THE 2O14 HRM ROUNDTABLE REVIEW

OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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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 have 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 mixed-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.