstances are 'right' for a carefully conceived initiative. We believe that what's called for is a Community Land Trust. Once implemented the City's CLT would play a pivotal and on-going role in meeting HRM's affordable housing needs.

We look forward to our upcoming meeting at which we hope to convince you that with the full support of the Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia, the Office of the Mayor would be the most appropriate location from which to launch a Community Land Trust for the HRM.

Sincerely,

J. Grant Wanzel, M. Arch., MRAIC,

Emeritus Professor of Architecture,

Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, and

Chair, Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia.

Notes:

(1) Davis, JE & Jacobus, R. The City-CLT Partnership: Municipal Support for Community Land Trusts. Cambridge, Mass. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2008

APPENDIX 'C'

Interview Questions

1. The Roundtable Report highlighted the importance of housing issues in getting at the roots of violence and public safety in HRM – what are your views about that characterization (then and now)

2. Has the housing situation (homelessness and poor housing options) improved, declined, stayed the same over the past five years? How changed? Why or why not changed?

3. Are there accessible data sources available which provide support for your views?

4. What significant developments have occurred in this housing situation from your perspective? From your organization's?

5. Are you aware of any new programs/policies for these kinds of housing issues from government whether federal, provincial, or municipal? Any collaboration among them?

6. Are you aware of any developments in private sector/government collaboration?

7. What about developments in local non-profit agencies?

8. What is HRM's contribution to dealing with the housing issues? What does it do? What can it do?

9. Do you have any ideas for advancing the agenda regarding this social problem?

APPENDIX ‘D’

Service providers interviewed

Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia

Community Leader

Department of Community Services, Province of Nova Scotia (2)

Halifax Housing Helps

HRM Mayor and Councillors (2)

Killam Properties

Phoenix Youth Centre

Public Housing Community Leaders (4)

Salvation Army

Shelter Nova Scotia

Tawaak Housing

THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SAFETY AND SECURITY

Stephen Kimber

Interim Director of the School of Journalism

University of King's College

Introduction

How quickly — and dramatically — the world changes.

In 2008, the primary focus of the Social Construction subgroup within the Roundtable on Violence and Public Safety in Halifax zeroed in on how the mainstream media had reported incidents of swarmings and disturbances in the downtown bar district. The issue today is that there are a whole new set of issues.

In 2008, for example, the 13-person focus group we convened to discuss issues around the social construction of violence seemed broadly inclusive at the time. The mainstream media was well represented (five individuals) as were police services (two), public servants (three) academics (one) and engaged citizens (two). What is most striking today, however, is that not one member of that original focus group had, as a primary focus, the role and impact of "social media."

While the term social media had been in use for at least a decade — there is some debate about who coined it and when — the reality is that few of us were prescient enough in 2008 to understand or reflect on how central the notion of social media would become to any discussion of the social construction of violence and public safety in 2013.

What is social media and why does it matter?

What is this phenomenon we call social media? Internet experts Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein define social media as "a group of Internet-based applications… that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content." Sounds straightforward enough, but it is in that intersection between the creation and exchange of user-generated content that the world — and the social construction of that world — becomes increasingly complicated.

It's now practical — and not uncommon — for someone to send a message in real time that can be seen instantly by thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, maybe even millions of people around the world — and for those people to respond to that original message in the blink of a few keystrokes and/or to pass it along to their own networks, which may, in turn spread the message further afield, and for others in those networks to then pass the message along to still others who — with no real connection to the original poster or post — may comment on the initial message and/or the person who

sent it. Once the cork has been popped on that message, it is almost impossible to shove it back in the bottle, or erase its presence from Internet memory.

Writing in the *Journal of Law and Technology*, Dalhousie University law professors Rob Currie and Steve Coughlan suggest "social media might need to be regarded as being different in kind, not merely degree" from all previous forms of communication. "Its use and popularity," they note, "has been meteoric and the rate of its changes and evolution is practically unprecedented."

Consider just a few comparators.

In February 2004, Facebook launched as a Harvard-students-only online social networking service. By August 2008 — the year the Roundtable Report was published — there were 100 million Facebook users worldwide. Sound impressive? As of March 2013, the Associated Press reports Facebook claimed 1.1 *billion* users. On an average day, the Facebook site has 665 million active users.

Twitter, an online micro-blogging site, broadcast its first 140-character message in 2006, two years before our last report. By 2008, it boasted four to five million users. As of December 2013, it had 554,750,000 registered users with another 135,000 signing up every day.

The first iPhone was launched in 2007. In 2008, fewer than 20 per cent of mobile phone users had a smart phone capable of data communication. Today 55 per cent of mobile phone sales are for smart phones and more than 5.6 billion are in use worldwide.

Instagram, an online photo and video sharing and social networking site, didn't even exist when the Roundtable reported. It was created in 2010, and now boasts more than 150 million actively monthly users and more than 16 billion photos shared.

What do all those numbers mean?

What that means, for starters, is that social media has become ubiquitous.

Individuals of virtually all ages, genders, races, economic and social groups now use it to communicate privately — but often very publicly — with their friends and acquaintances.

Politicians use it as a public square to talk to — but also hear from — their constituents.

Conventional media use it to amplify their print-on-paper and broadcast reporting as well as to create public forums in which readers can respond to their reporting, offer story ideas, information or sometimes just their considered — or unconsidered — opinion on anything at all.

Police services use it to communicate information to the public, to answer questions, to field complaints and commendations, even, occasionally, to aid in investigations. The Halifax Regional Police Services established its online presence in 2009; today it manages two official Facebook pages with more than 8,300 "likes" and three Twitter accounts with about 15,000 followers. There are, on average, 20 interactions with the public for each social media stream each day, but the fact is that HRP's social media advisor is officially also its "communications advisor," and her job includes a variety of other duties: "employee recognition and event planning, internal communications, monthly newsletter…"

Criminals use social media too. Like the pager and the cellphone, social media has become yet another weapon in the criminal's tool belt, another way of conduct their illegal business. Drug deals, for example, are frequently carried out with the help of social media messaging. But that's far from the only way in which social media influences crimes and our understanding of them. We have heard anecdotally, for example, of situations in which one criminal gang member attacks another — which are often described in the media as turf wars — simply because someone "dissed" someone else on social media.

It is worth noting that some law enforcement officers told our researcher that, in the war on cyber crime, police are often less well-armed than criminals. As of this report, Halifax Regional Police mobile phones were not capable of using social media technology. This was especially frustrating for HRP's School Response Officers, the front line soldiers in the battle against such phenomena as cyber-bullying, who told our researchers they "have fewer tools than the students and the students are more savvy" when it comes to using them.

Which brings us to another point: the emergence of otherwise unremarkable students and young people as a new subset of criminals: cyber-bullies.

Social media, new-old-crimes and new criminals

What is perhaps most interesting, and most disturbing, about the inter-relationship between crime and social media, in fact, is that social media has created new crimes — and new criminals.

That's not actually true.

Bullying, for example, has been around forever, from give-me-your-lunch money intimidators and snide-comments-in-the-hallway snipes to their grown-up versions in factories and offices. But because bullying was traditionally carried out in relative privacy and the victim suitably intimidated, such behaviour rarely attracted the attention of police or other authorities

The emergence of bullying through social media, however, has had what the 2012 Report of the Nova Scotia Task Force on Bullying and Cyber-bullying understated as a “magnifying effect” on bullying — and on society’s response to it.

The schoolyard bully now has the world as her or his playground. Someone can post a demeaning or intimidating comment or photo about another person on Facebook, and watch it spread to people who don’t even know either the perpetrate or the victim but who may now feel free to “pile on… for entertainment’s sake,” often anonymously

We are still only beginning to come to grips with what this means in societal, as well as criminal justice terms.

Intimate photography isn’t new either. People have probably been taking and sharing such photos with their partners since the earliest days of photography. But now, thanks to digital photography, cell phone cameras and the prevalence of social media, it’s possible to share those photos to a much wider audience — or even publish them as revenge after a relationship ends. And those images, being digital, can not only be replicated endlessly but also never truly eliminated.

Taking and sharing intimate photos becomes even more complicated when teenagers are involved. If a 15-year-old girl sends her boyfriend a sexual image of herself and he then shares it in any way on social media, is he guilty of possessing and distributing child pornography? Is she guilty of manufacturing it? Was that ever the intent of the child pornography laws?

Are the old laws — and the old social mores — applicable to the new circumstances?

It may be helpful to look at two recent high-profile incidents in Halifax, both involving, in one way or another, social media, the intersection between creating and exchanging user-generated content, allegations of criminal behaviour and its social construction.

Rehtaeh Parsons

Rehtaeh Parsons was a 17-year-old Cole Harbour high school student who committed suicide in April 2013. Seventeen months earlier on November 12, 2011, her parents allege Rehtaeh had been raped by four teenaged boys at a party where alcohol was consumed. Someone took a photograph of one of those alleged sexual assaults, posted it online and forwarded it to students at her school. Within days, Parsons was being taunted by some as a "slut" while others began leaving text and Facebook messages inviting the girl to have sex with them too. The harassment continued until she took her own life. Before

her suicide, the police had investigated but determined there was insufficient evidence to lay charges against any of the boys.

After Rehtaeh's death, however, the family went public with her story. "Rehtaeh is gone today because of the four boys that thought that raping a 15-year-old girl was OK and to distribute a photo to ruin her spirit and reputation would be fun," her mother wrote on Facebook, adding that "the justice system failed her." That prompted an international public and social media outcry. At one point, the CBC reported the phrase "Nova Scotia" even became a trending topic on Twitter worldwide. Politicians, including then-Nova Scotia Premier Darrell Dexter and Prime Minister Stephen Harper, offered public comments on the case, and it was even eventually featured on the international television talk show, *Dr. Phil.*

The hacker group Anonymous also got involved, tracing the names of those allegedly involved in the rape through online searches and threatening to expose them if the police didn't lay charges. One young man, whose name was being circulated online as a "rapist," felt compelled to go public himself to deny any role in the attack. Anonymous ultimately withdrew its threat at the request of the Parsons family, but it is fair to say, as one columnist wrote, that "police and prosecutors were being criticized as bumbling incompetents or worse, in the modern lingo, as somehow complicit in 'slut shaming.'"

On April 12, one day before her funeral, the RCMP announced it was reopening the case because of "new and credible information," which, it was at pains to note, did not come from Internet sources.

Two individuals have since been charged, not with sexual assault, but one with making and distributing child pornography and the other with distributing it.

While those charges are before the courts and it is not our place to pass judgment on them, it is worth noting the role that social media has played in every aspect of this case — from the alleged photographing and distributing of images of the original incident, to the online bullying and attacks on Rehtaeh's character, to her parents' anguished pleas for justice, to the public outrage it generated, to the new information that led police to reopen the investigation (while the police may be right that their information didn't come from Internet sources, it seems unlikely any new evidence would have materialized in this closed case if not for the social media outcry), to even the charges themselves, in which the allegation is that those accused used online media to distribute the offending images.

The significance of the role — and implications — of social media in such high profile cases has not been lost on legislators who rushed to produce new legislation to deal with these old-new crimes. In April

2013, the Nova Scotia government introduced a Cyber Safety Act "to better protect citizens and hold people who cyber-bully accountable for their harmful behavior" online. It defined a new crime of cyber-bullying, which it described as "bullying by electronic means that occurs through the use of technology, including computers or other electronic devices, social networks, text messaging, instant messaging, websites or e-mail." In November the federal government introduced legislation making it a crime to distribute intimate images without the consent of the person in those pictures.

While there are ongoing debates about whether those laws were drafted too hastily and too broadly — our researcher discovered during interviews that the provincial act was passed without input from any Halifax Regional Police Services School Response Officer, the front-line workers in dealing with student cyber-bullying — there is no debate about the impact of social media on crime and our understanding of it.

The Frosh Chant

On September 2, 2013, someone posted a 15-second video on the social media site Instagram. Filmed on the football field during an orientation week event for 400 new students at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, the video showed dozens of young men and women, led by frosh week leaders, shouting out a chant glorifying having non-consensual sex with underage girls. "Saint Mary's boys, we like them young," goes the last line.

The chant was apparently not new or original to Saint Mary's; it had been shouted during previous year's orientation events at Saint Mary's, and was similar to ones in use at other universities across the country.

What changed was that this chant was videotaped and posted on social media for all the world to see, provoking what CBC News described at the time as a "backlash of disgust and anger." And soul-searching.

The President of the Saint Mary's Student Union apologized, and resigned. The university administration ordered the entire student union and all 80 frosh week leaders to take sensitivity training, and appointed an outsider to look into what happened, why and what to do about it. That report, released in December 2013, offered 20 recommendations aimed at encouraging a "cultural change" about sexual conduct and respect at the school. The university says it accepts all of the recommendations.

In this case, it can be argued that social media — by shining its all-powerful beam on a corner of some previously hidden or ignored practises — helped trigger a necessary and useful debate.

Social Media and Mainstream Media

While those two cases help make clear the significance of social media in the social construction of violence today, it is also important to note the symbiotic relationship between the new social media and the old mainstream media.

In the Parsons case, Rehtaeh's mother went public on Facebook. The Halifax *Chronicle Herald* followed up that post and wrote a story poignantly describing the family's anguish, anger and frustration. That mainstream media story was then published by other media outlets, shared on Facebook and retweeted endlessly via Twitter, which helped create a social media firestorm that informed and inflamed subsequent mainstream media coverage.

The offensive chant story started as an Instagram post, which was picked up and amplified by conventional media reporting, which then fed into — and off of — social media expressions of disgust and outrage.

Because of the always-on, 24-hour-a-day, instant-gratification-at-the-press-of-the-Send-button nature of information sharing on social media, the journalist's traditional role — gathering information, synthesizing it and contextualizing it within the constraints of a daily deadline — has been dramatically altered by the need to provide the same quick currency of a Tweet or other social media communication.

In crime news, the media's willingness to post incomplete snippets of information as they're developed is driven, in part, by the reality that police media releases about incidents, which used to be distributed just to the conventional media, are now posted on Twitter and Facebook for all to see. And also by the fact that eyewitnesses to those incidents often also post their own pictures and comments on social media.

Mainstream media reporters now "troll" social media sites for news to report on, sometimes seeking out sensational stories with the potential to go "viral." And they use social media to crowd-source developing stories. While that can — and does — often lead to important information that would otherwise be unavailable or unknown, there are inherent dangers as well. In the aftermath of 2013's

Boston Marathon bombings, for example, social media sites, including Twitter and Reddit, erroneously identified a young man as a suspect in the attack. Prominent journalists re-circulated the misinformation, adding to its credibility and creating a "horrible" night for the family of the young man before the error was corrected. In the case of Rehtaeh Parsons, we know that one young man felt forced to go public to deny social media reports he was involved. While he was not identified by the mainstream media — in part because of stricter reporting rules in Canada — there is no question the erroneous allegations against him were widely shared, and potentially damaging.

There are other implications (most outside the scope of this report) to the reality that people are getting their conventional news in unconventional ways. More and more people are not reading the news in the pages of their daily newspaper or seeing it on television newscasts. As a result, they're not exposed to the eclectic, often unconnected mix of vetted news and information those media offer, and which expose readers to unexpected knowledge and opinion that sometimes runs counter to their expectations or biases. Instead, they're now getting more of their news from like-minded friends and acquaintances on social media, where people most often share posts that amplify and echo their own views. That creates social media bubbles of understanding, which may — or may not — reflect their real significance.

Conclusion

Given the dramatic, unanticipated, game-changing changes that have occurred around the issue of the social construction of violence in the years since the original Roundtable Report — thanks largely to the emergence of social media as a significant force — it would be presumptuous, even foolhardy, to offer broad sweeping predictions about what will happen next and/or advice on how to respond to it.

We can offer a few very specific recommendations:

- Halifax Regional Police Services should develop a comprehensive social media strategy to better reflect the realities of today.
- HRP officers, especially those involved in school liaison, should be equipped with smart phones and trained in their use as both a communications and investigative tool.
- School Response Officers should have the ability to communicate directly with students through social media in their roles within the schools.
- HRP Services should expand its use of social media by training and empowering officers in various units (fraud, major crime, community policing) to utilize social media as a tool for interacting with the community.

- The Public Safety Officer position, which was recommended in the last Roundtable Report, should become part of the municipal administration rather than Police Services and report directly to the city's Chief Administrative Officer, in order to ensure that the office has a broader role in developing and responding to issues around the social construction of violence.
- The Halifax Regional Municipality should impress upon senior levels of government the critical need to consult with its front-line officers, both when crafting new legislation and implementing it.

More broadly, and perhaps more importantly, we would urge everyone — municipal authorities, the police, the media, citizens — to recognize that we are in the middle of a continually evolving, often unsettling tectonic shift in the ways in which we understand, talk about and deal with everything, including violence and public safety.

We need to be aware of the potential — and the pitfalls — of social media. We were surprised, for example, when one prominent politician our researcher talked with expressed concern about young girls casually exchanging oral sex for small favours such as a ride to school, and saw this as a growing social problem requiring a "cultural revolution." But when asked for evidence or data to back up this assertion or to evaluate how widespread the practice was, the politician was quick to retreat to the argument that these "patterns were apparently prevalent in the new social media."

We — all of us — need to be cautious in taking at face value anything we see, hear or read, not exclusively, but perhaps especially in the new unfiltered world of social media.

THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

OFFENDER REINTEGRATION IN THE HALIFAX REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY

By: Adrienne MacDonald, MA
John Peach, BA
Robert MacDonald

Offender reintegration is an issue receiving more consideration in this review than in the 2008 Roundtable Report (*Violence and Public Safety in HRM: A Report to the Mayor as a Result of the Roundtable*). The following is a report on the condition of offender reintegration in the Halifax Regional Municipality[63] (HRM), a dimension of the Violence and Public Safety HRM Roundtable Review of 2013. The scope of the offender reintegration process begins while an individual is in custody of a Federal Institution or Provincial Correctional Facility and continues upon their release into the community. The length of time and resources required for reintegration are dependent on a variety of factors. As such, a report on the topic must include consideration of varying social dynamics, including many of the other Roundtable Review dimensions.

This report draws on information collected from numerous sources. Statistical data on admissions to Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility (CNSCF) between 2005 and 2013 was collected from the Nova Scotia Department of Justice.[64] Correctional Service Canada provided statistical data on offenders released to the HRM from facilities across Canada (snapshot of an average day). Meeting notes and reference materials of the Offender Reintegration Ad-hoc Committee were collected, as well as information on the organization of corrections within Nova Scotia. Within HRM there are a number of services or organizations relevant to offender reintegration. Interviews with service providers in key areas[65] were conducted to identify and consider the range of elements involved with this review dimension. Contacts represented federal and provincial corrections, police services, and non-profit organizations for housing (temporary or long-term), at-risk youth, female offenders (or those at-risk), male offenders (or those at-risk) and street outreach. Although the reintegration of youth offenders is an important issue, this report focuses primarily on adult offender reintegration. Information collected on youth offenders is referenced as a point of comparison for identifying gaps in services or potential areas for improvement for adult offender programming.

Reaching out to other services and organizations was intended to gain better understanding of any changes or emergent issues that have come about since the original Roundtable Report. It also contributed other perspectives on major problem areas and potential recommendations moving

[63] Throughout the document, HRM will be used to refer to the municipal government. "The HRM" represents the city as a whole.
[64] Nova Scotia Department of Justice Correctional Services will be referred to as Provincial Corrections or NS Corrections. Correctional Service Canada will be referred to as Federal Corrections or CSC.
[65] Throughout the document, Interviewees will be referred to interchangeably as Sources, Contacts, Subject Matter Experts and Representatives.

forward from this review. However, it remained difficult to identify changes relevant to offender reintegration in the HRM since 2008.

The report is delivered in four sections. The first provides context for the report by providing information on the HRM's offender population, considering data on the three most relevant Correctional Institutions/Facilities. The second section reviews the eight recommendations from the 2008 Roundtable Report that referenced any connection to offender reintegration. Most of these have not been addressed in the years since the original report, or at least not in practical ways that impacted the issue.

The third section combs through common themes that emerged from the collected data. The themes are: i) services and/or programming within institutions; ii) release planning/ programming that begins prior to an offender's release from an institution; iii) community support and navigating systems and support services; iv) access to and continuity of income assistance programming; v) safe and appropriate housing; vi) mental health and/ or substance abuse support; and vii) employment and/ or employability programming. These indicate priority areas for improvement before higher rates of successful reintegration can be achieved in HRM. The fourth section follows with a list of the most pressing recommendations and corresponding actions to be taken in order to improve rates of successful offender reintegration in the HRM.

The HRM's Offender Population

Offender reintegration is a diverse and complex subject. The only part of the process that is the same for every offender released from institutional custody is that they are made to transition from a correctional facility to some level of independence in the community. The level of support that an offender receives throughout that process, the amount of supervision they are subjected to by corrections while in the community, and the length of time for reintegration varies individually.

It is difficult to know the population under study when discussing offender reintegration in the HRM. Each offender has a different set of needs and risks upon re-entry to the community. Some offenders will have received programming or support while incarcerated to begin to address those needs and risks. However, it was obvious from discussion with Contacts that not all institutions offer such resources, and not all offenders choose to engage with programs while incarcerated. The number of offenders currently in the community in the HRM is also hard to nail down because women and men are released to the HRM from federal and provincial institutions across the country.

Within Nova Scotia alone there are five provincial[66] and two federal adult correctional facilities. Three of those institutions were identified as having the most significant impact on the HRM, particularly in terms of geography and releasing the highest numbers of offenders to the HRM. Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility (CNSCF) is a multi-security level provincial institution in Dartmouth, NS that houses female and male offenders. Springhill Institution is a medium security level federal facility located in Springhill NS for male offenders. Nova Institution for Women is a multi-security level federal women's facility in Truro NS. CNSCF is the only institution located within the HRM, and presumably has the most direct impact on the city's public safety. A large portion of CNSCF prisoners are released to the HRM and exit planning seems to be inconsistent for male offenders. Conflicting information was collected on whether or not the facility supports releasees to travel to (or return to) destinations outside of the HRM. The issue of release practices at CNSCF is discussed further in section three of the report.

General trends in the released offender population could be surmised from the statistical data collected for this report. Between 150 and 200 federal parolee cases are being supervised at any given time in the HRM, and roughly 10% are female. On average, approximately 4.7% of federal offenders in the HRM community are Aboriginal and 17% are African Canadian. Counts for provincial offenders in the HRM community are more difficult to deduce for a few reasons. For one, CNSCF does not track where individuals go upon leaving the facility; they only record where prisoners are admitted from. Another snag is the shorter duration of provincial sentences to custody, which allows repeat offenders earning multiple jail terms in the same year to be counted multiple times under admission statistics. A third problem with using provincial statistics is that CNSCF holds individuals on remand as well as offenders sentenced to custody. Not all remand inmates are convicted and some will not remain in provincial custody for later release to the HRM.

Nonetheless, admissions statistics for CNSCF between 2007/2008 and 2012/2013 shed some light on the offender population released to the HRM since all individuals sentenced to provincial incarceration will be released within a two year period. Female offenders accounted for between 11% and 18.5% of those sentenced to custody.[67] Aboriginals were between 3% and 7% of offenders sentenced to custody and

[66] Nova Scotia's five adult provincial facilities are Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility (discussed above), Cape Breton Correctional Facility in Sydney, Southwest Nova Scotia Correctional Facility in Yarmouth, Antigonish Correctional Facility in Antigonish and Cumberland Correctional Facility in Amherst.

[67] Generally, females accounted for between 13.5% and 15.5% of sentenced admissions to CNSCF, however 2012/2011 (11%) and 2012/2013 (18.5%) were atypical.

African Canadians were 15% to 20%.[68] Overall, the age group with the highest rates of sentenced custody upon admission was 25-34 years of age.[69] Although there has been a general, moderate downward trend in admission rates, the rates of previous incarceration among the CNSCF offender population has remained between 63% and 64%, with a spike to 66% in 2008/2009. Data from a CNSCF Representative was particularly telling about rates of recidivism within the HRM: there are approximately 4000 admissions and releases per year, but many of these statistics are multiple stays by the same people. This identifies that offenders are not successfully reintegrating into the community from CNSCF and that "many" are re-incarcerated within the same year.

The statistics discussed above offer some idea as to how many individuals are released from institutional custody into the HRM, but it is another matter to suggest how many offenders remain in the HRM after they have completed their term of correctional supervision. It is useful to position offender reintegration within a broader context. Canada's population is urbanizing and job development and social service resources are increasingly focused on provincial urban communities. This is pertinent because the rate of offenders released to the HRM is higher than the rate of offenders admitted to correctional institutions from the HRM. Not only are more offenders released into HRM than to other parts of the province, but it is more enticing for those offenders to remain in HRM in order to access the wider range of services available. Further, living in a city provides more anonymity or a perceived better opportunity for a "fresh start" than would be experienced by returning to a rural community with a smaller population, where residents tend to know one another more intimately.

It is widely accepted that a small percent of a population accounts for a high percent of that population's crime. Although the number of offenders in the community may be a small percent of the HRM's population, the rates of successful reintegration are not high. There is an identified need for helping individuals transition from institution to community. Supporting these small numbers through their reintegration means that a much larger proportion of crime in the HRM—in other terms, of violence and public safety concerns—will be addressed.

Roundtable Report: 2008's Recommendations

This section reviews the recommendations from the original Roundtable Report that were presented as being relevant to offender reintegration in HRM. There were eight such recommendations, some more

[68] Aboriginals tended to make up between 3% and 5% of sentenced admissions to CNSCF, but 2011/2012 spiked to 7%. The rates of African Canadian offenders sentenced to custody gradually increased from 15% to 20% between 2007/2008 and 2011/2012 but 2012/2013 shows a decrease to 18%.

[69] In 2011/2012, the difference between the 25-34 age group and 24 or younger age group was only five people.

directly related to offender reintegration than others. The following table outlines each of the eight recommendations considered for this report and briefly summarizes corresponding action taken to advance them as of November 2013.[70]

2008 Recommendation	Outcome or Status as of November 2013
Develop a strategic action plan and establish a Tripartite Forum on Justice which would bring together representatives from the three levels of government (Federal, Provincial and Municipal) for a three year period to consider violence and public safety issues and strategies to deal with them. Topics included: housing, offender reintegration, specialty courts and resources.	• A strategic action plan was developed in 2011: *Halifax Regional Municipality Public Safety Strategic Plan: Partnering for Public Safety.* There was no mention of intention to improve offender reintegration processes. Further, when listing the ad-hoc committees initiated in response to the Roundtable Report, the document left out the Offender Reintegration Ad-hoc Committee[71]; only the Public Safety and Race Relations and Public Safety and Housing ad hoc consultations were included. • The Safer, Stronger Communities initiative was made to "serve" as the Tripartite Forum on Justice. Committees were created to focus on some of the problem areas identified in the Roundtable Report. In practice, response took a crime prevention approach to community safety issues in public housing areas. Although improvement was noted for some issues in certain parts of the HRM, there is no evidence of efforts around offender reintegration.
Encourage a more in-depth delivery of the restorative justice program for repeat Black young offenders. For example, sentencing circles and collaboration with Federal and Provincial authorities to develop effective offender	• There is little evidence that this recommendation has been advanced to any extent by HRM. However, pro-active programming targeting at-risk communities and youth have been implemented (for example, Cops'N Kids and Step Up to

[70] For context surrounding these recommendations, or for the complete list of recommendations, visit the following website for the 2008 *Violence and Public Safety in HRM* report and HRM follow-up reports: http://www.halifax.ca/police/PublicSafety/MayorsRoundtable.html

[71] As a result of the Mayor's Roundtable Report, the Offender Reintegration Ad hoc Committee was formed in the latter half of 2010 and held a handful of meetings. Its purpose was to help the PSO to develop ideas around effective policy-making from an HRM viewpoint, and to work towards a strategic action plan to be advanced by the PSO.

reintegration programs.	Leadership by HRP. • Public Safety Office reported a partnership forged between the Safe Communities Committee and Community Justice Society to explore alternatives to the court process for Black youth. However, outcomes of this partnership are not clear. • In 2011 a "think tank" was hosted by the Parole Board of Canada for representatives from police, parole officers, correctional services, Black Educators Assoc, and African Nova Scotian community leaders. Outcomes of this initiative are not clear. • Although the HRM itself was not involved, federal funding was sought for a mentorship program for Black offenders to help with their reintegration. Support was not available at the time. • Also, there is substantial Federal funding being contributed to reduce weapons violence in the North Preston area over next 3 years, to begin in 2014.
Support the creation and implementation of a Drug Treatment Court, which could help with the reintegration of offenders with addictions problems.	• Although other specialty courts have been developed around the province, there has not been movement on implementing a Drug Treatment Court in the HRM.
Collaborate with local organizations and senior levels of government to ensure safe supervised housing is provided for both youths and adults exiting custodial institutions in order to achieve successful reintegration efforts.	• There is evidence that some work may have been done for youth housing, for example, partnerships between public housing, the private sector and Phoenix Youth Centres. • There is no evidence of progress with adult housing specific to Federal and Provincial offenders. Note, however, the recent initiative by Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia (AHANS) to implement an effective "housing first model" to HRM. This plan is still

	at the preliminary planning stage, but AHANS intends to have plan approved by the federal minister in March, 2014 and end chronic homelessness in Halifax by 2019. Presumably, this would have a positive impact for youth and adults re-entering the community from correctional facilities.
Examine the experiences of other municipalities in Canada and the US with respect to best practices in dealing with the street sex trade, responses to addicted offenders and related issues.	• The Public Safety Office (PSO) examined best practices in other jurisdictions with some public safety issues, but there have been no evident changes as a result. The PSO did not seem to pay any particular attention to offender reintegration.
Advocate for Drug Treatment Courts, given that evidence suggests there is a high level of serious addiction among street sex workers. This could also help facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of addicted offenders.	• As noted above, there has not been movement on implementing a Drug Treatment Court. HRM has not shown any interest in this idea.
Encourage Nova Scotia Corrections to do more in the way of exit planning given that offender rehabilitation and reintegration is "woefully inadequate for both adults and youth."	• There is no indication of any improvements to exit planning for adult men at CNSCF. • Elizabeth Fry Society facilitates exit planning and support for Provincial female offenders of CNSCF, but community organizations have not been permitted to offer comparable services to male offenders because of complications internal to the facility and a lack of funding sources. • Programming within CNSCF, which would contribute to offender rehabilitation and reintegration, remains very limited for men. The offered programs are: Narcotics Anonymous, Alcoholics Anonymous, a General Educational Development (GED) program, and a pilot program called Working On Our Future (WOOF). This last program is a partnership between SPCA and DOJ to develop transferable skills among inmates through working with/

	training dogs. • More programming is offered to female prisoners. Elizabeth Fry Society attends CNSCF regularly to provide programming to female offenders. This was identified as initiating a support network that women could continue to access upon release.
Innovative approaches should be directed to dealing with certain offending young adults. Although enforcement is acknowledged as crucial, crime patterns and the one-track (punishment) approach to adult offenders is not adequate. For example: restorative justice approaches for minor, non-violent offences by (young) adults; direct assistance and advocacy for offender reintegration for more serious offenders. HRM must find a role in these Provincial responsibilities.	• Adult restorative justice has not yet been made available in the HRM area, although it is in other parts of the province (delivered out of East Hants & Colchester counties, and Sydney, Cape Breton). • Youth restorative justice has been available throughout Nova Scotia since before the Roundtable. • There are few programs, services and resources tailored specifically to adult offenders. However, there are some new to the city that were developed and implemented without contribution by HRM. For example, Circles Of Support and Accountability (COSA), 7th Step, Navigator Street Outreach, and the Employment Readiness Program. (Each program is discussed in the next section of the report).

Review of the recommendations from 2008 makes it clear that there was little HRM involvement in efforts to improve offender reintegration in the city. Changes or developments that have been implemented were made by community organizations with some private sector involvement for certain initiatives. The scope of such programs, however, is often limited by funding and/or collaboration prospects. The next section identifies that key government stakeholders in offender reintegration have not taken an integrated approach to reintegration. As a result, efforts since 2008 were largely restricted to silos. Considerably more of HRM's attention focused on pro-active/ preventative initiatives to decrease the number of crimes committed, and in that way lessen the number of offenders in the community.

Over the past decade effective procedures have been implemented to apprehend offenders who do not successfully reintegrate and return to involvement in criminal activity. HRP/RCMP Integrated HEAT Unit is an example of such work, where the unit works to ensure that offenders released to the community follow any orders or conditions after their release. The Halifax Regional Police (HRP) HEAT unit tracks the activities of "long term offenders" and "incompatibles"[72] in the HRM and deals with background preparation for cases involving the release of "high risk offenders," where the public may need to be notified. Additionally, information sharing occurs between correctional institutions and the police service so that planning can be done to prepare for high-risk admissions and releases (discussed below). HEAT's focus is community safety. Unfortunately, this only addresses one side of the problem and does not necessarily address reintegration or discourage recidivism. It is important to consider the discussion of this section in combination with that of the previous, which reviewed statistics on offender reintegration since the original Roundtable Report. Given that offender reintegration practices within the HRM have not received significant attention since 2008, there has been no detectable progress made to rates of successful reintegration within the city.

Major Themes and Priority Areas

This section focuses on priority areas of offender reintegration, most of which are in need of major improvements. Findings are presented from the perspective that helping offenders successfully reintegrate will mitigate the threat they pose to violence and public safety concerns in the HRM. Before narrowing discussion to the HRM, a brief overview of research on offender reintegration is presented.

Research from around the world has identified a number of social, economic and personal barriers to successful reentry. These include: *lack of pro-social or community bonds* (Bales and Mears 2008; Griffiths *et al* 2007; Visher and Travis 2003), *insufficient education or employability skills* (Carter 2009; Graffam *et al* 2008; Gillis and Nafekh 2005), *appropriate housing* (Carter 2009; Griffiths *et al* 2007), *regular/ suitable employment* (Vennard & Hedderman 2009; Griffiths *et al* 2007; Borzycki 2005). *Mental health* (Carter 2009; Petersilia 2001) and *substance abuse/addictions* (Griffiths *et al* 2007) are also common concerns. Literature suggests that at least one of these factors can typically be credited for an individual's re-incarceration (Bales and Mears 2008).

[72] "Incompatibles" refers to individuals or groups who want to do harm to one another, such as opposing or competing gangs.

The reasons for an offender's failed reintegration are often predictable because most people "enter confinement with a myriad of problems and … many are released with the same problems, or worse" (Carter 2009, 3; similarly Griffiths *et al* 2007). Obviously, the foundation for successful reentry to the community must begin while an individual is incarcerated. Further, processes for identifying and addressing the range of needs experienced by an offender should begin in the institution because it provides an opportune time for meaningful intervention. Carter summarizes this process nicely,

> It is critically important to address offenders' immediate needs – *both* criminogenic and those that support a stable lifestyle – prior to release from confinement to ensure that offenders have a viable [short term] release plan …. It is equally important that, [once in the community,] … corrections professionals [or comparable support workers] work with offenders to address criminogenic needs and develop a long-term stability plan that will lead to their ultimate success in the community (2009, 3).

This literature review has included contributions from a number of countries because research focusing exclusively on issues of offender reintegration in Canada is limited. The current project was able to identify a list of major barriers to reentry that are specific to the HRM. The challenges experienced locally are quite comparable to those met by recently released offenders around the world. After synthesizing the data collected from various sources, seven priority areas or themes emerged as needing improvement in the HRM. Data from Subject Matter Experts was particularly helpful. Priority areas include: i) services and/ or programming within institutions, ii) release planning/ programming, iii) community support services and navigating support systems, iv) access to and continuity of income assistance programming, v) safe and appropriate housing, vi) mental health and/or substance abuse, and vii) employment and/or employability programming.

Each of these areas were identified as having significant impact on an individual's reintegration to the HRM. Topics iv through vii are inter-related issues that come into play largely upon an offender's release from an institution. Of note, issues i, ii and v were among the recommendations for offender reintegration from the 2008 Roundtable Report. The seven themes are now presented as priority issues for improvement.

i) Services and/or programming within corrections institutions

The services and programming options offered in federal institutions for men and in federal and provincial institution for women surpass those offered to men in provincial institutions. There are more

supports offered to incarcerated women than men at either institution level, but there is a particularly desperate need for services and programming at the provincial level for men. Since services and programming offered within federal institutions were recognized as much less of a problem when compared to that of CNSCF, they are only briefly overviewed here. Greater attention is given to services and programming offered at CNSCF.

At the federal level, programming offered to men and women is quite different. Within CSC's Atlantic Region, the four major program areas available to male prisoners are:

- Integrated Community Program Model (ICPM), which is a pilot program including aspects of problem-solving, goal setting, conflict management, coping skills, identifying contributing factors to their incarceration and criminal involvement, identifying actions to be taken to improve their situation, and recognizing that one's thoughts, feelings, beliefs and values have an impact on their actions. This program is voluntary but strongly recommended to all prisoners. Programming is streamed into high need, moderate need or maintenance and offenders are designated to one based on their risk, determined by the institution. Although some do not need the programming, the majority meet the criteria.
- General Education Development (GED)
- Programming targeting pre-employment readiness and developing employment skills
- Community Integration Program, which works on financial management, resume writing, employment preparation and establishing a working lifestyle, familiarizing prisoners with parole and community supervision processes and expectations, as well as trades training (for example, working with drywall or food preparation). Typically, this programming is offered in affiliation with a local community college and so there is some variation between institutions of what trades skills are offered.

All of this programming is voluntary but prisoners are "strongly encouraged" to participate in those that apply to them (CSC Contact). In all programming, there is some variation between institutions in terms of how programming is delivered and the range of programming options. From the CSC website, "CSC is required to offer programs that respect gender, ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences, and are responsive to the special needs of women, Aboriginal offenders, offenders requiring mental health care and other groups" (CSC 2013). Information could not be collected specific to Springhill Institution.

The full range of services and programming specific to federal female prisoners at Nova Institution for Women (Nova) was not pursued, but some important information was collected. Nova's programming and services includes the Federal Outreach Coordinator program administered by Elizabeth Fry Society. The program receives federal funding for the Coordinator to attend the facility twice monthly to conduct

release planning, during this time the coordinator also visits women housed in segregation and the secure unit. The coordinator makes sure they are treated well, addresses any concerns they may have and ensures they have received the required administrative reviews from correctional staff. Prisoners sign-up on a list the week prior to the coordinator's visit so they can discuss their concerns. Staff at Nova Institution also regularly refer inmates deemed in need of support. The Federal Outreach Coordinator position also receives funding to be a part of an advocacy group that attends Nova on a monthly basis to provide advocacy on systemic issues. This program is offered at every federal institution where women are incarcerated. The Coordinator's role includes walking the grounds, inspecting units, speaking with inmates in segregation, and meeting with the prisoner's committee, house representatives, the Warden, Deputy Warden and Head of Security to identity and resolve issues or problems before they can escalate. The facility also provides special attention to mental health issues among female prisoners.

Programming offered within the local provincial facility is very different. In part, this is because of the shorter length of time that individuals are in the institution. However, there are internal logistical and human resource issues that also cause complications at CNSCF. Programming offered to female and male offenders varies greatly, both in the kind of programming and the number of options. It was already identified in the previous section that programs for men at CNSCF are Narcotics Anonymous (NA), Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), GED with a full time teacher and the Working On Our Future (WOOF) pilot program. Inmates must fit a certain profile to be eligible for NA and AA programming and potential gang affiliations are also considered. A representative from NS Corrections identified that the number of seats available in their education program has more than doubled over the last few years. However, teaching capacity has not changed and as a result the quality of the program has weakened. WOOF is available to inmates of two wings in the facility, but they must go through a selection process. Information on how many offenders are in the program at any given time was not collected.

CNSCF Sources recognized the need for more institutional programming for male offenders but the security concerns caused by overcrowding and the lack of internal resources within the institution limits male prisoner movement. This includes staff availability to escort prisoners to and from programs. CNSCF senior management seem to be open to community groups participating in programming within the facility, but management also communicated that not all staff are enthusiastic about this prospect because of the problem with offender movement and staff resourcing issues.

Female offenders at CNSCF have significantly more access to support. Elizabeth Fry Society administers a Provincial Outreach Coordinator program that receives outside funding to attend CNSCF on a weekly

basis to meet with female prisoners. The Coordinator assists with release planning and offers support in terms of the day-to-day issues related to incarceration, such as contact with lawyers, grievances, court dates, prisoner treatment, and things of that nature. Women can sign up to meet with her on an individual basis or phone her on a dedicated line to place their names on the list. Interestingly, this dedicated phone number has also been made available to male offenders at CNSCF, and Elizabeth Fry Society frequently receives calls from men looking for various forms of assistance. Elizabeth Fry Society offers other types of programming to women at CNSCF in the form of four hour workshops that focus on core principles of anger management, healthy relationships, and personal boundaries, among others. Courses are usually delivered in groups of 10-12.

In 2012 the Province launched a mental health and addictions strategy called Together We Can (Mental Health Services website). Part of that strategy includes providing incarcerated adults with mental health and addictions care. Work on that component of the strategy is meant to get underway in 2013/2014; at time of writing information could not be collected on plans or progress for mental health and addictions care to adults in custody.

ii) Release planning and programming

Release planning and programming is closely related to the previous theme and identified trends are very similar. For both men and women, release planning seems acceptable at the federal level for bridging offenders into the community, aside from the state of halfway houses (resident complaints of interior mold and food provisions and preparations). Women offenders receive support at both the federal and provincial level from Elizabeth Fry Society, however, sources identified that there is very little release planning for men at the provincial level. This sometimes sees men released from CNSCF without any resources unless they have maintained some support from community networks while they were incarcerated, such as family or friends. Reportedly, offenders are often released from CNSCF with only the clothes they arrived with and the distribution of even a bus ticket is inconsistent. Typically, those without other options find their way to the HRM's shelters, however, these were identified as inappropriate housing situations for many former offenders (mental health/ addictions issues, potential criminal influences, etc).

Federal institutions offer release programming and planning in the form of the Community Maintenance Program for male offenders, Community Residential Facilities and Community Correctional Centres. Shelter Nova Scotia also contributes to the release process for a portion of releasees. These processes are discussed in turn before comparison is made to initiatives around provincial release.

The *Community Maintenance Program* (CMP) is the phase of the ICPM (discussed in previous section) that federal offenders take once released to the community. The program is designed to help male offenders address their risk factors and reinforce, rehearse and review skills that were learned or developed in the core institutional programs. These include problem solving, high risk thinking, self management skills, goal setting, healthy relationships, and emotions management. The program has participants apply those skills to problems, high-risk situations and challenges they face in the community that can lead to re-offending. Most CMP delivery is during the day directly by CSC staff, however, The John Howard Society of Nova Scotia (JHS) is contracted to offer evening programming for offenders who work through the day.

Community Residential Facilities (CRF) or *Community Correctional Centres* (CCC) offer both housing and programming support upon release.[73] When an offender reaches eligibility for parole they can apply for consideration for residency in a community residential facility (CRF).[74] A community assessment determines the level of support available to the applicant and the suitability of their request. Although the decision process[75] involves a range of representatives, discretion for accepting an offender at a CRF is left to the community organization that operates it. Those offenders who are deemed unsuitable for a CRF may then be considered for residency at a community correctional centre (CCC). Even though all applications are reviewed by CRFs, persons being released from maximum security facilities, those who have residency requirements, or those identified as "detainable" (show significant risk of committing a Schedule 1 offence upon release) would almost always be directed to a CCC (see *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*). Those facilities are better equipped to manage offenders who may pose a higher risk of parole violation or re-offending.

A CRF/CCC Source explained that each case is judged on its own merit but that a demonstrated motivation to change is considered a strong indicator of successful reintegration. Although some

[73] CRFs offer day-to-day supervision and support while attempting to help residents connect with relevant local resources that may be beneficial to them. CRFs also refer some clients to Shelter Nova Scotia's Supportive Housing Program, where they can access ongoing supports. CFRs do not offer in-house programming.

[74] There are four community residential facilities in the HRM. They are Railton House in Dartmouth for adult men, Sir Sanford Fleming House in Halifax for adult men, and Marguerite Centre and Nehiley House in Halifax for adult women. CRFs are run by community organizations. Community Correctional Centres (CCC) are run by CSC directly and Halifax has two: Carlton CCC and Carlton Centre Annex.

[75] The institutional parole officer refers a prisoner's application to a CRF to the local parole office, where it is assigned to a community parole officer to conduct a community assessment to determine the level of support and suitability of the applicant's request. A case management meeting is held among the head(s) of the community-run halfway house(s), staff from Carlton Centre, a CSC social worker, HRP's Community Corrections Liaison Officer, and the community parole officer assigned to the file. The parole officer compiles the information and reports back to the applicant's institution via the community assessment.

consideration is given to the nature of an applicant's offence, the efforts undertaken by an offender during incarceration are given weight; for example, program participation, personal development, behavior, compliance with their case plan and security issues.

In-reach workers from Shelter Nova Scotia travel to Springhill Institution and Nova approximately once per month with a CSC parole officer to do client pre-assessments. Shelter NS then has a good idea of what a federal offender's needs are before they are released to one of Shelter NS's housing facilities. Shelter Nova Scotia is also contracted by CSC as the parolee Report Centre for those individuals who have a reporting condition as part of their federal release plan.

The HRM's provincial institution is quite different from its federal counterparts. Senior Management of NS Corrections has advised that they have the capacity to make travel arrangements for prisoners from out of province or outside of the HRM, and that CNSCF does make such arrangements upon request.[76] Another CNSCF Representative also supported that offenders are provided with a Metro Transit bus ticket upon release, to help them travel to a destination within the city. However, information from multiple other Sources suggests that such procedures are not often practiced at CNSCF. Although CNSCF has Case Management Officers, for whom release planning is a part of their job description, other duties related to security within the facility take priority. Labour management issues were also identified as problematic. As a result, exit planning for CNSCF inmates has become a target that may be missed; security of the facility is of more concern than how a released offender will manage once in the community.

Numerous Sources, including those from CNSCF, identified an overall lack of release planning for men coming from CNSCF. A representative from a community organization described exit planning at CNSCF as "non-existent" and former inmates were reported to leave the facility in the clothes they arrived with (regardless of the weather or season upon their incarceration and release).[77] Sources furthered that releasees typically have no plan in place for where to go once out of the facility and no bus ticket or pre-arranged mode of transportation from CNSCF (in an industrial park on the city's outskirts) to the urban core or elsewhere, unless individuals have maintained support from the community and have been able to make arrangements, whether with friends, family or a community group. Elizabeth Fry Society

[76] According to Senior Management of NS Corrections, there are instances where CNSCF will arrange with DCS to fund travel expenses in order to send an offender back to another province or for bus tickets to the nearest community to where they live.

[77] One Interviewee explained that a man arrested and incarcerated at CNSCF in shorts in July is released in shorts in January.

attends CNSCF on a weekly basis to assist female prisoners with release planning, but there is not a comparable support service for male offenders. Male offenders are not consistently provided a bridge between incarceration and the community. A Contact reported that Elizabeth Fry Society frequently receives calls on their dedicated line at the institution from men looking for assistance with release planning.

Prisoners released on provincial parole are actually able to access CRF housing, but the number of applicants is low and the rate of successful applicants is even lower.[78] Although it has traditionally been rare, a CRF/CCC Representative identified a current increase which may be related to an increased effort by provincial corrections to engage offenders in provincial parole to help alleviate issues of mandatory minimum sentencing and institutional overcrowding. The contact also explained that there is minimal supervision when a provincial offender is released on ERD (Early Release Date, at two-thirds of their sentence), so they are not engaged in much programming once released. However, by having provincial parolees on Day Parole at a CRF, they are supervised by federal parole officers and are able to access federal programming and support that would not otherwise be available to them.

Those who leave CNSCF without release planning may be directed to Metro Turning Point by CNSCF staff, which is an emergency shelter for men located in Halifax. However, former inmates may not be given any bus tickets and often do not have any money accessible to them immediately upon their release. Even if an individual in this situation were familiar with the city, getting from CNSCF in Burnside to Metro Turning Point in Downtown Halifax can be difficult.

Although Shelter Nova Scotia works with federal corrections to provide housing options to released offenders, they have no contact with any of the provincial correctional facilities. It is common for those released from CNSCF to "turn up" at Metro Turning Point. Shelter NS can only begin the process of supporting recently released individuals to find housing at that point, as the client often does not have any of their essential documents (MSI card, SIN, etc) when they arrive. Some clients released from CNSCF are already on income assistance (IA) and many others are eligible for IA. This should help individuals move into more appropriate housing. However, it is common for released offenders to remain at Metro Turning Point for an extended period of time while DCS Community Navigators work to collect the necessary information for re-opening an individual's IA file and/or securing them a better housing arrangement. Interaction between CNSCF and Department of Community Services (DCS) was

[78] A Subject Matter Expert noted that provincial parole numbers are much higher in both New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

also identified as a weak point. Sources external to NS Corrections communicated that there are efforts to get funding for two social workers for CNSCF, but it was not communicated what their proposed role would be.[79]

To summarize findings on this theme, federal programming and case management, both in the institution and through Community Parole Offices, is reportedly quite good for released female and male offenders. There was a great need identified to replicate those efforts at the provincial level, specifically for men, in order to (potentially) break the cycle of criminality before crime escalates to the realm of federal imprisonment. Elizabeth Fry Society seems to offer appropriate support to female provincial offenders. A couple of Sources also identified a need for release planning specifically related to addictions issues or mental health concerns. While federal corrections have resources in place for offenders released to CRF and CCC facilities, provincial corrections do not appear to offer any level of support to women or men with substance abuse issues upon release. This issue is discussed in more detail in subsection vi (below).

Speaking generally on offender release planning in the HRM, the CRF/CCC Representative outlined it best: without adequate programming and reintegration opportunities, offenders are unable to break their criminal cycle, "especially young offenders." Provincial offenders slowly see the severity of their offences and sentences escalate without having received any meaningful interventions. NS Corrections appears to do little to address public safety concerns around offender reintegration, however, CNSCF does play an important role through their dedicated resource for the criminal intelligence network within the HRM. This resource facilitates intelligence that serves both public safety in the greater community as well as security within the institution. CNSCF has also changed some of their procedures to improve community safety. For example, offenders who had a sentence to be served on weekends used to be given a "pass" and sent back home upon arriving at the facility due to overcrowding. This no longer happens, due to concerns around public backlash if an individual re-offended while they are in the community but supposed to be in custody.

iii) Community support/ navigating systems and services

Recently released offenders require ongoing support through adequate programming and services once in the community to help with their transition from incarceration to the wider community. This group also needs to be made aware of available community resources, as it is not realistic to place the

[79] The notion behind the social worker positions at CNSCF could be meant to address the ability by DCS to identify their clients who are in custody for over 30 days yet continue to receive IA, contrary to what is allowed by policy.

emphasis on the offender to seek out access to resources due to existing barriers in their life (disruption/ disorientation caused by incarceration, lack of knowledge, previous "burned bridges," mental health/ substance abuse issues, etc). Having support of this nature seems to have a significant impact on success rates of reintegration.

There are community groups in the HRM that offer specialized support to women, men and/or youth with a criminal history, and who can help such people navigate the systems and services available to them. While researching this report, sources noted many positives and that measurable progress since 2008 is evident; there is increased community effort responding to various aspects of offender reintegration. Instead of attempting to provide an exhaustive list of relevant organizations and initiatives, this section identifies some of the new initiatives since the original Roundtable Report and existing service or resource gaps in the community support currently available to HRM citizens with criminal histories.

Although not a complete list, the following are examples of programs implemented in the last six years. Each represents a community initiative developed in response to a gap in the support services available to reintegrating offenders in the HRM.

- *Navigator Street Outreach* (also Navigator Program) was started in 2007 by the Spring Garden Area Business Association (SGABA).[80] One full time staff member works with street-involved and homeless individuals, many of whom have been involved with the criminal justice system to some extent.[81] The structure of the program is very flexible in that the majority of its work is done on the street instead of from an office, and that interactions with clients completely vary by person, depending on their identified need(s) or desire for some kind of assistance. The program offers to connect clients with local resources and offer financial assistance with obtaining IDs, bus passes, work boots, and other general supports, but in many cases interactions are simply a "check-in" by staff on foot with street involved persons. The Navigator receives approximately 50 contacts daily, whether in person or by text, email or phone call. The program offers the target population opportunities to access support at any time and on their terms.[82]
- *Our Thyme Café* is a social enterprise initiative by Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia to offer workplace training and experience in the food industry to

[80] Supporters over time have included the Downtown Halifax Business Commission, the Downtown Dartmouth Business Association, HRM, Department of Justice and The Society for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor.
[81] There is also a part time staff who helps clients with housing.
[82] For more information on the Navigator Street Outreach program, see http://springgardenarea.com/2012/07/navigator-street-outreach.

women who have been involved in the criminal justice system or who could be considered at risk. It opened in December of 2008 and is supported by DCS. The program also maintains strong ties with various local restaurants and businesses to provide employment opportunities for their participants.

- *Circles of Support and Accountability* (COSA) is a volunteer-based reintegration program for sex offenders who are deemed high-risk to re-offend. Participation is voluntary for released offenders and they are pre-screened to enter the program while they are still incarcerated. Groups of three or four trained volunteers form a "Circle" of support to the offender and hold them accountable through the process of their re-entry to the community. COSA Halifax was established in 2009 and provides ongoing, long-term support for as long a period of time as former offenders feel they need it; the reintegrative support offered by COSA can extend well beyond that of CSC.
- *Employment Readiness Program-Pilot* (ERP) is an initiative by The John Howard Society of Nova Scotia to support adult men on income assistance who have identified their criminal record as barrier to their finding regular employment. ERP supports participants through personal development, employability skills development, job searching practical skills training and a work placement with a local business with the opportunity to be hired for permanent employment. It began in the Fall of 2013 in partnership with Employment Nova Scotia and DCS.
- *7th Step* is active in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Prince Edward Island and has only recently started to re-organize in Nova Scotia. It held its annual general meeting in Halifax in September 2013 and has been working to collect volunteers and public input but at the time of writing it was not fully operating. 7th Step is a self-help group run by peers to support current inmates or offenders recently released to reintegrate as law-abiding, productive citizens.

Unfortunately, obstacles remain for individuals who are rehabilitating and reintegrating into the community. Sources identified that former offenders continue to be impeded by a lack of ongoing support, access and availability of resources, true outreach ("feet on the ground") services, advocacy and collaboration and communication between and among support services.

- *Lack of ongoing support*- Interviewees noted that their clients, particularly those who have been incarcerated or are in long-term receipt of income assistance, do much better when they have had support in establishing clear goals, a concrete plan of action for achieving them, and have ongoing support to help them but also hold them accountable.

  For federal offenders, parole officers (and CRF/CCC staff, when applicable) work to facilitate an offender's transition from CSC-based programs and services to provincial- and community-based resources. This is particularly the case for those with high need of support, like for mental health issues, substance abuse concerns, and those

requiring employment supports. There is a need in the HRM for appropriate, long-term services to pick up where short-term services end.

- *Access and availability of resources*- Community programming is recommended for former offenders in the community but fees for accessing such supports can be a barrier to their participation. Probation Offices have identified that the affordability of court-ordered programming is a significant problem for their clients. For some offender groups, Department of Justice purchases a block of seats so that probationers can access the necessary programming. Sources identified the same financial barrier for released offenders in the community, where programming fees are expected to be paid out of pocket. However, funding support is not readily available to help offenders released from custody access programming that will help with their reintegration. Upon release, even for individuals who have been able to re-access IA, programming like Anger Management, Conflict Resolution, or education and employment skill upgrades are often not affordable, and are thus out of reach.

  A gap in service was identified for men who have "aged out" of youth programming (25+), who may have ongoing legal issues and some level of "learned helplessness." Reintegrating adult male offenders require targeted support in the priority areas of: income assistance access, housing, mental health and/ or substance abuse, obtaining employment or employability programming. Although there are services targeting some offender groups (for example, women, youth, Aboriginals, African Nova Scotians) there is a general lack of services targeting adult males. Traditionally, churches could be accessed for general community support, but they are no longer the community-wide institution that they once were. Now, it is difficult for an individual to find the support they require.

- *True outreach or "feet on the ground" services*- A few Contacts identified that the HRM lacks "feet on the ground" services, where the onus is on the service providers to go to their clients or target population. Instead, the general expectation among services in the HRM is that offenders in the community will seek out and access services that are almost entirely office based. This service structure is built on the assumptions that clients know about existing relevant services and that their lives are collected enough to seek out support. As one Contact explained, this common practice presents a barrier to clients, who are possibly already dealing with re-orienting themselves to the community, a lack of knowledge about what services are available, "burned bridges" from previous failed access attempts, and instability linked to mental health and/or substance abuse issues. More organizations in the HRM should offer true outreach services and programming.

- *Advocacy*- Sources identified that navigating systems (for example, income assistance, health) can be confusing and difficult, particularly because offenders are dealing with stigma tied to their criminal record. Contacts from a few organizations identified that the help of an advocate can be "vital" to a client's ability to access a service. An advocate can relieve the burden on the client and endorse claims about their needs, intent, efforts and progress, etc. An advocate can also act as an intermediary between

the individual and service provider to alleviate the client's stress and prevent misunderstanding between the two parties.

- *Collaboration and communication between/ among support services*- Where so many former offenders are dealing with a range of issues that must be overcome for a successful reintegration to the community, involvement by a number of services offered by different organizations is required. Many Sources explained that the provision of a holistic network of support is the most effective method for helping clients address their needs. However, Contacts also identified that agencies in the HRM often work in "silos," meaning that there is little information sharing or collaboration to respond to an individual's need or even a broader social issue. This shortfall produces problems for those seeking support; navigation of different social systems and their services is tedious and confusing and individuals are constantly required to repeat their experiences to each service provider they are referred to or seek out.

  The process of accessing help becomes a series of chores that rely on strong organizing skills and patience. As such, the follow-through is made very difficult for individuals who may have some level of comprehension or attitudinal issues, "learned helplessness," and little physical and emotional support to continue to access services and attend appointments. The support services in the HRM could truly improve the level of help provided to their clients by improving lines of communication and collaboration efforts with other services in the network.

Where this section has reviewed new programs implemented in the last six years and remaining challenges for accessing services in the HRM, the next four sections outline major problem areas of offender reintegration in the city, as identified by Sources. These are income assistance, housing, mental health or substance abuse and employment or employability programming. Discussion is kept brief, as the recommendations made by this review (below) directly respond to specific problems or "hitches" in services that sources identified.

iv) Income assistance

Interviewees consistently identified problems with access to and continuity of income assistance programming for recently released offenders. These include:

- *Inmates are unable to begin IA while incarcerated, even as they approach release.* This creates delays in accessing appropriate housing and housing services other than the shelter.
- *Reactivating IA is complicated by communication disconnects.* Offenders may be unable to maintain contact with their caseworker during criminal justice proceedings. As such, their IA files may be closed and offenders must go through IA intake procedures "all over again" with a new caseworker upon release. This includes tracking down acceptable identification and confirming housing

arrangements, even though the necessary information may be held by a former caseworker's file and could hasten reactivation.

- *To access IA, offenders need to stay at a shelter unless they have a home to return to*. If an individual does not have an address to be released to (a residence of family, friends, or their own), they are required to stay at a shelter in order to access IA. A Source reported that the provincial government considers shelters to be the main way to address homeless; if an offender is unable or unwilling to access a shelter (mental health, addictions, social issues, even non-contact orders) and has no other living options, they are unable to access IA.
- *DCS offers to cover expenses for identification, health cards, etc one time only*. If these items are lost, stolen, or not obtained upon release from incarceration, DCS will not provide further funding for the items and offer little-to-no hands-on assistance to individuals in obtaining them.

Contacts did note that having DCS staff in the shelters (the "transient team") has been a useful and important resource for getting the IA intake process started right away. This specialized team was reported as being able to flex policy if necessary to overcome issues that could otherwise stall the process. However, as noted above, individuals must be in a shelter or have an address in order to access IA and the transient team. Those who are unable or unwilling to access shelter services (due to personal issues or over-crowding) are not able to utilize the transient teams' valuable services.

v) Housing

Interviewees consistently identified housing as a serious concern, especially for released male offenders. Appropriate housing provides some level of stability and improves overall quality of life, both important components of successful reintegration. One Contact reported that available stable housing greatly increases success rates of clients accessing treatment and community resources. For lack of other options, as discussed above, released offenders often end up in the HRM's shelters which can be detrimental to successful reintegration due to mental health, substance abuse issues, criminal influences, among other potential triggers. Reserved temporary housing for recently released provincial offenders is lacking.

There is also a lack of affordable housing units in the HRM. In the city, a small number of landlords control the majority of residential units. Even when shelters may be suitable as a short-term solution to housing, recently released offenders have very limited options for long-term housing. One Source explained that a client with stability issues can quickly find themselves blacklisted and unable to secure

housing except in illegal and/or deplorable rooming or boarding house options. That said, Halifax Housing Help (HHH) provides support in this area, for those who are aware of the organization. HHH helps those who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless find and maintain housing by offering assistance in locating appropriate housing, trusteeship, and ongoing support that works with tenants, landlords and community organizations. Where shelters in the HRM have caps on the number of residents they can house and offer services to, HHH has no such caps. They also offer an alternative to individuals unwilling or unable to access shelters.

Elizabeth Fry Society's Holly House is an example of longer-term supportive housing for women in the HRM. Women who have been recently homeless or may require some support to develop skills and stability in independent living can sign a lease, pay rent and live in the home for up to two years. Holly House does not accept women coming directly from a correctional institution. Elizabeth Fry Society staff work with residents to develop plans for moving to new accommodations, maintaining a healthy and stable lifestyle, and accessing necessary community resources. Strict rules prohibit drug or alcohol use on site but residents are free to come and go at their leisure, and are not subject to constant supervision.

Compliance-Based Housing[83], used to define the type of affordable housing options available in the HRM, were widely criticized by sources. The Housing First Model[84] was identified as showing a lot of potential for resolving housing-related issues in the HRM. Sources referenced successful Housing First initiatives in British Columbia and Alberta. One Contact explained that the term "housing first" is being misused by some local organizations, where all aspects of the model have not been implemented. There is currently work being done by Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia (AHANS) to develop a community plan that will bring an effective Housing First model to the HRM. The first obstacle is ensuring enough affordable safe housing units can be made available.

vi) Mental health and/ or substance abuse

[83] Compliance-Based Housing refers to housing options that have conditions on a tenant's residence. For example, taking medications and not using drugs or alcohol.

[84] Housing First model is based on the notion that providing safe, sustainable housing is the starting point for addressing the issues and barriers that cause homelessness, such as substance abuse, mental health, criminality, etc. An important component is that a network of social support services is built into the housing plan so that the individual's needs are met (psychological counseling, medical, mental health, addictions treatments, ongoing follow-up, etc) and the life skills training that tenancy requires is included (social skills, cleanliness, banking, budgeting, financial planning, etc).

Mental health and/ or substance abuse issues were identified as impacting a significant portion of offenders in the HRM community. In fact, a CRF/CCC Representative positioned mental health and addictions as "far and away the biggest issues" that their clients face during reintegration efforts, and that concurrent mental health and substance abuse problems are also common. Subject Matter Experts connected with federal corrections identified that mental health is a problem for at least 26% to 43% of federal inmates, while other Contacts suggested rates are much higher. Mental health was noted as an increasingly significant issue by Representatives from provincial corrections. Substance abuse was estimated to affect 86% *or more* of inmates. These rates seem to hold true for residents at halfway houses. Although the federal corrections offer some sort of release programming for those with mental health and substance abuse issues, such planning is "non-existent" at the provincial level. This means that those rates are also relatively accurate for offenders in the wider community.

In the past four to six years CSC started maintaining a mental health team to facilitate federal offender reintegration. It is not clear whether this team is only available to CRF and CCC residents, or if all federally released offenders on parole can access it. The team includes a mental health nurse and mental health social worker and CSC also contracts a psychiatrist and two psychologists. Although these resources would seem adequate, the CRF/CCC Representative explained that a disconnect happens when people are transferring into provincial mental health and substance abuse services. There have been instances where provincial workers may direct clients to access CSC resources; however, if the goal is to be safely reintroducing the offender to general society, CSC's standpoint is that accessing provincial resources is vital to ongoing success and stability in the community.

More generally, uncertainty with community Mental Health Services in the HRM was evident. There is confusion around what programming is available, the differences in services between local offices, and clients were reported as commonly being shuffled between offices due to mandated catchment areas, waiting lists, among other complications. For released offenders that are ineligible for CSC's mental health team, it is not a straightforward process to access the support and services for mental health.

In terms of community services pertaining to addictions, complaints seemed less about a lack of services and more about the parameters around accessing the services available. For example, abstinence-based programming like that offered by the Salvation Army excludes individuals actively using any type of drug, including methadone. Services offered by Capital District Health Authority's (CDHA) Addictions Program vary between offices and most accept clients by referral only. CDHA's counseling is free with no waiting list, but options for evening and weekend sessions are limited. Addictions support requiring

medical assistance, such as withdrawal or detoxification, typically see clients on a waiting list for some time before a spot becomes available in programming. Other private, one-on-one counseling is far too expensive for most, and addictions services offered by the emergency shelters require residency at one of the shelters; although this programming permits participants to be actively using substances, the individual must also endure shelter living (discussed elsewhere as inappropriate for reintegrating offenders).

The lack of appropriate services, programming and support for individuals with these issues was troubling for Contacts, particularly those from non-profit community organizations. One Contact explained that in the HRM there are virtually no services available for active and concurrent mental health and addictions cases. Individuals in this position were noted as being among those barred from shelters, unable to access IA, and repeat offenders. Another source criticized that Community Outreach Workers from Addictions Services do not actually leave their office and thus help very few of those who require their services and supports.

vii) Employment and employability programming

Other research on female and male offender reintegration in Canada has identified that employment contributes to "an increased likelihood of successful sentence completion, a longer period of time in the community, and a decreased likelihood of returning to the institution for a new offence or technical violation" (Gillis and Nafekh 2005, 13). Further, the research suggests that "community-based … readily-accessible employment interventions for offenders" upon release to the community can play an important role in reintegration (13). Roughly two- thirds of male federal offenders are unemployed at the time of their arrest (Boe 2005). Education is a closely related factor, where 78% of all men admitted to federal custody in Canada since April 1995 had not completed a high school education at the time of admission (Boe 2005).

Employment status was consistently identified by sources for the current project as a risk factor for becoming involved with the Criminal Justice System (CJS), and as such it is a factor of successful reintegration. A Representative from Nova Scotia Corrections noted that educational programs have the best payoff in terms of offender reintegration, followed closely by an individual having some legitimate income, whether by employment or government subsidy. A Contact from the HRM's shelter system commented that the biggest barrier to safe, secure long-term housing is having a job. Education and employability are closely related, where a certain level of education is often listed as a qualifier for a job. Those who have been incarcerated clearly need support in upgrading education and work-related skills

both within the institution and upon release. Unfortunately, these two areas are not strong points for programming in the provincial corrections facility in the HRM.

Another factor that complicates a former offender's ability to find legitimate work upon release is the increasing popularity of criminal record checks and a workplace requirement for employees to be "bondable." Even in roles where one's offence would not be relevant, any blemish reported in a criminal record check is enough for many HRM employers to deny employment opportunities to an individual. For example, an offence related to operating a motor vehicle should not preclude someone from working in general labour, sales or service sectors. However, there are many cases where this has happened.

One Interviewee has observed criminal histories becoming an issue when an employee is caught in a lie after being hired, where they may have initially told their employer that they did not have a criminal record in order to get the position. The Contact had also seen clients, particularly younger ones, who were willing and able to access education at community college for work in certain support service areas but were turned away from programs because they required "clean" criminal record checks. This is despite the fact that some, given their experiences within the system, could be ideal candidates for that line of work. Another Contact reported that male offenders seem to have less difficulty finding and maintaining employment than female offenders, presumably because the labour sector where many men are obtaining work has fewer concerns around criminal backgrounds (landscaping/ snow removal, painting, drywall, concrete, etc). However, HRM-wide there is an identified shortage of work for those with criminal records.

Criminal histories are a major barrier for finding employment in the HRM, even for low-skilled work. As one Interviewee put it, "people [employers] are afraid to take a chance on an ex-offender." The result is that those with a criminal record are often trapped on income assistance programs, since they cannot access employment to live self-sufficiently. There are recent initiatives working to address deficits in employability and education among the community's former offender population (for examples, see mention of Our Thyme Café and Employment Readiness Program above). However recently released offenders are not routinely put into contact with employment/ employability services. Although one Source noted that CSC offers Community Employment Services at the local parole office, and that CRF/CCC staff encourage residents to access the community resources (YMCA Employment Centre, Job Junction, Temporary Agencies, etc), there are a lot of offenders in the community without access to that

guidance. Further, programs designed to offer education, employability and other skill upgrades are not able to change the policies of local businesses around criminal record expectations.

Sources pointed to a need for programming in the HRM that develops personal and employability skills and offers vocational training while on the job. A Representative from NS Corrections suggested that HRM could play a valuable role in enhancing offender reintegration by developing and offering work programs that would start while offenders are incarcerated at CNSCF and carry over upon their release to the community. Another Contact identified that Youth LIVE is a good model that is currently limited to youth at risk. It was suggested to expand this type of social enterprise programming to adults.

To conclude this section, a common criticism was made about each of the seven priority areas. Data sources named communication and collaboration between and among organizations, agencies, and departments as a weakness at every stage of offender reintegration. This typically referred to relationships between government and non-government groups. Allocation of resources and a willingness to communicate and collaborate on the seven priority areas are barriers to successful reintegration that are far beyond the control of the offender. At the same time, these components are very much at the centre of an offender's chances for long-term and successful rehabilitation and reintegration into the community.

2013 Roundtable Review of Offender Reintegration: HRM Recommendations

Drawing from the information presented in this report, the following section outlines five recommendations for tackling the most pressing issues around offender reintegration in the HRM. A set of actions are listed to provide steps for addressing each recommendation.

Recommendation 1: Employment Opportunities and Employability Programming

The HRM needs more employability training and employment opportunities for offenders. The HRM would benefit from social enterprise employment initiatives, the development of a central resource of employment opportunities in the HRM for offenders, and the municipal government should consider developing its own program to employ offenders.

Actions:

A) HRM must become informed on this subject, including the rise of criminal record checks as a determinant for employment, the challenges posed by the record

suspension process, the number of citizens with criminal records, and the limited number of employment opportunities for former offenders.

B) HRM must assume a leadership role to educate employers on realities of excluding applicants with a criminal record (convictions may be irrelevant to position; convictions may be dated; they are excluding a significant number of qualified applicants, etc). HRM should advocate for local businesses to hire former offenders and consider offering an incentives program for businesses who do change their policies.

C) Upon release or shortly after release, offenders must be supported in seeking employment. HRM should be the catalyst for the development of a directory of employers willing to hire former offenders, and the resource should be provided to offenders. Community agencies could be engaged to help with this and programs targeting this objective should be supported. Social enterprise employment is particularly promising.

D) During incarceration and upon release, offenders need support in accessing programming that offers education and skill upgrades, development opportunities and work experience. HRM and the Province must collaborate on this.

Recommendation 2: Programming and Release Planning at CNSCF

CNSCF needs to be positioned as part of the community; the institution is not external to the HRM as its function has real implications for the wider community. CNSCF must be actively engaged in the safety of the wider community in addition to security of the facility. Inmates need programming opportunities during incarceration. Behaviours will not change without constructive intervention that provides alternative options; risks to the institution and the wider community cannot be mitigated without programming. The relationship between HRM and NS Corrections must be strengthened.

Actions:

A) HRM must advocate for increased community involvement in provincial programming and balanced programming opportunities for men and women within CNSCF. Where Elizabeth Fry Society, a community organization, is permitted to offer services and programs to female offenders, a similar relationship must be developed to offer supports to male offenders.

B) HRM and CNSCF must collaborate to develop and implement a functional release planning program for male offenders that will engage community organizations. Exit planning processes must begin prior to release so that issues of income assistance, housing and community programming will be in place upon release. Collaboration with DCS on this matter would also be useful.

C) Create a Community Support Worker position to coordinate release planning at CNSCF. The Community Support Worker would need to be independent of correctional staff, so that the inmate's release plan is a priority over internal security and labour management within the facility. This position would liaise between offenders, CNSCF and community resources to ensure that offender needs are known and are met upon their release to the community.

Recommendation 3: Community Programming and Services for Adult Men

Ongoing, long-term support must be accessible to all offender groups (youth, women, men and overrepresented ethnic groups). There is a real, identified need for community programs and services for those who have "aged out" of youth programs, particularly men, who have ongoing legal issues and typically have some level of "learned helplessness." Adult men (25+) represent a large portion of the HRM's offender population, yet there is a shortage of outreach programming and resources available to those ready to make significant changes, during and/or at any point after their incarceration.

Actions:

A) HRM must become educated on organizations that target offender populations through outreach services, community programming and other supports. HRM should support and promote those organizations.

B) HRM should take on an active role in advocating for increased support and resources from the Provincial and Federal governments on this issue. Particular effort should be put towards resources for adult men.

C) Existing community groups that are specialized in supporting and working with adult men with a criminal background need increased support from HRM and the wider community. HRM should work to improve community understanding of the value and intent of services and programs designed for adults with a criminal background.

Recommendation 4: Continuity and Consistency among the Support Network

There is a great need for organizations, agencies and government departments to improve communication lines and to collaborate on issues pertaining to offender needs for successful reintegration. A holistic or "wraparound" approach is widely regarded as being the most effective to engage with and support those with complex needs. Such an approach provides a complete network of support and requires a high level of communication and collaboration between and among organizations so that consistency and continuity of support is maintained. In the HRM, community

organizations and government agencies must be involved in order to address the range of needs for offender groups. The network of services must address needs around housing, income assistance, health, mental health/ addictions, employment, and education, among others.

Actions:

A) HRM should facilitate the development of a strategic action plan that will address service gaps and raise awareness of the services relevant to offender reintegration. Community and government organizations must be engaged with this project.

B) HRM should facilitate a symposium that brings together the range of services for the purposes of information sharing, partnership building and coordination or planning of service provision. A resource or directory should be developed and updated annually that outlines the network of support services relevant to offender reintegration. This would be useful to the Community Support Worker and any other positions responsible for release planning from federal and provincial correctional facilities.

C) HRM should work to improve community understanding of the value and intent of the services and programs designed for those with a criminal background.

D) There is a need for true street outreach programs in the HRM, where workers are less office-based and are visible to street-based populations. Such programs are necessary for accessing a wider population of those in need *on their own terms*, without putting the expectation on them to seek out services. Community volunteers could be mobilized and trained as liaisons between target populations and community services. The volunteer program could be run through the municipality, as part of their role in the network of services.

Recommendation 5: Appeal to the Province to Address Service Gaps in their Jurisdiction

Although many areas of deficit relating to reintegration of offenders are under provincial jurisdiction (such as housing, income assistance, mental health and substance abuse), in light of the fact that the HRM is a catchment area for the vast majority of released provincial offenders, it has a vested interest in successful reintegration. The municipality should endeavour to facilitate and coordinate services between the two levels of government and ensure that pressure is put on provincial departments to address the issues outlined herein.

Actions:

A) Housing units that are separate from the emergency shelters must be made available to offenders upon their release. Provincial offenders, especially males, are particularly limited in appropriate short-term housing options upon their release. Special

consideration should be given to those with mental health and substance abuse, for whom strict compliance-based housing options are even less suitable.

B) There is a need for programming and services for those with a) concurrent mental health and substance abuse issues and for b) substance abuse issues where offenders are still actively using. A harm reductionist approach is widely regarded as the most successful, and is more appealing to the target population.

A program similar to the COSA model[85] could be especially useful for addressing substance abuse among the federal and provincial offender population upon release. Much like COSA, community volunteers could be mobilized and trained to facilitate this.

C) HRM should negotiate with DCS about ways that policies and procedures could be modified to improve offender reintegration. Suggestions include:

i. At intake, DCS workers should review files of clients with prior IA involvement to identify the information that is already available and know what information needs to be updated or collected. This should speed up the process, since the client will not be demanded to collect information that is already on file.

ii. Match past clients with caseworkers that they have previously worked with, where possible and where appropriate.

iii. The IA intake process should start while offenders are still incarcerated. Developing a partnership between DCS and HHH/AHANS could address the issue of offenders not having an address upon release, especially considering HHH's trustee program.

[85] The COSA model (Circles of Support and Accountability) engages a small group of volunteers to meet regularly with the reintegrating offender to become a source of both long-term support and to hold the offender accountable for their choices and behaviours around substance (ab)use.

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THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

ADDRESSING YOUTH CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN THE HRM:
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Stephen Schneider, Ph.D.

Department of Sociology and Criminology

Saint Mary's University

Executive Summary

This report documents the findings of research assessing initiatives in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) that address the problem of serious and chronic young offenders. Based on this research, policy and program recommendations are made to the HRM government to more effectively address this problem.

If police-reported statistics are used as the sole basis to assess whether initiatives implemented in the HRM following the 2008 Roundtable Report have had any impact on youth crime and violence, the answer would be no (or at best, the initiatives have had a negligible impact).

This is partially due to significant gaps in efforts to control youth crime and violence for the regional municipality as a whole and within high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods in particular. These gaps include the following:

- the lack of a collaborative and integrated multi-governmental/multi-sectoral approach at the city-wide and neighbourhood levels,
- the absence of comprehensive strategic plans for the city as a whole and for neighbourhoods with a high rate of crime, violence and criminogenic risk factors,
- insufficient outreach to the most at-risk children, youth and young adults (in part due to an inadequate number of youth outreach workers),
- a shortage of structured, developmentally-based after-school programs and resources (that offer tutoring, mentoring, social competency skills training, sports, recreation) in high-risk environments,
- a lack of co-ordinated strategies, programs, and resources to prevent and treat mental health and substance abuse disorders that are linked to serious and chronic youth criminality,
- insufficient labour market and post-secondary education strategies for at-risk youth and young adults, and
- the absence of evidence-based community crime prevention programs (in particular the Crime Free Multi-Housing Program) in Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority communities.

Given that a small number of adolescent and young adult offenders are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime and violence in the HRM, this report focuses on serious and chronic adolescent offenders (12-17) and young adult offenders (18-25). In its recommendations, the report extols the HRM government and its key partners to do the same in their attempts to control and reduce youth crime and violence. To this end, the over-riding recommendation of this report is to develop a comprehensive strategic plan that mobilizes all relevant governmental and non-governmental actors and resources to work in a collaborative, integrated fashion, especially within high-risk, high-crime

neighbourhoods. This comprehensive, collaborative, and strategic approach must incorporate three complementary components: (1) prevention (social problem-solving initiatives that prevent the onset of criminal and violent behaviour by targeting children and youth who are most at risk of serious and chronic offending), (2) intervention (providing treatment and other meaningful opportunities to youth and young adults who have been in trouble with the law and are at risk of future serious and chronic offending), and (3) suppression (traditional and evidence-based criminal justice approaches targeting chronic and serious offenders).

Notwithstanding the importance of a comprehensive approach to youth and gang violence, the over-riding focus should be placed on prevention: in particular, early intervention, social problem-solving initiatives that strive to address the root causes of serious and chronic criminal offending within high-risk communities, families, children and youth. Emphasis should be placed on the direct delivery of programs and services to at-risk children and youth with the goal of enhancing their personal resilience. To this end, there needs to be an increase in after-school programs within (or close to) high-risk, socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Ideally, these developmentally-based after-school programs should include: (i) tutoring, (ii) social competency skills training (e.g., impulse control, anger management, conflict resolution, problem-solving/critical thinking, empathy, etc.), (iii) mentoring, (iv) sports and other physical, leisure or recreational activities, and (v) career and post-secondary education planning.

Another foundational recommendation of this report is that there must be greater cooperation, coordination and collaboration that not only enjoins the HRM and provincial governments, but includes all relevant stakeholders (non-governmental agencies, the private sector, community groups, and other public institutions). This collaborative, coordinated approach should be implanted in high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods using a formal structure. Specifically, this report recommends the implementation of multi-agency Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams (NISTs), which would strive to be truly comprehensive in their efforts to address youth and gang violence locally (and include prevention, intervention and suppression initiatives). Each NIST would be guided by a long-term strategic plan (specific to its neighbourhood), while on a more tactical basis the NISTs would coordinate responses, in a timely manner, to immediate and emerging youth crime and violence problems, and their root causes, in their respective jurisdictions.

Attached to each NIST should be Youth Outreach Workers, whose responsibilities would include monitoring current and emerging local youth crime and violence problems, identifying at-risk youth and young adults, and coordinating the provision of services to these individuals. Ostensibly, the role of the

youth outreach worker is to coordinate a case management, wraparound approach for each individual identified as high-risk, which would involve leveraging the relevant expertise, resources, and services of NIST members. The NISTs and the attached Youth Outreach Workers would replace the Youth Advocacy Program so that a greater number of high-risk neighbourhoods are covered and more high-risk youth and youth adults are served.

Introduction

This report documents the findings of research to assess initiatives in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) that address youth and gang violence specifically, and serious and chronic youth offending generally. Based on this research, policy and program recommendations are made to the HRM government to more effectively prevent and control this problem.

Scope and nature of youth violence in Nova Scotia and the HRM

The table below summarizes police-reported violent crime rates for youth in Nova Scotia and Canada for 2008 to 2012.

Police-reported youth violent crime rates: Nova Scotia and Canada, 2008 to 2012

	Nova Scotia					**Canada**				
	Homicide	Robbery	Major Assault	Total Violent Crime	YVCSI	Homicide	Robbery	Major Assault	Total Violent Crime	YVCSI
2008	6	164	411	2,755	NA	2	171	286	1,887	NA
2009	0.0	164	339	2,659	NA	3.1	162	274	1,864	NA
2010	4.6	120	287	2,676	110	2.3	168	247	1,838	93.7
2011	3.1	170	311	2,649	114.2	1.9	311	240	1,756	88.6
2012	0.0	161	294	2,755	100.4	1.4	153	219	1,639	83.0
Avg.	**2.74**	**155.8**	**328.4**	**2698.8**	**108.2**	**2.14**	**193**	**253.2**	**1796.8**	**88.43**

Sources: Wallace, 2009; Dauvergne & Turner, 2010; Brennan and Dauvergne, 2011; Brennan, 2012; Perreault, 2013

As this table shows, all of Nova Scotia's major youth violent crime indicators during this period are higher than the national rates. The average Youth Violent Crime Severity Index (YVCSI) rate[86] for the province during this period was 108.2 compared to the national average of 88.43. Accordingly, compared to the national average, Nova Scotia posted higher rates for the more serious violent offences of homicide, robbery, and major assault.

The trends from 2008 to 2012 for the province show that the total violent crime rate remained relatively stable. However, the YVCSI rate dropped slightly between 2010 and 2012, meaning there was less serious violent crimes. In particular, there was also a drop in homicides by youth as well as a significant decrease in major assaults by youth. Data provided by the Halifax Regional Police (HRP) for this research indicates that between 2008 and 2009, violent crime committed by youth in the HRM decreased from 682 incidents to 509. The number increased to 526 from 2009 to 2010 and then increased again in 2011 to 576. Thus, while the violent crime rate among youth declined by 15 percent between 2008 and 2011, it increased by 9.5 percent between 2009 and 2011 (while increasing 11 percent between 2010 and 2011).

Interviews conducted with HRP Community Response Officers who work in high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods provided anecdotal evidence that youth crime and violence has been on the decline in recent years. Those officers assigned to Mulgrave Park, Greystone Court, Uniacke Square, Bayers-Westwood, and Scotia Court in Dartmouth all stated that violence appears to have decreased; in particular, incidents of serious assaults and swarmings appear to have declined in recent years. These police officers stressed, however, that violence associated with "open-air" drug trade does not appear to have abated in recent years.

Gun-Related Violent Crime

Statistics generated from both police reports and victimization surveys indicate that much of the violent crime in Halifax involves less serious common assaults. However, the HRM continues to exceed the national rate with respect to gun-related crimes. Police-recorded statistics for 2011 indicate that, "the vast majority (91%) of firearm homicides that occurred in Canada's census metropolitan areas (CMAs) in 2011 were concentrated in the seven largest CMAs and Halifax. In particular, Halifax (1.72), Edmonton (1.08) and Winnipeg (1.04) reported the highest rates of firearm homicide per 100,000 population in

[86] The Youth Violent Crime Severity Index rate is weighted in favour of more serious violent crimes (murder, robbery, aggravated assault) compared to the Youth Violent Crime rate which applies the same weight to all police-reported violent incidents regardless how serious.

2011" (Perreault, 2012, 7). Furthermore, police-reported statistics suggests that gun-related violence has been increasing in Halifax in recent years. In July of 2011, the city recorded its 45th shooting incident, which equalled the total for all of 2010. Const. Brian Palmeter of Halifax Regional Police told the media, "We attribute that to the criminal element ... relying on firearms as their tool of choice to settle their disputes. It's part of the overall escalation ... of violence and power. What may have been settled years ago with a knife is now being settled with a gun" (*Chronicle Herald*, July 7, 2011). According to the HRM Office of Public Safety, "Much of the violent crime that occurs in our community is the result of altercations between individuals or groups of people who are typically involved in criminal activity – often the illegal drug trade – and are intent on using violence to settle a score. More and more often, they're resorting to gun violence. It's not a case of widespread violence but rather individuals or groups targeting one another" (Halifax Regional Municipality, September, 2011, 4).

Gang-related Violence

Police-reported violent crime statistics for 2011 indicate that for Canada as a whole, "one-third of all youth accused of homicide were involved in a gang-related homicide..." (Perreault, 2012, 14). Statistics Canada notes that for the HRM, "there has also been an increase in gang-related homicides in recent years." Since 2001, there have been 16 gang-related homicides in Nova Scotia, 14 of which occurred between 2007 and 2011 (Perreault, 2012, 19).

Local gangs, especially those involved in the drug trade, are attributed at least partial blame for any increase in homicides and gun-related violence in the HRM in recent years. The final report of the Mayor's Roundtable on Violence in 2008 stated that the HRM is "home to small gangs centered in the drug trade and accountable for a number of retaliatory murders and public-frightening drive-by shootings…" (Clairmont, 2008, 22). In 2012, an integrated enforcement team involving the Halifax Regional Police and the RCMP was formed to focus on gangs and gang-related gun violence. According to a 2012 media article, the team's head, Staff Sgt. Jim Butler, indicated this unit is

> ... watching six to eight gangs, ranging in size from four members up to dozens. Most have six to eight members and most of them are young, some only 15 … All of the gangs are in the drug business and have firearms, he said. They feel the need to carry weapons to intimidate rivals and protect their own drug-dealing turf and to expand their territory … When asked to make an estimate, he said about 10 to 12 local gang members have been murdered in Halifax in the last five years (*Chronicle Herald*, March 5, 2012).

Around the same time, Public Safety Canada (2012, 1), estimated that in the HRM "there were 80 youth directly involved in gangs with 20 more youth identified as affiliated with gang members or gang activities. Four HRM Public Housing projects had active gangs or evidence of gang-related violence."

Summary: Youth Violence in Canada and the HRM

Any discernible trend in violent youth crime between 2008 and 2012 is difficult to identify. The youth homicide rate decreased from 6.0 to 0.0 during this period, although the rate was still above the national average in both 2010 and 2011. The youth robbery rate also declined, but only slightly, with the highest rate occurring in 2011. Perhaps the most perceptible trend was the rate of major assaults by youth, which declined by 28.4 percent between 2008 and 2012. While it is too early to conclude that serious violent youth crime peaked in 2011, there was a decline in 2012 in the rate of youth homicides, robbery, major assaults, and in the youth violent crime severity index rate. However, the total youth violent crime rate for the HRM (which includes less serious offences) was the same in 2012 compared to 2008. Interviews with police also indicate that there has been an increase in firearm offences involving youth in recent years. Finally, the rate of violent youth crime in all categories continues to be higher in the HRM compared to national rates.

In conclusion, if these police-reported statistics are used as the sole basis to assess whether initiatives implemented in the HRM following the 2008 Roundtable Report have had any impact on youth violence, the answer would be no (or at best, they have had a negligible impact).

Benchmarks, Research Findings, Analysis, and Recommendations

This section of the report identifies the benchmarks used to assess youth crime and violence initiatives implemented in the HRM since 2008, discusses and analyzes the findings of the research assessing these initiatives, and provides recommendations that attempt to fill the gaps, while building on the strengths of current initiatives and resources.

Current initiatives are assessed using the following three benchmarks: (i) the extent to which they satisfy the recommendations made in the 2008 report by the Mayor's Roundtable on Violence (Clairmont, 2008); (ii) theoretical models concerned with preventing, reducing, and controlling serious and chronic youth offending; and (iii) model programs and best practices that have been implemented in other jurisdictions and have realized success in preventing, reducing, and controlling serious and chronic youth offending.

The recommendations made in this report are informed by and reflective of an ongoing seismic shift occurring in North America in relation to how crime and violence are best ameliorated. This shift is represented by the following principles:

- a proactive philosophy that focuses on preventing the onset of criminal and violent behaviour by ameliorating root causes through a targeted, social problem-solving approach,
- a risk-based approach that targets neighbourhoods with high levels of crime and violence, while also focusing on communities, neighbourhoods, families, children and youth with chronic and serious criminogenic risk factors,
- a "problem-oriented" philosophy in which the nature and scope of the intervention is commensurate with the nature and scope of the problem, while being highly individualized to specific circumstances,
- a coordinated, collaborative, multi-sectoral approach that involves all relevant stakeholders and resources within and outside of government,
- a comprehensive strategy, when necessary, that incorporates in a complementary fashion the five pillars of crime and violence prevention and control: (i) crime prevention through social development, (ii) situational (opportunity-reduction) approaches, (iii) community crime prevention, (iv) recidivism prevention, and (v) law enforcement and other criminal justice interventions,
- a community-based approach to addressing localized crime and violence problems, which means that neighbourhoods and communities most affected must be mobilized, and an evidence-based approach in which policies, practices and programs are informed by rigorous theories, research, and best practices.

Benchmark #1: Municipal governments should play a leadership role in mobilizing and coordinating multi-governmental and multi-sectoral responses to youth crime and violence at the city-wide, neighbourhood, and block level.

Research findings and analysis: To some extent, the HRM government has taken on the mantle of leadership in mobilizing and coordinating resources to prevent and control youth crime and violence. However, there continues to be significant gaps, including:

- the lack of a collaborative and integrated multi-governmental/multi-sectoral approach at the city-wide and neighbourhood levels,
- the absence of comprehensive strategic plans for the city as a whole and for neighbourhoods with a high rate of crime and violence and criminogenic risk factors,
- insufficient outreach to the most at-risk children, youth and young adults (in part due to an inadequate number of youth outreach workers),

- a shortage of developmentally-based, structured after-school programs and resources (that offer tutoring, mentoring, social competency skills training, sports, recreation) in high-risk environments,
- a lack of co-ordinated strategies, programs, resources to prevent and treat mental health and substance abuse disorders that are linked to serious and chronic youth criminality,
- insufficient labour market and post-secondary education strategies for at-risk youth and young adults, and
- the absence of evidence-based community crime prevention programs in Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority communities.

Recommendations: The HRM government must take on a greater leadership role in addressing youth and gang violence by mobilizing and coordinating all relevant governmental and non-governmental stakeholders and resources in a collaborative, comprehensive, evidence-based, strategic approach for the HRM as a whole and for individual high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods.

Benchmark #2: Serious and chronic youth offending is most effectively addressed through a comprehensive approach that is guided by a strategic plan

Efforts to address serious and chronic youth offending must rely on a comprehensive approach that incorporates prevention, intervention and suppression initiatives in a complementary and strategic fashion. Each of these three components also has to be developed and implemented in a comprehensive fashion (e.g., the prevention component should include social problem-solving, opportunity reduction, and community development initiatives).

Research findings and analysis: There are numerous prevention, intervention, and enforcement programs, policies, and practices in the HRM (implemented by the HRM government, provincial government and NGOs) that directly target and indirectly impact youth crime and violence (and their causes). That is, collectively, among all the key stakeholders, many of the essential elements for a comprehensive approach to youth crime and violence are in place. Noticeably absent, however, is a plan of action that brings all these elements together in a comprehensive, integrated strategic framework.

Recommendations: The problem of serious and chronic young offenders in the HRM requires a comprehensive response that is guided by a rigorous, systematic, strategic plan, which incorporates, in a complementary fashion, best practices in prevention, intervention, and suppression (adapted to the specific circumstances of the HRM). Corresponding comprehensive strategic plans should also be developed for high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods. Within the context of a collaborative approach, the

HRM government should take the lead in developing and implementing this comprehensive, strategic plan and mobilizing the key stakeholders and resources necessary for effective implementation. A comprehensive strategy for addressing serious and chronic criminality among youth and young adults in the HRM should ensure the following five pillars of crime and violence prevention and control are included:

- social problem-solving / developmental approaches that address the root causes of violence (and predicate criminal activities, such as drug trafficking) by ameliorating factors that put specific neighbourhoods, communities, families, children and youth at risk (stressing early intervention initiatives that target the highest risk families, children and youth),
- situational approaches that reduce the opportunity for violent behaviour to take place in a particular time and (public) place, whether this is the redesign and "hardening" of those (public) physical environments that facilitate violent crime, reducing access to guns and other weapons, or conflict resolution initiatives to mediate violence between rival gangs or competing drug traffickers,
- community crime prevention, which emphasizes the mobilization of neighbourhoods that have both a high level of violence and a concentration of root causes (and which includes both community development and community defence initiatives);
- recidivism prevention to treat serious and chronic young offenders and reintegrate them back into the community (emphasizing cognitive behavioural therapy, social competency and life skills development, mental health and substance abuse treatment, education, and job training and placement);
- policing and law enforcement, which includes effective, evidence-based suppression techniques (e.g., integrated police units, Compstat, hot spot policing) as well as preventative approaches (community and problem-oriented policing, emphasizing the important roles of Community Response Officers and School Liaison Officers);
- interventions for the prevention and treatment of mental health, psychological, and substance use disorders that may give rise to anti-social, criminal, and violent behaviour.

A comprehensive strategic plan addressing serious and chronic criminality among youth and young adults for the HRM should also:

- articulate specific and measurable outcome goals, such as the targeted reduction in youth violent crimes (as measured by police and victimization statistics),
- set out the time frame for this strategic plan (e.g., five years),

- detail specific strategies and tactics (policies, programs, services, etc.) as to how a reduction in youth violence will be achieved (including how existing programs and services in the HRM are integrated into the overall comprehensive strategic plan and how best practices identified in the literature, but not currently implemented in the HRM, can be adapted),
- identify the (high-crime, high-risk) communities and groups that will be prioritized in the plan,
- identify the key stakeholders who will be involved in carrying out the strategies and activities, their respective roles and responsibilities, and the mechanisms and processes in place to ensure a truly integrated, collaborative team approach,
- include strategies on how to mobilize and sustain the involvement of local neighbourhoods, communities, individual citizens, community groups, and other potential partners,
- provide a budget, including sources of funding and in-kind resources, and include an evaluation plan.

Benchmark #3: An effective, comprehensive approach to youth crime and violence requires a collaborative, multi-agency, multi-sectoral approach

Inherent in a comprehensive strategy to preventing, controlling, and reducing serious and chronic criminal offending by youth is a collaborative approach in which all relevant key stakeholders work as a team in a coordinated, seamless fashion.

Research findings and analysis: This research reveals that there are numerous examples of collaboration (formal and informal) among the many governmental and non-governmental agencies, community organizations, and professionals in the HRM that have a stake in controlling youth crime and violence (from a prevention, intervention, and enforcement perspective). However, a truly collaborative, multilateral, multi-sectoral approach continues to be lacking. One of the universal refrains from research participants interviewed for this study was that some of the organizations providing services and programs to at-risk children and youth continue to work in silos. Officials from some key agencies complained there were little or no efforts to involve them in a collaborative effort. Research participants also identified a lack of information sharing, due to privacy concerns, as a significant obstacle to a more fruitful multi-agency, collaborative approach to working with at-risk children and youth.

Other problems identified in this research that obstruct a multi-sectoral collaborative approach to youth crime and violence include the following: most of the inter-organizational partnerships tend to be

bilateral (what is needed is a multi-agency, multilateral team-based approach), many partnerships operate on an *ad hoc,* informal basis (the literature shows greater success can be achieved through a formalized infrastructure), and there is an absence of integrated, multi-sectoral teams at the neighbourhood level (especially those serving high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods).

Recommendations: One of the challenges in making recommendations to the HRM government to prevent and control youth crime and violence is that many of the most relevant policy and program areas fall within provincial jurisdiction. Thus, implicit in many of the recommendations made in this report is that any effort to tackle (youth) crime and violence must be undertaken by the HRM and the provincial government in partnership with one another. Furthermore, a foundational recommendation of this report is that serious and chronic criminality must be addressed in a collaborative, coordinated fashion, which not only enjoins the municipal/regional and provincial governments, but all key stakeholders (including non-governmental agencies, the private sector, community groups, and public institutions). In short, there must be a greater collaborative, coordinated, multi-sectoral team approach to youth crime and violence in the HRM. In particular, current collaborative initiatives and practices addressing youth crime and violence, at-risk children and youth, and young offenders in the HRM should:

- be intensified and expanded (to include all relevant stakeholders across the different levels of government as well as non-governmental and community-based groups),
- be implanted at the neighbourhood level (in high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods),
- using a formal structure (complete with information sharing protocols),
- that is guided by a strategic plan (specific to each neighbourhood), and
- strives to be truly comprehensive in addressing serious and chronic offending by youth and young adults.

Specifically, it is recommended that Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams (NISTs) be implemented in high crime, high-risk neighbourhoods. Each NIST would be responsible for developing and implementing comprehensive strategic plans for their respective neighbourhoods. On a tactical basis, they would coordinate responses, in a timely manner, to immediate and emerging youth crime and violence problems, their root causes, and at-risk youth (emphasizing flexibility in the application of problem-solving approaches that are individualized to the scope and nature of each circumstance).

These community-based teams should include a wide array of government and non-governmental agencies and professionals. A typical NIST could include the following team members:

- HRM Government (police, Community and Recreational Services, Urban Planning, Engineering, Volunteer Bureau, Fire department, Library)
- Provincial Government (Department of Justice, including public prosecutions, corrections, crime prevention, Department of Community Services, Department of Labour and Advanced Education)
- Health care (the IWK, Capital Health, Youth Health Centres, Public Health)
- Education (Halifax Regional School Board, public schools, post-secondary institutions)
- Youth employment and job training agencies and programs
- Community and faith-based groups
- Non-governmental service providers (family and child welfare, youth advocacy, homeless shelters, sport and recreational groups)
- Private sector firms and associations.

To avoid overlap with the SchoolsPlus program, the proposed integrated service teams should place particular emphasis on identifying and working with high-risk adolescents (13 to 17) and young adults (18-25).

Attached to each NIST should be Youth Outreach Workers, whose responsibilities would include monitoring current and emerging local youth crime and violence problems, identifying at-risk youth and young adults, coordinating the provision of services to these individuals and case managing high-risk youth and young adults (which would entail leveraging and coordinating the services, expertise, and resources of NIST members). The proposed NISTs would replace the Youth Advocacy Program so that a greater number of high-risk neighbourhoods are covered and more high-risk adolescents and youth adults are served.

Each NIST should be implemented in the context of, and responsible for implementing, a comprehensive, community-based strategy for high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods in the HRM. To this end, one promising model that the HRM government could adopt is the Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression (Spergel, 1995; Spergel et al., 1999; Spergel, 2007). At the core of this comprehensive model is an integrated, multidisciplinary, multi-sectoral intervention team that works collaboratively to case manage individual gang members, other serious and chronic young offenders, and high-risk youth. Central to this approach are the following inter-related strategies:

- community mobilization – mobilizing all key partners (government agencies, non-

governmental agencies, local residents, community groups, faith-based groups, local institutions, the private sector, and youth) to work in a collaborative fashion to plan and address local youth and gang crime and violence,

- coordination – coordinating and integrating the programs and services of each of the key partners to maximize their impact,
- outreach – using outreach workers to identify and actively engage gang-involved youth, other serious and chronic young offenders, as well as high-risk youth,
- developmentally-based, social problem-solving – programs and social services that address risk factors, which include providing and facilitating access to academic, mentoring, labour market, and health care programs or services,
- suppression – traditional criminal justice enforcement activities, as well as informal social control mechanisms, that hold gang-involved youth and serious and chronic young offenders accountable for their actions and behaviours (which include intensive supervision of youth by criminal justice agencies and community-based agencies), and organizational change and development – helping key partners develop the capacity to effectively address youth crime and violence through a strategic, team-based "problem-solving" approach, while developing and implementing policies, processes, programs and services that result in the most effective use of available and potential resources within and across agencies (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2008, 63-64).

Benchmark #4: At the core of a comprehensive, collaborative, multi-sectoral strategy to youth crime and violence must be *prevention*, in particular social problem-solving approaches that address the root causes of serious and chronic criminal offending

Notwithstanding the importance of a comprehensive approach to youth and gang violence that combines prevention, intervention and suppression strategies, the over-riding emphasis should be placed on prevention.

A proactive, preventative approach to crime and violence takes many forms: crime prevention through social development (criminality prevention), opportunity reduction (situational crime prevention, crime prevention through environmental design), community crime prevention, recidivism prevention, as well as community and problem-oriented policing. With that said, crime prevention through social development (CPSD) epitomizes the proactive philosophy and should be at the core of any crime and violence prevention strategy because it is geared towards preventing the onset of delinquent, criminal and violent behaviour. Some of the most effective CPSD interventions directed at high-risk children and youth include enriched pre-school, tutoring, mentoring, social competency skills training, cognitive behavioural therapy, after-school programs, and structured sports and recreation programs. Central to

the delivery of CPSD strategies are such principles as: early intervention (targeting high-risk parents and young children), a comprehensive, wraparound approach (addressing as many personal and social environmental risk factors as possible), case management (interventions that are individualized to the unique circumstances of the child or youth), the use of structured, after-school programs (to deliver tutoring, mentoring, social competency training, sports, etc.) and a multi-modal approach (interventions delivered through multiple agencies and different institutions in an integrated, coordinated, complementary fashion).

Research findings and analysis: An array of agencies, programs, services, and resources, at the governmental and non-government levels in the HRM directly and indirectly address the root causes of criminal and violent behaviour through proactive, problem-solving approaches. Most of these agencies, programs, and services utilize best practices that reflect those in the field of crime and violence prevention, such as early intervention and the wraparound approach. However, there are still major gaps and weaknesses in proactive, social problem-solving initiatives to address youth crime and violence in the HRM. Some of these stem from problems already identified in this report: the absence of a comprehensive strategic plan (which ideally would lay out how proactive, preventative approaches can be coordinated and effectively implemented at the local level), the lack of a collaborative, multi-agency approach, and the absence of a corresponding formal integrated infrastructure at the city-wide and neighbourhood levels. Other problems obstructing a more effective and comprehensive early intervention approach to serious and chronic youth crime and violence include:

- insufficient outreach and service delivery to many high-risk families, children and youth (i.e., many families, children, and youth continue to fall through the cracks),
- a shortage of resources, services and programs for high-risk families, children and youth in such areas as: mental health (assessment, prevention, and treatment); developmentally-based after-school programs, tutoring, social competency training, mentoring, as well as career and post-secondary education planning, and
- when available, relevant services and programs are not being accessed by high-risk parents and youth.

Recommendations: The HRM government, in collaboration with the provincial government and other key stakeholders, must ensure that any comprehensive strategy to address youth crime and violence emphasizes a proactive, early intervention, social problem-solving approach that addresses the root causes of chronic and serious criminal and violent behaviour targeting high-risk neighbourhoods, families, children and youth. In particular, the HRM Government should:

- assume a leadership role in coordinating the inter-agency collaboration of groups and agencies delivering relevant preventative, (early intervention) services for high-risk neighbourhoods, families, children and youth,
- ensure existing collaborative, early intervention, community-based programs and organizations in the HRM (in particular the SchoolsPlus program) have the mandate, resources and expertise to prevent the onset of delinquent, criminal and violent behaviour by addressing the root causes among high-risk children ,
- expand the number of outreach workers to more comprehensively identify and case manage at-risk families, children and youth,
- emphasize services that are delivered *directly* to at-risk children and youth (with the goal of increasing their personal resilience) through enriched pre-school and, for school-aged children and youth, developmentally-based after-school programs that provide: (1) tutoring (2) social competency and life skills training (e.g., impulse control, anger management, conflict resolution, problem-solving/critical thinking, empathy, coping skills), (3) mentoring, (4) sports, leisure and other recreational activities, and (5) career and post-secondary education planning, and
- actively recruit and train volunteers (from local post-secondary institutions) to serve as tutors, mentors, outreach workers, and program activity coordinators.

Benchmark #5: Preventing and treating mental health and substance abuse disorders can play a significant role in preventing youth violence and other serious and chronic criminal behaviour

Psychological and mental health disorders can increase the risk of offending, recidivism, violence (both self-directed and inter-personal) and other antisocial and risky behaviors, such as substance abuse and homelessness. The timely identification, diagnosis and treatment of mental health problems among youth and young adults may reduce the risk of offending and their formal contact with the criminal justice system. Furthermore, curriculum and programs have been developed that can help prevent the onset of mental health and substance abuse disorders by instilling in children and youth strong problem-solving and coping skills that can potentially carry into adolescence and adulthood (Shortt, Barrett, and Fox, 2001; Lowry-Webster et al., 2003; Barrett et al., 2006).

Research findings and analysis: Numerous services and programs are in place to help address psychological, mental health and substance abuse disorders among children and youth in the HRM. Much of the mental health services for children, youth and their families are provided through the IWK Health Centre. This includes court-ordered forensic mental health services for youth that have come into contact with the criminal justice system. There is also the Mental Health Mobile Crisis Team and the

Mental Health and Addictions Program of Capital Health (which does treat older youth and young adults). In 2012, the provincial Health and Wellness Minister released a government-wide strategy for mental health and addictions care, which includes an early intervention approach in which mental health clinicians are attached to the SchoolsPlus program. Notwithstanding these existing services and programs and recent initiatives by the provincial government, this research identified limitations and weaknesses in regards to ameliorating mental health and substance abuse risk factors that are linked to serious and chronic criminal offending by youth and young adults in the HRM:

- a lack of early intervention programs that can help prevent the onset of mental health and substance abuse disorders that may occur during adolescence and adulthood,
- insufficient early assessments, diagnosis and treatment of school-aged children who may suffer from a psychological disorder,
- long wait times for assessments and other mental health services through the IWK, and
- an increase in court-ordered mental health assessments, which means the IWK must increasingly ask for extensions from the court to complete the mental health assessments.

Recommendations: To effectively address mental health and addiction risk factors that contribute to serious and chronic offending among youth, it is recommended that the HRM Public Safety Office, along with other key stakeholders (Department of Health, Department of Justice, IWK, Capital Health, Public Health Officer, the School Board, relevant NGOs) develop a comprehensive strategy on reducing mental health and addiction risk factors that are linked to violent offending by youth. This strategy should include both treatment-based services for youth and prevention-based programs and services for school-aged children. Some issues to consider as part of this strategy are the following:

- include social competency training for children and youth in schools or as part of after-school programs that nurture skills (e.g., critical thinking, problem-solving, coping, self-esteem, assertiveness, etc.) essential to preventing mental health and addiction disorders later in life,
- more specifically, implement anxiety prevention programs (such as “FRIENDS for Life” or “Coping Power”) on a universal or targeted, risk-based basis,
- dedicate more resources to identifying and assessing risk factors for mental health and substance abuse disorders among children and youth in high-risk, socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods,
- increase delivery of mental health assessment, prevention, and treatment services

for children, youth, and young adults *within* high-risk neighbourhoods,

- develop and implement a comprehensive, city-wide substance abuse prevention program, directed at children and adolescents modelled after the "Midwestern Prevention Project," and undertake more research into the correlation between mental health and addiction disorders and chronic and serious criminal offending by youth and young people in the HRM.

Benchmark #6: Schools are crucial institutions in the prevention of criminality and violence

Research shows that poor cognitive development, academic failure, as well as a lack of attachment to schools, are all significant risk factors for future criminal offending and violence. These school-based risk factors can set in motion a chain of negative events and conditions (e.g., persistent truancy, school expulsion, dropping out of school, lack of adult supervision, association with anti-social peers, chronic unemployment) which can potentially lead to criminality, violence and other anti-social behaviors. Statistics and empirical research have established a particularly strong correlation between dropping out of school or permanent expulsion, on the one hand, and violent behaviour and/or formal contact with the criminal justice system, on the other. Given the above, as a crime and violence prevention institution, schools are second only to families in their potential contribution to reducing risk factors that give rise to serious and chronic criminal offending by adolescents and young adults.

According to Gottfredson, Wilson and Najaka (2006), school-based criminality and violence prevention interventions can be demarcated into two broad categories: (1) "environmental change strategies" (altering school or classroom environments) and (2) "individual-change strategies" (changing the knowledge, cognitive development, behaviors, skills, and attitudes of individual students). Based on their review of the research, the authors conclude that school-wide environmental strategies are generally more effective than those focusing on individuals' attitudes, behaviors, or beliefs (the one exception to this rule is truancy and dropping out, which are more effectively addressed through personal change strategies and material incentives for at-risk students). The most effective school-based crime and violence prevention strategies are "school and discipline management interventions; interventions to establish norms and expectations for behavior; and instructional programs that teach social competency skills using cognitive-behavioral methods." Those school-based strategies that appear to be least effective are "instructional programs that do not use cognitive-behavioral methods; counseling, social work and other therapeutic interventions, and [unsupervised] recreation and leisure programs" (Gottfredson, Wilson and Najaka, 2006, 145).

Research findings and analysis: The philosophies, strategies, and specific initiatives implemented by the Department of Education and the Halifax Regional School Board reflect best practices as far as the role of schools in crime and violence prevention is concerned. In particular, this includes:

- A proactive approach to school discipline management (Positive Effective Behaviour Supports) that establishes and enforces norms and expectations for behavior, while recognizing and rewarding positive behaviour (rather than relying on reactive, punitive, disciplinary measures),
- The development of a "restorative approach" to conflict management, which is geared toward nurturing within students the ability and proclivity to "think about themselves and how they deal with one another, and to work on developing healthy relationships and learning how to manage conflict" (Government of Nova Scotia, Restorative Approaches in Schools Project, Fact Sheet),
- An individualized, case management approach to students at risk of academic failure that includes specialized teaching support (e.g., resource centres, junior high support teachers), programs (e.g., IPPs, Reading Recovery, Youth Pathways and Transitions),
- Professionals, such as psychologists, counsellors, speech pathologists, who can provide specialized services to students to identify, assess and help treat behavioural, cognitive, psychological, and mental health factors that put children and youth at risk of academic failure, and alternative learning opportunities for students at risk of academic failure and dropping out (e.g., the Options and Opportunities (O2) program, credit recovery, correspondence courses, and greater flexibility in allowing students to finish credits within their own time frame).

There are also community-based tutoring programs that are available to struggling students and at-risk youth, which fill the voids left by finite school budgets and resources. The most impressive and comprehensive of these after-school programs is Pathways to Education in Spryfield, which provides academic tutoring, immediate material incentives (e.g., bus passes, gift certificates), long-term financial incentives (i.e., post-secondary scholarships), and advocacy (Student-Parent Support Workers help students and parents access school-based and other social services).

Less positive developments in school-based approaches to crime and violence prevention are the threats posed by cuts to education funding at the provincial level, which may mean fewer teachers, larger classes, and less support to at-risk students, according to the Nova Scotia Teachers Union (Canada News Wire, May 20, 2011). There is also a significant lack of structured, community-based, after-school tutoring programs for most high-risk neighbourhoods and students.

Recommendations: Specific recommendations for the Department of Education and the Halifax Regional

School Board (HRSB) that buttress current policies and practices to help ensure academic success and school attachment (while minimizing drop-out rates) for struggling students and at-risk youth including the following:

- the implementation of social competency skills training curriculum which research shows can increase academic success, while also ameliorating criminogenic risk factors,
- the use of material incentives for struggling and at-risk students at the secondary school level, (which can be offered for regular attendance, completion of assignments, improved grades, etc.),
- closer coordination between the HRSB (and individual schools) and the Pathways to Education program in Spryfield, particularly in regards to students who are at most risk of academic failure and dropping out; the HRSB as well as the HRM and provincial governments should also do what is necessary and feasible to support the expansion of Pathways (or similar after-school programs) into other high-risk communities,
- providing schools with adequate space, staff, and programs for in-school alternatives to out-of-school suspension, while ensuring these alternatives provide meaningful activities for learning, credit recovery and include, when necessary, appropriate social competency skills training for the student,
- ensuring O2 and other alternative school completion programs follow best practices in the area of drop-out prevention and recovery, which may mean augmenting these programs with other evidence-based practices that have shown to be successful in promoting academic success and graduation among high-risk students (e.g., case management/wraparound approach, social competency skills training, mentoring, community service, material incentives),
- piloting a drop-out recovery centre modelled after the Massachusetts Re-integration Center,
- encouraging post-secondary institutions in the HRM to play a greater role in reaching out to and supporting struggling students and at-risk youth to achieve academic success, high school completion, and a post-secondary education, and
- to help address bullying, violence, and misbehaviour within schools, complement PEBS and the restorative approach with specific lesson plans and curriculum that teach relevant social competency skills (anger management, empathy, impulse control, conflict resolution).

Benchmark #7: Specific interventions should be developed for older adolescents (15-17) and young adults (18-25) who are at high-risk of serious and chronic criminality or who have been in contact with the criminal justice system due to violent behaviour

Young people spanning in age from mid teens to early twenties are particularly challenging as far as crime, delinquency, and violence prevention is concerned. Research and statistics show that these

are the crime-and-violence-prone years, especially for males. Older adolescents and young adults are susceptible to a number of heightened risk factors compared to children, including peer pressure, less parental control and adult supervision, school truancy and expulsion, the onset of mental health problems, more exposure to violent images in the media, increased access to weapons, and greater opportunities to consume alcohol and drugs.

How best to deal with the controversial and polarizing issue of youth crime and violence has traditionally been characterized by “two complementary and often contradictory positions that view youth, on one hand, as young people who are developing and need protection, and on the other, as responsible persons who must answer for their actions" (International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, 2008, 82). Much of the responses to youth crime and violence can be subsumed under these two broad categories. The premise that young people are maturing, developing, and in need of protection is the foundation for social problem-solving approaches that attempt to prevent the onset of criminogenic conditions during childhood and adolescence. For older youth and young adults who have been in trouble with the law and are at risk of chronic or serious offending, treatment of risk factors and the provision of opportunities for positive and meaningful life experiences (that leverage the particular strengths and assets of individual youth and young adults) can also be included under this social problem-solving category. The argument that young people must be responsible for their actions is a fundamental premise of both the criminal justice system (that seeks to suppress crime and violence through punitive sanctions) and restorative approaches (in which offenders acknowledge their actions, the harms caused by them, and the need for reparations to victims).

Research findings and analysis: Research for this report indicates that a small number of adolescent and young adult offenders make up a disproportionate amount of crime in the HRM. Many of these chronic, offenders are the product of numerous social environmental and personal risk factors. There are a number of institutions, agencies, programs, and resources in the HRM that are available for at-risk youth as well as chronic and serious adolescent and young adult offenders. However, there are significant gaps in the programs and services in the HRM that can prevent and control youth crime and violence. Among these gaps are:

- the absence of a comprehensive strategy for preventing and treating chronic youth criminal and violent offending,
- unacceptable wait times for the assessment and treatment of youth with (suspected or diagnosed) mental health and substance abuse disorders,

- insufficient outreach efforts within high-risk neighbourhoods and communities targeting older adolescents and young adults by relevant governmental and non-government agencies; by extension, there are a limited number of outreach workers for (at-risk) older adolescents and young adults,
- a disproportionate number of high-risk youth and young adults, who could potentially benefit from existing developmental programs and services, but are not accessing them,
- insufficient community-based, adult-supervised after-school programs, activities, and "hang-out" centres for (at-risk) older adolescents and young adults,
- a lack of tutoring programs,
- a lack of and mentoring programs that specifically cater to older youth and young adults at risk of serious and chronic criminal offending or those who have already been in trouble with the law, and
- insufficient locally-available labour market (job training and placement) opportunities and programs for (at-risk) older adolescents and youth adults.

Recommendations: Notwithstanding the importance of early intervention programs that addresses criminogenic risk factors among children, a comprehensive approach to addressing serious and chronic offending must target high-risk adolescent males and young men, especially in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. At the core of these initiatives would be an integrated strategy that includes the following components: (i) education (completing high school, attending and completing a post-secondary education), (ii) labour market approaches (job training and placement, career planning, small business development), (iii) the delivery of other personal development interventions that overcome factors that obstruct adolescent males and young men from completing school, entering the legitimate labour market, and other pro-social behaviour, and (iv) programs that groom young men and women for community activism and leadership roles. Specific recommendations with respect to interventions for adolescents and youth adults who are at high-risk of criminal and violent behaviour or who have been in contact with the criminal justice system are as follows:

- incorporate into the proposed comprehensive strategic plan a component that focuses specifically on high-risk youth and young offenders (15-17) as well as young adult offenders (18-25),
- conduct more research into chronic and serious young offenders in the HRM, with particular emphasis on identifying prevalent risk factors,
- conduct a more thorough "gap analysis" that compares the needs of at-risk youth and young offenders and the current developmentally-based, social problem-

solving programs and services being offered in the HRM,

- mobilize existing or create new resources that address the gaps identified in this and subsequent research, taking into consideration the following recommendations:
    - increase the delivery of developmental programs and activities for (at-risk) adolescents and young adults within high-risk neighbourhoods (stressing sports and recreation, social competency skills training, tutoring, mentoring)
    - develop more comprehensive and integrated education/labour market strategies and opportunities for at-risk youth, young offenders and young adult offenders (that integrate education, career and post-secondary education planning, job training and placement, and transitional support),
    - intensify outreach of the HRM's Step up to Leadership and Youth Leadership programs within high-risk neighbourhoods and among at-risk youth,
    - increase the number of outreach workers for older at-risk adolescents and young adults,
    - decrease wait times for the assessment and treatment of youth and young adults with mental health and substance abuse disorders (and deliver more assessment and treatment services within high-risk neighbourhoods), and
    - involve (at-risk) youth in program development, delivery, and evaluation.

It is also recommended that the HRM and the provincial government work collaboratively to investigate the possibility of establishing a network of youth centres (beginning with a limited number of test cases), which follows Quebec's *centres jeunesse* model. These youth centres would be quasi-governmental bodies and constitute a more structured, purposeful, social developmental augmentation of the youth "hang-out" centres recommended in the 2008 Roundtable report. Like the *centres jeunesse,* the proposed centres would cater to youth and young adults who have been identified as high risk for serious and chronic criminal offending or have been processed through the criminal justice system for one or more serious criminal offences. As such, the proposed centres would be both proactive (working with high-risk youth) and reactive (reintegrating youth serving court-ordered sanctions). In both cases, the emphasis would be placed on a social problem-solving, developmental, case management, wraparound approach (co-ordinated by youth outreach workers). In addition, these proposed youth centres would:

- be located in high-crime, high-risk neighbourhoods so they are highly visible and easily accessible as drop-in centres,
- be integrated into the overall (outreach) approach to identifying high-risk youth,
- be closely aligned with the Neighbourhood Integrated Service Team located in that neighbourhood,
- serve as the primary working location for the Youth Advocacy Workers,
- provide emergency and crisis services to high risk youth as well as referrals to other agencies for more complete, long-term service provision, and
- when necessary, provide community-based programs and services (job training, education, detox and substance abuse counselling, social and life skills training).

The HRM government, in collaboration with the provincial and federal governments, relevant private sector organizations (e.g., Halifax Chamber of Commerce, Black Business Initiative), and relevant non-governmental organizations (e.g., CEED, YouthLive, Matrix) should also develop a comprehensive employment strategy specifically targeting at-risk youth (youth who have dropped out of school, youth who have been in trouble with the law, homeless youth, the chronically unemployed) as well as African Nova Scotian youth. Some proposed principles of this comprehensive labour market strategy are as follows:

- intensive outreach to the most at-risk youth and those who have been in trouble with the law (job training and employment should be used as an alternative to criminal justice sanctions),
- a case management, wraparound approach to help youth and young adults overcome those risk factors that obstruct stable employment (as well as criminal and violent behaviour),
- an integrated approach that connects high school completion, post-secondary education, job training and job placement (while providing material incentives and support throughout the process), and
- the delivery of the labour market strategy through the proposed NISTS and the Youth Centres (i.e., Youth Advocate Workers would refer clients, while the Youth Centres would be central facilities for promoting the program and providing some of the job training and placement services).

Benchmark #8: A risk-based approach targets and mobilizes neighbourhoods with a high rate of crime and violence

Crime rate statistics, national victimization surveys, and scores of other studies focusing on "street" violence show that this problem is not randomly distributed within urban centres in North America. Violent street crime among young men between the ages of 15 to 25 "tends to be concentrated geographically in areas of disadvantage, social exclusion and relative poverty" (Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2009, 25). Research in Canada also reveals that crime and violence in urban centres are concentrated spatially within more socially disadvantaged, inner-city neighbourhoods (Fitzgerald, Wisener, & Savoie, 2001; Savoie, Bédard, & Collins, 2006; Wallace, Wisener & Collins, 2006; Savoie, 2008).

In response to theories and research that link high levels of crime and violence with community disadvantage, there has been an increased emphasis placed on mobilizing residents in poor, socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods to address crime and violence and their underlying social causes. A community-based approach to crime prevention is predicated on the assumption that private citizens play a major role in maintaining order in a free society and therefore should be encouraged to accept more responsibility for ensuring safety and security. An underlying doctrine of community crime prevention (CCP) is that residents must become involved in proactive interventions aimed at reducing or precluding criminal opportunity from occurring in their neighborhoods. To mobilize neighborhoods to combat crime, violence, and their root causes successfully, there must be a strong sense of local social cohesion and informal social control, which can either develop organically or be induced through deliberate community organizing and development initiatives.

Research findings and analysis: A geo-spatial analysis of crime and violence in the HRM undertaken by Statistics Canada reveals that crime and violence is not "evenly distributed across the city but rather clustered in certain areas …" (Savoie, 2008, 9). The areas of the HRM that have the highest density of violent crime "appear in the downtown and northeastern areas located near the harbour" and in Dartmouth. This study also found that property crime and violent crime rates correlate with certain socio-economic factors. Violent crime rates are higher in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of males, where populations have lower levels of education and higher rates of unemployment, where more people live alone, where the housing situation is poor, where there is a higher proportion of residents spending more than 30 percent of their income on housing, and where there is a higher concentration of single-mother families ("these families tend to be living in low-income situations")(Savoie, 2008, 9). In short, violent crime rates are higher in neighbourhoods with lower rates of socio-economic status and higher rates of social disadvantage.

Data from Halifax Regional Police, as well as interviews with individual police officers conducted for this study, also indicate that crime and violence tend to be concentrated in certain parts of the city: the downtown business and entertainment district, north Halifax, parts of Spryfield, Bayers-Westwood, North Dartmouth, and North Preston.

Recommendations: The implications of the above research findings are threefold. First, efforts to prevent and control serious and chronic (youth) crime and violence must focus on those regions and neighbourhoods with the highest rates of crime and violence. To this end, neighbourhoods that should be particularly targeted are Mulgrave Park, Uniacke Square, Bayers-Westwood, Greystone Court, North Dartmouth (Scotia Court), and North Preston. Second, ongoing efforts must be made to promote a broad-based, representative, and inclusive mobilization of residents in these neighbourhoods around crime and other local social problems. Third, neighbourhood-based crime and violence prevention and control initiatives must be comprehensive and strategic, relying on an integrated social and community development approach that includes early interventions for high-risk children and youth (developmentally-based pre-school and after-school programs), an integrated education and labour market approach (career and post-secondary education planning, job training and placement), community organizing and leadership training (mobilizing and empowering local residents), community development (fostering social cohesion and informal social control), local economic development (small businesses and entrepreneurial training and development), and community clean-up and beautification projects.

It is also recommended that the Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority adopt the Crime-Free Multi-Housing Program for its communities. This comprehensive crime prevention program is geared specifically for multi-residential housing and can be adapted to specific environments. Some of the key elements of this program are a site assessment (that identifies the nature and scope of local crime and disorder problems, which then serve as a basis for site-specific crime prevention strategies), training of resident managers or site supervisors, education and mobilization of residents, and measures to identifying and remove problem tenants.

With respect to (youth) crime and violence prevention specifically, greater decision-making power over HRM government and police policies, programs and resource allocation should be delegated to residents living in high-risk (Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority) communities. Community leaders and other residents from these neighbourhoods should also play a leading role in the proposed Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams.

Benchmark #9: A youth crime and violence strategy must address the problem of disproportionate minority contact and its underlying causes

As Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011, 450) point out, "the problem of disproportionate minority contact with the criminal justice system has been well documented in Canada." Research has consistently demonstrated that Aboriginal peoples and African-Canadians in particular "are over-represented as offenders at various points in the criminal justice system compared to their share of the general population." Statistics demonstrate that African Nova Scotian youth make up a disproportionate number of offenders, gang members, and youth- in-custody relative to their population size (Nova Scotia Department of Justice, 2006; Clairmont, 2008).

In the American literature on the subject, there are two dominant explanations for disproportionate minority contact (DMC), according to Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011, 451). The "differential offending" hypothesis suggests that DMC results from "differences in the incidence, seriousness, and persistence of offending." In other words, members of certain racial minority groups are more frequently involved in criminal offending, engage in more serious criminal offences, and are over-represented as far as chronic offenders are concerned. In contrast, the "differential treatment hypothesis" suggests that the over-representation of racial minority groups in the criminal justice system results from "intended and/or unintended inequities" (i.e., racial profiling and discrimination) by the criminal justice system.

The deeper, more structural causes of DMC, in both Canada and the United States, can be traced to historically-ingrained and institutionalized racism and discrimination against people of colour, not simply by the criminal justice system, but by the broader society. In turn, racism and discrimination contribute to other criminogenic risk factors. For example, as stated in the 1994 Black Learners Advisory Committee report on education for African Nova Scotians, "Racial discrimination, overt or covert, has played a major part in denying African Nova Scotians equal opportunity to education. This in turn has had disastrous consequences in employment and access to other services. As a result, most African Canadian children are from birth trapped in a vicious cycle of societal rejection and isolation, poverty, low expectations and low educational achievement" (Black Learners Advisory Council, 1994, 13).

Research findings and analysis: A number of initiatives and organizations exist at the provincial and municipal government levels, including those undertaken by public safety and policing agencies, that can benefit African Nova Scotian youth generally and, more specifically, can decrease their contact with the criminal justice system. Perhaps the most important initiative has been educational policies and programs at the provincial and municipal level to increase the academic success and graduation rates of

African Nova Scotian students, which are key protective factors in the context of youth crime and violence prevention (EnidLee Consultants, 2009; Province of Nova Scotia, Department of Education, 2010; Halifax Regional School Board, 2011; 2012).

Despite these initiatives, this research identified problems that continue to contribute to the disproportionate number of young black men who are involved in serious and chronic offending in the HRM:

- African Nova Scotia adolescents and young adults (males in particular) continue to be underserved by the HRM government and its agencies. This is due to one or more of the following reasons: (i) an absence of meaningful after-school recreational, sports, tutoring, cultural and employment opportunities, (ii) inaccessibility of these programs (a lack of local programming); and/or (iii) a lack of participation in these programs by these youth – especially the highest risk African Nova Scotian children and youth – which is due to a number of factors, including the lack of intensive outreach,
- Institutionalized racism and racial stereotyping continue to exist within the private sector, leading to a lack of (meaningful) jobs and career opportunities that are available locally,
- "deficiencies still exist in policies and programs to support African Nova Scotia students and overcome racial barriers that continue to exist in the educational system and individual schools" (EnidLee Consultants, 2009, 11),
- HRM social housing policies continue to segregate and "ghettoize" African Nova Scotians, which contributes to criminogenic risk factors, such as marginalization and social exclusion,
- there is a lack of resources to identify and assess risk factors specific to African Nova Scotian children and youth (living in high risk environments) in the HRM, and
- there is no comprehensive strategy that addresses the many factors that place African Nova Scotian children and youth at risk of criminal offending, violence, and formal contact with the criminal justice system.

Recommendations: The disproportionate number of African Nova Scotian youth and young adults as criminal offenders is a complex issue. The scope, nature and complexity of the problem, and its root causes, demands a comprehensive, strategic, and re-invigorated approach that brings together all key partners in a formal, inter-governmental, multi-sectoral forum. At the core of this strategic approach should be two areas of focus: (1) addressing long-standing racial discrimination in Nova Scotia (in housing, education, and the labour market), and (2) a targeted, culturally-sensitive delivery of social,

socio-economic, and community development initiatives specifically for African Nova Scotian children and youth.

As stated in the 2009 *Reality Check* report "in order to uproot the causes of educational failure, there must be an institutional and community commitment to naming racism and wrestling it to the ground in all those educational settings in which it is found" (Enidlee Consultants Inc., 2009, 10). This same institutional and community commitment needs to be extended to all aspects of the public and private sphere in Halifax and the HRM government must take the lead in mobilizing and coordinating anti-racism initiatives to this end.

This research supports the recommendations of the 2009 *Reality Check* report as well as the initiatives undertaken by the Ministry of Education and HRSB in response to the report. As part of the proposed comprehensive strategic plan addressing youth crime and violence in the HRM, there should be a specific strategy dedicated to African Nova Scotian youth. This section should be informed by extensive consultations with members of and organizations representing the African Nova Scotian community. Notwithstanding these consultations, social problem-solving initiatives specific to reducing criminogenic risk factors among African Nova Scotian children and youth in the HRM must make up a significant component of this strategy and should include the following:

- implement NISTs in communities with a high proportion of African Nova Scotia residents, with particular emphasis on developing comprehensive, integrated, localized social problem-solving strategies (with significant input and leadership from community members and youth in particular)
- dedicate youth outreach workers to the African Nova Scotian community, which would include connecting clients to the agencies, services, and programs that cater to African Nova Scotians
- recruit more African Nova Scotia adults to serve as youth outreach workers, tutors, and mentors
- create more developmentally-based, after-school programs (tutoring, mentoring, sports and recreation) targeting African Nova Scotia adolescents and young adults (men in particular), ensuring these programs are culturally appropriate, extensively promoted, and delivered locally (or made more accessible to these youth by offering transportation)
- develop a comprehensive and integrated education (high school and post-secondary) and labour market strategy (which includes identifying risk factors that obstruct young African Nova Scotian males from completing high school, entering a post-secondary institution and/or landing a meaningful career)

- re-develop the Saint Patrick Alexandra school as a community and cultural centre for African Nova Scotians
- explore the potential of creating an Afro-centric high school in the HRM
- work with private sector companies to increase opportunities to train and hire African Nova Scotian adolescents and young adults (and to reduce discrimination in the local labour markets), and encourage post-secondary institutions to intensify their outreach to and recruiting of African Nova Scotian youth (and couple this outreach with tutoring, mentoring, and advocacy work to better ensure they finish high school with a GPA to enter a post-secondary institution)

Benchmark #10: Situational (opportunity reduction) crime prevention approaches should be part of a comprehensive strategy

Clarke (1997, 4) defines situational crime prevention as "opportunity-reducing measures that: (1) are directed at highly specific forms of crime; (2) involve the management, design, or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent a way as possible; (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders." In short, situational crime prevention entails measures that involve managing, designing, or manipulating the physical environment to reduce the opportunities for crimes to occur.

Situational approaches to violence prevention incorporate an important principle of opportunity reduction crime prevention: deflecting offenders. This involves measures that attempt to steer would-be offenders away from a particular location and, more generally, to deter people from the temptation to engage in criminal or disorderly behavior at a particular time or place. The deflection of offenders is a highly appropriate situational strategy for violence reduction and prevention, especially given the public nature of (gang- and drug-related) gun violence. One opportunity reduction approach to gun violence, and drive-by shootings in particular, is street closures, which has been implemented in numerous American cities. Another offender-deflection technique that has been used to stem gang activity and violence in a particular time and place are civil injunctions, whereby selected individuals are prohibited from engaging in certain activities or frequenting a certain location. Finally, a situational approach that controls the "facilitators" of crime and violence can be applied to the proliferation of firearms; the most common of these are gun buy-back programs, whereby illegal and legal guns are turned over to police in exchange for money or some other type of remuneration.

Research findings and analysis: Within the Halifax Regional Police there is a unit responsible for conducting safety audits and recommending safe design principles and strategies. To date, however, there have been no specific projects that have applied safe design principles as a way to reduce the opportunity for gun or gang violence to occur. There is also no evidence that street closures or civil injunctions have been used to prevent violent offenders or activities in the HRM or Nova Scotia. Gun buy-back programs have been implemented in the HRM; in particular, the Pixels for Pistols campaign, which was launched in November of 2009.

Recommendations: A comprehensive strategic plan addressing youth crime and violence in the HRM should include a situational crime prevention component that begins by applying different opportunity reduction principles and strategies (increasing effort, increasing risks, reducing rewards, removing excuses, controlling facilitators) to youth, gun and gang violence. In addition, crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles should be applied to "crime hot spots" in the HRM as well as physical environments that are deemed to promote or facilitate violence. The HRM should also consider the use of street closures as a means to deter and prevent gun violence in neighbourhood hot spots. While research in the U.S. may suggest that gun buy-back programs do not have a significant preventative effect on gun violence (Sherman, 1997, 30–31), they do represent one cost-effective approach to taking guns off the street. Thus, the Halifax Regional Police should consider future gun buy-back programs, but also include rigorous research to assess whether such initiatives have any impact on gun violence in the HRM. Indeed, any situational violence prevention measure implemented by the HRM should include an evaluation component to assess whether it is effective (and whether it has actually prevented a violent crime or simply displaced it to another time and place).

Benchmark #11: Specific strategies should be developed and implemented to address youth gangs and youth gang violence

According to the U.S. Surgeon General's 2001 report on youth violence, "involvement with delinquent peers and gang membership are two of the most powerful predictors of violence" (p. 12). The focus of most efforts to control youth gangs and related activities can be demarcated into two broad categories: (i) limiting gang membership either by preventing individuals from joining gangs or inducing the departure of gang-involved individuals (thereby preventing the formation or sustainability of gangs), and (ii) preventing, controlling, disrupting and minimizing criminality and violence by gangs and individual gang members. Like other crime and violence problems, there is widespread agreement in the literature that prevention, intervention, and suppression must be combined to most effectively combat gangs.

That is, efforts to control gang problems, according to the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency and Prevention (OJJDP), "must be comprehensive, long-term strategic approaches that contain the spread of gang activity, protect those youth who are most susceptible, and mitigate risk factors that foster gang activity." Specifically, the four-pronged approach of effective anti-gang strategies promoted by the OJJDP entails "targeted suppression of the most serious and chronic offenders; intervention with youthful gang members; prevention efforts for youth identified as being at high risk of entering a gang; and implementation of programs that address risk and protective factors and targets the entire population in high-crime, high-risk areas" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative Internet web site).

Research findings and analysis: Youth gangs are a concern in the HRM, although there is no reliable data on the extent to which gangs are responsible for (gun) violence. In recent years, police in the HRM have undertaken important enforcement initiatives that focus specifically on suppressing gangs and related violence. Most importantly, the HRP and the RCMP are increasingly embarking on suppression initiatives through an integrated, task force approach (in particular, the Gangs and Guns Unit) which the research shows is necessary for serious, gang and organized crime-related problems. Also relevant are more general innovations in policing by the HRP and the RCMP (Compstat, GIS-based crime mapping, hot spot policing) that can have an impact on gang activity and violence.

Recent initiatives implemented in Halifax have also experimented with the "deterrence supplemented with social service provisions" model that has proliferated in the United States in recent years (McGarrell et al., 2013, 34). In particular, the Uptown Drug Market Intervention (DMI) is currently being piloted in Uniacke Square to address the ongoing issue of open market drug dealing. The Uptown DMI which uses a two-pronged approach to the drug trade and traffickers: traditional criminal justice measures targeting hard-core, violent drug traffickers "coupled with an offer of help and support for those who wish to exit the criminal lifestyle" (Halifax Regional Municipality, February 2013, 2; Halifax Regional Police, Uptown Drug Market Intervention Pilot Project Internet web site).

Recommendations: The literature on youth violence, and gun and gang violence in particular, as well as research conducted for this study, indicate that the illegal drug trade is a significant source of this violence. The implications of these finding for efforts to prevent youth and gang violence is that specific interventions should revolve around the illegal drug trade. This means supplementing traditional arrest and punishment of chronic, serious and violent offenders with other measures aimed at: (1) preventing young people from entering the drug trade and/or joining gangs (with particular focus on African Nova

Scotians who are disproportionately represented among such offenders), (2) diverting younger drug traffickers into legitimate career opportunities (through post-secondary education, job training and placement, etc.) and (3) mediating conflict between rival drug dealers and gangs.

Many of the social-problem solving initiatives recommended throughout this report (including early intervention, greater outreach targeting the most at-risk youth, more community-based opportunities for children and youth in high-risk environments, establishing youth centres, enhanced labour-market and post-secondary recruitment strategies delivered locally, etc.) can contribute to efforts to prevent young people from becoming involved in gangs and the drug trade. With that said, it is recommended that specific social problem-solving strategies be developed for those at risk of becoming involved in drug trafficking. Given that research indicates that many retail ("street-level") drug dealers are chronic users who suffer from mental health and/or substance abuse disorders, a particular emphasis of this social-problem strategy should be addressing these risk factors.

Diverting younger drug traffickers into more legitimate opportunities means that integrated labour market and (post-secondary) education strategies should also be adapted to those less serious, offenders involved in the drug trade (through a comprehensive strategy that addresses personal risk factors while channelling their "entrepreneurial" assets into more legitimate forms of employment or small business opportunities).

Police and other public safety officials also need to explore the application of different situational techniques to youth, gang and gun violence, including the use of civil injunctions, the application of safe design principles, and the use of mediation to quell conflict and violence among rival drug dealers and gangs.

In order to suppress gangs, gang violence and gun violence, the Halifax Regional Police and the RCMP should continue to apply best practices in the field of policing and law enforcement. This includes the use of community policing, problem-oriented policing, Compstat, intelligence-led policing, hot spot policing, and geo-spatial crime mapping. Police must start subjecting their gang, drug trafficking, and violence suppression strategies to rigorous evaluations in order to determine whether the strategies are in fact working.

At the time of this report, it appears that the provincial government has received funding from the federal government to expand the Uptown Drug Market Intervention strategy. And while this approach has realized success in the U.S., it does have significant limitations (in particular, it does not entail an early intervention approach that the literature indicates must be at the core of efforts to address the

root causes of criminality and violence). Moreover, unlike in the U.S. which has the threat of highly punitive penalties to leverage drug dealers and gang members into more legitimate occupations, Canadian authorities do not hold as big a hammer, so they may not be as successful in their diversion efforts (itself a good reason why American programs are not always applicable to Canada). The inherent limitations of this strategy accentuate the need to implement it only as part of a larger, more comprehensive approach to youth and gang crime and violence in the HRM.

Finally, from an enforcement/suppression perspective, some of those interviewed for this research stressed the need for greater enforcement efforts directed at removing adult tenants—including residents and guests—from Metropolitan Regional Housing Authority communities if they are involved in criminal and violent offending (or counselling others to do the same). Complementary techniques that may be applied to accomplish this goal include: (1) implementing anonymous tips lines (such as crime stoppers) specific to public housing communities to help identify tenants and guests involved in criminal and other problem activities, (2) having all (adult) tenants sign a contract stating that they agree to be evicted if they are engaged in any illegal activity, (3) applying civil injunctions to individuals that prohibit them from entering (let alone residing in) MRHA communities, and (4) implementing the Crime-Free Multi-Housing Program in these public housing communities.

Conclusion

The rate of crime and violence among youth and young adults can be reduced in the HRM, if at least only some of the recommendations of this report are adopted. We have yet to reach our full potential as far as initiatives to address this problem are concerned. Despite the substantial progress made in applying effective, evidence-based approaches to youth crime and violence, there continues to be significant gaps and weaknesses that should be filled. First and foremost is the absence of strategic, comprehensive plan at both the city-wide and neighbourhood levels that mobilizes all sectors of society to work together in a collaborative, integrated fashion. Within this context there exists other significant gaps in programs and services for at-risk children, youth, and young adults, including a shortage of outreach workers, mental health and substance abuse prevention initiatives, community-based after-school programs, social competency and life skills training, mentoring, structured tutoring programs, and integrated educational and labour market strategies.

A collaborative, strategic approach to youth crime and violence must be comprehensive. This means that prevention, intervention and suppression approaches must be implemented in a coordinated and complementary fashion, utilizing all relevant institutions (the family, schools, the community, labour

markets, health care facilities, and the criminal justice system). While comprehensive, this strategy must place particular emphasis on preventing criminal and violent behaviour by addressing root causes. This is best accomplished through developmentally-based interventions that deliver protective factors directly to children and youth who are at risk of serious and chronic offending with the goal of increasing their personal resilience in the face of criminogenic risk factors.

Justice Nunn summed it up best when he said, “It would be foolhardy to suggest that we can prevent all youth crime. However, we can prevent a great deal by reducing the causes, and we can control others by instituting programs and systems to cut down on further criminal activity by those already in the system. We are not starting from ground zero. We already have much in place and many first-class people involved. With some changes and adjustments, we can move ahead to a greater level of success in preventing youth crime. I cannot think of any area of human concern where the adage “an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure” is more apt (Nunn, 2006, 169).

APPENDIX

Case Studies: Model Crime and Violence Prevention Programs Recommended for Adoption in the HRM: Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gangs and Youth Violence

In 1987, the OJJDP initiated the Juvenile Gang Suppression and Intervention Research and Development Program. Led by Dr. Irving Spergel, from the University of Chicago, the research entailed an assessment of existing agencies and programs dedicated to combating gangs and gang-related crime and violence in the U.S. Based upon his review, Spergel concluded, "neither a single minded suppression nor a single-minded social-intervention approach has demonstrated success in reducing gang crime, especially gang violence" (Spergel, 2007, 25). Spergel and Curry (1993) argue that since the causes and proximate factors contributing to gang membership, gang existence, and gang activities are complex and multifaceted, an equally complex and multifaceted approach is required. As a result of their research, in 1994 Spergel and his colleagues created the Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression, commonly known as the "Spergel Model" (Spergel and Curry, 1993; Spergel et al., 1994; Spergel, 1995). This model is one example of how a comprehensive, multi-agency, multi-sectoral approach to addressing significant youth crime and violence problems can be pursued at the community level.

The Spergel Model is premised on the Social Disorganization Theory of crime and criminality, and, more specifically, the premise that "gangs become chronic and serious problems in communities where key organizations are inadequately integrated and sufficient resources are not available to target gang-involved youth" (Public Safety Canada, n.d., 1). As such, according to Spergel, Wa, and Sosa (2014, 452):

The comprehensive gang program model required criminal justice and social agencies to integrate and collaborate on key elements of control and social development, with participation from local neighborhood groups. Focus was not primarily directed to strategies of general community development, political or social reform, community policing, inclusive youth socialization, or even mediation of conflicts between gangs. These strategies were subsidiary to reducing the gang problem through an integrated social development, control, opportunities provision, and interorganizational mobilization approach. The model required the development of a lead agency and a street team of police, probation officers, and outreach youth workers (some former gang leaders) – interacting and working together – targeting delinquent/criminal gang youth and youth at high risk of gang membership who were also involved in delinquent activity.

At the core of the Spergel Model is a comprehensive approach to gangs, gang crime, and gang violence, executed through an integrated, multidisciplinary intervention team, composed of law enforcement agencies, probation agencies, social welfare agencies, street outreach workers, and community organizations. All are expected to work together to case manage individual gang members using five interrelated strategies: (1) community mobilization (2) social interventions, (3) opportunities provision, (4) suppression, and (5) organizational change and development of local agencies and groups. The National Crime Prevention Centre of Canada (2008) summarizes the broad interventions delivered through the Spergel Model as follows

- community mobilization - mobilizing local residents, youth, community groups, civic leaders and agencies to plan, strengthen, or create new opportunities or linkages to existing organizations for gang-involved and at-risk youth; and, coordinating programs and services as well as the functions of staff within and across agencies,
- social intervention - providing programs and social services (via youth serving agencies, schools, faith-based and other organizations) to gang youth and those at high risk of gang involvement; also, using outreach workers to actively engage gang-involved youth,
- opportunities provision - providing and facilitating access to educational, training and employment programs or services targeted to gang youth and those at high-risk of gang involvement,
- suppression - conducting suppression activities via formal and informal social control mechanisms and holding gang-involved youth accountable for their actions and behaviours, including close supervision or monitoring of gang youth by criminal justice agencies and also by community-based agencies, schools and grass-roots groups, and
- organizational change and development - facilitating organizational change and development to help community agencies better address gang problems through a team "problem-solving" approach that is consistent with the philosophy of community and problem-oriented policing; also, developing and implementing policies and processes that result in the most effective use of available and potential resources within and across agencies (National Crime Prevention Centre of Canada, 2008, 63-64).

This comprehensive model was piloted as the Little Village Gang Violence Reduction Project in Chicago, starting in 1992. As part of this project, the intervention team targeted approximately 200 hardcore gang members, ages 17 to 25, from two of the largest, most violent gangs in Chicago. The goal of the program was aimed at controlling violent or potentially violent youth gang offenders through

surveillance and suppression activities by police, intensive supervision and monitoring by probation officials, and the delivery of social services (such as counseling, job training and referrals, drug and alcohol treatment, etc.) to help gang-involved youth exit gangs and lead more pro-social lives (Spergel et al., 1999; Spergel, 2007).

Evaluations of the Little Village Gang Reduction Project found, over the course of four years, that serious gang violence (aggravated assaults and homicides) and other crimes committed by gang members targeted by the project were lower compared to members of gangs that were used as control groups. The project appeared to be effective in helping youth reduce their violent and criminal behaviour—in part by diverting gang-involved youth into educational programs and employment— although these results were largely confined to older youth the project did not seem to have a similar impact on younger gang members) (Spergel et al., 1999; Spergel, 2007).

Other notable principles and project evaluation findings of the Little Village Gang Reduction Project include the following:

- A "mobilized community is the most promising way to deal with the gang problem." A "community must first recognize the presence of a gang problem before it can do anything meaningful to address the problem." The community must also "systematically articulate and implement rationales for services, tactics, or procedures" and then must "organize effectively to combat the youth gang problem. In a "typical community, the mobilization process evolves through several stages before fruition" (National Gang Center, 2010, 2).
- While youth gang members must be held accountable for their criminal acts, they must at the same time be provided an opportunity to change or control their behavior (National Gang Center, 2010, 2).
- Youth gang intervention and control efforts require a thorough understanding of the complexity of gang activity in the context of local community life (National Gang Center, 2010, 2).
- Youth outreach workers, whose primary role was to build relationships with at-risk and gang-involved youth and then develop an intervention plan and find relevant services so they can adopt more pro-social behaviour, was also considered critical to program success (National Gang Center, 2010, 21).
- A combination of various social interventions involving youth outreach workers and suppression tactics was more effective for chronically violent youths, while the sole use of youth workers was more effective for less violent youths (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2008, 65).

According to the National Gang Center (2010), evaluations of the "Spergel" model reveal the importance of the outreach component to that program's success. The outreach workers' responsibilities as part of this program include:

- identifying appropriate clients and recruiting them for the program (outreach workers are the intervention team's eyes and ears on the street and often constitute the primary recruitment tool for the program),
- identifying youths' needs, strengths, and goals to help the intervention team develop a more comprehensive case management plan,
- referring program clients to service providers and then helping to manage this relationship,
- coordinating appropriate crisis responses to program clients following violent episodes in the community,
- coaching and providing role models for each youth,
- providing assistance to families in distress, ranging from accessing basic needs to helping resolve family conflicts,
- visiting clients who are incarcerated and helping to reconnect them to services when they are released from custody,
- resolving conflicts and/or mediating between clients, their families, other youth, and/or agencies,
- working with clients who are seeking employment (which may include helping with résumé writing and applying for jobs or job training programs), and conducting gang awareness presentations in schools (National Gang Center, 2010, 21).

With some subsequent modifications, the Spergel model evolved into the OJJDP Comprehensive Community-Wide Gang Model that, beginning in 1995, was implemented and tested in five other sites in the U.S. Since its initial pilot testing, the OJJDP has implemented this model in more than 25 urban and rural locations in the U.S. (Wyrick, 2005; National Gang Center, 2010).

One example of the OJJDP comprehensive model is the Gang Reduction and Intervention Program [GRIP], which was implemented in Richmond, Virginia. Specifically, the neighbourhood in which GRIP was implemented was a community of single-family homes and apartments that at the time was "transitioning from a middle-class to a working-class population, with an increase in Hispanic residents." Both traditional "homegrown" African-American gangs and Hispanic gangs with roots in the western U.S. and Central America were also present in the community (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2007, 9). According to the OJJDP (2007, 9) preventative activities implemented as part of the

GRIP project were “aimed at the broad population of families and youth who are at risk of becoming involved in gang and delinquent activity” and included the following:

- One-Stop Resource Center (an information and referral case management entry point to prevention services),
- Prenatal and infancy support,
- English as a Second Language for Hispanic residents,
- Spanish as a Second Language, with an emphasis on providing language skills to those serving the Hispanic population,
- Class Action Summer Camp,
- Richmond school resource officers train the Class Action curriculum in target-area schools under the auspices of the Gang Reduction Program,
- Public awareness programs and community events,
- School-based educational and family wraparound services,
- Sports and life-skill activities and training,
- Theater group to showcase issues involving gang-involved youth,
- Gang awareness training to community and service providers,
- Hispanic liaison to link the program to local Hispanic residents,
- Mentoring/tutoring for youth at risk of gang involvement,
- Immigration services to Hispanic residents,
- Afterschool and summer programs for elementary and middle school youth, and
- Arts and recreation for at-risk youth.

Intervention activities of the project were “supported by a multidisciplinary intervention team that conducts case-management activities, including street outreach to support gang-involved youth, with the goal of providing an alternative to gang membership.” Interventions that specifically targeted gang-involved and other high-risk youth included the following:

- Job training development and placement through public/private partnerships,
- Entrepreneurial training for at-risk youth,
- Role modeling and mentoring,
- Truancy and dropout prevention programs,
- Mental health and substance abuse services,

- Educational support and GED services,
- Tattoo removal, and
- Community service projects (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2007, 9).

Other social developmental initiatives were offered to youth who were returning to the community from a correctional facility or another form of court-ordered supervision. These re-entry initiatives were "closely tied to the multidisciplinary intervention team and include self-sufficiency skill training and job training and placement." Support services for these youth and young adults, including transportation, food, and other services, were also made available (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2007, 9).

Law enforcement suppression and other policing activities undertaken as part of GRIP entailed "directed police patrols, community policing, community awareness, supporting increased law enforcement intelligence sharing, establishing a multiagency law enforcement and prosecution response to target gang leaders, increasing the number of school resource officers in target area schools, and expanding neighborhood watch teams in partnership with the Richmond Police Department and community members" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2007, 9).

The evaluations of the Little Village project and other applications of the comprehensive model revealed that project implementation was not without its challenges. It is highly ambitious and complex to implement, in part due to the comprehensive, multi-modal, inter-agency approach combined with the need to mobilize local communities (which is a significant challenge in itself). Studies of the different comprehensive models that were applied produced mixed findings, which, according to McGarrell et al., (2013, 34), is partially blamed on inadequate implementation of the theoretical model that neglected at least one of its five essential components.

Neighbourhood Integrated Services Teams

One collaborative model adopted by the City of Vancouver to tackle crime and other local problems is the Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams (NIST). A NIST is comprised of staff from different municipal departments and agencies that work in an integrated and coordinated fashion to address problems within each of the city's official communities. The mission statement of the NIST is "To lead, to provide and to facilitate integrated community-based service delivery." According to the City of Vancouver, more than 200 City employees work on 16 teams, each of which represents a particular area of the city. Initiated in 1994, the NIST program takes advantage of the network of city powers, expertise,

facilities and services that already existing in communities, including police, the fire department, planning, inspections, garbage collection, engineering services, schools and the school board, the health department, city legal services, permits and licenses, the liquor control board, libraries, and the recreation department. The teams are expected to work with residents to help solve problems relating to a wide range of quality-of-life issues, from sanitation, crime, drug trafficking, problem houses, noise, physical infrastructure problems, etc. A NIST is particularly useful when a local problem arises that may involve more than one City department. In 1997, the Institute for Public Administration of Canada awarded the City of Vancouver its Innovative Management Gold Award for the NIST program and, in 2003, the program garnered the City of Vancouver a United Nations award for "Innovation in Public Service" (City of Vancouver, Internet web site).

Targeted Social Competency Program for At-risk Children

Coping Power is a multi-component social competency training program for children who exhibit or are at risk of conduct problems. The theoretical basis for this program "assumes that aggression in children is the product of distortions in their social–cognitive appraisals" (they interpret situations or the actions and intentions of others negatively) and "deficiencies in their social problem solving skills," combined with parents who have deficiencies in their parenting skills and behaviors (Lochman and Wells, 2002, 945).

Given the assumption that the causes of conduct problems are rooted in both the child's social perceptions and skills as well as the parent's parenting skills, the program includes components for both the at-risk child and his or her parent. The component for children—which is offered to fifth- and sixth-graders, usually in an after-school setting—teaches coping skills to deal with anxiety and frustration, anger management skills, impulse control skills, and problem-solving skills (including peer-related interpersonal problem solving). To support this skill training, the child's component includes "a focus on behavioral and personal goal setting, awareness of feelings and associated physiological arousal, use of coping self-statements, distraction techniques and relaxation methods to use when provoked and made angry, organizational and study skills, perspective taking and attribution re-training, social problem solving skills, and dealing with peer pressure and neighborhood-based problems by using refusal skills" (Lochman and Wells, 2002, 951).

Parents are trained in such areas as "(a) identifying prosocial and disruptive behavioral targets in their children using specific operational terms, (b) rewarding appropriate child behavior, (c) giving effective

instructions and establishing age-appropriate rules and expectations for their children in the home, (d) applying effective consequences to negative child behavior, (e) managing child behavior outside the home, and (f) establishing ongoing family communication structures in the home (such as weekly family meetings)." Parents also learn how to support the social competency skills that children learn and to use stress management skills to remain calm and in control during stressful or irritating disciplinary interactions with their children (Lochman and Wells, 2002, 951).

In its full form, the program takes between 15 to 18 months to complete (a truncated version is also available that lasts about 12 months). The children's component consists of 34 group sessions. Each session is approximately 50 minutes in length and includes five children. Individual sessions between the trained facilitator and the child may also be held. The parent component consists of 16 group sessions in addition to periodic home visits and other forms of contact between the parent and a professional facilitating the training.

An experiment that tested Coping Power with pre-adolescent boys who were at risk of aggressive and disruptive behaviors, concluded that the parent component of the Coping Power program "was instrumental in helping parents set more consistently clear expectations for boys' behavior and provide more consistent consequences for negative and positive behaviors. In a similar way, it is plausible that the child component of the Coping Power program assisted the boys in more carefully and accurately identifying the reasons for peers' and adults' reactions toward them" while helping them better manage "their escalating arousal and anger when experiencing problems in their social interactions" (Lochman and Wells, 2002, 964).

Anger Management Prevention and Treatment for Children and Youth

Aggression Replacement Training (ART) is a cognitive behavioral anger management prevention and treatment program for children and youth, which trains them to understand and replace aggression and anti-social behavior with positive alternatives. The systematic lesson plan is built on a three-pronged approach: (1) training in pro-social skills, (2) anger control training, and (3) moral reasoning training. Social skills training is the behavioral component of ART and is intended to promote skills and competencies that can help avoid aggression when dealing with a conflict. The social skills taught in the program include basic social competencies (starting a conversation, introducing oneself, asking for help), understanding feelings and emotions (recognizing one's own feelings and emotions, expressing affection, dealing with fear), and alternatives to aggression (responding to teasing, dealing with an

accusation, peaceful conflict resolution). The anger control training component is meant to impart in children the skills and techniques necessary to understand and control anger and aggression. Students are taught how to recognize and control the "anger continuum," which includes recognizing triggers (external events and internal self-talk that can start the slide into and perpetuate anger and aggression) and cues (physiological signs that one is becoming angry). This component also provides students with practical skills and techniques that can reduce their anger, such as self-talk (positive statements that reinforce appropriate behavior), critical thinking (anticipating the consequences of one's actions and searching for positive alternative solutions), social skills (implementing the social skills taught in the first third of the curriculum) and evaluation (reflecting on the anger control continuum and assessing how well it was implemented). The moral reasoning component trains students to use proper value judgments to overcome thinking and perception errors that might lead to aggression, such as self-centered thinking ("it's all about me"), assuming the worst ("it would happen anyways" or "they would do it to me"), blaming others ("it's their fault") and mislabeling or minimizing ("it's not stealing, I'm only borrowing it" or "everybody else does it") (Goldstein, Glick and Gibbs, 1998).

Two studies measuring the impact of ART on incarcerated youth (ages 14 to 17) in New York in the 1970s indicated that those in the treatment group exhibited a higher level of skill in controlling their anger and aggression while in the correctional facility. They also exhibited fewer and less severe instances of acting out behavior compared to a control group. The research found these skills also transferred outside the correctional facility. Youth who underwent ART could better function in their communities in a pro-social manner compared to paroled youth who did not undergo the ART program. Based on these findings, the study's authors conclude, "ART is a viable intervention for aggressive, assaultive youths who are incarcerated. We have been able to demonstrate over the past 2 years that many of the youngsters who participate in a program of ART learn what to do instead of being aggressive, learn how to control their anger, and more frequently perceive value in choosing socially acceptable alternatives to resolve their problems" (Glick and Goldstein, 1987, 361).

A more recent assessment of the ART program implemented with children and youth in Norway with varying behavioral problems also produced positive results. According to the authors of this study, those in the "ART group indicated significant improvement following the intervention, both in terms of increased social skills and reduced behavioural problems; in contrast, informants in the comparison group did not generally indicate improvement" (Gundersena and Svartdal, 2006, 63).

A Mentoring Program for At-risk Youth

In the United States, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) administers the Juvenile Mentoring Program (JUMP), which is designed to provide one-on-one mentoring for youth at risk of delinquency, gang involvement, educational failure, or dropping out of school. Through the JUMP program, the OJJDP awards three-year grants to community organizations to support the implementation and expansion of collaborative mentoring projects. What makes JUMP unique in the field of mentoring is that mentors are encouraged to work in partnership with other community agencies and institutions to help provide a "multi-dimensional intervention" that maximizes a "comprehensive continuum of care for the youth they are serving" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998, 14). Typically, such coordination involves schools, medical service providers, mental health facilities, substance abuse treatment programs, and employment training and placement programs, among others. Many JUMP projects also supplement their core mentoring activities with additional services for youth participants and their families, including parent support groups, self-help groups, and referrals to other community organizations (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998).

One example of a JUMP-funded initiative is the Los Angeles-based RESCUE Youth mentoring program. Developed and implemented by the Los Angeles County's District Attorney's Office and Fire Department, it targets youth between the ages of 12 and 14 who display early signs of high-risk behavior. The district attorney's staff matches a young person with volunteer firefighters who act as mentors and help the youth with their communication and conflict resolution skills, while providing training in fire prevention and first aid. Another JUMP initiative is Project Caring Connections in New York City, which offers a range of services to youth from academic enrichment to cultural experiences, to a safe environment in which they can learn important social skills. Mentors work with students on a one-on-one or group basis to provide academic support, job shadowing (going to the mentor's workplace), and social and cultural enrichment (Baldwin, Grossman & Garry, 1997, 5).

A Comprehensive, Developmentally-based After-school Program for At-risk Children

PALS, a social developmental program, is for children (ages 5 to 13) who live in high-risk, disadvantaged environments in the HRM. Based on the principles of Crime Prevention through Social Development, the program was developed to address factors that put children at risk of future criminal and other anti-social behaviour by enhancing their resilience. The specific criminogenic risk factors targeted by the

PALS program are: (1) poor cognitive (reading and literacy) skills, (2) low self-esteem, (3) aggression/anger management/conduct problems, (4) hyperactivity and impulsivity, (5) poor critical thinking and problem-solving skills, (6) a lack of empathy, and (7) problems with social participation (i.e., poor social networking skills, inability to work in a group context).

The PALS program was implemented at Saint Mary's University between 2008 and 2009 under the supervision of Dr. Stephen Schneider. The acronym "PALS" reflected the comprehensive approach to delivering risk factors and promoting resilience in children and youth: **P**ositive role models and mentors, **A**cademic tutoring, **L**eisure, recreational and physical activity, **S**ocial and life skills development. Specifically, the protective factors delivered by the PALS program fall into five categories: (1) tutoring, (2) social competency and life skills training, (3) nurturing critical thinking and problem-solving skills, (4) sports and other forms of physical and recreational activity, and (5) mentoring and positive role models.

Each child in the program was matched with a Saint Mary's University student who served as a mentor, a tutor, and a positive role model. As part of the academic component of the program, the mentor read with the child and provided help with homework. The program was also meant to promote positive behaviour, attitudes and life skills essential to a child's development. Participating children took part in structured activities in the classroom and engaged in sports-based activities with SMU men's and women's varsity teams. In addition to exposing the children and youth to positive role models, while encouraging a physically active lifestyle, the activities were structured to address such positive behaviours and life skills as: self-esteem and self-confidence, empathy, emotional awareness, team work and cooperation, critical thinking and problem-solving, impulse control, and anger management. With the exception of some field trips, all PALS activities took place on the Saint Mary's University campus.

A Universal Anxiety Prevention and Treatment Program for Children and Youth

FRIENDS for Life is a school-based anxiety prevention and treatment program that is meant to instill in children (ages 7 to 11 years) and adolescents (ages 12 to 16 years) the skills and capacities to effectively deal with fears, worries, anxieties, and depression by building their psychological resilience, self-esteem, coping skills, problem-solving skills, while promoting their ability to foster positive relationships with peers and adults.

The program name (FRIENDS) is an acronym for the systematic lesson plan delivered by the curriculum (**F**eeling Worried?; **R**elax and feel good; Inner thoughts; **E**xplore plans; **N**ice work so reward yourself; **D**on't forget to practice; and **S**tay calm, you know how to cope now). The idea behind the acronym is to

help children remember the strategies they can use to cope with stressful situations. The concept of friendships is also central to the program in that the curriculum "encourages children to (a) think of their body as their friend because it tells them when they are feeling worried or nervous by giving them clues; (b) be their own friend and reward themselves when they try hard; (c) make friends, so that they can build their social support networks; and finally (d) talk to their friends when they are in difficult or worrying situations" (Shortt et al., 2001, 526).

The FRIENDS for Life program is based on cognitive behavioral therapy principles. According to Paula Barrett, a psychologist who developed the program, children are "taught to be aware of somatic cues when they are feeling anxious, and learn relaxation techniques so as to eliminate tension, remain calm and think clearly. Children are also taught to recognize negative self-talk and challenge unhelpful thoughts in positive ways" (Barrett and Sonderegger, 2005, 42).

The program was designed for use in schools by teachers during normal class time. The curriculum consists of ten regular sessions and two "booster" sessions. The first two sessions include an introduction to the program. The remainder of the sessions entail sequential steps in which the children learn to "feel confident and brave." These are also based on the FRIENDS acronym and are as follows:

1. Feelings (understanding one's feelings and how others are feeling)
2. Relaxation techniques (specific techniques to learn to relax in stressful situations)
3. Inner thoughts (recognizing how our thinking or "self-talk" can promote anxiety or confidence)
4. Exploring solutions and coping plans (fostering a specific coping plan for and by each child)
5. Nice work! Now reward yourself (for positive reinforcement)
6. Don't forget to practice (to inculcate the skills for use outside the FRIENDS group)
7. Stay calm or smile (a summary of the skills taught in the entire program)

The curriculum is highly interactive; much of the learning is done in a small group context that encourages discussion and peer support. Each child is provided with a workbook in which he/she can complete exercises at home with a parent, and a personal diary, which can be used to record thoughts, feelings, and emotions.

In addition to the curriculum implemented with children, FRIENDS for Life also includes a family skills component to nurture the ability of parents to help their child with the skills learned through the program (including practicing the skills at home) while encouraging a positive supportive family

environment. In addition, the program also emphasizes peer support and peer learning; children are encouraged to learn from each other's experiences, to make friends, and to build their social networks, while parents are encouraged to facilitate their children's peer networks.

The long-term goal of the program is to "reduce the incidence of serious psychological disorders, emotional distress and impairment in social functioning by teaching children and young people how to cope with, and manage, anxiety both now and in later life" (Barrett, 2007, 4). FRIENDS for Life can be particularly beneficial for children from high-risk environments because it promotes their resilience through coping and other social competency skills necessary to deal with a negative environment they cannot always control. In the long run, the skills promoted by the program can potentially help stave off psychological or mental health problems that can result in criminal and other antisocial and self-destructive behavior.

According to a 2007 publication, more than 300 schools and 200 hospitals and health services in Australia have implemented the FRIENDS for Life program and since 1998, more than 150,000 Australian children have completed it. Through a number of studies, the program has proven effective in increasing coping skills, reducing anxiety symptoms, and preventing the onset of anxiety and depression for up to 36 months following initial exposure to the curriculum (Shortt, Barrett, and Fox, 2001; Lowry-Webster, Barrett, & Lock, 2003; Barrett et al., 2006).

A Comprehensive, Community-Wide Substance Use Prevention Initiative

The Midwestern Prevention Project (MPP) is a community-based, multi-component, multi-year, universal substance abuse prevention program that was initiated in 1984 in Kansas City (and originally known as Students Taught Awareness and Resistance or STARR) and then later replicated in Indianapolis. The program targets students in early adolescence (grades seven and eight) because this age group is considered to be most susceptible to gateway drug use (i.e., alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana).

The goal of the MPP is to help youth recognize the tremendous social and peer pressures to use drugs and to train them to acquire the skills in how to resist drug use. This comprehensive, scientifically-developed drug prevention program includes components for the school, parents, the media, community groups, the private sector, and the local government. Each of these program components

are introduced in sequence at a rate of one per year (for a total of five years), with the mass media component occurring throughout all the years.

The prevention messages and skills training are delivered though the school-based component of the program and are reinforced and supported by a consistent community norm against drug use through a system of coordinated, community-wide strategies that involve parents, the media, the wider community, and local governments. The underlying premise of this systematic, multi-modal approach is that the more channels used in disseminating a prevention message, the greater the likelihood that positive behaviors will be adopted.

At the core of the school component is a specially designed curriculum that is integrated into classroom instruction by trained teachers over a two-year period. During the first year, a 13-lesson curriculum is taught, followed by five booster lessons delivered in the second year. The curriculum focuses on increasing students' resistance skills and includes instruction on the consequences of drug use, resisting peer and other pressures to do drugs, problem-solving in difficult situations, and assertiveness. Effective pedagogical techniques (i.e., behavioral modeling, role playing, and discussion) are used alongside homework assignments designed to involve family members. To complement this curriculum, an anti-drug culture is promoted throughout the school (and community). This is accomplished through school-wide policies on drug use and student "skill leaders" who serve as role models for the skills being taught.

The parental program is initiated in the second year and involves parents in a number of ways to increase the impact of the program on their children. Parents are encouraged to participate in the school component by working with their children on homework assignments they are required to complete together. Parents are also encouraged to become involved in a school-based group that plans and implements strategies and activities that limit young people's accessibility to drugs, cigarettes and alcohol, carries out fundraising projects, and helps school officials develop substance abuse policies. The parent component also includes two, 2-hour training sessions that help them understand the program and the skills imparted to their children, how to support the skills taught through the program at home, how to effectively communicate with their children, and other techniques than can be used to help their kids avoid using and abusing substances.

The media component, which is introduced in the first year of the program, entails the use of the local media to introduce, promote, and reinforce the implementation and maintenance of the program and

the drug prevention message. The media is used to increase exposure of the project and relevant substance abuse issues to youth and the community as a whole. The community organizing component, implemented in years three through five, is meant to mobilize broad-based support for the program and its goals and to use local citizens to help oversee the implementation and maintenance of the program. Community organizing is carried out by parents and local leaders who are responsible for quality control, providing advice on the development of relevant health policies, helping to maintain community support for substance abuse prevention, and identifying funding sources.

The health policy component of the project involves the development and implementation of local public policies and by-laws on drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. These policies can include measures that create drug-free school zones and workplaces, restrict smoking in public places, restrict the display and availability of cigarettes and alcohol in retail stores, set up drug treatment facilities and services, and establish guidelines for referring young people to counseling and treatment programs.

Evaluations of the MPP have demonstrated positive results. Youth attending schools in communities where the program was fully implemented were less likely to smoke on a daily basis and there was also less use of marijuana and alcohol by youth in the treatment group within a year of completing the school-based training. Three years following completion of the program, youth in the treatment group continued to use less tobacco and marijuana than those in the control group, although the program's impact on alcohol consumption was not as strong at that point (Johnson et al., 1990; Chou et al., 1998; Pentz et al., 1998).

Dropout Recovery

The State of Massachusetts operates a Graduation and Dropout Prevention and Recovery Commission, which recommended that the state government conduct "active recovery, including reaching out to dropouts and providing them with support and alternative pathways to graduation" (Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2012, 1).

The result of this recommendation was the creation of the Massachusetts Re-integration Center (REC). Located in Boston, the REC is "a dropout recovery center that strives to re-enroll out-of-school youth through outreach, personal connections, and a variety of educational options that support students to

graduation" (Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2012, 7). The REC is neither a traditional nor an alternative school. Some of the premises upon which the REC operates are:

- out-of-school youth, especially those who are a little older, are not comfortable returning to the school they left,
- returning out-of-school youth benefit from non-traditional programs, settings, and educational options, yet they are often unaware of what options are available,
- providing a range of options is essential to keeping re-engaging students interested in continuing their education, and
- re-engaging an out-of-school youth is a time sensitive matter; students must be provided with viable options when interest is initially expressed.

The REC helps high school drop-outs by providing a supportive environment that allows them to find a suitable alternative option to make up the credits they need to graduate. These options include:

- Twilight School is a night school option where students can take up to two classes on two evenings per week for 15 weeks.
- Summer Review is a summer school option where a student can retake up to two classes five days per week for six weeks.
- Online Credit Recovery is an option for students to both retake courses they have failed and to acquire credit in new content areas.
- REC Recovery Courses offer students the option to retake up to two courses they have previously failed with REC staff teachers, two days per week for 15 weeks.

During the course of their alternative studies, or if a student chooses to return to school, the REC will offer "follow-up and mentoring support to re-enrolled students at some district schools." It also "has established relationships with community partners, such as mental health providers and child care centers that are able to provide non-academic wraparound services." In addition, the REC helps students prepare for and take the test required to obtain their grade 12 equivalency diploma (Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2012, 8).

Community-based Youth Centres

DeGusti et al. (2009) point out that "historically, the province of Quebec has had a unique approach to youth justice. More than the other Canadian provinces, Quebec has promoted a child welfare/child protection approach to youth at risk of offending. Quebec has consistently espoused a social development philosophy where rehabilitation and reintegration are primary goals" (DeGusti et al.,

2009, 6). This unique approach to youth crime and justice, according to DeGusti et al., is reflected in the province's "third lowest police reported youth crime rate in Canada in 2006. In addition, it had the lowest youth charging rate in the country, and the lowest youth charging rate for violent crime" (DeGusti et al., 2009, 10).

Guided by this philosophy, the province of Quebec operates a network of youth centres or *centres jeunesse,* located in communities across the province, which are quasi-governmental agencies, funded almost entirely by the provincial Ministry of Health and Social Services, and "are responsible for both youth in need of protection as well as those in conflict with the law ... They provide a range of services to children, youth, and their families, including young people up to 18 years of age who are subject to the [*Youth Criminal Justice Act*] and/or the *Youth Protection Act* in Quebec" (DeGusti et al., 2009, 6-7).

Most of the *centres jeunesse* in Quebec "have embraced a differential clinical intervention approach" that provides a full and varied range of services to at-risk youth and young offenders. "This often results in a case-by-case intervention strategy for chronic and persistent youth offenders. The implication of this is that chronic and persistent youth offenders receive services on the basis of their dispositions and individual assessments during intake" (DeGusti et al., 2009, 7). In addition to this case management approach, the youth centres offer a variety of specialized programs for young offenders. In Montreal, for example, the youth centre has a specific program for young offenders, who are on an intensive probation supervision order or post-custodial community supervision, which emphasizes a wraparound, social developmental approach. One study found that the Montreal youth centre was effective in preventing recidivism among 76 percent of high-risk offenders referred to them, compared to a control group of 47.7 percent of young offenders who were given open custody dispositions (Cournoyer and Dionne, 2007 as cited in DeGusti et al., 2009, 8).

According to DeGusti et al. (2009, 8), almost all of the medium to large youth centres also "offer special intervention programs to youth offenders in custody. Several provide the cognitive/behaviour interventions previously referred to, while others focus more on approaches encouraging intervention negotiation strategies or control-related elements. " Two of the youth centres also have "special intervention programs for youth offenders receiving deferred custodial sentences because they believe these youth are at high risk of re-offending and require differential intervention." Other youth centres "offer similar programs to youth offenders completing their custodial sentence through community supervision." The youth centre in Laval, for example, has a program that pairs youth offenders with the case workers who work with them and their families. Another centre "provides

specialized group counseling to youth offenders found guilty of sexual offences. However, the more serious or chronic youth offenders involved in sexual offences are excluded from this program" (DeGusti et al., 2009, 8). A youth worker at the centre in Montreal "arranges meetings with neighbourhood police officers and young people being released from custody when they are beginning the community supervision portion of their custodial sentences. The objective of this initiative is to provide police officers with access to better information on youth residing in the neighbourhood to improve supervision" (DeGusti et al., 2009, 7).

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