

CHAPTER 1

Communities, Crime, and Social Disorder



Police watch as protesters hold hands in a ring at a rally in protest of old growth logging in Fairy Creek, BC on June 12, 2021.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

Upon completion of this chapter, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the word “community” as it appears in the phrase “community policing.”
- Define “community” as it relates to crime and social disorder.
- Explain how the concept of “social control” relates to policing in communities where police rarely have to respond and in those where they have to respond often.
- Explain the role of community policing in reshaping community life in neighbourhoods where police respond most often.
- Identify the main parties that must be mobilized and engaged in reshaping community life.

Introduction

This first chapter is all about community, because in truth, community policing is all about community. “Community” refers to people who share common values and work together to resolve their neighbourhood problems. Fostering community well-being is both the primary goal of community policing and the outcome of successful community policing.

A review of the community policing literature over the past decade reveals that few authors or practitioners who have written knowledgeably about the subject have clearly defined the meaning of the word “community” in “community policing.”¹ But all those who use the phrase “community policing” to differentiate it from other forms of policing are investing heavily in the meaning of that word. Otherwise, these would simply be books about “policing.”

The concept and practices of community policing have been changing, adapting, and transforming over time—as they should! (In Chapter 2, we briefly review the history of community policing.) These changes are forced by increasing awareness on the part of municipal governments and police agencies that police alone cannot create and sustain safety for all. Police are essential: we rely on them to respond 24/7/365 to any crisis that threatens harm or victimization, and there is no other group of professionals better trained to do what they do. But it is not enough. Communities that experience the greatest threats to safety and well-being need far more than the most effective police agency can provide to reduce those threats and thus reduce the harm and victimization that result from them.

That is what brings us back to the notion of community and its relationship to policing. What does a community need to keep it safe, if policing is not enough? How can a basically unsafe neighbourhood (where police have to respond often) get what it needs to make it safer, and in so doing, reduce the demand for police and other emergency services? Ultimately, what is the role of police in helping the neighbourhood become safer and healthier for all? We explore the answers to these questions in the remainder of this chapter.

ON PATROL

Peaceful Neighbourhood with High Social Control

It is a beautiful Saturday afternoon. You turn your cruiser into a neighbourhood that you have never visited before. Up ahead you see the elementary school where the playground was recently renovated by the community. The new, bright, and shiny equipment is crawling with youngsters; you can hear their laughter through your open window. Off to the side are chatting parents, drinking coffee. Heading down the street you see a Neighbourhood Watch sign, which always reassures you that the neighbours are looking out for each other. The streets are lined with similarly

styled homes, well-manicured front lawns, and at least two vehicles per driveway. A man from the neighbourhood is washing one of those vehicles, so you stop for a few minutes in front of his house to have a friendly chat. You notice for the first time that the majority of these houses have floodlights above their garages and home security stickers on their front doors, and you're impressed with how organized and proactive this neighbourhood seems. It is no wonder that you never get a service call to this neighbourhood. As you are just about to drive out of the neighbourhood, you see a community garden to your left, full of volunteers, who turn, smile, and wave. This is definitely one of those neighbourhoods in which there are high levels of social control that keep everybody safe and secure—thereby not requiring police attention as often as some other neighbourhoods.

While this neighbourhood could be anywhere in Canada, it is very similar to one in the city of Richmond in British Columbia. Richmond is actively working to create an inviting and safe community by coming together to beautify all aspects of the city. To see the work they have been doing, visit <<http://www.richmond.ca/parks/about/beautification/about.htm>>.

Consider the following questions:

1. You do not know who lives in this neighbourhood, how much money they make, or what their politics are. But you can tell a lot about this neighbourhood just by the observations you made through your cruiser's windshield. What do your observations tell you about the relationships among these neighbours?
2. On the basis of what you can tell about the relationships among these neighbours, how much crime and social disorder would you guess these people experience in this neighbourhood?

Community's Influence on Policing

Think about the word “community.” When you use that word, what does it mean to you? When you think of your own community, how would you describe it? Is it about the people with whom you share a belief system—like those who attend your church, synagogue, mosque, or other place of worship? Is it about geographic location—like the neighbours on the street where you live? Or maybe it is about the people who share the stages and activities in your life—like your fellow students who are studying this text. Community could be about culture and ethnicity—like Somali Canadians who gather at a community centre for traditional holidays and celebrations. Community could be about all of these things: consider a Portuguese Canadian whose community members attend the same Catholic church and live in the same neighbourhood, supporting each other in raising their children and in employment.

Why is your community important to you? What does it do for you? What do you do for it? What makes a community important for anyone? How does a community serve its members? What are the underlying qualities of community that make it an important aspect of our broader social and political systems?

Think about your answers to that last question as we explore the meaning of “community policing” in this chapter and the ones that follow.

James and his co-authors define “**community**” as “a social unit of any size that shares common values ... a group of people who are connected by durable relations.”²

Now review the On Patrol scenario at the beginning of this chapter. That is a description of what one officer sees when driving through a particular neighbourhood. If you were that officer, would you guess that the most important qualities of community that you have identified in your life exist in this neighbourhood? In looking at this neighbourhood, would you guess that the people share “common values” and seem to have “**durable relations**”? How can you tell? What are the visual cues you can use to assess the quality of community in this neighbourhood?

Below is another On Patrol scenario. Read it and answer the same questions: Would you guess that the most important qualities of community that you have identified in your life exist in this neighbourhood? Do the folks in this neighbourhood share common values and have durable relations with each other? How can you tell? What are the visual cues you can use to assess the quality of community in this neighbourhood?

ON PATROL

Unsafe Neighbourhood with Low Social Control

It is a chilly Saturday night as you patrol through the high-crime zone of the downtown core. You are fresh out of the academy and have already experienced more in this small sector of the city than you thought you would in a lifetime of policing. As you drive by an old and beaten-up playground, you see children playing on a broken swing set, unattended, even though it is dark out. As you continue down the street, it’s hard not to feel a sense of pity for the neighbourhood. The alleyways are littered with trash and makeshift shelters. There is garbage blowing across the street and so many of the streetlights are broken, making the street dark and shadowy. As you approach one of the corners, you see a group of girls, not properly dressed for the elements, who turn to walk in the other direction. Not far up ahead you see a group of young men sitting on the stoop of an apartment building. Strewn across the front lawn are broken toys, a derelict barbeque, and broken glass. As you drive by, some of the men look away as if to avoid attention, while others stare at you with contempt. You joined the force to help others, but on nights like tonight, as all the citizens under your care turn away from you, you question your choice.

community a social unit of any size that shares common values (e.g., of safety, security, and well-being); a group of people who are connected by durable relationships

durable relations relationships that are strong, lasting, and endure through the pressures and changes that life, family, and neighbourhood can bring

Although this neighbourhood could be anywhere in Canada, the lower east side of Vancouver, known as East Hastings or the Downtown Eastside, epitomizes it. The lower east side has been battling these types of issues and epidemic levels of drug use. One group of police officers, nicknamed “The Odd Squad,” sought to chronicle these issues in a film about the lower east side entitled *Through a Blue Lens* (see <https://www.nfb.ca/film/through_a_blue_lens>).

Consider the following questions:

1. What does your cruise through this neighbourhood tell you about the relationships among all these neighbours?
 2. What does all the trash in the neighbourhood tell you about the social standards for street and yard maintenance and upkeep?
 3. What can you tell about the relationship between police and these neighbours? Why is the relationship that way?
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The late Jane Jacobs, one of the world’s finest contemporary urban planning experts, reflected on neighbourhoods like those in our two scenarios when she said: “A successful city neighborhood is a place that keeps sufficiently abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them. An unsuccessful neighborhood is a place that is overwhelmed by its defects and problems and is progressively more helpless before them.”³ Is the high-social control neighbourhood in the first On Patrol scenario keeping “sufficiently abreast of its problems”? How can you tell? What about the second scenario: Is this a neighbourhood that is “overwhelmed by its defects and problems and ... progressively more helpless before them”? How can you tell?

Now the big question! Which of our two scenario neighbourhoods is responsible for the largest number of public calls for police assistance and other emergency services, like fire, ambulance, and children’s aid? Of course, the neighbourhood with the least social control generates the most calls for police assistance.

Our first take-away from this analysis is that these neighbourhoods show significant differences. In neighbourhoods where police respond most often, members may share fewer common values, have less durable relations with each other, and face more systemic barriers to life achievement. In contrast, in neighbourhoods where police are rarely required to respond, members share more common values, have far more durable relations with each other, and experience fewer barriers to life achievements.

Both of these scenarios depict neighbourhoods, but only one of these neighbourhoods could be called a “community.” In the neighbourhood where police respond most often, there is little evidence that people are friendly and help each other to solve common problems. An officer patrolling through such a neighbourhood observes that children are playing unsupervised and that broken glass and other debris are a safety risk for them. In neighbourhoods where police respond most often, there is the least community. What does community

policing look like in such neighbourhoods? To stretch the analogy for the sake of learning, how does a police service implement community policing where there is not any (or not much) community? In contrast, what is the role of community policing in neighbourhoods where police rarely have to respond? Is it the same in both of these neighbourhoods, or does community policing play different roles, in different ways, in each? We explore these questions below in our discussion of the mobilization and engagement model of community policing and in the sections that follow.

The Mobilization and Engagement Model of Community Policing

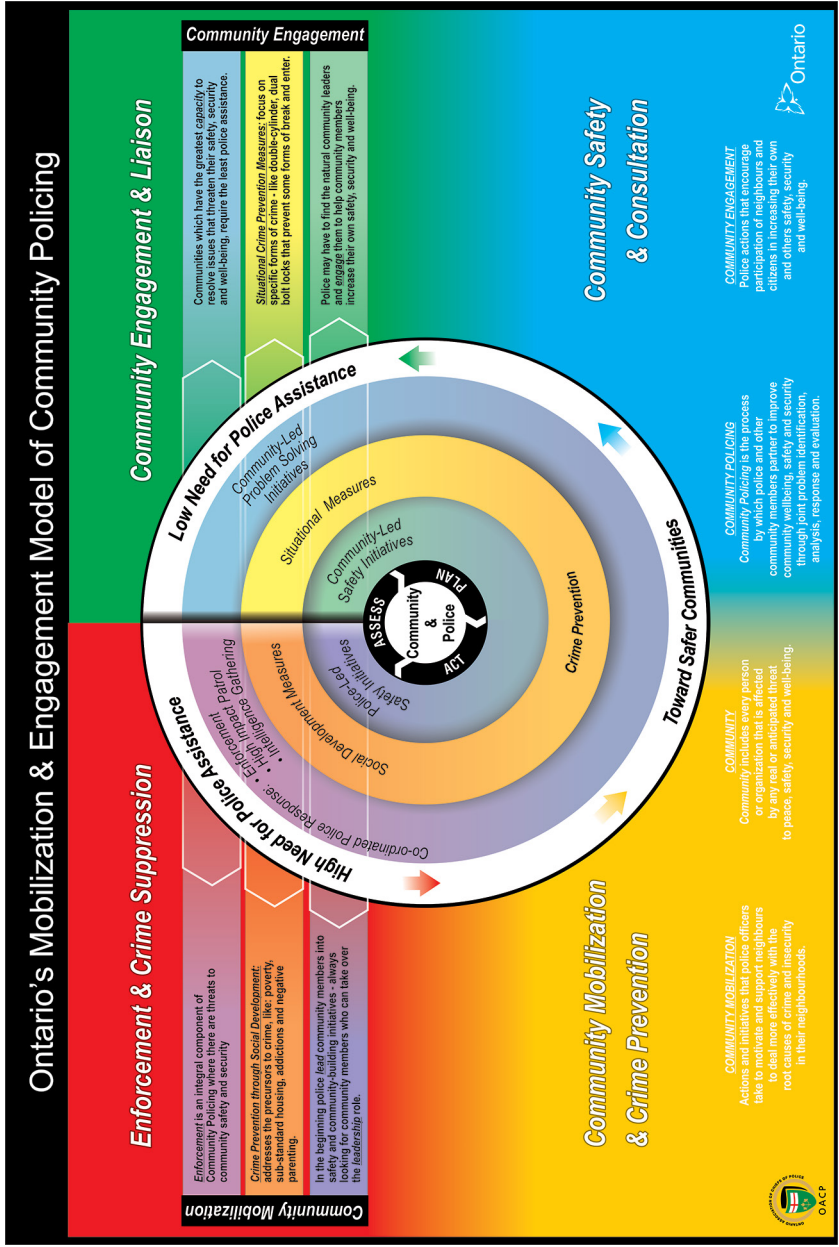
Police leaders in Ontario struggled with these questions when they produced that province's Mobilization & Engagement Model of Community Policing in 2010 (see Figure 1.1).

Without paying attention to the bull's eye, look at the headings in the four corners of this graphic and how those police leaders answered the question about whether community policing is one thing done the same way in all kinds of neighbourhoods. They divided neighbourhoods into four zones: red, amber, blue, and green. In this representation, they are saying that, at any given time, police officers may find themselves responding in a range of neighbourhoods, from those that have very little semblance of real community (**red zone**, where police respond most often) to those that benefit from all of the qualities of community (**green zone**, where police rarely have to respond). Of course, many neighbourhoods fall in between those two extremes. **Amber zone** neighbourhoods are those that request many calls for service and have many repeat calls, but where there are some people and organizations that share common values and work hard to promote safety and security. **Blue zone** neighbourhoods are those in which there are far more people and organizations that share common values and work together to deal with common threats to safety and well-being and request fewer calls for police assistance.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What does the word "community" mean, in the context of community policing?
2. What do we mean when we say that there is less community in neighbourhoods where police respond most often than there is in neighbourhoods where they rarely have to respond?
3. Will an effective community policing program be applied in the same way in all neighbourhoods? Why or why not?

FIGURE 1.1 Ontario's Mobilization & Engagement Model of Community Policing



SOURCE: Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, "Ontario's Mobilization & Engagement Model of Community Policing" (2010), online (pdf): <https://media.socastsm.com/wordpress/wp-content/blogs.dir/2522/files/2020/08/OPC_Brochure_841751.pdf>. Courtesy of OACP.

Community Policing in All Kinds of Neighbourhoods

What is the role of community policing in each kind of neighbourhood?

Neighbourhoods Where Police Often Respond

In such neighbourhoods, where there are the largest number of repeat calls for service and greatest levels of **victimization** as a result of crime and social disorder (red zone), the first priority for effective community policing is crime suppression and enforcement. This means ensuring that people in these neighbourhoods are living and relating lawfully. That becomes the highest-priority community policing goal, not only because it is the job of police to reduce harm and victimization, but also because it is nearly impossible to do anything else to make the community stronger if criminal behaviour and social disorder are so extreme that they prevent people from reaching out to each other and finding constructive ways to resolve community problems. It is simply not safe to try to create community in a neighbourhood that is plagued by crime and social disorder.

Targeted enforcement backed up with good intelligence and reliable data is a good strategy to achieve this community policing goal. If we accept the notion that enforcement and crime suppression are the highest-priority community policing goals in a red-zone neighbourhood, we can effectively mitigate the oft-heard criticism that community policing is “soft on crime.” If a neighbourhood situation warrants rigorous enforcement, then the best community policing strategy is to make enforcement the first priority. In fact, some of the most effective community policing strategies in the most dangerous and crime-ridden neighbourhoods start with rigorous enforcement. For an excellent example of this strategy, see the *60 Minutes* video, “Counterinsurgency Cops: Military Tactics Fight Street Crime” at <https://www.cbsnews.com/video/counterinsurgency-cops-military-tactics-fight-street-crime-3/> (note that viewing the video may require a Paramount+ account) or, for a transcript of the segment, go to <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/counterinsurgency-cops-military-tactics-fight-street-crime-04-08-2013/>.

If, on the other hand, police analysis of the target neighbourhood shows that crime is not the biggest problem, and that the greatest threat to common values and durable relations among the neighbours is too much social disorder (amber-zone neighbourhood), then enforcement is not the first priority of effective community policing. Rather, officers can begin to identify key individuals (e.g., community leaders), groups (e.g., members of a church or mosque), and organizations (e.g., Big Brothers Big Sisters) in the neighbour-

victimization ill-treatment like bullying, oppression, discrimination, abuse, and harassment at the hands of another person or other people

hood and motivate and support them to be more effective in pulling neighbours together to solve their social disorder problems.

Of course, the fewer the crime and social disorder problems, the easier it is for community policing officers to identify effective local groups and individuals to deal with viable threats to safety and well-being in the neighbourhood. For example, in a blue-zone neighbourhood, little police-initiated mobilization is needed because members of the community are already mobilized. Here, the primary task of community policing is to identify neighbourhood members who are working together and provide them with support and outreach to others who can help them keep their neighbourhood as safe and healthy as possible for everyone.

Neighbourhoods Where Police Rarely Respond

In those neighbourhoods where police rarely have to respond, there are the fewest illegal activities and the least social disorder (green zone). In fact, our drive through the On Patrol neighbourhood at the start of this chapter showed that we can expect very few reasons for police to be in this neighbourhood at all. That is because the people here share common values for a safe and secure neighbourhood, meet few systemic barriers to achieving their life goals, and have sufficiently durable relations to resolve neighbourhood problems as they arise. Therefore, effective community policing in green-zone neighbourhoods remains largely a matter of keeping abreast of whatever is happening there and ensuring that the neighbours and community organizations working there feel effectively connected to the police so that should they ever need technical advice or assistance that is appropriate for police to provide, they can obtain it easily and efficiently.

The nature of community influences the strategic goals and tactical choices of community policing. Therefore, in designing community policing for any neighbourhood, it is important to:

- consult with crime and other data analysts to get the clearest and most reliable estimates of crime and social disorder in the neighbourhood,
- define community policing goals accordingly,
- determine whether targeted enforcement should be used initially, and
- determine whether police should take charge in an enforcement action or if it is sufficient for police to simply liaise with community partners.

Building Community

The qualities of community that we value so much in our own lives and neighbourhoods—mutual trust, durable relationships, and equal opportunities for achievement—exist in insufficient measure to build and sustain community safety in those neighbourhoods where police respond most often. We need police (among others) to take steps to help people there create those qualities. We have already identified that police most often have to get this ball rolling by using enforcement and crime suppression so that it is safe for neighbours to

begin to learn about each other and experiment in working together to make their neighbourhood stronger. But, after that, so much more needs to be done to build up the neighbourhood's natural resistance to crime and social disorder.

Recall the description in the On Patrol of a neighbourhood where police respond most often. What were the visual and verbal cues that told you this is a neighbourhood that needs police assistance? Remember that through your cruiser windshield you observed: a decrepit playground, unsupervised children playing, trash and litter, young men loitering, and a lawn littered with broken glass and other debris. These characteristics are known in criminological circles as **criminogenic factors**: these are community or personal characteristics that can signal the probability of crime or social disorder (like trash and litter, broken windows, and derelict vehicles), create opportunities for them (like leaving bikes, toys, and other personal possessions outside), or actually cause them (like domestic violence and poor parenting).⁴ It is important to acknowledge that the mere presence of criminogenic factors does not perfectly predict criminal behaviour or social disorder. But taken together, a lot of them suggest that crime and social disorder are more likely in this neighbourhood than in one where police rarely have to respond. They signal that people in the neighbourhood have less social control than those in a green-zone neighbourhood. Social control, together with community capacity-building and police–community relations, is essential for building community. We explore these topics in the following sections.

Social Control

Social control refers to the ways in which people influence each other's thoughts, values, feelings, and behaviour in their neighbourhood. That influence actually shapes community values and encourages all members of the community to adhere to those values.⁵

The criminogenic factors you can see in neighbourhoods where police respond most often suggest that very little social control exists there. The three strongest sources of social control in any neighbourhood are, in order of influence, family, friends, and neighbours.⁶ Without those sources of social control, a neighbourhood has to rely on rules, laws, and external influences like police and other social agencies to maintain order and keep everybody safe. But if most of the families in the neighbourhood have only one parent, and they are plagued by a combination of parenting pressures, poverty, unemployment,

criminogenic factors community or personal characteristics that can signal the probability of crime or social disorder (like broken windows), create opportunities for them (like leaving valuables unattended), or actually cause them (like domestic violence and poor parenting)

social control the ways in which people influence each other's thoughts, values, feelings, and behaviour in their neighbourhood

underemployment, health issues, racism, and other systemic barriers, it is less likely that they exert much social control over the behaviour of their own children—much less neighbouring kids. Furthermore, if the youth of such beleaguered parents are experiencing rejection in their broader social networks (like racism outside the neighbourhood or being shunned or bullied in school) and they turn to friends whose influence is at all anti-social, then all parental social control disappears. If the neighbours are similarly plagued and there has been no experience of working together on common problems sufficient to foster respect and trust between neighbours, then it is likely that that source of social control disappears too.

The bottom line in this analysis is that in neighbourhoods where police have to respond most often, the neighbours are not exerting sufficient levels of social control on each other. As a result, police are needed to exert social control from outside the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, by the time police are called, deficiencies in social control have too often already led to harm and victimization. Therefore, an important goal of community policing is to get ahead of this cycle—to exert some external social controls (through police and other agencies) before anyone else is victimized, or ideally, to promote internal sources of social control in the neighbourhood.

Police officers who know the people and personalities of the neighbourhood are in an excellent position to identify which neighbours are anti-social and likely not capable of being encouraged or supported to behave in pro-social ways. Similarly, they know who in this neighbourhood has the right attitudes, values, energy, and credibility to begin the process of developing some internal social control, whether they can be identified, whether it is safe for them to do so, and whether they are supported in doing so—all three of which are jobs for community policing.

Community Capacity-Building

In the following In the Community box, consider how police use the people and resources of a neighbourhood to build community.

IN THE COMMUNITY

Community Capacity-Building in Cloverdale

In Cloverdale, a police resource-intensive neighbourhood in southwestern Ontario composed of 250 single-family townhouses, police were called to respond, at least once, every day, all year long. Family and Children's Services recruited five parents to discuss what could be done to tackle neighbourhood problems. Also in attendance were three social workers, one police officer, and a social psychologist. Before the discussion got very far, one

(Continued on next page.)

parent asked the lead social worker to find someone in the neighbourhood to provide childcare, so that the parents could meet without having to be distracted by childcare demands. The lead social worker replied: "No one in the neighbourhood is qualified to provide these services or we would not be out here on child protection issues as often as we are!" The other parents in the meeting agreed with the social worker. The social worker then suggested that her agency could hire an early childhood educator from a nearby community college to come into the neighbourhood and provide childcare. However, the police officer, thinking that a neighbourhood of 250 families had to have at least one neighbour who could provide these services, said that he would go out and find a volunteer to do it.

Within 20 minutes, he found the perfect neighbour. He did it by asking several neighbourhood children, "If someone had to watch over you for an hour or two once in a while, who would you like it to be?" Upon hearing the answer "Mrs Robertson!" 3 or 4 times, he asked an 11-year-old boy to show him where Mrs Robertson lived. Being a uniformed police officer, the constable had no difficulty getting Mrs Robertson to open her door to him when he knocked. He explained what he needed and Mrs Robertson said that she would be delighted to help her neighbourhood by providing some occasional childcare services. He asked her to give him her qualifications to take back to the group to explain why she should do this work. She said, "I work part time in a daycare centre across town, but my strongest qualification is that I've raised ten children in this neighbourhood by myself. Further, half of them are in university or community college, and the other half intend on going."

Mrs Robertson did that work and went on to do many other things that strengthened this community. But it took a police officer to find her. That is community policing at its best.

Despite this recent success, patrol officers who have to respond to this neighbourhood repeatedly often begin to feel frustrated and, eventually, that frustration turns into cynicism. The cynicism turns into serious doubts, not only about the capacity of people in this neighbourhood to solve their own problems, but also about the ability of police and enforcement to help them do so.

In contrast, think about what the police officer who found Mrs Robertson actually achieved. What did he do? The obvious answer is that he found someone to provide childcare so that parents could have their meetings. Of course, that is true—and commendable! But where community policing is concerned, he did much more!

This officer sensed that it was important to find an internal source for the childcare. The social worker actually offered to spend money out of her agency's budget to hire an early childhood educator from a nearby community college to come into this neighbourhood and provide these services. But the

officer, having watched the municipality and a host of external agencies throw resources and programming into this neighbourhood for 20 years without noticeable improvements in either crime or social disorder, knew that sourcing external childcare workers and bringing them into this neighbourhood to solve an internal problem was not a sustainable solution. Instead, he found an internal source of quality childcare.

The second thing he did, by asking children who they would like to have provide these services, was tap into the social capital of this neighbourhood. He probed the children and discovered that they had a trusting relationship with Mrs Robertson. Social capital is like money in the bank: it can be used to get things done in the community. This officer found the one person these children most liked, trusted, and respected. Hence, he knew that she would be able to exert the social control over the children that would be necessary for adequate childcare.

Finally, by bringing Mrs Robertson back to the parents and introducing her—thus giving her a chance to demonstrate that she was an asset to the whole neighbourhood—the officer was strengthening trust and durable relationships among these neighbours. He was providing social control over the children and increasing social capital among the adults. That is community-building; that is community policing. It strengthens the community's ability to control the behaviour of at least some of its members. The more successful police are at increasing a community's capacity to control itself, the less police have to invest in policing there, and the safer the neighbourhood will be.

That is called “**community capacity-building**”: the identification, strengthening, and linking of a neighbourhood's tangible resources, like people, organizations, businesses, housing, and natural environment, and intangible resources, like relationships among residents, spirit of community, pride in the neighbourhood, and willingness to work together for the common good. Community capacity-building has almost limitless possibilities. It is instrumental in:

- improving housing values;
- creating playgrounds and recreational facilities for neighbours;
- organizing community gardens and teaching neighbours how to grow, harvest, and cook fresh vegetables;
- bringing social and human service agencies into a nearby facility to provide one-stop shopping for the neighbours;
- providing onsite daycare, so that parents have an opportunity to do other things;

community capacity-building the identification, strengthening, and linking of a neighbourhood's tangible resources (e.g., people, organizations, businesses, housing, and natural environment) and intangible resources (e.g., relationships among residents, spirit of community, pride in the neighbourhood, and willingness to work together for the common good)

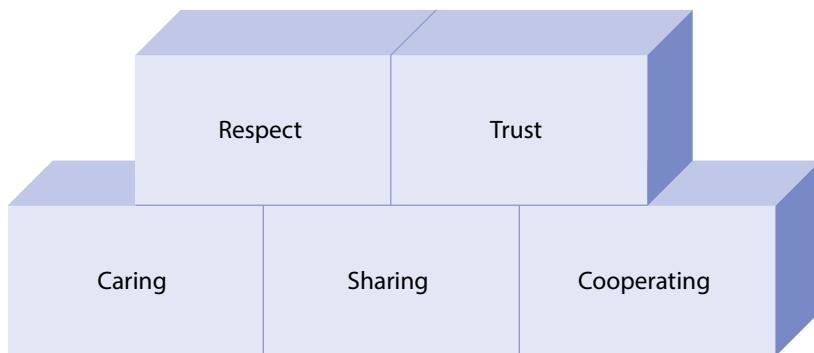
- creating after-school programs for children, run by neighbours on a cooperative basis; and
- providing peer mentoring for high school students to help them stay in school and succeed.

All of those are examples of helping the people in this neighbourhood do things that strengthen them as individuals and, through them, the whole neighbourhood as a collective of people who are making their neighbourhood stronger. All of those things strengthen community capacity to grow and thrive—and over time, they move a neighbourhood from the red zone into the amber zone, and eventually even into the blue zone or green zone.

One way to interpret the Mrs Robertson story is that the police officer recognized the neighbourhood problem of childcare and solved it by finding a qualified person to provide this service. But to fully comprehend what problems are faced by neighbourhoods where police resources and intervention happen most often, and what needs to be accomplished through effective community policing, we have to recognize that a lack of childcare is only a symptom of a much more profound problem. Police and others who wish to find sustainable solutions to local problems have to analyze these problems on a deeper level.

Most neighbourhoods where police respond often have insufficient levels of **social capital**—that is, positive relationships between people that enable them to work together for the common good. The building blocks of social capital are mutual trust and respect, caring about each other, sharing information, and cooperating (see Figure 1.2).

FIGURE 1.2 The Building Blocks of Social Capital



Social capital's building blocks create the foundation for community-building.

social capital positive relationships between people that enable them to work together for the common good

One of the fundamental jobs of community policing officers is to create social capital in red- and amber-zone neighbourhoods. It is not just about providing childcare; rather, the need for childcare provides the officers with an opportunity to increase social capital. Similarly, it is not just about improving police–community relations. Although police will not be able to increase social capital if their own relations with the community are not positive, police legitimacy is only a foundation on which police can work to build social capital in such neighbourhoods.

Social Capital and Police–Community Relations

The introduction to this chapter mentioned that community policing continues to adapt and transform in response to changing times and demands. The concept of social capital is one of the most recent transformations in our understanding of community policing. Police are realizing that part of their role is to help neighbours in systemically and structurally plagued neighbourhoods reconnect with each other, learn that they do share common values, and relate to each other in ways that will give them a chance to learn to trust each other. In effect, police have a significant role to play in reweaving the social fabric that constitutes true community, and which is so lacking where police have to respond most often.

That is a relatively new idea for many police agencies, which are more accustomed to struggling with the challenge of getting people in these neighbourhoods to work with and trust the police. Of course, that has to be accomplished as well. This is known as **police legitimacy**. Police legitimacy means that neighbours value what the police do in their neighbourhood, and they value how police do it. Police legitimacy has been shown to be one of the strongest police-based crime- and **recidivism**-prevention measures.⁷ Where police legitimacy is low, very little that police do there will have the effect of improving neighbours' relationships with each other. Qualified research has shown over and over again that police legitimacy is derived from neighbours' sense of procedural justice when they have to deal with police.⁸ In the context of community policing, **procedural justice** means neighbours feeling that police are being transparent and fair when they are called to intervene or resolve disputes in the neighbourhood.

Think back to our On Patrol scenarios. What evidence did you see in the first scenario of police legitimacy in that Richmond, BC neighbourhood? What about the lower east side Vancouver neighbourhood?

police legitimacy neighbours value what the police do in their neighbourhood and they value how the police do it

recidivism reoffending that occurs after the completion of treatment or sanctions for previous criminal behaviour

procedural justice fairness or perceived fairness in procedures

That raises the question: what is the role of police in community capacity-building, especially in neighbourhoods where they are responding most often? The short answer is community policing. Even before we further unpack what that phrase means, notice that now the word “community” takes on new meaning because we have acknowledged that where police have to respond most often, the qualities of community are in least evidence. There are not people there who likely welcome police—much less want to partner with them. There are other human and social service agencies there; however, they show very little inclination to do more than their responsibility for providing emergency assistance, and they too rarely reach out to police to foster any kind of partnership on behalf of community-building. Hence, policing there has to include measures that help the people and agencies reconnect with each other and work together to solve shared problems. Many of those other agencies and organizations have roles to play in community capacity-building. In some respects, which we will explain later, police are very limited and very specialized in what they can contribute to community capacity-building. Police officers have a great responsibility to build and sustain police legitimacy not only with neighbours in neighbourhoods where police respond most often, but also with all of the other agencies and organizations that care about what is happening in that neighbourhood. Police legitimacy has to come first, but once it is established, police can have a significant, positive impact on improving what we could call “neighbour legitimacy”—that is, neighbours valuing each other and how they behave in the neighbourhood. That opens the door to consideration of all kinds of police strategies and tactics for increasing neighbour legitimacy. We will touch on some of them in Chapter 6.

In 1974, an English social psychologist put his finger on the differences between our two scenario neighbourhoods. He recognized that where community is obviously thriving, people have a sense of belonging and they take responsibility for themselves and other community members. But where community does not exist, although there is a neighbourhood and there are people there, they do not relate particularly well and they do not share responsibility for themselves and each other.⁹ Research in 1986 identified four elements required for a “sense of belonging” in a community: a feeling of membership, the ability to influence others and be influenced by them, fulfillment of personal needs, and a shared emotional connection with other members.¹⁰ That sense of belonging and mutually supportive relationships are the keys to community capacity-building.

Now think about your own community. Can you see evidence of social capital operating there? What about in our second scenario neighbourhood? It naturally follows that where police respond most often, community policing has to include efforts to get people to trust and respect each other, share information, and cooperate in solving community problems. Police have very specialized and important roles in generating social capital in these neighbourhoods.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What do we mean by the phrase “social control,” and how does it apply to community policing?
2. What are the sources of social control in neighbourhoods where police have to respond most often and those where police only rarely respond?
3. What is the role of social capital in building community?
4. What can police do to help build and strengthen social capital in a neighbourhood?
5. Provide three examples of activities that police officers could support in order to strengthen social capital in a neighbourhood where they have to respond most often.

Social Disorder

After falling steadily since the early 1990s, the police-reported crime rate has remained relatively stable over the last decade.¹¹ However, most Canadian police services are recording increasing calls for police assistance, which contributes to public outcries about the escalating costs of policing.¹² What accounts for this disparity? If crime is down, and police are our specialized crime fighters, then one would think that calls for police assistance would be down too.

This disparity is accounted for by a statistic compiled by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, which reported that “crime statistics [do] not provide a complete picture of what police do because ...

- [t]hey do not capture the number of calls for police service; and
- [t]hey do not account for up to 80% of those calls that are not related to offences reported as criminal but are related to social disorder, mental health and other issues.”¹³

These include occurrences like reports of suspicious persons, family disputes, disputes between neighbours, and safety issues associated with addictions and mental health. We use the label “social disorder” to characterize these occurrences—and they are trending upward. In fact, the CACP state that “[s]ocial disorder issues ... have been putting extra pressure on police services for decades.”¹⁴

The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) defines **social disorder** as a “condition in which the behaviour and activities of people at a specific location lack sufficient control or order, deviating significantly from what would

social disorder a condition in which the behaviour and activities of people at a specific location lack sufficient control or order, deviating significantly from what would be considered by most to be comfortable, reasonable, or safe

be considered by most to be comfortable, reasonable or safe.”¹⁵ Social disorder is the first thing we notice when we drive through a neighbourhood where police respond most often, like the one in our second On Patrol scenario, and it affects everybody. Far from engendering a sense of safety, trust, respect, and a willingness to cooperate in solving community problems, social disorder drives people apart, makes them suspicious and fearful of each other, and breaks down **community cohesion**. There goes the social capital!

That raises the question: what is driving social disorder up? Most police officers will answer, “It’s mental health, addictions, poverty, negative parenting, and a host of other social ills.” These are known, in the health sector, as the **social determinants of health**. The OACP defines “social determinants of health” as

protective factors such as access to income, education, employment and job security, safe and healthy working conditions, early childhood development, food security, quality housing, social inclusion, cohesive social safety network, health services, which ensure equal access to all of the qualities, conditions, and benefits of life without regard to any socio-demographic differences.¹⁶

In the policing sector, we call these the “social determinants of safety.” Both terms mean the same thing.

This observation is a game changer for community policing. Most front-line police activities deal not with crime, but with social disorder. Most community policing focuses on promoting the social determinants of health—what the health community calls “health promotion,” but what we in policing can call “safety promotion.”

Before we move on to our next topic of discussion, community well-being, it is helpful to summarize what we have learned in the chapter so far:

- Community is not about place, ethnicity, activity, or ideology as much as it is about community cohesion: a feeling of belonging, being a member, and wanting to work with others to solve community problems.
- Community exists less in neighbourhoods where police are called more often.
- Social disorder predominates in neighbourhoods that demand the most police assistance.

community cohesion strong and positive relationships between people who may have different backgrounds, tackling community problems together and developing a positive climate for community-building

social determinants of health as defined by the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP), “protective factors such as access to income, education, employment and job security, safe and healthy working conditions, early childhood development, food security, quality housing, social inclusion, cohesive social safety network, health services, which ensure equal access to all of the qualities, conditions, and benefits of life without regard to any socio-demographic differences”; in the policing sector, they are often called the “social determinants of safety”

- If our goal is to reduce police calls for service and make people safer, we will have to invest in community capacity-building.
- Police will have to acknowledge and exert their very specialized capacities to foster social capital where they respond most often.

Community Well-Being

“Well-being” is the word we use to describe a person, a family, a group, or even a location for which the social determinants of health are all positive—that is, people’s economic, social, health, psychological, spiritual, and relationship factors are all positive. Obviously, well-being encompasses more than just safety. Police can rush into a situation and make it safe for everybody, but if the social determinants of health are not there, it will rapidly become unsafe again and police will have to rush back.

As such, well-being becomes our target state, especially in neighbourhoods where police are called most often. That has led a number of municipalities across Canada and elsewhere to develop indices of well-being. One, called a sense of community index, has been widely applied in schools, workplaces, and a variety of communities.¹⁷ It and others document both the characteristics of community well-being, like average income levels, employment rates, and family conditions, and how people feel about their community, such as whether they feel safe and trust their neighbours.

The City of Calgary, Alberta has developed an index that provides scores on three main dimensions: economic well-being, social well-being, and physical well-being.¹⁸ Canada has its own index, known as the Canadian Index of Well-being.¹⁹ It provides measures in eight categories: community vitality, democratic engagement, education, environment, healthy populations, leisure and culture, living standards, and time use. A score for each of those categories is generated from eight different measures per category. Three of those measures per category are shown in Table 1.1 in order to provide some idea of how well-being scores are generated.

A number of Canadian municipalities have developed their own well-being indices because they are one of the best predictors of crime, social disorder, and needs for social and economic development. All of them are evidence-based and statistically founded. For example, statisticians and researchers measure neighbourhood characteristics and neighbours’ feelings of safety, and then statistically measure whether those factors correlate with crime and social disorder. Wherever they find a strong correlation, they add that factor to their index of safety and well-being.

Because well-being is so highly correlated with crime and social disorder, incidents of crime and social disorder become good indicators of the well-being status of neighbourhoods. Police can map occurrences, and in so doing, identify those neighbourhoods that are in particular need of more investment in community capacity-building (see Figure 4.8 in Chapter 4 for an example of such a map).

TABLE 1.1 Canadian Index of Well-Being: Categories and Selected Measures

Domain	Selected Measures
Community vitality	Property crime
	Violent crime
	Participation in organized activities
Democratic engagement	Voter turnout
	Satisfaction with democracy in Canada
	Women in Parliament
Education	University degrees
	Youth completing high school
	Socio-emotional competence of young teens
Environment	Greenhouse gas emissions
	Ground-level ozone
	Energy production
Healthy populations	Life expectancy at birth
	Self-reported excellent health
	Probable depression
Leisure and culture	Time spent on social leisure activities
	Volunteer hours
	Expenditures on culture
Living standards	Median income
	Population in low income
	Employment rates
Time use	Workday commute times
	Labour force working 50+ hours/week
	3–5 year olds read to daily by parent

It also helps to overlay on those occurrence maps data from the Canadian census about income levels, single-parent families, levels of education, and other social determinants of health. Most often, those maps will coincide—thus isolating for police, and their community partners, neighbourhoods where everyone has to work on building community. If they do not invest in community capacity-building, then neighbours there will experience increasing levels of harm and victimization, thereby escalating the demand for and costs of emergency response—and the cycle goes on and on.

Because they collect data about crime and social disorder occurrences, police can serve those in other human and social service agencies, and in municipal governments, in learning where the priority neighbourhoods are for community capacity-building. Most human and social service agencies and organizations operate within the resource and mandate constraints provided in their area of specialization. For example, a healthcare provider limits its efforts in community to health resources, technologies, and advice; it does not apply itself to other issues like housing quality, employment, or landlord-tenant relationships. By the same token, a housing agency does not consider issues of health, nutrition, and exercise. Basically, our human and social service agencies are mandated and organized by specialization. Yet we have recently learned that most crime and social disorder results from the confluence of multiple risk factors, like poverty, substandard housing, addictions, single parenting, systemic barriers to personal achievement, and mental illness. There is no single agency that is mandated and has the resources to look at all those factors. When crime and social disorder escalate in these neighbourhoods, we call the police. Police are the ones who can see and recognize the results of deficiencies in the social determinants of safety. They do not get called into neighbourhoods where these determinants are satisfactory. As a result, police can be the first ones to blow the whistle to alert other agencies and organizations of the need to establish priorities for improving the social determinants of health and well-being. That is one of the unique capacities of police agencies. They have the data; they know where the problems are; and they can make that clear to others.

Reshaping Community Life

On crime prevention, criminologist Lawrence Sherman has said:

Communities are the central institution for crime prevention, the stage on which all other institutions perform. Families, schools, labor markets, retail establishments, police and corrections must all confront the consequences of community life. Much of the success or failure of these other institutions is affected by the community context in which they operate. Our ... ability to prevent serious violent crime may depend heavily on our ability to help reshape community life, at least in our most troubled communities.²⁰

Sherman's reference to "our most troubled communities" represents what we have been calling neighbourhoods where police respond most often. In using the phrase "reshape community life," he appears to go even further than community capacity-building. This statement raises questions about just what is required to reshape community life and whether there are any limits to what community mobilization and community policing can achieve.

Community policing is not a magic bullet. It can help reshape community life, but it alone is not sufficient, not least because police have neither the full range of skills, nor the resources needed, to reshape community life. In this context, we are saying that community policing is a useful tool for police to bring to the task. It has special qualities and contributions to make. But a host of other people, agencies, organizations, political will, and resources must be part of this equation too.

Police are not community development experts. But they most often end up being the responder of last resort where social disorder is at its worst. This is because some communities have disintegrated to the point where people are at severe risk of harm and victimization. In those conditions, few others than police have what it takes for emergency intervention. That approach to dealing with such neighbourhoods will work so long as society is willing to tolerate the harms and victimization that occur there, and also willing to pay the escalating costs of policing.

IN THE COMMUNITY

Reshaping Community Life in Bancroft, Ontario

Faced with a \$50,000 surcharge from provincial police at the end of its fiscal year, Bancroft, Ontario, which had insufficient funds to do public works maintenance, passed a resolution in council that rejected the surcharge and refused to pay the bill. After a cooling-off period afforded by the Christmas and New Year break, municipal council rescinded that resolution, paid the bill, and went into negotiations with police about the sources of the surcharge. They learned that it was directly related to the types and frequency of calls for police assistance within the municipality. That is when it occurred to the municipality that if they could do something to get the calls for service down, they might also experience smaller bills from their police service. They asked police for a breakdown of the types and frequency of calls for service, and that information led them to focus on those community-building strategies that would have the greatest impact in reducing the most prevalent occurrences, thereby increasing people's safety and reducing the costs of policing.

This is a good example of police advising and engaging municipal governments on issues of community safety and well-being. By simply passing the costs of policing on to the municipality, they got the municipality to reconsider

what it could do to make its citizens safer—and thereby reduce policing costs. Then, by sharing occurrence data and helping municipal governments and partnering community agencies figure out what to do to reduce the incidence of these calls, people became safer, calls for service dropped, and the costs of policing stabilized. That is effective community policing because it shows how police actions get community to begin to figure out how to do things differently, and better, so that their people become safer.

Web of Organizations Reshaping Community Life

Let's review the logic and science that underpins community policing. It starts with the observation that police have to go most often to those neighbourhoods where people are experiencing the most harm and victimization from crime and social disorder. Crime and social disorder happen most often in neighbourhoods where neighbours have the least social cohesion. They do not stick together; they often do not know each other (much less trust and respect each other) sufficiently to join together in fighting the very conditions that put them at risk in the first place. Often these neighbours are preoccupied with their own personal challenges, which can range from poverty, addictions, parenting pressures, mental health issues, physical disability, substandard housing, social injustices, and other barriers to obtaining the social determinants of health. Police are society's last line of defence in these neighbourhoods; hence, they know where these conditions prevail. They can inform those who wish to collaborate in "reshaping community life" about what the risk factors are and where this work is most needed.

But—and this is a big but—police cannot reshape community life alone. Police must use community policing as a tool to mobilize and engage others in doing this work. Most fundamentally, community policing means police doing things that kick-start efforts to reshape community life in neighbourhoods where the characteristics of community do not exist. Community policing is about creating community in order to reduce harms and victimization. We know that if community exists, people are safer and more secure because they trust and respect each other sufficiently to enjoy common values for safety and well-being, and to band together to deal with community problems as they arise. That is why we make the very important distinction that community policing, in neighbourhoods where community does not exist, is about creating community. If community-building is done well, people are safer and there is less demand for police or other emergency responses.

Our Mrs Robertson scenario showed what can happen when a creative police officer mobilizes a neighbourhood asset who adds tremendous value to the process of reshaping community from the inside out. Most police resource-intensive neighbourhoods are home to community assets like Mrs Robertson. The challenges in mobilizing them are:

- first and foremost, figuring out which neighbours are assets and which are not (a job for which streetwise and experienced police officers are uniquely qualified);

- making it safe for these assets to reach out to their neighbours and begin to apply themselves to reshaping community life (again, police are uniquely qualified to do this); and
- providing these assets with the supports they need to succeed at reshaping community life.

IN THE COMMUNITY

Using Community Assets to Reshape Community Life

For years the local Optimist Club, whose motto is “Friends of Youth,” donated \$10,000 to the local police service to channel into summer activities and programs for youth from neighbourhoods where police respond most often. A community asset whom police had identified in one such neighbourhood asked an officer who happened to be a member of the Optimist Club if he would try to steer some of those funds directly into her neighbourhood. Recognizing that this was an opportunity to develop the advocacy skills of a key figure in the community, the officer answered: “No, but you can! Write a letter to the club president requesting a chance to ask members for this support and I’ll be sure that letter gets to him.” With panic on her face, the community asset said, “I can’t do that! I wouldn’t know what to say.” The officer gently replied, “You agree to write the letter and I’ll help you.” Encouraged, the woman wrote the letter. The club president invited her to attend a regular club meeting and make her pitch to members. The officer attended, in uniform, and sat beside her during the club dinner, then stood up and introduced her. She made her pitch and got thousands of dollars to provide a range of summer craft and recreation services for neighbourhood youth and children whose families could not afford to send them to summer camp. The Optimists benefited too: they felt better connected to the youth they were supporting in the first place.

The Optimist Club scenario exemplifies what is meant by the third condition of community mobilization: providing community assets with the supports they need to succeed at reshaping community life. In this case, it was a simple matter of coaching the community asset on how to write a letter and attending with her when she made her pitch to this fraternal organization. The best part of this approach is that this particular neighbourhood asset learned something about how to write a business letter, approach a local community-based organization, and raise some much-needed funds for her own neighbourhood youth. Through that simple exchange she became even more of an asset for reshaping community life in her neighbourhood—all because of the astute handling of the situation by a police officer who refused to do it for her but supported her in learning how to do it for herself and for her neighbourhood.

Mobilizing assets in the neighbourhood—while necessary—is insufficient to reshape community life to the point where harms and victimization are significantly reduced and where police and other acute care providers are required to respond less often. As Professor Sherman has commented:

Ironically, a central tenet of community prevention programs has been the empowerment of local community leaders to design and implement their own ... prevention strategies. This philosophy may amount to throwing people overboard and then letting them design their own life preserver. The scientific literature shows that the policies and market forces causing criminogenic [factors] are beyond the control of neighborhood residents, and that “empowerment” does not include the power to change those policies It is one thing, for example, for tenants to manage the security guards in a public housing project. It is another thing entirely to let tenants design a new public housing policy and determine where, in a metropolitan area, households with public housing support will live.²¹

So, if police and local neighbourhood assets are insufficient for the task, who else can we engage in helping reshape community life in such neighbourhoods? The answer lies in a whole web of other agencies and organizations that have a stake in what is happening there. The example above of the Optimist Club shows one **community-based organization** (an organization of community members that is usually dedicated to community service of some kind, frequently but not always incorporated, and most often a not-for-profit organization that raises funds to support its activities) that rallied to the cause of reshaping community life, at least for youth, in one small neighbourhood. But there are so many more community-based organizations that can be usefully engaged in rebuilding community where it is most lacking. These include service clubs, faith groups, and activity groups (like parenting, childcare, sports, and educational groups), among others. An effective community policing initiative will identify who and where those community-based organizations are, liaise with their leadership, and engage them in community-building initiatives where their particular strengths will serve best.

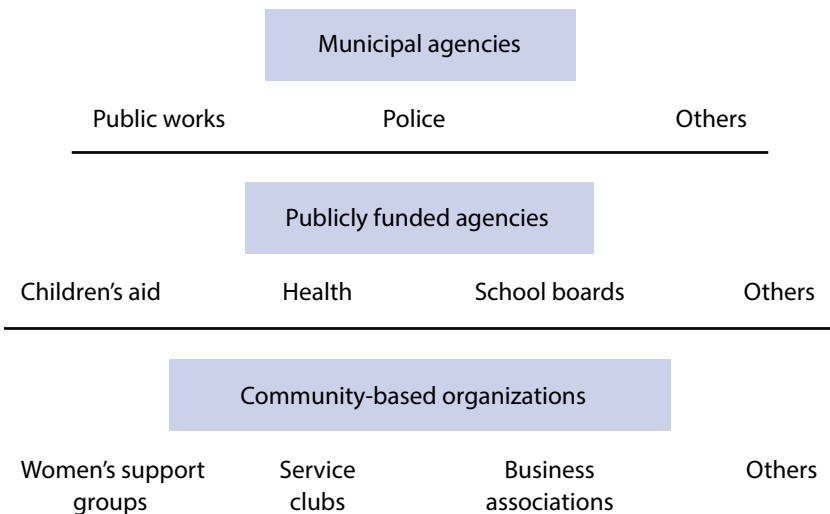
Another important category of organizations that are essential for reshaping community life is the publicly funded human and social service agencies that serve these neighbourhoods. Many of them, like those that deal with child security, income maintenance, social housing, assistance to persons with disabilities, public transit, and healthcare, serve the widest variety of needs and are mandated and funded by various levels of government.

community-based organization organization of community members that is usually dedicated to community service of some kind, frequently but not always incorporated, and most often a not-for-profit organization that raises funds to support its activities

Each of these publicly funded agencies operates under rigorous legislated standards and operational policies and procedures. As a result, many of these mandates, policies, and procedures can inhibit these agencies from effectively collaborating with each other in reshaping community life in neighbourhoods that need that help. An agency may, for example, operate an acute care service in a neighbourhood on behalf of its own mandate and resource base, but find it challenging to work together with other agencies and realize the value of collaboration. This is another critical issue where police have the capacity to engage other human and social service agency partners in more collaborative ventures on behalf of the same neighbourhoods and neighbours where all agencies are already responding too often.

A third category of organizations that are needed to effectively reshape community life is municipal offices and agencies. It forms an important part of the web of organizations and includes a variety of offices and agencies. In a large urban centre, for example, a municipal government may operate an office that focuses on community development—a natural partner for reshaping community life in a neighbourhood. In a small, rural municipality, however, no such office may exist. More likely, a small municipality operates specialized offices in only a few areas, such as public works (water, electricity, sewerage), roads, fire and other emergency services, garbage and recycling, and by-laws. Usually, decisions about something as substantial as reshaping community life are made by an elected council and sometimes supported by an administration that does background work like social surveys, economic development, and municipal planning.

FIGURE 1.3 Three Types of Agencies That Populate the Web of Organizations



Because rural municipalities are small, their tax base does not afford the wide range of government offices and functions that are available in larger municipalities. The small municipality relies on regional and county offices to provide the services that they cannot afford to run locally. That means that any effort to engage public agencies in a local effort to reshape community in a police resource-intensive neighbourhood will require reaching out to agencies and organizations at higher levels of government (regional, county, and even provincial). This is not possible if the team doing this work does not know who or where the agencies are, and does not know the roles, resources, mandates, and leadership of those agencies. Hence, any effort to reshape community life has to be grounded in good research, outreach, and knowledge about the wide range of agencies, services, resources, and advocates that can be engaged to join in this work.

All of which brings us back to the meaning of “community” in community policing. We have already established that community means that people know and trust each other sufficiently to join in creating and sustaining a safe and healthy neighbourhood. Further, we have asserted that where police have to respond most often, community does not exist sufficiently to sustain safety and well-being for all. Hence, at least in part, community policing means reshaping community life in these neighbourhoods. But another interpretation of “community” in community policing is that it requires community-based organizations, human and social service agencies, and municipal and county governance to reshape community life in neighbourhoods where police respond most often. In short, it takes the whole community to build community where community is lacking to the degree that people’s safety and well-being are in serious jeopardy. That is the “community” side of this equation. In Chapter 3, we will begin to unpack the “policing” side of community policing.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Are officers in an effective community policing service able to reshape community life sufficiently so that they get fewer calls for emergency assistance from neighbourhoods where they currently respond often? Why or why not?
2. With reference to a neighbourhood where officers respond most often, what do we mean by a community asset?
3. What other agencies and organizations need to be engaged by community policing in reshaping community life in neighbourhoods that need it?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

When applied to community policing, the word “community” has very special meanings. First and foremost, it means that community is not the same in every neighbourhood; therefore, community policing cannot and should not be the same in every neighbourhood. Before police launch a community policing initiative in any neighbourhood, they have to examine the neighbourhood and find out the extent to which true community operates there—meaning the extent to which the people in that neighbourhood share common values for safety and well-being and have the collaborative capacity necessary to resolve neighbourhood problems.

Second, we know that where neighbours do share common values for safety and well-being and have durable personal relationships that allow them to work together to resolve neighbourhood problems, police are rarely called to provide assistance. In contrast, where neighbours do not share common values, do not have durable personal relationships, and encounter too many systemic barriers to personal achievement, police are called to respond most often. Therefore, the primary goal of community policing in these neighbourhoods is to create the social cohesion and social control that are necessary to ensure community safety and well-being.

Third, “community” in the context of community policing means involving everyone. Police cannot expect to solve profound neighbourhood problems by themselves. What is required is the participation of all possible neighbourhood assets, working together and in partnership with diverse agencies, organizations, and government offices from outside the neighbourhood. Together, they have a good chance at improving the conditions of safety and well-being in even the most marginalized neighbourhoods. The main job for community policing, therefore, is to mobilize neighbourhood assets, engage community partners, and ensure that it is safe for them to collaborate constructively in reshaping community life.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What does “community” mean?
2. Can we assume that all neighbourhoods under the jurisdiction of a single police service have the same degree of community? Why or why not?
3. When police are planning a community policing strategy for a target neighbourhood, what kinds of analysis and research do you think they should do first?
4. On what bases do police decide the main goals or objectives of a targeted community policing initiative?

5. What is the meaning of “social control” and what are its implications for community policing in neighbourhoods where police respond most and least often?
6. What do we mean by “social capital” in the context of community policing? How can social capital be used in community policing?
7. What does “police legitimacy” mean, and how does it relate to community policing?
8. What are the social determinants of health and what do they have to do with community policing?
9. In neighbourhoods where police respond most often, who can police turn to in order to reshape community life by targeting the social determinants of health?
10. If police cannot, and should not, be the sole community builders in neighbourhoods that need community-building, what is their role in community policing?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Police respond to a neighbourhood disturbance and discover an organized rally of 50 people shouting Black Lives Matter slogans and having loud and animated arguments with counterdemonstrators. What is the first priority for a police response? What observations can police make about social capital and social control in this neighbourhood? What opportunities does this present for police and other agencies to work on issues of systemic racism in the community and in the police agency itself? How should police go about developing some of those opportunities?
2. Concerned about increased violence and anti-social behaviour in one neighbourhood, the municipal council has demanded that police increase enforcement there and apply for more federal funding in order to afford increased tactical enforcement capability. Why is increased tactical enforcement capacity insufficient to stop these problems once and for all? What other issues need to be resolved in order to reduce anti-social behaviour there? What other agencies and organizations need to be involved in resolving those issues? What arguments must police make to the municipal council in order to get them to support a more comprehensive community-building strategy in this neighbourhood?

KEY TERMS

community, **6**
 community-based organization, **27**
 community capacity-building, **15**
 community cohesion, **20**
 criminogenic factors, **12**
 durable relations, **6**
 police legitimacy, **17**
 procedural justice, **17**
 recidivism, **17**
 social capital, **16**
 social control, **12**
 social determinants of health, **20**
 social disorder, **19**
 victimization, **10**

NOTES

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