Towards a Productive Relationship between Police and Community Safety Leaders in Racialized Socially Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods: Measuring the Impact of Formal, Partnership-based Community Crime Prevention Organizations

By

Sayeed Raas Maswod

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Masters of Arts in Criminology

Approved: Dr. Stephen Schneider
Supervisor

Approved: Dr. Amy Siciliano
Second Reader

Approved: Dr. Scot Wortley
External Examiner

30 August 2021

Towards a Productive Relationship between Police and Community Safety Leaders in Racialized Socially Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods: Measuring the Impact of Formal, Partnership-based Community Crime Prevention Organizations

By

Sayeed Raas Maswod

Abstract

The goal of this research is to explore the extent to which the implementation of a partnership-based ("co-production of safety") model in a racialized socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods (SNDs) affects the relationship between community safety leaders (CSLs) and police, with particular emphasis on how it influences the perceptions of and satisfaction with police by local CSLs. The study concludes that the Mulgrave Park Community Mobilization Team (MPCMT) has helped to bridge the gap between police and local CSLs. The MPCMT appears to have helped give the CSLs more authority which include opportunities for them to hold police accountable for their actions. Despite the minimal improvements in the relationship between police and the CSLs, there is no evidence that the MPCMT had any impact on institutional racisms within the HRP.

30 August 2021

Acknowledgments

I consider this thesis writing as a remarkable part of my journey to infinity. I have so many things to remember and many individuals to acknowledge who have contributed to ultimately completing this part of my profound journey. With that said, it would be simply unfair if I did not recognize the individuals whose contributions have helped me to complete this Master's Thesis.

I could not thank my supervisor, my *guru*, Professor Stephen Schneider enough for everything he has done to help me get my thesis completed. I would like to take this opportunity to write a few sentences to convey my gratitude and deep appreciation. I can still remember the email he sent to me on March 18, 2018, congratulating me on my admission as a graduate student which introduced me to him at the beginning of this journey. From that very first day, he was a resource, mentor, and guide for me. I remember the day when I arrived in Nova Scotia from another country and met him in his office. He took me for a short tour of Saint Mary's University campus, showed me everything just like a newborn child, and told me how he could feel the difficulty to be an international student. When the entire world was on the brink of disaster due to COVID-19, he stood there and supported me by all means he possibly could. Most importantly, he provided me with the freedom to dig into the broad research area while ensuring that I keep focused. He introduced me how to apply innovative scientific methods to criminological research. I did attend school for an extended time before which certainly gave me the opportunity to prepare for further studies. But I must say that I never experienced the beauty of learning which I experienced in the last three years with my supervisor. He kept believing in me with patience when I struggled with the study material, concepts, theory, and academic writing. When I look back and compare the incredible progress I have made in the last three years, I wonder if this would have been possible without his continuing support. I cannot even imagine the completion of my thesis without his constant guidance.

I am grateful to Dr. Scot Wortley, for agreeing to act as the external examiner of this research. I feel privileged to have him on my committee. I would also like to express my gratitude and thanks for the advice and support provided to me by my thesis committee member Dr. Amy Siciliano.

I am also thankful to the University staff who helped me a lot directly or indirectly during my time as a graduate student. I would like to give my heartful thanks to the professors in the Department of Criminology who have supported me in this journey. I am grateful to Dr. Maria Gomez for being a mentor in my early days at Saint Mary's University and introducing some of the enlightening pieces of academic literature that I am proud of learning.

I would like to thank all who agreed to participate in this research. I truly appreciate their precious time, invaluable insights, and support for this research, especially in light of many restrictions due to the pandemic. My sincere gratitude also goes to the Saint Mary's University Faculty of Graduate Studies for providing the financial support for the first two years of study and for being there when COVID-19 was on its way to impede the flow my journey. I would like to thank graduate tutor Adrian Knapp for helping me in developing my academic writing.

I would like to remember my late father, Md. Haris Uddin to whom I dedicate this research for letting me thrive. In addition to my father, my mother, a traditional South Asian mom who spent her whole life raising her children, is the one who deserves my sincere appreciation at this memorable moment. I would like to thank my mother, Naziba Khanam, for her support and dedication throughout this lengthy process. I would also like to thank my siblings, Sharmin Fardaus and Shayela Nasrin, for all the support they provided over the years.

I would like to remember my extended family members (those living and having passed away), who mean a lot to me and who did have a significant contribution at different stages of my life. I would love to thank my late maternal grandfather, Shirajul Islam, my late maternal grandmother, Anowara Begum, and my aunt, Shaheda Khanam, for everything they have done for

me during my childhood. I am also thankful to my friends and colleagues across the world who have constantly supported and encouraged me throughout my life.

Finally, I have to appreciate my self for keeping an open mind and maintaining a continuous thirst for knowledge. It is my desire of searching for the truth that has brought me to this moment with the help of many, some of them named above. It is these specific attributes that have helped me overcome numerous hurdles yet stay focused on my journey.

Dedication

In the memory of my father who passed away on 22 June 2017.

Table of Contents

List of Table

Acronyms

SDNs – Socially Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods

CCP – Community Crime Prevention

COP – Community-Oriented Policing

CCPOs – Community Crime Prevention Organizations

CSLs – Community Safety Leaders

CMT – Community Mobilization Team

MPCMT– Mulgrave Park Community Mobilization Team

MPCSLs – Mulgrave Park Community Safety Leaders

HRP – Halifax Regional Police

HRM – Halifax Regional Municipality

TOR – Terms of Reference

CSC – Community Safety Committee

CJS – Criminal Justice System

PSO – Public Safety Office

CRO - Community Relations Officer

1. Chapter One: Introduction

The negative perception of police held by racialized populations generally and the often-hostile relationship they have with police in North America has received a great deal of attention in both academia and the news media (Skogan, 1989; Lersch et al., 2008; Weitzer et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2009; Weitzer, 2015; Nix et al., 2015; Bakhshaie et al., 2017; La Vigne et al., 2017; Chronopoulos & Klingle, 2018). This is manifested in the historically poor relations between racialized socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods (SDNs) and police in the United States and Canada and the negative perception of and satisfaction with police held by racialized SDNs (O'Connor, 2008). The hostile relationship and negative perceptions is one of the most significant obstacles to joint efforts to prevent crime in these communities (Melles, 2003; Silver, 2008; Dunn, 2010; Benjamin, 2010; Alexander, 2014; Clairmont et al., 2014; Prouse et al., 2014; Desmond et al., 2016; Bullock & Johnson, 2018; Awan et al., 2019).

Finding ways of improving relations between police and SDNs that have a large Black population (hereafter referred to as "racialized SDNs") has become increasingly important in policing policy and crime prevention strategies. This is an issue of great concern because the "residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods tend to rely on the police for assistance as much as, if not more than, people elsewhere" (Schaible & Hughes, 2012, p. 245). A significant influence on the operations and effectiveness of many community crime prevention organizations (CCPOs)[1] is the extent to which the community safety leaders (CSLs)[2] have productive working relationships with the police and other government agencies, which includes serving as a liaison between police

[1] For this thesis, the term 'Community Crime Prevention Organizations' (CCPOs) will be used to denote a community-based group, constituted mainly by the community safety leaders but which may include or be advised by external service providers, that are mandated to address community safety issues.

[2] For this thesis, community safety leaders (CSLs) and CCPOs leaders are defined as motivated residents of a community who take a leadership role in organizing local community safety initiatives and represent the community in relations with external service providers (including police). The terms 'community safety leaders' or 'CCPOs leaders' are used interchangeably in this thesis.

and community residents (Bennett, 1995; Telep & Hibdon, 2018). The role of police in supporting CCPOs and their leadership is often essential for the successful implementation of community safety initiatives (Bennett & Lavrakas, 1989; Jacoby, 2018).

Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) note that public were "receptive to the idea of co-production of order, and specifically of partnerships between residents and the police to address neighbourhood crime-related issues" (p. 547) while people living in high-crime neighbourhoods with concentrated disadvantage maintain a "strong belief in the law" (La Vigne et al., 2017, p. 15). Similarly, people of African origin reported a greater willingness to work with the police in North America (Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011). The willingness of racialized SDNs to partner with the police suggests fertile grounds for co-production of safety in racialized SDNs (La Vigne et al., 2017). There is a significant need for cooperation and coordination between police and racialized SDNs in addressing local crime and victimization problems, yet these are the same communities that are extremely distrustful of police (La Vigne et al., 2017). History and research demonstrate that there is ample reason for people in SDNs, especially those in which people of African heritage dominate, to be suspicious of and harbour negative perceptions of police.

Although there is an emerging body of studies on police-community relations, less is known about the perception held by community safety leaders in racialized socially disadvantaged neighborhoods. The biggest void in the literature is the absence of theories and research examining whether a formal partnership between CCPO leaders and police influences their working relationship and perceptions of and satisfaction with one another. Using a theoretical framework based on community crime prevention and community-oriented policing, this case study research attempts to provide further insight into barriers that impede an effective working relationship between police and CSLs and the extent to which a partnership-based model overcomes such barriers to foster more productive working relationships.

Following this introduction, chapter two describes the extant literature on the issues of concern to this thesis. It begins by describing crime prevention generally and then, narrows its focus

to CCP and COP. The literature review then examines theories and research concerning the relationship between police and CSLs in SDNs, the barriers to an effective relationship, and how negative perceptions of one another may serve to undermine such a relationship.

The problem statement and contribution to knowledge are discussed in chapter three. This study attempts to fill the void in the literature concerning relationships between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs in Canada (and Nova Scotia specifically), the barriers that obstruct such a relationship, how the perceptions held by police and CSLs of one another can form the basis for such barriers, and whether the implementation of a community safety co-production model can overcome these barriers.

The fourth chapter details the study's research objectives, which is to better understand and critically examine whether partnership-based co-production models of community safety have any effect on the relationship between police and CSLs.

The theoretical framework will be the fifth chapter of this thesis. For this study, the broad theoretical framework is CCP and COP, both of which advocate for and postulate details on the co-production of the community safety model.

The following chapter describes the research design for this study, which relies on a case study approach employing mixed methods. The case study involves the Mulgrave Park Community Mobilization Team (MPCMT), a partnership-based community mobilization team located in a racialized SDNs in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. The main research method was interviews with Mulgrave Park community safety leaders (MPCSLs) and members of Halifax Regional Police and the Halifax Regional Municipality's Public Safety Office. This chapter also identifies the scope and limitations of the research, including the parameters of the study and the challenges conducting this research during the unprecedented COVID-19 pandemic.

The data collected through this study is thematically presented in the seventh chapter. This findings chapter examines four themes: (i) goals of the MPCMT, (ii) impact of the MPCMT on police-MPCSLs relations and specific MPCMT-related factors that have contributed to a betterment

of their relationship, (iii) obstacles to effective relationships between police and the MPCSLs and the extent to which the MPCMT has overcome these obstacles, and (iv) recommendations (from research participants) for a more effective implementation of the MPCMT program (and a better working relationship between police and MPCSLs).

Chapter Eight is dedicated to a discussion and analysis of the research findings. The analysis is guided by the research objectives, the themes, and the CCP and COP theoretical framework (in particular, the co-production of safety principles). It critically examines the extent to which the MPCMT has helped overcome the identified obstacles to a more productive partnership between police and MPCSLs.

The ninth chapter concludes this study with an overview of key findings, their implications, limitation, strength, and recommendation for future research.

2. Chapter Two: Literature Review

Past research has explored various dimensions of CCP and the relationship between police and SDNs in the context of local crime prevention initiatives (Skogan, 1989; Schneider, 2007; La Vigne et al., 2017; Chronopoulos & Klingle, 2018). This body of literature includes studies that have identified the barriers that may obstruct this relationship (Sherman et al., 1997, Schneider, 2007; Savoie, 2008a; Savoie 2008b; Schneider, 2015; La Vigne et al., 2017). This chapter begins broadly by discussing the topics of crime prevention, CCP, COP, and CCPOs generally and then, examines the literature on police relations with CSLs in racialized SDNs and the barriers that obstruct an effective relationship.

2.1. Overview of Crime Prevention

Crime prevention refers to any proactive actions designed to reduce the future risk of crime. However, it is a problematic concept in academia in that it means different things to different people (Gilling, 1997; Welsh & Farrington, 2012; Schneider, 2015). Crime prevention is a widely used but vague concept with a loosely defined meaning (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991; Schneider, 2015). It is difficult to find a unanimously accepted definition of this concept, given the wide range of activities and diverse array of approaches described as crime prevention (Homel, 2007; Schneider, 2015).

The National Crime Prevention Institute (NCPI) (1978) defines crime prevention as the "anticipation, recognition, and appraisal of a crime risk and the initiative of some action to remove it" (p. 1). According to Waller and Weiler (1985), the "prevention of crime refers to certain actions which reduce the future risk of crime. It does not mean that all crime is eliminated" (p. 5). For Ekblom (1994), crime prevention is "an intervention in mechanisms that cause criminal events, in a way which seeks to reduce the probability of an occurrence" (p. 2). Similarly, Lab (2004) conceptualizes crime prevention as "any action designed to reduce the actual level of crime and/or

perceived fear of crime" (p. 23). Sherman et al. (1997) propose that crime prevention should be defined not by "intentions" rather by its "consequences" and define it accordingly as "any practice shown to result in less crime than would occur without the practice." Van Dijk and De Waard (1991) convincingly conceptualize crime prevention as "the total of all private initiatives and state policies, other than the enforcement of criminal law aimed at reduction of damage caused by acts defined as criminal by the state" (p. 483). Tilley (2009) states that crime prevention "is taken to refer to a much wider range of methods to try to avert crime, in several of which the police play either no part at all or only a very minor one" (p. 6). Considering the ambiguity regarding the various definitions of crime prevention, Hughes and Chan (2000) suggest, "there is no simple answer then to the question 'what is crime prevention?' … there is great plethora of activities and initiatives associated with the term crime prevention. It is then a chameleon concept" (p. 13).

2.2. Classifying Crime Prevention Approaches

Over the last decades, academics have categorized crime prevention approaches in different ways, including the public health model of disease prevention (primary, secondary and tertiary approaches[3]) (Brantingham & Faust, 1976), the extended public health model (offender, situation and victim approaches[4]) (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991), the participant-directed model (individualistic and collective approaches[5]) (Lewis & Salem, 1981; Tilley, 2009; Schneider, 2015),

[3] According to Brantingham and Faust (1976), "Primary crime prevention identifies conditions of the physical and social environment that provide opportunities for or precipitate criminal acts. Secondary crime prevention engages in early identification of potential offenders and seeks to intervene in their lives in such a way that they never commit criminal violation. Tertiary crime prevention deals with actual offenders and involves intervention in their lives in such a fashion that they will not commit further offences" (p. 290).

[4] The offender-oriented crime prevention model "can be targeted at the public at large as potential offenders" (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991, p. 485). The situational crime prevention model "can aim at the improvement of the security provisions in (a) all houses and buildings in a town, (b) high-crime areas; or (c) so-called "hot spots" (areas that are frequently the site of actual crimes)" (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991, p. 485). Victim-oriented crime prevention targets the public at large as potential victims (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991).

[5] Individualistic crime prevention mechanisms include those in which someone acts exclusively to prevent personal victimization or crimes against his or her property (Lewis & Salem, 1981; Schneider, 2015, Tilley, 2009). Collective crime prevention mechanisms are initiated by two or more persons for their collective safety (Lewis & Salem, 1981; Schneider, 2015).

and the private-public initiative-centered model ("defensive strategies"[6], "guardianship and monitoring"[7], "creation of new forms of social order"[8] and "criminality prevention"[9]) (Hughes & Chan 2000 p. 22). Crime prevention has also been divided into two main approaches: those that address the root causes of crime and those that prevent the opportunity for crime to occur in a particular time and place. More specifically, the field of crime prevention has been demarcated by the focus and goals of a particular strategy, which has led to the following classification: (i) crime prevention through social development, (ii) situational crime prevention, (iii) community crime prevention, (iv) recidivism prevention and (iv) police and the criminal justice system (Tonry & Farrington, 1995; Schneider, 2015).

Crime prevention through social development (CPSD) consists of social problem-solving interventions that attempt to ameliorate the factors that are responsible for the onset of criminal behaviour within individuals (usually targeting at-risk children and youth) to prevent future criminal and antisocial behaviour from developing (Waller & Weiler, 1985; Tonry & Farrington, 1995; Tilley, 2005; Vallée & Caputo, 2011; Welsh & Farrington, 2012; Prenzler, 2017; Welsh et al., 2018). Also known as "criminality prevention" CPSD focuses on the root causes of criminality, such as family breakdown, racism, unemployment, poor housing, the lack of appropriate family, social, educational, recreational, and employment opportunities, as well as cognitive, academic, and behavioural problems experienced by children and youth that put them at risk of future offending (Kelly et al., 2005).

[6] Defensive strategies cover programs, "such as car steering locks, rape alarms, private policing of private property, neighbourhood watch" (Hughes & Chan 2000, p. 22).
[7] Guardianship and monitoring highlights "the targeted policing of likely victims or offenders, information monitoring (CCTV), responsiveness to customer needs" (Hughes & Chan 2000, p. 22).
[8] The creation of new forms of social order initiates "multi-agency forms of order, public and private partnerships, exclusions of potentially troublesome individuals, public safety initiatives" (Hughes & Chan 2000, p. 22).
[9] Criminality prevention focuses on the preventive programs, "such as pre-school enhancement programmes, diversion schemes for young offenders and pre-emptive targeting of youth at risk of offending (Hughes & Chan 2000, p. 22).

Situational crime prevention focuses on specific crimes that occur in a particular time and place and are intended to reduce the opportunities and increase the risk for crime to occur by designing or modifying the physical environment and/or by organizing local neighbourhoods (Tonry & Farrington, 1995; Felson & Clarke, 1998; Brantingham et al., 2005; Tilley, 2005; Tilley, 2009; United Nations Office on Drugs Crime (UNODC), 2010; Vallée & Caputo, 2011; Welsh & Farrington, 2012; Anthony et al., 2012; Schneider, 2015; Bjørgo, 2016, Schubert, 2016; Prenzler, 2017). Telep and Hibdon (2018) find that situational crime prevention efforts likely have "a positive impact on calls" for service "in crime and disorder hot spots without significant spatial displacement of crime and disorder" (p. 1143).

Community crime prevention refers to the collective actions and interventions of neighbourhood and community members that are designed to prevent crime from occurring at a particular time and may also include efforts to change or reinforce the local social conditions that influence crime, criminality, and the ability of the local community to mobilize to address these problems (Schneider, 2015).

Recidivism prevention denotes the mechanisms designed to help offenders abstain from future criminality by reintegrating them back into the society which is meant to address the causes of their criminal behaviour through community-based, social problem-solving interventions that provide treatment and the creation of positive, alternatives to crime (UNODC, 2010; Schneider, 2015).

Classifying policing and the criminal justice system (CJS) as crime prevention is controversial. Some scholars have included the specific deterrence effects of punishment as the crime prevention role of police and the CJS (Bjørgo, 2016; Prenzler, 2017). Police patrols, for instance, may deter crimes while arrests and incarceration may prevent offenders from committing crimes. Hughes and Chan (2000) strongly assert that the law "enforcement has played historically an important part in crime prevention and remains of major importance for contemporary strategies of crime control" (p. 19). Sherman et al. (1998) and Tilley (2009) also emphasize the traditional

crime control measures for crime reduction and the proactive role police and the CJS can play in preventing crime. In situating the role of the CJS in crime prevention, Schneider (2015) emphasizes "the use of proactive, community-based, and/or problem-oriented policing approaches that have shown to work (e.g., the community-oriented policing, problem-oriented policing, hot spot policing, CompStat), as well as harm reduction approaches implemented by other criminal justice branches that address the root causes of criminal offending (e.g., drug courts, mental health courts)" (p. 28).

2.3. Crime Prevention vs. the Criminal Justice System

One way to conceptualize crime prevention is to compare and differentiate it from the CJS. As discussed, some scholars believe that certain criminal justice agencies and actions can satisfy the tenets of crime prevention (NCPI, 1978; Ekblom, 1994; Sherman et al., 1997; Lab, 2004; Tilley, 2009; Schneider, 2015). However, others believe that much of the crime prevention falls outside the CJS. Indeed, "the contemporary field of crime prevention began to emerge in the 1960s as a critique of and an alternative to the CJS" (Schneider, 2015, p. 9). Some academicians refer to criminal justice approaches, not as prevention but as "crime control" mechanisms (Welsh & Farrington, 2012, p. 1) because they are largely reactive. Lejins (1967) distinguishes between crime control and crime prevention when he writes, "if societal action is motivated by an offence that has already taken place, we are dealing with control; if the offence is only anticipated, we are dealing with prevention" (p. 2). The CJS focuses mainly on offenders, whereas the theories and practices of crime prevention focus more on "potential offenders (at-risk children and youth), potential victims (neighbourhood residents and businesses), and potential crime sites (places)" (Schneider, 2015, p. 7). As Prenzler (2017) connotes, "crime prevention is evolving and is becoming an increasingly sophisticated science, which is no longer considered as solely in the domain of traditional law enforcement bodies" (p. 1). In short, one of the dominant ways to distinguish the CJS and crime prevention is that the CJS is largely reactive compared to the more proactive approach of crime prevention (Sherman et al., 1997; Waller, 2006; Schneider, 2015).

Schneider (2015) summarizes the defining traits of crime prevention and how it is distinguished from the CJS; it:

- is inherently proactive;
- assumes a risk-based (targeted) approach;
- emphasizes a problem-oriented methodology;
- is evidence-based;
- partially shifts responsibility for crime control to private (non-state) actors;
- stresses (in the case of community crime prevention) informal social control (as opposed to the state's formal social control);
- shifts the focus from the offender to the potential victim and offender;
- frequently entails partnerships and collaboration;
- targets not only the criminal act but also criminality, fear, and disorder (p. 11).

Other defining traits of crime prevention include the following:

- it focuses on the causes of crime rather than its effects (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2003) and can target multiples causes of crime (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2002);
- it specifically aims to reduce victimization by helping potential victims take specific measures (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2003);
- it aims to reduce the opportunities for a crime to take place in a particular time and place (situational crime prevention) while also altering social circumstances that contribute to root causes (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981);
- it focuses on risk factors, although realistically it can only serve to reduce rather than eliminate the risk of crime and criminal behaviour (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981; Ekblom, 1994; Waller & Weiler, 1985; European Union, 2004);

- it is a sophisticated science that includes the anticipation of a crime or criminal behaviour, the analysis of the problem, and initiatives to reduce the risk based on this analysis (NCPI, 1978; NCPI, 2001; Prenzler 2017).

2.4. Community Crime Prevention

CCP entails community-based efforts to prevent crime and violence, primarily through the mobilization of local residents to protect themselves, their property, and their neighbourhood (Rosenbaum, 1988). As such, CCP emphasizes the importance of local collective action and greater community control over crime prevention initiatives, but it also includes the community's collaboration with police and service providers (Morgan, 2010). CCP revives the historic position that local communities play in preventing crime and the contemporary version encompasses situational, social developmental, and (community) policing approaches. To this end, CCP can serve to prevent both the opportunities for crime to occur in a particular time and place but may also address the root causes of criminal behaviour. Thus, CCP represents an amalgam of different crime prevention strategies that are played out at the local level, while also seeking to engage residents, CSLs of local unilateral CCPOs, police, as well as other service providers and stakeholders (Goris & Walters, 1999; Rosenbaum, 2002).

With that said, CCP does not simply represent a local forum to apply different crime prevention strategies; it recognizes that to prevent crime and criminality, neighbourhoods must be imbued with a strong sense of social cohesion. As such, an over-arching goal of CCP, especially in SDNs or "disorganized" neighbourhoods (Shaw & Mckay, 1942) is to help "transform the neighborhood as a spatial entity into an enduring institution: a community" (Schneider, 2015, p. 40). To this end, Schubert (2016) categorizes CCP strategies as either "crime prevention through physical constraints" (p. 122) or "crime prevention through social cohesion and trust" (p. 126). Hope's (1995) credible definition of CCP emphasizes the community as a local institution to reduce crime in residential neighbourhoods by "actions intended to change the social conditions that are

believed to sustain crime in residential communities" (p. 21). In the same way, Tonry and Farrington (1995) define CCP as the "interventions designed to change the social conditions that influence offending in residential communities" (p. 2). Similarly, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (2002) defines CCP comprehensively as actions to "Change the conditions in neighbourhoods that influence offending, victimization and the insecurity that results from crime by building on the initiatives, expertise and commitment of community members" (Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime: Conceptual frame of reference, para. 7). These social conditions can include the root causes of crime, thereby emphasizing the centrality of social developmental approaches to CCP.

Throughout the last few decades, the emerging conceptual models of CCP have varied depending on the roles played by the community, criminogenic conditions to target, and the manner of interaction between community and service providers (Hirschfield, 2020). These different models have been accompanied by different labels or emphases, including those that highlight the processes essential to engaging local residents to establish the community as a crime prevention institution – such as community organization (Hope, 1995; Bennett, 2000), community empowerment (Bennett, 2000), tenant involvement (Hope, 1995), resource mobilization (Hope, 1995), and community mobilization (Polk, 1997; Schneider, 2007; Jamieson, 2008). Other terms or models emphasize a particular strategy, such as community or residential defence (Hope, 1995; Polk, 1997; Bennett, 2000; Schneider, 2015) community development (Brown & Polk, 1996; Bennett, 2000; Schneider, 2015), or preserving order (Hope, 1995).

Lewis and Salem (1981) classify CCP models into a social control perspective and victimization perspective. The social control perspective sees the community as the context in which prevention programs are designed to strengthen the capacity of the local community to exert social control (Lewis & Salem, 1981). The victimization perspective looks at how a community is affected by crime or its response to it and seeks to induce collective responses to crime, which generates social cohesion (Lewis & Salem, 1981). Prenzler (2017), on the other hand, divides CCP

differently into “softer,” “intermediate intervention” and “harder” forms (p. 64-5). “Softer forms” cover the programs that provide “support or welfare” to the community (e.g., “employment scheme,” “accommodation services,” “drop-in centers,” “school-based programs” etc.) (Prenzler, 2017, p. 64). “Intermediate intervention” attempts to involve the victim or potential victim, offender, community members, and local police to mitigate the dispute or prevent the risk of crime (e.g., “restorative justice,” “community conference,” “safety houses,” etc.) (Prenzler, 2017, p. 64-5). “Harder forms” include “Surveillance-oriented” CCP programs that are aimed to mobilize residents to protect themselves (e.g., “Neighbourhood Watch, Business Watch and School Watch”) (Prenzler, 2017, p. 65).

Schneider (2015) condenses all the aforementioned models of CCP into the community defence model and community development model. The community defence model seeks to reduce opportunities for crime to occur locally through the collective action of the community and, again, is epitomized by the Neighbourhood Watch program and also residents’ patrols. Also called the immunological model, it seeks to “strengthen the capacity of the community to defend itself against crime primarily through opportunity reduction measures” (Schneider, 2015, p. 244) and aim “to persuade residents to take better security precautions” and to inform police of any incidents that have occurred (Bennett, 2000, p. 385). This model of crime prevention has five defining characteristics: “community-based, citizen participation/collective action, informal social control, reinforcing or modifying behaviours of local residents and situational crime prevention” (Schneider, 2015, p. 253). Schneider (2015) argues that this model “is concerned with reinforcing or modifying the individual and collective behaviours of community residents to produce or strengthen a local social environment that can informally regulate itself, which includes preventing criminal opportunities from arising” (p. 241).

Bennett (2000) broadly refers to the community development model as the “improvements to the built environment, community empowerment, housing allocation policies, and social and economic regeneration” (p. 386). It promotes the physical, social, and socio-economic development

of a neighbourhood (e.g., "organizing residents, economic development, beautification projects, graffiti removal, housing gentrification, and other types of physical development", etc.) (Schneider, 2015, p. 242). This model helps "prevent crime in a number of ways: by addressing physical dilapidation and disorder problems that can contribute to a downward spiral of communities that invite more serious crime problems through the development of local social cohesion and informal social control, and through social and economic developmental measures that address criminogenic risk factors" (Schneider, 2015, p. 268). Some studies find that CCP developmental programs have contributed to reducing crime and delinquency (Brookman & Maguire, 2005; Homel, 2005; Welsh & Farrington, 2012).

In short, the community defence model is "concerned with reducing the opportunity for crime" while the community development model "attempts to address factors that contribute to the root causes of crime locally" (Schneider, 2015, p. 242). Despite different CCP models, the collective and proprietary efforts of residents to prevent and control crime and criminality at the local level are the elements that all models share (Schneider, 2015). As Hope (1995) contends, "the common theme in all these efforts has been that residents should organize collectively to create or support institutions for dealing with the crime problems that beset their residential space" (p. 66).

The community development model is critical for designing CCP programs in SDNs, which are more vulnerable to crime due to the concentration of such social conditions as poverty, unemployment, a dysfunctional economy, poor housing, a lack of strong local social institutions, racialization, and racism, family breakup, geo-spatial and social marginalization, as well as physical dilapidation, among others (Schneider, 2015). These same factors also tend to undermine the necessary preconditions for crime prevention, including local mobilization and social cohesion.

Research suggests that CCP programs are implemented with greater success in more affluent communities that are characterized by stronger informal social control (Bennett, et al., 2008) in contrast to SDNs, where program implementation success is negligible (Rosenbaum, 1987). Some argue that inadequate planning and lack of implementation efforts and deleterious

conditions of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the reasons for CCP program failure (Dershem, 1990). Scholars strongly suggest that adequate planning and implementation of programs tailored upon community attributes (social, demographic, crime problem, etc.) are more likely to overcome program failure (Grant et al., 1988; Dershem, 1990, Thomas & Burns, 2005). Similarly, Hope (2001) recognizes that CCP "is not so much a specific set of practices designed to affect individual behaviours directly; rather, it is a framework for action which establishes the necessary social preconditions through which individual criminal motivation or behaviours can be changed through routine practice" (p. 422). Homel et al. (2001), for example, advocate that CCP programs need to be "directed at the community itself, not just at the individuals living in it" given the concentration of poverty, high-crime rate and broader social inequality in SDNs (p. 19). Hope (2001) further demonstrates that "effective design, implementation and evaluation of crime prevention measures need to be cognizant of its social context; and any measure which does not properly take into account the systems and contexts in which it is embedded is more likely to fail than succeed" (p. 425).

2.4.1.Dominant Principles of Community Crime Prevention

CCP has four dominant principles: community-based, resident participation, community mobilization, and informal social control (Schneider, 2015). CCP is a community-based and residents-driven process in which local residents "play a major role in maintaining order in a free society and therefore should be encouraged to accept more responsibility for the prevention of crime" (Schneider 2015, p. 242). The implication of recognizing community as an institution is the transfer of the responsibility for proactive, preventive efforts from the state to the residents. An underlying doctrine of CCP is that residents must become involved in proactive interventions aimed at reducing or precluding criminal opportunity from occurring in their neighbourhoods (Lurigio & Rosenbaum, 1986). Jamieson's (2008) description deserves to be quoted at length in this context:

> It is largely taken for granted that communities have an important role to play in preventing crime and fostering community safety. Crime control agendas in most western democracies reflect this view and underscore the importance of community engagement and participation and partnerships. This expectation is based on the widely-held belief that many crime and community safety issues emerge from local, specific contexts and thus are rightfully "owned" at the community level. Locals experience crime problems first hand and thus have valuable knowledge that may be critical to the success of an intervention. Moreover, the long term success and sustainability of positive changes are seen as inextricably linked to the level of community involvement and ownership of strategies – particularly when institutional resources to address crime are scarce. (p. 12)

The importance of residents' participation is highlighted in the crime prevention literature. In the broadest of terms, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) (2010) outlines two ways that community can be involved in crime prevention: "public participation in defining local needs, including through local diagnoses of security, and public participation in implementing strategies" (p. 115).

With that said, one way to classify local CCP strategies is to distinguish between those that are individualistic in nature (e.g., target hardening, self-defence classes, avoiding certain parts of a city at night) and those that are collective in nature (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch, Block Parent, residents' patrol). Along the same vein, Schneider and Schneider (1977) categorize crime prevention approaches as either "private minded" or "public minded." The former is restricted to efforts that primarily self-protect the individual and his or her own home and assets from victimization, while the latter includes initiatives that help protect the entire community (which include looking out for one's neighbours and watching over public spaces). Both individually driven self-protection (private) initiatives and collective (public) efforts to protect the entire

community are integral to CCP (Schneider, 2015). However, collective resident participation in community safety initiatives ultimately determines the success of the local CCP program. Collective action through resident participation can directly prevent crime through greater surveillance, for example, and can also indirectly reduce crime and fear through increased social interactions (Hope, 1995; Duffee et al., 2006) which lead to greater local social cohesion and "collective efficacy" (Sampson et al., 1997, p. 919).

Given the essential role that community members play in crime prevention, CCP programs are designed to mobilize residents and foster local social cohesion, which in turn is meant to increase the direct participation of residents in solving community problems (Brown & Polk, 1996). Typical approaches to achieve these intermediate goals vary from the creation of formal community development organizations to rely on leadership and resources from outside the community, in particular the police and other state agencies (Hope, 1995, Sherman et al., 1997). Both community development and community defence models of CCP are reliant on community mobilization, although Schneider (2007) argues that the developmental model should precede any community defence models because the former is more apt to create the prerequisites for effective mobilization of the community. This is the case because CCP developmental initiatives focus on the empowerment for mobilizing local neighbourhoods (Schneider, 2007). Using resident-empowering approaches and funding local CCP programs while expressly seeking participation from neighbourhood residents can increase the involvement of local residents in crime prevention (Nkwake et al., 2013; Savolainen, 2005; Goodwin & Maru, 2017).

CCP is also contingent upon the level of local informal social control. Formal social control refers to state-imposed regulations enforced by government institutions, while informal social control refers to a local social environment that can informally regulate itself and can prevent social disorder (Schneider, 2015). Informal social control can either develop organically within a community or can be induced by planned programs within environments where there is a low level

of social cohesion (Schneider, 2015). To this end, CCP programs are designed either to capitalize on existing informal social control or produce informal social control through greater social interaction, cohesion, and collective efficacy.

Widely regarded as an important prerequisite for CCP, social cohesion is the glue that holds the local community together and maintains informal social control (Schneider, 2015). Social cohesion refers to the "extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society" (Manca, 2014, para. 1). It has two dimensions: "the sense of belonging of a community and the relationships among members within the community itself" (Manca, 2014, para. 1). Collective efficacy, on the other hand, is a concept developed specifically for the field of CCP and combines social cohesion with informal social control (Sampson et al., 1997). It is a variable feature of community that refers to the collective sense of being able to accomplish some collective tasks and achieve social control over the environment (Sampson, 2003; Pietrantoni, 2014; Hipp, 2016). In efforts to reduce crime, CCP is said to be highly reliant on the existence of local informal social control (Hipp, 2016).

2.4.2. Critical Analysis of Community Crime Prevention Theory and Practice

CCP approaches have been subject to critiques, in part due to studies that reveal the limitations of this approach in preventing crime, especially in SDNs. As such, many continue to believe that a punitive criminal justice-led approach is the best way to protect society and they criticize CCP as an approach that provides only a minimum benefit (Cherney, 2000; Sutton et al., 2008; Linden, 2010; Vallée & Caputo, 2011; Dennis, 2012). Some scholars also argue that the costs of CCP exceed benefits (Welsh & Farrington, 2000). For them, crime prevention as a whole is "nothing more than pork-barreling – wasteful spending of taxpayer dollars" (Welsh & Farrington, 2012, p. 7).

For some, CCP is a neo-liberal tactic to transfer crime control responsibilities to the public in order to reduce the state's stake in local communities and their welfare (Garland, 1996; Schneider, 2015). As Crawford (1994; 1997; 1999; 2009) argues that the appeal to the community to participate in CCP provides the opportunity to shift blame for ineffective crime control to the

community. Some scholars opine that the emphasis on the CCP defence model – especially the use of CCTV cameras – by police departments has contributed to greater surveillance of the public by the state and private actors, which leads to less privacy or sometimes the violation of privacy (Wortley, 2010; Van Dijk et al., 2012; Clarke, 2012). Adopting a Foucauldian (1977) analysis, some scholars view CCP as another means for the state to monitor private life while regulating conduct (Clancey, 2014).

Situational crime prevention is central to the community defence model. However, it has been criticized for not preventing crime but serving to displace crime to another time and place, although research findings on crime displacement are mixed (Tilley, 2005). Situational crime prevention has also been criticized for addressing only the symptoms of crime without addressing such causal factors as poverty, inequality, discrimination, poor parenting, or other root causes (Wortley, 2010). As Sutton (1994) evinces that "organizing social initiatives around crime prevention themes may detract attention from underlying structural issues, and that techniques of opportunity reduction and surveillance will extend social control and accelerate the 'privatising' of safety and security" (p. 5).

The field of CCP has also been criticized for focusing on predatory street crimes and ignores crimes that may have a greater impact on society (Hughes & Chan, 2000), including corporate and state crime and other crimes committed by elites. This contributes to the argument that like CJS, crime prevention is class-biased too. The community defence model has been criticized for promoting conflict between social groupings (Crawford, 1994). Schneider (2007) points out that "This conflict between social groups is played out in spatial terms at the neighbourhood level through opportunity reduction crime prevention programs, which are largely carried out by the middle-class to defend themselves, their property, and their shared identity" (p. 234). As such, this conflict "is manifested in the interrelated politics of identity, crime, and crime prevention (e.g., the propertied middle-class as victims vs. the poor as offenders)" (Schneider, 2015, p. 281). Purenne and Palierse (2017) highlight that "participatory surveillance can help to strengthen

social relationships and the sense of belonging in a community, while paradoxically contributing to instilling fear instead of reducing the sense of insecurity felt by residents. Such widespread fear currently reinforces popular prejudices against strangers" (p. 90). A higher reliance on CCP defence programs in cities is criticized as a technique of building fortress cities against the poor and winning back the city space from the SDNs (Squires, 2017).

Most importantly, research suggests that CCP strategies have not met their theoretical underpinnings in practice because they have resulted in low levels of participation by community members (Sherman et al., 1997; Forrest et al., 2005; Schneider, 2007; Schreurs et al., 2018). As Schneider (2015) rightly concludes, "Research and project evaluations have shown that applied CCP models have fallen short of the expectations set by their theoretical prescriptions. A host of empirical studies indicate that various CCP projects have had only modest or no impact on crime and fear of crime. Studies also reveal that CCP programs are often unable to engineer the social and behavioral preconditions (i.e., collective action, social interaction, territoriality) necessary to reach their objectives" (p. 276). Research has generally shown that resident participation in CCP programs is low, especially in those neighbourhoods and communities where it is needed most (Hope, 1995; Crawford, 2001; Schneider, 2015).

In addition, CCP can also be undermined by police if they take too dominant a role or fail to delegate authority to community groups and ultimately neighbourhood residents (Crawford, 1994; Garland, 1996). Schneider (2015) argues that "community residents refrain from participating because their role will always be subservient to that of the police and policy-makers. This problem is a legacy of the state-centered approach to crime control that dominated much of the twentieth century" (p. 278). The community may also find itself in a position with little or no power over politically-driven resource allocation and programming decisions or saddled with various administrative hassles (Hirschfield, 2020). When discussing the importance of the vertical relations of power that influence CCP, Hope (1995) reminds that "the paradox of community crime prevention thus stems from the problem of trying to build community institutions that control crime

in the face of their powerlessness to withstand the pressures towards crime in the community whose source or the forces that sustain them, derive from the wider social structure" (p. 24). This is especially true of SDNs, which are very much created through economic, political, social, and cultural forces beyond the control of residents living in SDNs.

2.4.3. Community Crime Prevention Organizations

This section examines CCPOs and their role in local crime prevention and community safety efforts. CCPOs are voluntary organizations that are community-based and provide public benefits and become vehicles for resident engagement in local issues (Hall et al., 2003). Schneider (2015) argues that neighbourhood-based, nongovernmental organizations founded, organized, governed, and run by neighbourhood residents are important vehicles through which the local crime prevention services are delivered and are pivotal to efforts to mobilize communities around the issue of crime and public safety. CCPOs are seen to benefit neighbourhoods by working to reduce crime with the potential to build stronger communities (Bennett & Lavrakas, 1989; Braga et al., 2008; Slocum et al, 2013; Schneider, 2015; Wo et al., 2016; Sharkey et al., 2017; Wo, 2016; 2018; 2019; Schaible et al. 2021). CCPOs "can be protective for neighborhoods, but they sometimes take considerably more time with a delay in reaping benefits from them" (Wo et al., 2016, p. 237). With that said, CCPOs "offer neither a universal nor a single solution to community crime problems" (Bennett, 1995, p. 84). Despite that, CCPOs are the important "component in a multi-prong effort to reduce community crime" (Bennett, 1995, p. 84).

CCPOs are involved in implementing both social developmental programs as well as situational (community defence) crime prevention measures (Fagan, 1987; Brown & Polk, 1996; Turner et al.,1999; Debicki, 2008; Schneider, 2015; Ruef & Kwon, 2016). A CCPO may also deliver alternative justice approaches, such as restorative justice, offender reintegration (Warner et al., 2010), and peacemaking criminology (Klenowski, 2009). Many CCPOs are founded and organized specifically for crime prevention, including those that enact numerous community safety

measures and those that seek to solely implement specific strategies such as Neighbourhood Watch or citizen patrols. Broad-based community organizations, such as neighbourhood associations or community development groups, may also incorporate crime prevention into a larger mandate. Non-governmental community groups that fall under the community safety model can even include those that contribute to the social development of a neighbourhood such as "day-care centers, sports clubs, arts organizations, social clubs, private schools, hospitals, food banks, environmental groups, trade associations, places of worship, advocates for social justice, and groups that raise funds to cure diseases" (Statistics Canada, 2003, p. 7).

A CCPO is "founded by residents as an organized effort to solve neighbourhood problems" (Fagan, 1987, p. 58). Many CCPOs are "informal, nonhierarchical, and *ad hoc* in nature" (Schneider, 2015, p. 262). CCPOs "may be very formal, with elected officers and members who pay dues, or very informal, perhaps without a name, without any officers or formal memberships" (Turner et al., 1999, p. 3). Such groups can "become permanent fixtures in communities and incorporate as charitable societies with a board of directors and official members" (Schneider, 2015, p. 262). CCPOs also include those that are formed unilaterally by CSLs and those that are at least partially funded and organized by government agencies, including the police. With that said, some CCPOs are formed in response to the failure of the state and police specifically to protect its residents (Skogan, 1989).

Bilateral CCPOs are "often police-led, involving residents" such as Neighbourhood Watch, which can be seen as both a local organization and a program (with a specific crime prevention approach) and may be managed by local police forces (Berry et al., 2011, p. 3). A multilateral CCPO – also known as an interagency, multiagency, or hub model – may involve two or more state agencies (service providers), working alongside community groups and residents to jointly solve local crime problems (McFee & Taylor, 2014; Schneider, 2015). Multiagency organizations are often led by police, although in the United States they may be led by the local attorney general's office (Mukasey et al. 2008; Berry et al., 2011).

CCPOs are said to strengthen community members' support for local safety efforts (Knoke, 1981), expand the community's understanding of local crime problems, facilitate partnerships with government agencies (Fagan, 1987; Skogan, 1988, Skogan, 1989; Bennett, 1995; Koschmann & Laster, 2011), and bridge the gap between police and community (Telep & Hibdon, 2018). Roman et al. (2009) suggest that CCPOs can contribute to local social cohesion and the expectation for collective action and individual participation in such actions. In contrast, some have argued that CCPOs have no significant impact on residents' sense of community or neighbourly interaction (Donnelly & Kimble, 2006) or crime reduction (Smith et al., 1997).

Nonetheless, CCPOs' internal organizational capacity and external networking ability can enhance their effectiveness in solving community issues (Li et al., 2019). CCPOs can function at the liminal space of public and private action in a governance process created by the absence or gap in the state policy or by public action, which may serve to increase the local influence of CCPOs and its capacity to contribute directly to local governance (Chaskin & Greenberg, 2015).

In sum, the CCPOs can be an important vehicle not only for providing services to the community but also to mobilize the community against crime. Yet, there is a consensus in the crime prevention literature that for CCPOs to be most effective in controlling crime, there must be a partnership with local police; that is, success in CCP often requires police and local CSLs to 'co-produce safety' (Lewis & Salem, 1981; Fagan, 1987; Hope, 1995; Gilling, 1997; Turner et al., 1999; Hope, 2001, Kwak et al., 2004; Matsueda, 2006; Crawford, 2009; Schneider, 2015; Wo et al., 2016; Ruef & Kwon, 2016; Wo, 2016; Syla & Forrester, 2018; Jacoby, 2018; Wo, 2018). Forging partnerships between CCPOs with police and other government agencies have become central to their operations, whether it is combating crime or bridging the gap between police and community (Telep & Hibdon, 2018). Most importantly, CCPOs are viewed as important vehicles to mobilize local residents and resources against crime and disorder, which in turn can increase the effectiveness of local policing. Hawdon and Ryan (2011) find that CCPOs "participants are more likely to assist

police than are nonparticipants, even after controlling for social cohesion, perceptions of police legitimacy, various policing strategies, fear of crime, and demographic factors" (p. 897).

2.5. Community-Oriented Policing

This section examines the proactive role of police in crime prevention and community safety. In particular, it explores how the principles of crime prevention are reflected in the COP philosophy, which stresses the importance of a police-CSLs working relationship (a central theme of this thesis). This section begins by tracing the historical origins of COP. It then defines COP, summarizes its philosophy and fundamental principles, and summarizes critiques of this policing approach.

COP shares its origins with CCP and their nexus can be traced back centuries. The public policing role played by the military to maintain the rule of sovereigns in European civilization is evident. However, the prevention and policing of most crimes (that did not threaten the ruling class) were left to individuals, families, and local communities up until the mid-nineteenth century. Policing and crime prevention relied on social ties that existed naturally within the community (Schneider, 2015). The dramatic social changes due to the industrial revolution and the rapid growth of urban centers accelerated the state's control over law and order (Schneider, 2015). It was the visionary Sir Robert Peel who was most responsible for founding the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 and in doing so set forth several principles for modern policing, one of which is treated as the founding principle of COP (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Schneider, 2015): "the police are the public and the public are the police" (Peel, 1829).

Policing and crime prevention in North America during the colonial period was not much different from that of the United Kingdom. Local residents were expected to keep peace in their locality. The police forces in early American cities were notoriously corrupt and politically appointed by crooked ward bosses who ran the precincts. With rapid industrialization and urbanization, social disorder increased, and police agencies grew in size and power. During the first half of the twentieth century, American police agencies adopted the professional model of policing

which was characterized by a centralized, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and paramilitary organization (Schneider, 2015) into which the responsibility for society's crime control was centralized and uncontested. The involvement of local communities in crime control and community safety was considered unnecessary under the professional model of policing (Goldstein, 1979; Community Policing Consortium, 1994).

Yet despite the proliferation of the professional, incident-driven, rapid-response policing model, crime rates climbed across North America during the 1960s and 1970s thereby undermining the legitimacy of the police generally and the professional model specifically. The principles of COP and crime prevention that form the basis of founding the London Metropolitan Police began regaining credibility in the late 1960s. In 1979, Goldstein introduced the concept of problem-oriented policing (POP), which criticized the ineffectiveness of the incident-driven, and rapid response model while emphasizing a more proactive and problem-solving approach to crime. For many, COP and POP emerged due to perceptions that police suffered from a crisis of legitimacy, especially in racialized and marginalized communities because it operated as a "Repressive State Apparatus" (Althusser, 1971) that merely furthered state control by force (Greene, 2000). To this end, the police in Western societies and especially the United States was viewed as estranged from and even enemies of the (racialized) communities they were supposed to be serving and protecting. Indeed, many distinct racialized and minority groups in Canada similarly "emerged as having negative views toward the police, which is consistent with much of the research conducted in the USA" (O'Connor, 2008, p. 578).

COP was introduced to heal police-public relationships and to show "democracy in action" (Community Policing Consortium, 1994, p. 4). It is a dramatic departure from the traditional policing model in that it focuses "on capacity-building within communities, i.e., building and sustaining a community partner to work with the police on matters of neighbourhood crime and disorder" (Greene, 2000, p. 312). Bartkowiak-Théron and Crehan (2010) even offer "vulnerable people policing" as an alternative term for COP (p. 19). For Schneider (2015), COP "is not a

technique, a tactic, a program, or a single unit within a police department. Rather, it is a philosophy as to how police are to deliver their services to the public, within the broader context of how best to address crime and disorder problems" (p. 340). COP philosophy stresses the importance of law enforcement working cooperatively with local communities to identify and resolve issues related to crime and disorder (Yilmaz, 2013; Crowl, 2017). It assumes that people living in the community are most knowledgeable about local problems and are well-placed to help devise solutions. Most importantly, a COP requires both police and community to better realize the potential benefits of COP and integrate unique needs for different communities by avoiding "one size fits all" approach (Thomas & Burns, 2005).

For Crowl (2017), COP "strategies are designed to increase partnerships between the police and the community, while emphasizing problem-solving approaches, to improve the overall quality of life for citizens" (p. 449). Schneider (2015) suggests that COP "intends to promote a closer relationship between the police and the community, emphasizing an active partnership in identifying and solving local crime and disorder problems" (p. 339–40). COP "imposes a new responsibility on the police to devise ways to sincerely work as equal partners with the public in policing and crime prevention" (Schneider (2015, p. 341). For Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1998) COP "is based on the premise that both the police and the community must work together as equal partners to identify, prioritize and solve contemporary problems such as crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder and overall neighbourhood decay, with the goal of improving the overall quality of life in an area" (p. 6). Owusu-Bempah (2012) notes,

> The underlying philosophy is that improving the quality and quantity of contacts between the community and the police can increase the quality of life in a specific community. This puts an onus on the police to react quickly to urgent demands, and to work towards engaging and empowering communities to deal with their own problems. The police are also charged with collaborating and working actively with communities to address community concerns. (para. 14)

More specifically, COP "is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime" (Community Oriented Police Service, 2014, p. 1) and "emphasizes community involvement in crime prevention efforts, in contrast to the focus of traditional policing on law enforcement and order maintenance" (Gill et al., 2014, p. 400). Strategically, COP focuses on "paying attention to community disorder, preventing it by organizing the community, speaking with offenders (particularly for minor crimes), and changing the physical environment within which crimes occur are interventions that focus on the broader problems and issues associated with such behaviours" (Greene, 2000, p. 318).

Defining COP is a difficult task since there is no consensus in academia. It "encompasses a variety of philosophical and practical approaches and is still evolving rapidly" (Community Policing Consortium, 1994, p. 1). With that said, the central philosophy of the COP is built on three fundamental principles: partnership, problem-solving and organizational decentralization. For Cordner (1999), there are four key dimensions of COP: philosophical (central ideas and beliefs underlying COP), strategic (the key operational concept that translates COP philosophy into action), tactical (concrete on COP program, tactics, and behaviours) and organizational (changes in organization and administration necessary for integrating COP).

In general, COP requires police to form partnerships with the communities they serve and any third parties in addressing crime and social disorder (Schneider, 2015). Under the general rubric of COP, the police are expected to develop a close working relationship with the public to ensure the well-being of the public (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Greene, 2000; Somerville, 2009). A partnership under COP is built upon four themes: "effective two-way communication;" "commitment to community empowerment, informal social control, and collective efficacy;" "responsive and accountable to the community;" and "multiagency cooperation" (Schneider, 2015, p. 342).

In the context of this partnership, COP encourages police to empower local residents and communities to practice behaviours that informally regulate their local crime and disorder problems (Schneider, 2015). It can help support informal social control and collective efficacy by helping empower residents to take a proprietary interest in their neighbourhood. Schneider (2015) elaborates, "As an extension of its commitment to the ideals of crime prevention, community policing requires the police agency and its individual members to be responsive and accountable to the communities it serves. In this respect, the public is viewed not only as the partners of police but also as their clients and even their bosses" (p. 344). Police agencies can be judged in terms of the services they provide, accountability, and transparency they maintained under COP (Schneider, 2015).

Timely, comprehensive, and direct communication is an essential element of successful implementation of COP and horizontal regular communication can encourage participation (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Greene, 2000). For Schneider (2015), "A productive and symmetrical partnership between police and community members is very much contingent on effective communication and dialogue between the two" (p. 342).

The partnership approach under COP extends beyond the community and may involve other public, private and voluntary sector organizations (Somerville, 2009; Schneider, 2015). Under a multiagency approach, different service providers including police work in collaboration with CSLs to solve problems through a mutual understanding. For Schneider (2015) a multiagency team "reflects the problem-oriented principles inherent in community policing; government agencies other than the police may have more appropriate powers, resources, and expertise to solve certain crime problems or criminogenic risk factors" (p. 344).

COP requires a transformation of the traditional hierarchical organizational structure and culture of police departments (Community Policing Consortium, 1994), in order to delegate greater responsibilities and decision-making power to frontline officers, and also allow them to work with greater autonomy in local communities to apply crime prevention strategies (Schneider, 2015). COP

also requires that the police broaden their mandate beyond a narrow focus on crime incidents which means they are no longer seen exclusively as law enforcers (Schneider, 2015). COP also advocates that the demographic and social composition of police agencies better reflect the communities it serves. In short, Schneider (2015) identifies three implications of COP for traditional police organizational power structures and the role of the frontline police officer: "(1) power is decentralized from police management to the frontline constable to make decisions, in tandem with community members; (2) the police constable is expected to be become an integral part of the community he or she serves; and (3) there is a decentralization of police facilities (from the centralized police headquarters to neighbourhood-based community policing offices)" (p. 348).

Although COP is conceptually distinct from problem-oriented policing, the latter constitutes a vital element in the former. Schneider (2015) surmises that POP "is perfectly aligned with community policing in that it contributes to such goals through its efforts to solve the underlying causes of local crime and safety problems via a partnership approach with community members and other key partners" (p. 351). According to Reisig (2010), problem-oriented policing "entails identifying, understanding, and solving the array of troubles that prompt citizens repeatedly to call on the police for service and assistance" (p. 7). For Schneider (2015), problem-solving is an "analytical process that is applied to crime problems, which entail defining the problem, identifying contributing causes, and then applying the most appropriate problem-solving strategy (which may fall outside the criminal justice system)" (p. 341).

> It then entails implementing measures that can solve the identified problem, so it does not continue or at least reduces its frequency and/or harm. While an ideal solution addresses the symptoms and aggravating factors, a problem-solving approach is most potent when it ultimately focuses on the root cause of the problem. The application of a problem-solving approach is particularly relevant to chronic, ongoing crime and disorder issues that cannot be sufficiently addressed through a traditional criminal justice response (Schneider, 2015, p. 354).

Goldstein (1979) uses the acronym SARA as the recommended analytical approach inherent in POP, which stands for scanning (defining the problem), analysis (understanding the problems), response (searching for a solution), and assessment (assessment of solution applied). A problem-solving approach addressing a crime problem in a highly individualized fashion and "The search for the most appropriate solution, combined with the need for alternatives to the CJS, necessitates that police officers think more creatively" (Schneider, 2015, p. 360).

Despite its growing currency in North America (in particular Canada), COP "has been criticized as being too utopian for most police departments; as such, in practice, few police departments have fully implemented these philosophies, especially the one tenet of organizational change that entails the transfer of power from police executives to frontline officers and the communities they serve" (Schneider, 2015, p. 329). There is a concern whether COP would ever be hoisted equal status and resources as the traditional policing model or be replaced by other trendy policing models in the future, especially given the "reluctance of many police agencies to fundamentally reorganize their internal power structures and hierarchies" (Schneider, 2015, p. 364). Because police departments face internal and external organizational challenges in implementing COP (Giacomazzi et al., 2004; Mastrofski et al., 2007) many contend that COP is "repeated by police departments simply to create the impression that they are on the cutting edge of their profession" (Schneider, 2015, p. 364). As Bayley (1988) argues, the implementation of community policing has been "very uneven" because, "although widely, almost universally, said to be important, it means different things to different people …. Community policing on the ground often seems less a program than a set of aspirations wrapped in a slogan" (p. 225). Similarly, Greene (2000) contends that "Community relations issues were more "eyewash and whitewash" than substantive in many communities, a way for the police perhaps to placate the public" (p. 308). Although service delivery through a decentralized and less bureaucratic organizational structure is a cornerstone of COP (Greene, 2000; Miller et al., 2013), police are criticized for not decentralizing power to frontline constables or CSLs to make decisions on safety issues (Greene, 2000; Chalom

et al., 2001; Rosenbaum, 2002; New Zealand Police, 2008). Power often remains vested in the hierarchical public agency (Vangen et al., 2015).

Moreover, police departments are often criticized for using CSLs as a source of information in surveillance-based activities rather than a partner to solve local crime problems under the COP framework (Chalom et al. 2001; Cherney, 2008; Putt, 2010). Some argue whether COP is "the best way to allocate scarce policing resources" (Schneider, 2015, p. 365) given that successes in mobilizing communities to seem to be limited to a small minority of the stable middle-class population while failing to mobilize residents in SDNs (Cunneen, 1991; Davis et al., 2003; Giacomazzi et al., 2004; Forrest et al., 2005; Mastrofski et al., 2007; Schneider, 2007; Somerville, 2009; Stone & Travis, 2011; Carr, 2012; Bullock & Sindall, 2013; Schneider, 2015; Schreurs et al., 2018).

2.6. Partnership Principle in CCP and COP

CCP and COP are both dependent on the principle of partnerships (Rosenbaum, 2002), which is "largely built on the premise that no single agency can deal with, or be responsible for dealing with, complex community safety and crime problems" (Berry et al., 2011, p. 1). The shared partnership principle of CCP and COP embodies a coordinated response to local crime and disorder problems by all key stakeholders, including community members, the CSLs, the police, the private sector, and other government agencies. Numerous terms have been used in the literature to describe the central role that partnerships play in COP and CCP, such as collaboration, coordination, interagency, multiagency (Goris & Walters, 1999), coalition (Crawford, 1997; Rosenbaum, 2002), partnership (Crawford, 1997; Rosenbaum, 2002), co-production of public safety (Somerville, 2009). The "Hub Model" has also been developed as a specific approach to promote multiagency partnerships to combat local crime problems (McFee & Taylor, 2014; Nilson, 2014; 2015; 2016; Sawatsky, et al., 2017).

There is no single definition of a partnership, although it can be defined as “a cooperative relationship between two or more organizations to achieve some common goal” (Rosenbaum, 2002, p. 172). Ekblom and Wyvekens (2004) say that partnership is “a way of enhancing performance in the delivery of a common goal by the taking of joint responsibility and the pooling of resources by different agents, whether these are public or private, collective or individual” (p. 10). Within the context of CCP and COP, a partnership is “a process by which state authorities enlist non-state actors (i.e., private citizens, businesses, and organizations) in a crime control capacity” (Brewer & Grabosky, 2014, p. 139). The partnership may be bilateral (formed between CCPOs and police exclusively) or multilateral (formed among different government agencies, including police, non-governmental organizations external to the community, and one or more organization from the community). Within the context of CCP, Rosenbaum (2002) highlights the importance of partnership that bring organizations together to amass distinctive but complementary perspectives, resources, and expertise to the table and can provide coordinated responses to public safety problems. Crawford (2001) elaborates,

> A partnership approach reverses the dominant assumption of a single agency (notably police) ‘solution’ to crime. The appeal to a partnership approach to community safety is premised upon the belief that crime prevention lies beyond the competency of any one single agency. Traditional segmented and compartmentalized social responses fail to provide coherence, coordination and synergy. Partnerships, by contrast, propose a holistic approach to crime and disorder which is problem-focused rather than bureaucracy-premised. (p. 59–60)

The partnership approach pays “special attention to the inter-organizational capacity to respond to problems with creativity, intensity, and/or coordination of interventions” (Rosenbaum, 2002, p. 179). Through coalitions, partners are supposed “to reach across organizational boundaries and to reach outside the local community to leverage relevant resources" (Rosenbaum, 2002, p.

179). Rosenbaum (2002) argues, "the value of partnerships, in theory, lies in their responsiveness to the etiology of complex problems, their ability to encourage interagency cooperation both inside and outside the criminal justice system, their ability to attack problems from multiple sources of influence and to target multiple causal mechanisms, and their potential for satisfying the public's growing desire for input, information sharing, and connectedness with local government" (p. 180). For Goris and Walters (1999), "Central to notions of 'partnership' is the networking of agency expertise, collaborating ideas and involving the 'community' in decision-making and management" (p. 633). In order to emphasize the importance of partnership in CCP, Kerezsi (2009) highlights that,

> Effective community crime prevention means interdisciplinary cooperation in horizontal (across several ministerial departments), and vertical (between municipal and county-level local government) partnerships. It means that crime prevention is an integrated part of local public affairs, and the local action plan is an adequate response to local crime and local fear of crime. Therefore, the existence of a local partnership is an essential condition for action. (p. 226)

As importantly the theories of CCP and COP advocate for a partnership approach that entails a sharing of power and decision-making among partners and encourages the delegation of power from government agencies to the communities they serve (Somerville, 2009). The principles of COP promote the decentralization of decision-making power to front-line officers, who at the very least work as equal partners with the community they serve and, at most, may be considered answerable and subservient to this community (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Rosenbaum, 2002; Schneider, 2015). This community partnership can also act as a "watchdog" for COP efforts (Greene, 2000, p. 313). As Goris (2001) argues, "If creating a safer community is merely reduced to controlling and disciplining the most vulnerable groups, their opportunities for participation and emancipation are blocked" (p. 455). Indeed, the term co-production of safety

denotes that local residents are not simply clients of the police but also active partner in the production of community security and safety (Brewer & Grabosky, 2014).

2.7. Barriers to Effective Working Relationships between Police and CCPOs in Racialized SDNs

The relationship between police and the local communities they serve is a significant issue in the crime prevention literature because its scope and nature often influence the effectiveness of the community safety initiatives being implemented. Police-community relations refer to the "sum total of attitudes and behaviours between police and the communities they serve" which can "range from positive to negative in general or with respect to particular things police do" (Ross, 2012, p. 115). Although a great number of studies have examined police-community relations from different contexts, the literature is less specific about the barriers that impede the relationship between police and CCPOs in SDNs. Studies suggest that socio-political and historical-cultural contexts are important determinants that influence the relationship between police CCPOs in SDNs (Leverentz & Williams, 2017; Léonard et al., 2005). In this context, police-CCPOs relations are more congenial and productive in white neighbourhoods with high socioeconomic status (Skogan, 1989; Schneider, 2015; Kang, 2015) than police-CSLs interactions in racialized and other minority SDNs (Fagan, 1987; Skogan, 1989; Léonard et al., 2005; Forrest et al., 2005; Laprade & Auspos, 2006; Donnelly & Kimble, 2006; Schneider, 2007).

This section categorizes the many barriers that may impede the productive relationship between police and CCPOs in racialized SDNs into three groups:

(i) Police-centric barriers:

- institutionalized racism, racial profiling, and police perceptions of SDNs
- lack of police legitimacy
- lack of procedural justice
- lack of commitment by police to CCP and COP

- weak and ineffectual community outreach

(ii) Community-centric barriers:

- neighbourhood characteristics and socio-economic barriers
- perceptions of and satisfaction with police
- contact and experience with police
- organizational obstacles: barriers erected by CCPOs

(iii) Shared police-community barriers:

- asymmetrical power relations
- lack of mutual trust and understanding
- incompatible priorities, goals, and methods
- poor communications

2.7.1. Police-Centric Barriers to Effective Working Relationships with CCPOs in SDNs

Studies often cite how the organizational structure, culture, and policies of a policing agency may influence its relationship with local and racialized communities and SDNs specifically.

2.7.1.1. Institutionalized Racism, Racial Profiling, and Police Perceptions of SDNs

Racism categorizes humans into different racial groups with distinct inherited and unchanged characteristics that explain inequalities in societies (Frideres, 2016). Institutionalized or systemic racism is that which is rooted in the policies and practices of established institutions or organizations "that maintain and perpetuate the domination by those constructed as white over racialized others without the need for leadership by "racist" agents" (Ostertag & Armaline, 2011, p. 276). Racial profiling, a widespread form of systemic racism, is a preconceived notion applied by people or organizations that influences the treatment of a person based on race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin, or a combination of these (Staples, 2011; Cole, 2020).

Racial inequality is rampant in Canada. People of colour are underrepresented, overrepresented, or experience different treatment from their white counterparts in areas such as employment, wealth, education, homeownership, healthcare, correction, and prison (Trevethan & Rastin, 2004; Warde, 2013; Khenti, 2013; Owusu-Bempah, 2014; Little, 2016; John & Lewis, 2019). Black people have been "indiscriminately and disproportionately" targeted by the "punitive powers of the police" as part of their historical role to oppress, marginalize, and brutalize people of colour and which is reflective of institutionalized racism within police departments (Edwards & Hughes, 2002, p. 100) According to Awan et al. (2019), "institutional racism still occurs" within police forces against people of colour that are at a disadvantage to their white counterparts (p. 182). Even CJS professionals perceive the existence of racial discrimination within CJS, in particular police (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 2000). Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2011) find that the racial profiling in "police stop and search experiences remain statistically significant after controlling for other relevant factors" in Canada (p. 395). Studies on neighbourhood characteristics and the distribution of crime illustrate that crime, violence and the use of force by police are not randomly distributed but concentrated in racialized SDNs in Canada (Fitzgerald, et al., 2004; Savoie et al., 2006; Wallace et al., 2006; Kitchen, 2006; Andresen & Brantingham, 2007; Charron, 2008; Savoie, 2008a; Savoie, 2008b; Lersch et al., 2008; Charron, 2009; Bernard & Smith, 2018). From a police perspective, the greater use of force in these neighbourhoods may be viewed as a response to a greater number of local crimes and the more violent nature of the offenders.

Institutionalized racism and racial profiling by police also have significant negative repercussions for productive partnerships between police and racialized SDNs. When racial profiling is conducted by police and the wider CJS, research shows it affects the individual as well as community's perception of the CJS, especially police (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). "The African Canadian community in particular stressed that racial profiling is having an overwhelming impact in their

community" (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003, p. 35). A social cost of racial profiling is that it can seriously erode public confidence in police (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003).

In addition, individual police officers may have perspectives of racialized SDNs that influence their policing practices and their relationships with CCPOs. Neighbourhood characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, family composition, resident turnover, crime rates, neighbourhood levels of active physical resistance, and other demographic characteristics of the SDNs can significantly influence the perception of police officers that can negatively impact their delivery of services and treatment towards SDNs (Lersch et al., 2008; Weitzer et al., 2008; Leverentz & Williams, 2017; Stein & Griffith, 2017). Moreover, "the strong mental association between race and crime has a powerful influence on perceptions of neighbourhood crime levels, beyond any actual association between race and crime" (Quillian & Pager, 2001, p. 748). The negative perception that police may have of racialized SDNs also stems from different perspectives on how crime is caused and how to respond to it and perceptions of hostility towards the police by community members (Ross, 2012). Stein and Griffith (2017) notice that "what officers see in the neighbourhood is driving perceptions, while actual problems might play a secondary role" (p. 139).

There may also be a common perception among police departments that fostering partnerships with racialized SDNs are difficult due to "feelings of hopelessness and despair, fear of retaliation, deep-seated distrust of government agencies and the police in particular, and the widespread effects of poverty on human functioning" (Rosenbaum, 2002, p. 189). A recent study finds that "police officers' perceptions of residents' willingness to cooperate with the police ranked lower than residents' reflections on these matters" (Nalla et al., 2018, p. 271).

In short, police racism and negative perception of racialized SDNs is one of the most pernicious failings of the CJS and can have obvious negative implications for a productive relationship between police and CCPOs in SDNs.

2.7.1.2. Lack of Police Legitimacy

Police legitimacy refers to "the extent to which the community believes that police actions are appropriate, proper, and just, and its willingness to recognize police authority" (Peak & Madensen, 2017, p. 178). Fischer (2014) conceptualizes police legitimacy as "the belief that the police ought to be allowed to exercise their authority to maintain social order, manage conflicts and solve problems in their communities" (p. 9). For Fischer (2014),

> Legitimacy is reflected in three judgments. The first is public trust and confidence in the police. Such confidence involves the belief that the police are honest, that they try to do their jobs well, and that they are trying to protect the community against crime and violence. Second, legitimacy reflects the willingness of residents to defer to the law and to police authority, i.e. their sense of obligation and responsibility to accept police authority. Finally, legitimacy involves the belief that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances. (p. 9)

Different groups of people may perceive police and their legitimacy differently, which in turn influences their relations with police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). The perceptions of police legitimacy held by community and CSLs have implications that influence the relationship between the two as it directly shapes people's willingness to cooperate with police and indirectly influences people's obligation to obey the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Jackson et al., 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Tankebe, 2013; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Doob & Gartner, 2017).

As discussed, in racialized SDNs, residents tend to look at the legitimacy of the police mandate to serve and protect in a far more critical light given their historical victimization at the hands of police. Skogan (1989) indicates that "the police are another of their problems; they frequently are perceived to be arrogant, brutal, racist, and corrupt" (p. 443). A lack of respect for the legitimacy of police can obviously undermine a CSLs' relationship with police. Police must increase their legitimacy in the eyes of the SDNs to maximize mutual trust (Dunn, 2010). But "building trust and partnerships takes more time, is always messy, and is not guaranteed to

contribute greatly to the law enforcement bottom line, namely, reducing incidents of crime" (Carr, 2012, p. 409).

Most importantly, police seeking legitimacy must ensure procedural fairness, procedural justice, distributive fairness, lawfulness, and effectiveness while interacting with the public and act per the notion of bounded authority (acting within the limits of one's rightful authority) (Tankebe, 2013; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Myhill & Bradford, 2013; Nix et al., 2015; Huq et al., 2017; Trinkner et al., 2018). Procedural justice is perhaps the most important antecedent of police legitimacy (Tyler, 2004; Mazerolle et al., 2013). As Tyler (2003; 2006) finds that a person is more likely to consider police officers trustworthy and legitimate agents of social control who have been treated fairly in past.

2.7.1.3. Lack of Procedural Justice

Tyler (2004) identifies three defining factors of procedural justice in police-public interaction: resident participation in decision-making before making the decision, neutrality of the authority in making the decision, and dignity and respect showed to the public throughout the decision-making process. For Fischer (2014), procedural justice is "a means to attaining legitimacy and can be defined in terms of four issues" (p. 9). First people must have a voice at the time of interacting with police, second an officer must act based on legal principles and the facts of an incident rather than personal opinions and biases, third police must treat the public with respect and avoid dismissive and demeaning interpersonal treatment, and lastly, police must show an awareness of and sensitivity to people's needs and concerns (Fischer, 2014).

The absence or lack of "procedural justice" (fairness, voice, transparency, and openness of process, impartiality, and unbiased decision-making) (Peak & Madensen, 2017, p. 179) or perceptions of "police brutality" (use of profane and abusive words to use actual force or violence) (Peak & Madensen, 2017, p. 183), and the misuse of deadly force (policing beyond constitutional mandate and legitimacy) (Nix et al., 2015; Peak & Madensen, 2017; United States Department of

Justice, n.d.; Nix & Wolfe, 2017) can impair police legitimacy and ultimately damage relationships between police and the communities they serve. “Negligence, intentional torts and constitutional torts” (e.g., assault, battery, false imprisonment, false arrest, invasion of privacy, negligence, defamation, malicious prosecution) (Peak & Madensen, 2017, p. 185) and the use of surveillance-based technologies violating privacy (Peak & Madensen, 2017) can also damage police-SDNs relations. Bolger and Walters (2019) find, “Citizen perceptions of police procedural justice would appear to have both a direct impact and indirect effect on citizen cooperation, the latter by way of police legitimacy beliefs” (p. 93). Improving public perceptions of police fairness is critical for co-production safety in SDNs.

2.7.1.4. Lack of Commitment by Police to CCP and COP

Studies suggest that COP strategies have positive effects on public satisfaction, perceptions of disorder, and perceptions of police legitimacy (Gill et al., 2014; La Vigne et al., 2017). A strong commitment to COP by police can improve public perceptions of the police and enhance their view of the police as a legitimate authority, which in turn can help build better working relations between police and local CCPOs (Crowl, 2017). A police officer’s respectful interpersonal interactions with CSLs can also foster trust and make CSLs feel that the police can keep them safe (Gau, 2010). Recent studies find that following the implementation of a partnership based CCP program, residents of racialized SDNs perceived a reduction in nonviolent crimes and disorder as well as less racial profiling (Saunders & Kilmer, 2021) and better relationship with police (Telep & Hibdon, 2018).

Some fear that the lack of commitment to CCP and COP by police may undermine their relationship with CCPOs in SDNs. A “downside” of community policing, according to Goldstein (1994), is that police departments are free to employ this label without “concern for its substance. Political leaders and, unfortunately, many police leaders hook onto the label for the positive images it projects, but do not engage or invest in the concept” to engage involvement of community

residents from SDNs in co-production of safety (p. viii). While contemporary policing strategies have placed greater emphasis on proactive measures to prevent crime, police agencies are still heavily reliant on the local residents to report crimes that have occurred (Bolger & Walters, 2019). In this respect, SDNs are less likely to be served by a reactive 911 policing model given they are less apt to call the police to report a crime (Desmond et al., 2016; La Vigne et al., 2017).

The intransigence of police agencies to decentralize decision-making power to communities they serve pose a barrier in effective implementation of a working partnership between police and local communities (Liederbach et al., 2008; Schneider, 2015). The lack of decentralization is exacerbated by the inability of local communities to scrutinize police operations. COP program implementation requires police to operate in a system of internal and external checks and balances that can hold them responsible (Wakefield & Fleming, 2009; UNODC, 2011) and ensure that the applicable regulations are clear to all so that all are treated fairly (Tibamanya, 2013). In fact, police departments often fall short of accountability and transparency (UNODC, 2011; Lee et al., 2019). Studies find that the absence of accountability and transparency is a barrier to collective crime prevention initiatives in partnership with local communities (Greene, 2000; Chalom et al., 2001; Saunders, 2015; Brucato, 2015; Mccandless, 2018).

Police agencies also continue to be unrepresentative of the communities they serve. Diversity in law enforcement agencies in Canada – and representation by African Canadians in particular – continues to fall short (Matthies et al., 2012). Studies suggest that the lack of diversity in police departments is a significant barrier to crime prevention partnerships with racialized communities and community groups (Matthies et al., 2012; International Association of Chief of Police [IACP], 2015; United States Department of Justice, n.d.). A more diverse police agency that is representative of the racialized communities it serves may promote a more productive relationship with CCPOs in SDNs. Matthies et al. (2012) argue, “Individuals from diverse backgrounds bring a broad range of cultural understandings and language skills to the force” that in turn can ensure diversity in police agency and increase police legitimacy (p. 1).

2.7.1.5. Weak and Ineffectual Community Outreach

Community outreach is critical to mobilizing neighbourhood residents' involvement in local CCP/COP initiatives (Schneider, 2000; Schneider, 2007). Police and other government agencies, however, have been criticized for not adequately reaching out to CCPOs in SDNs to raise awareness of and support for local initiatives (Schneider, 2000; Rosenbaum, 2002). Police efforts to support and empower communities are very limited in scope (Rosenbaum, 2002). Rosenbaum (2002) contends, "The police, when they do reach out to the community, would like residents to serve as their "eyes and ears" but not to become too serious about strategic planning or crime control initiatives" (p. 191). An emphasis on traditional reactive police methods (i.e., relying almost exclusively on an incident-drive model) can undermine police-community partnerships, especially if the police do not undertake more proactive work in communities to foster partnerships and work to prevent crime from occurring (Rosenbaum, 2002). The failure to tailor specific strategies for reaching out and involve CCPOs in SDNs in the co-production of safety may undermine participation in and the efficacy of local CCP initiatives (Schneider, 2000).

2.7.2. Community-Centric Barriers to Effective Working Relationships

This section examines issues within communities and neighbourhoods that may influence their relationship with police. This includes both the characteristics of communities and neighbourhoods as well as perspectives and attitudes held towards police by community residents and leaders.

2.7.2.1. Neighbourhood Characteristics and Socio-Economic Barriers

Maxson et al., (2002) find that neighbourhood characteristics that correlate with positive and productive police-community relations include low levels of crime, less fear of crime, lower perceived levels of violent crime, lower perceived disorder in one's neighbourhood. A high level of collective efficacy at the local level in which residents perceive themselves to be socially

cohesive and incline to exercise informal social control also correlates positively with a higher level of satisfaction and productive working relationship with police (Maxson et al., 2002). Neighbourhoods with a higher level of social disorder, lower levels of social cohesion and informal social control are less likely to have a positive opinion of and a productive working relationship with police (Ashcroft et al., 2002; Ashcroft et al., 2003).

A neighbourhood's capacity and proclivity to mobilize around community safety initiatives are largely shaped by socioeconomic factors linked to the wider political economy (Sampson et al., 1997). Socioeconomic characteristics, racial composition, concentrated disadvantage, residential mobility, housing conditions, violent crime rate and broader structural factors may influence the level of local social cohesion and collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997; Wu et al., 2009; Hobson-Prater & Leech, 2012; Petrosino & Pace, 2015). High levels of poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, socioeconomic heterogeneity, and a transient population may contribute to the lack of local social cohesion, which in turn may limit a SDNs involvement in co-production of safety because these factors isolate and marginalize residents, undermine mutual trust among neighbours, and frustrate their willingness to get involved in community safety activities for the common good (Schneider, 2007).

Studies suggest that police-community relations in Canadian cities are more positive in white neighbourhoods with high socioeconomic status (Schneider, 2015). In contrast, police have a poorer relationship with lower socioeconomic communities made up of visible minority groups (Fagan, 1987; Skogan, 1989; Léonard et al., 2005; Forrest et al., 2005; Laprade & Auspos, 2006; Donnelly & Kimble, 2006; Schneider, 2007). The lower socioeconomic status of SDNs exacerbates the fragile relationship between ethnic minorities and the police (Panditharatne et al., 2018). Schuck et al. (2008) suggest that social class and neighborhood socioeconomic composition greatly influence the perception of SDNs toward police. Yet, racialized populations with higher socio-economic status remain distrustful of police; the middle-class population of African descent living

in SDNs reports a more negative attitude towards police than those who resided in more advantaged areas (Schuck et al., 2008). Wu et al. (2009) find that the racialized populations "in economically advantaged neighbourhoods are less likely than Whites in the same kind of neighbourhoods to be satisfied with police," whereas racialized populations hold similar levels of satisfaction with police as Whites living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (p. 125). The latter finding suggests neighborhood class status, rather than individual class status or ethnicity, may be more powerful in influencing one's satisfaction with police.

Class biases in policing can result in mistrust and may obstruct an effective partnership of police with SDNs. Somerville (2009) states that "unfortunately, the realities of social inequality are such that the police generally provide a better service to more powerful sections of the public, i.e., while not being above the public as a whole, they do appear to be positioned above certain groups, who tend to be poorer, non-white, etc." (p. 271). Additionally, police officers working in beats within SDNs tend to believe that residents would not be willing to cooperate with law enforcement (Shjarback et al., 2018).

2.7.2.2. Perceptions of and Satisfaction with Police

The perception of police held by community residents can have a great influence on their mutual relationship. As discussed above, perceptions of police may vary across communities based on demographic factors (i.e., gender, education), and community stability (i.e., level of disorder, social cohesion) (Ren et al., 2006; Lee et al., 2019; Lee et al., 2019). For Weitzer and Tuch (2005), the factors that influence the public's perception of police can be demarcated into three groups: demographic factors (education, household income, gender, age, city size, residential location, region), situational factors (i.e., contact and experience) and structural (i.e., neighbourhood, media, policing). Moreover, procedural justice practices, police bias and discrimination in applying the law, negative experience with police, negative perception of law/justice and a relatively new concept "Relatability to Police" (the degree to which residents view the police as honest, personally

trust the police, feel safe in the presence of police, and perceive the police as a part of the community) can influence the police perception held by community members (La Vigne et al., 2017, p. 12).

Research suggests that, in general, neighbourhood residents appear to respect and have confidence in the police and are willing to engage with police on community safety initiatives (Nalla et al., 2018). However, the extent to which community members are willing to work in partnership with the police for co-production of safety may depend on their perception of the legitimacy of the local police (Lee et al., 2019). Residents of racialized SDNs have historically viewed the police with distrust and dislike (Bakhshaie et al., 2017), which contributes to their poor relations with police. Residents of SDNs with serious crime problems are more likely to be cynical of the state, law, and police, which contributes to antagonistic relations with police (Skogan, 1989; Nix et al., 2015; Chronopoulos & Klingle, 2018). Black people living in neighbourhoods seemingly "rife with crime or disorder" (Weitzer et al., 2008, p. 420) tend to report more "dissatisfaction," (Brunson & Miller, 2006, p. 634; Wu et al., 2009, p. 125) "distrust," (Brunson & Miller, 2006, p. 634) and a "negative view" (Brunson & Miller, 2006, p. 634; Weitzer et al., 2008, p. 420) of police than other groups.

Residents of racialized SDNs with a poor perception of the CJS (and police in particular) unsurprisingly are less likely to have confidence in the CJS and to collaborate with law enforcement professionals (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Salvatore, et al., 2013). Some argue that the greater the perception of CJS's unfair treatment and injustice, the less likely the individual or community are to trust CJS professionals (Sherman, 2002; Roberts, 2004; Walle, 2009; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). In addition. "Holding neighbourhood socioeconomic context constant, race makes a difference in how youth are treated by police and in their perceptions of officers" (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009, p. 879).

Most importantly, “the ability for the community to build relationships with police must also be examined and responded to in a historical context” (IACP, 2015, p. 4). A person of color can view entire world an unsafe and unjust place even because a “subtle form” of discrimination against him (Nadal, 2014). As Nadal et al., (2017) suggest that police officers with greater awareness of race are likely to form better relationship with people of colour. Similarly, Goldsmith (2005) stresses that “Persons historically neglected or abused by police must be given strong, tangible grounds for shifting their beliefs about police” (p. 464–65). Thus, the police must take special care to build a relationship with the CSLs in SDNs that has a real or perceived historical mistreatment by police departments (IACP, 2015).

As studies suggest that influencing attitudes by highlighting the worth of co-production of safety or emphasizing the community’s responsibility to participate tend to stimulate behaviour (Schreurs et al. 2018). “Frequent consistent communication” (Lai, 2005, p. 174) and “development of personal relationships” (Pattavina et al., 2006, p. 227) with the residents in SDNs are the to key to improve their working partnership and sustain the co-production of safety. Bullock and Johnson (2018) propose that “involving faith-based organizations (FBOs) in the production of crime control” can be “a way of increasing efficiency, promoting accountability and improving trust and confidence in policing” (p. 89–90). More specifically, Este (2006) coins that understanding the spirituality of African Canadians is one of the keys to the success of co-production of safety in racialized SDNs.

2.7.2.3. Contact and Experience with Police

Studies across the world consider contact with police as the key variable in influencing one’s satisfaction with law enforcement (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Dai & Jiang, 2016; Bolger et al., 2021). Contact and experience with the police by an individual or a community in either voluntary or involuntary situations can shape perceptions of and relations with police. Negative experiences such as police victimization (i.e., physical, sexual, psychological, and neglect), police displays of biases

or racism, or a lack of understanding of cultural norms of an individual or community by police can undermine police-CSLs relations (Salmi et al., 2000; Schneider, 2000; Maxson et al., 2002; Ashcroft et al., 2002; Ashcroft et al., 2003; United States Department of Justice, n.d.; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Ross, 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Cheng, 2015; DeVylder et al., 2017; Schaefer & Mazerolle, 2018; Awan et al., 2019). For Bolger and Walters (2019), "People who believe that they have been treated fairly and with respect by the police are more likely to view law enforcement agencies and officers as trustworthy and legitimate agents of social control" (p. 95). More favorable views of police legitimacy increase the likelihood that SDNs will report criminal activity to and work closely with law enforcement agencies (Bolger & Walters, 2019). Tyler and Fagan (2008) suggest that "Knowing what is experienced by members of the public as fair or unfair is key to developing and maintaining public views that the legal system is legitimate" (p. 264).

There are also the "high-profile cases of police violence - disproportionately experienced by black men" (Desmond et al., 2016, p. 857). "Blacks disproportionately report 'getting hassled' by the police, and disproportionately experience a range of additional negative police actions" (Brunson & Miller, 2006, p. 634) that shape their strong and increased perceptions of police misconduct and pedestrian stops based on racial consideration (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Weitzer et al., 2008; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; McCalla, 2012; Doob & Gartner, 2017; Wortley, 2019).

Irrespective of variations "across measures of legitimacy, procedural justice, racial bias, relatability to police, and applied principles of community policing" among people living in high-crime neighbourhoods with concentrated disadvantage, "perceptions of police, on average, are extremely negative" (La Vigne et al., 2017, p. 2). The number of involuntary police contacts with racialized communities is higher on average (Lersch et al., 2008), arrests of the male from African origin have increased dramatically (Carr, 2012), and people of African heritage "view themselves as targets of abusive treatment at the hands of the police" (Weitzer et al., 2008, p. 398). Racial disparity in police use of force is common in Canada. Clark et al. (2020) finds evidence of racial

bias in the fatal police shooting of civilians. The mistrust of police may be inter-generational in part because the socialization of children by parents to fear/distrust the police and building of narratives that decrease confidence in police ability can be damaging to their relationship with police (Ross, 2012).

An individual's direct encounters with police and how police behave during such encounters tend to shape people's satisfaction towards police (Ashcroft et al., 2002; Bolger et al., 2021). Generally, "satisfaction with police is shaped by pre-existing attitudes people carry into their encounters with police, as well as by the behaviour of individual police officers during encounters with people" (Hinds, 2009, p. 64). Notably, a "positive police experience not only yielded positive attitudes towards the police, but also neutralized or ameliorated the negative attitudes of citizens" (Cheurprakobkit, 2000, p. 325).

The attitudes towards police held by a local unilateral CCPOs or the CSLs (i.e., cooperative versus antagonistic) may also be influenced by frequent contact between them. Positive police-community interaction greatly influences the police perception held by local unilateral CCPO or CSLs (Skogan, 2006; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012; Peyton et al., 2019) while "the impact of having a bad experience is four to fourteen times as great as that of having a positive experience" (Skogan, 2006, p. 100). Given the influential role that CSLs and uniliteral CCPOs play in mobilizing local populations, their perceptions of and relationships with police may dictate the level of commitment and participation by residents in CCP/COP initiatives (Schneider, 2000).

However, there is considerable variation in the level of satisfaction depending on the types of contact with police encountered by an individual. Satisfaction from *voluntary* resident-initiated contact (e.g., calling for assistance) significantly varied from *involuntary* police-initiated contact (e.g., police stop or arrest) (Schafer et al., 2003). Those reporting voluntary resident-initiated contact tend to have greater satisfaction with police than those encountering involuntary police-initiated contacts (Schafer et al., 2003; Skogan, 2005; Hinds, 2009; Rosenbaum et al., 2015; Bolger

et al., 2021). In addition, residents "who had a positive response to voluntary contact with the police reported more satisfaction with community-policing services" (Schafer et al., 2003, p. 459). On the contrary, a resident who had a negative or dissatisfactory voluntary resident-initiated and/or involuntary police-initiated contact with police was less likely to report satisfaction with community-policing services (Schafer et al., 2003). Additionally, "satisfaction is lowest amongst those who have been stopped by officers on foot, and that those who initiated contact with the police – including victims of crime – are less likely to rate the police positively than those who had no contact" (Lloyd & Foster, 2009, p. 5).

Nevertheless, it is not the quantity of police contact, but the quality of that contact which most influences one's satisfaction with police (Bartsch & Cheurprakobkit, 2004). How people are treated by police during a voluntary or involuntary encounter also affects one's satisfaction with police. In general, procedural fairness and respect of resident had little influence on the individual's perception of the CJS and in particular police (Salvatore et al., 2013). However, when police are perceived to be disrespectful, an individual's satisfaction with police is negative (Rengifo et al., 2019). Most importantly, negative contact with police has a stronger influence on one's level of satisfaction with police than positive contact irrespective of the neighborhood context and demographic background (Li et al., 2016). Survey data suggests that the way individuals are treated by the police during an encounter has a greater correlation with police satisfaction than one's socio-demographic characteristics (Lloyd & Foster, 2009).

Skogan (2005) signifies the importance of the quality of routine police-resident encounters - for things that officers do on the spot - in determining satisfaction. The "persons who had contact with a police officer wanted to be heard, treated with respect, treated fairly, and treated compassionately" (Rosenbaum et al., 2015, p. 358). More specifically, procedural justice is the most important predictor in police-initiated contacts, while police performance is most important in resident-initiated contacts (Murphy, 2009). Individuals who perceive higher levels of procedural justice expressed higher satisfaction with law enforcement (White et al., 2018). Moreover, the

reputation of a police department with respect to procedurally just practices can shape the satisfaction of the SDNs (Merenda et al., 2020).

There are important factors other than contact with police that positively correlates with one's level of satisfaction with the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). As discussed, race and class are equally significant determinants of public satisfaction with police (Kenneth & Raymond, 2008; Wu et al., 2009). People of African descent and residents of SDNs express considerably less satisfaction with the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Wu et al., 2009). Higher levels of satisfaction of racially minority groups in integrated neighborhoods can largely be attributed to better socioeconomic conditions (Swaroop & Krysan, 2011).

Some recommend that police can improve their relationship with SDNs through positive and satisfactory voluntary and/or involuntary interactions (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Dai et al., 2020). More specifically, Peyton et al. (2019) imply that police departments would benefit from an increased focus on strategies that promote positive police-public interactions. Moreover, contact and knowledge of officers in the community may help improve the willingness of residents in SDNs to work with neighborhood police officers (Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011).

2.7.2.4. Organizational Obstacles: Barriers Erected by CCPOs

Strong leadership from CCPOs and CSLs is essential for successful partnerships with police and spurs them to become involved in (proactive) problem-solving and coordinated intervention strategies. Rosenbaum (2002) argues that strong community leadership can get service providers to the table to "help them formulate a collective vision, motivate them to participate fully, and keep them interested in coming back" (p. 203). A local CCPO benefits from strong, dedicated, and motivational organizers many of whom emerge from a small group of people living in that neighbourhood. A void in this leadership can negatively impact the collective crime prevention initiatives and undermine partnership with police (Schneider, 2000). In addition, CSLs may become

overwhelmed by the innumerable and demanding duties of their position if their responsibilities are not shared with other community residents or partners external to the community.

2.7.3. Shared Police-Community Barriers

This section discusses the barriers to productive working relationships that can be attributed to both police and the communities they serve as well as the inherent relationship between the two.

2.7.3.1. Asymmetrical Power Relations

Historically, police services were always seen (and regarded themselves) as having sole responsibility for the prevention and detection of crime at the local level (Locke et al., 2004). Police retain the exclusive power of the state (including the legal discretion to use violence), and even in the era of community policing there has only been a minimal decentralization of power to communities. Somerville (2009) hints that "joint decision-making processes are more predominant but at the same time communities are likely to be a more junior partner in such processes" (p. 270). Police officers are often reluctant to share their authority with community residents in COP initiatives (Walker & Walker, 1993). Despite the advent of COP, it does not appear that "any community has gained ownership over policing by this means" (Somerville, 2009, p. 266).

The inherent imbalance of power between police and SDNs not only limits the capacity of community residents and leaders to exercise power as an equal partner but may also create tension in their relationship that may undermine police legitimacy by leaving the ultimate decision-making capacity in the hands of police (Clamp & Paterson, 2017; Glowatski et al., 2017). CCP/COP initiatives in SDNs can be undermined by police if they take a too dominant role or fail to delegate authority to CSLs and ultimately neighbourhood residents (Crawford, 1994; Garland, 1996). Police-community relations in SDNs cannot be said to be on an equal footing if it is the police who make all real decisions (Somerville, 2009, p. 266). As Wahl and White (2017) find that "both the inequality and the high stakes of the deliberation between police and community members

undermine the possibility of a fully equal exchange in which all people are both open to the reasons of others and able to critique those reasons" (p. 497).

The work of CCPOs, unilaterally and in partnership with police, may be undermined or even abandoned if their role is considered subservient to that of the police (Walters, 1996; Schneider, 2015). Mangan et al. (2018) emphasize the need to remove power imbalance from police-community relations which in turn can facilitate an effective co-production of safety. SDNs must be empowered, and this includes delegating power to CCPOs because they have a much greater investment or stake in community safety compared to police (Crawford & Jones, 1995; Walters, 1996; Goris & Walters, 1999; Frevel & Rogers, 2016).

2.7.3.2. Lack of Mutual Trust and Understanding

Any successful partnership between police and CSLs must entail mutual trust and understanding. According to Somerville (2009), "Policing is likely to fail unless and until trust is developed between police and public, and developing such trust requires policing organizations to work in new ways, e.g., building contacts and networks with key figures in the community, showing public commitment to a broad spectrum of community development activity, and learning to understand the community's own policing priorities" (p. 267). It is also imperative to have a mutual understanding of the community's need for their participation in promoting local safety (Stein & Griffith, 2017). The absence of mutual trust and understanding (including understanding the chasm between resident and police perceptions) can negatively affect mutual communication and partnership (Schneider, 2000; Stein & Griffith, 2017).

2.7.3.3. Incompatible Priorities, Goals, and Methods

A productive working relationship between CSLs and police requires some compatibility in their community safety priorities and goals as well as the methods used to reach these goals. This is not always the case. For instance, when police departments do engage in proactive, preventative

measures in SDNs, there may be an overreliance on opportunity reduction programs. However, these situational initiatives may not entice the involvement of residents in SDNs because they do not address their crucial social and community development needs (Schneider, 2015). This may lead to low participation in CCP programs (Schneider, 2000; Kelly et al., 2005; Homel, 2005). Some even interpret the greater emphasis on situational measures as a way to amplify police surveillance of community residents (Walters, 1996; Wortley, 2010; Van Dijk et al., 2012; Clarke, 2012), redistribute crime to SDNs (Miethe, 1991), and/or build "fortress cities" (Davis, 1990; Squires, 2017), i.e., "a 'militarization' of private and public security services, and the creation of exclusive gated communities for the wealthy and middle classes" (Little, 2016). Police and CCPOs in SDNs may also have different or opposing styles of intervention; law enforcement professionals tend to favour extensive planning whereas the "nonprofessionals want immediate action without much research or planning" (Rosenbaum, 2002, p. 189).

2.7.3.4. Poor Communications

In some cases, a lack of mutual understanding and trust may stem from the quantity and quality of communication between police, on the one hand, and community members on the other (Locke et al., 2004). Effective communication between partners is a key component of any productive relationship. This is no different in the context of CCP initiatives involving police and community residents and CCPOs and CSLs specifically. The absence of sustained communication may obstruct partnership between police and the communities they serve (Hollis, 2016). Because police are in an asymmetrical relationship with SDNs, Schneider (1998) suggests that traditional acts of police communication contain language, assumptions, and symbols that can reproduce an asymmetrical power relationship between them. This asymmetrical power relationship creates a one-way dialogue between police and SDNs' residents that can marginalize them (Schneider, 1998). A failure to remove distorted communication may undermine dialogue between police and community residents, including CSLs, in SDNs. Schneider (2007) argues that police must recognize how

asymmetrical relations can be furthered by miscommunication and exhort police to speak sincerely and emphatically with residents in SDNs. Further, "Police must ensure that there is always a two-way channel of communication with community members, that feedback to residents is timely, that people's concerns are taken seriously, and that opportunities are omnipresent for citizen's complaints and input into policing policies and priorities" (Schneider, 2007, p. 293–94).

2.8. Summary of Literature Review

The extant literature on crime prevention indicates that a fundamental premise of both CCP and COP is on the importance of an empowered residents working in partnership with the police for co-production of safety (Schneider, 2015). Many CCP/COP initiatives are designed to facilitate partnership amongst communities, CCPOs, CSLs, police, and other service providers. CCPOs and CSLs are particularly important players in this partnership through their roles in identifying local crime and disorder priorities, developing and implementing specific projects, mobilizing local residents to become involved, and bridging the gap between police and community residents (Telep & Hibdon, 2018).

Collaboration and cooperation among police, CCPOs, CSLs and other key stakeholders are of utmost importance to the efficacy of community safety initiatives (Johansson, 2014; ICPC, 2016). Police require voluntary cooperation from CCPOs and CSLs to be effective in implementing community safety programs, mobilizing residents and, ultimately, controlling crime and maintaining order locally (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Mazerolle et al., 2013). An unproductive, tense, and even hostile relationship between police and SDNs members and leaders will surely undermine local community safety efforts.

History and research demonstrate that there is ample reason for people in racialized SDNs to be suspicious of and harbour negative perceptions of and low levels of satisfaction with police (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; La Vigne et al., 2017;

Wortley, 2019; Wortley et al., 2020). COP emerged due to perceptions that police suffered from a crisis of legitimacy, especially in racialized and marginalized communities because it operated as a "Repressive State Apparatus" (Althusser, 1971). The perceptions of police held by CSLs of racialized SDNs can have a significant influence on their working relationships with police.

Although both police and CSLs are encouraged to work collectively under CCP and COP programs, there are obstacles to such a working relationship between police and racialized SDNs (Hefner et al., 2013). Hefner et al. (2013) rightly indicate two opposing perceptions of police and SDNs which deserve to be quoted in length: "First, a racial and ethnic narrative in minority neighbourhoods exists as it relates to oppression by law enforcement officials. Second, a racial and ethnic narrative exists in the minds of law enforcement, in which the community is viewed as being permanently fractured and the community members are perceived as being aloof or ambivalent about their community and tolerant of any criminal behaviours that take place in it" (p. 70). In spite of low police legitimacy across SDNs, the relationship between police and residents of African ancestry is associated with its own unique challenges, complexity, history, and traumas fundamentally distinct from the newer immigrant communities (Mentel, 2012).

Despite a transition to COP and their supposed commitment to CCP, many police agencies continue to have difficulty securing effective partnerships with CSLs in SDNs (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). The literature documents various barriers that obstruct a productive relationship between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs, especially those in which residents share an African heritage (Schneider, 2000; Locke et al., 2004; Hastings, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Schneider, 2007; Somerville, 2009; McCarthy & O'Neill, 2014; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014; Mangan et al., 2018). The literature argues that some of the barriers to a productive working relationship may be influenced by the perceptions of one another held by police, the CSLs, and the community it represents (Skogan, 1989; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005;

Schneider, 2007; Lersch et al., 2008; Weitzer et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2009; Nix et al., 2015; Bakhshaie et al., 2017; La Vigne et al., 2017; Chronopoulos & Klingle, 2018).

A successful and productive partnership is often contingent upon how each partner perceives one another. Negative perceptions of one another (including perceptions fueled by police racism) can completely undermine this relationship and effective community safety initiatives. The focus of this thesis is on this specific aspect of the relationship between police and CSLs – in particular, how perceptions of police held by CSLs in racialized SDNs can influence their mutual relationship. The following chapter articulates how this essential area of focus has been neglected by the empirical literature and how this thesis endeavours to fill this void.

3. Chapter Three: Problem Statement and Contribution to Knowledge

Despite the importance placed on strong relationships between CSLs and police in SDNs, there continues to be a paucity of literature examining this relationship from the perspectives of CSLs. More specifically, there is little research into the perceptions of and satisfaction with police held by CSLs in racialized SDNs and how these perceptions may construct barriers to a productive working relationship. This is a significant void in knowledge given the importance of a productive relationship between police and CSLs in SDNs and how the perceptions of CSLs of their police partners can influence this relationship and ultimately the efficacy of local crime prevention initiatives. Furthermore, there continue to be voids in the literature that enumerate the barriers, as perceived by CSLs, that obstruct a productive relationship between them and police. There is a particular void in this research in Canada and the province of Nova Scotia, which has a historical black population, much of it spatially concentrated in parts of Halifax. A disproportionate number of African Nova Scotians live in SDNs that have higher than average crime rates.

To address these voids, this research examines a case study in Halifax that investigates the perceptions of police held by CSLs in a racialized SDNs and how this may affect their working relationship with police. In doing so, the research applies principles of CCP and COP gleaned from the scholarly literature as a metric to identify and assess barriers that may hinder the co-production of public safety by the MPCSLs and the Halifax Regional Police (HRP). This includes assessing whether a formal partnership-based CCP program can influence the perceptions of police held by CSLs.

In short, this research intends to make a significant contribution to the literature through a greater understanding of perceptions of police by CSLs in racialized SDNs and how these perceptions may influence their working relationship with police. This study is significant because perceptions of police held by CSLs in SDNs are critically important to effective CCP/COP

programs and the co-production of community safety generally in these communities. Racialized SDNs tend to perceive the police as the lead agents of a racist and repressive state apparatus. Police departments, on the other hand, often view racialized SDNs as high crime zone and stigmatize with criminality. As such, it can be argued that there will be significant obstacles to effective co-production of public safety if these opposing negative perceptions of each other continue. Understanding the perceptions of CSLs of SDNs towards police and then overcoming such negative perceptions of each other (in part by transformative efforts by both partners) may lead to more productive relationships and more effective community safety initiatives. To this end, this study may contribute to policies, programs, and other efforts to foster more harmonious relations between police and CSLs in SDNs.

4. Chapter Four: Research Objectives

The over-arching goal of this research is to explore the perceptions of and satisfaction with police by community safety leaders in racialized, socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the extent to which the implementation of a partnership-based community safety prevention model affects (i) the CSLs perceptions of, satisfaction with, and overall relationship with police (ii) the obstacles that may obstruct a productive working relationship between CSLs and police and (iii) the ability of CSLs to work productively with police in racialized SDNs. To satisfy this over-arching goal, the thesis entails several sub-objectives, which are detailed below.

Theoretical issues (Literature Review)

1) Document and critically analyze the scholarship on the issues of relevance to this research:
    a) crime prevention, community crime prevention, and community policing;
    b) partnership-based CCP models and strategies;
    c) the role of CCPOs in community safety;
    d) the relationship between police and CCPOs in racialized SDNs;
    e) barriers that obstruct effective working relationships between CCPOs and police agencies;
    f) perceptions of police held by CCPOs in SDNs, including factors that influence these perceptions; and
    g) how formal working partnerships between CCPOs and police can influence this relationship and overcome barriers that may obstruct a productive partnership.

Primary (Case Study) Research

2) Identify, discuss, and critically analyze the historical and contemporary context of the primary research, including (a) the relevant history of African Nova Scotians in Halifax (including the

institutionalized racism they have encountered) and (b) contemporary circumstances surrounding African Nova Scotians in Halifax (emphasizing social conditions, crime, and victimization, relationship with police and the overarching spectre of racism).

3) Describe in detail the case study actors, including a description and analysis of Mulgrave Park, the MPCMT (and its members), the MPCSLs, and the Halifax Regional Police.
4) Discuss and analyze the history, scope, nature, and current functioning of formal and informal partnerships between the MPCSLs and the HRP.
5) Determine the extent to which the case study adheres to the theoretical principles of CCP and COP in terms of fostering more a more positive working relationship with and perceptions of police by CSLs.
6) Identify the barriers that obstruct a more productive relationship between police and MPCSLs in Mulgrave Park.

Discussion and Analysis

7) Critically examine the research findings to identify the barriers that obstruct the productive working relationship of MPCSLs with the HRP and explore if the implementation of the MPCMT co-production safety model has resulted into a productive working relationship between police and MPCSLs. This section answers the following research questions: (i) What are the perceptions of and satisfaction with the HRP held by MPCSLs? (ii) What are the main obstacles to productive relations between MPCSLs and the HRP from the perspective of MPCSLs? (iii) To what extent has the MPCMT affected the perceptions of and satisfaction with the HRP by MPCSLs? (iv) To what extent has the MPCMT helped overcome barriers that obstruct a productive relationship between MPCSLs and the HRP? (v) To what extent has the MPCMT fostered better relationships between MPCSLs and the HRP?

Conclusions

8) Draw conclusions regarding the extent to which these findings and analyses can be generalized, the contributions to the literature made by this study (the contributions to the theory and practice of CCP, COP, and police relations with racialized SDNs), and recommendations for future research that builds upon and addresses the limitations of this study.

5. Chapter Five: Theoretical Framework

CCP and COP, and their shared partnership principles specifically, will provide the main theoretical framework for this research. Essential to the partnership principle of CCP and COP is the importance of CCPOs and CSLs being an equal and active partner with police in the "co-production of safety". The scholarship surrounding CCP and COP can serve as the basis to examine the extent to which a partnership-based "co-production of safety" approach can promote better working relationships between police and CCPOs and whether such a formal partnership influences CSLs' perception of police as a partner in crime prevention. Within the context of the co-production of safety principles of CCP and COP, other important theoretical frameworks used to guide this research are: barriers to productive partnerships between police and the communities they serve (in particular racialized populations and SDNs), perceptions held by the co-production of safety partners of one another, and satisfaction with police by communities and racialized populations and SDNs in particular.

CCP and COP serve as the broad framework for the research due to their shared emphasis on the importance of mobilizing community residents around crime prevention through an effective working partnership between police and CSLs (Greene, 2000; Rosenbaum, 2002; Schneider, 2000; 2007; 2015). The partnership approach is "a recognition that certain crime problems and their underlying causes are complex and multifaceted enough to warrant a multifaceted approach that cannot be delivered exclusively through one government agency [the police or otherwise]" (Schneider, 2015, p. 345).

Within this context, the thesis applies the principles of CCP and COP as established in the scholarly literature. The theoretical constructs of community-police partnerships and collaboration (the co-production of safety) are applied to understand and critically analyze the case study used for this research. The scholarly literature on CCP and COP is also used as a guide to identify those barriers that are said to obstruct an effective working relationship between police and CCPOs. In

addition, the literature is applied to identify and understand whether the co-production model approach helps foster productive relationships between police and CSLs. Finally, the theoretical framework is used as a basis to test the hypothesis that a formal working relationship between police and CSLs can lead to improved perceptions of and satisfaction with police by CSLs. In short, the theoretical framework that will guide the research and analysis for this thesis touches on the following topics:

- community crime prevention
- community-oriented policing
- partnerships and collaboration between communities (and SDNs specifically) and police
- factors that serve to benefit and obstruct such partnerships
- factors that influence the perceptions of police by public, communities, and CSLs (in SDNs)
- how these perceptions influence the partnerships between CCPOs and police, and

  the extent to which a formal partnership between CCPOs and police influences the perceptions of and satisfaction with police by CCPOs.

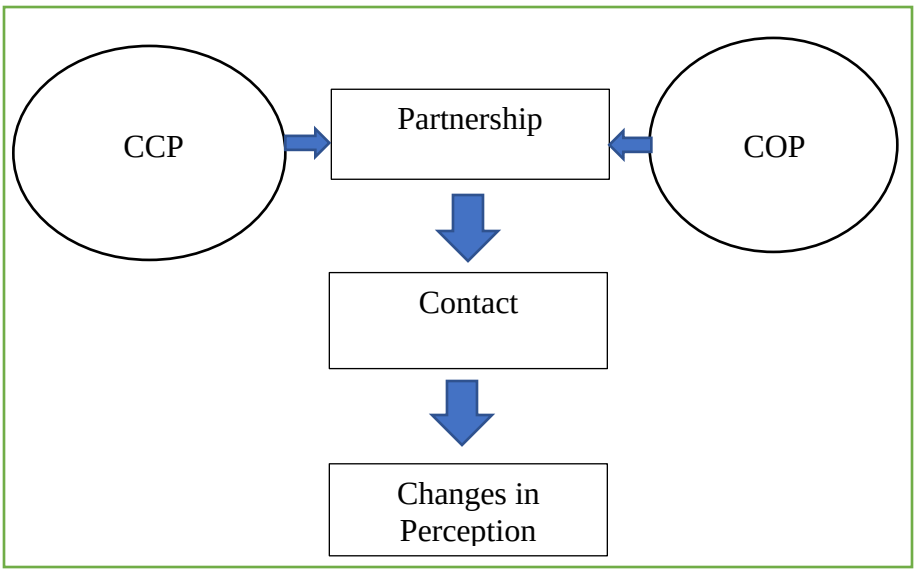

Table-1: Changes in Perception Through Partnership

6. Chapter Six: Research Design

The research design for this thesis is a case study that collects data from both secondary and primary sources using multiple methods. The case study is the Mulgrave Park Community Mobilization Team (MPCMT), a partnership-based community safety group that operates in a government-subsidized housing development in Halifax called Mulgrave Park. This chapter begins with an overview of the overall research design, which is followed by a more detailed description of the research methods. A description of the case study follows. The final section outlines the scope and limitations of this research.

6.1. Case Study

A case study is intensive research of a single unit, or the dynamics present within a single setting to understand a larger class of cases (Eisenhardt, 1989; Gerring, 2004; Aaltio & Heilmann, 2010; Gerring, 2013; Joyner et al., 2013). Yin (2009) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." A case study can be used to offer a description of the phenomenon in context or generating or testing a theory (Darke et al., 1998; Eisenhardt, 1989). Stake (1995) proposes three kinds of case studies, namely, intrinsic case study, instrumental case study, and collective case study. First, an *intrinsic case study* examines a particular case to understand its characteristics in detail without investigating other cases (Stake, 1995). Second, when the case is chosen to entail an in-depth understating of certain issues to visualize the broader picture, it may be called an *instrumental case study* (Stake, 1995). Lastly, the comparison of several case studies to arrive at a general understanding is called a *collective case study* (Stake, 1995). Similarly, Thomas (2011) suggests three kinds of case studies: "retrospective, snapshot, and diachronic" (p. 517). First, the *retrospective case study* involves a gathering of data relating to a past study to scrutinize it in its historical integrity (Thomas, 2011). Second, a *snapshot*

or cross-sectional case study examines one defined period, and its analysis is aided by "the temporal juxtaposition of events" (Thomas, 2011, p. 517). Finally, the *diachronic case study* or longitudinal research shows changes occurring at two or more data collection points (Thomas, 2011, p. 517). The current study is an intrinsic case study because it examines police perceptions held by CSLs in a racialized SDN.

6.2. Research Methods

This study employs a mixed research method, which is a "research approach that consciously mixes research methods in an effort to get a quality and breadth of information that reflects the complexity of the setting being studied" (Mackinnon, 2010, p. 54). The research methods for this study entail a review and critical analysis of the relevant extant scholarly literature, a review of news media reports relevant to the case study, semi-structured interviews, and a review of the relevant public (government) documents and minutes of MPCMT's meetings.

6.2.1. Literature Review

The purpose of a literature review is to comprehensively document the (scholarly) writings on a specified topic, including concepts, theories, and studies. The information used in the literature review provides important background and context for both the empirical and theoretical aspects of the study.

The literature review is an established research method focusing on synthesizing and interpreting the existing knowledge of a specified field that can provide a foundation and direction for future research (Schryen, 2015; Schryen et al., 2015; Schryen et al., 2017; Wagner et al., 2021). The literature review helps researchers become familiar with the chosen topic of a thesis efficiently guiding them to demonstrate their knowledge on a domain (Schryen, 2015). Among the contributions a literature review can make to a research project are: documenting dominant scholarly works and scholars in the field, synthesizing and critically examining basic concepts,

theories, and empirical research, tracking the progress and evolution of a particular phenomenon and the scholarship thereof, exposing research methods used to study the field, providing new and emerging perspectives on a particular issue, and identifying research gaps (Schryen, 2015; Schryen et al., 2015; Schryen et al., 2017).

The literature review for this study covers peer-reviewed scholarship as well as the "gray" literature (unpublished reports) concerning crime prevention, CCP and COP, their origins, definitions, key concepts, characteristics, theories, as well as critiques of these concepts and their implementation. Given the themes of this thesis, emphasis was placed on literature depicting the shared partnership principles, the role of CCPOs in community safety in co-producing public safety, the barriers that obstruct effective relationships between police and the CCPOs, and the perceptions of police held by SDNs and their CSLs and how these perceptions may be influenced by formal partnerships with police.

The Saint Mary's University library was used as the main portal to find relevant sources. Novanet was searched to identify relevant books and reports while social science databases (e.g., EBSCO, JSTOR, Sage Journals Online, ScienceDirect, Project MUSE, SpringerLink) were searched for peer-reviewed articles. The gray literature was identified through Google searches as well as the Rutgers University law library "Gray Literature Database." Searches were conducted of other comprehensive criminology and criminal justice databases, such as that operated by the United States National Criminal Justice Reference Service database of articles, books, and government reports.

The keywords used include, but were not limited to the following: community crime prevention, police-community relations, community policing, community-oriented policing, partnership in crime prevention, relationship between police and socially disadvantaged community, police-community safety leaders partnership, police-community crime prevention organizations partnership, co-production of public safety, the Hub-Model, factors that contribute to

or obstruct effective police-community safety leaders relations, barriers that obstruct effective police- community safety leaders relations, perceptions of police, satisfaction with the police, and factors that influence the perception of and satisfaction with police.

6.2.2. Review of the News Media

The news media from the United States and Canada was reviewed primarily to provide a background to and details on the case study, and the key partners involved in the case study as well as other relevant case studies that may have not been covered by the peer-reviewed literature. News media searches are conducted through the appropriate databases at SMU, in particular EUREKA and CPI.Q. The news media is an important source of information due to its wide coverage and timely reporting of pertinent issues, events, and developments and it also helps overcome the paucity of scholarly research on the issues addressed by this thesis as well as the MPCMT case study covered by the research.

News media searches for the case study focused on historical and contemporary information relating to Mulgrave Park, its characteristics, its crime and disorder issues, as well as community safety initiatives undertaken in the community. Information was also sought on the experiences of African Nova Scotians that will help shed light on the issues that have influenced crime, crime prevention, and police relations in disproportionately Black communities such as Mulgrave Park. News media searches related to the case study also focus on the Halifax Regional Police and its work in the area of crime prevention and community policing and its relationships with racialized communities and SDNs (and Mulgrave Park specifically). The study also examined news media reports that cover similar case studies from other jurisdictions that have not been reported in the scholarly media and which may help identify and examine issues of relevance to this thesis.

While the news media has the benefit of providing information that is current and not covered by scholarly sources, it has also been criticized for its superficial, simplistic, saturated, and sensationalized coverage of crime issues; as such certain representations of circumstances may be skewed or distorted (Bortner, 1984). Within the context of crime and criminal justice issues, the news media has also been criticized for relying too heavily on information provided by the police and other government agencies and for reporting on this information uncritically (Lyman & Potter, 2014). In short, "there exists a broad consensus that the media tend towards oversimplification, forms of selectiveness and hyperbole, focusing largely on individual pathologies and violence. Structural factors such as poverty, the political and social construction of crime, or the interface between the legal and illegal are given considerably less coverage across the various genres" (Rawlinson, 2012, p. 294). Given these critiques, the news media articles used for this study are critically analyzed to detect bias and sensationalized reporting and to ensure the findings are not overly skewed towards police depictions.

6.2.3. Semi-Structured Interviews

An interview is a useful technique for gathering data in qualitative research. It entails a conversational interaction designed to improve knowledge where the interviewer coordinates the process of the conversation by asking questions and an interviewee responds to those questions (Wengraf, 2001; Fox, 2009; Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush, 2006). Semi-structured interviews "are similar to structured interviews in that the topics or questions to be asked are planned in advance, but instead of using closed questions, semi-structured interviews are based on open-ended questions" (Fox, 2009, p. 6). Wengraf (2001) maintains that a semi-structured interview is "designed to have a number of interview questions prepared in advance but such prepared questions are designed to be sufficiently open that the subsequent question of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance but must be improvised in a careful and theorized way" (p. 5). Semi-structured interviews try to elicit information from the participant by asking questions through verbal

interchange (Longhurst, 2003). According to Longhurst (2003), "Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel important" (p. 103).

A semi-structured interview can be a useful technique to meet the need for gathering in-depth data systematically from several participants (e.g., teachers, community leaders) (Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush, 2006). Semi-structured interviews, especially when conducted face-to-face, can generate high-quality data (Fox, 2009), and provide the type of in-depth exploration of a topic. "Such studies typically involve systematic, iterative coding of verbal data, often supplemented by data in other modalities" (Blandford, 2013, p. 2). Wengraf (2001) indicates that semi-structured interviewing is very often concerned with exploring the subjective world view of the interviewee, "but this does not mean that what they say is treated uncritically, accepted at face value" (p. 28).

For this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following three groups: (i) four CSLs from Mulgrave Park who are active on the MPCMT (hereinafter referred to as MP1, MP2, MP3, and MP4), (ii) the HRP Community Relations Officer who represents the Halifax Regional Police on the MPCMT (hereinafter referred as HRP1), and (iii) a staff member with the Public Safety Office who represents the office on MPCMT (hereinafter referred as PSO1).

Interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis. The number of interviewees and interview participants was determined in advance through discussions with representatives of the MPCSLs, the Halifax Regional Police (HRP), and the Public Safety. Five of six MPCSLs participated in the interview. One Mulgrave Park community safety leader who originally agreed to participate in the research withdrew at a later stage and requested that the information provided through an interview be omitted from the study and destroyed. The HRP member interviewed for the study qualifies for this research as he is the current Community Relations Officer in Mulgrave Park, a member of MPCMT, and has experience working in collaboration with the MPCSLs, other

members of MPCMT, and the community in general. PSO1 is a representative of the Halifax Regional Municipal Public Safety Officer on the MPCMT and spoke on behalf of the office for this research.

The questions asked in the interviews were designed to encourage interviewees to state and elaborate on their understanding of the issue of the relationship between police and MPCSLs and the perception of police held by MPCSLs. The prepared interview questions for the MPCSLs, representatives of Halifax Regional Police, and the HRM Public Safety Office were finalized with input from the thesis supervisor and members of the MPCMT.

Separate interviews were conducted with MPCSLs to solicit their perspectives on the salient issues. The issues covered included the mandate of MPCMT (goals and achievements of the MPCMT), obstacles to a successful implementation of the MPCMT program, the relationship between police and the MPCSLs, goals of the MPCMT as far as it relates to a working partnership with police, barriers to effective partnerships between police and the MPCSLs, factors that influence the MPCSLs' partnership with police, perceptions of and satisfaction with police (negative perceptions of Mulgrave Park community residents held by police, police racism, harassment of Mulgrave Park Community residents and MPCSLs, negative perceptions of police held by MPCSLs) and their recommendations on how the MPMCT should move forward to address lingering barriers to cooperation between CSLs and police.

The interview with HRP1 included, but were not limited to the following issues: the mandate of MPCMT (goals and achievements of the MPCMT), the relationship between police and the MPCSLs, goals of the MPCMT as far as it relates to a working partnership with police, barriers to effective partnerships between police and the MPCSLs, factors that influence the MPCSLs' partnership with police, perceptions of and satisfaction with police (negative perceptions of Mulgrave Park community residents held by police, negative perception of police held by community residents), changes in the attitude of police and MPCSLs following the implementation

of this program, and recommendations on how the MPMCT should move forward to address lingering barriers to cooperation between MPCSLs and police. PSO1 answered questions covering the following themes: the mandate of MPCMT (goals and achievements of the MPCMT), the relationship between police and the MPCSLs, goals of the MPCMT as far as relates to a working partnership with police, barriers to effective partnerships between police and the MPCSLs, factors that influence the MPCSLs' partnership with police, changes in the attitude of police following the implementation of this program.

The participants were recruited to schedule interviews through email and telephone communication after the SMU Research Ethics Board (REB) had approved the study. Initially, the interviews were to be conducted face-to-face. However, the COVID-19 restrictions compelled the researcher to use alternative options (with approval of the SMU REB). A volunteer from MPCSLs (MP3) in MPCMT helped to record three face-to-face interviews of MPCSLs (MP2, MP4 and the MPCSL who withdrew from this research) on behalf of the researcher, which the researcher could not conduct in person due to COVID-19 restrictions. The interviews with HRP representative (HRP1) were completed by the researcher over the phone. These oral interviews took approximately 20 to 40 minutes each in length and were recorded and transcribed (verbatim transcription). The researcher followed up over the phone with MP2 and MP4 for further inquiries and additional information was added to the transcript accordingly. MP1, MP3 and PSO1 chose to submit written answers to the interview questions. Upon submission of written interviews, the researcher then followed up over the phone with MP1 for additional information and added the new data to the transcript. The researcher made verbatim transcriptions of oral interviews and used verbatim quotations in the research findings as evidence, explanation, illustration in order to enhance comprehensibility and incorporate the voice of participants in the study. Although the incorporation of verbatim transcription of oral interviews strengthens the finding, there may be grammatical errors in the quotation.

Interview recordings and transcripts were stored electronically on a secure, password-protected computer at the secure home of the principal researcher and are accessible only to the researcher and thesis supervisor in compliance with the instructions of the SMU REB. The data will be destroyed after five years in accordance with the direction of the SMU REB. The audio-recorded files are to be destroyed (this includes permanently wiping electronic data from the computers) after five years from the date of approval of the thesis by the thesis committee to safeguard the privacy and safety of that interview.

As this study entails a relatively small number of interviews, it benefits from the strengths of a semi-structured interview format (i.e., in-depth information on a particular issue). The semi-structured format of the interview means "the interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee" (Fox, 2009, p. 6). However, the responses of the different interviewees in the open-ended nature of interviews often do not have uniformity, which can make the analysis of interview data problematic and time consuming compared to a structured interview (Fox, 2009).

6.2.4. Review of Public Documents

This study reviewed relevant public documents available online that help explain the nature, scope, and activities of the case study. Specifically, the *HRM Public Safety Strategy Update* for 2019 and 2020 produced for the Halifax Regional Municipal Council were examined to explain the formation, operations, and strategies of the MPCMT. The study also examined documents provided by participants on request that had relevance to this case study and contributed significant data to the study. This includes the "Terms of Reference, Community Safety Committee" produced by the Office of the HRM Public Safety Advisor which ultimately supported the establishment of the Community Mobilization Team (CMT) in HRM (in particular, Mulgrave Park). The study also reviewed the 'incorporation' document (i.e., Terms of Reference of Community Mobilization Teams for HRM area) that describes the mission statement, mandate, goals, functions, tasks, and

roles and responsibilities of each partner in a CMT. In addition, the MPCSLs provided a few monthly meeting agendas and minutes, which described their activities, operation, concerns, and other related organizational issues of MPCMT.

6.2.5. The Case Study

This section provides details on the case studied in this research. It begins by first exploring the history and demographics of Mulgrave Park as well as how the forces of racism and discrimination have affected the community and residents. Next, local CCP initiatives and the MPCMT, in particular, are described.

People of African ancestry have been residing in Nova Scotia for almost 400 hundred years and currently constitute the largest minority population of the province. From the early to the mid-1700s, there were more than 300 African slaves in Acadia under French settlements. Another 100 to 150 slave planters were sent in 1763 after the British gained control of Nova Scotia. Approximately 3,000 people of African heritage immigrated to a different part of Nova Scotia from the American colonies between 1783 and 1785 due to the Revolutionary War. In 1812, another 2000 slaves escaped from the United States and settled in Nova Scotia (Waldron et al., 2015). Others in Nova Scotia who are of African descent arrived from African and Caribbean countries during the subsequent centuries. Irrespective of their place of birth, African Nova Scotians share a single destiny in the CJS: “It is as though they were subject to more rigorous control mechanisms specifically designed for them, even though they live in different regions of the country” (Douyon, 2016, p. 75).

Since their arrival, the Black population in Halifax and Nova Scotia has faced systematic and structural racism (Henry & Tator, 2006; Simmonds, 2014) that can be traced back to their enslavement (Cooper et al., 2019). Despite the abolishment of slavery in the British Commonwealth in 1834, the subsequent years for African Canadians in Nova Scotia were characterized by continued racism, discrimination, and segregation in housing, school, churches, cemeteries, and the

labour force. Segregation in Halifax was epitomized by Africville and its deplorable living conditions – including no paved streets, no running water, a nearby garbage dump, and a railroad that ran through the middle of town – which was made even worse by the forced relocation of its residents after it was razed (Cooper et al., 2019; Tattrie, 2021). The Africville displacement is considered a grave injustice inflicted upon a voiceless minority by an insensitive city administration (Clairmont & Magill, 1971). The issue of segregation and racism was increasingly confronted beginning with the challenges to legal segregation in the province by Viola Desmond (Cooper et al., 2019). As the oppressed voices of the Black community grew louder, measures were implemented by the community groups, commissions, and the province to address racism and discrimination in the educational system, the CJS, and the labour force. However, racism continued to manifest itself in terms of the socio-economic status of African Nova Scotians. The Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage (2021) publishes a demographic description of African Nova Scotians that deserves to be quoted at length in order to contextualize their socio-economic conditions:

> In 2011, African Nova Scotians had a rate of unemployment higher (14.5%) than the rest of Nova Scotia (9.9%) and African Canadians (12.9%) across Canada. This gap is greater amongst males, with a rate of 17.2% for African Nova Scotians compared to 10.7% for Nova Scotians and 12.9% for African Canadian males across Canada. In 2011, the average incomes for African Nova Scotians were $29,837 for males and $24,929 for females. In comparison, the average income for Nova Scotians was $42,545 and $29,460 respectively. The 2011 National Household Survey found that 34.8% of African Nova Scotians had a prevalence of low-income versus 16.5% for the rest Nova Scotia … African Nova Scotians are less likely to finish high school or attend university. 77.7% of African Nova Scotians aged 25 to 64 years have some sort of certificate, diploma or degree compared to 85.3% of all Nova Scotians. 18% of African Nova Scotians have a

university degree compared to 22% of all Nova Scotians aged 25 to 64 years. (Employment and income, para. 1-4)

Racism has also long been evident in the CJS provincially, which reflects similar problems nationwide. Disparities in use of force incidents and unwarranted detention and unjustified searches of people of African heritage are prevalent in much of Canada (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2018; Wortley et al., 2020). Black people in Canada face a level of racial profiling that raises significant human rights concerns (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Henry & Tator, 2006; Bernard & Smith, 2018). The Canadian CJS "offers one example of how the injustices and inequalities of the past—how slavery and its legacies—have shaped and are shaping the institutions of today" (Cooper et al., 2019, p. 80). Campbell (2012) coins that although prevailing laws should be unbiased, the indication of emerging systematic racism in the CJS speaks otherwise.

Black people are currently overrepresented in prisons across Nova Scotia, and they are also the subject of continuous racial profiling by the police and private security personnel (Makinde, 2019). People of African descent make up only 3.95 percent of the city's (Halifax) population (Cooper et al., 2019) and two percent of the Nova Scotian population but make up eleven percent and ten percent of admissions to remand and sentenced custody respectively in fiscal year of 2017-18 (Public Safety Canada, 2009; Correctional Services Division, 2019). In Halifax, Black people are subject to street checks at six times higher rates than white people (Wortley, 2019).

Racism in Nova Scotia has also been widely reported in the news media (Lowe, 2009; RobertDevet, 2018; Balogun, 2018; 2019). African Nova Scotians continue to grapple with systemic racism in a province that has a long history of discrimination, Thomson (2017) reported. African Nova Scotians are overrepresented in Nova Scotia jails (Luck, 2016), child welfare and correctional systems (Thomson, 2017; Vaughan, 2017). A professor at Dalhousie University opined that racial profiling and surveillance of Black people have increased during the COVID-19 pandemic (D'Entremont, 2020).

African Nova Scotians still feel the scourge of widespread systematic racism which they have been sharing through different media platforms (including news media) for decades (Lowe, 2009; Luck, 2014). In a community meeting of about 25 representatives of the African Nova Scotian communities, the participants said, “Halifax police behaviour is often racist, the practice of carding itself is racist, and the community is tired of having to tell white people this over and over without anything ever substantially changing for the better” (RobertDevet, 2017, para. 3). RobertDevet (2018) reports “Nova Scotia Human Rights tribunal found that HRM allowed racism to fester unchallenged at Halifax Transit.” Furthermore, Balogun (2018) reports, “Halifax is not Canada’s Black Mecca: In Toronto, the racism we endured was more sophisticated and subliminal. In Nova Scotia, it’s brazen.”

Luck (2014) reports on “consumer racial profiling” in Halifax in which a resident of Mulgrave Park was unnecessarily harassed and assaulted by Walmart employees and police officers (Rankin, 2020). The resident accused police of racial profiling, saying the following: “I believe that my children and I in no way deserved to go through this. I think a lot of people like to think that our police don’t engage in any kind of brutality or racism. Well, I’m proof that it does exist and people need to be aware of it” (Rankin, 2020). Another news media story reported on the impact of waste disposal systems on African Nova Scotians neighbourhoods. One person was quoted in the story saying the dumping ground for industrial and medical waste was intentionally built near the black community because “they considered us less valuable, and they considered our homes less valuable than the people in the north end of town.” Another person interviewed for the article said, “I was not shy to say it’s racism … They know the term environmental racism” (Ore, 2018).

6.2.6. Mulgrave Park

Mulgrave Park is a public housing community in Halifax’s north end between Barrington and Albert Streets. The Mulgrave Park and Uniacke Square public housing developments were originally constructed in the 1960s to temporarily rehouse 1,600 forcibly displaced members of Africville

(Silver, 2008). Mulgrave Park is currently the residence of more than 250 families and individuals, many of whom came from Africville or have descended from one of its residents.

African Nova Scotians make up approximately 70 percent of the Mulgrave Park population (Clairmont et al., 2014, Areavives, 2021). For some, Mulgrave Park and Uniacke Square are well known in Halifax for their concentrated poverty and other aspects of social disadvantage, including crimes, violence, drug trafficking, and social disorders (Melles, 2003; Silver, 2008; Benjamin, 2010; Prouse et al., 2014). Similar to other SDNs, these daily life incidents of Mulgrave Park are likely to "stem from historic and structural conditions of racism, disenfranchisement, and isolation" (Falkkenburger et al., 2018, p. 1). Prouse et al. (2014) writes, "The longevity of low-income census tracts cannot be ignored, particularly in the neighbourhoods surrounding the Peninsula's public housing projects (such as Uniacke Square and Mulgrave Park). These pockets of low-income provide indications of concentrated poverty. Its proportion of low-income residents (approximately 33%) is over three times greater than the HRM average, and the unemployment rate (12.2%) is nearly double the HRM average" (p. 41).

6.2.7. The Mulgrave Park Community Mobilization Team

The Community Mobilization Team (CMT) is a partnership-based community safety program currently in operation at Mulgrave Park and other communities in Halifax to prevent violence and to respond to critical community safety incidents. For the purposes of this research, the MPCMT constitutes a CCPO that comprises a partnership among Mulgrave Park residents (and represented by MPCSLs) and different business units of Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). Indeed, the MPCMTs are the product of efforts to mobilize and amalgamate local and city-wide resources (including police) to address specific public safety issues in the communities where they are implemented. The CMTs are sensitive to the community's culture and history and are guided by community development principles, such as enhancing natural capacities and networks, community

ownership, community self-determination, social justice and equity, universality, service integration, collaboration and coordination (Halifax Regional Municipality, 2019).

Clause five of the Terms of Reference of Community Mobilization Team (hereinafter referred to as TOR of the CMTs) - enacted by HRM Public Safety Office for city-wide implementation of the CMT model states that the local CMTs "will be comprised of community members residing in the agreed upon boundaries of the community. At the discretion of the community members, other stakeholders may be invited to participate based on relevance and direct expertise supportive of its functions" (Public Safety Office 2018, para. 5). Representatives from City Council, relevant business, community associations, or community service providers can also be a part of a CMT as deemed necessary by community members (Public Safety Office, 2018).

The CMT program came about following a spate of gun violence in the city. In 2016, several service providers in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) – including the Public Safety Advisor, Parks and Recreation, Office of Diversity and Inclusion, HRP, HRP Victim Services, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Victim Services and Fire and Emergency Service – convened a Community Safety Committee (coordinated by the Office of the Public Safety Advisor) to develop a more holistic response to violent incidents and their aftermath focussing on improving municipal policies, procedures, and services for communities impacted by violence (Halifax Regional Council, 2019). The Terms of Reference of the Community Safety Committee (TOR of CSC) mandates the Committee to:

- Support the development and establishment of Community Mobilization Teams (CMTs).
- Contribute to community capacity and social cohesion by strengthening networks, building relationships, and reducing harm through CMT development and implementation.
- Participate in critical incident responses where so identified in CMT protocol.

- Monitor and evaluate process and outcomes of CMTs in accordance with Public Safety Strategy (PSS) Priority Objectives.
- Advise the Public Safety Office with regards to emerging issues in the community. (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, n.p.).

A CMTs was officially established in Mulgrave Park in 2018 with the aim "to prevent violence, by reducing distress, restoring cohesion, and building resiliency" (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, p. 3). Members from Mulgrave Park Community participating in the MPCMT (MPCSLs) receive training on various crisis management issues and work as lead volunteers in different capacities with the other members of MPCMT. The "CMTs mobilize existing local and city-wide resources to address individual/group needs, coordinate community debriefings, and facilitate timely information sharing" (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, p. 3). According to Clause four of the TOR of the CMTs (Public Safety Office, 2018),

> The CMT shall elect a chair who will be responsible, with input from members, for setting agendas for regular meetings and appointing a minute-taker.
>
> The CMT will meet regularly and/or at the discretion of the Chair, and will meet no fewer than 6 times per year. Members may request additional meetings. Decision making will be made during regular meetings and through consensus. Quorum is required for decision making and will be half the regular (core) membership plus one.
>
> For the purposes of implementing CMTs, members will develop a critical incident response protocol with the support of the Community Safety Committee for responding to critical incidents. This internal protocol will reflect how it defines and responds to critical incidents, including the specific role it plays in responding to critical incidents.

> In the event that a critical incident activates a CMT, members or representatives will convene as deemed necessary, and in accordance with their own internal protocols, to support the crisis response. (para. 4)

Clause Two of the TOR of the CSC mandates the Committee to implement the following priorities through CMTs:

- Provide crisis support for children, youth and adults experiencing a mental health crisis.
- Promote community policing and police partnerships with community safety networks and organizations.
- Provide community development training for residents to build local capacity.
- Foster positive interactions between residents and police, particularly in communities where there is mistrust or lack of respect for police.
- Provide counselling and support to communities in the immediate aftermath of violent crimes.
- Support responses to crime that focus on restoring the losses suffered by victims and communities and holding offenders accountable (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, Attachment 2, para. 2)

The Community Safety Committee has empowered the CMTs to respond to critical incidents[10] that may occur, including identifying and coordinating the respective roles and capacities of each of the partner agencies. According to Clause four of the TOR of the CSC:

> For the purposes of implementing CMTs, members will provide their Business Unit/agency/organization's internal protocols for responding to critical incidents. This internal protocol will reflect how it defines and responds to critical incidents, including

[10] The Community Mobilization Team Implementation Guide states that a critical incident can include shootings, assaults and stabbings, murders, armed robberies, public sexual violence, major police interventions, racially, religiously, or sexually motivated attacks, interpersonal conflicts, and altercations that escalate and lead to police involvement and arrest and structural fire.

> the specific role it plays in responding to critical incidents. If no such internal protocol exists, the Committee will help support the development of an internal protocol in accordance with its guidelines on developing internal protocols for responding to critical incidents. In the event that a critical incident activates a CMT, Working Committee members or representatives will convene as deemed necessary, and in accordance with their own internal protocols, to support the crisis response (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, Attachment 2, para. 4)

Clause two of TOR of the CMTs (Public Safety Office, 2018) states that the CMTs will "support the response and recovery from a traumatic incident" in the following manner:

> After a violent or traumatic incident, CMTs mobilize local and city-wide resources to address individual/community needs, coordinate community debriefings, and information sharing. CMTs strengthen community access to resources and networks. CMTs work toward preventing violence by reducing distress, restoring unity, and building resilience.
>
> To achieve this goal CMTs encompass:
>
> > Crisis preparation through mapping resources, education and training, needs assessments
> >
> > Crisis Intervention by supporting communities after a violent or traumatic incident
> >
> > Crisis prevention by developing and enhancing local safety networks to strengthen community sense of unity and collaboration. (para. 2)

The *Community Mobilization Teams Model and Implementation Guide* (Halifax Regional Municipality, 2019) indicates that "In its ideal form CMTS are a coordinated response from municipal services, community organizations, faith communities and residents to support the response and recovery from the experience of a critical incident" (Attachment 3, p. 1). More specifically, Clause three of TOR of the CMTs (Public Safety Office, 2018) specifies that all the

CMT members (including MPCSLs, police, other HRM business units and/or other service providers) are mandated to:

- Support the development and establishment of Community Mobilization Teams (CMTs) by regular participation in CMT meetings and activities.
- Contribute to community capacity and social cohesion by strengthening networks, building relationships, and reducing harm through CMT development and implementation.
- Participate in critical incident responses where so identified in CMT protocol.
- Assist in monitoring and evaluating process and outcomes of CMTs.
- Advise the Community Safety Committee with regards to emerging issues in the community (para. 3).

The 2019 HRM Public Safety Strategy Update (Council Report) indicated that MPCMT has been successful in paving the way to establish CMTs in other communities in the Halifax Regional Municipality: "CMT's are now active in Mulgrave Park and North Preston and organizing is underway with Uniacke Square residents to establish a team in their community" (Halifax Regional Council, 2020, p. 4).

In sum, the CMTs and the MPCMT in particular, constitute a suitable case study for the issues explored in this thesis. The MPCMT is a neighbourhood-based, CCPO that is mandated to mobilize resources from the local community and other stakeholders to address crime, critical (violent) incidents, and other community safety issues from both a proactive and reactive perspective. The MPCMT is situated in a racialized SDN disproportionately made up of African Nova Scotians, who have long been subject to racism and discrimination by police and other public and private institutions in Nova Scotia. The MPCMT is a formal CCPO that includes both community members and representation from the Halifax Regional Police, which allows for the collection and analysis of data examining Mulgrave Park CSLs' perceptions of and satisfaction with

police and how such perceptions are influenced following implementation of a formal co-production model involving both CSLs and police.

6.3. Scope and Limitations of Research

While this research seeks to broaden our knowledge of perceptions of and satisfaction with police held by CCPO leaders or CSLs in racialized SDNs, the results should not be generalized to other racialized SDNs residing within public housing of Halifax or elsewhere. The most significant limitation encountered in the research was the impact that COVID-19 restrictions had on conducting interviews. The pandemic compelled the researcher to change the focus of the research due to the unavailability of some important research participants. In particular, the HRP rescinded its agreement to participate in the study following the implementation of provincial COVID-19 restrictions on meetings (as well as the new responsibilities of police in enforcing these restrictions). This meant that the original focus of the research – examining barriers to police-community partnerships in the co-production of public safety from the perspectives of *both* police and community members – had to be revised. The HRP did eventually agree to one interview, but this was deemed insufficient to gather data to satisfy the original focus of the thesis. This meant the focus of the study was shifted to solely examining the views of CSLs, as some of the MPCSLs from the local community were still willing to participate in the primary research.

Despite this agreement, COVID-19 restrictions limited the ability to conduct face-to-face interviews. The COVID-19 situation also created numerous other circumstances that made scheduling interviews very difficult (e.g., community members were busy home-schooling their children and could not agree to an interview in a timely manner). As such, it took a considerable amount of time to schedule and complete the interviews with participants after formal invitations were sent out. The researcher was ultimately compelled to involve MP3 to interview MP2 and MP4 due to the unconventional COVID-19 restrictions. The involvement of MP3 as a volunteer to

interview MP2 and MP4 has its strengths and weaknesses. Involving MP3 to conduct the interview makes nonverbal information inaccessible to the researchers, poses a challenge to the data collection process, and questions data quality. However, a follow-up telephone interview helps the researcher to obtain missing information, open-ended data and participants' views on a particular topic.

7. Chapter Seven: Research Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research findings for this case study. The findings of the research are broken down into four major themes: (1) goals of the MPCMT, (2) impact of the MPCMT on police-MPCSLs relations and specific MPCMT-related factors that have contributed to a betterment of thier relationship, (3) obstacles to effective relationships between police and the MPCSLs and the extent to which the MPCMT has overcome these obstacles, and (4) recommendations (from research participants) for a more effective implementation of the MPCMT program (and a better working relationship between police and MPCSLs). For each of these themes, the findings are broken down by the responses of each category of research participants (although not all research respondents provided input into each theme).

Table- 2: Themes and Sub-Themes of this Current Study.

	Themes	sub-themes
1.	Goals of the MPCMT	
2.	Impact of the MPCMT on police-MPCSL relations and specific MPCMT-related factors that have improved their relationship	➢ Impact of the MPCMT on the working relationship between police and MPCSLs ➢ Factors leading to a better police-MPCSLs relationship • Effective community outreach by police • Strong leadership by MPCSLs • Effective communication between police and MP residents (including MPCSL)
3.	Obstacles to effective relationships between police and the MPCSL and the extent to which the MPCMT has overcome these obstacles	➢ Racism and negative perceptions and harassment of racialized residents in Mulgrave Park by police ➢ Lack of police legitimacy in Mulgrave Park ➢ Procedural injustices by police against people of African ancestry ➢ Lack of commitment by police to CCP and COP principles ➢ Negative perceptions of police held by MP residents and MPCSLs ➢ Organizational obstacles: barriers erected by the CCPO (MPCMT)

4.	Recommendations (from research participants) for a more effective implementation of the MPCMT program (and a better working relationship between police and MPCSLs)	➢ Eradicating racism, discrimination and removing negative perceptions of racialized people held by police ➢ Involving more service providing organizations in the MPCMT ➢ Increasing informal presence of community policing officer in community and community office and ensure more frequent voluntary contact between police and MPCSLs in non-criminal situations ➢ Relationship-building by MPCSLs with Mulgrave Park residents to enhance the legitimacy of the MPCMT ➢ Building relationship with other communities ➢ Police sharing of information proactively with MPCSLs ➢ Continuing funding, extending program implementation, providing training to MPCSLs, and dedicating office space for the MPCMT ➢ Providing incentives to MPCSLs for their volunteering hours and recruiting Mulgrave Park residents in positions with service providers that participate in the MPCMT

7.1. Theme One: Goals of the MPCMT

This theme describes the goals of the MPCMT as perceived by the research participants and provides an important context for exploring the major theme of this research: the extent to which the MPCMT has reached one of its central goals: a better working relationship between police and the local CSLs. HRP1 said that the goals of MPCMT are to *"strengthen*" the *"community's resiliency,"* and *"give them access to resources and support that they need in a traumatic incident"* in order to reduce *"stress and restore cohesion."* For MP4, the ultimate major goal of the MPCMT is to ensure the safety of community residents.

In a written response, PSO1 mentioned that the main goal of the MPCMT is "*to build trust and relationships between Municipal departments and residents by having them work together to respond to critical incidents in neighborhood.*" It is within this context that research participants identified another goal of the MPCMT program: to function as a liaison between police and community residents. MP2 commented, *"it's a liaison between police and community to ensure*

that the people here in the community are being treated in a proper way and have their rights." In a written response, MP3 reported that the goals of the MPCMT are to work as a *"Liaison between community and outside service providers … We are supposed to liaison with the community to help de-escalate situations to ensure community members are safe while police are here, does not interfere while they (police) to do their job."*

According to TOR of CMT, this model was designed to "foster positive interactions between residents and police, particularly in communities where there is mistrust or lack of respect for police" (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, n.p.). Research participants also indicated that one of the main goals of the MPCMT is to foster a good working relationship between service providers (including police) and the community (in particular MPCSLs). MP2 identified relationship-building, enhancing communication, improving police legitimacy, and maintaining procedural justice as the goals of MPCMT. For MP2, one goal of the MPCMT is to "*strengthen the relationship between the police and other emergency response units"* and bridge the gap between service providers and community. For MP4, a goal of the MPCMT, among others, is to "*build a relationship between service providers and, and the community members"* and more specifically, "*it's supposed to bridge the gap"* between police, community and MPCSLs. HRP1 mentioned many times in the interview the importance of bridging the gap between police, community, and MPCSLs as one of the main aims of this joint initiative. In a telephone interview as a follow-up to an initial written response, MP1 said: "t*he goal of CMT in terms of the police was to establish a respectful relationship between the two (between police and MPCSLs)."* MP1 emphasized other ancillary goals of the MPCMT related to an improved working partnership between MPCSLs and police, such as more effective communication, greater community outreach initiatives by police officers, frequent meetings, enhanced coordination, routine prior warnings from police before taking armed action and ensuring the principles of procedural justice are met. In a written response, PSO1 indicated that the goals of MPCMT in terms of the relationship between police and MPCSLs are to

help build *"trust"* between police and MPCSLs and to "*allow the community to see the police interacting and involved in community in nonthreatening ways."*

7.2. Theme Two: Impact of the MPCMT on Police-MPCSL Relations and Specific MPCMT-Related Factors that Influence their Relationship

This theme explores the extent to which the MPCMT achieved its goal of fostering better relationships between local CSLs and external service providers, police in particular. To this end, this section discusses the research findings with respect to any changes in the relationship between MPCSLs and police following the implementation of the MPCMT. This includes identifying the predominant factors that influence their relationship.

7.2.1. Impact of the MPCMT on the Working Relationship between Police and MPCSLs

The research participants were asked if the relationship between the community (MPCSLs in particular) and police had changed under the MPCMT. All of them stated that the MPCMT has helped improve the relationship of police with community residents (in particular MPCSLs). In a written response, MP1 mentioned: "*it (relationship) has changed a bit for the better*." MP2 believed that the most successful outcome of this program is the *"relationship between police and community."* MP2 described how the relationship has positively changed with the community at large saying "*yes*" and reporting that "*they (police) are more respectful*" to the community residents. In a written response MP3 said, "*the relation between community and police has changed.*" Individual police officers have been "*less belligerent*" following the implementation of the MPCMT and they "*respect"* the role of the CSLs.

For MP4, one of the biggest achievements of the MPCMT is *"having a better relationship"* between the MPCSLs and service providers. The relationship has changed "*because they (police) respect"* MPCSLs following the implementation of the MPCMT. The interviews and the minutes

of MPCMT meetings held in the last two years reveal the active participation of the MPCSLs in different community safety initiatives – from organizing training, undertaking community safety initiatives, reaching out to service providers, participating in meetings, and being an influential voice in the MPCMT. According to MP4, the HRP *"has an understanding of what our expectation is, and if they don't understand that when they come here, they will understand it after their superiors speaks to them about what, how the interaction was."* MP4 noted that both MPCSLs and the police developed a degree of trust following the implementation of the MPCMT in Mulgrave Park. By way of example, MP4 cited one event in which MPCSLs were able to stop police officers from what they considered was racial profiling when the police arrested an (innocent) Black male in Mulgrave Park. MP4 elaborated, "*they (police) believed us when they when we (MPCSLs) told them this wasn't the person. So, the community seen that we were there that we were also trying to make sure people were safe, and … we were trusting enough to be able to say the things that we need to say and the officers listened.*" Moreover, police started treating MPCSLs as reliable resources for information and considering them as an oversight mechanism that can serve to hold police officers accountable for the misdeeds in Mulgrave Park.

In a written response, MP3 reported on another incident in which MPCSLs dealt with a local traumatic event and the concerned resident "*was so relieved she didn't have to deal with HRP alone*." PSO1 agreed with this in a written response, "*There was a disturbance in a family and police were called. Police did show up but they allowed community members diffuse the situation. The police stepped back and stayed until the situation was resolved by community*." PSO1 reported positive changes in the relationship between police and MPCSLs in the same written response, "*yes, I have noticed a difference*."

All participants agreed that the MPCMT has helped to bridge the gap between police and the community (in particular, MPCSLs) through better communication and the delegation of some power from the police to the MPCSLs. HRP1 highlighted how the MPCMT has led to *"improved communication"* and *"information sharing."* According to HRP1: "*we're sharing communication*

more efficiently, I'm getting to know people in the residence from a policing standpoint personally, I'm understanding more, …. the challenges that they face as residents and families in Mulgrave Park." For HRP1 *"the biggest change"* resulting from the MPCMT *"having a police officer on the CMT team,"* which gives the officer a feeling of being *"a part of that community" and "in working together"* for achieving the goals that they are mandated to accomplish. HRP1 enthusiastically credited the MPCMT for providing the opportunity for a closer working relationship between community residents, MPCSLs and police: "*we're working together to achieve them (goals), which, you know, 15 to 20 years ago that would never have happened."* HRP1 said how "*absolutely fantastic"* he felt after returning to Mulgrave Park as the community relations officer from emergency duties during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In sum, there was agreement among both HRP1 and MPCSLs that a principal aim of the MPCMT is to build a better working relationship between police and Mulgrave Park residents, in particular, MPCSLs. They agreed that police officers working in Mulgrave Park are treating the residents as well as MPCSLs fairly and respectfully following the implementation of the MPCMT program, which helped improve the relationship between police and MPCSLs. All the research participants believe the MPCMT is on the right path to achieve its goals and the potential to make a significant contribution to the community. However, the participants indicated that the relationship-building between police and CSLs is an ongoing process that needs to be continued with patience. In a written interview, MP1 noted that its goal *"is still in the works."* MP2 noticed *"a lot of improvement with the relationship between the police department and other response units"* and indicated that *"community is getting more comfortable"* with police. Although MPCMT *"does have a positive effect,*" MP2 added, accomplishment of goals *"are still ongoing"* and the MPCMT *"still have a ways to go."* In a written interview, MP3 opined that *"the goal process is off to a decent start."* Similarly, in a written response, PSO1 substantiated, saying: *"I also believe it's still a work in progress. Things change, people change positions and we learn new things as we move along."* MP4 added, *"I think there's more that could be done."* As importantly, the MPCSLs

also pointed out, however, that, the relationship between police and African Nova Scotians is still hostile outside Mulgrave Park or in the absence of MPCSLs, which is detailed in theme three.

7.2.2. Factors Leading to a Better Police-MPCSLs Relationship

This subtheme explores the factors (including those influenced by the MPCMT) that have made the greatest contribution to improving the relationship between the MPCSLs and the HRP. The research findings of this subthemes are divided into three headings: (i) effective community outreach by police, (ii) strong leadership by MPCSLs, (iii) effective communication between police and Mulgrave Park residents (including MPCSLs).

7.2.2.1. Effective Community Outreach Initiative by Police

Central to a productive relationship between police and community members is effective and ongoing outreach by police to involve and empower community members. Some MPCSLs recognized that outreach efforts by the HRP in Mulgrave Park have led to an improved working relationship between CSLs and police and that the MPCMT helped promote better and more frequent community outreach by police. MP1 credited the outreach initiative of the community police officers and believed it to have helped them work better in collaboration with the police. In a written response, MP1 said there was a sustained outreach by the community police officers in Mulgrave Park, including introducing other HRP officers to the CSLs and other community members. HRP1 said the result of this increased outreach was "*residents reaching out to me directly, …. asking questions…. requesting extra patrols.*" HRP1 also added, "*having them reach out to me and asking what we can do for them, makes things more efficient.*"

For PSO1, the MPCMT facilitated the ability of police officers to reach out to the MPCSLs and undertake effective relationship-building initiatives: "*CMT members have met with Watch*

commanders and they have informed their officers about the CMT and the goals. Also, the Community Response Officers attend CMT meetings. This has brought more visibility to the CMT's within HRP." In sum, there was an agreement among the research participants that the initial community outreach strategies by the HRP officers exerted to the MPCMT contributed to a better relationship with CSLs and enhanced the local co-production of public safety.

7.2.2.2. Strong Leadership by MPCSLs

Some MPCSLs agreed that their powerful advocacy for Mulgrave Park is critical for implementing the MPCMT program and developing a working relationship with the police. While their community leadership predates the implementation of the MPCMT, this initiative has bolstered their credibility with community members and police, which in turn has had a positive impact on the police-MPCSLs relationship-building process. MP2 and MP4 were very confident about their leadership and repeatedly noted how efficiently they performed their role as CSLs long before implementing MPCMT. MP2 strongly believed that the "*team is doing a good job.*" MP2 continued to say, "*I think they (police) do look now to be able to speak to someone …. they (police) know that who to go to or who is able to be able to come forward*" to support police in the co-production of safety.

MP4 reported that the unilateral CCPOs existed in Mulgrave Park before the implementation of the MPCMT and said, "*the model was based on the group that that was here originally."* MP4 further commented, "*CMT was a group of people that cared about their community before it was actually established through HRM (Halifax Regional Municipality). They (MPCSLs) do it because they love their community, they do it because they're concerned about the safety of our community."* MP4 continued to note, "*as a CMT, we, as a group, are very vocal, and we're able to let people know that come into our community who we are and what we stand for and what we're going to allow.*" MP2 viewed their leadership as a strong "*voice*" for and on behalf of the community.

MP4 emphasized the dedication of MPCSLs, "*they (MPCSLs) have been doing it for many years and they have been doing it for nothing, and not because they're (MPCSLs) looking for anything.*" MP4 also indicated MPCSLs' determination for producing community safety saying, "*we've contributed to a very effective relationship between the police and like I said we want to continue that with other service providers, because I think it's not just police here in this community that access or come into this community.*"

MP4 spoke of an incident where police supposedly racially profiled and arrested a Black male but the MPCSLs asserted their leadership role which helped to mitigate any further damage: "*This young man, if we weren't there, he would have been arrested, and if we weren't able to speak to the officers and tell them this is not the person you're looking for…. it would have turned into something different*." MP4 credited the strong leadership of MPCSLs behind every success of the MPCMT: *"I'm not sure if it was the model, or …. if it was because the strong women that are in our group are very adamant on the way we want to be treated and how our community should be treated."* MP4 continued highlighting their strong leadership factor:

> *It's the dynamic of the group (MPCSLs). I think because we're very consistent on the way that we approach each crisis, …. we're strategic …. we look out for the community, …. the person in crisis or the victim or anybody else who's involved in the situation, and we speak to the officers or …. whoever's here at the time with that same calm and consistent messaging …. we've been able to work together effectively through time because of the experience that we have.*

7.2.2.3. Effective Communication between Police and Mulgrave Park Residents (including MPCSLs)

Both MPCSLs and HRP1 believed that effective communication between police and Mulgrave Park residents (including MPCSLs) under the MPCMT has had a positive impact on the relationship-

building between police and MPCSLs. According to MP3, community residents and MPCSLs *"feel more comfortable approaching the officers to have a dialog*" following implementation of the MPCMT. MP4 said, community residents "*speak to us (MPCSLs), and we can we can arrange stuff, or they (community residents) will actually approach the police and have that conversation.*" In a written response, MP3 shared an experience where the MPCSLs efficiently communicated with police and others on behalf of the marginalized resident of Mulgrave Park where "*There was as man who was experiencing a mental health breakdown and was damaging private property while inflicting self-harm.*" In the same written response, MP3 wrote that MPCSLs communicated with police on behalf of the mother of that black man, suffering from a mental breakdown, which made her relieved for having MPCSLs deal on her behalf with police: "*Mom was so relieved she didn't have to deal with HRP alone."*

For HRP1, the MPCMT has improved communication between the CSLs and police: *"Improved communication ensures that reliable information is being communicated to community groups. Obviously, the immediate circle of response would be …. the central of CMT residents and it just provides an easier pathway for communication that's integral after a traumatic response."* MP4 mentioned the ability of MPCSLs to effectively communicate with community residents and service providers (including police): *"we are, you know, easygoing and we're able to communicate well, it works for the most part."* In a written response, MP1 credited improved communication for the positive change in the relationship between police and MPCSLs. "*There have been many times the police have come, and they spoke to the members of the team and explained what was going on so we then can inform the community.*"

As stated by the MPCSLs and HRP1, effective communication and cooperation are needed so conflicting information is not given and uniformity in the co-production of safety and related action is ensured. This generated, according to both MPCSLs and HRP1, composure and clarity

towards each other. To them, communication affects how MPCSLs experience the quality and effectiveness of the relationship-building process.

7.3. Theme Three: Obstacles to the Effective Relationships between Police and the MPCSLs and the Extent to which the MPCMT has Overcome these Obstacles

The MPCSLs indicated in their interviews how a productive relationship with the police is undermined by numerous obstacles and how the MPCMT has affected those obstacles. The obstacles identified in the research are grouped using the categories developed in the literature review and theoretical framework. For this section the obstacles are grouped into the following categories: (i) racism and negative perceptions and harassment of racialized residents in Mulgrave Park by police, (ii) lack of police legitimacy in Mulgrave Park, (iii) procedural injustice by police officers against people of African ancestry, (iv) lack of commitment by police to CCP and COP principles, (v) negative perceptions of police held by Mulgrave Park residents (in particular MPCSLs) and (vi) organizational obstacles: barriers erected by the CCPO (MPCMT). The discussion for each category includes how the research participants framed each obstacle and how the MPMCT has affected the obstacle (if any).

7.3.1. Racism, Negative Perceptions, and Harassment of Racialized Residents in Mulgrave Park by the Police Department

In the view of the MPCSLs interviewed, racism is infused in the HRP and racially motivated police attitudes and actions have a significant negative impact on police-MPCSLs working relations. In a written response, MP3 specifically mentioned that the negative "*perceptions*" and "*personal beliefs*" of people of the colour held by police officers work as a barrier to a better working relationship between the MPCSLs and police. In the same response, MP3 wrote that rampant "*racism,*" is often evident when police are dealing with African Nova Scotians and constitutes the biggest obstacle to a working relationship between Mulgrave Park community

members (including the MPCSLs) and the police. In a written response, MP3 said that institutional racism continues to exist in the province. "*I don't believe all officers are racist, but it's systemically entrenched in all our institutions here in Nova Scotia.*" MP3 elaborated writing:

> *Historically Mulgrave Park has been a predominant African Nova Scotian community since its opening as public housing in the late 1950s. Systemically people of African Nova Scotian descent have been dealing with a society meant to oppress them because of this many of the families of African descent have been in the community of Mulgrave Park for multiple generations and have never had the respect of service providers. The community has been complaining of mistreatment and abuse especially by HRP and EHS.*

In relation to the historical oppression and mistreatment of racialized residents in Mulgrave Park by police, MP4 said, "*historically, we've not as a community been treated the best; and essentially, we've been targeted, a lot of our young people have been targeted, a lot of our, our seniors and elders have been targeted just because of who their families are …. and because of the color of their skin."* MP3 said that the services providers *"historically treated community less than human a lot of times and did not offer the respect they deserve and require.*" MP4 cited one incident in which race and skin colour influenced police officers' preconceived action against Black people:

> *I can speak of an incident where the officers were running through here with rifles and they pulled out a young man that was just walking home to his house. If we (MPCSLs) were not there that could have turned into something that was unnecessary; because he fit the description of the Black male that they (police) were looking for.*

In response to the question of whether the MPCMT has helped overcome any negative perceptions that police may have of the community, MP1 said in a written response, "*it has helped*." MP2 also believed the MPCMT has "*helped*" but also indicated that police officers still have biases

towards Black people: "*I'm not gonna say it's totally taken away their negativity. It's, it's there, it's underlying, but they're just more cautious. I still think they have a perception and it's not going to go away.*" MP2 added that racism continues to exist among police but is "*hidden now because they are being held accountable for their actions… I'm not going to say it's [racism] gone."* MP2 continued, the police "*act right when they come in"* following the implementation of the MPCMT, "they *are just not displaying it (racism and negative perception)."* Further MP1 said, "*there has been a change in attitudes, I can say that but I am not fooled into believing there has been any overcoming in anything [racism].*"

In a written response MP3 noted that the MPCMT did not help overcome any negative perceptions that police may have of the community: "*By actions of responding officers they're no longer as overly aggressive or belligerent. But attitudes are subtle as is racism that has been entrenched in our society for so long.*" MP3 said that racially motivated police actions continue: "*these behaviors are not as blatant but watching actions and responses to incidents usually speak for themselves."* MP3 described how the racism is reflected in both police charges and court sentencing:

> *I believe prejudices are still present and so are the attitudes. I believe the evidence is in the types of charges they (police) impose on people in this community vs the same crime from other nonmarginalized communities. And sentences imposed on those found guilty in the same crime. They (police) often make an example out of us (longer and harder punishments for the same crime).*

MP3 asserted that the relationship between police and the Black community shall be obstructed "*until harassment and antiblack racist policing and community perceptions are dispelled and all service providers (including police) respond with some dignity and respect.*" MP3 also wrote, "*We are trying to change the narrative and perceptions of Mulgrave Park to municipal service providers (including police)* but "*a racist or a bigot cannot be changed overnight.*" In the same written

response, MP3 mentioned, "*The lack of support when asking for mobile mental health and the aggressive responses to our young Black males, shows we still have a ways to go when trying to help HRP see us regular people who need help the lens of perception has not changed yet.*"

MP4 specifically noted that MPCMT did not help overcome any negative perceptions that police may have of the community at large: *"I don't not really feel like it (MPCMT) has changed the perception (of police), we still get treated"* differently. MP4 agreed that a partnership between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs is not sufficient to overcome racism: "*racism is rampant in a lot of the service providers' outlook. So, unfortunately that's not something that we as a small group of CMT; yes we are wonderful people, and we do great work because we care about our community, but I think at the end of the day, it's so minute."* However, MP4 mentioned that the MPCMT helped overcome the negative perceptions that few police officers have of individual residents: *"I believe that we've, and not by everyone but by most of the officers that I have spoken to, we've changed some other perceptions on the people in this community."*

HRP1 substantiated MP4 saying that the opportunity to work with community residents and MPCSLs allowed the police to show "*how police really care about the community and are willing to work with them (MPCSLs) to make sure they have all the supports they need to restore cohesion, working together, and in getting those things done together*." Without specifically crediting MPCMT, MP2 responded differently, "*I do not know if it's the CMT or if they're just changing all over, I mean there's so much going on out there. I mean they're under they're under a microscope right now when it comes to anything and how they treat people so that could be part of it too."* Most importantly, MP4 believed that the improvement in the relationship between a few police officers working in Mulgrave Park and the MPCSLs is a reflection of the latter's status as community leaders and not necessarily the product of a more enlightened and less biased police officer. In a written response, MP1 substantiated MP4, "*If there has been any reduction it's not because of the CMT team, we may be communicating better …. and it should not be confused with*

anything pertaining to race relations." More specifically, in a written response, MP3 noted, "*The change in attitude amongst the majority of HRP officers responding to community has been overall better but only when we as CMT identify ourselves.*"

The MPCSLs also shared their thoughts on whether there has been a reduction of police harassment of community residents (including MPCSLs), such as racial profiling, following the implementation of the MPCMT. MP3 stated in a written response, "*If looking from the outside I would say yes; there has been a reduction in harassment. However, whenever talking to community members they claim the same types of behavior is still happening whenever there is an interaction with HRP."* For MP2, "*there has been a reduction in harassment. However, it's not only because I believe that they [police] feel there is people that are watching them making them accountable for their actions".*

MP3 expressed deep concern about police "*mistreatment*" of Mulgrave Park residents outside the community, which is racially motivated. *"We are still hearing many complaints of mistreatment and abuse of community members by HRP."* In a written response, MP1 said racism and harassment outside Mulgrave Park is something the improved communication between MPCSLs and police does not address, "*Community members can be harassed outside of the community and we would have no way of knowing.*" For example, the minutes of a monthly meeting of the MPCMT dated 24 June 2020 recorded two incidents of police stops on 7 June 2020 of African Nova Scotians residents of Mulgrave Park (a black woman and a black youth) outside the community that may have involved racial profiling. For the first incident, the minutes read, *"Black woman returning from Africville prayer protest was approached by 5 police near Bethel church, incident escalated physically, DCS has been involved. No indication of use of force in police report, two supervisors were on scene, Mobile Mental Health and Children's Aid were both referred."* In the second incident, the minutes indicate *"Two 14-year-old Black boys en route to Chocolate Lake*

were stopped by police, asked about a missing 17-year-old girl. A day later, one of the boys was stopped again on Union Street and asked about the girl again."

In sum, the MPCSLs agreed racism is institutionalized in the Nova Scotian CJS and, in police specifically, which is reflected in the negative perceptions that police hold of the Black community as well as racial profiling and other discriminatory and harassing police practices. The MPCSLs admitted that the kind of hostile relationship between police and Black people influences the quality of their working relationship. Because racism is deeply ingrained in the existing system it cannot be scaled back merely through improved partnerships between individual police officers and local MPCSLs. In other words, a partnership based on personalized interaction tends to change the attitudes of police officers working closely with the community; however, such interaction does not have any impact on the perception of racialized residents of Mulgrave Park held by police departments. The MPCSLs observed a moderate reduction of harassment of Black residents in Mulgrave Park following the implementation of the MPCMT program in incidents in which they were present. However, MPCSLs said that they received numerous reports of harassment of Mulgrave Park residents in the absence of MPCSLs both within and outside the community.

7.3.2. Lack of Police Legitimacy in Mulgrave Park

According to MPCSLs, racism by police undermines their lack of legitimacy in the eyes of Black people and this lack police legitimacy, in turn, acts as a barrier to the co-production of safety between police and MPCSLs. The MPCSLs noted that police suffer from want of legitimacy in Mulgrave Park. For example, MP2 said that "*the greatest challenges are some of the officers themselves, and how they actually treat some of our residents, and especially the younger people*." MP3 wrote in a written response that "*community members are very reluctant to call and report police officers for anything maltreatment, abuse of authority, being overly aggressive physically mentally and verbally*."

In the written response, MP3 also noted that one of the greatest obstacles or challenges to effective collaboration between the Mulgrave Park community and the police is the unwanted "*action*" taken by police, which is fueled by racism. MP3 shared the following experience regarding the police department and the existence of street checks to exemplify how systematic police racism undermines their legitimacy within racialized SDNs:

> *Recently when addressing concerns of community members and their experiences with harassment from Halifax Regional Police (HRP) it was disheartening to hear from an inspector to say I do not have a report of that so in our eyes it did not happen. My response was how many officers record their interactions that are truthful when they're violating rights and harassing community members based on their own personal beliefs, biases, discrimination etc.*

In a written response, PSO1 noted how procedural injustice can damage police legitimacy: "*In my opinion it is a lack of trust and harsh treatment (real or perceived) of residents in the past by Police. There have been instances in regards to police response/or lack of response that have contributed to the mistrust community has in law enforcement."* Similarly, in a written response, MP3 indicated that an unjust action from an individual police officer can also serve to undermine police legitimacy, saying: *"there are those officers that we do have to make that call and speak to their superiors about their behavior."*

The MPCSLs spoke about their view of police legitimacy after implementing the MPCMT program. According to the response of all MPCSLs, when police act according to the principles of procedural justice with African Nova Scotians in Mulgrave Park, the MPCSLs' confidence in the police is elevated. MP3 believed the police are less aggressive within Mulgrave Park to deal with a situation even in violent incidents due to a mutual understanding between police and MPCSLs. MP4 said, "*once they (police) interact with us I think that changes the way they see things because we're able to communicate some things about our community and the people that are in this community.*" Similarly, MP2 reported that the community residents comparatively are *"more*

comfortable" with police officers working in Mulgrave Park following the implementation of the MPCMT program. HRP1 cheerfully mentioned that he *"felt really good"* from the interactions of community residents after he returned back to Mulgrave Park from emergency covid duty, and confidently affirmed that he noticed police legitimacy among community residents following the implementation of the MPCMT program in Mulgrave Park. According to HRP1, "*years ago, there might be families in that community who were, you know, afraid to call the police; so, I think sitting on the CMT team has allowed me to bridge that gap and be more accessible to the community, and to be more trusted, and to be a point of contact.*"

Lack of police legitimacy in Mulgrave Park contributes to the poor relationship between police and MPCSLs. Malicious actions from a few officers are highly likely to undermine police legitimacy even further in a racialized community. This can eventually have a negative effect on the relationship between police and MPCSLs. If the police legitimacy is enhanced in Mulgrave Park, the police and MPCSLs can have higher chances for the co-production of safety.

7.3.3. Procedural Injustice by Police Officers Against People of African Ancestry

Central to improving police-SDNs relations is procedural justice by police departments that ultimately tend to shape CSLs' view of police as a legitimate agent of the state to co-produce safety. Some MPCSLs complained that the co-production of safety can be difficult due to the lack of procedural justice towards Black people. For MPCSLs, the police do not adhere to procedurally fair practices when dealing with black people, which can undermine the relationship between police and MPCSLs. In a written response, MP3 mentioned "*bias*" and "*discrimination*" as the foundation for procedural injustices and obstacles to an effective partnership between the MPCSLs and police.

MP2 despairingly reported a few incidents of procedural injustice by police to racialized people: "*I have actually seen them (police) slam people, be very rough with young boys, even older gentlemen, and especially our young black boys here. I have seen where they have been extremely*

aggressive with him for no reason." MP2 reported that the police do not "*try to negotiate"* with African Nova Scotians and often react aggressively without taking any step to resolve any issue amicably: "*very simple things, and I do not find why they're so quick to jump on them, they will try to negotiate whatever first, before they have to react."* MP2 disparagingly said, *"It's been a problem, really has been a big problem here; I have seen some, some bad reactions from the police."* Similarly, in a written response, MP3 reported incidence of aggressive actions against a Black family during a dispute between a Black and white family in Mulgrave Park:

> *The police responded with snipers at the front and back door of the home and arrested the nephews and the friend without finding any evidence of forced entry or a weapon and with many community members saying they were drinking and talking around a bonfire in the backyard. Police put an automatic assault rifle in the face of a 15-year-old that lives at the home that came downstairs to come to the back door un-announced to the situation…. Heavy police presence stayed in the community for at least 18 hours. Until the(y) got a search warrant for the address and the least holder said the(y) found nothing but a toy gun that belongs to one of her sons (ages 5 and 7).*

According to MP4, "*sometimes officers, especially when they're getting when they're getting calls about, may be, guns or weapons they they're very abrupt and they come running through our community with, you know, rifles, and it's scary.*" Similarly, in a written response, MP3 mentioned, "*Police fear us, it shows in the response to community the high-power weapons, way too many responding officers to not so serious incidents."* MP4 corroborated MP3: "*when they (police) come in, they (police) are coming in on a call that is possibly negative, and they (police) do not know what they (police) are getting into and they (police) come in here sometimes a bit aggressive.*"

Nevertheless, MP1, MP2, MP3, and MP4 believed the relationship between the community (MPCSLs in particular) and police has changed under the MPCMT because it has enhanced police officers' commitment to procedural justice. In a written response, MP3 reported, "*interaction with HRP is not as rude and belligerent as before CMT met with watch commanders and made our presence known.*" MP2 echoed this saying, "*They're more respectful. All over they're little bit more respectful and they're little less apt to jump the guns, …. they're little more cautious when they come in and how they respond to a situation."*

The MPCSLs reported that increased accountability by police to MPCSLs following the implementation of the MPCMT is one reason for an increase in procedural justice. For example, in a written response, MP3 mentioned that the police officers tried to be procedurally fair because they could be held liable for any unfair practice in Mulgrave Park: "*Police know they're being watched and will be held accountable for their actions, so most members of the HRP come in here on their best behavior.*" Similarly, MP2 said that MPCSLs are rating every action of the police officers, and the police officers could be scrutinized by their superiors for any unjust actions: "*they (police) now know that there are eyes on them and that there is someone there as a voice for the community …. they know that when they come in here they know they're being watched, …. what they (police) do and how they (police) treat people."* In a written response, MP3 corroborated MP2, "*Police will know when they talk to us they will be accountable for the personal actions. When responding police have the opportunity to talk us, they recognize our role instead of threatening us to get back or go to jail."*

Most importantly, in a written response, MP3 stated, "*since police know we've a CMT in Mulgrave Park. (p)olice now come in stealth mode even during a report of a violent incident such as men armed with guns reportedly committed a violent home invasion with a gun placed at a woman head allegedly.*" Similarly, MP2 mentioned, "*There's been a couple of instances with the younger boys where the police have come in and they're able to negotiate with them."*

In sum, an aggressive response by police in Mulgrave Park undermines procedural justice for community residents and can put the relationship between police and MPCSLs at risk. The MPCSLs believe that the MPCMT has contributed to greater levels of procedural justice for and fair treatment of African Nova Scotians locally, in part because of the increased accountability of police to the community; that is, the MPCMT has allowed the MPCSLs more opportunity to keep a watchful eye over the police. The increased accountability and elevated commitment to procedural justice, in turn, increase their joint ability to work together collaboratively.

7.3.4. Lack of Commitment by Police to CCP and COP Principles

Some MPCSLs said that in general there are plenty of opportunities for police to increase their commitment to and implementation of CCP and COP principles in Mulgrave Park but are not undertaken. MP2 said that the police did not spend enough time in Mulgrave Park outside of reactive law enforcement and criminal situations and failed to make the best use of the community office. MP2 added with frustration that community police officers spend a small percentage of time in the community office. For MP2, the community office is not "*used properly"* and "*the hours that of operation there don't suit this community; we've asked many times for those hours to be changed with nothing.*"

Some MPCSLs insisted there are insufficient proactive, voluntary contacts between community members and police (outside of calls for service) to effectively co-produce public safety in Mulgrave Park. MP1 believed that lack of voluntary contact and positive experience during calls for service and other law enforcement scenarios may obstruct the collaboration between the MPCSLs and police. In a written response, MP1 reported: "*they do not know us, and we do not know them.*" Similarly, MP4 emphasized the necessity of more meetings with police outside of calls for service "*to know what our role is, how we can help them, ... how they can approach our*

community better…. It will be so much more beneficial for us and for the community if we had a better working relationship."

However, the MPCSLs have noticed some positive changes in police interaction with community residents following the implementation of MPCMT. MP4 reported that the implementation of the MPCMT helps community residents to confidently talk to police officers working in Mulgrave Park: *"community members are not afraid to speak up now (to police) and be able to say when things are happening, whereas before they (community residents) wouldn't say a word.*" MP2 added a personal positive experience: "*just the fact that we went to the police station and met all the commanders and things and just getting to know them on a more personal basis. Them knowing what we're here for, and what we stand for and who we are. I think it's a good thing. It helped to strengthen the relationship."* In a written response, MP1 wrote, police "*talk to us more and their manner has changed as well for the good.*" MP2 reported an "*excellent experience*" with police who were "*respectful and very supportive*." MP2 said, "*I know I have come out a couple of times and they (police) have been walking around and once they know that you are from the CMT, they'll stop, they'll talk, you know they'll let you know that will assure you what's going on even just the most simplest thing."* HRP1 agreed with the comments of the MPCSLs: "*just engaging with the community members, not only in the CMT as a CMT member but as a CRO [Community Relation Officer] just getting to know them on a personal level, engaging with them on a daily basis, I think it bridges the gap with, for sure, and, and helps improve relations."* MP1 acknowledged that constant changes in the CROs and other police officers may undermine productive relations with community members and the CSLs "*I also know that there has been a lot of changeover.*" In a written response, PSO1 mentioned: *"relationship-building is ongoing as people come and leave positions/organizations … CMT members and some community members feel comfortable with the CRO's that they see in the community but not with others that just come in when there is a disturbance."*

The increased accountability of police to Mulgrave Park community members is also reflective of an increased commitment by the HRP to CCP and COP, according to the MPCSLs interviewed. In the telephone interview, MP4 stated that the CSLs felt more empowered, since the implementation of the MPCMT: "*we feel like we've a say in what happens in our community instead of policing, coming in and doing the job that they do."* MP2 reported, "*I just feel that there were a couple of incidents where basically the CMT were able to ensure that the police did not act aggressively."*

HRP1 corroborated this from a police viewpoint saying that the co-production of safety initiatives between MPCSLs and front-line police officers is bridging the gap between police and community at large. In a telephone interview, HRP1 said, "*I can be a consistent point of contact with residents of Mulgrave Park and they trust to reach out to me directly and I sort of serve as a consistent point of contact for them and their concerns, and their needs."* HRP1 believed the MPCMT has helped "*improve communication*" between police and MPCSLs. For HRP1, it has also led to an improved *"response time*" by police which has made "*things more efficient."* "*We're working together to make sure that we're restoring cohesion as quickly as possible*", according to HRP1. HRP1 strongly believed that the MPCMT is "*helping bridge that gap*" between CSLs and police. In a similar fashion, PSO1 said in a written response, "*CMT members have stated that police are more open to allowing them (MPCSLs) help diffuse a situation if there is no present danger.*" In the same written response, PSO1 also affirmed the positive effect of voluntary contact between police and community residents (including MPCSLs) in Mulgrave Park.

The MPCSLs also believed that working in collaboration with police helps the police officers understand the Mulgrave Park community better. MP2 said, "*I do think that they do have a better understanding of the community. They know who's here, and they know what we expect, and what won't be tolerated. So, that in all does have a positive effect …. I just think it has built a better relationship.*" MP4 said, police officers in Mulgrave Park *"respect us more, and because now they know who to look for are those that do come in here that understand, they know who we are, when*

we approach them." In a telephone conversation as a follow-up to the initial interview, MP4 said, MPCSLs can use the MPCMT as an *"an empowerment piece*" and "*a better platform"* to build better "*understanding with police."* MP2 corroborated MP4 saying that the MPCMT helped develop a better understanding with the police. MP4 commented, *"I feel like it makes police more aware that the community is now involved in the assisting on the crisis and supporting the victims."*

Nevertheless, despite the implementation of the MPCMT, a few areas still needed to be improved to show the strong commitment of police to CCP and COP. In a telephone interview as a follow-up to the initial interview, MP4 mentioned that police still do not utilize the local MPCMT: "*sometimes like we're not really involved, even though they know, the police know that there is a CMT.*" The MPCSLs believed that the voluntary interactions between police and MPCSLs should be increased even more to enhance their ability to work together more productively. In addition, highlighting the lack of diversity in the HRP, MP3 wrote in a written response that African Nova Scotians *"are often bypassed when it comes to promotions, there have been articles about it.*"

All the research participants agreed that the MPCMT program has helped bridge the gap between police and the community (in particular MPCSLs) while also empowering community members to assume more responsibility for community safety, which are key elements of both COP and CCP. The research participants indicated that the MPCMT has contributed somewhat to increased voluntary contact between community residents (including MPCSLs) and police, which, in turn, has helped improve the partnership between police and MPCSLs and has had a positive impact on the co-production of safety. The partnership between police and MPCSLs has also been facilitated by the positive experience of MPCSLs in involuntary contacts. However, there is still room for police to improve their community policing duties, such as holding consistent community policing office hours that are convenient for community members.

7.3.5. Negative Perceptions of Police held by Mulgrave Park Residents

As discussed, for the most part, the relationship between police and African Nova Scotians in Mulgrave Park has been characterized by MPCSLs as involving mistrust, conflict, and discrimination. MP4 commented in a follow-up telephone interview that MPCMT has not helped overcome negative perceptions of police held by the African Nova Scotians in Mulgrave Park: "*I don't feel that it (MPCMT) changes my perception of the police."* MP2 noted, "*I still do not feel our young people have any kind of relationship or comfortable feeling with them [police] at all.*"

On the other hand, few MPCSLs did say that the MPCMT has slightly helped them overcome some of the negative perceptions they have of police. When asked if the MPCMT did help to overcome her own negative perceptions of police, MP1's written response was "*yes I do.*" However, MP2 said, *"I still have some negative views; I do feel things are getting better but, no, I can't say it has changed, in my views."* With that said, MP4 reported that MPCMT *"doesn't change my perception, but it gives me a better awareness of how to be able to deal with and respond to police*." In a written response, MP3 expressed a different belief: "*I do not have any negative perceptions of anyone one or anything. I believe everyone gets a clean slate they create their own narrative based on their behavior and actions, than they're treated accordingly."*

HRP1 said he noticed positive changes in the attitudes of the Mulgrave Park residents (including MPCSLs) saying, "*being a part of the CMT I think the big, the big contributing factor there to improving attitude, is that you're working in a team environment with organizations, but also with residents of the community. ... Residents of Mulgrave Park really appreciate the work the police are doing in the community.*" In a written response, PSO1 agreed, "*I believe they [Mulgrave Park Residents and MPCSLs] have been able to speak with Police and tell them the emotional and mental toll that police actions have on community. They have made it more personal and real for the officers.*"

In sum, the potential for an effective working relationship between police and MPCSLs is compromised by the perceived long-standing negative perceptions of police held by African Nova Scotians. MP1, HRP, and PSO1 said the MPCMT has had a positive impact on their police. Conversely, MP2 and MP4 said that the MPCMT program did not have any impact on their perceptions, but it did help to build a better mutual understanding that is necessary to work together.

7.3.6. Organizational Obstacles: Barriers erected by CCPOs (MPCMT)

This section discusses some of the obstacles to a more effective working relationship between police and the MPCSLs that stem from the shortcomings of the MPCMT itself.

One organizational issue related to the MPCMT is the ambiguous nature of what role should be played by MPCSLs and what should be played by service providers (including police) in a crisis. In a written response, MP1 stated that MPCMT failed to create "*an understanding of the role of the CMT*" members and develop "*a clear plan with direction for the team.*" MP2 discussed incidents in which there was a lack of clarity regarding their own role, saying: "*it wasn't as clear as what the role should be"* and "*a different role was taken on, probably was more taken on than should have been.*" MP2 also mentioned how the minimal number of community members on the MPCMT may undermine an effective working relationship with police in a crisis. MP2 referred to one critical incident in which only one MPCSL was able to attend the scene: *"one was a situation where a resident was having a mental health crisis and had injured himself and they [police] had to approach him, and the whole team wasn't there. I think it was only one person from the team, and I guess it (critical incident) wasn't responded to as well."* A well-defined and mutual understanding of the different roles and expectations of CSLs contributes to an effective integrated response. However, both the police and MPCSLs appear to be unclear of their roles and responsibilities under the MPCMT during crisis situations. This lack of defined roles, especially in crisis situations, can further undermine an effective working relationship between CSLs and police. This organizational

problem is compounded by a lack of community members who are active on the MPCMT. The MPCSLs believed that the MPCMT has not yet been able to address these organizational obstacles.

Another organizational problem mentioned by the MPCSLs was that there are too few service providing organizations in the MPCMT. One of the goals of the MPCMT is to bring all relevant service providers under the same umbrella to respond to critical incidents and their aftermath efficiently and effectively. The Community Mobilization Team Model and Implementation Guidelines notes, "The more groups identified and engaged, the higher likelihood of reaching all residents in the wake of a critical incident" (Halifax Regional Council, 2019, Attachment-2, p. 2). Some of those interviewed criticized the MPCMT for failing to bring all service providers to the table in serving Mulgrave Park.

MP4 noted that the bureaucratic red tape that has accompanied the partnership approach of the MPCMT undermines the efficient and effective community work of the MPCSLs: *"I think that now we have more channels to go through. I think that's an obstacle in itself, before it was just us as a group doing the things that we needed to do, having the contacts that we have, and having the network of people in those services that help us do the work. Now there's a middleman, so like, we've to go through someone else to make sure it's okay to do this, it's a barrier in itself."*

Additionally, MP4 reported problems in receiving timely support from some service providers, saying the MPCSLs *"don't have the follow-up. It's as if like we're asking questions and we're getting generic answers."* MP4 indicated that this lack of a timely response of service providers is an impediment to the MPCSL's relationship with them: *"we really are concerned about the people in our community and what's happening in our community, and we wouldn't ask questions to these providers or service providers, if we weren't serious about how can we help, how can we prevent, how can we assist, because that's essentially what our role is."* MP4 further mentioned, *"there's been a number of crises in the community where we've had to beg pretty much to ask a service provider to come in."*

Finally, at least one MPCSL expressed frustration that the operation of MPCMT is often affected by the tendency of service providers to overexercise power and their failure to adopt measures to encourage the involvement of CSLs in the decision-making process. MP3 said that racism many have a part to play in asymmetrical relations that undervalues the power and input of the CSLs. In a written response, MP3 said "*All CMT members except for one woman are of African Nova Scotian descent and often treated as second class members of society by service providers."*

In sum, the MPCSLs identified a number of obstacles stemming from the implementation and operation of the MPCMT. This includes the ambiguous nature of the roles played by MPCSLs in crisis situations, the limited number of MPCSLs, the limited number of service-providing organizations in the MPCMT, bureaucratic red tape that undermines the efficient and effective contributions of the CSLs, a lack of timely support from some service providers, and asymmetrical power relations between the service providers and the CSLs.

7.4. Theme Four: Recommendations (from Research Participants) for a more Effective Implementation of the MPCMT Program (and a Better Working Relationship between Police and MPCSLs)

The final set of questions sought recommendations from the research participants (primarily the CSLs in Mulgrave Park) on what can be done to build a better working relationship between police and the MPCSLs both within and outside of the mandate and operations of the MPCMT.

7.4.1. Eradicating Racism, Discrimination and Removing Negative Perceptions of Racialized People held by Police

MPCSLs urged that racism and discrimination against African Nova Scotians, by police and Nova Scotian and Canadian society at large, must be acknowledged and eradicated. MP4 believed that to overcome racism structural and systematic changes are necessary: "*It has to be something that has*

to be broken down systemically." For MP2, this includes a more intensive effort by the HRP and the Halifax Regional Municipality to address racist policing: "*The whole city as a whole needs to work on everything. The racism and harassment is still there. I feel it's hidden now because they're [police] being held accountable for their actions. But …. we've long way to go in order to make things right."* In a written response MP3 pointed, *"The problem is that the system has always been more harmful than helpful and community members have a history of being dismissed and their problems never followed up on. So any progress is a good step in the right direction."* In the same written response, MP3 identified a few specific issues within the HRP that must be addressed:

> *HRP over the years, come to community with the facade of changing to help eradicate the problem with some intersectionality however they're blind to their privilege that ends up trying to support a group they're helping to oppress….I believe work needs to be done within the department itself. Why are so few African Nova Scotian officers being promoted? ... When colleges are openly racist they are often not held accountable for their actions not in the past anyways. I do not believe all officers are racist but it is systemically entrenched in all our institutions here in Nova Scotia.*

In sum, for the MPCSLs, building or improving relationships with African Nova Scotians by police must begin with a more concerted effort and commitment by the HRP to eradicate racism and discrimination within the police force.

7.4.2. Involving more Service Providing Organizations in the MPCMT

As mentioned, one of the goals of the MPCMT is to bring together as many relevant service providers to respond to critical incidents and their aftermath collaboratively. The MPCSLs and HRP1 believed that involving more service providers in the MPCMT can generate additional resources and support different community development activities in Mulgrave Park, which will

lead to a more collaborative, concerted and successful approach to community safety. According to MP4, "*there's a number of different services that we could be utilizing here within the community to do some prevention."* HRP1 substantiated MP4's recommendations for involving other service providers in MPCMT, saying: "*I think having more organizations in the community … provide more resources to … traumatic responses and incidents, so, having more organizations getting involved with the CMT, it would help … make things much easier; … help bring the communities closer together."* MP3 strongly believed that the MPCMT should be bigger in number and include other service providers and residents as team members. In a written response, MP3 reported, "*we could use a bigger CMT with more members and fresh new ideas spread through-out the community evenly.*"

In sum, the MPCSLs and HRP1 believed that involving other service-providing organizations in MPCMT will produce more resources for MPCMT to address a critical incident in Mulgrave Park which ultimately will foster the police-MPCSLs relations. MP3 additionally realized to increase the number of MPCSLs in MPCMT which eventually will support the relationship between police and MPCSLs.

7.4.3. Increasing Informal Presence of Community Policing Officer in Community and Community Office and Ensure More Frequent Voluntary Contact Between Police and MPCLS in Non-Criminal Situations

The MPCSLs criticized the limited presence of community resource officers in Mulgrave Park, their lack of interaction with MPCSLs and community members outside of calls for service, and the lack of staffing and consistent hours of the community policing office. According to MP4, "*we do have a community police office here that we rarely see officers, I mean, here during after hours, I mean, it would be nice to be able to know that people actually want to come in our community and they care about our community as officers, or as service providers."* MP4 also spoke about the

level of dedication the MPCSLs want from police and other service providers in terms of spending time in Mulgrave Park, saying: "*if we get a call today at like 5 am in the morning, we're up and about and ready to go, even though we have families, so there's things that we as CMT (MPCSLs) are dedicating and committing, I'd hope that other service providers that come into our community will do the same."* In a written response MP2 said that "*community liaison officers need to be more present"* and that the community office hours operation needs to be expanded to suit the needs of residents. MP3 believed that Mulgrave Park needs "*better community policing*" and that "*the community officers should be available on a schedule where community would need them the most. Not a Monday to Friday 9–5 schedule. It would help curb a lot of community violence and officers could better understand the community.*"

The MPCSLs also recommended more informal interaction between police and Mulgrave Park residents (including MPCSLs) outside of crisis situations and calls for service generally. The informal presence is most important for new officers to enhance relationship-building with community members and the CSLs. MP1 mentioned in a written response, "*we would need to know them better and they would need to know us better.*" Similarly, MP2 said, "*what I feel requires is that the police be present here more on community basis, not as police actual police office, but involved in the community*" MP2 recommended that the community policing office in Mulgrave Park to play *"a more positive role and the police needs to be seen here in a more relaxed and more positive way.*" MP4 recommended increasing the "*visibility"* of police in Mulgrave Park in the noncriminal situation: "*Just like any other service provider, if you (police) are here, enough; if you (police) are able to be a part of some of the activities that we're part of, in a positive light, that we've, we've a number of things that happen in our community that we do not necessarily need police to come here.*" MP4 further emphasized the importance of maintaining frequent voluntary contact with police officers by MPCSLs, saying: *"Just be in their company and let them know who we are."*

In sum, the MPCSLs highlighted the importance of a greater presence of HRP community resource officers in the community, increased voluntary contact between police on the one hand, and community members and MPCSLs on the other, and increased hours for the community policing office. All of these improvements would have a significant impact on improving their working relationship.

7.4.4. Relationship-building by MPCSLs with Mulgrave Park Residents to Enhance the Legitimacy of the MPCMT

MPCSLs recognized that in addition to greater police-initiated outreach to community members, the MPCSLs also need to make more of an effort to reach out to Mulgrave Park residents to raise awareness of and enhance the legitimacy of the MPCMT. This can also help MPCSLs better gauge the impact of the MPCMT program in Mulgrave Park. MP2 believed, "*I still think we've a lot of work to do with the actual community itself, just with the trust factor things [between MPCSLs and community residents], but that will come with time*." Similarly, MP4 said, MPCSLs *"as a part of the community just needs to be more visible on not just crisis times."* In a written response, MP3 struck a similar tone when stating, we still have more work to do for "*convincing the community, we do not report to police that we are community members just like them, having the police respect our role, they never ask for us they just tolerate us*." In a telephone interview as a follow up to the initial interview, MP4 elaborated, *"doing the work in the community is what we do as a community especially in a small community like ours, …. it's just about the relationships you have with people, instead of …. the policing forces on it."*

As the MPCMT continues to evolve, better communications and relationship-building between local MPCSLs and community members are vital to maintaining the legitimacy of the MPCMT and increase the involvement of community residents in the co-production of safety.

7.4.5. Building Relationship with other Communities

MP2 discussed the importance of building relationships with other racialized communities to pursue common goals in community safety and development. According to MP2, "*we should have more of a relationship with outside communities, but we've to more work on that.*" MP2 elaborated how the MPCSLs can take the lead in such cooperative efforts to empower racialized communities especially in working with police: *"Because there are strength in communities, so if all the communities are working together to build a relationship with the police, it helps each community. I know that the CMT is working with other communities and I think that is where the strength lies."* MP2 believed that close relationships with other local racialized communities help strengthen their collective voice and helps them better address issues of common concern. For MP2, the MPCMT should take the lead and develop a strong network of racialized communities to address common concerns.

7.4.6. Police Sharing of Information Proactively with MPCSLs

Some MPCSLs recommended that the police contact the MPCSLs before undertaking any operations in crisis situations. For example, MP1 explained, "*if they (police) told us something serious was happening, we could make sure people get the kids in the house, so that was the main .... goal for the CMT team in terms of working with the police."* In the telephone interview as a follow-up to the initial written interview, MP1 said, "*when they [police] come into our community, they would at least, if we ask, let us know why they are here so that way we could protect mainly the children in the community."* In a written response, MP3 said, "*lack of information or sometimes only partial information to an incident or event is very damaging,"* given the distrust community members may have of police. MP4 said, "*if we had a heads up beforehand, or was able to kind of give people a little note … it might change how they're [police] able to do their investigation.*"

In sum, both MP1 and MP4 believed that an advance notification by police to MPCSLs in Mulgrave Park will ensure the safety of the vulnerable population in the community. The bigger issue is ongoing communication and information sharing between police and the CSLs during and outside of crisis situations. Some MPCSLs and HRP1 recognized that there should be greater communication and sharing of information between police and the local CSLs. HRP1 agreed that information sharing with key partners is crucial to creating safe neighbourhoods and developing trust between police and MPCSLs: *"The sharing of information is imperative, and integral to the success of the CMT… it is really the driving force behind the CMT."*

7.4.7. Continuing Funding, Extending Program Implementation, Providing Training to MPCSLs, and Dedicating Office Space for the MPCMT

MPCSLs believed that continuing funding for the MPCMT program is important for successfully implementing all the community safety and professional development initiatives currently in progress in Mulgrave Park. Highlighting the importance of funding, MP2 said, *"the ongoing funding, if the funding was to cut, it's almost like a waste of time for what we've done.*" Additionally, MP4 emphasized the significant role of training for MPCSLs, "*There's a number of members (MPCSLs) that could use a bit more training they could have, you know, an understanding of trauma and violence, there's a number of pieces that we could be utilizing more and be getting more information on."* Moreover, MP2 emphasized the importance of allowing more time for the MPCMT to evolve to realize success: "*I don't think there's really anything stopping us from achieving the goals. It's just requires time and patience and work.*" One of the MPCSLs felt that the MPCMT needed its own office space which would have a significant impact on their success. In a written response, MP3 mentioned the necessity of "*having a place of our own to meet, organized and prepared to support community."*

7.4.8. Providing Incentives to MPCSLs for their Volunteering Hours and Recruiting Mulgrave Park Residents in Positions with Service Providers that Participate in the MPCMT

MPCSLs recognized that incentives could have a positive impact on the satisfaction of volunteers and encourage productivity. For example, MP4 said, while that MPCSLs serve voluntarily out of their love for Mulgrave Park, there should be some remuneration in place to motivate the MPCSLs: *"they (MPCSLs) have been doing it because they care about the community but when money comes into play when it comes from, you know, governments and federal pockets in the set the other. I think the only, the right thing to do would be to allocate it to those who are actually doing the work, and not the people behind the scenes."*

MP4 noted that the MPCSLs participating in the MPCMT are not compensated for their work which hinders a successful implementation of the MPCMT: "*Volunteering is great, but people are doing this on a regular basis. It's not something that like you know you can put hours to or you can put time served on or like, it's, it's a time-consuming position that we hold because we care about our community, but I think we should at least get some type of compensation for the work that we do."* Similarly, in a telephone interview as a follow-up to the initial written response, MP4 recommended, *"I think, when funding comes in, in any form for our community for this particular thing, it should be going right back to the community."*

MP1 also argued that Mulgrave Park residents should be recruited for and placed in paid positions within the service providers involved in the MPCMT. In a follow-up telephone interview, MP1 elaborated, *"All of the people who are working in paid positions should be from the community. Because as it's as it's designed right now we've people that are at the team, who never even heard of this community until this, until they got these nice paid positions."* In the same telephone interview, MP1 said, *"if anyone should be getting paid, maybe it should be these people from the community who have done this kind of work forever."*

In sum, the MPCSLs believed that providing incentives to them for their involvement in the MPCMT would result in their higher engagement and therefore increase community safety. MPCSLs also believed that as much as possible residents from Mulgrave Park should be employed in positions with service providers that participate in the MPCMT (including police and other HRM business units).

7.5. Summary of Findings

The research findings have documented important information regarding the barriers to an effective relationship between police and the MPCSLs. From the perspective of the MPCSLs, much of these barriers are rooted in ongoing institutionalized racism within the HRP. The MPCMT has had some impact on fostering a better working relationship between the local MPCSLs and police although the MPCSLs acknowledge that much more needs to be done to eradicate the systemic racism. Apart from this systemic issue, the MPCSLs made numerous recommendations that they believe would have a tangible impact on improving the functioning of the MPCMT and the relationship between themselves and the police. The next chapter discusses and analyzes in more detail the findings regarding the impact of the MPCMT as viewed through the scholarly literature and theoretical framework specifically.

8. Chapter Eight: Discussion and Analysis

This section examines the research findings to explore whether the implementation of the MPCMT co-production safety model has resulted into a productive working relationship between police and MPCSLs. To this end, the following research questions are addressed: (i) What are the perceptions of and satisfaction with the HRP held by MPCSLs? (ii) What are the main obstacles to productive relations between MPCSLs and the HRP from the perspective of MPCSLs? (iii) To what extent has the MPCMT affected the perceptions of and satisfaction with the HRP by MPCSLs? (iv) To what extent has the MPCMT helped overcome barriers that obstruct a productive relationship between MPCSLs and the HRP? (v) To what extent has the MPCMT fostered better relationships between MPCSLs and the HRP?

This chapter approaches these questions by discussing and analyzing the research findings within the context of the theoretical principles proposed by the CCP and COP frameworks, and, more specifically, the literature concerning how the implementation of a partnership-based crime prevention initiative may lead to a productive working relationship between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs. There is some agreement in the extant literature that partnerships between police and local communities is the foundation of the co-production of community safety (Crawford, 1997; Rosenbaum, 2002; Berry et al., 2011; Schneider, 2015). There is also evidence from empirical studies to support the effectiveness of a partnership-based CCP and COP program as a basis to enhance community safety (Bennett & Lavrakas, 1989; Wo et al., 2016; Sharkey et al., 2017; Nilson, 2014; 2015; 2016; Wo, 2016; 2018; 2019; Telep & Hibdon, 2018; Schaible et al. 2021). While it is beyond the goal and scope of this study to measure the impact of the MPCMT on crime, police call for service, and critical incidents in Mulgrave Park, the findings do support a promising prospect of MPCMT in fostering partnerships between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs. With that said, the findings of this study are not sufficient enough to conclude that the result supports the

theoretical and empirical literature on the importance of partnership in enhancing the delivery of community safety measures.

8.1. Obstacles to the Co-production of Safety Between Police and MPCSLs

This study found that a working relationship between police and MPCSLs can be obstructed by more than one barrier. These barriers originate in police departments, community traits and police-MPCSLs relations. This section analyzes the research with respect to the following obstacles to an effective relationship between police and the MPCSLs: (i) racism, negative perceptions, and harassment of racialized residents in Mulgrave Park by police, (ii) lack of police legitimacy in Mulgrave Park, (iii) procedural injustice by police officers against people of African ancestry, (iv) lack of commitment by police to CCP and COP principles (v) organizational obstacles stemming from the MPCMT itself and (vi) perceptions of and attitudes toward police by MPCSLs.

8.1.1. Racism and Harassment of Racialized Residents in Mulgrave Park by Police

Racism by police represents the most severe impairment to the police-MPCSLs relationship in Mulgrave Park, according to MPCSLs, due to its role in unequal treatment and harassment of African Nova Scotians at the hands of police officers. The study also confirmed that the inextricable impact of systemic racism ingrained in police departments limits the prospect of improving what at times can be an antagonistic relationship between police and the CSLs in Mulgrave Park. Past studies support the finding of this study that racial profiling by police and the unnecessary use of force is much higher against African Nova Scotians and within racialized SDNs (Fitzgerald et al., 2004; Savoie et al., 2006; Wallace et al., 2006; Kitchen, 2006; Andresen & Brantingham, 2007; Charron, 2008; Savoie, 2008a; Savoie, 2008b; Charron, 2009). Specifically, the results of this study corroborate research by Wortley (2019) who finds that in Halifax Black people are subject to street checks at six times the rate of white people. Some scholars also assert that racism can alienate African Nova Scotians from police, lose trust in them and demotivate them from the co-production

of safety (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Sherman, 2002; Roberts, 2004; Walle, 2009; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Salvatore et al., 2013). This suggests that the relationship-building between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs for the co-production of safety is a delicate process requiring intensified efforts from police to heal and earn the trust of racialized SDNs (Thomas, 2005; Nix et al., 2015). This research also confirms the results of the extant literature in suggesting that the co-production of safety with racialized communities by police is futile unless systemic racism within police departments is addressed.

There is a strong belief among CSLs that biases towards and negative perceptions of African Nova Scotians held by individual police officers and rooted in police culture not only exerts a harmful impact on the delivery of policing services to African Nova Scotians but is also a major obstacle to a productive relationship between the MPCSLs and the HRP. Past studies have repeatedly confirmed that racial biases held by the police can translate into racial profiling and police brutality (Lersch et al., 2008; Weitzer et al., 2008; Leverentz & Williams, 2017; Stein & Griffith, 2017). The findings of this study are also consistent with Quillian and Pager (2001) and Stein and Griffith (2017), who argue that the negative perceptions of African Nova Scotians held by police departments can undermine police relations with racialized SDNs irrespective of the scope and nature of the actual crime problems within these communities.

8.1.2. Lack of Police Legitimacy

This study reported a lack of police legitimacy among Mulgrave Park residents, which serves as a barrier to the relationship between police and MPCSLs. The local CSLs singled out the racial profiling and police brutality against young African Nova Scotians men which can lead to an unwillingness among African Nova Scotians to cooperate with the police or to even call police.

This finding is aligned with the study by Lee et al. (2019) which argues that the willingness of community residents and leaders to work with law enforcement depends on their views of the legitimacy of police. Specifically, past studies reveal how the lack of police legitimacy undermines

the inclination of CSLs to collaborate with police (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Tankebe, 2013; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Doob & Gartner, 2017). Moreover, this study also identified how the perception of harsh treatment of African-Nova Scotians undermines the MPCSLs' confidence and trust in the police department, even though the CSLs may have not been directly affected by specific incidents. This finding is consistent with previous studies conducted by Dunn (2010) and Tankebe (2013) which report that exposure to procedurally unjust police action can negatively influence public trust and willingness to collaborate with the police. It also confirms that the MPCSLs assess police officers from personal experiences which are then extrapolated to views about the police department as a whole (Tyler, 2003; 2006).

8.1.3. Lack of Procedural Justice

The unfair use of force by police against African Nova Scotians is considered by MPCSLs as a significant barrier to a more productive relationship with police. This finding is in agreement with Skogan (2005), Murphy (2009), Rosenbaum et al. (2015), and Nix et al. (2015) who find that procedural injustice serves to obstruct an effective relationship between police and CSLs. Similarly, Peak and Madensen (2017) conclude that the lack of procedural justice, police brutality, and misuse of deadly force can damage this relationship. Moreover, Nix et al. (2015) find that procedurally fair treatment by police is vitally important to establishing trustworthiness and the general willingness of CSLs to collaborate with law enforcement.

The MPCSLs repeatedly expressed their personal disapproval of what they perceive to be procedural injustices against African Nova Scotians and aggressive treatment against Black youth both inside and outside Mulgrave Park. As discussed, from the perspective of MPCSLs, this lack of procedural justice not only alienates community residents from police departments but from the CSLs as well (Nix et al., 2015). As a result, a lack of procedural justice undermines the working relationship between police and MPCSLs. Similar to Merenda et al. (2020), this study confirmed that a poor reputation of the police department regarding procedural justice alone can frustrate

police-CSLs relations. Additionally, Nadal et al. (2014) find that people of African ancestry tend to translate "subtle forms" of discrimination as injustice and aggression. The findings insist that police officers must ensure their interactions with racialized people procedurally just, fair, and equal in order to gain their trust and encourage their cooperation in the co-production of community safety.

8.1.4. Lack of Commitment by Police to CCP and COP

Research indicates that a strong commitment to COP principles by police can facilitate better police-CSL relations (Crowl, 2017). The study found that for the MPCSLs, Mulgrave Park is neglected by police officers in terms of promoting CCP and COP. MPCSLs discerned police as not being committed enough to fostering an equal partnership with them, which is consistent with COP principles and essential to improving the historically strained relationship with racialized communities. The MPCSLs indicated that, in general, HRP officers do not spend enough time in the community (and the community office) to increase informal contacts and improve the relationship with residents and MPCSLs (outside of calls for service). The MPCSLs also said the community policing office hours were not conducive to community needs or that officers often do not adapt their schedule to the availability of MPCSLs, which reduces the opportunity for informal and formal interactions. In short, the MPCSLs stressed the importance of increasing the presence community police officers in Mulgrave Park outside of calls for service to increase informal interactions which in turn can help improve their working relationship with them. This study found that, generally speaking, frequent voluntary contact between police and CSLs results in more positive opinions of one other. Voluntary contacts between police and MPCSLs were considered both by police and CSLs to be a strong determinant of their effective working relationship.

The literature emphasizes how frequent voluntary interaction between police and CSLs can foster mutual trust, help improve their relationship and encourage partnership-based initiatives (Schafer et al., 2003; Skogan, 2005; Hinds, 2009; Gau, 2010; Rosenbaum et al., 2015; Bolger et al., 2021). In contrast, the absence of such voluntary interaction or negative experience during

voluntary and involuntary interaction can severely damage police-CSLs relations (Hinds, 2009; Bolger & Walters, 2019; Rengifo et al., 2019). This study suggests that the lack of positive experience in voluntary or involuntary contact can jeopardize police relations with MPCSLs, who indicate the importance of formal and informal meetings with police officers serving the community to improve their relationship. This finding is supported by the view of Brown and Benedict (2002) and Thomas and Burns (2005) who propose voluntary interaction as a critical tool of a partnership-based initiative to reduce tension between police and racialized SDNs.

Also undermining this relationship is the practice of transferring community police officers from one community to another, which may require both police and MPCSLs to have to frequently start the personal relationship-building process afresh. One of the principal tenets of community policing is that police officers are integrated and immersed into communities for extended periods of time (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Cordner, 1999; Schneider, 2015). The findings of this study also indicate that the MPCSLs perceive that the HRP is not sufficiently diverse and systematically denies departmental promotion to African Nova Scotians. Matthies et al. (2012) argue that lack of diversity in the police department can thwart police-CSLs relations. This finding also conforms with the recommendation of the IACP (2015), which advocates for more diverse police departments that reflect the diversity of the communities they serve.

The findings of this research suggest that the timely sharing of information by police with the CSLs, especially before any law enforcement actions are undertaken in the community, not only helps maximize the safety and well-being of community members, but also helps improve their relationship with the CSLs and the co-production of safety overall. These findings corroborate the literature on the importance of effective two-way communication between police and community members (Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Greene, 2000; Schneider, 2007; 2015). One past study argues that the police-CSLs relations could be obstructed if the CSLs are used only as a source of information rather than an equal partner in which police are committed to a two-way exchange of information (Cherney, 2008).

8.1.5. Organizational Obstacles: Barriers Erected by CCPOs

The findings of this study suggest that the MPCMT itself was accompanied by organizational obstacles that can obstruct police-MPCSLs relations. In particular, this research identified three organizational challenges: lack of clarity of MPCMT members' roles, insufficient number of MPCSLs in the MPCMT, and limitations imposed on the MPCSLs in responding to critical incidents. The lack of clarity of the roles of MPCMT members can undermine the partnerships among its members, a finding that is supported by Stein and Griffith (2017) and Schneider (2000; 2007). The MPCSLs perceived their limited numbers on the MPCMT as also undermining effective police-MPCSLs relations in part because there is an insufficient number to effectively collaborate with police in critical situations. These findings also suggest that a small number of MPCSLs may be overwhelmed with the high volume of workload, which, in turn, makes it difficult for MPCSLs to effectively function at all times and successfully co-produce safety in conjunction with the police. The finding that an insufficient number of MPCSLs in MPCMT may undermine their leadership role parallels the findings of Schneider (2000), who reported that a lack of effective community leadership both within and outside partnerships can negatively impact the collective crime prevention initiatives and undermine police-community relations.

8.1.6. Perceptions of and Attitudes Toward Police by MPCSLs

This study found that the perceptions that the MPCSLs and police have toward one another – and the communities each represent – can undermine their relationship. As discussed, there is research both locally in Halifax and generally, that police cultures and practices are racist, which in turn undermine the relationship between police, on the one hand, and racialized SDNs and CSLs on the other. The study reported that the majority of MPCSLs hold a negative perception of their police partner because of their perceptions of individual police officers as racist and oppressive and the institutionalization of racism in the HRP. Understandably, awareness of racism among racialized

residents of Mulgrave Park and CSLs specifically – especially those who are informed by personal experiences with police – can completely undermine their relationship with police and inevitably shape their interaction with them. Displays of racial profiling, aggressive responses, and other forms of procedural injustices by police against young Black men, in particular, undermine their legitimacy in the eyes of the CSLs. Exposure to incidents of police abuse of African Nova Scotians in the community was one of the strongest influencers of MPCSLs' perceptions of injustice. Moreover, in case of such exposure, CSLs are inclined to believe that harassment is a common occurrence against racialized populations (O'Connor, 2008; Nadal, 2015; 2017).

A large number of past studies conclude that police-CSLs relations can be impaired by a negative perception of police held by CSLs (Skogan, 1989; Brunson & Miller, 2006, Weitzer et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2009; Nix et al., 2015; La Vigne et al., 2017; Bakhshaie et al., 2017; Chronopoulos & Klingle, 2018). Nalla et al. (2018) hint that CSLs with a positive perception of police departments are more likely to collaborate with police officers for the co-production of safety.

In short, the relationship-building process in racialized SDNs is hindered by the negative perceptions that police and the community hold of one another (Quillian & Pager, 2001; Ross, 2012; Hefner et al., 2013). Systemic racism with the HRP and the justifiably negative views that MPCSLs hold of police, as a result, continues to be a major obstacle to a more effective partnership in the co-production of public safety. The MPCSLs explained that the impact of the negative perception of each other was one of the root causes of many other obstacles to a healthy working relationship between police and MPCSLs. The findings of this study suggest that the perceptions of and attitudes toward police by MPCSLs may result from more voluntary interaction and positive experience with police. Understanding these changes in perceptions of police-MPCSLs is vital to navigating the intricate process of a partnership forming with SDNs. Studies showed that the police need to be cognizant of institutionalized racism and the lack of police legitimacy in racialized communities and SDNs and put in extra efforts and care to build relationships with racialized SDNs (Nadal, 2015). Healing the intergenerational trauma present in racialized SDNs that results from systemic

police racism may be difficult, but when police take extra care, it can succeed (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011; ICAP, 2015; Dai et al., 2020).

8.2. Impact of MPCMT on Police-CSLs Relationship

This section assesses whether the MPCMT has in fact any impact on the relationship between the police and the MPCSLs. Within this context, the section also discusses and examines the factors that have contributed to a more effective relationship between police and the MPCSLs that may or may not necessarily have been brought about by the MPCMT.

The study suggests that the MPCMT has helped to bridge the gap between police and CSLs and that the relationship between the MPCSLs and police had improved as a result of the MPCMT. This is important because both the MPCSLs and police interviewed for this study identified the importance of improving their relationship as one of the leading objectives of MPCMT.

The results of this study suggest that the legitimacy of the HRP has somewhat improved in the eyes of the MPCSLs following the implementation of the MPCMT. This was because police were more respectful and appreciative of the MPCSLs, which in turn was due to an enhanced and more formal working relationship between the two brought about by the MPCMT. The legitimacy of the HRP also increased in the view of the MPCSLs due to what they saw as a reduction in procedural injustices toward racialized community members – which the MPCSLs attributed to their leadership and capacity as police watchdogs – but which also contributed to greater mutual respect and a stronger working relationship. Past studies suggest that more just treatment of (racialized) community residents positively impacts a CSL's perception of their police partner (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Tyler, 2003; White et al., 2017; Bolger & Walters, 2019) while an increase in procedural justice helps to facilitate a more effective partnership with the police (White et al., 2017).

The findings of this study also suggest that the implementation of the MPCMT helped the HRP commit more to apply CCP and COP principles which, in turn, helped to bridge the gap

between police and MPCSLs and encourage greater participation by MPCSLs in community safety initiatives. The MPCMT brought the MPCSLs and police into a formal partnership with more frequent interaction and communication (outside of calls for service) and gave the MPCSLs more input into policing and community safety in Mulgrave Park. The CSLs and police identified effective outreach initiatives by police as one factor in facilitating the relationship between police and MPCSLs. Police officers more frequently and sincerely reached out to the MPCSLs to build the rapport necessary to develop a successful partnership. This is in line with the view that forming successful police-CSLs partnerships primarily depends on effective outreach strategies and places the onus on the police to do so (Schneider, 2000; Rosenbaum, 2002). The findings of this study indicated that outreach and communication between police and MPCSLs is one of the most important predictors of their relationship. MPCSLs were encouraged to communicate with police through the MPCMT, which seemingly helped the relationship-building process between police and MPCSLs. Effective communication between police and MPCSLs operated as a bridge between the police department and the community at large. With that said, the findings corroborate other studies in which the communication between police and CSLs often hinders their relationship, and it is reflected in this study in which some MPCSLs stressed that police needed to do a better job providing them information especially, in crisis. Schneider (1998) stressed that police must take the lead in providing information and communicating more proactively with CSLs to maximize the latter's role in the co-production of safety. The importance of effective communication in the co-production of safety is emphasized in several other past studies (Locke et al., 2004; Schneider, 2007; Hollis, 2016).

As mentioned, the MPCMT also gave more authority and opportunities to the MPCSLs to hold police accountable for their actions. Police also appear willing under the MPCMT to share more power with MPCSLs for the co-production of safety. This is significant given the sharing of power with the community is one of the foundational principles of COP. This speaks to a larger issue that has contributed to any increased success in the police-CSL relationship: the commitment

and leadership displayed by the CSLs. Central to any community crime prevention initiative is strong local leadership. This study found that the leadership of CSLs was critical in a successful relationship-building process for the co-production of safety. Their leadership came from a knowledge of the community, experiences in community safety works, and sincere commitment to Mulgrave Park. The study revealed that there was a need to recognize and respect the contribution that the MPCSLs made to the MPCMT and an enhanced relationship with the HRP. The study revealed that the strong leadership of the MPCSLs was a critical factor in any success realized by MPCMT and not the other way around.

The finding on whether the MPCMT has helped overcome any negative perceptions that MPCSLs have of police is mixed. For the majority of MPCSLs (2 out of 4), the MPCMT did not overcome their negative perceptions, whereas for one member it apparently did. For another member, it neither overcame nor intensified the existing perceptions. The minimal positive perceptions by MPCSLs were frequently personalized to specific officers within HRP rather than to the HRP as a whole. MPCSLs often referred to specific police officers' individual qualities for positively or negatively influencing the relationship. The HRP community resource officer seemed to be well perceived and trusted by the residents of Mulgrave Park following the implementation of the MPCMT program. There was some agreement among the research participants that the greater interaction and communication between the MPCSLs and individual police officers creates greater opportunities to increase positive experiences and therefore reduce negative perceptions and may even help heal the historically strained relationship between police and racialized SDNs (Weitzer, 2015; Wehrman and De Angelis, 2011).

With that said, the impact of the MPCMT on systemic racism within the HRP was minimal, according to the MPCSLs, although its implementation was associated with a positive change in the attitudes of few police officers working in Mulgrave Park. The evidence indicates that the MPCMT program has not helped overcome racism and negative perceptions that police may have of the residents of racialized SDNs; however, as previously mentioned the MPCMT has contributed

to police being more procedurally just and to be more circumspect when operating within Mulgrave Park due to their more formal working relationship with the MPCSLs and the police watchdog role the MPCSLs have assumed. This finding replicates to some extent the argument made by Green (2000) about the capacity of MPCSLs to regulate the actions of the police. But this improvement may be limited to police officers working in Mulgrave Park; the MPCSLs suggested there was little reduction in police harassment and mistreatment of African Nova Scotians residents outside the Mulgrave Park. This finding suggests that the MPCMT program does not have any impact on police perception and attitude beyond Mulgrave Park. Moreover, the MPCSLs suggested that similar police harassment of racialized people may continue to be taking place in Mulgrave Park when they were not present. The MPCSLs agreed that the institutional racism within the HRP is not going to be overcome due simply to the implementation of the MPCMT.

9. Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Community crime prevention and community policing are both fundamentally premised on the notion of an effective partnership between police and the communities they serve. However, poor relations between police and racialized SDNs – and the CSLs in such communities – poses one of the biggest challenges for the local co-production of safety in Canada. Past research has highlighted a number of barriers obstructing the relationship between police and CSLs in racialized SDNs. Perhaps the most significant obstacle in Canada is endemic racism, which is manifested in Canadian and Nova Scotian society generally (which helps perpetuate SDNs that are disproportionately made up of people of colour) and also institutionalized in police forces. This institutionalized racism leads to substantial problems that strain such a relationship; suffice it to say a productive relationship (and the co-production of safety) between police and racialized SDNs can never truly prosper while the over-arching problem or systemic racism exists.

This thesis seeks to contribute to CCP and COP literature generally and in the area of co-production of safety in racialized SDNs, barriers to these partnerships, and the role that formal partnership-based CCPOs can play to overcome these barriers. One of the main findings of this study is that the relationship between police and the MPCSLs is hindered by institutionalized racism within the HRP, which underlies such procedural injustices as racial profiling and aggressive over-policing of the Black community both within and outside of Mulgrave Park. Understandingly, this creates negative perceptions of police by community members and MPCSLs, which undermines the legitimacy of the HRP in the minds of CSLs in Mulgrave Park, which in turn further obstructs their interactions and partnerships with police. The negative perceptions that police may hold of racialized Mulgrave Park residents due to racism and the resulting negative perceptions that community residents and CSLs hold toward police are mutually reinforcing in undermining a more productive relationship. This over-arching problem is compounded by other barriers to a productive relationship between police and the MPCSLs, including accusations of a lack of commitment by

the HRP to CCP and COP principles in Mulgrave Park as well as organizational obstacles that have accompanied the MPCMT as identified by the MPCSLs (i.e., the ill-defined role of the MPCSLs, minimal number of community residents on the MPCMT, too few service providers on the MPCMT, a lack of timely support from existing service providers, and asymmetrical power relations between police and the local CSLs).

The extant literature provides some evidence that an integrated approach – that emphasizes the mobilization of community residents and local leadership through a partnership-based approach that centres around a formal CCPOs – has shown to be a promising strategy for improving police-SDNs relations (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Weitzer, 2015; Nilson, 2014; 2015; 2016; Telep & Hibdon, 2018). In this context, this study explored the potential contribution the MPCMT can make to overcoming obstacles to a productive partnership between HRP members and local CSLs. The study concludes that the MPCMT has helped to bridge the gap between police and local CSLs and that the relationship between them has slightly improved as a result of the MPCMT. This is important because both the CSLs and police interviewed for this study identified the importance of improving their relationship as one of the leading objectives of MPCMT. The relationship between the CSLs and police has somewhat improved because of more positive perceptions of police legitimacy in the eyes of the CSLs, which in turn is due to fewer procedural injustices committed against racialized community members. Police legitimacy has also been buttressed by the increased respect accorded to CSLs by police, greater outreach by police towards the CSLs, improved communication and interaction with the CSLs by police, and the involvement of CSLs in local crisis (including greater respect by police of the important role to be played by the CSLs in managing these situations). All of these improvements have been brought about or at least helped by the formalization of the relationship between police and CSLs through the MPMCT, which serves to facilitate greater interaction, communication, coordination, co-planning, and mutual understanding and respect. The MPCMT appears to have helped give the CSLs more authority which includes opportunities for them to hold police accountable for their actions.

Another significant factor that has contributed to any success enjoyed by the MPCMT, and better relations between police and the CSLs, are the individuals involved in this initiative. The CSLs indicated that partnerships with police have been buttressed by strong personal relationships with individual HRP members who serve the community and who are committed to ensuring procedural justices are respected. Through the MPCMT, the CSLs also interact more with HRP supervisors and officers to whom they can speak regarding any problems that may arise with individual HRP members. Moreover, this study found that the leadership provided by the CSLs was critical in a successful relationship-building process for the co-production of safety due to their commitment to a collaborative effort and their commitment to and advocacy for Mulgrave Park, its residents, and the Black community generally. Through the MPCMT, police and MPCSLs were able to work together, communicate better, share information, and enhance mutual understanding and trust. This suggests promising evidence that a local formal organizational infrastructure can lead to a more productive relationship between CSLs and police.

However, the MPCSLs emphasized that there was still progress to be made in achieving the goal of more productive and meaningful co-production of safety. This includes treating the CSLs as equal partners (including adequately compensating them for their work and providing them with the proper powers and resources). The imbalance of power between police and CSLs has been deemed to be a major deterrence in such partnerships (Walker & Walker, 1993; Crawford, 1994; Garland, 1996; Locke et al., 2004; Somerville, 2009; Clamp & Paterson, 2017; Glowatski et al., 2017; Wahl & White, 2017). The MPCSLs believed they need greater unilateral decision-making and problem-solving power beyond their partnership with the police setting, especially given their continued asymmetrical power relations with police. This suggests that a balance of power in a working relationship for the co-production of safety is a two-way affair requiring much effort from police to ensure equity and encourage CSLs for becoming equal partners. This makes it imperative for police to truly adhere to the principles and nuanced underpinning of CCP and COP for the successful co-production of safety.

Most importantly, the MPCSLs emphasized that improvements in their relationship with police through a formal partnership may be futile unless discrimination against racialized populations by the police and institutional racism is overcome. Despite the improvements in the relationship between police and the CSLs, there is no evidence that the MPCMT had any impact in reducing systemic racisms within the HRP, at least according to the perspectives of the MPCSLs. Other recent research supports the idea that such institutionalized racism remains with the HRP (Wortley, 2019). While it was never the intention of the MPCMT program to eradicate racism in the HRP, one conclusion of this study is that for the CMTs to be successful in racialized SDNs, there must be a greater acknowledgement of how police racism can significantly obstruct their partnership principles and therefore their overall mandate and goals.

The findings of this study may have implications for future efforts to promote the co-production of safety within racialized SDNs in Halifax specifically. In particular, the findings provide information on the barriers that might present to the MPCMTs in terms of fostering productive relationships and partnerships and what needs to be put in place to help overcome these barriers. To this end, the findings of the study indicate that much of the onus is placed on the HRP; first and foremost, in acknowledging and addressing institutionalized racism which will certainly pose an obstacle to productive relationships with the CSLs in other racialized SDNs in the city. This must be accompanied by other tangible partnership-building measures implemented by police, such as respecting and accommodating the leadership roles of the CSLs in the CMTs, empowering and sharing power with the CSLs so they have an appropriate level of authority, ensuring that the HRP stays true to the principles of community and problem-oriented policing in these communities (including appointing dedicated and appropriate community resource officers that are representative of the communities they serve and ensuring community policing office hours are conducive to the needs of the community) and ensuring there is constant proactive interaction, information-sharing and communication outside of crisis and police call for service generally.

People of African descent is the largest minority group in Nova Scotia, and they make up a disproportionate population within SDNs and government-subsidized housing with high crime rates and a hostile relationship with the police. As such, an effective relationship between police and CSLs for the co-production of safety is immensely important for racialized SDNs and it is fundamentally important that police understand the systemic transformations they must undergo to overcome racism and implement COP principles in order to promote trust and relationship-building with the CSLs of racialized SDNs. Indeed, there is a growing need for the adoption of strategies to address institutionalized racism in police departments and among individual police officers to overcome racial biases against African Canadians throughout Canada (Nadal et al., 2017). This must also be taken into consideration by police and those in the HRM responsible for policy and program implementation specific to the CMTs. The findings further suggest that HRM policy-makers, police and CSLs should jointly work on better defining the roles and powers of the CSLs within the context of the CMTs. The terms of CMT should also be more explicit about better defining the roles, responsibilities, and powers of each partner in consultation with the HRM Community Safety Committee.

No research is without limitations and this study is no exception. Methodologically, this study relied overwhelmingly on interviews with the MPCSLs which means the research findings and observations are skewed towards their perspectives (although much of what they said is supported by the extant literature). An additional limitation of this study is that community residents were not offered the opportunity to provide input (via interviews, focus groups and/or surveys). Furthermore, only one HRM member working in the community could be reached to participate in the study which limits the ability of this analysis to check data provided by HRP1. The limited research was due mostly to restrictions surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic restrictions also compelled data gathering confined to telephone interviews and/or written questions and responses.

The major limitation of this study stems from the relatively small sample size. The small sample size often affects the reliability of findings because it tends to a higher variability that may lead to bias. In this study, the research participants' deep commitment to the MPCMT may have an impact on their objectivity and perhaps on their perceptions of program effectiveness. The results may very well have been different if the study had carried out a pre-covid research plan involving a larger cross-section of the Mulgrave Park community residents and a sample of patrol officers and investigators who regularly work within the neighbourhood. With that said, the research findings of this study are meant to provide an in-depth examination of the perceptions of the MPCSLs with regard to the main themes of the thesis, i.e., the ability of a partnership-based model to overcome obstacles in relationships between CSLs and police. Notwithstanding potential biases, these four respondents (MPCSLs) were highly credible sources due to their experiences on the MPCMT and their lived experiences in Mulgrave Park. Most importantly, the voice of the African-Nova Scotia women as community leaders has been largely neglected in the literature and marginalized in the society at large. This thesis helps give the African-Nova Scotia women leadership a voice empirically which, in turn, fills a void in the literature. However, the findings of this study should not be generalized any further than this sample.

Another methodological limitation of this study arises from not controlling extraneous variables outside of the MPCMT that may have impacted the relationship between MPCSLs and police. The changes in the relationship between police and MPCSLs may have also been impacted by external factors, such as recent policing reforms, a ban on street checks, the HRP's apology to the African Nova Scotian community, and many others. Moreover, the pandemic may also have contributed to de-policing and a reduction in negative civilian encounters with the police. The controlling of external factors was not integrated into the research methods. As such, the impact of extraneous variables on the relationship between police and MPCSLs, if any, is beyond the scope of this study.

Notwithstanding the methodological limitations and small sample size, the findings, analysis, and conclusions of this study are considered sufficiently rigorous in part because they are supported by the extant literature into CCP, the (barriers to) co-production of public safety, and the role of formal CCPOs in overcoming such barriers in SDNs. With that said, the findings and conclusions should not be generalized to any other racialized SDNs in Halifax or elsewhere (the perspectives of CSLs in these communities).

Although this study can not conclude the extent to which it supports the literature on the importance of partnership in enhancing the delivery of community safety, the findings of this research could certainly spur a larger future research direction. Given the aforementioned limitations, there is a need for future research into the CMT of other similar racialized SDNs in Halifax with more robust data (ethnographic case study) that can help explore the similarities/differences of this study with others. This will also help integrate the voice of CSLs of other racialized SDNs in Halifax and unify the unheard voices of these CSLs in the empirical literature. In addition, there is a need for future research into the MPCMT and related issues that would gather robust quantitative and qualitative data from more sources to identify the benefits and potential consequences of the CMT. Given the community dynamics in Mulgrave Park, a pre-test/post-test/control group approach may not possibly be carried out. However, a measurement of crime, victimization, and harassment of community residents in the last few years largely based on secondary sources (call for service data, victimization survey, other reports, and past research, etc.) and partly through focus group discussion with community residents can possibly elucidate much clearer picture of pre-MPCMT era in Mulgrave Park. Future research also needs to integrate methods to assess the impact of external factors, apart from the MPCMT program, on the perception of police held by residents in racialized SDNs. This approach is likely to help discern the impact of CMT from external factors even not involving a controlled approach. Future research also needs to include methods securing quantitative data for post MPCMT era period on HRP calls for service and survey of a larger cross-section of Mulgrave Park for residents to gauge their awareness of the

MPCMT and its impact on their own safety and perceptions of police and CSLs. The research methods would further include extracting qualitative data from CSLs, HRP officials in CMT, representatives of different HRM business units in CMT, patrol officers, investigation officers, and representatives from other service providers for an in-depth examination of the related issues.

Research into formal police-CSLs partnerships and the barriers that obstruct such partnerships is a relatively new area of inquiry; as such, the issues and variables that need to be examined still require further refinement in terms of conceptualization and operationalization. Future basic and applied research should continue to explore partnership-based models of the co-production of safety in racialized SDNs, including barriers to productive relationships between police and CSLs, how to overcome such obstacles, and the role of formal partnership-based organizations in fostering better relationships. Most significantly, research needs to examine the role that institutionalized racism plays in obstructing CCP, COP and the co-production of public safety in racialized SDNs as well as effective and innovative ways to address this systemic problem. This thesis used the MPCMT as a case study and there is a great need for similar research with other SDNs in Halifax, the province of Nova Scotia, and throughout Canada. This research is particularly important given that crime and other community problems are becoming increasingly concentrated in (racialized) SDNs in this country, the need for more effective crime prevention and community partnerships in these areas, and the problem that institutional racism plays in obstructing local crime prevention, community safety and community development. Research on police-CSLs relations in racialized SDNs is significantly lacking in this country and this void must be filled through future research.

References

Aaltio, I., & Heilmann, P. (2010). Case study as a methodological approach. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research* (pp. 67-77). Sage Publications Inc.

Alexander, J. (2014). *A Place-Based Approach to Understanding Gun Violence: Exploring the Physical Characteristics of Sites Where Youth-Related Gun Violence Occurred in the Halifax Regional Municipality* [Master's thesis, Saint Mary's University]. Saint Mary's University Institutional Repository. https://library2.smu.ca/bitstream/handle/01/25791/alexander_jemma_masters_2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation). In *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. Monthly Review Press.

Andresen, M.A., & Brantingham, P.J. (2007). *Hot spots of crime in Vancouver and their relationship with population characteristics*. Department of Justice Canada. https://www.google.ca/search?q=Hot+spots+of+crime+in+Vancouver+and+their+relationship+with+population+characteristics+by+anderson&hl=en&ei=jYDBYI7-HamQ_Qbs_bGICg&oq=Hot+spots+of+crime+in+Vancouver+and+their+relationship+with+population+characteristics+by+anderson&gs_lcp=Cgdnd3Mtd2l6EAM6BwgAEEcQsAM6BAghEApQqiNY7zFglTRoAXACeACAAbkBiAHSCpIBAzMuOZgBAKABAaoBB2dwd3cy13aXrIAQjAAQE&sclient=gws-wiz&ved=0ahUKEwjO-LveiYzxAhUpSN8KHex-DKEQ4dUDCA8&uact=5

Anthony, M., Hayley, B., Kym L. & Jessica, A. (2012). *Crime prevention approaches, theory and mechanisms*. Australian Institute of Criminology, Australian Government. https://aic.gov.au/publications/rpp/rpp120/crime-prevention-approaches-theory-and-mechanisms

Areavives. (2021). *Mulgrave Park, Halifax, NS Demographics*. Areavives Inc. Retrieved February 11, 2021, from https://www.areavibes.com/halifax-ns/mulgrave+park/demographics/

Ashcroft, J., Daniels, D. & Hart, S. (2002). *Satisfaction With Police—What Matters?* National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/194077.pdf

Ashcroft, J., Daniels, D. & Hart, S. (2003). *Factors That Influence Public Opinion of the Police*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/197925.pdf

Australian Institute of Criminology. (2003). *Approaches to understanding crime prevention*, Australian Government. https://aic.gov.au/publications/crm/crm001

Awan, I., Brookes, M., Powell, M., & Stanwell, S. (2018). Understanding the public perception and satisfaction of a UK police constabulary. *Police Practice & Research, 20*(2), 172-184.

Bakhshaie J., Kauffman B.Y., Viana A.G., Garza M., Ochoa-Perez, M., Lemaire, C., Bogiaizian D., Robles, Z., & Zvolensky, M.J. (2017). Synergistic effects of pain intensity and experiential avoidance in relation to anxiety symptoms and disorders among economically disadvantaged latinos in a community-based primary care setting. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders, 48*, 54-62.

Balogun, T. (2019, August 30). *Tundè Balogun: On media reports on Mulgrave Park and white supremacy*. The Nova Scotia Advocates. https://nsadvocate.org/2019/08/30/tunde-balogun-media-reports-on-mulgrave-park-and-white-supremacy/

Balogun, T. (2018, November 08). *Halifax is not Canada's Black Mecca: In Toronto, the racism we endured was more sophisticated and subliminal. In Nova Scotia, it's brazen*. The Coast. https://www.thecoast.ca/Opinionated/archives/2018/11/08/halifax-is-not-canadas-black-mecca

Bartkowiak-Théron I., & Crehan A. C. (2010). A new movement in community policing? From community policing to vulnerable people policing. In J. Putt (Ed.) *Community Policing in*

Australia (pp. 16-23). Australian Institute of Criminology. https://researchoutput.csu.edu.au/ws/portalfiles/portal/9956930/34331report.pdf

Bartsch, R., & Cheurprakobkit, S. (2004). The effects of amount of contact, contact expectation, and contact experience with police on attitudes toward police. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *19*(1), 58-70.

Bayley, D. H. (1988). Community policing: A report from the devil's advocate. In J. R. Greene & S. D. Mastrofski (Eds.), *Community policing: Rhetoric or reality?* (pp. 225–237). Praeger.

Benjamin, C. (2010, September 24). *Rebuilding Halifax's most feared neighbourhood, one project at a time*. The Globe and Mail. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/rebuilding-halifaxs-most-feared-neighbourhood-one-project-at-a-time/article4327055/

Bennett, S. (1995). Community Organizations and Crime. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *539*(1), 72-84.

Bennett, S. F., & Lavrakas, P. J. (1989). Community-Based Crime Prevention: An Assessment of the Eisenhower Foundation's Neighborhood Program. *Crime & Delinquency*, *35*(3), 345–364. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128789035003003

Bennett, T. (2000). Crime Prevention. In M. H. Tonry (Ed.), *The Handbook of Crime and Punishment* (pp. 369-402). Oxford: Oxford University.

Bennett, T., Holloway, K., & Farrington, D. (2008). The Effectiveness of Neighborhood Watch. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, *4*(1), 1-46.

Bernard, W., & Smith, H. (2018). Injustice, Justice, And Africentric Practice In Canada. *Canadian Social Work Review*, *35*(1), 147-155.

Berry, G., Briggs, P., Erol, R., & Staden, L. (2011). *The effectiveness of partnership working in a crime and disorder context: A rapid evidence assessment*. United Kingdom Home Office. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116549/horr52-report.pdf

Bjørgo, T. (2016). Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: A holistic approach. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 8*(1), 25-44.

Blandford, A. (2013). Semi-structured qualitative studies. In M. Soegaard, & R. F. Dam, (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Human-Computer Interaction, (2nd Ed.)*. The Interaction Design Foundation.

Bolger, C. & Walters, G. (2019). The relationship between police procedural justice, police legitimacy, and people's willingness to cooperate with law enforcement: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 60*, 93-99.

Bolger, M., Lytle, D. & Bolger, P. (2021). What matters in citizen satisfaction with police: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 72, 101760.

Bortner, M. A. (1984). Media images and public attitudes toward crime and justice. In R. Surette (Ed.), *Justice and the media* (pp. 15-30). Thomas.

Braga, A. A., Pierce, G. L., McDevitt, J., Bond, B. J., & Cronin, S. (2008). The strategic prevention of gun violence among gang-involved offenders. *Justice Quarterly*, 25 (1), 132-162.

Braga, A., Papachristos, A., & Hureau, D. (2012). Hot spots policing effects on crime. *Campbell Systematic Review, 8*(1), 1-96.

Brantingham, P., & Brantingham, Patricia L. (1981). *Environmental criminology*. Sage Publications Inc.

Brantingham, P., & Faust, F. (1976). A Conceptual Model of Crime Prevention. *Crime & Delinquency, 22*(3), 284-296.

Brantingham, P., Brantingham, P., & Taylor, W. (2005). Situational Crime Prevention as a Key Component in Embedded Crime Prevention. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 47*(2), 271-292.

Brewer, R., & Grabosky, P. (2014). The Unraveling of Public Security in the United States: The Dark Side of Police-Community Co-Production. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 39*(1), 139-154.

Brookman, F., & Maguire, M. (2005). Reducing homicide: A review of the possibilities. *Crime, Law, and Social Change, 42*(4), 325-403.

Brown, B. and Benedict, W. (2002). Perceptions of the police. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 25*(3), 543-580.

Brown, M., & Polk, K. (1996). Taking Fear of Crime Seriously: The Tasmanian Approach to Community Crime Prevention. *Crime & Delinquency, 42*(3), 398-420.

Brucato, B. (2015). The New Transparency: Police Violence in the Context of Ubiquitous Surveillance. *Media and Communication, 3*(3), 39-55.

Brunson, R., & Miller, J. (2006). Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States. *The British Journal of Criminology, 46*(4), 613-640.

Brunson, R., & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(6), 858-885.

Bullock, K., & Johnson, P. (2018). Faith in policing: The co-production of crime control in Britain. *British Journal of Criminology, 58*(1), 75-94.

Bullock, K., & Sindall, K. (2013). Examining the nature and extent of public participation in neighbourhood policing. *Policing and Society, 24*(4), 1-20.

Callanan, V., & Rosenberger, J. (2011). Media and public perceptions of the police: Examining the impact of race and personal experience. *Policing and Society, 21*(2), 167-189.

Campbell, L. (2012). Race and the Criminal Justice System in Canada West: Burglary and Murder in Hamilton, 1852-53, *Queen's Law Journal, 37*(2) 477-522.

Carr, P. (2012). Citizens, community, and crime control: The problems and prospects for negotiated order. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 12*(4), 397-412.

Chalom, M., Léonard, L., Vanderschueren, F., & Vézina, C., (2001). *Urban safety and good governance: The role of the police*. International Center for Prevention of Crime. http://mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=1337.

Charron, M. (2008). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime in Saskatoon* (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics Canada.

Charron, M., (2009). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime in the City of Toronto*. Statistics Canada.

Chaskin, R., & Greenberg, D. (2015). Between Public and Private Action: Neighborhood Organizations and Local Governance. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *44*(2), 248-267.

Cheng, H. (2015). Factors influencing public satisfaction with the local police: A study in Saskatoon, Canada. *Policing : An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *38*(4), 690-704.

Cherney, A. (2000). The Adoption of 'What Works' Principles in Crime Prevention Policy and Practice. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, *12*(1), 93-97.

Cheurprakobkit, S. (2000). Police-citizen contact and police performance Attitudinal differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *28*(4), 325-336.

Chronopoulos, T., & Klingle, M. (2018). Police Misconduct, Community Opposition, and Urban Governance in New York City, 1945–1965. *Journal of Urban History*, *44*(4), 643-668.

Clairmont, D., Waters, K., Murphy, C., Singer, V., Kimber S., Spicer D., Peach J., & Schneider S. (2014). *The HRM Roundtable Review Volume I: The Main Report*. Halifax Regional Council. https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/64613/VIOLENCE%20AND%20PUBLIC%20SAFETY%20IN%20HRM%20MAIN%20REPORT%20Volume%201,2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Clairmont, Donald H. and Magill, Dennis W. (1971). *Africville Relocation Report*. Dalhousie University, Institute of Public Affairs.

Clamp, K., & Paterson, C. (2017). *Restorative policing: Concepts, theory and practice* (1st Edition). Routledge.

Clancey, G. (2014). *Implications of a Local Case Study for Crime Prevention Practice and Policy, and Criminology's 'Grand Narratives'* [PhD thesis, University of Sydney] University of Sydney Institutional Repository. https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/handle/2123/12015/Clancey_GR_thesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Clark, T., Cohen E., Glynn, A., Owens, M., Gunderson, A., & Schiff, K. (2020). *Are Police Racially Biased in the Decision to Shoot? Proceedings of the 28 National Academy of Sciences*. Working Paper. Emory University. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58d3d264893fc0bdd12db507/t/5ed6859f3c31fe420713f58b/1591117221040/Racial_Bias_ in_Shootings.pdf

Clarke R. V. (2012). Opportunity makes the thief. Really? And so what? *Crime Science, 1*(1), 1-9.

Cole, D. (2020). Racial Profiling. Drugs, Alcohol, and Tobacco: Learning About Addictive Behavior. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved February 01, 2021, from https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/racial-profiling

Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System. (2000). Racism in Justice: Perceptions. In R. Neugebauer (Ed.) *Criminal Injustice: Racism in the Criminal Justice System*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Community Oriented Police Service. (2014). *Community Policing Defined*. United States Department of Justice. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/cnmcs-plcng/cn32080-eng.pdf

Community Policing Consortium. (1994). *Understanding community policing: A framework for action*. The Bureau of Justice Assistance, United States Department of Justice, Institute of Justice.

Cooper, A., Baylis, F., Cameron, C., Francis, A., Lovejoy, P., States, D., Tillotson, S., Whitfield, H. & Williams, N. (2019), *Report on Lord Dalhousie's History on Slavery and Race*. Dalhousie University. https://www.dal.ca/dept/ldp/findings.html

Cordner, G. (1999). Community Policing: Principles and Elements. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. http://www.ncdsv.org/images/communitypolicingprincipleselements.pdf

Correctional Services Division. (2019). *Corrections in Nova Scotia: Key Indicators*. Nova Scotia Department of Justice. https://novascotia.ca/just/publications/docs/Correctional-Services-Key-Indicator-Report-2017-18.pdf

Crawford, A. (1994). Appeals to community and crime prevention. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 22*, 97-126.

Crawford, A. (1994). The Partnership Approach To Community Crime Prevention: Corporatism At the Local Level? *Social & Legal Studies, 3*(4), 497-519.

Crawford, A. (1997). *The Local Governance of Crime: Appeals to Community and Partnerships*. Oxford University Press.

Crawford, A. (1999). Questioning Appeals to Community within Crime Prevention and Control. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 7*(4), 509-530.

Crawford, A. (2009). *Crime prevention policies in comparative perspective*. Routledge.

Crawford, A., & Jones, M. (1995). Inter-agency co-operation and community-based crime prevention. *British Journal of Criminology, 35*(1), 17.

Crawford. A. (2001). Joined-up but fragmented: contradiction, ambiguity and ambivalence at the heart of New Labour's 'Third Way'. In R. Matthews, & J. Pitts (Eds.) *Crime, Disorder and Community Safety* (pp. 54 – 80). Routledge.

Crowl, J. (2017). The effect of community policing on fear and crime reduction, police legitimacy and job satisfaction: An empirical review of the evidence. *Police Practice & Research, 18*(5), 449-462.

Cunneen, C (1992). Problems in the implementation of community policing strategies. In S. McKillop, & J. Vernon (Eds), *The Police and the Community in the 1990s, Canberra*. Australian Institute of Criminology (pp 161–72). https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/proceedings/proceedings5

Dai, M. & Jiang, X. (2016). A comparative study of satisfaction with the police in the United States and Australia. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, *49*(1), 30-52.

Dai, M., Hu, X. & Gu, F. (2020). Citizen Characteristics, Neighbourhood Conditions, and Prior Contacts with the Police: A Comparative Study of Public Satisfaction with the Police. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 62*(4), 77-101.

Darke, P., Shanks, G., & Broadbent, M. (1998). Successfully completing case study research: Combining rigour, relevance and pragmatism. *Information Systems Journal,8*(4), 273-289.

Davis, M. (1990). *City of quartz: Excavating the future in Los Angeles.* Verso.

Davis, R., Henderson, N., & Merrick, C. (2003). Community policing: Variations on the western model in the developing world. *Police Practice and Research, 4*(3), 285-300.

Debicki A., (2008). Supporting Wraparound Implementation: Chapter 5f: *A Best Practice Model for a Community Mobilization Team*. National Wraparound Initiative. https://nwi.pdx.edu/NWI-book/Chapters/Debicki-5f-(cmty-teams).pdf

Dennis, S. (2012). *Evaluation and Crime Prevention: An Investigation of Evaluation and Monitoring of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design Initiatives in New Zealand* [Master's Thesis, University of Otago]. University of Otago Institutional Repository. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1358/8c376fe14c3c128313e84a5face3038457ae.pdf

D'Entremont, Y. (2020, April 4). *Victoria Park arrest was example of increased surveillance of Black people during COVID-19, says Dal prof.* Halifax Examiner. https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/featured/victoria-park-arrest-was-example-of-increased-surveillance-of-black-people-during-covid-19-says-dal-prof/#comments

Dershem, H. (1990). Community Crime Prevention: A Review Essay On Program Evaluations And Policy Implications. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 4*(1), 53-68.

Desmond, M., Papachristos, A., & Kirk, D. (2016). Police Violence and Citizen Crime Reporting in the Black Community. *American Sociological Review, 81*(5), 857-876.

DeVylder, J., Cogburn, C., Oh, H., Anglin, D., Smith, E., Sharpe, T., Jun, H., Schiffman, J., Lukens, E., & Link, B. (2017). Psychotic Experiences in the Context of Police Victimization: Data From the Survey of Police–Public Encounters. *Schizophrenia Bulletin, 43*(5), 993-1001.

Donnelly, P. G., & Kimble, C. E. (2006). An evaluation of the effects of neighborhood mobilization on community problems. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community, 32*(1), 61-80.

Doob, A., & Gartner R. (2017). *Understanding the Impact of Police Stops*. University of Toronto. https://www.crimsl.utoronto.ca/research-publications/faculty-publications/understanding-impact-police-stops

Douyon, E. (2016). *Ethnocultural Minorities And The Canadian Correctional System*. Correctional Services Canada. https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/about-us/092/006-4000-eng.pdf

Duffee, D., Renauer, B., Scott, J., Chermak, S. & McGarrell, E. (2006). *Community Building Measures: How Police And Neighborhood Groups Can Measure Their Collaboration*, National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/213134.pdf - not in the thesis CCPO

Dunn, R. (2010). Race and the Relevance of Citizen Complaints Against the Police. *Administrative Theory & Praxis, 32*(4), 557-577.

Easwaramoorthy, M. & Zarinpoush, F. (2006). *Interviewing For Research*. Canada Volunteerism Initiative. http://sectorsource.ca/sites/default/files/resources/files/tipsheet6_interviewing_for_research_en_0.pdf

Edwards, A., & Hughes, G. (2002). *Crime Control and Community*. Willan.

Eisenhardt, K. (1989). Building Theories from Case Study Research. *The Academy of Management Review*, *14*(4), 532-550.

Ekblom, P., & Wyvekens, A. (2004). *A Partnership Approach to Crime Prevention*. Council of Europe.

Ekblom. P. (1994). Proximal Circumstances: A Mechanism-Based Classification of Crime Prevention. In R.V. Clarke (Ed.), *Crime Prevention Studies* (pp. 185-232). Criminal Justice Press.

Este, D. (2006). Spirituality Among African Nova Scotians: A Key to Survival in Canadian Society. *Critical Social Work, 7*(1). https://doi.org/10.22329/csw.v7i1.5768.

European Union. (2004). *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Crime prevention in the European Union.* (Act No. COM (2004) 165). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/HR/LSU/?uri=CELEX%3A52004DC0165&print=true

Fagan, J. (1987). Neighborhood Education, Mobilization, and Organization for Juvenile Crime Prevention. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 494*, 54-70.

Falkkenburger, E., Arena, O. & Wolin, J., (2018). Trauma-Informed Community Building and Engagement, Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Centre. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/98296/trauma-informed_community_building_and_engagement_0.pdf

Felson, M. & Clarke, R.V. (1998). *Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention* (Police Research Series No. 98). United Kingdom Home Office. https://popcenter.asu.edu/sites/default/files/opportunity_makes_the_thief.pdf

Fischer, C. (Ed.), (2014). *Legitimacy and procedural justice: A new element of police leadership*. Police Executive Research Forum, United States Department of Justice. https://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Leadership/legitimacy%

20and%20procedural%20justice%20-%20a%20new%20element%20of%20police%20leadership.pdf

Fitzgerald, R., Wisener, M., & Savoie, J. (2004). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and Distribution of Crime in Winnipeg* (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-561-m/85-561-m2004004-eng.pdf?st=EtEsJymg

Forrest, S, Myhill, A, & Tilley, N, (2005). *Practical Lessons for Involving the Community in Crime and Disorder Problem-Solving* (Development and Practice Reports 43). United Kingdom Home Office. https://popcenter.asu.edu/sites/default/files/problems/street_prostitution/PDFs/Forrest_etal_2005.pdf

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. Pantheon Books.

Fox, N. (2009). *Using interviews in a research project*. The NIHR Research Design Service for the East Midlands/Yorkshire & the Humber. National Institute for Health Research. https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/15_Using-Interviews-2009.pdf

Frevel, B., & Rogers, C. (2016). Community partnerships (UK) vs Crime Prevention Councils (GER): Differences and similarities. *The Police Journal*, *89*(2), 133–150.

Frideres, J. (2016). Racism. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved February 16, 2021, from https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/racism

Garland, D. (1996). The Limits Of The Sovereign State: Strategies of Crime Control in Contemporary Society. *The British Journal of Criminology, 36*(4), 445-471.

Gau, J. (2010). A longitudinal analysis of citizens' attitudes about police. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 33*(2), 236-252.

Gerring, J. (2004). What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for? *American Political Science Review*, *98*(2), 341-354.

Gerring, J. (2013). The Case Study: What it is and What it Does. In R. E. Goodin, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (pp. 1134-1165). Oxford University Press. https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199604456.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199604456-e-051

Giacomazzi, A., Riley, S., & Merz, R. (2004). Internal and External Challenges to Implementing Community Policing: Examining Comprehensive Assessment Reports from Multiple Sites. *Criminal Justice Studies, 17*(2), 223-238.

Gill, C., Weisburd, D., Telep, C., Vitter, W., & Bennett, Z. (2014). Community-oriented policing to reduce crime, disorder and fear and increase satisfaction and legitimacy among citizens: A systematic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 10*(4), 399-428.

Gilling, D. (1997). *Crime prevention theory, policy, and politics*. UCL Press.

Glowatski, K., Jones, N., & Carleton, R. (2017). Bridging police and communities through relationship: The importance of a theoretical foundation for restorative policing. *Restorative Justice (Hart Publishing (Oxford, England)), 5*(2), 267-292.

Goldsmith, A. (2005). Police reform and the problem of trust. *Theoretical Criminology, 9*(4), 443-470.

Goldstein, H. (1979). Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach. *Crime & Delinquency, 25*(2), 236-258.

Goldstein, H., (1994). Foreword. In D.P. Rosenbaum, (Ed.), *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises* (pp. viii–x) Sage Publications Inc.

Goodwin, L., & Maru, V. (2017). What Do We Know about Legal Empowerment? Mapping the Evidence. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, 9*(1), 157-194.

Goris, P. (2001). Community Crime Prevention and the 'Partnership Approach': A Safe Community for Everyone? *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 9*(4), 447-457.

Goris, P., & Walters, R. (1999). Locally oriented crime prevention and the "partnership approach": Politics, practices and prospects. *Policing (Bradford), 22*(4), 633-645.

Grant, J., Lewis, D., & Rosenbaum, D. (1988). Political Benefits of Program Participation: The Case of Community Crime Prevention, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *10*(4), 373-385. 10.1111/j.1467-9906.1988.tb00168.x

Greene, J, (2000). Community policing in America: Changing the nature, structure, and function of the police. In J. Homey, J. Martin, D.L. MacKenzie, R. Peterson & D.P. Rosenbaum (Eds.), *Criminal justice 2000: Policies, processes, and decisions of the criminal justice system* (pp. 299–370). National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice.

Halifax Regional Council. (2019). *HRM Public Safety Strategy Update*. Halifax Regional Municipality. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/about-the-city/regional-community-planning/Public%20Safety%20Strategy%20Annual%20Report%202018.pdf

Halifax Regional Council. (2020). *HRM Public Safety Strategy Update*. Halifax Regional Municipality. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/about-the-city/regional-community-planning/Public%20Safety%20Strategy%20Annual%20Report%202019.pdf

Hall, M. H., de Wit, M. L., Lasby, D., McIver, D., Evers, T., Johnston, C., McAuley, J., Scott, K., Cucumel, G., Jolin, L. Nicol, R., Berdahl, L., Roach, R., Davies, I., Rowe, P., Frankel, S., Brock, K., and Murray, V. (2003). *Highlights of the National Survey of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations*. Statistics Canada. http://datacat.cbrdi.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/National-Survey-of-Nonprofit-and-Voluntary-Organizations%5B1%5D.pdf

Hawdon, J., & Ryan, J. (2011). Neighborhood Organizations and Resident Assistance to Police. *Sociological Forum*, 26(4), 897-920.

Hefner, M., Frabutt, J., Harvey, L., Di Luca, K., & Shelton, T. (2013). Resident Perceptions of an Overt Drug Elimination Strategy. *Journal of Applied Social Science, 7*(1), 61-79.

Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2006). *The colour of democracy: Racism in Canadian society* (3rd Edition). Nelson.

Hinds, L. (2009). Public Satisfaction with Police: The Influence of General Attitudes and Police-Citizen Encounters. *International Journal of Police Science & Management, 11*(1), 54-66.

Hipp J. R. (2016). Collective efficacy: How is it conceptualized, how is it measured, and does it really matter for understanding perceived neighborhood crime and disorder? *Journal of criminal justice*, *46*, 32–44. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2016.02.016

Hirschfield, P. (2020). Prevention: Community Programs. In *Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice*. Encyclopedia.com. Retrieved October 13, 2020, from https://www.encyclopedia.com/law/legal-and-political-magazines/prevention-community-programs

Hitchens, B., Carr, P., Clampet-Lundquist, S., Jones-Brown, D., & Novich, M. (2018). The Context for Legal Cynicism: Urban Young Women's Experiences With Policing in Low-Income, High-Crime Neighborhoods. *Race and Justice, 8*(1), 27-50.

Hobson-Prater, T. & Leech, T. (2012). The significance of race for neighborhood social cohesion: Perceived difficulty of collective action in majority black neighborhoods. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 39*(1), 89.

Hollis, M. (2016). Community-Based Partnerships: Collaboration and Organizational Partnerships in Criminal Justice. *Journal of Family Strengths, 16*(2), 1-17. https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1325&context=jfs

Holloway, I., Brown, L., & Shipway, R. (2010). Meaning not measurement. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management, 1*(1), 74-85.

Homel, R. (2005). Developmental Crime Prevention, In N. Tilley (Ed.), *Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety* (1st Edition, pp. 71-106), Willan.

Homel, R. (2007). Crime prevention. In H. Hayes and T. Prenzler, (Eds.), *An Introduction to Crime and Criminology* (5th Edition, 351-361). Pearson.

Homel, R., Elias, G., & Hay, I. (2001). Developmental prevention in a disadvantaged community. In J. Dixon & G. Vimpani (Eds.), *Social origins of health and wellbeing* (pp. 269-279). Cambridge University Press.

Hope, T. (1995). Community crime prevention. *Crime and Justice, 19*, 21-89.

Hope, T. (2001). Community Crime Prevention in Britain: A Strategic Overview. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 1*(4), 421-439.

Hughes, G., & Chan, W. (2000). *Understanding crime prevention: Social control, risk & late modernity*. Canadian Journal of Sociology.

Huq, A., Jackson, J., & Trinkner, R. (2017). Legitimating Practices: Revisiting the Predicates of Police Legitimacy. *British Journal of Criminology, 57*(5), 1101-1122.

International Association of Chief of Police. (2015). *IACP National Policy Summit on Community-Police Relations: Advancing a Culture of Cohesion and Community Trust*. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.michiganpolicechiefs.org/resource/resmgr/21st_references/Community-Police_Relations.pdf

International Centre for the Prevention of Crime. (2016). *International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Cities and the New Urban Agenda*. https://cipc-icpc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/CIPC_5th_IR5_Final.pdf

International Centre for the Prevention of Crime. (2010). *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Trends and Perspectives*. https://cipc-icpc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/International_Report_2010.pdf

Jackson, J., Hough, M., Bradford, B., Hohl, K., & Kuha, J. (2012). *Policing by consent: Understanding the dynamics of police power and legitimacy*. European Social Survey. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2168702

Jacoby, A. (2018). Social Service Organizations, Discretionary Funding, and Neighborhood Crime Rates. *Crime & Delinquency, 64*(9), 1193-1214.

Jamieson, W. (2008). Factors related to successful mobilization of communities for crime prevention. *IPC Review, 2*, 11-33.

Johansson, K. (2014). Crime prevention cooperation in Sweden: a regional case study. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, *15*(2), 143–158.

John, V. & Lewis, V. (2019). "Vilify Them Night After Night": Anti-Black Drug Policies, Mass Incarceration, and Pathways Forward. *Kennedy School Review, 20*, 18-29.

Joyner, R., Rouse, A., & Glatthorn, A. (2013). *Writing the winning thesis or dissertation: A step-by-step guide* (3rd ed.). Corwin Press.

Kang, J. (2015). Participation in the Community Social Control, the Neighborhood Watch Groups: Individual- and Neighborhood-Related Factors. *Crime & Delinquency, 61*(2), 188-212.

Kelly, K. D., Caputo, T., & Jamieson, W. (2005). Reconsidering sustainability: Some implications for community-based crime prevention. *Critical Social Policy, 25*(3), 306-324.

Kenneth D. & Raymond S. (2008). Victimization, contact with police, and neighborhood conditions: reconsidering African American and Hispanic attitudes toward the police. *Police Practice and Research*, (9)5, 395-415.

Kerezsi, K. (2009), Crime prevention in Hungary: why is it so hard to argue for the necessity of a community approach? In A. Crawford (Eds.), *Crime prevention policies in comparative perspective* (1st Edition, pp.214-233). Willan Pub.

Khenti, A. (2013). The Canadian war on drugs: Structural violence and unequal treatment of Black Canadians. *The International Journal of Drug Policy, 25*(2), 190-195.

Kitchen, P. (2006). *Exploring the Link between Crime and Socio-Economic Status in Ottawa and Saskatoon: A Small-Area Geographical Analysis*. Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice, Canada. https://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/crime/rr06_6/rr06_6.pdf

Klenowski, P. (2009). Peacemaking criminology: Etiology of crime or philosophy of life? *Contemporary Justice Review 12*(2), 207-222.

Knoke, D. (1981). Commitment and Detachment in Voluntary Associations. *American Sociological Review, 46*(2), 141-158.

Koschmann, M., & Laster, N. (2011). Communicative Tensions of Community Organizing: The Case of a Local Neighborhood Association. *Western Journal of Communication, 75*(1), 28-51.

Kwak, N., Shah, D., & Holbert, R. (2004). Connecting, Trusting, and Participating: The Direct and Interactive Effects of Social Associations. *Political Research Quarterly (formerly WPQ), 57*(4), 643-652.

La Vigne, N., Fontaine, J., & Dwivedi, A. (2017). *How do people in high-crime, low income communities view the police?* Urban Institute. http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/88476/how_do_people_in_high-crime_view_the_police.pdf

Lab, S. P. (2004). Crime prevention, politics, and the art of going nowhere fast. *Justice Quarterly, 21*(4), 681-692.

Lai, M. (2005). Responding to Asian Pacific Islander Youth Violence: Lessons Learned from a Community Mobilization Strategy. *Crime & Delinquency, 51*(2), 158-179.

Laprade, M., & Auspos, P. (2006). Improving a Neighborhood's Residential Environment: Pathways to Physical and Social Change. In K. Fulbright-Anderson & P. Auspos, (Eds.), *Community change: Theories, practices and evidence* (pp.141-194). The Aspen Institute. https://www.aspeninstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/files/content/docs/rcc/COMMUNITYCHANGE-FINAL.PDF

Lee, H., Kim, D., Woo, Y., & Reyns, B. (2019). Determinants of citizen support for community-oriented policing. *Police Practice and Research, 20*(1), 34-47.

Lee, M., Taylor, E., & Willis, M. (2019). Being held to account: Detainees' perceptions of police body-worn cameras. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 52*(2), 174–192.

Lejins, P. (1967). The Field of Prevention. In W. Amos & C. F. Wellford, (Eds), *Delinquency prevention: Theory and practice*. Prentice-Hall.

Léonard, L., Rosario, G., Scott, C., & Bressan, J. (2005). Building Safer Communities: Lessons Learned From Canada's National Strategy. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 47*(2), 233-250.

Lersch, K., Bazley, T., Mieczkowski, T. & Childs, K. (2008). Police use of force and neighbourhood characteristics: An examination of structural disadvantage, crime, and resistance. *Policing and Society, 18*(3), 282-300.

Leverentz, A., & Williams, M. (2017). Contextualizing Community Crime Control: Race, Geography, and Configurations of Control in Four Communities. *Criminology, 55*(1), 112-136.

Lewis, D. A., & Salem, G. (1981). Community Crime Prevention: An Analysis of a Developing Strategy. *Crime & Delinquency, 27*(3), 405–421.

Li, H., Wen, B., & Cooper, T. (2019). What Makes Neighborhood Associations Effective in Urban Governance? Evidence From Neighborhood Council Boards in Los Angeles. *The American Review of Public Administration, 49*(8), 931-943.

Li, Y., Ren, L. & Luo, F. (2016). Is bad stronger than good? The impact of police-citizen encounters on public satisfaction with police. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 39*(1), 109-126.

Liederbach, J., Fritsch, E., Carter, D., & Bannister, A. (2008). Exploring the limits of collaboration in community policing. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 31*(2), 271-291.

Linden, R. (2010). An Evidence-Based Approach to Community Safety. *International Journal of Child, Youth & Family Studies, 1*(1), 53-77.

Little, W. (2016). *Introduction to Sociology* (2nd Canadian Edition). BCcampus. https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology2ndedition/

Lloyd, K. and Foster, J., (2009). *Citizen focus and community engagement: a review of the literature*. The Police Foundation.

Locke, T., Henry, H., and Johnson T. (2004). *The Challenge of Achieving Successful Collaborative Interventions: multi-agency co-operation in community safety and other "wicked issues".* University of the West of England. http://fileserver.idpc.net/library/The%20Challenge%20of%20Achieving%20Successful%20Collaborative%20Interventions.pdf

Longhurst, R. (2003). Semi-structured Interviews and focus Groups. In N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine (Eds), *Key methods in geography* (pp. 103-114). Sage Publications Inc.

Lowe, L. (2009, November 12). *Halifax's hidden racism: Haligonians are shocked---shocked!---at charges of racism.* The Coast. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/hidden-racism/Content?oid=1072189

Luck, S. (2014, January 29). *'Polite racism,' inequality still linger in N.S., say minority groups: African Nova Scotian community still feels burden of systematic racism*. CBC News. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/polite-racism-inequality-still-linger-in-n-s-say-minority-groups-1.2831606

Luck, S. (2016, May 20). *Black, Indigenous prisoners over-represented in Nova Scotia jails: Youths are the most over-represented, compared to provincial population*. CBC News. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/black-indigenous-prisoners-nova-scotia-jails-1.3591535

Lurigio, A.J. & Rosenbaum, D.P. (1986). Evaluation research in community crime prevention: A critical look at the field. In D.P. Rosenbaum, (Ed.), *Community Crime Prevention: Does it Work?* (pp. 19–44). Sage Publications Inc.

Lyman, M.D., & Potter, G.W. (2014). *Organized Crime (6th Ed.)*. Pearson.

Mackinnon, G. (2010). Blended research design. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research* (pp. 55-55). Sage Publications Inc.

Makinde, O. (2019). *Towards a Healthy City: Addressing Anti-Black Racism in Vancouver, University of British Columbia & City of Vancouv*er. University of British Columbia. https://sustain.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/2019-68_Towards%20a%20Healthy%20City%20-%20Addressing_Makinde.pdf

Manca A.R. (2014). Social Cohesion. In A.C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_2739

Mastrofski, S., Willis, J., Kochel, T. (2007). The Challenges of Implementing Community Policing in the United States, Policing: *A Journal of Policy and Practice, Volume, 1*(2), 223–234.

Matsueda, R. (2006). Differential social organization, collective action, and crime. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 46*(1), 3-33.

Matthies, C., Keller, K., & Lim, N. (2012). *Identifying Barriers to Diversity in Law Enforcement Agencies*. Rand Corporation. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2012/RAND_OP370.pdf

Maxson, C., Hennigan, K., & Sloane, D. (2002). *Not Just a Popularity Contest: Factors That Influence Public Opinion of the Police*. United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/197062.pdf

Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. (2013). Shaping Citizen Perceptions of Police Legitimacy: A Randomized Field Trial of Procedural Justice. *Criminology, 51(*1), 33-63.

Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Davis, J., Sargeant, E., & Manning, M. (2013). Legitimacy in Policing: A Systematic Review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews, 9*(1), I-147.

McCalla, A. (2012). *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence: Literature Reviews (Volume 5, Chapter 11: Perceptions of Injustice, Crime and Violence).* In R. Mcmurtry & A. Curling, *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence Report*. Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services, Ontario. http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/professionals/oyap/roots/volume5/chapter11_violence_perceptions.aspx

Mccandless, S. (2018). Improving Community Relations: How Police Strategies to Improve Accountability for Social Equity Affect Citizen Perceptions. *Public Integrity*, *20*(4), 370-385.

McFee, D. R., & Taylor, N. E. (2014). *The Prince Albert Hub and the emergence of collaborative and risk-driven community safety* (Canadian Police College discussion paper series). Public Safety Canada. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/sp-ps/PS67-1-1-2014-eng.pdf

Melles, B. (2003). *The Relationship Between Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change: The Case of the Gottingen Street Neighbourhood, 1950-2000* [Master's Thesis, Dalhousie University]. Dalhousie University Institutional Repository. http://fizz.phys.dal.ca/~hewitt/Web/papers/Bruksthesis.pdf

Mentel, Z. (2012). *Racial Reconciliation, Truth-Telling, And Police Legitimacy*. United States Department of Justice. https://www.nccpsafety.org/assets/files/library/Racial_Reconciliation__Police_Legitimacy.pdf

Merenda, F., Trent, J., Rinke, C. & Buchanan, M. (2020). Understanding citizen satisfaction with the police: Results from a community survey. *Police Practice & Research*, *22*(1) 692-710.

Messner, S.F. & Zimmerman, G.M. (2012). Child social skills training in the prevention of antisocial development and crime. In B.C. Welsh & D.P. Farrington (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Crime Prevention* (pp. 155–172). Oxford University Press.

Miethe, T. (1991). Citizen-Based Crime Control Activity and Victimization Risks: An Examination Of Displacement and Free-Rider Effects. *Criminology*, *29*(3), 419-439.

Miller, L., Hess K., & Orthmann, C. (2013). *Community Policing: Partnerships for Problem Solving*. Nelson Education.

Morgan, A. (2011). Police and crime prevention: partnering with the community. In J. Putt (Ed), *Community Policing in Australia* (pp. 54-64). Australian Institute of Criminology. https://researchoutput.csu.edu.au/ws/portalfiles/portal/9956930/34331report.pdf

Mukasey, M. B., Sedgwick, J. L. & Hagy, D. W. (2008). *Paving the Way for Project Safe Neighborhoods: SACSI in 10 U.S. Cities, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/216298.pdf

Murphy, K. (2009). Public Satisfaction with Police: The Importance of Procedural Justice and Police Performance in Police-citizen Encounters. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 42*(2), 159-178.

Myhill, A., & Bradford, B. (2013). Overcoming cop culture? Organizational justice and police officers' attitudes toward the public. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 36*(2), 338-356.

Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Wong, Y., Hamit, S., & Rasmus, M. (2014). The Impact of Racial Microaggressions on Mental Health: Counseling Implications for Clients of Color. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 92*(1), 57-66.

Nadal, K., Davidoff, K., Allicock, N., Serpe, C., & Erazo, T. (2017). Perceptions of Police, Racial Profiling, and Psychological Outcomes: A Mixed Methodological Study. *Journal of Social Issues, 73*(4), 808-830.

Nalla, M., Meško, G., & Modic, M. (2018). Assessing police-community relationships: Is there a gap in perceptions between police officers and residents? *Policing and Society, 28*(3), 271-290.

National Crime Prevention Institute. (1978). *Understanding Crime Prevention*, (Vol. 1), National Crime Prevention Institute Press.

National Crime Prevention Institute. (2001). *Understanding Crime Prevention* (Second ed.). Butterworth–Heinemann.

New Zealand Police. (2008). *Community Policing: An International Literature Review*. New Zealand Government. https://www.police.govt.nz/resources/2008/community-policing-lit-review/elements-of-com-policing.pdf

Nilson, C. (2014). *Risk-driven Collaborative Intervention: A Preliminary Impact Assessment of Community Mobilization Prince Albert's Hub Model*. Centre for Forensic Behavioural Science and Justice Studies, University of Saskatchewan. https://cfbsjs.usask.ca/documents/research/research_papers/RiskDrivenCollaborativeIntervention.pdf

Nilson, C. (2015). *The original game changers: An evaluative report on Prince Albert's Centre of Responsibility and its role in the advancement of community mobilization efforts to improve community safety and wellness*. Centre for Forensic Behavioural Science and Justice Studies, University of Saskatchewan. https://cfbsjs.usask.ca/documents/research/research_papers/COR2015.pdf

Nilson, C. (2016). Canada's hub model: Calling for perceptions and feedback from those clients at the focus of collaborative risk-driven intervention. *Journal of Community Safety & Well Being, 1*(3), 58–60.

Nix, J., & Wolfe, S. (2017). The Impact of Negative Publicity on Police Self-legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly, 34*(1), 84-108.

Nix, J., Wolfe, S., Rojek, J., & Kaminski, R. (2015). Trust in the Police: The Influence of Procedural Justice and Perceived Collective Efficacy. *Crime & Delinquency, 61*(4), 610-640.

Nkwake, A., Trandafili, M., & Hughey, H. (2013). Examining the Relationship Between Intentionality for Child Well-Being (CWB) and Program Outcomes in a Meta-Evaluation. *Child Indicators Research, 6*(1), 97-114.

Nova Scotia Communities, Culture and Heritage. (2021). *African Nova Scotian Affairs: African Nova Scotian Community*. Province of Nova Scotia. https://ansa.novascotia.ca/community

O'neill, M., & Mccarthy, D. (2014). (Re)negotiating police culture through partnership working: Trust, compromise and the 'new' pragmatism. *Criminology & Criminal Justice,14*(2), 143-159.

O'Connor, C. (2008). Citizen attitudes toward the police in Canada. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *31*(4), 578-595

Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2003). *Paying the price: The human cost of racial profiling: Recommendations for future action*. Government of Ontario. http://www3.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/Paying_the_price%3A_The_human_cost_of_racial_profiling.pdf

Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2018). *A Collective Impact: Interim report on the inquiry into racial profiling and racial discrimination of Black persons by the Toronto Police Service*. Government of Ontario. http://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/TPS%20Inquiry_Interim%20Report%20EN%20FINAL%20DESIGNED%20for%20remed_3_0.pdf

Ore, J. (2018, February 12). *'A community of widows': How African-Nova Scotians are confronting a history of environmental racism*. CBC News. https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/features/facing-race/a-community-of-widows-how-african-nova-scotians-are-confronting-a-history-of-environmental-racism-1.4497952

Ostertag, S., & Armaline, W. (2011). Image Isn't Everything: Contemporary Systemic Racism and Antiracism in the Age of Obama. *Humanity & Society*, *35*(3), 261-289.

Owusu-Bempah, A. (2012). *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence: Literature Reviews (Volume 5 Community Policing Strategies)*. In R. Mcmurtry & A. Curling, *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence Report*. Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services, Ontario. http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/professionals/oyap/roots/volume5/preventing03_community_polcing.aspx

Owusu-Bempah, A. (2014). *Black Males' Perceptions of and Experiences with the Police in Toronto* [PhD thesis University of Toronto]. University of Toronto Institutional Repository. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/68227/1/Owusu-Bempah_Akwasi_201411_PhD_thesis.pdf

Panditharatne, S., Chant, L., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2018). At the Intersection of Disadvantage: Socioeconomic Status Heightens Ethnic Group Differences in Trust in the Police. *Race and Justice, 11*(2), 160-182.

Pattavina, A., Byrne, J. M., & Garcia, L. (2006). An Examination of Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention in High-Risk versus Low- to Moderate-Risk Neighborhoods. *Crime & Delinquency, 52*(2), 203-231.

Peak, K., & Madensen, T. (2017). *Introduction to Criminal Justice: Practice and Process*. Sage Publications Inc.

Peel, R. (1829). *Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement*. Retrieved March 21, 2019, from https://www.ottawapolice.ca/en/about-us/Peel-s-Principles-.aspx

Petrosino, C., & Pace, J. (2015). Social Cohesion, Collective Efficacy, and the Response of a Cape Verdean Community to Hate Crime: Learning a New Reality. *American Behavioral Scientist, 59*(13), 1681–1697.

Peyton, K., Sierra-Arévalo, M, & Rand, D. (2019). A field experiment on community policing and police legitimacy. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences - PNAS, 116*(40), 19894-19898.

Pietrantoni L. (2014). Collective Efficacy. In: Michalos A.C. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_434

Polk, K. (1997). *Approaches to Community Crime Prevention*. University of Melbourne. https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.514.8755&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Prenzler, T. (2017). *Understanding crime prevention: The case study approach*. Australian Academic Press.

Prouse, V., Grant, J., Radice, M., Ramos, H., & Shakotko, P. (2014). *Neighbourhood Change in Halifax Regional Municipality, 1970 to 2010: Applying the "Three Cities" Model*. Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership and Dalhousie University.

http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2014/03/neighbourhood-change-in-halifax-regional-municipality-1970-to-2010-applying-the-three-cities-model.pdf

Public Safety Canada. (2009). Common Ground - An Examination of Similarities between Black & Aboriginal Communities. Public Safety Canada. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/cmmn-grnd/cmmn-grnd-eng.pdf

Purenne, A., & Palierse, G., (2017). Towards Cities of Informers? Community-Based Surveillance. Surveillance and Society. *Surveillance & Society, 15*(1), 79-93.

Quillian, L., & Pager, D. (2001). Black Neighbors, Higher Crime? The Role of Racial Stereotypes in Evaluations of Neighborhood Crime. *American Journal of Sociology,107*(3), 717-767.

Rankin, A. (2020, January 16). *Woman accuses Halifax police of racial profiling after violent Walmart arrest*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/news/canada/woman-accuses-halifax-police-of-racial-profiling-after-violent-walmart-arrest-399171/

Rawlinson, P. (2012). Transnational organized crime: Media, myths and moralities. In F. Allum & S. Gilmour (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Transnational Organized Crime* (pp. 294–306). Routledge.

Reisig, M. & Parks, R. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police. *Justice Quarterly, 17*(3), 607-630.

Reisig, M. (2010). Community and Problem-Oriented Policing. *Crime and Justice (Chicago, Ill.), 39*(1), 1-53.

Reisig, M. D., & Giacomazzi, A. L. (1998). Citizen perceptions of community policing: Are attitudes toward police important? *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 21*(3), 547-561.

Ren, L., Zhao, J., Lovrich, N., & Gaffney, M. (2006). Participation community crime prevention: Who volunteers for police work? *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 29*(3), 464-481.

Rengifo, A. F., Slocum, L. A., & Chillar, V. (2019). From Impressions to Intentions: Direct and Indirect Effects of Police Contact on Willingness to Report Crimes to Law Enforcement. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *56*(3), 412–450.

RobertDevet. (2017, November 7). *Halifax police are deeply racist, African Nova Scotians say at police street check community meeting*. The Nova Scotia Advocate. https://nsadvocate.org/2017/11/07/halifax-police-is-deeply-racist-african-nova-scotians-say-at-police-street-check-community-meeting/

RobertDevet. (2018, December 29). *2018 in review: The year in racism*. The Nova Scotia Advocate. https://nsadvocate.org/2018/12/29/2018-in-review-the-year-in-racism/

Roberts, J. V. (2004). *Public confidence in criminal justice: A review of recent trends 2004-05: Report for Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada*. Ottawa: Ministry of Solicitor General of Canada. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/pblc-cnfdnc-crmnl/pblc-cnfdnc-crmnl-eng.pdf

Roman, C., Kane, M., Baer, D. & Turner, E. (2009). *Community Organizations and Crime: An Examination of the Social-Institutional Processes of Neighborhoods*, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/227645.pdf

Rosenbaum, D. (1988) Community crime prevention: A review and synthesis of the literature, *Justice Quarterly*, *5*(3), 323-395. 10.1080/07418828800089781

Rosenbaum, D. (1987). The Theory and Research Behind Neighborhood Watch: Is it a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy? *Crime & Delinquency*, *33*(1), 103-134.

Rosenbaum, D. (2002). Evaluating multi-agency anti-crime partnerships: Theory, design, and measurement issues. *Crime Prevention Studies Volume 14*, 171-225.

Rosenbaum, D., Lawrence, D., Hartnett, S., McDevitt, J., & Posick, C. (2015). Measuring procedural justice and legitimacy at the local level: The police–community interaction survey. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, *11*(3), 335-366.

Ross, J. (2012). *Policing issues: Challenges and controversies* (1st Edition). Jones & Bartlett Learn.

Ruef, M., & Kwon, S. (2016). Neighborhood Associations and Social Capital. *Social Forces, 95*(1), 159-190.

Salmi, S., Voeten, M., & Keskinen, E. (2000). Relation between police image and police visibility. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology,10*(6), 433-447.

Salvatore, C., Markowitz, M., & Kelly, C. E. (2013). Assessing public confidence in the criminal justice system. *International Social Science Review*, *88*(1-2), 3-16.

Sampson, R. (2003). Collective efficacy. In K. Christensen & D. Levinson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of community: From the village to the virtual world* (Vol. 1, pp. 205-206). Sage Publications Inc. 10.4135/9781412952583.n82

Sampson, R.J., S.W. Raudenbush, and F. Earls. (1997). Neighbourhoods and violent crime: A multi level study of collective efficacy. *Science, 227*, 916−924.

Saunders, J. & Kilmer, B. (2021). Changing the Narrative: Police-Community Partnerships and Racial Reconciliation. *Justice Quarterly, 38*(1), 47-71.

Saunders, J. (2015). *Performance Metrics to Improve Police-Community Relations*. Rand Corporation. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT423/RAND_CT423.pdf

Savoie, J. (2008b). *Analysis of the Spatial Distribution of Crime in Canada: Summary of Major Trends* 1999, 2001, 2003 and 2006 (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-561-m/85-561-m2008015-eng.pdf?st=B1-Yc08d

Savoie, J. (Ed.) (2008a). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime: Edmonton, Halifax and Thunder Bay* (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-561-m/85-561-m2008010-eng.pdf?st=GpSV69Nz

Savoie, J., Bédard, F., & Collins, K. (2006). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime on the Island of Montréal* (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics

Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-561-m/85-561-m2006007-eng.pdf?st=kuF6wAOQ

Savolainen, J. (2005). Think Nationally, Act Locally: The Municipal-Level Effects of the National Crime Prevention Program in Finland. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 11*(2), 175-191.

Sawatsky, M., Ruddell, R., Jones, N. (2017). A quantitative study of Prince Albert's crime/risk reduction approach to community safety. *Journal of Community Safety and Well-Being, 2*(1), 3–12.

Schaefer, L., & Mazerolle, L. (2018). Predicting perceptions of crime: Community residents' recognition and classification of local crime problems. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 51*(2), 183-203.

Schafer, J., Huebner, B., & Bynum, T. (2003). Citizen Perceptions of Police Services: Race, Neighborhood Context, and Community Policing. *Police Quarterly, 6*(4), 440-468.

Schaible, L, & Hughes, L. (2012). Neighborhood Disadvantage and Reliance on the Police. *Crime & Delinquency, 58*(2), 245-274.

Schaible, L., Dwight, L., & Heckler, N. (2021). The Influence of Spatial Density of Nonprofits on Crime. *Urban Affairs Review (Thousand Oaks, Calif.), 57*(2), 460-491.

Schneider, A., & Schneider, P. (1977). *Private and public-minded citizen responses to a neighborhood-based crime prevention strategy*. Institute for Policy Analysis.

Schneider, S. (1998). Overcoming barriers to communication between police and socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods: A critical theory of community policing. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 30*(4), 347-377.

Schneider, S. (2000). Organizational obstacles to participation in community crime prevention programs. *International Criminal Justice Review, 10*(1), 32-53.

Schneider, S. (2007). *Refocusing Crime Prevention: Collective Action and the Quest for Community*. University of Toronto Press.

Schneider, S. (2015). *Crime prevention: Theory and practice* (Second ed.). CRC Press.

Schreurs, W., Kerstholt, J., Vries, P., & Giebels, E. (2018). Citizen participation in the police domain: The role of citizens' attitude and morality. *Journal of Community Psychology, 46*(6), 775-789.

Schryen, G. (2015). Writing Qualitative IS Literature Reviews—Guidelines for Synthesis, Interpretation, and Guidance of Research. *Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 37*, 12.

Schryen, G., Benlian, A., Rowe, F., Gregor, S., Larsen, K., Petter, S., Paré, G., Wagner, G., Haag, S., & Yasasin, E. (2017). Literature Reviews in IS Research: What Can Be Learnt from the Past and Other Fields? *Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 41*, 759-774.

Schryen, G., Wagner, G., & Benlian, A. (2015). Theory of Knowledge for Literature Reviews: An Epistemological Model, Taxonomy and Empirical Analysis of IS Literature. In *International Conference on Information Systems (ICIS)*. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33181095.pdf

Schubert, H. (2016). Urban crime prevention - broadening of perspectives. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, *9*(2), 120-136.

Schuck, A., Rosenbaum, D., & Hawkins, D. (2008). The Influence of Race/Ethnicity, Social Class, and Neighborhood Context on Residents' Attitudes Toward the Police. *Police Quarterly*, *11*(4), 496-519.

Sharkey, P., Torrats-Espinosa, G., & Takyar, D. (2017). Community and the Crime Decline: The Causal Effect of Local Nonprofits on Violent Crime. *American Sociological Review, 82*(6), 1214-1240.

Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*. University of Chicago Press.

Sherman, L. (2002). Trust and confidence in criminal justice. In J. Victor & J. Naughton (Eds.), *Annual editions: Criminal justice 2004/2005* (pp. 40-47). McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.

Sherman, L., Gottfredson, D., MacKenzie, D., Eck, J., Reuter, P. & Bushway, S. (1997). *Preventing crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising. Report to the U.S. Congress*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://scarp.ubc.ca/sites/scarp.ubc.ca/files/Preventing%20Crime%20what%20works%2C%20what%20doesn%27t%2C%20what%27s%20promising.pdf

Sherman, L., Gottfredson, D., MacKenzie, D., Eck, J., Reuter, P. & Bushway, S. (1998). *Preventing crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising, Research in Brief. U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Justice Programs*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles/171676.pdf

Shjarback, J., Nix, J., & Wolfe, S. (2018). The Ecological Structuring of Police Officers' Perceptions of Citizen Cooperation. *Crime & Delinquency*, *64*(9), 1143-1170.

Silver, J. (2008). *Public Housing Risks and Alternatives: Uniacke Square in North End Halifax*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Nova_Scotia_Pubs/2008/Public_Housing_Risks_and_Alternatives.pdf

Simmonds, A. (2014). This Land Is Our Land: African Nova Scotian Voices from the Preston Area Speak Up. Dalhousie University. https://nsbs.org/sites/default/files/ftp/EQ20140819_ThisLandIsOurLand_Final.pdf

Skogan, W. (1988). Community Organizations and Crime. *Crime and Justice,10*, 39-78.

Skogan, W. (1989). Communities, Crime, and Neighborhood Organization. *Crime & Delinquency*, *35*(3), 437-457.

Skogan, W. G. (2005). Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters. *Police Quarterly*, *8*(3), 298-321.

Skogan, W. G. 2006. Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with police. *Policing & Society*, 16(2): 99–126.

Slocum, L., Rengifo, A., Choi, T., & Herrmann, C. (2013). The Elusive Relationship Between Community Organizations and Crime: An Assessment Across Disadvantaged Areas of the South Bronx. *Criminology (Beverly Hills), 51*(1), 167-216.

Smith, B., Novak, K., & Hurley, D. (1997). Neighborhood Crime Prevention: The Influences Of Community-Based Organizations And Neighborhood Watch. *Journal of Crime & Justice, 20*(2), 69-86.

Somerville, P. (2009). Understanding community policing. Policing: *An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 32*(2), 261-277.

Squires, P. (2017). Community safety and crime Prevention: A Critical Reassessment. In N. Tilley (Ed.), *Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety* (Second Edition, pp 32-53). Willan.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage Publications Inc.

Staples, R. (2011). White Power, Black Crime, and Racial Politics. *The Black Scholar, 41*(4), 31-41.

Stein, R., & Griffith, C. (2017). Resident and Police Perceptions of the Neighborhood: Implications for Community Policing. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 28*(2), 139-154.

Stone, C., & Travis, J. (2011). *Toward a new professionalism in policing*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/232359.pdf

Sutton, A. (1994). Crime Prevention: Promise or Threat? *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 27*(1), 5-20.

Sutton, A., Cherney, A., & White, R. (2008). *Crime prevention: Principles, perspectives and practices*. Cambridge University Press.

Swaroop, S. & Krysan, M. (2011). The Determinants of Neighborhood Satisfaction: Racial Proxy Revisited. *Demography, 48*(3), 1203-1229.

Syla, T. & Forrester, S. (2018). *Community Mobilization: UNDP Approach Towards Community Security And Social Cohesion*. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). http://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/library/recovery-and-peacebuilding/community-mobilization-guidebook.html

Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing Things Differently: The Dimensions of Public Perceptions of Police Legitimacy. *Criminology*, *51*(1), 103-135.

Tattrie, J. (2021). Africville. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved January 4, 2021, from https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/africville

Telep, C., & Hibdon, J. (2018). Community Crime Prevention in High-Crime Areas: The Seattle Neighborhood Group Hot Spots Project. *City & Community*, *17*(4), 1143-1167.

Thomas, G. (2011). A Typology for the Case Study in Social Science Following a Review of Definition, Discourse, and Structure. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *17*(6), 511-521.

Thomas, M., & Burns, P. (2005). Repairing the Divide. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 3*(1-2), 71-90.

Thomson, A. (2017, February 09). Systemic Racism Plaguing Nova Scotia: Report. *Huffpost*. https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/14661566

Tibamanya mwene Mushanga. (2013). *Dictionary of criminology*. Kampala.

Tilley, N. (2005). *Handbook of crime prevention and community safety* (1st Edition). Willan.

Tilley, N. (2009). *Crime prevention* (1st Edition). Willan.

Tonry, M., & Farrington, D. (1995). Strategic Approaches to Crime Prevention. *Crime and Justice, 19*, 1-20.

Trevethan, S. & Rastin, C.J. (2004). A profile of visible minority offenders in the federal Canadian correctional system. Correctional Service of Canada (Research Branch). https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/092/r144_e.pdf

Trinkner, R., Jackson, J., & Tyler, T. (2018). Bounded Authority: Expanding "Appropriate" Police Behavior Beyond Procedural Justice. *Law and Human Behavior, 42*(3), 280-293.

Trojanowicz, R., and B. Bucqueroux. (1998). *Community Policing: How to Get Started* (2nd Ed.). Routledge.

Turner, N., McKnight, J., & Kretzmann, J. (1999). *A guide to mapping and mobilizing the associations in local neighborhoods* (Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University). ACTA Publications. https://resources.depaul.edu/abcd-institute/publications/Documents/Workbooks/MappingAssociations.pdf

Tyler, R. (2003). Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law. *Crime and Justice (Chicago, Ill.)*, *30*, 283-357.

Tyler, R. (2006). Restorative Justice and Procedural Justice: Dealing with Rule Breaking. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*(2), 307-326.

Tyler, T. R., & Fagan, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities. *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law, 6*, 231-274.

Tyler, T.R. (2004). Enhancing Police Legitimacy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 593*(1), 84-99.

United States Department of Justice. (n.d.). *Importance of Police-Community Relationships and Resources for Further Reading*. https://www.justice.gov/crs/file/836486/download

United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). (2002). *Guidelines for the Prevention of Urban Crime (resolution 1995/9, Annex)*. https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/resolution_2002-13.pdf

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2010). *Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines making them work: Criminal justice handbook series)*. United Nations Publication. https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/Handbook_on_Crime_Prevention_Guidelines_-_Making_them_work.pdf

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2011). *Handbook on Police Accountability, Oversight and Integrity: Criminal Justice Handbook Series*. United Nations Publication.

https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/Handbook_on_police_Accountability_Oversight_and_Integrity.pdf

Vallée, M., & Caputo, T. (Eds.). (2011). *Crime Prevention and Community Safety for Children and Youth in Canada*. University of Victoria. https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/bitstream/handle/1828/4621/Vall%C3%A9e_Michel%20_CrimePrevention_2011.pdf?sequence=1

Van Dijk J., Tseloni A. & Farrell G. (Eds.). (2012). *The International Crime Drop*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Dijk, J. & De Waard, J. (1991). A two-dimensional typology of crime prevention projects: With a bibliography. *Criminal Justice Abstracts, 23*, 483-503.

Vangen, S., Hayes, J., & Cornforth, C. (2015). Governing cross-sector, inter-organizational collaborations. *Public Management Review, 17*(9), 1237–1260.

Vaughan, A. (2017, February 8). *Nova Scotia plagued by systemic racism: report*. The Globe and Mail. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/nova-scotia-plagued-by-systemic-racism-report/article33951685/#comments

Wagner, G., Prester, J., Roche, M., Schryen, G., Benlian, A., Par´e, G. & Templier, M. (2021). Which factors affect the scientific impact of review papers in IS research? A scientometric study. *Information & Management, 58*(3), 103427.

Wahl, R. & White, S. (2017). Deliberation, Accountability, and Legitimacy: A Case Study of Police-Community Forums, *The University of Chicago Press Journal, 49*(4), 489-517.

Wakefield, A. & Fleming, J. (2009). *The Sage dictionary of policing*. Sage Publications Inc.

Waldron, I., Price, S., & Grant, J. (2015). *Final Study Report For North End Matters: Using the People Assessing their Health Process (PATH) to Explore the Social Determinants of Health in the Black Community in the North End*. Dalhousie University. https://cdn.dal.ca/content/dam/dalhousie/pdf/healthprofessions/School%20of%20Nursing/Final_PATH_Report_2015.pdf

Walker, C.R. & Walker, S.G. (1993). *The role of citizen volunteers, User report community policing series, 1993–2006*. Solicitor General Canada. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%207936.c83%20w3%201993-eng.pdf

Wallace, M., Wisener, M., & Collins, K. (2006). *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime in Regina* (Crime and Justice Research Paper Series). Statistics Canada. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-561-m/85-561-m2006008-eng.pdf?st=GykaGhWx

Walle, S. V. (2009). Confidence in the Criminal Justice System: Does Experience Count? *British Journal of Criminology, 49*(3), 384-398.

Waller, I. & Weiler, D. (1985). *Crime prevention through social development: An overview with sources*. Canadian Council on Social Development. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/103113NCJRS.pdf

Waller, I. (2006). *Less Law, More Order: The Truth about Reducing Crime*. Praeger.

Walters, R., (1996). The 'dream' of multi-agency crime prevention: pitfalls in policy and practice. In R. Homel, (Ed.), *The Politics and Practice of Situational Crime Prevention*. Criminal Justice Press.

Warde, B. (2013). Black Male Disproportionality in the Criminal Justice Systems of the USA, Canada, and England: A Comparative Analysis of Incarceration. *Journal of African American Studies (New Brunswick, N.J.), 17*(4), 461-479.

Warner, B., Beck, E., & Ohmer, M. (2010). Linking informal social control and restorative justice: Moving social disorganization theory beyond community policing. *Contemporary Justice Review, 13*(4), 355-369.

Wehrman, M. & De Angelis, J. (2011). Citizen Willingness to Participate in Police-Community Partnerships: Exploring the Influence of Race and Neighborhood Context. *Police Quarterly, 14*(1), 48-69.

Weitzer, R. & S. Tuch. (1999). Race, class, and perceptions of discrimination by the police. *Crime and Delinquency, 45*(4), 494−507.

Weitzer, R. & S. Tuch. (2002). Perceptions of racial profiling: Race, class, and personal experience. *Criminology, 40*(2), 435−456.

Weitzer, R. & Touch, S. (2004). Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct. *Social Problems (Berkeley, Calif.), 51*(3), 305-325.

Weitzer, R. & Tuch, A. (2005). Determinants of Public Satisfaction with the Police. *Police Quarterly, 8*(3), 279-297.

Weitzer, R. (2015). American Policing Under Fire: Misconduct and Reform. *Society (New Brunswick), 52*(5), 475-480.

Weitzer, R., Tuch, S., & Skogan, W. (2008). Police–Community Relations in a Majority-Black City. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 45*(4), 398-428.

Welsh, B., & Farrington, D. (2000). Monetary Costs and Benefits of Crime Prevention Programs. *Crime and Justice, 27*, 305-361.

Welsh, B., & Farrington, D. (2012). Crime Prevention and Public Policy. In D. Farrington & B. Welsh (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Crime Prevention*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195398823.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195398823-e-1#oxfordhb-9780195398823-bibItem-70

Welsh, B., & Farrington, D. (2012). *The Future of Crime Prevention: Developmental and Situational Strategies*. National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice. https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/237329.pdf

Welsh, B., Zimmerman, G., & Zane, S. (2018). The Centrality of Theory in Modern Day Crime Prevention: Developments, Challenges, and Opportunities. *Justice Quarterly, 35*(1), 139-161.

Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. Sage Publications Inc.

Wentz, E., & Schlimgen, K. (2012). Citizens' perceptions of police service and police response to community concerns. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 35*(1), 114-133.

White, C., Hogan, M., Shelley, T. & Unnithan, P. (2018). The influence of procedural justice on citizen satisfaction with state law enforcement. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 41*(6), 687-703.

White, K. (2009). Meztizaje and remembering in Afro-Mexican communities of the Costa Chica: Implications for archival education in Mexico. *Archival Science, 9*(1), 43-55.

Wo, J. (2016). Community Context of Crime: A Longitudinal Examination of the Effects of Local Institutions on Neighborhood Crime. *Crime & Delinquency*, *62*(10), 1286-1312.

Wo, J. (2018). Understanding the density of nonprofit organizations across Los Angeles neighborhoods: Does concentrated disadvantage and violent crime matter? *Social Science Research, 71*, 56-71.

Wo, J. (2019). Revisiting the Crime Control Benefits of Voluntary Organizations: Organizational Presence, Organizational Capacity, and Crime Rates in Los Angeles Neighborhoods. *Crime & Delinquency, 65*(7), 916-940.

Wo, J., Hipp, J., & Boessen, A. (2016). Voluntary Organizations and Neighborhood Crime: A Dynamic Perspective. *Criminology, 54*(2), 212-241.

Wortley, R. (2010). Critiques of situational crime prevention. In B. Fisher & S. Lab (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Victimology and Crime Prevention* (pp. 884-887). Sage Publications Inc.

Wortley, S. & Owusu-Bempah, A. (2011). The usual suspects: Police stop and search practices in Canada. *Policing & Society*, *21*(4), 395-407.

Wortley, S. (2019). *Halifax, Nova Scotia: Street Checks Report*. Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. https://humanrights.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/editor-uploads/halifax_street_checks_report_march_2019_0.pdf

Wortley, S. Laniyonu, A., & Laming, E. (2020). *Use of force by the Toronto Police Service: Final Report*. Ontario Human Rights Commission.

http://www3.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/Use%20of%20force%20by%20the%20Toronto%20Police%20Service%20Final%20report.pdf

Wu, Y., Sun, I., & Triplett, R. (2009). Race, Class or Neighborhood Context: Which Matters More in Measuring Satisfaction with Police? *Justice Quarterly*, *26*(1), 125-156.

Yilmaz, S. (2013). Tailoring model in reforming police organizations towards community policing. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *26*(5), 897-924.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th Edition). Sage Publications Inc.

Appendix-1: List of Reviewed Documents

Public Safety Office (2018). Terms of Reference of the Community Mobilization Teams.

MPCMT (2020). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held on 20 February 2020.

MPCMT (2019). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held 23 May 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held 20 June 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Agenda of Meeting of MPCMT dated 18 July 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Agenda of Meeting of MPCMT dated 15 August 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Agenda of Meeting of MPCMT dated 17 October 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held 18 October 2019.

MPCMT (2019). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held 11 May 2020.

MPCMT (2020). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held on 4 June 2020.

MPCMT (2020). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held on 24 June 2020.

MPCMT (2020). Minutes of Meeting of MPCMT held on 6 August 2020.