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AN EVALUATION OF THE NORTH END DIVERSION

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AND NEIGHBOURHOOD JUSTICE PROJECT

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FINAL REPORT

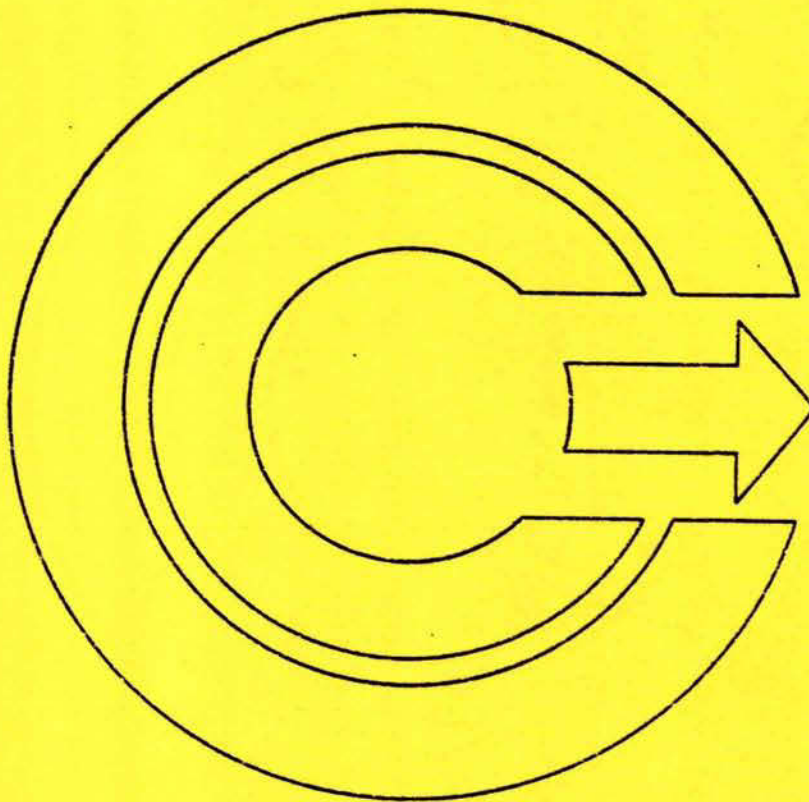
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OCTOBER 15, 1981

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FINAL REPORT

AN EVALUATION OF THE NORTH END DIVERSION  
AND NEIGHBOURHOOD JUSTICE PROJECT;

SUBMITTED TO THE CANADIAN COUNCIL  
OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS  
BY MR. BEV GREENLAW

OCTOBER 15, 1981

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AUTHOR'S NOTE:

This report summarizes the work done in evaluating the North End Diversion and Neighbourhood Justice Project (hereinafter referred to as N.E.D.N.J.P.). My findings are drawn from a careful analysis of the information gathered. Exposure of the report to public scrutiny during the month of September, 1981, and the feedback gained thereby, have confirmed the appropriateness of the essential interpretations.

There are several factors affecting the manner in which the report is written. It is addressed to several audiences. The members of the Management Committee in the project's final days wanted to have some useful information derived from the project's experience. Representatives of the Wards 3 and 5 Councils, various workers with community agencies in Wards 3 and 5, and residents of both Wards, expressed an interest in having a "process evaluation" done. The Regional Consultation Centre of the Solicitor General's Department, which funded N.E.D.N.J.P., hoped that an understanding of what happened in this project's history would assist them in advising other similar projects in future, and would aid them in assessing the validity and applicability of the concept of community-based diversion.

I have tried in this report to use language which is precise, straightforward, and accessible. The vocabulary is non-technical. I have attempted to go into sufficient depth to adequately explain what I saw as happening at different stages of the project, but I have tried to avoid focusing on particular individuals, in an effort to make the report useful while avoiding rekindling the flames of controversy and excess which characterized certain phases of the project's existence.

The evaluation contains little quantification. The primary technique for gathering information was a combination of open-ended personal interviews, cross-referenced with a very thorough reading of all available files, reports, minutes, correspondence, articles, etc. (in short, everything available which had been written about or by the project) followed by as objective an assessment of the facts as they presented themselves as I could muster. Many of the more quantitative questions which were raised in both the Management Committee's call for proposals and my original outline for the evaluation are not dealt with extensively in this final report, some because there was insufficient information to answer them adequately, others because I realized, as I got involved in the evaluation, that the answers were simply irrelevant to any understanding of what happened to the project. Obviously, at many crucial points, I had to rely on my own judgement to interpret the "facts". I have tried throughout to present things so that they may be more clearly seen, to take a hard look at the project and to identify any contradictions or inconsistencies. I have attempted to establish some clear expectations for those who would move forward in this area, that they might know what can be expected, and what will likely be accepted.

Readers who are unfamiliar with the project's train of events, or who feel the need to refresh their memory, may wish to consult the chronology of events contained in Appendix Four as they read the report.

I wish to thank all the individuals who sat patiently through interviews. Many of them also opened their personal files to me, and all gave generously of their time, energy and concern. The co-operation I received in compiling this report gives me hope that the project's fate does not have to be typical.

As well, my thanks go to Paulette Marriott who is a phenomenal typist,  
and to Brenda Taylor who kept me earnest.

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## BACKGROUND

The North End Diversion and Neighbourhood Justice Project (N.E.D.N.J.P.) existed formally in Halifax from February 1, 1978 to January 31, 1981. The project was funded through a demonstration grant from the Ministry of the Solicitor General as part of the Ministry's nationwide experiment in developing a Canadian concept of diversion.

Of the thirty-five projects funded in Canada during this period, N.E.D.N.J.P. was considered unique because it was to be community-directed, to involve pre-charge diversion, and to be without formal links to the Criminal Justice System.

The evaluation of this project was originally intended to take place during the demonstration period. Due to difficulties which were experienced by the project, and which will be discussed in the body of this report, it was not possible for the evaluation to take place at that time.

Toward the last quarter of its final year of operation, the Management Committee of the project decided to have the project evaluated following its termination, and put forward a call for Research and Evaluation proposals. (See Appendix One).

The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, one of the project's co-sponsors, agreed to commission the evaluation and secured a grant from the Ministry of the Solicitor General for this purpose.

The evaluation process began on April 15, 1981 and continued until October 15, 1981. The following report represents the findings of the principal investigator.

PROCEDURES:

: Conducted comprehensive personal interviews. (See Appendix Two).

: Gathered, organized, read, noted, cross-referenced and analyzed all N.E.D.N.J.P. files.

The files were not all in one place, nor were they totally organized, due apparently to having been mixed up during transportation from the N.E.D.N.J.P. office after the project closed. As well, considerable time was spent in tracking down highly significant minutes, memos, etc., which were filed separately due to their sensitive and confidential nature. Other files, especially for the pre-funding period and for parts of the research, were obtained directly from interviewees as the evaluator met with them.

: Indexed, read, noted, and analyzed all available proposals, progress reports, correspondence, memos, minutes, working papers, reports, promotional material, and budget outlines from the Steering Committee, Interim Management Committee, Management Committee (and its Sub-Committees, Workshops and Mini-Executive), Community Orientation Workshop, Staff, and special public meetings.

: Read and noted all available research outlines, forms, reports, articles, and computer printouts.

: Read minutes from meetings of Ward 3 Council, Ward 5 Council, Coalition for Development, Movement for Citizens' Voice and Action (M.O.V.E.), and Neighbourhood Work Activities Project, organizations who were involved in some manner with N.E.D.N.J.P.'s history.

: Consulted several additional sources with regard to diversion policy, community development, education and evaluation.

: Developed demographic summaries from data in the City of Halifax's "Community Profiles" for Wards 3 and 5 (1979), and their "Peninsula North Information Report" (1978). (See Appendix Three).

: Decided against carrying on with a resident survey due to the general adverse reaction to surveys explained elsewhere in the body of this report.

INTRODUCTION TO "THE NORTH END"

The North End of Halifax might generally be agreed to include all of Ward 5, and that part of Ward 3 which lies north of Cogswell Street. There are those who would also include that portion of Ward 4 which is bounded by Agricola Street on the east, Robie Street on the west, the Commons on the south, and North Street. For much of the demographical data included in Appendix Three of this report, I have in fact included this area. But demography is not the point. My purpose in this part of the report is to give the reader a sense of the communities which had an impact on the fate of the North End Diversion and Neighbourhood Justice Project. I have included some statistical comparisons, because these are a part of the reality. But they do not convey the actual lives of the people whose existence they are meant to represent. More importantly, they do not begin to explain the aspirations and beliefs, or the concerns of the people who became involved with N.E.D.N.J.P.

To understand the history of N.E.D.N.J.P., one must seek to understand "the North End". But "the North End" is many things to many people. There is a high concentration of social service agencies in this part of the city, and the lower Gottingen Street, Uniacke Square, and Mulgrave Park areas in particular, have been the chosen site for a number of relatively short-term projects funded by various levels of government, as well as several more long-term, (and generally more indigenous) neighbourhood services. It is important in this regard to distinguish between an agency which is providing a direct service that has been sought by the members of a particular community, and a "project". A "project" in the sense in which I am using the term here, is generally short-term, resulting from some individual or group's perception of a "community need", or from their idea of some service which they feel would be

"good" to offer to the community. These are often, but not always, conceived in response to a newly created or discovered government funding initiative, seasonal or programmatic. They thus tend to be funded directly by some level of government as a short-term (i.e., 6 months - 3 years) project with goals fitting within a fairly clearly defined government mandate, with the focus limited to some area of endeavour (e.g., social services, education, nutrition, recreation, penal reform) which is pertinent to the government department concerned. The prototypes for these in Canada were probably the Opportunities for Youth and Local Initiatives Project programs. The difficulty with both the O.F.Y. and L.I.P. programs, when viewed in the context of social development, is in their original purpose: to provide short-term employment to marginal workers and youth, thus integrating them more effectively into the larger society. In the popular imagination then, these projects are seen as intended primarily to provide employment.

A major distinguishing characteristic of the shorter-term "grant" projects in the North End has been their tendency to originate with and to employ primarily people from outside the particular neighbourhood where they are based. This in turn has often led to their being isolated from, and irrelevant to the majority of the populace they are supposed to be "serving". Thus, such projects exist until their grant money runs out, having involved perhaps a few of the higher profile residents in their program, but still casting about fitfully for some means to become more "a part of the community".

Often, such projects are staffed by intelligent, compassionate, well-intentioned individuals (usually under 35 years old, from a middle-class background, perhaps possessing vaguely social democratic political views) who feel a sense of commitment to the idea of community development, and feel

that the North End is the place in the City which is most in need of their services. Most often, these individuals are white.

The north end of Ward 3, and certain sections of Ward 5, are where most of Halifax's Black people live. Many of these residents have lived here all their lives. Others, especially those who lost their homes when the City demolished Africville and housed many of its former citizens in Uniacke Square, have lived here since the early-mid 1960's. There is also a large indigenous white population and the beginnings of an immigrant population.

It is difficult for the young, often idealistic people who staff the various projects, to understand why they are not immediately welcomed into the residents' confidence, why they have difficulty meeting more than a few people who live in the neighbourhood. They are, after all, well intentioned and sincere; and they are only trying to help. But they do not know that the people who live in this neighbourhood have met a succession of such newcomers. They do not realize the subtle ways in which their own racial, cultural, and class biases insinuate themselves into the fabric of their day to day encounters with the people they are hoping to serve. Most importantly, they do not realize the ultimate insult to residents of their presence: that they are there to some extent for their own purposes - a salary, a term paper or university project, or simply to try a new lifestyle - while the person from the neighbourhood is there because that is his home; and he did not invite this stranger into his home to redesign it.

Now, within this paradigm there is still possibility for growth, for the development of shared understandings, friendship, and even trust. There is the chance that the newcomer may become someone who is of service to the community. But this is generally only after several years, and is usually accompanied by

the person's acquiring some tangible personal stake in the community's future, rather than a dilettantish abstract interest in social change. The amount of time required to lay the groundwork for being truly useful to a community is seldom available to newcomers who arrive as employees of projects, however. They are usually being paid as part of a grant which is of 6 months' to 3 years' duration, and they must begin to show some results in time for the interim report. To get started in their work, the staff of a new project often engage in a round of visitations to the agencies already existing in the area, together with attending a number of "community meetings", interspersed with organizing various "events" (e.g., open houses, information leafleting, poster placing, community information meetings) as a means of informing the community about the project and of offering its particular service. These events often fail to attract very many residents of the area (though frequently get a respectable turnout of agency people), which propels the project into a second phase of its existence.

At this point, the project staff members are probably in contact with one or several neighbourhood residents who are either themselves working in a community agency or who are involved in the interagency communications network as a trusted informal source of information about the needs and feelings of the community. Most community-based agencies tend to rely on at least one person to play this role, and it is an established feature of the agency/community information cycle. The people who play this role are simply community-minded citizens who have some degree of experience in dealing with agency people and government, and who have the time to drop into the various agencies during regular weekday working hours to visit and chat. Very few social service agencies have offices open outside regular office hours, and

of course very few people who have jobs and families are apt to drop in regularly to these agencies.

The major difficulty with this informal arrangement is that both the agency and the resident involved sometimes come to believe, or to act as if they believed, that this individual represents "the community" as a whole, rather than a fairly limited sample of resident opinions. Very few individuals in any community are consistently in touch with more than a limited segment of their area's population. Most people tend to associate with people whose attitudes, values and forms of behaviour are fairly consistent with their own. In any reasonably diverse community, the likelihood of one individual's having regular communication with a thoroughly representative cross-section of that community's citizens is very minute. The probability of their being able to adequately represent and advocate the range of viewpoints which would flow from such exchanges is virtually nil.

Thus, the agency concerned may find itself acting, planning programs, taking stands on issues, or avoiding acting in certain ways in the belief that it is responding to the wishes of the community, when in fact it is only responding to that segment of the community which it is most in touch with, through its resident contact and her/his immediate group of confidants. This does not negate the possibility of the agency's actions being valuable, worthwhile contributions in the community's development, nor even of its chosen activities' coincidentally reflecting truly widespread community concerns. It simply means that the agency's immediate impact on people's daily lives, and the extent of "grass-roots support" for its actions may be considerably overestimated by those involved.

There can be a further effect which probably is damaging in the long run. The agency may not realize that it has not yet introduced itself to the community as an accepted part of the lives of the people it wishes to serve, whose concerns it wishes to address and whose goals it wants to help promote.

Thus, the staff of a project which has gone through the preliminary rounds of making contacts with agencies, meeting a few people, staging a few informational events, etc., must now decide whether to content itself with a largely interagency existence, providing services to the people referred by its fellow agencies and by its few neighbourhood contacts, or to seek other ways to actually integrate itself into the neighbourhood by getting out and meeting people in as unobtrusive, yet diligent a manner as possible. (NOTE: A third option, to conclude that the service is not wanted and to close the project on that basis, is seldom considered). The choice taken will in most instances dictate the ultimate impact of the project. If the latter path is chosen, the project may be on its way to becoming truly helpful, and "community-based", but its staff will still have much to learn. If they are patient, sensitive, hardworking, organized and concentrate on providing tangible service, they can become a real asset to the community -- until their grant runs out.

I have digressed purposely in order to lay the groundwork for an understanding of some of the dynamics involved for groups who seek to provide some service in "the North End". But this succession of non-resident-originated projects has had effects on other aspects of life in the north end of Ward 3, and in Ward 5. Specifically, the image of the North End in the minds of a large portion of Halifax's citizenry, and of a number of

government bureaucrats who are involved in determining what proposals for funding get accepted, has been selectively distorted by any number of proposal writers and programme publicists who have emphasized the particular demographic characteristics which their project was aiming to "treat", in their attempt to secure funding or publicity for their project. As well, a surprising number of these proposals are written, and apparently read by the government funding source, as if they are being developed by residents of the particular community in question.

Thus, a project whose aim is remedial education highlights low literacy levels and large numbers of school dropouts, one which seeks to offer nutritional counselling emphasizes low income levels coupled with low levels of formal education, and another which hopes to offer counselling and education about the misuse of drugs portrays a community rife with drug abuse, and seeking funds so that it may "deal with its own problems". Because some government departments seem to prefer "innovation" to effectiveness, even productive community service agencies are often forced to reorient certain of their programs to "qualify" for further funding, or to describe their community and their programs in ways which "fit" departmental directives.

What approaches such as those described in the first instance above generally lack, because they often proceed from the proposal writers' interests and sense of their own strengths as potential staff or resource people for the project, is any exploration of: (a) the real extent of the problem they have identified, (b) to the extent that the problem does exist, its effects on the lives of people who live in the community, (c) what measures the residents of the community have devised to deal with these effects, (d) the effectiveness of any such measures, and (e) whether any significant number of residents

desire to find further means of dealing with this problem.

Proposal writers in such cases tend, nevertheless, to describe their chosen malady in convincing terms (sometimes anecdotally, at other times through the selective use of statistics) and are sometimes rewarded for their efforts with a government grant.

The "North End" which lives in these proposals is a fiction. Like other fiction, it is a selective mixture of fact, imagination, and imagined fact, and it has influenced the readers' "sense of reality". Furthermore, it has influenced its subjects' sense of themselves.

This fictionalized "North End" is meant to include both Ward 3 and Ward 5, as if they comprised one community. The people who live and/or work in Ward 3 or Ward 5 know intuitively and experientially that they are living/working in separate communities. Indigenous community organizations like the Community "Y" (based in and serving primarily families in Ward 3) and Veith House (located in and serving the residents of Ward 5) understand this reality, and plan their programs accordingly. Organizations which seek to transcend these territorial facts of life must have an extremely attractive, fundamentally necessary service to provide, and must be prepared to do a lot of leg work.

Gottingen Street runs through the entire length of the northern sector of Ward 3, and all of Ward 5. The recent name-change for the northern section of the street to "Nova Lea Drive" represents a strong sense of separateness on the parts of the Ward 5 residents who petitioned vigorously for the change, against the wishes of a number of present and former residents of the neighbourhood around the southern section of Gottingen Street in Ward 3.

This action by the residents of the most northerly section of Gottingen Street may be better understood in light of the most recent example of yet another source of aggravation to residents of the entire North End. Like proposal writers, the media have tended to take a selective, sometimes sensationalist approach to events in the Gottingen Street area, which has at times given the impression that "the North End" is a haven of criminal activity. This portrayal coincides with the view of "the North End" held by many Haligonians who neither reside in nor have much occasion to visit this part of the city.

During Halifax's recent police strike, one or two nights of vandalism (breaking store windows) and some looting (some of it apparently involving local youths, as well as people from other parts of Metro) were reported by the local media in a manner which gave the impression that Gottingen Street and "the North End" was in a state of siege reminiscent of reports of riots in New York, Florida, etc. The coverage was extended over more than a week of daily/nightly reports, continuing for a period significantly longer than that taken up by the actual incidents.

I live on Maynard Street, about two hundred yards from Gottingen Street, and neither my nor any of my neighbour's houses were vandalized in any way. On Gottingen Street the store windows were boarded up after the first night and business went on as usual, although obviously not without some discomfort for the shopkeepers and their customers. Traffic on Gottingen Street in the evening was about five times its normal volume for the next week, as sight-seers paraded slowly, bumper-to-bumper, down the street looking at the boarded windows.

It should be further noted that the Halifax Police Station is located at the foot of Gottingen Street, and much of the rowdiness of the first night stemmed from a large, noisy and drunken gathering of persons outside the Police Station who were "celebrating" the beginning of the police strike. This gathering led to several of the participants' getting into cars and accelerating wildly up the nearest straight stretch of roadway -- Gottingen Street. As they sped past, some of these people apparently threw empty bottles through store windows, thus beginning the vandalism.

A week or two later, the Halifax newspaper carried an article describing Gottingen Street as a "combat zone". This was a bitter irony for residents of the area who not long before had been successful in convincing Halifax City Council to reject a U.S. entrepreneur's proposal to turn Gottingen Street into an unrestricted zone for pornography, massage parlours, etc., along the line of Boston's "Combat Zone".

Residents complained to the media, but the damage was done, and the negative reputation of "the North End" was heightened in many people's minds. It is interesting in this light to read the following passage from page 83 of the City of Halifax's Peninsula North report:

"The Police Department does not consider the Peninsula North area to be a serious problem area in terms of crime. The number of break and entries in this area is high (25 percent of the City total) but it must be remembered that there is also a high concentration of commercial usage in the area. This is not to say that there are not problems in the area but that, in comparison to the rest of the City, this area does not experience an unusual number of crimes".

Residents have thus become quite sensitive to what they feel are unfair and destructive portrayals of their community. So, when rumours began to circulate early in N.E.D.N.J.P.'s history that the project was being run by "outsiders" who were supposedly claiming publically that "the North End" was full of criminals, those who heard the rumours reacted angrily. For most residents, these rumours were their first acquaintance with the project, and the rumours established a negative feeling toward the project at the outset.

Many people who do live and work in one of the several sectors within Ward 5 and Ward 3 do nevertheless use the term "the North End" frequently in talking about their part of the city. Interestingly, however, when I outlined this analysis of "the North End as fiction" at public meetings in September, several people volunteered that they themselves had only recently gotten used to the term. As children, Ward 3 had always been "Downtown" (a phrase which is still used by most non-agency-connected residents I spoke to in preparing the report). What people who call their area "the North End" mean by the term, moreover, depends very much upon which sector they are involved in, and the purpose at hand. As we will see later with the term "community" the phrase is interpreted very personally, and is highly dependent on context for its particular meaning. Thus, when the people in N.E.D.N.J.P.'s Steering Committee coined the project title, those committee members who were most experienced in the area seemed to have thought primarily in terms of the parts of "the North End" with which they were personally most familiar, and where they felt comfortable.

A further problem with taking "the North End" perspective lies in the recent sociopolitical history of the two Wards and their Councils. The late 1960's and 1970's brought a lot of community organizing and activity to the

Wards. The Black United Front was formed in 1969; ENCOUNTER Week in 1970 cut a swath through the city's consciousness about its employment, housing, racial, educational and social inequities, and left a significant number of activist-oriented citizens in its wake. Citizens' groups like M.O.V.E. and service organizations like the Neighbourhood Centre, New Options, the Halifax Youth Clinic, the North End Clinic, Coalition Supportive Services, and Halifax Welfare Rights sprung up. Tenants began to organize and demand some legislative protection against landlord exploitation. First O.F.Y., then L.I.P. grants from the federal government were used creatively by these groups to sustain and develop their organization's activities. New facilities were constructed or made available through renovation: the Halifax Police Boy's Club and the Devonshire Arena in Ward 5, New Options' Building and the North End Clinic in Ward 3. The Ward Councils became active.

Unfortunately, one legacy from this period is an underlying sense of competition for government funding between the two Wards and among the agencies, reflected partially through the Ward Councils. People do not wish to be in competition with one another, and have made efforts to avoid having to be. But the real differences between the Wards, and in the points of view of the people within them, causes this underlying sense of uncertainty to linger despite the noblest intentions.

Into this situation, in 1975, came the germ of an idea for a co-operative, community effort to do something about the number of young kids who were getting into trouble with the law and getting sent to the Provincial Schools in Shelburne and Inuro. The idea came at a time when the activity of the early 1970's was waning. Funding for organizations was beginning to tighten,

and people were tired. The prospect of a co-ordinated attempt to deal with a fundamental concern -- the fates of several of the communities' children -- emerged as a potentially exciting vehicle for bringing people together for the common good.

CONCLUSIONS

SECTION ONE:

Responding to questions asked in number 1, a-f, of the Management Committee's call for Research and Evaluation proposals. (See Appendix One).

In my interim report I stated that "the project may very well not have been community-based". I said that the project might be more appropriately labelled as "community-reactive" in the sense that it was perceived by residents as being an externally imposed project, and that in response to subsequent quite vocal criticism by the Ward Councils, the Management Committee apparently became virtually paralyzed by its fear of what community reaction to project activities might be.

I then suggested that "the key to comprehending these two contentions lies in the interpretation of the term 'community'." For this report I have expanded this concept by trying to identify and distinguish among a number of different operative definitions of "community" (i.e., who constitutes "the community" at any particular time?), each of which could be used in particular situations, from particular points of view.

The Dictionary of Sociology suggests that "implicit in the concept of 'community' is a territorial area, a considerable degree of interpersonal acquaintance and contact, and some special basis of coherence that separates it from neighbouring groups".

As the foregoing "Introduction to the North End" has made clear, there are numerous groupings within each of Wards 3 and 5 which fit this description, but the area as a whole does not, and will not.

Approximately twenty thousand people live in the area which has been

called "the North End". The North End Diversion and Neighbourhood Justice Project significantly affected the lives of perhaps one to two hundred people, a substantial proportion of whom neither live nor work in "the North End". Thus, in speaking of N.E.D.N.J.P.'s impact, we are speaking about its direct effects upon less than 1% of the total population of "the North End".

But for those who were involved in the project, as staff or Management Committee members, the spectre of "community displeasure" clearly carried considerably more weight than such an insignificant sampling of resident input would seem to warrant. For the representatives of the Solicitor General's Department who apparently thought they were funding a community-based diversion project, there seems to have been a similar confusion of concept with reality. Why?

Like "the North End, the term "the community" has come to be used widely, and often inappropriately by people involved in the social service network in Wards 3 and 5. At various times, in different situations, any number of different categories of people have been regarded as "community" groups, representing "the North End" and the wishes of its citizens.

Before proceeding to describe the different definitions of "community" which operated in the course of this project, it will be instructive to consider within what focus the term has any significance in the first place. When, by whom, and for what purposes is it used in such a way that a clear understanding of the specific group or area to which the reference is intended is of any consequence? I would suggest that the meaning of the term "community" becomes important when it is used in connection with some action which is intended to have or is perceived as having effects upon the community. It does not matter that my neighbour and I chat amiably about "the community", she with the notion of two generations of activity in a

six-block area, I with thoughts of the past decade within a particular cultural group's history, so long as neither of us intends to act on our perceptions in such a way that their object will be affected. We can remain comfortably at the level of generalities and have a pleasant conversation. When one of us begins to act in ways intended to effect change within our community, then we begin to confront the detailed aspects of our concepts, and it becomes important to know who we are talking about. During the period of N.E.D.N.J.P.'s operation, "community" had several different meanings.

Like "the North End", the active concept of "community" may be an outgrowth of the social service agency/project mindset. People who live in the areas concerned tend to think in terms of their family, neighbours and friends, their street or church. Those whose involvement is in a social agency connection tend to apply concepts such as "the neighbourhood" and "the community" to the more personalized reality of the residents.

As indicated previously in my reference to "...less than 1% of the total population...", community participation in N.E.D.N.J.P. from the point of view of having an influence on policy was essentially limited to the Ward Councils, the staff of some of the agencies based in Wards 3 and 5, residents who were chosen to be in the Community Orientation Workshop, and those who applied for jobs. Many of the people in the latter two categories were ultimately involved through one or both of the first two avenues.

The fundamental determinant for distinguishing among various operative definitions of "community" seems to be the mindset of those involved. One's mindset tends to be a product of one's relationship to two questions: "Is the person an indigenous resident of the neighbourhood-community in question?"

Is the person involved in the 'agency/project network' of information and activity?" The individual's answers to either or both of these questions have implications for how they are viewed, and for how they view the actions of others.

Indigenous residents are basically those who have been born and brought up in the neighbourhood, or who have lived there most of their lives. Within this category are many sub-divisions created by factors such as age, ethnicity, religion, race, particular place of residence and class. There are a multitude of such "communities" within the geographic North End. Some residents have a higher profile, serving as leaders in church and community affairs. Some are self-appointed "community spokespersons". Certain individuals may rarely attend public meetings, but their opinions will carry weight due to their age, experience or status in society. There are other community residents who work for agencies in their neighbourhood, or who perform the information-conduit role mentioned earlier.

The majority of indigenous residents are ordinary citizens who have families and jobs, go to work in the morning and return home in the evening, usually too tired to feel like going out to a meeting which will be of little importance to their lives. Experience of a few such "community meetings" has shown them that these are actually gatherings of agency workers, with very few fellow residents, friends and neighbours, in attendance. Far more residents are found at the bingo, and at church on Sunday, than will be met at "community meetings".

Within the "agency/project network" may be found several people who work for one of the "North End agencies" or for an agency located outside "the North End" whose casework is centred there, but who themselves live in some

other part of the city. Along with them may be some individuals whose sole connection with "the North End" is through serving as a volunteer board member with a particular project. Some indigenous residents may be involved, in the roles already described. Lastly, there are generally some individuals who have recently moved into the neighbourhood in question, often in connection with a job in a "community agency" or as part of some community development objective. Individuals do not tend to be active in "community meetings" in both Ward 3 and Ward 5 unless their job demands that they be present in both Wards.

The agencies, projects and individuals who form this network tend to identify themselves with "the community" and its interests. They are basically open, sympathetic, receptive to and supportive of new projects and agencies in "the community", provided that these conform to interagency norms and do not appear to be too high-powered or too well-connected to the seats of power. New organizations whose service goals seem reasonable and not in competition with those of existing agencies are welcomed as another potential resource to call upon and are seen as injecting more money into the "community economy" (especially if they intend to employ "community people"). Thus, most organizations will give verbal support if requested to assist a new project to secure funding from government sources, provided the funding does not conflict with their own.

In its early stages, N.E.D.N.J.P. involved a broad cross-section of community agency workers and volunteers. In fact, the project apparently stemmed from a large initial meeting of approximately 19 agencies at the Cunard Street School Building in June 1975. I have not been able to find any evidence to suggest that significant numbers of people outside the agency network were active in the project at any stage prior to its obtaining

government funding and holding the Community Orientation Workshop.

In other words, for the vast majority of indigenous residents in the North End, and especially Ward 3, the project had received its funding prior to their personal involvement in it. Secondly, for most of those who subsequently became involved in criticizing the project -- primarily through the Ward Councils, special public meetings, and informal word of mouth conversations with neighbours -- the Community Orientation Workshop and the resultant hiring fiasco were their first direct contact with the North End Diversion and Neighbourhood Justice Project. The problems with the hiring are treated in depth elsewhere in this report, but the most significant fact to note in this connection is that N.E.D.N.J.P. was not ever experienced by indigenous community residents as a community project. Residents of Ward 3 and Ward 5 who came into contact with the project following its Steering Committee stage, never came to regard it as their own. It was seen as a program which had been brought in to the neighbourhood by people from outside -- brought in along with "high salaries", unfamiliar terms like "criminal diversion", rumoured "exploitation of the community for research purposes", and large numbers of "university students with slide-tape shows saying North End kids were criminals". Keep in mind that Ward 3 in particular has witnessed a substantial number of invasions by middle class agency people, social workers and students. The people of the Ward tend to be reasonably tolerant in the face of this stream of short-term "community workers", but the tolerance is accompanied by mistrust, and a certain degree of cynicism. While people are generally appreciative of individuals within these groups who actually contribute something to the neighbourhood, there is no rush to embrace the newcomer as a trusted friend. There is, more often, suspicion. Furthermore, should the newcomer move too quickly to become involved in community affairs, should they begin to seek officer's positions on community boards, or

introduce some totally new project of their own design into the community, the mistrust will be rapidly multiplied. People are, frankly, highly suspicious of individuals who move into the neighbourhood and begin, shortly after arriving, to occupy leadership positions in the community. In this, Ward 3 is not unlike a number of towns and villages around the Maritimes. Given the small, relatively stable population base of the area, this should not be surprising. This village-like sense of community is seldom clearly understood, however, by those who enter from outside and try to direct social change without taking sufficient time to learn the mores of the people. Although Ward 3 is a small, familiar, relatively stable neighbourhood, this does not mean that everybody on Creighton Street is on close terms with all the residents of Uniacke Square. These kinds of social interchange tend to depend, not surprisingly, on a number of factors in the character of the individuals involved. Thus, even within the fairly close knit neighbourhood of Ward 3, one encounters many distinct affinity and interest groups. Between Ward 3 and Ward 5, and within Ward 5, these differences become even sharper and the possible sources of division and mistrust are greatly multiplied.

Thus it is easy for the resident of the area to suspect that the latest expensive government funded project is merely occupying her neighbourhood, exploiting her community's resources for the project's purposes, and leaving the neighbourhood with little in return.

When the members of the Management Committee of N.E.D.N.J.P. who had joined the committee in order to serve the North End found they were being viewed in this way they were shocked. Because some concerns had been raised about the research, a decision was apparently made to "soft-pedal" it for a time to avoid incurring further wrath. Because there was an uproar over the

committee's initial decision to only fill two of the three vacant jobs, and readvertise for the third, the Management Committee decided to fill the job from among the original group of applicants who had participated in the Community Orientation Workshop. When the Ward Councils began to complain about the quality and amount of street work being done, the Management Committee withdrew again, and became afraid to take decisive steps without first trying to guess what the reaction would be.

The new members to the Management Committee had not had the "joy and excitement" experienced by the early Steering Committee. They arrived on the Management Committee and were immediately heavily involved in the enervating processes of drafting administrative plans, hiring the co-ordinator from among over sixty applicants, and helping to organize the Community Orientation Workshop when the co-ordinator's arrival was delayed by having to give proper notice at her former job. Then came the lengthy process of interviewing and choosing from among the many applicants for the community mediator and street worker positions. Finally, after going through all these tiring and difficult tasks, the Management Committee's first meeting with the public was an emotion-filled encounter with a large group of Ward 3 residents who were extremely hostile over the staff hiring practices to that point, who felt that the project "had been taken over by Ward 5", and who made it very clear that they did not feel any commonality with the people who were at the front of the auditorium. Simply put, the Management Committee collapsed under this onslaught of genuine rage from a particular sector of the community and thereafter, rarely seemed to exercise sufficient clarity of thought and independence of judgement to be able to properly direct the project.

Thus I used the phrase "community-reactive" rather than community-directed to describe the relationship. The Management Committee itself could not

represent the communities, because it, along with the rest of the project, became defensive and began to insulate itself from the storm of community rage that it felt. Meanwhile, the community councils began to feel that they were being ignored. Into the vacuum created by this total breakdown of the informal communications networks that sustain agencies in the North End communities, crept further mistrust, suspicion, and fears of collusion.

The Management Committee was meant to be comprised of two representatives from each of the sponsoring agencies, one from each Ward Council, and two from the Steering Committee plus, ex officio, the Associate Regional Consultant from the Solicitor General's office in Moncton, and the co-ordinators of the Action and Research components.

Resignations had reduced the board's numerical strength, and complicated the mechanics of decision making due to the "absolute majority" clause in the Management Committee's original working plan. (Only the eight "core" memberships of the Management Committee had voting rights. Five votes were required to pass any motion of the Committee, irrespective of total attendance at any one meeting). The representatives from one of the sponsors were both residents of Ward 5, who were involved in community work, but neither of them indigenous nor with much of a base in Ward 3. The Ward Council representatives, almost immediately after joining the Management Committee, began to have conflicts within their dual role as Ward Council representatives and as members of the project's Management Committee -- Whose point of view did they represent? Whose point of view should they be representing?

The other members were to some extent familiar with the communities involved, but again, they were not indigenous residents, and were perceived to some degree by some members of the community as having their own biases and particular constituencies to represent.

The Research Co-ordinator and the Action Co-ordinator were both seen by residents as individuals whose primary involvement in "the North End" had been in terms of the Diversion Project.

The project had located its office on Gottingen Street in the heart of Ward 3, and it is the Ward 3 Community Council which first became upset with the project during the controversy over hiring. The two indigenous residents of Ward 3 who had been the only consistently active members of N.E.D.N.J.P. from Ward 3 during the Steering Committee period had become at least partially isolated from the project during the workshop and hiring stages, thereby also eliminating N.E.D.N.J.P.'s contact with the Welfare Rights organization. To the rest of the citizens who frequented Ward 3 Council meetings, N.E.D.N.J.P. was either new or known mainly through the Community Orientation Workshop and hiring experiences. Thus, no one member of the Management Committee could adequately connect and represent the various community and Ward interests, and as an entity the project tended to be viewed by Ward 3 residents as more of a Ward 5 based, or university based program than one from "the community". The effect of this, of course, was to confound the carefully made plans for representativeness on the Management Committee, and place each Management Committee member in the position of having to juggle their actual constituency interests, along with their personal interest in wanting to be seen as a "community person", and the interests of the formal constituency or constituencies they were supposed to be representing, with their commitment to this project's Management Committee. Those who had the least long-term involvement in the project might reasonably be expected to be most vulnerable to the effects of this intricate juggling of conflicting interests, and this consisted of at least half the committee.

A crucial variable throughout the life of this controversial project was the human drama involved. There are at least a dozen clear incidents wherein the actions of some member of the staff or Management Committee, or of a community resident or agency worker in connection with the project were heavily influenced and perhaps dictated by what was going on in their personal life at that time. It would be difficult to conceive of plans or structures which could have predicted or adequately dealt with these factors.

The program had begun at a time when community participation was ebbing after a lengthy period of widespread minor reform and community action in connection with issues of housing, education, welfare, recreation, pedestrian safety, and people's health. Those who became involved initially saw Diversion as a possible rallying point for the community groups and agencies which had begun to grow stale and tired after the excitement and heavy activity of the previous period. Even the attempt to have Ward 5 and Ward 3 organizations working together on the project was to some extent a conscious effort to bring people together co-operatively.

The Steering Committee carried on for as long as possible without attempting to have their activities funded. In fact, they took great pains to avoid having "Diversion" funded as a separate agency. The invitation and information packages which were mailed to people concerning the October 18, 1975 "Neighbourhood Conference on Diversion" were explicit about this: "the Steering Committee will not make application for direct staff funding, but will act in an advisory and research capacity to the North End community, social service agencies, police, courts, and government".

However, the time-consuming and exhausting 1976 summer experiment in keeping the Community Information Centre open at the Welfare Rights office

on Gottingen Street until 11:00 pm every night was a turning point for the project. The Steering Committee members were beginning to see limitations in trying to provide the range of services they had conceived of as necessary without hiring a number of paid staff. Particularly those committee volunteers whose primary experience was in agency "desk jobs", had difficulty in carrying out the volunteer staffing role in the drop-in/information centres.

The Steering Committee members were still divided on the question of whether it was a good idea to seek funding for a separate new agency. The committee's plan had always been to involve a wide range of related agencies in some form of federation around the focus of Diversion and community justice. As early as January 1976 the Steering Committee had devoted one of its meetings to discussing the interdependency of agencies in the face of the funding cut-backs that were then threatening several organizations.

Now, however, faced with the realities of limited amounts of time and energy among the volunteers, they began to rethink the question of seeking funding to create a separate Diversion agency. They were committed to try to maintain the momentum which had been established. This commitment went along with a concern for continuing to provide support to some of the services like Pioneer Village, Atlantic Challenge, and the Mini Museum, which the Steering Committee's action sub-committees had helped sustain. Ultimately these factors, coupled with the fear that sheer fatigue might eventually defeat their resolve, moved the Steering Committee members to decide that a proposal for funding should be developed, although only with great care to take into account the committee's concern for responsibility to the community. The original proposal was completed by December 1976 and the funding negotiations with the Federal and Provincial Governments began.

While the project's false sense of having a community base may have foreshadowed its eventual doom anyway, it is probable that the length of the negotiation period which followed the Steering Committee's decision to seek funding and submission of their proposal was crucial to the project's later difficulties.

People were enthusiastic. Their idealism and sense of purpose had been tuned to a fine pitch by the excitement of working together in the Steering Committee. The action sub-committee was involved with fascinating, innovative concepts like turning the Pioneer Village facility into an alternative for young persons in conflict with the law, and the more rigorous wilderness adventure and Atlantic Challenge programs which had spun off from Pioneer Village. Mini-Museum's resident founders were present at the Steering Committee level and kept the Steering Committee members in touch with its progress.

By the time funding was confirmed, people were tired. Many of the original activists were ready to leave, and hand the torch to somebody else. Secondly, the proposal which had evolved featured a highly sophisticated (by comparison with what the community workers and neighbourhood residents were used to) design for its research component, with a heavy emphasis on quantification in its methods. This aspect was attractive to the Solicitor General's Consultation Centre's staff, both from the point of view of statistical reliability for its measurement and evaluation of the effectiveness of Diversion, and because it had been developed from within the Steering Committee by one of its members, who was apparently trusted by the committee.

However, for people in both Wards of the North End -- residents and agency workers alike -- there is a unanimous and long standing disgust for "the numbers

game". Many battles have been fought by "North End" agencies with funding sources who wanted detailed records kept on numbers and characteristics of individuals served, "means test" information, etc. The issue was partially invasion of privacy, partially the agencies' not wanting to be evaluated on a purely "numbers served" basis, and partly the hostility of resident clients to what they saw as another indignity in being subjected to the forms as part of acquiring services they felt entitled to.

Furthermore, research is resisted because it is alien to the lives of most "North End" citizens. The phrase "we have been researched to death" is heard constantly from residents and workers alike. Research's potential uses are not trusted. "North Enders" have strong fears of being used as guinea pigs by university personnel who take from, but do not give anything back to the community. Resentment is felt as well toward university students, who are regarded almost as "voyeurs" when they come into some part of "the North End" to fulfil a class requirement at university. Finally there is a general lack of confidence in the ability of ideas to effect any useful change, or the possible positive usefulness to the community of any information discovered through research.

These preliminary doubts were exacerbated once the project began. The research component had much clearer intentions, and intentions more fundamentally reformist in nature (with regard to the criminal justice structure) than either the community or the project in general. The lack of cohesion and contrasting states of readiness for tasks between the action and research components from the first day of the project foreshadowed many later difficulties. The research component was more highly organized and purposeful in its approach to its work, and had far greater manpower resources at its disposal due to the involvement of Dalhousie undergraduate students.

This situation was further complicated when the research findings were never clearly communicated to the residents of Wards 3 and 5. This was apparently a direct decision at first in response to public outcry over hiring and criticism that the project was not really diverting troubled children. But then when the Action component still did not begin to be effective, residents were left to discover about the Research component's activities through rumour alone. The result was not only to further alienate community residents and Ward Councils from the project, but to deprive the residents' councils and agencies of several quite potent pieces of information about the distribution of justice in their community.

Another very significant event which occurred during the Steering Committee's lengthy negotiation period with government was the storm of controversy which arose in October 1977 over the Neighbourhood Work Activities project, a program whose \$288,000 budget for its six months of operation was a then unheard of sum in Wards 3 and 5. This project was approved by the Provincial Government for federal cost-sharing shortly before a provincial election. To paraphrase newspaper reports at the time: "Because special money was found for the project and because the project organizers got their money by going to the politicians, bypassing the normal bureaucratic process, there have been cries of patronage".

When a newspaper tried to interview representatives of different community groups about the Neighbourhood Work Activities program, some people would only comment providing their names were not used, fearing funds for their own programs would be cut off if they were too critical about government spending. All agreed there was a great deal of dissension in the community.

Some community groups' workers were angry because they felt government patronage, rather than the project's merits, got it going. Others believed that the funds were there and should be used as effectively as possible, and the controversy should be forgotten.

Some groups felt cheated because the elaborate procedure they had to follow to justify their projects in order to get public money was bypassed for the Neighbourhood Work Activity Project. Ordinarily, to get any money at all from Social Services for a project of this sort, they felt that the project should have had to gain the approval of other organizations, to demonstrate the need and to prove that other projects would not be duplicated.

The Neighbourhood Work Activity program bypassed this route. The Provincial Government, not the Civil Service, approved the plan, found special extra funds through the Treasury Board, and helped the group in its submission to the Federal Government.

The project raised suspicion because the amount of money that the group received for six months was about two or three times the annual budget of most established groups. The resultant controversy caused considerable fighting within groups about what to do about the project.

Community workers felt this was "potentially one of the most divisive things to happen in the community in quite some time". Several community workers criticized the high salaries paid to the senior staff on the project compared to the training allowances at below minimum wage received by the participants. This led to charges in the agency community that the people running the project were "welfare entrepreneurs" making a high salary at the expense

of the people the project was supposed to help. There were many questions raised about the merits of the project itself.

The effect of the Neighbourhood Work Activities program controversy on the Diversions Steering Committee, and eventually on N.E.D.N.J.P. itself was devastating. The membership of Coalition for Development, one of N.E.D.N.J.P.'s sponsors, was split almost irretrievably by the issue.

The Ward 5 Community Resources Council became so divided over the issue that the council was dissolved and reconstituted as the Ward 5 Residents' Council. Several members of the Steering Committee were involved in the dispute, some being among the Neighbourhood Work Activities program's most bitter critics, and others occupying positions on the Neighbourhood Work Activities program Board of Directors. Individuals who were not speaking to one another as a result of anger over the Neighbourhood Work Activities program conflagration were sitting together on the Diversion Steering Committee trying to preside over N.E.D.N.J.P.'s own considerably protracted and difficult birth.

The ultimate negative effects of all of this on the fate of the Diversions project are probably incalculable, but undeniably significant.

Finally, problems had arisen in obtaining involvement in and support for the project from the Halifax Police Department, the Provincial Attorney General's office, and the Gottingen Street merchants. Shortly after the project did receive its funding, the Halifax Board of Trade unveiled its STOPLIFT program, a concentrated approach to shoplifting which was diametrically opposed to the pre-charge diversion intervention concept.

The first major problem which arose for the project after being formally funded in February 1978, was the hiring of a co-ordinator. The method of

hiring the eventual co-ordinator was unfortunate in terms of the process, personalities, and potential conflict of interest involved. It further spurred the "rumours" syndrome which the project suffered so greatly from, and showed little understanding of community dynamics. The decision was apparently a product of desperation in terms of the need to begin organizing the Community Orientation Workshop (which was imminent), frustration at the Personnel Committee's inability to agree on any of the candidates, and committee members' exhaustion after the events previously mentioned. The decision cost the project the support of many agency people who had been supportive, and who took a certain constituency away with them when they withdrew.

It is impossible to know exactly how the decision came about, but what seems to have happened is as follows:

Any decision made by the Personnel Committee had to receive an absolute majority vote. The Personnel Committee had gone through a rigorous screening and interviewing process. After extremely deliberate consideration of the qualifications of the remaining candidates, the Committee remained deadlocked and stalemated after several meetings. They could not agree on the choice of a co-ordinator. A motion was made to create a short list of people who could do the job, rank these in order of who was best, and offer the position to each person in turn, continuing down the list until someone accepted the offer. This motion could not get an absolute majority, and was defeated. The meeting ended with the situation still stalemated. Some Committee members left the meeting feeling that circumstances would work themselves out at the next meeting. Others feared that the entire project would go down the drain if a

co-ordinator were not hired soon. Prior to the next meeting, one of these latter people approached an individual who had been heavily involved in the Steering Committee, but who had not applied for the co-ordinator's position, and asked her whether she would accept the job if offered it. After initial resistance, followed by lengthy discussion, the individual agreed to allow her name to be considered, and later phoned another member of the Personnel Committee to indicate this. When the next meeting went through the voting process again and was still deadlocked, the new information was placed before the Personnel Committee for consideration. The Personnel Committee member who had approached the individual left the meeting at this point and was not part of the subsequent discussion or vote. The Personnel Committee voted with a clear majority to offer the person the job, but some members later felt badly about the process for a variety of reasons. Several segments of the agency community (especially perhaps in Ward 5) who had friends or relatives applying for the job, or who themselves had applied for it, were very upset when the hiring was announced.

The Community Orientation Workshop was effectively a disaster. It was hurriedly put together following the delay in hiring the co-ordinator, and was complicated by several participants' seeing it as primarily a competition for jobs. The co-ordinator's arrival was further delayed by having to give notice at a previous job. Since the Community Orientation Workshop had been originally conceived as being organized primarily by the co-ordinator, its contents had never been thoroughly thought through. When the co-ordinator was unable to assume the position until the Community Orientation Workshop was virtually upon the members of the Management Committee, it fell to them to design, organize, and promote the workshop. The rush led to poor promotion of the workshop, and therefore the large turnout from a broad cross-section

of community residents, North End agency people and Criminal Justice System personnel which had been anticipated for the open sessions, never materialized. The workshop suffered both from this hasty planning and from a degree of misunderstanding of community dynamics. The content was wrong for the particular people involved, and gave rise to the following sorts of comments and feelings: "expert outsiders coming in to tell us about ourselves", "psychologists are playing games", "paranoia about government spies in universities", "paranoia about the power of computers", and questions as to who would be using this information: "We provide the information; you get the glory and take the credit". The leaders took pains to allay these fears, but succeeded only partially.

The Management Committee apparently had three basic intentions for the Community Orientation Workshop.

Community education was the primary goal. The Management Committee hoped to create an awareness of the project and to win support for it from among the recognized "community activist" citizens. Secondly, they wanted to attract agency people, to establish a link with pre-existing agencies. Thus, stipends were provided in order to allow community agencies to pay replacement staff for the duration of the workshop. The Management Committee had to choose between hiring the staff prior to the Community Orientation Workshop, (thereby eliminating the negative potentialities of the "competition for jobs" aspect of the Community Orientation Workshop) and offering the stipends, which they thought would encourage greater agency and community participation. They felt that by publicizing the workshop well enough, they could draw forty to fifty people to each session. This would make the Community Orientation Workshop a truly "community-educational" event, diminish any focus on the job aspect as a main purpose of the workshop, and assist in making the job roles appear complex and

difficult enough that people who were subsequently not hired would not be resentful or feel insulted that they had not been hired.

The third, and in the minds of the Management Committee members, apparently the least essential purpose of the workshop, was recruitment and preliminary screening of potential applicants for the street worker and mediator positions. Apparently, most of the people who participated in the workshop were interviewed previously by the committee and were told what the several purposes of the workshop were. However, certain people who were chosen because they were seen as being community leaders were not interviewed by the committee prior to the workshop. Some of those who were selected in this manner, not only saw the workshop as primarily a job related exercise, but apparently got the impression that they were in line for the job.

Thus the employment-screening aspect generated some competition and jealousy. There was competitiveness but any resentment was directed not so much at fellow workshop participants as at the Community Orientation Workshop leader and at the project itself. The broader participation which had been planned would, it was hoped, eliminate this focus on the employment-screening aspects of the workshop. But when it did not materialize, the dye was cast.

The hiring of the workers following the workshop was yet another fiasco. When only one of the street worker positions was filled initially, several of the applicants and members of the Ward 3 community felt insulted and outraged. People felt they had been "lied to" by the project. They felt that the project had guaranteed them that all worker positions on the project would be filled from within the Community Orientation Workshop. As well, no Black person was hired initially, and this was seen by several people as a

mistake for a project which hoped to do extensive street work in Ward 3 and Mulgrave Park, both of which have a significant Black community. The Ward 3 Community Council demanded a meeting with the Management Committee. At the meeting the person who was introduced as a Ward 3 street worker was not well known by a number of residents. Ward 5 was seen by Ward 3 residents as "having had their own way" in the hiring. The Management Committee agreed at this public meeting that they had indeed made a mistake and would now reopen the position and include the Community Orientation Workshop members in their consideration for the job. When they later announced their choice for the position, rumours abounded in the neighbourhood that the person hired had been promised the job by a Management Committee member. The person was said to be unsuited for the position due to being too old. Even today people in the Ward 3 community feel that the "Diversion" positions were filled on the basis of patronage.

From my investigations I have concluded that personal favouritism did enter into and influence the hiring, but not in this straightforward way. Again, an absolute consensus had to be gained. People's favourites tended to be eliminated by some other committee member's offsetting priority. Nevertheless, the effect was to generate further discontent with N.E.D.N.J.P. on the part of neighbourhood people. The project now had adequate links with almost nobody in either Ward. Individuals and agencies in both Wards had been alienated by the hiring and by the Community Orientation Workshop.

Once hired, neither street worker felt comfortable in their role. Neither wanted to keep records of their case load, neither seems to have had much of a case load of referrals and interventions, nor a clear idea of how to go about generating one. The workers who had been hired were still reeling from

the community anger over the hiring procedure and were immediately on the defensive, thus their tie-in to the agency communications network was hampered by having several Community Orientation Workshop job applicants working in several of the more indigenous community agencies. Thus it was difficult to enter these agencies and try to establish contact with so many employees of these agencies seeming to be angry at them.

The staff made agency visits initially, but did little follow-through later. Diversions went into a shell, and never came out. Occasional attempts were made to intervene in pre-charge diversionary situations, to lay the groundwork for community contacts, and to follow through on contacts and promises that had been made but staff, like the Management Committee, felt tired and a bit shell-shocked by all the adverse community reaction.

Although there is conflicting information on this point, it appears that prior planning of the content of the Action component of the project, as opposed to its form, was not solid enough. Thus, N.E.D.N.J.P.'s Action component seems to have had no clear programs to offer with regard to restitution, reconciliation, mediation, and so on. There were apparently fairly clear procedural plans for how workers were to establish contacts, but these often were not adequately understood or were not carried out. Much of the workers' initial activity load seems to have been expected to be generated by the workers themselves. Later, their plan of action changed frequently, as various options were tried. They seem to have had only vague goals, and no concrete step by step plan of achieving these through a specific set of defined actions. If such action plans were arrived at, but not carried out, little seems to have been done as a result (i.e., there were few consequences for not doing things, other than further staff counselling). The staff were getting

insufficient direction from the co-ordinator, and the co-ordinator was not receiving adequate direction and support from the Management Committee.

The staff were not initially qualified to perform the level of tasks demanded by "the community", and envisioned by the project's designers, without very detailed and heavily supervised assignments and extensive supplementary training. Creative street work had not been done in either Ward for some time. The pace and tempo of activity and the attitudes in the communities towards street work contributed, along with the essentially difficult nature of the work, to its being an extremely difficult task. This was further complicated by the original co-ordinator's belief in the attempt to implement a collective, co-operative staff team setting. Staff could not function in this setting, and were later confused and felt betrayed when the co-ordinator recognized its inadequacy and tried to become more directive.

The community had unrealistic expectations for the project at first, exacerbated by all the hostility. Other community agencies had a tendency to cease or reduce their own informal intervention in diversionary situations because the Diversion project now existed. There was a tendency for the community to expect N.E.D.N.J.P. to do everything and clean up the neighbourhood.

The project was also confronted by the paradox of being a geographically based, single issue project: "if it is located there, they must have the problem". Also, there was a feeling that since the project existed, it must therefore have the solution to the problem; after all, "that is what the staff are getting paid for".

The residents of Ward 3 and many of the agency people who had not been actively involved in the Steering Committee stage now treated the project with

skepticism, or worse yet, as an invading force. Some jealousy over the salaries did complicate things, but lack of direct action and street service, especially at night, and poor follow-up by the project on the agency referrals which it did receive, made N.E.D.N.J.P.'s existence seem like an affront to the community.

Some agency people who were no longer directly involved (but had been in the Steering Committee stage) saw the hostility and mistrust from the Community Councils, and avoided association with N.E.D.N.J.P. People did not want to be connected to the project at this point, for fear that it would diminish their own effectiveness in the community.

My suspicion is that only a very organized and skilful director who concretely understood the neighbourhoods, their people, and what would be required to fulfil the terms of the job descriptions and project goals, and who was well-known, well-liked, and trusted in at least Ward 3, if not in both Wards, could have had any chance of making the project work at this point. The staff of the project did not fully understand their jobs in terms of the scope required. Staff development could only have been achieved through assigning very carefully designed, concrete tasks, followed by close evaluation of each unit of work. Follow-up would be essential. In other words, success may have required a super human effort, like so many other aspects of the project.

What then does the project history imply about the ability of the community to control and direct staff, about the relations between the basic actors, about community diversion, and about the advantages and disadvantages of drawing staff from the community?

The project's history implies little about most of these questions, because indigenous community persons who are not part of the community's social work scene were never actively involved in sufficient numbers in the project as participating Management Committee or sub-committee members. Although the Ward Councils themselves represent only a small percentage of, and not necessarily a random sample of, the overall Ward populations, the effect which they eventually had was to be able to almost veto N.E.D.N.J.P. actions, through the mechanism of their Ward representatives on Management Committee. These representatives were often afraid to approve actions without first checking many times over with their Ward Councils. The Ward Council representatives throughout the stormy period of the project had difficulty in fulfilling their role. Given the circumstances, it was probably an impossible role to fulfil adequately to everyone's satisfaction. The representatives were trapped, and often made their situation worse by withholding information from one or the other of their constituencies at critical junctures.

But the Ward Councils do not seem to have fully accepted a share of responsibility for trying to make the project work and mainly reserved for themselves the right to criticize. The Ward 3 Council was so alienated from the beginning, and the Ward 5 Council later, that they seemed to feel active involvement might be fruitless. In essence, they did not feel that N.E.D.N.J.P.'s Management Committee was prepared to act to change anything in response to their criticisms. The Ward 3 Councils' frustrations were worsened when two of its members temporarily joined the research sub-committee of the Management Committee. These members felt that the research sub-committee had determined its plans prior to their joining it, and would not listen to their suggestions

for changes in the methodology or content of the research. They felt that the research group was essentially pursuing its own interests and was not concerned with those of the community.

The researchers do seem to have had a free reign in their work early in the project, which later on caused problems because some members of the Ward Councils and of the Management Committee itself did not like what the researchers were rumoured to be doing, and did not feel that the Management Committee or the citizens had adequate control over the research component's activities. In retrospect, it is clear that the researchers and their critics were operating from very different points of view in concern with these matters. The critics were saying "You told us you would research the questions we wanted answered. But now when we raise questions about the directions you are taking, you will not listen". The researchers, meanwhile, felt that they were in fact responding to questions which had been asked by the community. They felt that they had listened carefully, gathered a number of possible topics, then selected from among these those which promised to be most fruitful in terms of service to the community and reform of the Criminal Justice System. Having selected their topics, they then designed a research plan which coincided with the availability of undergraduate student manpower and the due dates for the progress reports to the Solicitor General. They did not feel that they could or should change their research focus once they had embarked upon the work involved in any of these time segments. The researchers' critics interpreted this stance as exhibiting unconcern for the communities' wishes.

A further complicating factor was the research co-ordinator's decision to credit all relevant research which his students were performing during this

time to N.E.D.N.J.P. Apparently, he felt this would lend credibility to the project. The effect was, of course, to create the impression among Management Committee members who were suspicious of the direction they felt the research was taking, that the research component was going off in totally new directions. Furthermore, these members felt that the Management Committee had become a pawn of the research component, since none of these "new" research projects had ever been submitted to the Management Committee for approval. Worst of all, the research findings were never organized into clearly understood, easily read, information packages for distribution to the community. No community education workshops were held during this period to inform the residents of what the researchers were doing, and of what they were finding. Thus, as with so many aspects of this project, people were left to form their own impressions of what was happening.

How adequate were the structures which had been established to deal with the events which arose? The Ward Councils each had one representative on the Management Committee. The Steering Committee had two representatives. But as we have seen the Steering Committee was never comprised mainly of community residents; it was always a committee of agency people and, when the Steering Committee ceased to exist as an active body after the project received funding, the Steering Committee positions were used by the Management Committee to try to buffer some of the sources of community resentment. The Management Committee and project organizers may have felt that this constituted adequate representation and community input, and a "balancing of the powers".

N.E.D.N.J.P. as a project however, was experienced by the majority of Ward 3 community residents involved as if it were a "fait accompli", not

necessarily out of any nefarious intent, but because the community was not sufficiently organized formally, and N.E.D.N.J.P. people did not have sufficient understanding of the informal networks of communication and organization. N.E.D.N.J.P. had tried to follow proper channels by taking their proposal to the Ward Councils, but the Councils were low in participation and energy at that point and so their approval at the time was somewhat hollow.

What ongoing practices existed to monitor and enforce project policy? Again, there was only the Management Committee and nominally the Steering Committee. But once the Management Committee had been constituted, the Steering Committee in effect ceased to exist as an active body. Thus N.E.D.N.J.P. was without adequate informal networks for information, communications and follow-up, aggravated by the street workers' being partially cut off from their fellows in the community by the previous problems, by not getting much visible community service work done, and by the general "tainted" nature of the project. This was further complicated by the paralysis of and sense of inadequate representation by the Ward Council representatives on the Management Committee. (They felt and were trapped between the two bodies. At Management Committee meetings they tried to represent the Ward Council view point, and at Ward Council meetings tried to represent the Management Committee view point. In both instances they were speaking to hostile audiences, and this later seems to have led at least one of the representatives to cease trying to adequately represent N.E.D.N.J.P.'s position to the Ward Council, with dire consequences).

Later controversies such as the Ward 5 Task Force's night letter to the Solicitor General implying problems with the project, and the attendant letter exchanges, innuendo, meetings and recriminations, emerged as ad hoc attempts

by community groups to set up a structure to monitor the policy, practices, etc., of the project. What was startling in these instances was the incredible lack of communication or any commonality of view points about what was happening and why.

Since no effective ongoing structure existed beyond the form-but-not-spirit Management Committee representation for Ward Councils, the feeling of the Ward Councils was that there was no clear-cut and openly stated means to effect policy implementation or to change policy. Thus, they felt they had to come up with some means of their own: in Ward 3 such past experiences as parents' having picketed for a new building for St. Pat's Junior High School; civil disobedience which, after several arrests, led to the citizens' convincing the city to paint a crosswalk at a busy intersection; many landlord/tenant disputes, and the experiences of the "Save the Playground" and Welfare Rights committees had lent credence to the notion that public demonstrations and face-to-face confrontations were an effective means of winning one's point. In Ward 5 the formation of the task force, their subsequent investigation and the formal night letter to the Solicitor General as the funding source became the preferred means of expressing their concern.

Was there any clear-cut plan with specific, measureable goals which had been previously adopted by the community for the Diversions project?

The answer seems to be no. The research component may have had a plan, and may have felt that it had approval. But the project as a whole never had even the former, although it might have gotten the latter more easily than the research component if it had had measureable goals and a truly solid plan for tangible community service. That is, most people were generally

favourable toward the overall goals of reducing kids' involvement with the Criminal Justice System. The specifics might have still caused problems of the "not my kid" variety, but we cannot know this because the project only reached a degree of clarity with regard to specific, measureable goals in its second phase. These goals were not, however, specific with regard to the technicalities of pre-charge diversion, and when the Executive Director sensed that the Management Committee were not fully supportive of even this limited mandate, she resigned.

Under the first co-ordinator (February 1978 - December 1979) the project seems to have had few clear ideas of how to achieve its goals. Under the second co-ordinator (January - May 1980) there was a four point program of objectives, but no concrete outline of specific activities, or a time-plan to lead to their achievement. Under the third co-ordinator, in the final phase of the program's existence (June 1980 - January 1981) there were several points listed as goals, but it is not clear how directly these related to diversion.

The mechanism of Ward Council representation to the Management Committee which was intended to aid in preventive planning, anticipation of community reaction, and to promote ways of dealing with these constructively did not work. There was no formula for dealing with and assessing the validity of negative community criticism of particular paths, and no agreed upon framework of principles from which to operate. Thus, the personalities of individual Management Committee members became the determining factor in a number of instances. There may be no clear-cut response to this issue, since, while we might assume such a framework would have to be previously agreed to (in

writing if possible) by the Ward Councils, involved agencies, and any interested citizens if it were to be accepted, there is no guarantee that any of these agents would not later change their minds. In fact, N.E.D.N.J.P. apparently felt it had followed roughly the course outlined above in this instance. The inability to resolve this dilemma may make it impossible for some group to acquire government funding. If this is the case, it is probably still preferable to what happened in this instance.

The Diversion Management Committee did participate in several public meetings where concerns were aired but citizens saw the committee as being too defensive in these meetings. The meetings seemed to be structured to provide protection for the committee from the worst storms of protest. The forms of communication were in evidence but not the spirit. Staff and the Management Committee's offers to attend community group meetings to explain their point of view were often shunned because they were seen as exercises in "salesmanship", i.e., the product was suspect, so no explanation could make it other than suspect. When N.E.D.N.J.P. staff took it upon themselves to attend meetings of critical groups this was interpreted as "spying".

Ward Council representation to the Management Committee might have worked more effectively if there had been provision for two representatives from each Ward Council to serve on the Management Committee. The two sponsors, Coalition for Development and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, were each given two representatives on the Management Committee with a view to matching their fiscal responsibility with some real degree of influence in decision making. However, one or the other of their spots on the Board often went unrepresented for lengthy periods of time. The effect of this, coupled with the principle of five votes being necessary to carry a

decision, was to further paralyze an already troubled management group. Each of the Ward Council representatives felt isolated, and as if they had nobody with whom to compare their perceptions of what was going on inside the committee.

To systematically develop and maintain community support for any large scale new project, it would seem to be absolutely necessary to get beyond the interagency circuit as a communications and support network. The individuals the project serves must believe in what it is doing, and must tell their neighbours, friends and other agencies that this is so. If this is attempted before the project is underway, it probably requires that the project be done by community resident people or workers who are well known and to some extent trusted by some significant core group of residents in the neighbourhood.

Additionally, several meetings or other forms of close communication would be necessary in order to get clear about and to try to gain agreement on not just the general ideas but also the principles and a specific plan of action re goals, actions, steps to be taken, people to be involved, and so on.

If the attempt to develop community support is initiated after the project has begun, then it should be through a lengthy, slow moving and carefully monitored process of providing a legitimate, low key (probably not controversial and initially fairly conservative) community service to young people and/or adults. There will probably still be some questioning, especially if the project is highly successful and thus introduces new possibilities to the lives of those being served (or even if the staff is paid exceptionally well). If staff are hired from within the community, they must not be tokens, and while they may initially have different things expected of them, they must not have less expected of them than of any non-community staff.

The project must try to gain sufficient credibility through one of the above means or some other avenue. It must seek to have sufficient knowledge of community people and be known by and trusted by enough community people to be able to place some sort of responsibility on its critics to earn their credibility. Otherwise, the project might be destroyed by simple misunderstandings and word of mouth.

Even with all of the above items covered, there will still be some individuals in every community who will only find fault with what others try to do. If a project is providing useful service and has a neighbourhood base of community people as a support group, it can probably weather such storms. The key, again, is in providing the service, and being seen by a sufficient number of residents as being trustworthy, as a result of having been trustworthy.

What are the pitfalls of community-based diversion? First, there is an incredible amount of groundwork necessary. Community contacts must be carefully developed. Because it deals with legal matters, the degree of trust necessary is extraordinary. In this matter, a project might have a better chance of being successful if it were not seen as being primarily set up to divert, i.e., if it were previously trusted for having provided a related service. In this particular project, with regard to pre-charge diversion, there were some legal questions raised concerning possible "obstruction of due process", although later analyses by Dalhousie Legal Aid indicated that these concerns appeared to be ambiguous at best, and at any rate had yet to be tested in a Nova Scotian Court.

The police were suspicious of the project, and there was an apparent unwillingness on the parts of area merchants to trust N.E.D.N.J.P. Both of

these groups' antagonism toward the project seems to have been derived in part from the incident in early 1976 when a community worker visited most Gottingen Street merchants and asked them to contact the Steering Committee instead of police in cases where young people were caught shoplifting. Some of the merchants became quite upset, thinking that they were about to be deprived of police protection, and phoned the police for advice. The police made it very clear to merchants who telephoned that they were not in support of such activity, nor were they in agreement with N.E.D.N.J.P.'s aims. In effect, the police do not seem to have wanted to see N.E.D.N.J.P. gain any credibility with merchants for the notion of pre-charge diversion unless it were in instances where the merchant would not have pressed charges anyway, i.e., the Criminal Justice System would not suffer any narrowing of its scope due to N.E.D.N.J.P.'s activities. Of course, very few residents were inclined to call on the project in its first year after the initial outcry about it.

On the wider front, many stores in Halifax where young people are apprehended for offenses such as shoplifting are branches of chains with head offices located elsewhere (e.g., Ontario). These head offices tend to set the policies for dealing with shoplifters. Also, within local chains, there are well established lines of authority, which are broken only with great hesitation: "I cannot go over my onsite manager's head and contravene his authority. He would be offended".

To be effective therefore, a Diversions project would need a very well organized on-call system, intake procedures, and a clear-cut legal procedure for outlining each person's rights and choices to her/him at each stage of the process. Well-defined reconciliation, restitution or work order programs with sufficient numbers of trained volunteers to administer them would have to be in place.

A general operating principle in this regard is that the more alternative, innovative, and outside the system a project wishes to be, the more highly organized, hard-nosed and creative it had better be. Community diversion would seem to require highly innovative theoreticians with great practical and interpersonal communication skills. The impetus and much of the groundwork for such a project would require broad community resident input. This particular project suffered from being too complex to be readily understood by residents, and from having a tremendous distortion between its conceptual sophistication and its practical limitations.

As for possible advantages of community diversion; there would seem to be several: Keeping kids out of the Criminal Justice System net seems desirable enough. Community pride in making the neighbourhood a better place to live, where kids could grow up less troubled and in a more neighbourly setting, would seem to be a potential advantage. People would then be actively involved and participating in their community's future, and the development of alternatives could provide additional recreation, education and training resources for young and old.

What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of drawing staff from the community?

As with the other questions in this regard, the most significant element to be considered is the viability and value to the community of the project itself.

Some advantages are that the staff persons would "know the territory" and the people. They could go into homes without offending people through cultural inexperience. They should have a base of contacts already established and have the trust of the people in the community.

There have, of course, been instances of projects which hired community staff, then felt dissatisfied with the staff person's performance, but did not feel they could dismiss the staff person for fear of adverse community reaction. When a Board fears firing any staff member due to potential community reaction, this indicates that that Board is not part of the community. In such situations it would be quite natural if staff came to feel that they did not have to perform because they were the project's sole link to the community.

Some factors to avoid in hiring community-based staff are conflicts of interest, nepotism, or promising or hinting to particular individuals before the hiring is done that they have a "really good shot at the job", when the person talking has no way of knowing this to be the case. People doing the hiring should also avoid lowering expectations. If the job cannot be done with the skills workers bring, then training is in order. Workshops which bring hopefuls together with the promise that jobs will follow, would seem to be a bad idea unless the project's, and the workshop's, sole purpose is to bring people together to provide training and employment. Compromising the project's standards for the position in order to gain (false and temporary) community favour would be an obvious mistake, as would be taking on too many "rehabilitation projects" among staff. There are jobs to be done.

Employers should also avoid being sentimental or romantic about how someone's background prepares him/her to do a particular set of things. Condescending to or pitying community applicants is always a mistake. This can sometimes happen in an interview situation. Interviewers should ask the questions that must be asked to get the facts that are needed. People always know when they are being condescended to.

In a working class area with generalized low levels of formal education, it is important not to confuse this lack of education with a lack of intelligence. On the other hand, highly intelligent people may lack sufficient literacy skills. As in any staffing situation, the employer must calculate what degree of improvement the candidate is likely to make through training, and to what extent literacy may be secondary or perhaps not truly important to doing the job.

Whatever basic work habits are necessary for doing the job must be present, or readily obtainable. Training may have to be provided, depending on the person and on the job type. If training is necessary, it should be done early. At the same time, the person must want the training. (For example, training is not required to get the person to show up regularly. They must simply be there. This may require developing new habits but not much training. On the other hand, some formal training may be rightly resisted due to its irrelevance). The project may have to develop its own training program. But the project should not neglect already existing programs, and should not assume that certain training programs are too middle-class for its workers -- they may be, but then again there are some of these programs that a working class person can really flourish in, and benefit from. Others are simply too liberal and will not help the person deal with her/his own contradictions and therefore grow. But the staff member should have a lot of input into making this judgement. The project should avoid making the decision for the worker.

A good general maxim is "Don't make excuses. Seek results". Neither task-orientation nor process-orientation gets at the whole question.

I have not put much emphasis on the role of the Federal funding agents in the discussion of relations among the various actors to this point because, with the exception of the project's final year, once N.E.D.N.J.P. received its funding, the active input from the Consultation Centre to the project appears to have been minimal. There were serious problems with the Ottawa office's being delinquent in sending cheques during the first year of the project. They continually delayed sending the cheques until several months past the due dates, thus contributing to a worsening of an already severe problem of low morale within the project. Moreover, I have previously indicated the critical impact upon the project's fortunes of the extremely lengthy negotiation period required to initially secure funding for N.E.D.N.J.P.

In essence, there were two levels of Solicitor General Department impact upon this project. The more distant was of course, the national office in Ottawa. Much closer (apparently philosophically as well as geographically) was the Consultation Centre in Moncton.

The Consultation Centre seems to have shared the Steering Committee's enthusiasm for and excitement about N.E.D.N.J.P.'s concept much more than did its Ottawa counterpart. As well, in the same way that N.E.D.N.J.P. hoped to embrace both concrete community service and structural reform of the Criminal Justice System within the same project, the Consultation Centre conceived of N.E.D.N.J.P. as functioning on two levels.

The Consultation Centre is itself a fairly new creation. Its mandate, as I understand it, is to work with communities, developing demonstration projects which may then be replicated in other parts of the country. The two levels on which the projects are viewed as operating are: (1) the Ideational Level, i.e., to create a climate for reform within the Criminal Justice System;

and (2) the Operational Level, where it is hoped that the projects which the Centre funds will be successful in providing services within the range of goals the projects have set for themselves. Due to the nature of their mandate, the Consultation Centre's priority has to be in changing the climate.

The Consultation Centre basically sees their role as interpreting and fighting for projects at the regional level. They are essentially a go-between for the projects with the national office in Ottawa. In some instances, they seek to explain to Ottawa why a particular approach makes sense regionally, even if not nationally. Once the funding has been secured, the Centre serves in a consultative role to the projects. Although the extent of their involvement is apparently different with different projects, their basic role is to be present, to observe, but not to have an overwhelming influence on events. Staff members attempt to offer clarification when asked to do so, especially of probable government interpretation of or reaction to a certain event or policy undertaking.

They serve a mediating function for projects with Provincial Attorney General's Departments and Municipal Governments, to keep these informed of events within their jurisdiction and to explain anything which they find problematic about the projects. These governments must generally agree to be at least neutral in order for the Solicitor General to fund a project.

Staff members are responsible for supervising several projects in each province and for development of new projects. The supervisory work load is probably too heavy, too spread out and too diverse to allow in depth involvement or extensive problem solving by staff members with any particular projects.

Even more so with N.E.D.N.J.P., regional Consultation Centre staff did not feel it was their role to be actively involved in helping to make the project's major decisions. They felt that the details of the project had to be left up to the Management Committee.

Basically, a policy decision had been made that N.E.D.N.J.P. was to be a three year experiment in community-controlled decision making for an independent, community-based diversion project. The regional Consultation Centre staff felt they must consciously avoid intervening in a manner which would influence the project's decisions re policy making, planning, administrative procedures, etc., because they felt that for them to direct or control the project would be to negate the experiment. Funding was given to N.E.D.N.J.P. to see if it could work in the community with community control of the decision making process. It was an attempt to try a totally new experimental model: to see if it could work, and if it did work, to adapt the model and reuse it elsewhere. If it did not work, the Centre hoped to discover why.

There does seem to have been a sincere belief by regional Consultation Centre staff that, although "the project was perhaps six or seven years ahead of its time, and way ahead of where the Criminal Justice System was", the community might be ready to manage such a project. It could then provide an alternative to the system, wherein the control of a community's justice processes would be in the hands of people not working for some level of government.

The Management Committee was told from the beginning, and repeatedly throughout the project's existence during crisis situations, that the Solicitor General was not going to step in and take control of the project, nor withdraw the funding.

While both the Consultation Centre and the Steering Committee expected a degree of police opposition, because the project represented a testing of the limits of police authority, and some problems with the administrative level of the Attorney General's Department, the Centre apparently felt that the project could still succeed if it remained open to future involvement by the formal elements of the Criminal Justice System, and concentrated on (what was supposed to be) its strength -- its community base.

The Consultation Centre regarded the research and evaluation component of N.E.D.N.J.P. as highly significant, because the basic documentation of what happens in a project is essential to their being able to replicate a successful project later, somewhere else in Canada. For the Consultation Centre, the fact that they are funding a demonstration project is fundamental. Research's primary function is to represent in a detailed fashion what works, and does not, and why.

From this particular perspective, which like the N.E.D.N.J.P. research component's hopes for C.J.S. reform, differs greatly from the way in which the project is viewed by involved residents of Wards 3 and 5, the project may actually be viewed as having had some degree of success. N.E.D.N.J.P. has certainly not provided a true test of community-based diversion, because it was not community-based. Yet there are some indications that it may, by simply existing for three years, have helped influence the overall climate for C.J.S. reform in Canada. This remains to be tested, of course, and will be fairly ironic if it proves to be true.

A further irony is that presentations about the project made by various N.E.D.N.J.P. staff and Management Committee members at conferences, meetings,

etc., across Canada have apparently been quite highly regarded, and have had some reforming tendencies within the Criminal Justice System. To some extent this may be a function of one's expertise increasing proportionally to the distance one is from home, yet it also represents that very power of ideas which as I mentioned earlier, may not be greatly believed in by a number of indigenous residents of "the North End".

But where does this leave us? At the public meetings held in September as part of the evaluation process, there were a number of very critical comments about the role the Solicitor General played in the project. Several people felt that the regional Consultation Centre had been irresponsible for allowing what they saw as a gross misuse of public funds to occur through N.E.D.N.J.P. They simply could not agree with the regional Consultation Centre's view of its role as I have outlined it in this section. They see the Consultation Centre staff as having expertise, and they interpret "consultation" to mean active intervention where necessary in such aspects as administration, goal setting, policy planning, etc.

During the final fourteen months of the project, the Associate Regional Consultant was in fact intensively involved in helping the project to deal with some of these aspects. As the hiring of the Executive Director roughly coincided with her own arrival, she initially spent several hours each week with the Executive Director, assisting in the reorganization of N.E.D.N.J.P.'s priorities. She helped the Executive Director put the proposal together which would be taken to the Management Committee as a plan for N.E.D.N.J.P.'s final year of operation. She arranged to have a financial person from the national offices in Ottawa come to Halifax to help put the project's accounting system in order. She spent a lot of time with various Management Committee

members, in an effort to gain an understanding of why the project was experiencing the difficulties it was. She arranged several meetings with various components of the formal Criminal Justice System for the purpose of establishing some form of working relationship between them and N.E.D.N.J.P.

However, as I have described, N.E.D.N.J.P. was but one of the Consultant's responsibilities in Nova Scotia. So, when things seemed to be going smoothly, she began to put more time into her other duties around the province. Thus, it was with some surprise that she received a telephone call about six weeks later from the distraught Executive Director, worrying that the Consultant may have withdrawn her support. A number of telephone calls, meetings, "tête-à-têtes" with the Executive Director and members of the Management Committee followed, resulting in the Executive Director's apparent satisfaction that her concerns had been addressed. Within a week, the Consultant learned that the Executive Director had resigned. It later developed that the Director had resigned because she felt that the Management Committee was questioning her credibility and was trying to blame her for the project's failure. She felt it best she resign before she could be implicated for conditions which had existed for some time before she assumed the position of Director. As it turns out, most of the Management Committee members do not seem to have been questioning her ability. In fact, they were apparently uniformly very pleased with her performance to that point.

The incident, however, illustrates the extreme difficulty which a Moncton-based Consultant with responsibilities throughout Nova Scotia would have in keeping on top of things in a project as volatile as this one was.

On the other hand, there are some fairly serious implications to simply accepting the views of the critics of the Consultation Centre's role in

this project. Numerous community agencies and projects have felt stifled by too-close government attention to the details of their operations. In my experience, community groups do not fully trust government, nor do they like government staff to tell them how to run their project. Many of the disputes which have arisen between government funders and community groups have arisen over precisely this question. The techniques for government monitoring of agencies' expenditure of funds have been viewed as obtrusive. These interventions have been blamed for interfering with community groups' essential modes of operation. They have been accused of depriving projects of the spontaneity and flexibility which they require in order to develop personalized, responsive services for the community. This is the basis of agency opposition to formal evaluation by government. Forms of government intervention are seen to intrude upon the close relationship which the agencies wish to establish with the people whom they exist to serve.

The question is a difficult one, and I am not sure how it should be answered. The other major trend in questioning of the government's role in N.E.D.N.J.P. might be categorized as the "conspiracy theory" approach. Those who hold this view believe that Ottawa withheld approval for funding of the project because it did not wish to support a community-based project. In this scenario, Ottawa withheld the funds until it saw that the Diversions project had lost its community support, and its members' energy and enthusiasm for the task. It then granted the project funding as a means of demonstrating that community-based diversion cannot be successful.

I have some difficulty with both these lines of questioning, and I think the key to my concern lies in the notion of "responsibility". In essence, it seems to me that both approaches arise, perhaps unconsciously, from a desire to have the responsibility for a community group's actions assigned to

somebody other than themselves. I have not been impressed by most examples of government intervention in community projects which I have witnessed. On the other hand, if a government agencies' staff possesses expertise in some area relevant to the project's goals, and if it can offer this assistance in an unobtrusive manner, then it seems only reasonable that it should do so.

But frankly, I think both of these lines of reasoning miss the point. The project was trying to do something that the people involved simply did not know how to do. The Solicitor General's actions are no doubt open to criticism on many points. The protracted delay in approving the Steering Committee's application for funding undeniably had a negative effect upon the project's hopes for success. It may be that the regional Consultation Centre's non-interventionist approach was a mistake. But clearly their fundamental error lay in considering the Steering Committee to be a community-based group. The Steering Committee itself, however, must share in the responsibility for this misunderstanding. Throughout the history of the Steering Committee and that of the funded project, there were a number of newspaper articles written about N.E.D.N.J.P. Every one of these accounts attributed the project to the activities of a group of "residents of the North End". As well, virtually every newspaper report, proposal, and Progress Report written prior to N.E.D.N.J.P.'s gaining permanent funding, emphasized that Gottingen Street/ "the North End" was the "heart of the highest crime area in Halifax". Not only did N.E.D.N.J.P. members not point out to these reporters that the project was an agency-based, rather than resident-based endeavour, but they actively promoted the specific fiction which aided their own attempts to gain funding and credibility for the project from government sources.

Later, faced with constant (and to be fair, often contradictory) criticism and demands from the Ward Councils, the Management Committee charged that the Ward Councils were not true voices of the community since their memberships were not truly representative of the community. The Management Committee pointed out that very few people were actively involved in either Ward Council, and that the Councils essentially represented only the opinions of these very few individuals. The critique of the Councils' lack of broad representation was true, but it was even more true in 1975 when the Steering Committee used "Ward Council approval" as the basis for claiming to have widespread community support for their activities. Actually, the project was somewhat schizoid about this sort of thing throughout its existence, continually overlooking facts which contradicted its members' shared sense of reality, while at other times agonizing over how difficult reality had become.

I have come to conclude that social class is a major factor behind much of the confusion generated by N.E.D.N.J.P., and in much of what is wrong with most government funded projects sited in "innercity" or low income areas.

I think it is fair to say that the social class of agency workers tends to be much nearer to that of Federal Government Civil Servants than either group's is to the agency's "innercity clientele". At one point in the life of N.E.D.N.J.P. a member of the Steering Committee maintained in a letter to the Consultation Centre staff that the project's credibility in the community was in inverse relationship to its credibility with the formal Criminal Justice System and government structures. I would suggest that it is not so much the credibility itself which is inversely related as it is the means by which credibility is gained and maintained with Federal Government agencies. Much of what is involved in getting a project to the stage where it can be funded consists of the movement of three things: abstract ideas, paper, and

people. Consider such characteristics as the ability to toss around abstract concepts in conversation, "proposal literacy", and the ability to get excited over a flow chart. In our society, at least, these characteristics tend to be a function of social class. Most of the people on the Steering Committee seem to have had these characteristics to some degree, as do the people who worked for the Consultation Centre. Consider as well that, given the choice, most people would prefer to work with people they are comfortable with. In other words, with the same sort of person they would choose to socialize with; someone who shares their interests, culture, etc. Thus, a federal civil servant presented with a proposal by a middle class agency person representing a "community group", may or may not like the proposal, but will tend to ascribe certain basic competencies to that person and his group. If the same civil servant were presented with a well written proposal by a welfare recipient representing a group of fellow welfare recipients, he might tend to question the group's ability to achieve the objectives outlined in the proposal, and wonder who wrote it for them. Furthermore, it is conceivable that the former group would find itself much more comfortable in the halls of power, and that the civil servant might well be much more comfortable among the members of this group, were there to be any lobbying or negotiation necessary to obtain approval for the proposal.

If this line of analysis has any validity (and I admit that it is speculative), it might offer some insight into how the Steering Committee came to be regarded by those not in close touch with the situation as a group of "community residents" who represented the community. As well, my implicit suggestion that social class has not been adequately considered by those who would work in community service agencies in low-income neighbourhoods may help to explain how a group of sincere agency workers, few of whom would individually

admit to considering themselves "community people", yet all of whom believed they had "the community's interests" at heart, convinced themselves and the Solicitor General that they were the community, and launched a three year misadventure which could be likened to having stowed away on the Titanic.

But the observation about the effects of class also poses a serious dilemma for government agents in assessing proposals for "community-based" projects.

Whatever the solution will be, I suggest that its goal must be to return responsibility for themselves to the residents of particular communities and their chosen allies. A truly community-based project might encounter many of the same problems as did N.E.D.N.J.P. But that remains to be discovered. In the meantime, ways should be sought to bring this peculiar form of victimization -- deprivation of self-responsibility -- to an end.

SECTION TWO:

Responding to questions asked in number 2, a and b, of the Management Committee's call for research and evaluation proposals. (See Appendix One).

Is pre-charge diversion feasible? This is difficult to assess on the basis of the few instances of actual diversion in this project. Sections 127 and 449 of the Criminal Code have both been raised as possibly presenting serious legal difficulties. The rights of the individual, who has not yet been charged with anything, must be protected. Pre-charge diversion could lead to another, lower rung on the Criminal Justice System ladder. Already with post charge programs some concern has been expressed that police may tend to make more petty arrests of juveniles because a Diversion project exists, where before they would let the youngster go with just a warning. A lack of any informal means to obtain legal force for diversion activities could be seen as leading more experienced criminals to utilize the loop holes to avoid being charged and prosecuted. This concern may explain the apparent Criminal Justice System preference for diversion intended primarily for first and second offenders, and young offenders, but it is a question which remains wide open.

Clearly the concept is difficult to implement under the auspices of a formal, high profile government-funded project, because this diminishes what should be its strength: a close relationship among residents, street workers, storekeepers and, ideally, community police officers, which would encourage the use of the personal approach to dealing with minor offenses and petty juvenile law breaking, family disputes, etc. In N.E.D.N.J.P.'s case the coincidental timing of the Board of Trade's nationally promoted and publicized "STOPLIFT" program may have committed a key segment of the business community to an opposing point of view at a crucial time. There were other specific difficulties with the Gottingen Street and "North End" merchants.

What conditions could lead to success?

The project should probably have some clearly delimited notion of whom it wishes to serve and perhaps also which offense categories. For purposes of simplicity, I will refer primarily to programs intended for young offenders in the following discussions.

There would be a need for deep community and merchant trust, i.e., extensive groundwork would have to be laid, and close co-operation with the police and/or probation officers would be necessary to offset territorial and jurisdictional fears.

Superb ongoing contact with agencies, churches, schools, families, businesses, courts, Childrens' Aid Societies, etc., would be necessary to receive the names of potentially troubled kids. Of course, such a network might also raise the spectre of the "Big Brother Syndrome". Ideally the police should be willing to co-operate, even to refer, but at the very least to vouch for the project's credibility to merchants.

The Halifax Police Department however, is considered to be a quite conservative force. The Police Department seemed defensive toward N.E.D.N.J.P. almost from the beginning. They avoided involvement with or support of N.E.D.N.J.P. because, they say, it dealt only with the North End, thus "discriminating" in its choice of location, and its basic premises violated section 449 of the Criminal Code. In practise, this avoidance meant very little project credibility with merchants, and with community residents who might form their opinions of the project by asking the advice of the police.

In any event, for a project to have a chance to succeed, there would have to be sufficient street worker expertise and manpower to be able to respond

immediately to referrals. Also, programs which could be offered to the offender's family to help them deal with the situations behind the person's behaviour, and alternative activities to offer to the person himself could be helpful, if these environmental changes dealt with the situation which led to the commission of the offence.

N.E.D.N.J.P. had very few cases of pre-charge diversion. Why? Seemingly because it did not meet the above conditions, but also perhaps because the real troubled kids do not tend to fit into programs. They often have been through the agency mill, but tend to be ejected when the agency "matures" and tightens its behavioural standards. This pattern may partially account for why such kids get into petty crimes to the extent that they do, i.e., they are unable to fit into any organized agency activity for any length of time, so their peer group and their organized recreational activity is found among other kids like themselves, e.g., "gangs".

N.E.D.N.J.P. was foiled from the beginning by all the previously mentioned factors. Thus, there were few referrals, and no clear sense of what to do in the interim to generate these. Sufficient numbers of community people may not have known enough about the project to generate a lot of referrals. Many of those who did know were hostile towards the project and unprepared to become involved with it because of its reputation.

With regard to tolerance levels in the community for the identification of children before formal charges have been laid, we simply do not know. We might assume there would be some problems around the issues of community confidentiality and bad publicity for the neighbourhood, but if the criteria for identifying kids were rigorous and not heavily publicized or loosely used as in descriptions of the Mini Museum kids in certain N.E.D.N.J.P. material, then this might be accepted if the kids were helped. If the

relationship with residents had been one of trust, respect, and familiarity based on an experience of the Diversions project workers' having provided a service to people, "identifying" would probably be construed as helpful concern. Any tendency on the project's part however, to exaggerate the degree to which young people are at risk of criminal involvement, would have to be very carefully guarded against. Diversion is meant to be a means of avoiding labelling young people. It would be a sad paradox if absolutely innocent kids were negatively labelled because a Diversions project existed.

SECTION THREE:

Responding to questions asked in number 3 and number 4 of the Management Committee's call for research and evaluation proposals.

Question 3: Is diversion possible through existing recreational and social services?

Question 4: What is the potential success or failure of informal diversion-referral mechanisms for minor offenses -- businesses, community, churches, social services, schools, individuals?

Not only is diversion possible through existing recreational and social services but it was done for years, before the Federal Government formalized the concept. An irony of N.E.D.N.J.P. is that it may have resulted in fewer instances of diversion being carried out because its existence caused other agencies to feel that this service no longer needed to be included in their unspoken mandate, since a formal, separate agency now existed to provide it.

Another factor to consider though, is that several of the agencies which formerly provided these services no longer exist due to funding cutbacks by government sources. M.O.V.E., the Youth Clinic, Youth Employment Services, Unison and New Options all closed their doors prior to 1980. Those institutions and agencies which have survived have tended to be those whose funding was linked to some non-governmental or institutional source. The Community "Y" receives its funding from the Metro Y.M.C.A., Veith House from the Childrens' Foundation, the North End Clinic from the Halifax Infirmary and M.S.I., and the North End Library from the Halifax Regional Library. While some of these are government-funded, they are clearly not seen as short-term projects. As we'll, several churches in the area continue to offer youth services.

Informal diversion referral mechanisms could work, but we should take into account the possibility that kids who become and remain involved in organizations tend not to be in as much trouble or as serious, as the true "street kids" who do not tend to be involved on a stable basis with any organization. Thus, the referral network would have to truly involve the entire community, and not just the agencies.

Obviously trust and credibility would be important factors in relationships with any of these segments of the community. With businesses the manager's personality and the store's policy would have to be considered. Churches, social services, and the schools tend to refer children to organizations on a trial basis and, if they seem to be effective, will send more kids. Community individuals may be slow in coming to trust new organizations. Paradoxically, they may place a great amount of high level general expectations on an organization to "fulfil its mandate" without actually referring particular kids or providing back up support. The project will eventually get some support though, if it is seen to be helping the kids. Also, some individuals, families, etc., might be found immediately who would be willing to help, if a thorough door-to-door information exchange were carried out at the first of the project.

It is possible of course, that people will give verbal support to the concept but will not then continue to do anything in connection with that statement of support. In these instances people must be reapproached and asked to help in some very specific task or service. Some people who said "That sounds good" will now refuse to help, but others will agree to help, and at least the project workers will have become more aware of the limitations, and will have generated basic goodwill or neutrality toward the project.

In this connection it might be worthwhile to recall the original Steering Committee concept of several full time diversion workers being attached to several different community organizations rather than a separate agency. Their hours could be flexible, could be on a rotation schedule, or whatever. One business mediator could work business hours and one or two community mediators could work from, e.g., 4:00 pm until midnight on rotating five day shifts. These mediators might operate out of the same agencies as the street workers or another one or two agencies.

Whatever the set up, a lot of pre-project groundwork would have to be laid with all concerned. The model would be that of the small town where everybody knows everybody, including the police, judges, etc. A youngster or an adult who did something against the law or in violation of community norms would not necessarily be arrested. Instead the store owner, property owner, parent of an offended child, or policeman could take the offending person home to their parent/wife, etc., and work out some kind of settlement or tell them not to let it happen again, with due threat of criminal records or community displeasure. It is instructive in this regard to note that the research component of diversions found that the single most effective variable in preventing further shoplifting was to have a child's parents informed. Of course, in such cases certain assumptions must apply, such as that a child has a parent or guardian, that the parent cares about the child and what happens to them and so on. Also, it is assumed that legal action and a criminal record are things to be avoided or to be afraid of incurring, but in the vast majority of cases this is the situation.

Before leaving this section, I should make one point. I have stressed widespread community involvement in the foregoing discussion because I am

talking about projects which seek to be "community-based". It should be noted that there are many projects which offer quite legitimate services to a substantial clientele without being community-based. There may well be instances where an effort to develop a community-base would be simply counterproductive. The key to knowing the difference may be in the type of service an agency wishes to provide, and in the type of relationship it wishes to have with the community in which it is located. I hope that I have made clear in the previous discussion about "community" that the "effective community" may at times be far more limited in number and scope than might at first appear.

A project might consider involvement in community mediation, which might even come to include family mediation. The breaking up of small disputes can be tough and dangerous work, but can also be very helpful to those involved in having those disputes. There would be a need for clearly laid out plans of action, thorough training in the skills involved in conflict resolution (listening, body language, decision making, possibly even physical combat skills). These and more would have to be in the mediator's repertoire.

Some of these ideas may simply be impractical and dangerous however, and may be better left to the police or to the people involved, to fight it out (in peace?). The determinant for the validity of any set of ideas is, of course, their effectiveness in practise. N.E.D.N.J.P., for reasons already elaborated upon, has been of little use in this regard. The ideas await a true test.

SECTION FOUR:

Responding to the question asked in number 5 of the Management Committee's call for research and evaluation proposals.

Question 5: Is the concept productive or negative, since it is focused on potential troublemakers?

The term "diversion" is itself problematic. It is alien seeming, if not alienating, especially in the form in which it was originally introduced to the Ward Councils, i.e., "criminal diversion". It seems an unfortunate bureaucratization of the language.

The concept does seem to be very difficult to implement, because it would threaten police powers if it were concretely instituted, and would require a sound base of community strength and co-operation among residents, agencies, institutions, merchants, etc., before the project was in place. In a community which had become fragmented in any number of ways (viz. "the North End" in 1977) this would be difficult to ensure.

Do recreational and related programs provide genuine prevention?

Yes, within limits. The "bad" kids tend not to last in these programs. When new programs start up in a community the more troubled kids tend to be there, but then they often are eventually forced to leave as the program stabilizes and raises its standards for continued participation. Pareto's principle of the 80/20 rule seems to apply in these cases, only on more of a 90/10 basis, i.e., the agency concerned rejects the 10% of kids who are most difficult to work with in order to better serve those kids who do respond in acceptable and desired ways.

Does diversion overburden voluntary services with added responsibility?

This depends on how diversion is defined or conceptualized. A 24 hour service including a full range of mediation would probably do so. Intervening on request, especially if done primarily with kids who the workers already consider to belong in this program, would probably not do so.

If training, or even a concrete information package on mediation, reconciliation and restitution were made available to community agencies, stores, institutions and resident groups, this might be fairly easily fit into the range of services already provided.

SECTION FIVE:

Dealing with the topic of Goals.

It is unclear how specific the Management Committee was in developing its goals for the Diversion project. The goals which it seemed to have were probably too diverse and potentially self-contradictory. Thus, each person who heard of the project was left to develop his or her own definition and set of expectations for what N.E.D.N.J.P. was supposed to be accomplishing. This led to unrealistic expectations for what the project should be doing, and minimal understanding or acceptance of what the project was trying to do.

Overall, the concepts behind diversion, e.g., community mediation, pre-charge diversion, community absorption, and so on, may have simply been too alien and too sophisticated to be readily understood by any community without an extensive, comprehensive and lengthy period of community education. This aspect of N.E.D.N.J.P. seems to have been the most neglected one of all. Some community residents thought N.E.D.N.J.P. was supposed to "clean up the neighbourhood" by ridding it of petty crime. Others wanted it to keep their kids and those of their neighbours out of trouble and out of jail. Some people saw the project primarily in terms of an employment opportunity. Others saw it as nothing less than a blatant invasion of community privacy. That N.E.D.N.J.P. did not adequately respond to this fundamental need for careful education of the residents of its chosen community to what its aims and objectives were, is perhaps the project's fundamental failing. Then when the straightforward community service activities were not significantly carried out, the project's chances for overcoming initial community fears were virtually eliminated.

In retrospect, it does appear that N.E.D.N.J.P.'s organizers proceeded primarily on the conceptual level, caught up in the excitement of the activities they were engaged in. The committee was aware that difficult concrete realities had still to be dealt with, but the idealism and excitement among the Steering Committee members may have caused them to underestimate the actual degree of difficulty inherent in working out concrete solutions to such questions as how to train staff for street work, how to develop the levels of trust which would be necessary to lead a family in crisis to call the diversions worker to help mediate matters, or how to acquire the image of competence and credibility which would assure a store owner that his business and the community's interests would be better served through referring an apprehended shoplifter or vandal to N.E.D.N.J.P. rather than by calling the police.

Plans of any sort tend to be problematic, since they have to assume that certain things will remain roughly the same. They have to be content with extrapolating from existing trends within current conditions, or they must try to take every possible contingency into account. The first method can result in grave oversights. The second could lead to paralysis.

The best method for planning in community work may be to attempt to include all the variables, assuming that most things which can be delayed or which could go wrong will do so. The plan should try to include means of dealing with these misfortunes, and then proceed to at least one further level of response to mishap. This probably sounds overly pessimistic, but my experience with community groups is that they are generally too optimistic in their initial planning (thus often overlooking crucial details), and too pessimistic in their reactions to misadventure (thus effectively panicking and fearing the

worst, rather than planning for it and thereby lessening its effects). For example, a person using this approach could have correctly anticipated most of what happened to N.E.D.N.J.P., because very little of what went wrong could accurately be classified as an "unforeseen event". The seeds for destruction were fairly evident within each event as it unfolded, provided one understood the nature of the communities and the personalities involved. It seems evident that no one within the Steering Committee did fully understand these, but a solid plan could still have avoided many of the disasters. For example, a first level of planning for some aspects of N.E.D.N.J.P. might include some of the following: "We are going to have problems between Ward 3 and Ward 5 over staffing, demands for service, and demands for influence upon policy. Both Wards are going to deeply mistrust the evaluation component. The Community Orientation Workshop will be seen by at least half the participants as a competition for jobs; there will be some jealousy, but there will be a wave of resentment toward the project after the hiring is completed. The co-ordinator must be trusted in at least one of the Wards, known in both, and not distrusted in either. The evaluation component may have to be coached in how to relate to people in public meetings and small groups, how to adjust their vocabulary and style, etc. They must have simplified versions of their research findings available immediately and must concentrate a major portion of their efforts in the first year in publicizing and explaining their work to the people of Ward 3 and Ward 5. For the workshop, there must not be a "screening" aspect involved in it. We would be better off to eliminate some of the stipends and hire staff before the workshop, or, if we cannot do that, eliminate the workshop. Etc. Etc."

With such an approach, which is admittedly very unsentimental, the project might have hoped to overcome some of the initial problems. It would,

as I have indicated, be necessary to follow this first line of thinking with a second level of response to each of these as the first attempt in our planning pattern would be assumed to fail. Anything which then does not fail, is a bonus. Anything which fails beyond the two levels of planning puts the organization into a situation calling for sensitivity and further planning, but is not necessarily an occasion for panic.

SECTION SIX:

Dealing with the topic of the Management Committee and administration.

N.E.D.N.J.P. laboured under administrative difficulties throughout its term. The Management Committee underwent a number of changes in its membership and had four different chairpersons. There was an extended probationary period for staff, and the project had three Co-ordinators/Executive Directors with three different titles in three years. The problems in hiring and supervision of staff have been mentioned.

For the community service-oriented people on the Management Committee it was a startling and unusual feeling to be seen as anti-community. Wanting only to serve the community, the group panicked, and went through various modes of response to criticisms, ranging from "soft-line" to "hard-line" to "no-line". After the emotion-packed meeting at the North End Library in the early days of the project, it seemed to staff members that the Management Committee were never fully there for them again. The members of the Management Committee, like the staff, and unlike those in the community who saw the problems developing and thereafter avoided association with N.E.D.N.J.P., were locked into a conflict where there was really very little possibility for success. The Board was at first exhausted, then divided and finally torn apart. Meetings became chaotic and work did not get done. A total crisis mentality prevailed. New people who were brought onto the Board in the hope that they might help it move beyond this state, instead became swept up by the conflicts within the committee. The committee did not seem to be able to unite itself in the face of "community opposition".

I have mentioned the problems with the membership structure of the Management Committee in terms of representation. The voting system and the need for virtual consensus, complicated by the conflicting biases of the committee members, contributed to the Board's frustration.

There was a serious lack of professionalism and objectivity within the Management Committee throughout the project. Conspiracy theories abounded. Meetings were chaotic, and were frequently dominated by interpersonal concerns. The revolving cast of characters within the Management Committee was partially caused by, and contributed greatly to this lack of stability within the Board. People did not listen well to one another, and lost trust in one another early in the project's life. Thereafter internal suspicion and fear of collusion was like a cancer among the committee members. To be fair to them we must point out that the project had become an albatross for the Management Committee members. They were sincere people who had gotten involved in the committee with the intent of aiding the community and they felt duty-bound to try to continue towards that goal. But paranoia about first external and later internal "forces" made them uncertain of how to act. Thus they became negatively self-absorbed as a Board. The project consumed great chunks of people's time and emotions, and the people involved developed an exaggerated view of the significance of everything concerned with it. Quite simply they lost their sense of proportion.

People did not know what to believe, and unfortunately were too ready to believe the worst about one another.

It is worth remembering that these were agency people and professionals, not indigenous community residents. Most were quite highly educated, but I

question how well any of them had been trained in community development. My observation has been that community work is primarily "learned by doing". This observation seems almost equally valid for those whose education has been in social work. There is a grave need for basic training in community-oriented management skills. Directors must learn to be more manager/planner/facilitator/evaluators than bookkeepers and proposal writers. Board members must learn how to plan, and how to use their time effectively. To assume that those who presently work in communities have adequate training in these skills is, I submit, to err.

SECTION SEVEN:

Closing remarks.

What then can be said about this project which raised so much emotion? On one level N.E.D.N.J.P. was simply a colossal misunderstanding. It was founded by a fairly large group of dedicated, hard working people who felt they were contributing something of value to the community, in response to felt community needs. It was sold to the Solicitor General on the basis that it was community-based, involved pre-charge diversion, and had no formal links with the Criminal Justice System. In fact, it was agency based, involved little diversion of any sort, and had no informal links with the people living in the community it wished to serve.

It was not a true test of the effectiveness of community-based diversion because it never managed to establish a base in the community. Community residents in Ward 3 were alienated from the project virtually from its beginning. They never did get drawn into active participation, only mistrustful criticism and later neutral indifference. Any of the project's positive features were overlooked amid the hostility which fell upon its early mistakes in hiring and in the Community Orientation Workshop.

The project probably was too ambitious, but it also suffered due to a number of unanticipated events. Its early lack of community service and its ongoing lack of informal communication with the communities it hoped to serve set forces in motion which crippled its later attempts to reorganize and redirect its efforts.

Originally bothered by the lack of action, the community later became alienated from the research component's activities as well.

It is probably impossible to suggest pat solutions for the kinds of problems this project generated. Actually, many of the things N.E.D.N.J.P. attempted were quite laudable. Few community programs have made such a conscious attempt to employ neighbourhood residents in key positions. Many of the problems within the Management Committee were the result of its original design, but the design was a sincere attempt to involve a broad cross-section of community representatives. The two sponsoring bodies were intended to constitute half the Management Committee membership in an attempt to ensure that they could fulfil their commitments to fiscal responsibility for the project. In retrospect, perhaps the Ward Councils should have had at least two members each on the Management Committee so that the representatives would not have felt so isolated in the dual roles they were trying to serve. Had the Steering Committee been maintained as a resource pool after the funding was received for the project, it might have brought a perspective and a range of possibilities to the project of far greater breadth and depth than the Management Committee and staff alone were able to give.

There were serious conflicts about the content and method of the research at several points in the project, and yet there is much within the research that could be of extreme value to the residents of Wards 3 and 5 in dealing with the effects of some of the institutions which govern their lives. It remains to be seen whether the sometimes conflicting interests of people from the university environment and grass roots community organizations can be reconciled. In the end, one hopes that they can be. If this is to happen, the community must take the lead in beginning to discuss criteria and clear guidelines for any such future co-operative efforts.

There is a saying that no experiment is ever a complete failure. At the very least, it can tell you what not to do. The N.E.D.N.J.P. experience is

not that straightforward. Many of the things that were to be tried seem to me to be still worth doing. Along with the legacy of bitterness and turmoil, most of the people I interviewed feel they have gained maturity as a result of their involvement with this project. For some, this maturing has meant a decision to cease their involvement in community activities, at least temporarily. For others, it has brought a renewed commitment to the values of clarity and practicality in their community work. In considering N.E.D.N.J.P.'s effects on people's consciousness, it is probably worthwhile to keep in mind that communities and their development, like many other things, tend to move in spirals. Their experiences with the Diversions project undeniably sapped the energies of many people who became involved. But we must hope that it does not signal the end of attempts at community co-operation. However, we must also hope that it has taught us a lesson about the need for clarity and restraint.

APPENDIX ONE

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE'S CALL FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION PROPOSALS.

Diversion Research Specifications

It is important that the performance of the North End Diversion Project be properly evaluated so that a realistic assessment be made of it. This project is unique as it is community directed, involves pre-charge diversion, and has no formal links with the Criminal Justice System. It must therefore be evaluated on all three aspects of its unique characteristics.

The questions to be dealt with by research are:

1. What does the project history imply:
  - (a) about the ability of the community to control and direct staff?  
researchers?
  - (b) about the relations between the five basic actors: community,  
board, staff, researchers, government funding agencies.
  - (c) What are relations between five actors, how do they affect per-  
formance, expectations?
  - (d) How is community support and participation developed and maintained?
  - (e) What are the pitfalls of community diversion?
  - (f) The advantages of community based diversion.
  - (g) Advantages and disadvantages of drawing staff from community.
2. Analysis of Pre-Charge feasibility:
  - (a) Is it feasible? If so, what are the conditions necessary for  
success?
  - (b) What are the tolerance levels in the community for the identifica-  
tion of children before formal charges have been laid?

3. Is diversion possible through existing recreational and social services?
4. Potential success or failure of informal diversion:
  - (a) referral mechanisms for minor offenses - business, community, churches, social services, schools, individuals.
5. Is the concept productive?
  - (a) Is it negative, since it is focused on "target population" of potential troublemakers?
  - (b) Do recreational and related programs provide genuine prevention?
  - (c) Does diversion overburden voluntary services with added responsibility?

APPENDIX TWO

INTERVIEWS

Categories of Persons:

- 1) Community - i.e., Residents of Wards 3 and 5
- 2) Board - i.e., Steering Committee, Interim Management Committee, and  
Permanent Management Committee
- 3) Staff - Action Component
- 4) Staff - Research Component
- 5) Representatives of the Solicitor General
- 6) Police
- 7) Business People
- 8) Other North End Agencies
- 9) Other formal institutions: schools, provincial A.G., CJS representatives,  
media, etc.

Categories covered by interviews:

- 1) 24
- 2) 25
- 3) 7
- 4) 3
- 5) 2
- 6) 1
- 7) 1
- 8) 31
- 9) 24

APPENDIX THREE

DEMOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

The following information with regard to Boundaries, General Descriptions, and Identification of Neighbourhoods for Ward 5 and Ward 3, are taken from the City of Halifax Social Planning Department's Community Profile booklets compiled in April 1979.

For Ward 3 the information after the third paragraph on the third page of the Description has been added by myself.

WARD 5

BOUNDARY

Ward 5 is located on the northern portion of the Halifax peninsula. The Ward is bounded on the north by Bedford Basin and on the east by Halifax Harbour. The southern boundary is rather complex, consisting of a line which starts at the waterfront, runs westward on North Street to Gottingen Street, continues along Gottingen to Bloomfield to Fuller Terrace, continues along Fuller Terrace to Ontario Street, runs westward along Ontario to Agricola Street, continues south on Agricola to North Street, and runs westward on North Street to Robie Street.\*

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Much of the housing in Ward 5 was destroyed by the Halifax Explosion of 1917. Since that time the area has been rebuilt; the Ward now contains approximately one-tenth of the City's population. The Hydrostone Development, located in the centre of Ward 5, was a reconstruction project of the Halifax Relief Commission and remains a unique housing area.\*\*

Ward 5 is primarily a residential area. Forty percent (40%) of the dwellings are apartment units and 46.1% are single family houses. Ward 5 contains two major housing projects, Convoy Place and Mulgrave Park. The majority of Convoy Place is composed of owner-occupied condominiums, whereas, Mulgrave Park is a public housing rental development.

Approximately eighteen acres in Ward 5 are devoted to public park land. The largest facility is Fort Needham which is located west of Union Street.

\*Community Profile Phase I: Ward 5, 1976, p. 1.

\*\*Ibid p. 1.

Commercial development is scattered throughout the Ward. Small businesses tend to predominate with a large number of retail outlets on both Gottingen and Agricola Streets. There is one small shopping plaza in Ward 5 located near the Duffus/Gottingen Street intersection.

Industrial firms in the Ward are concentrated in that portion of the Halifax waterfront between the Angus L. MacDonald and A. Murray McKay bridges. The Halifax Shipyards and Volvo Canada are large industrial concerns operating in the Ward. Piers 9 and 9a, at the foot of Duffus Street, are part of the Port of Halifax and are administered by the National Harbours Board.\*

Canadian Forces Base Stadacona is a large military complex located in the southeastern portion of the Ward. The base provides employment for many civilians as well as military personnel.

## SECTION II GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WARD 5

### A. IDENTIFICATION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS

Ward 5 is composed of a number of neighbourhoods, some more clearly defined than others. The more cohesive neighbourhoods are Convoy Place, Drummond Court, Mulgrave Park, and the Hydrostone Development.

Convoy Place is a new housing development located in the northwestern portion of the Ward. It is composed of three phases: a high-rise, a townhouse project, and a tri-arch condominium project. The entire development is enclosed by Leeds Street on the south, the A. Murray MacKay Bridge and approaches on the north, Robie Street on the West and Gottingen Street on the east.\*\*

\*Community Profile: Ward 5, 1976, p. 2.

\*\*Community Profile: Ward 5, 1976, p. 36

Drummond Court is an area composed primarily of family homes. It too is bounded by four major traffic corridors: Duffus Street, Agricola Street, Gottingen Street, and Normandy Drive. Mulgrave Park is a Public Housing rental development located just west of Barrington Street in the central portion of the Ward. There are a large number of children living in the development and many single parent families.\*

The Hydrostone area is located in the centre of Ward 5. It is composed of a number of short streets divided by boulevards. The Hydrostone area acquired its name from the stone used to build the houses and was constructed by the Halifax Relief Commission of 1917.

The remaining neighbourhoods are more loosely defined. The southwestern corner of the Ward is composed of a mixture of housing and commercial enterprises. The housing tends to be older in this section of the Ward and many homes have been converted to rooming houses.

The southeastern portion of the Ward consists primarily of homes built in the 1950's and 1960's. There are many single family dwellings as well as a number of small apartment buildings and duplexes. Gottingen Street, Duffus Street, and the waterfront serve as the physical boundaries of this neighbourhood.\*\*

\*Community Profile: Ward 5, 1976, p. 36

\*\*Ibid

WARD 3

BOUNDARY\*

Ward 3 is located on the peninsula portion of the City of Halifax. The waterfront forms the eastern boundary of the Ward; a line running along Morris Street to Summer Street forms the southern boundary. The western boundary is drawn along Summer, Trollope, North Park and Agricola Streets. The Ward is bounded on the north by Ontario, Bloomfield, Gottingen and North Streets. Ward 3 contains the Central Business District of Halifax, the residential neighbourhood known as the "Immediate North End", and a portion of the area known as the "Old South End".

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Ward contains a mixture of institutional, commercial and residential development. Institutional development is concentrated in the southern part of the Ward. The Central Business District is the centre of commercial activity in Ward 3, with the auxiliary centres located along Spring Garden Road, Gottingen and Agricola Streets. The remainder of Ward 3, excluding the Commons land and the Public Gardens, is primarily residential.

The residential portion of Ward 3 is dominated by pre-1946 housing or by high-rise developments. Many of the older homes have been converted to rooming houses. The area bounded by Gerrish, Gottingen, North and Brunswick Streets, was replaced by public housing (Uniacke Square) under an urban renewal scheme.

\*Source: City of Halifax, Social Planning Department

Community Profile, Ward 3, 1976. pp. 1-2

The majority of high-rise developments in the Ward have been constructed within the last ten to fifteen years. In spite of this new construction, the population of Ward 3 has diminished in recent years. In 1971 the Ward contained approximately 10% of the City's population, while in 1976 the population of Ward 3 constituted only 8.67% of the City's population.

Ward 3 serves as the headquarters for a large number of health, social and legal services - both governmental and privately operated. Halifax City Hall and the municipal administrative offices are located in the Ward along with a variety of federal and provincial government departments, the main post office, and the main branches of many banks.

## SECTION II GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WARD 3

### A. IDENTIFICATION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS

Ward 3 contains three well known residential neighbourhoods. These are the Old South End, Uniacke Square, and the area encompassed by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program 1. Northwood Centre, the Senior Citizens complex, may also be seen as a residential community.

The Old South End, as defined by the Old South End Community Association, contains the area between Atlantic Street, Tower Road, Wellington Street, Summer Street, Sackville Street, and Halifax Harbour. The portion of the Old South End which falls within Ward 3 was originally dominated by stately old homes. A large number of these old homes have deteriorated, and at present, are being used as rooming houses. Many have been demolished and replaced by apartment buildings. The portion of the Old South End between Clyde Street and Sackville Street has lost its residential emphasis and now includes a large amount of commercial development.

Uniacke Square is a public housing development completed in 1966. With the exception of one apartment building, Uniacke Square is composed of row housing. The development contains approximately 183 families, many of which are headed by a single parent. Uniacke Square is bounded on the north, east and west by major traffic thoroughfares (North, Gottingen and Brunswick Streets). This relatively isolated location, combined with the similarity of housing, fosters a feeling of community identification.\*

The area of the Ward encompassed by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, (bounded by North, Gottingen, Cogswell and Agricola/North Park Streets), is a relatively homogenous community. The majority of the dwellings are older wooden structures which are either owned by the occupant or rented by a family. The area was designated for a Neighbourhood Improvement Program in November, 1974. Since that time much of the area has been upgraded.

The remainder of the residential portion of the Ward is composed of high-rise apartments and some older homes, most of which are not owner occupied. The influx of apartment dwellers and the trend toward migration from the peninsula to the mainland may have inhibited the formation of cohesive neighbourhoods in the Ward.\*\*

Because the boundaries of Ward 3 are drawn to include such disparate sections of the city -- the Central Business District, the "Old South End", and the "Immediate North End" -- the Ward does not tend to function in any unified way. People who live in the North End of Ward 3 essentially think of their area as being Ward 3. People in the South End tend to come together around issues affecting their geographical part of the City, and residents of the C.B.D. tend not to affiliate with either of the other sections. It is unclear why the Ward boundaries are drawn in this manner. It is extremely clear that this makes any

\*City of Halifax, Social Planning Department. Community

Profile, Ward 3. 1976 p. 40

\*\*Ibid. p. 40

sort of overall Ward unity impossible to achieve at present. As well, this situation has made the task of acquiring basic demographic data for the North End section of Ward 3 extremely difficult. In compiling the demographic information which is included in this report, I have used the following sources:

- (a) Information Report: Peninsula North, City of Halifax Planning Department (July, 1978)
- (b) Community Profile; Ward 3, City of Halifax Social Planning Department (April, 1979)
- (c) Community Profile; Ward 5, City of Halifax Social Planning Department (April, 1979)

The data in the former is drawn from the Census of 1971, and from the City statistics from 1961-1978, and concerns the North End section of Ward 3, plus the portion of Ward 4 bounded by the Commons, Robie Street, Agricola and North Streets. The Community Profiles have been revised in part, using 1976 Census Data. When I use the term "Ward 3" in the text of this report, I am referring only to the north end section. When I use the term Ward 3 in the three-column demographical analysis, I am referring to all of the Ward. When I use data for the sections of Ward 3 and Ward 4 described immediately above, I have noted this with the symbol (W3/NE).

Due to the difficulty in deriving adequate information from the sources noted, the reader is cautioned to regard the percentages in this appendix as approximations only. They are as accurate as the available information allows. As well, I re-emphasize the importance of avoiding identifying the essence of these communities with their statistical description. This tendency has led to enough trouble already.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION

The total population of the northern sector of Ward 3, together with Ward 5, was approximately 20,000 in 1976. The population of Ward 3 overall declined 50% between 1961 and 1976, while Ward 5's population has remained relatively stable since 1971.

<u>WARD 3</u>	<u>CITY OF HALIFAX</u>	<u>WARD 5</u>
(W3/NE)	<u>LABOUR FORCE (1971)</u>	
Professional 5%	Professional 24%	Professional 24.6%
Clerical 12%	Clerical 21%	Clerical 22.7%
Sales 4%	Sales 10%	Sales 11.1%
Service 33%	Service 19%	Service 20.8%
"Industrial" 23% i.e. Processing, Machining, Repairing, Product Fabri- cation, Assembling, Con- struction, Transportation )	"Industrial" 26%	"Industrial" 15.1%
Other 23%		Other 5.7%
	<u>AVERAGE INCOME OF HEAD OF FAMILY (1971)</u>	
59% (W3/NE)	100%	74%
	<u>MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL ASSISTANCE (1978)</u>	
21% (W3/NE)	100%	8%
	<u>UNEMPLOYMENT (1971)</u>	
Males 16% Females 13%	Males 7% Females 7%	Males 7% Females 6%
	<u>HOUSEHOLDS HEADED BY FEMALES (1971)</u>	
44%	28.6%	28.5%

WARD 3

CITY OF HALIFAX

WARD 5

LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Schooling: Grade 10 or less - 1971: 81%  
 1976: 51%

Univ. Degree -  
 1971: 1%  
 1976: 3%

Grade 10 or Less -  
 1971: 49%

Univ. Degree -  
 1971: 19%

Grade 10 or Less -  
 1971: 64%  
 1976: 50%

Univ. Degree -  
 1971: 2%  
 1976: 5.6%

TENANTS/OWNERS

1971: (W3/NE) 83%/17%  
 1976: (W3/NE) 65%/35%

1971: 55%/45%  
 1976: 57.6%/42.4%

1971: 53%/47%  
 1976: 48.1%/51.9%  
 1977: 44%/56%

LENGTH OF OWNERSHIP

1971: 71% of Owners had no mortgages (W3/NE)

1971: 49% of Owners had no mortgage

AGE OF HOUSING (1971)

Built Before 1946: 74%  
 Since 1966: 18% (Primarily Senior Citizen's Housing)

Before 1946: 37.1%

Before 1946: 51.7%

APPENDIX FOUR

CHRONOLOGY FOR N.E.D.N.J.P.

- 1) Conference on "Sentencing Alternatives and Methods" at Dalhousie Law School attended by contingent of agency workers from Wards 3 and 5.  
(January 1975)
- 2) Preliminary discussion of concept among small working group.  
(February/March 1975)
- 3) Regular Steering Committee meetings to familiarize selves with concept.  
(March - July 1975)  
(Earliest minutes June 1975)
- 4) Meeting of nineteen agencies at Cunard Street school resulting in decision to form an Executive Steering Committee within the Steering Committee, and a Resource committee to serve in an advisory capacity. Steering Committee begins to meet regularly at Veith House in Ward 5.  
(July 1975)
- 5) Outreach worker employed through grant from M.O.V.E.  
(July 15 - December 15, 1975)
- 6) Steering Committee approves short-term plan for diversion activity to include forming two North End Neighbourhood Information Centres, organizing a neighbourhood conference on diversion, preparing draft proposals for a five year plan of community action, assisting interested citizens and existing agencies in making proposals and expanding services in the areas of crime prevention and criminal diversion, and promoting innovative

projects as alternatives to Shelburne School for Boys, Truro School for Girls and incarceration.

(August 1975)

- 7) Summerside A.P.C.C.A. Conference.

(September 1975)

- 8) Steering Committee sends out invitations for a day long "Neighbourhood Conference on Diversion" to be held in October 1975. The invitation states:

The main objectives of this Neighbourhood Conference are:

- (1) To examine the shortcomings of the present system.
- (2) To have community, agency, police, and legal input with respect to implementing realistic solutions to deal with shortcomings of the system.
- (e) To investigate the diversion process as a mechanism for dealing with offenders and near offenders.

Feedback received from the participants of the conference is to be included in the report which will be presented to the Ward Councils. The Steering Committee will request the Ward Councils' sanction to prepare a five year comprehensive plan for a diversion program for North End Halifax, following which the Steering Committee will present its plan to the North End community at large. The Steering Committee will not make application for direct staff funding, but will act in an advisory and research capacity to the North End community, social service agencies, police, courts, and government.

(September 1975)

- 9) Neighbourhood Conference on Diversion at Veith House. Few residents in attendance.

(October 1975)

- 10) Diversions Steering Committee agrees to become involved with New Options in developing extended uses for Pioneer Village. The Steering Committee will supplement, but not control, programs at the Village.

(October 1975)

- 11) Various committee members express concern about the conference and its effectiveness. Many negative concerns expressed. Conference did not draw a large number of community members.

(October 1975)

- 12) Steering Committee chairman expresses concern regarding what the committee has been doing for the past few months. Questions the effectiveness of the group in diverting youth. "Group has failed to state its direction".

Sub-committees are formalized (1) to develop a long-range planning proposal, (2) to develop special diversionary projects, (3) to actively participate in crisis and crime prevention within the community. Work begins on a long-range funding proposal. Drafts are submitted on assumptions and working philosophy, policy, and historical background. Draft of proposal for extended use of Pioneer Village is presented to the committee.

Steering Committee member reports receiving little co-operation and support from the police in preliminary discussions on diversion.

Youth Clinic is experiencing funding difficulties.

St. Marks is seeking donations for reconstruction of their church hall after the recent fire.

(November 1975)

- 13) Three members of the Steering Committee meet with the police. Meeting is not as productive as group had hoped for.

Committee formed to be responsible for communicating with merchants. Will deliver letters to the Gottingen Street merchants; Historic Properties merchants; and merchants of Scotia Square.

Document entitled "Halifax North End Project, a preliminary report" submitted by group 1, the Planning Sub-Committee.

M.O.V.E. having problems with regard to future funding.

(December 1975)

- 14) Committee decides to approach M.O.V.E. for funding of community worker project from within M.O.V.E.'s Education Trust Fund, since interim funding for street worker has ended.

General meeting held with invited representatives of various agencies operating within Ward 3 and Ward 5, to share concerns over the present effects of the economic climate. Purpose of the meeting:

"Due to the current economic climate and the action taken by government to deal with the situation, many community organizations in the 3, 5 geographic area fear closure. It was suggested that if this occurs, the community will suffer from a subsequent reduction in services offered previously through innovative projects and programs.

"In addition, as money becomes scarce through traditional sources of funding, the tendency is for community organizations to 'withdraw into a shell' and later into competition with other organizations for possible funding.

"This approach rather than uniting the community tends to divide it and ultimately reduces the strength and increases the vulnerability of the organization seeking funding. In the end, the community would lose the services offered by the organization whose mandate was to serve the community.

"In order that this situation not arise, it was suggested that those organizations representing the interest of the community and in attendance at the meeting, unite together in some fashion and make their positions known to the government".

The meeting resolved to have a sub-committee draw up a draft for unification of organizations into a federation initiating the interdependency of community organizations.

In discussing the "Draft for the Interdependency of Community Agencies", the Steering Committee concluded that it did not wish to become "another agency" or co-ordinating body for the project within the community; that the Ward Councils should assume the responsibility of co-ordinating the project as well as administering funds; staff could be contracted from agencies for the project; an alternative to a central diversion office staffed with agency personnel would be a network of information centres staffed with community trained personnel; the Ward Councils should be presented with alternatives in choosing a method for implementing the project.

Committee members begin developing the volunteer aspect of the street worker program. A workshop for volunteers is planned for February.

Committee member reports that the final draft of the project proposal is near completion. Two sections remain incomplete:

- (a) the evaluation component,
- (b) community resource co-ordination component.

Motion is passed to present the final draft of the proposal to Ward 3 and 5 Councils in February.

Steering Committee chairman reports that the Police Boy's Club has gone bankrupt.

Committee decides to apply for summer student employment grant to support Pioneer Village.

(January 1976)

- 15) Steering Committee's report presented to Ward 3 Resource Council and approved.

One day workshop for volunteers interested in supporting diversion to be held at Veith House in March.

Committee member submits paper detailing suggestions for possible services the Information Help Centres might provide. Secretary of State Department to be approached for financial support.

Re Pioneer Village, sub-committee reports that its application for money to the Solicitor General's Department has been turned down. Solicitor General "not interested in funding juvenile targeted projects".

Committee later learns that although Solicitor General's Department turned proposal down at regional level, proposal has gone forward to Ottawa for consideration. Sub-committee considers approaching Secretary of State, Canada Manpower and other provincial and local sources.

Family Court attempting to start a diversion project in Sackville-Bedford area. Project to be similar to "Youth Service Bureaus" in the United States.

"Core" group of diversion members to meet in closed session once per month in order to improve communication flow between sub-committees. Open meetings would continue to be held on a weekly basis. First Core group closed meetings scheduled for March.

Members raise various organizational concerns: group appears to be split over the issue of incorporating the committee. Committee has failed to keep other agencies in touch with the group's activities. Group has taken too long in initiating "diversion" in the community. Progress in concrete terms has not taken place.

The two indigenous committee members note that support is being acquired for development of a museum in the community to be maintained and operated by community children, to be called Mini Museum. Project will be administered by Welfare Rights. Funds being sought from P.L.U.R.A.

Committee member reports that funding for two workers to develop the Neighbourhood Information Centres may possibly be obtained by March 1976 from the Solicitor General's Department.

Committee's report is in Ottawa with a representative of the National Parole Board - Special Projects division.

Evaluation component and budget must be completed before it can be considered for funding. Evaluation section expected to be completed by first week in March.

(February 1976)

- 16) P.L.U.R.A. has promised three thousand dollars for support of Mini Museum project. Several other groups have expressed a willingness to support the project.

Meetings held with Secretary of State, Manpower, Non-Medical use of Drugs and Attorney General's Department, in an attempt to obtain support for Pioneer Village project. Proposal also sent to Lands and Forests Department. Committee hopes funding may come from joint effort of Manpower and Solicitor General's Department.

Sub-committee has submitted a proposal for funding of Information Help Centres - Pilot Project (formerly Neighbourhood Information Centres) to Secretary of State and Department of Justice.

North End Clinic having funding problems with regard to their building.

Solicitor General representative reports that three month contracts have been approved for two community workers to develop Information Help Centres under sponsorship of Coalition for Development. Funding to cover April 1 to June 30, 1976.

Public meeting to be held to discuss future of Police Boy's Club.

Steering Committee submits brief on Young Persons in Conflict with The Law.

Ward 3 Council is non-operational, and has lost credibility in community over the last year. The Steering Committee agrees to approach North End area Council of Churches.

Volunteer Workshop held at Veith House. Questions arise as to when and how volunteers should be recruited, screened. Informal working group agrees to meet weekly to develop a volunteer program.

Two articles about Diversion Project appear in local newspapers.

(March 1976)

- 17) Due to time constraints, Steering Committee chairman will only be able to chair some meetings. Remainder will have rotating Chair.

Pioneer Village running short of funds. Extensive summer program planned but may have to be run with volunteers. Funding being sought from service clubs, several private organizations, banks, Provincial and Federal Governments.

M.O.V.E. having funding problems.

Funds obtained to hire four and one half students for Mini Museum summer project.

Information Help Centres - application for twenty-one thousand dollars submitted to City of Halifax Social Planning Department, and Tax Concessions and Grants Committee.

Criminal Justice Project introduced to Steering Committee. Four year study of the Criminal Justice System in Nova Scotia. Criminal Justice

Project will send representative to weekly Steering Committee meetings.

Co-ordinator visits Gottingen Street merchants to explain the program. Merchants are asked to contact Steering Committee instead of police for cases of youth caught shoplifting. Some merchants are upset by this and call Halifax Police for advice. Police oppose this activity by the Steering Committee and tell merchants they do not support the project's actions.

Plans are made for a day long workshop for merchants, security personnel, and police, to try and involve them in the "criminal diversion process".

Ex-employee of B.U.F. approaches the Steering Committee seeking support for his Criminal Justice Project, approved in principle by the Solicitor General while he was still employed at B.U.F.. Steering Committee agrees to write letter of support to Solicitor General, with copy to B.U.F. This action causes problems with B.U.F.

Motion passed that Steering Committee be given one week's lead time before being asked to lend support to project proposals.

Suggestion made to make Steering Committee meetings more efficient by having sub-committees meet prior to general meeting.

Halifax based private agencies meet with Executive Secretary of the Task Force on the Role of the Private Sector. Task Force Secretary requests a Nova Scotia work group be formed to collect briefs for the Task Force. Agencies skeptical. Later, the group expresses their dissatisfaction with the Task Force concept in a covering letter, expressing the dilemma of community agencies. Some difficulties: Task Force process does not meet community needs for financial stability; Difference in orientation between

government (research, paperwork) and private agencies (direct services to people); Term private sector might be changed to "community services".

(April 1976)

- 18) Three thousand dollars obtained from P.L.U.R.A. to pay for a Mini Museum co-ordinator for three months.

Funding has been obtained for a summer student to work at Pioneer Village. Program for the summer is outlined to Steering Committee members.

Continued Diversion committee efforts to involve Halifax Police result in two members of the Halifax Police Department attending a Steering Committee meeting at the direction of the Deputy Chief. They make clear that they will not be regular members of the committee.

Funding for Information Help Centres appears to be far in the future. Diversion workers work out of Cunard Street School and Coalition for Supportive Services.

Steering Committee members decide to approach private security firms in the city.

After discussion about the word "criminal" in the title of the Steering Committee, motion is passed that the word "criminal" be deleted from the title of the North End Criminal Diversion Steering Committee.

The committee participates in public hearings on Young Persons in Conflict with The Law. Issue of confidentiality arises. Pointed out that all legal matters involving juveniles are confidential, and Steering Committee must treat such matters with great discretion.

(May 1976)

- 19) Pioneer Village summer program attracts a number of kids. Funding problem still prevalent. Materials, food, etc., being scrounged. National Health and Welfare, and Provincial Recreation being approached.

Interim Report prepared for Solicitor General grant for community workers to Coalition for Development. Report covers period April 1 - June 1976.

Letter sent to the Executive Director of B.U.F. inviting him to a meeting.

Election of Executive put off until the fall.

Young Girls' Sewing program planned for when school closes.

Mini Museum will open in July at New Options School. Consideration given to applying for a Canada Council Explorations grant.

Outreach workers ask for clarification of their duties from the Steering Committee, since Solicitor General Consultation Centre expects Information Centres to be set up in the community.

Twenty-four hour Crisis Intervention Centre discussed at Steering Committee meeting. Motion passed to set up twenty-four hour Crisis Intervention Centre in July as a pilot project for the summer months, to serve Wards 3 and 5. Gottingen Street is preferred location. Centre will be set up in Halifax Welfare Rights office on Gottingen Street. Day time staff will be Welfare Rights staff; 4:30 pm to midnight will be staffed by agency workers and volunteers. Help line will have a list of Diversion people who are on call after midnight. In connection with this, in mid July the Steering Committee meetings will be moved from Veith House, where they have been held since the summer of 1975, to the Halifax Welfare Rights office.

Report from Coalition for Development representatives' meeting with Solicitor General representative in Ottawa. Solicitor General seems to

favour formal screening committees at the community level.

Youth Clinic is authorized to seek funds for their honourarium project for the summer.

(June 1976)

- 20) North End Information Referral Centre set up on Gottingen Street. Hours will be 4:30 pm to midnight. Duty rosters prepared for volunteer workers.

Sub-committee formed to research and draw up a proposal for development of co-operative programming between North End Diversion and Dalhousie Legal Aid.

Representative from the Steering Committee will investigate the attitude that the Halifax Police Force has towards diversion and report back.

Proposal made to the Department of Social Services requesting fifteen hundred dollars for supplies for a 28 day "outward-bound" program in August in connection with Pioneer Village.

Discussion on use of volunteers at the Information Centre. Committee members express concern that the original plan had not been followed.

Report to Consultation Centre on the progress of the Information Centre and the outreach workers' final month due. Some possibilities exist for funding parts of the program in the fall. Negotiations could "become more fruitful" once evaluation component is more firmly defined.

Evaluation Committee is developing an overall design for evaluating the efforts of the Steering Committee and the various projects. Care being taken to make the evaluation method fit well with the informal, unstructured work of the committee. Specific report and proposal to be presented soon.

Final Report to Consultation Centre describes Gottingen Street Centre as "the middle of one of the highest crime areas in Nova Scotia". Report tends to be anecdotal, case history oriented.

(July 1976)

- 21) Steering Committee writes to Consultation Centre requesting to present a workshop at the Canadian Corrections Congress Conference in September.

Social Planning Department withdraws staff person from Steering Committee secretarial duties. Department says these would be better performed by a community person, and it is interested in seeing the Diversion Committee achieve a strong community base.

Provincial Department of Social Services provides fifteen hundred dollars for food and supplies to Pioneer Village and Adventure Program.

The Steering Committee meetings return to Veith House.

Information Centre gets only minimal response from community. Steering Committee volunteers lack special training for crisis intervention. Difficulty in involving true community volunteers. Centre to be closed until funding located for a co-ordinator and street workers.

Funding Committee identifies several possible sources of long-term funding: Department of Social Planning, City of Halifax; Provincial Department of Social Services; Provincial Attorney General; Federal Solicitor General; L.I.P.; Federal Department of Justice. Agreement reached that long-term funding should be sought for North End Diversion Project. Steering Committee felt staff persons were essential to "co-ordinate the Information/Referral Centre, to do street work in the community, and to

provide administrative assistance to the various Diversion projects".

Further discussion on Information Centres. Juvenile drop-in centres may be more needed. Hope had been that Information Centres would encourage volunteers from the community, but it was mainly non-residents who worked. Discussion re lack of community response. Steering Committee passes motion that they are "committed to concept of Neighbourhood Information Centre but that the present evening hours on Gottingen Street Welfare Rights office be temporarily stopped until such time as it can reopen with increased clarity of purpose and organization".

(August 1976)

- 22) Preparation is being made for Atlantic Provinces Criminology and Corrections Association Conference. Most members of the Steering Committee will attend. A.P.C.C.A. seen as an opportunity to discuss future funding plans with key people. Funding proposal to be finalized prior to conference. Diagrams, charts, lists to be drawn up of key personnel within Provincial and Federal Government Departments where funding might be found. Steering Committee will have one member on A.P.C.C.A. Conference panel.

Pioneer Village applies for L.I.P. funding.

Funding sub-committee has draft proposal prepared. Coalition for Development and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews proposed as joint sponsors. Solicitor General seems most likely funding source. Concern is voiced that "there was little community input on the whole proposal". Discussion follows re difficulty of getting "community people" to participate. Suggestion is made that someone should visit the schools

in the district.

Steering Committee members are divided on the "evaluation" aspect of the proposal.

Steering Committee members attend A.P.C.C.A. Conference in Moncton, and make positive contacts with Consultation Centre and with representatives from Solicitor General's office in Ottawa.

(September 1976)

- 23) General Manager at Eatons expresses interest in crime prevention aspects of diversion. Willing to take diversion concept to the Board of Trade to seek endorsement. Some hope raised within the Steering Committee that Board of Trade may be willing to pick up the cost for the Diversion Project.

Steering Committee representatives meet with Task Force on the Role of Private Agencies in Criminal Justice. They express general feeling that government has been unresponsive to the needs of voluntary agencies.

Acting chairperson asked to stay on for at least another month.

Letters sent to numerous individuals, agencies, Criminal Justice System component seeking support for the draft proposal.

Consultation Centre has contracted a person to help St. John Police Department write a Diversion proposal. Steering Committee members concerned and agree that there is a need to hurry in completing their own proposal.

Board of Trade may be doing a study on shoplifting.

Rumour is circulating that Nova Scotia Legal Aid will no longer represent people charged with theft under two hundred dollars for whom this

represents a first offense, and who face no danger of imprisonment.

Dalhousie Legal Aid reported to be interested in mediation with Diversion, and willing to provide any assistance possible.

Discussion centered around need to tie school system into Diversions work, results in compilation of a list of key school people to contact.

Veith House uncertain about having a Diversion worker placed there.

Plans are finalized for meetings scheduled with Solicitor General representatives on October 28th:

- 9:30 am            At Coalition Supportive Services. Purpose - to present a picture of community-based support for Diversion, and describe the interrelated work of the organizations.
- 11:00 am           In Eaton's Board Room. A small meeting of business and government officials to discuss their input and participation in Diversion activities.
- 1:30 pm            At Dalhousie University with Diversion Policy Committee to discuss specifics of the proposal. How it fits into Solicitor General guidelines, etc.
- 4:00 pm            At Veith House. Public meeting with whole Steering Committee. For Solicitor General representatives to answer questions. The Steering Committee wants to know -
- (1) Solicitor General's opinion of the proposal,
  - (2) how supportive the Solicitor General representatives can be with the Department's funding committees; what

funding is available, etc., (3) what concrete plans can be made for further developing the proposal.

Mediation aspect of the proposal generates serious concern, about how mediation concepts fit with the philosophy of the Steering Committee.

(October 1976)

- 24) Promised critique of Diversions proposal not yet received from Ottawa representative of Solicitor General. Consultation Centre uncertain of its financial commitments for current fiscal year. Diversions will request March 1st starting date for the project to allow for possible funding in next fiscal year, if funds for the current year are not available.

Some members of Board of Trade seem to favour a punitive policy with regard to shoplifting. Working with the Board of Trade will be a long-term goal of the Steering Committee.

Diversion representatives meet with B.U.F. representative to discuss any differences of opinion that might exist. B.U.F. will be asked to plug into the Diversions Steering Committee.

City Social Planning has offered funds for one street worker to Diversion.

Sub-committee is formed to look at mediation. Philosophical problems have arisen over the notion of mediation. Evaluation portion of the proposal remains unwritten.

Letters received from Consultation Centre and Solicitor General representative in Ottawa offering suggestions for future drafts of the funding proposal. Consultation Centre offers immediate small amount of funding

to help set up the Management Committee. The Steering Committee is skeptical. Social Planning Department has withdrawn its offer for partial funding because Diversions does not fit United Fund guidelines for receiving money. Some Steering Committee members suspect the motives of the withdrawal.

Solicitor General feels Diversions proposal presents interesting aspects for experimentation. Solicitor General is concerned about Diversions' "communication problems with the Provincial and local governments". Evidence of at least non-opposition from the governments is viewed as essential for the Consultation Centre to consider funding.

Steering Committee feels its credibility in the community is inversely related to credibility with public agencies and local government.

Solicitor General is especially interested in an evaluation of the effects of the community mediation process on the clients, the Criminal Justice System as it affects the North End of Halifax, and the attitudes of those living within that community.

(November 1976)

- 25) Steering Committee decides to prepare an application for interim money from the Consultation Centre for project development, covering January 1 - March 31, 1977.

Members begin to be appointed to Interim Management Committee. Members feel the need to think more about the membership of the Management Committee, what its responsibilities would be and what guidelines would be considered in developing the relationship between the Committee and the Diversions Steering Committee. It was felt that the constituency

of the Steering Committee and community members on the Interim Management Committee must be considered if the project was to maintain and/or develop credibility in the Wards 3 and 5 communities. Agreed that one community representative from each of Ward 3 & Ward 5 would be included on the Interim Management Committee.

Decision is made to resubmit Pioneer Village L.I.P. proposal. Proposal is approved for twenty thousand dollars.

Proposal for Solicitor General's Department is in final stages of rewriting.

(December 1976)

- 26) Concern expressed about the need for preventive programs in the community; many existing programs closing for lack of money. Steering Committee has not provided a forum for new ideas in recent months.

(January 1977)

- 27) Interim Management Committee Workshop.

(March 1977)

- 28) Coalition Supportive Services in danger of closing due to funding cut-backs. Unison having funding difficulties.

(April 1977)

- 29) Interim Funding for Co-ordinator, to complete final preparations for implementation of 3-year program.

(April 15, 1977 - July 15, 1977)

Negotiations continue with various levels of government. Department of Justice expresses some interest.

Atlantic Challenge is formalized as an "outward-bound" spin-off from Pioneer Village activities.

Pioneer Village L.I.P. project incurs initial difficulties with staffing, but replaces non-producers and achieves repair goals.

Mini Museum receives five thousand dollar Canada Council Grant.

Luncheon meeting with Gottingen Street Merchants' Association attracts two merchants.

(June - August 1977)

Interim funding period extended until 15 September, (July 1977) then to 15 December, (September 1977).

- 30) Interim Management Committee Workshop at Tatamagouche to develop further working papers on policies, structures, etc.

(August 1977)

- 31) Letter from Deputy Attorney General, Nova Scotia, to Solicitor General, Ottawa, stating disagreement with the "'diversion' program of the project. I do not accept this to be a proper role for this community group...".

Several Steering Committee delegates attend National Conference on Diversions in Quebec.

(October 1977)

- 32) Neighbourhood Work Activities Project controversy.

(October & November 1977 - March 1978)

- 33) Three year grant approved to begin February 1, 1978. Interim Management Committee becomes permanent Management Committee (M.C.)  
(January 1978)
- 34) Co-ordinator hired (March 6, 1978).  
  
Two resignations from M.C.  
  
Co-ordinator arrives on job (Late March 1978).  
  
Halifax Board of Trade introduces STOPLIFT program, designed to seek convictions on all shoplifting incidents.  
(January - May 1978)
- 35) Community Orientation Workshop (C.O.W.)  
(April 10 - May 5, 1978)
- 36) Partial hiring of action staff.  
  
Community outcry in Ward 3.  
  
Public meetings in Ward 3.  
  
Other street worker is hired from Ward 3.  
(April - June 1978)
- 37) Research/Community/Office Worker hired.  
  
Questions raised within M.C. meeting about contents of a N.E.D.N.J.P. slide/tape presentation.  
  
Mini Museum disassociates itself from N.E.D.N.J.P.  
(July - August 1978)
- 38) Ward 3 Delegation brings further questions to N.E.D.N.J.P.  
(October 1978)

- 39) Ward 5 Residents' Council (W5 Res. Co.) makes a request of prior endorsement for any N.E.D.N.J.P. publicity or research.

Co-ordinator requests that the Personnel Committee be revived to consider job descriptions for street workers.

New C.C.C.J. representative on M.C.

Plans made for M.C. Workshop re management (December 1, 2, 1978).

First Progress Report due soon.

(November 1978)

- 40) Oak Island Workshop for M.C., Action and Research Staff, Representatives from Wards 3 and 5 Councils.

(January 12, 13, 1979)

- 41) Sub-Committee structure created for M.C.

Personnel Sub-Committee looks at street workers' roles.

(January - February 1979)

- 42) "Focus on Shoplifting" at the Board of Trade held by N.E.D.N.J.P.

(February 1979)

- 43) New Chairperson for M.C.

(March 1979)

- 44) Research and "accountability to the community" begins to become a serious issue.

Letter from two W3 Res. Co. members to Chairman of M.C. about their disillusionment as members of the Research Sub-Committee.

(April 1979)

Letter from Steering Committee to M.C. about the need for a night street worker.

(May 1979)

Meeting of M.C. is "chaotic, horrendous".

(April 17, 1979)

P.R.E.P. is questioned by Coalition for Supportive Services.

"Save the Children" Program continues to be widely questioned by community representatives.

Communications with Provincial Attorney General's Office seem contradictory, problematic. These are considered to represent "neutrality".

Business Mediation is approved by Solicitor General's Office for implementation in Year Two.

Chairperson of M.C. makes attempts to streamline M.C. operations; looks at the possibility of a Mini-Executive for M.C.

Young Canada Works proposal is approved for six workers around the North End housing complexes (Mulgrave Park; Uniacke Square).

(April - May 1979)

- 45) Letter from W5 Res. Co. Executive asking several pointed questions about N.E.D.N.J.P.

N.E.D.N.J.P. does not answer the letter directly, but indicates that the upcoming Progress Report will provide a vehicle for discussion of numerous related issues.

(May 10, 1979)

- 46) Personnel Committee Report outlining severe problems with staff (undated).  
Approximately April - May 1979.

- 47) "Heat rises" in "North End" about N.E.D.N.J.P.'s activities. Meanwhile, N.E.D.N.J.P. Management Committee has realized the extent of the project's unproductivity, and is trying to take steps internally to clarify, redefine, reorient and reorganize itself fundamentally. This effort does not get communicated, however, to the Ward 5 Res. Co.

(May - August 1979)

- 48) Research report to M.C. introduces "personal 3-ring binders" to contain full research outlines and substance for each M.C. member.

Research Sub-Committee proposes to develop seven information packages.  
This proposal is approved by M.C.

Progress Report nears completion.

(June 1979)

- 49) Personnel Committee continuing its assessment of staff effectiveness into "Probationary Period".

(September - December 1979)

- 50) An attempt is made to deal with the "roles and responsibilities of the M.C."  
Research component is ready to go into "Shoplifting and Business Mediation".

One street worker resigns.

(September - October 1979)

- 51) Ward 5 Res. Co. Executive sends Night Letter to Solicitor General about N.E.D.N.J.P.'s Progress Report. Night Letter states that W5 Res. Co. has serious questions about N.E.D.N.J.P., and implies that Solicitor

General should perhaps withhold further funding for the project.

Ward 5 Res. Co. forms "Task Force" to investigate and report on N.E.D.N.J.P.'s activities with regard to claims made in Progress Report.

(October 1979)

- 52) W5 Res. Co.'s Task Force Report is very critical of N.E.D.N.J.P. Suggests strong measures needed to "get the project back on track".

Night Letter and Task Force Report prompt a flurry of letters, accusations and counter accusations.

W5 Res. Co. and N.E.D.N.J.P. have a stormy meeting at North End Clinic.

W5 Res. Co. representative to M.C. resigns.

(November 1979)

- 53) Solicitor General's Consultation Centre appoints new Associate Regional Consultant.

Consultant begins to work with N.E.D.N.J.P. as project's staff probationary period nears its end.

(December 1979)

- 54) Research Co-ordinator resigns.

Steering Committee representative resigns from M.C.

Co-ordinator of Action component resigns.

Consideration is given by M.C. to terminating the project.

(December 1979)

- 55) "Human Factors" submit a research proposal for: (a) daily records;  
(b) Business Mediation;  
(c) Save the Children.

This proposal is subsequently rejected.

At a meeting of M.C., a Ward representative expresses both Wards' desires for "a process-oriented overall evaluation of the project" to be done.

Co-ordinator of Action staff position is changed to "Executive Director", and a new person is hired from among six applicants for the position.

A "Team Building" workshop is proposed for the M.C.

A joint N.E.D.N.J.P. M.C./W3 Res. Co. Executive meeting is held (January 24, 1980). W3 Res. Co. is worried about "who will be blamed if N.E.D.N.J.P. is a failure". Also, upset by research and by lack of action, especially street work.

A new street worker is hired on a "two-month trial" basis.

(January 1980)

- 56) M.C. chairperson resigns and a new chairperson is chosen from among the M.C. members.

M.C. decides to call for additional research proposals.

New C.C.C.J. representative joins M.C.

Former Research Co-ordinator has sent an independent progress report directly to the Solicitor General. The M.C. has decided to disassociate itself from this report and write its own Progress Report.

Special meeting is held to edit M.C. Progress Report drafts.

(April 1980)

- 57) M.C. makes plans to advertise for research proposals.

"No referrals are being received" for Business Mediation.

Executive Director resigns.

(May 1980)

- 58) A new C.C.C.J. appointee joins the M.C.

Discussion re research specifications.

M.C. once again gives consideration to terminating the project.

M.C. decides to advertise for the position, retitling it as Co-ordinator.

Position is filled from within N.E.D.N.J.P. Action staff, so new position of Community Worker is to be advertised.

Meeting is held among some M.C. members, staff of N.E.D.N.J.P., and various Ward 3 residents and agency workers from both Wards to discuss N.E.D.N.J.P.'s future.

(June 1980)

- 59) New "Community Education Worker" is hired.

Problems arise in Ward 3 over who is to be sent from W3 Res. Co., at N.E.D.N.J.P.'s expense, to Toronto Conference on Diversions.

(July 1980)

- 60) Seven proposals have been received for research and evaluation.

Ward 3 and Ward 5 delegates to Toronto Conference report to M.C. Little information of use to N.E.D.N.J.P. seems to have been gained.

Staff submits thirteen-point plan for goals for N.E.D.N.J.P.'s remaining time.

(August 1980)

- 61) Staff reports on thirteen-point plan's progress.

M.C. makes formal decision not to seek refunding for N.E.D.N.J.P.

Community Education Worker outlines plans for information packages.

Part-time street worker is hired.

(September 1980)

- 62) M.C. decides on person to do the Evaluation Research.

(October 1980)

- 63) An attempt is made to revive the Steering Committee.

Community Education worker presents educational workshops re Diversion and the Criminal Justice System to women's group, "rap group" for juveniles, and to several schools.

Ward 3 Res. Co./Black Educators Association Workshop for parents, organized with assistance of N.E.D.N.J.P. Action staff member, is held.

Only three parents attend.

(November 1980)

- 64) Arrangements are made with Dalhousie Legal Aid to publish informational materials.

Evaluation contract will have to be with C.C.C.J. only.

Final Progress Report is submitted to Solicitor General.

(December 1980 and January 1981)

- 65) Evaluation of N.E.D.N.J.P.

Public meetings in Ward 3 and Ward 5 to discuss findings with interested citizens. Final Report is completed.

(April 15 - October 15, 1981)



