Community Safety Strategies, Not In-School Policing

Recommendations for the York University Context

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This guide was written by Lynn LaCroix, 2025

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This guide would not have been possible without those working to bring power, growth, and healing to our communities, including those who remain anonymous. Thank you for your various contributions and support.
*Note that not all who are acknowledged here have reviewed or edited this guide.

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Dedicated to Kevin Healey

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Tkaronto

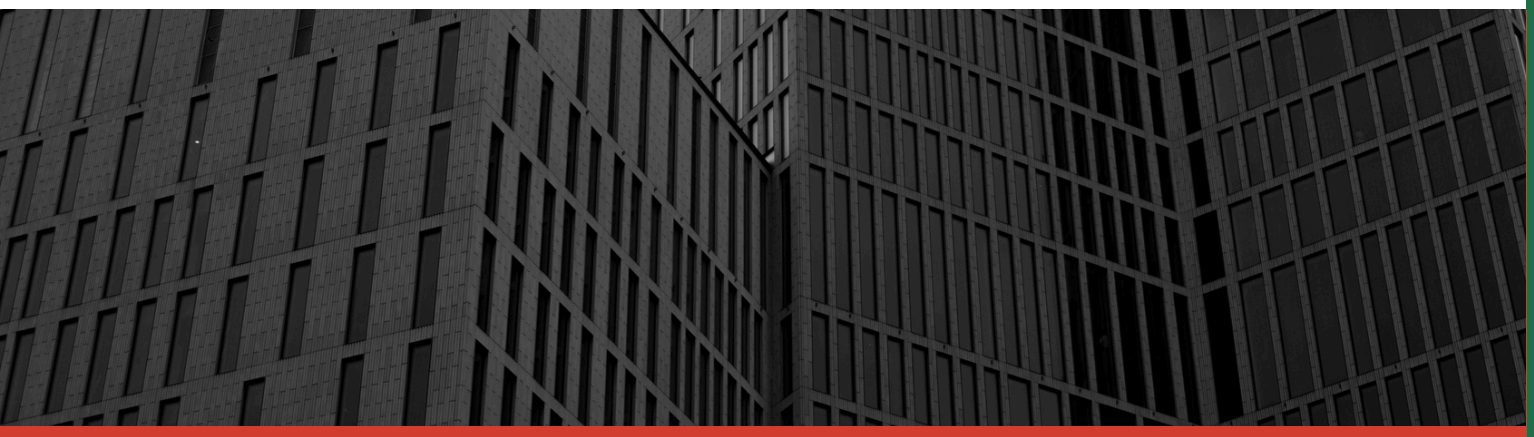
York University recognizes that many Indigenous Nations have longstanding relationships with the territories upon which York University campuses are located that precede the establishment of York University. York University acknowledges its presence on the traditional territory of many Indigenous Nations. The area known as Tkaronto has been care taken by the Anishinabek Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and the Huron-Wendat. It is now home to many First Nation, Inuit and Métis communities. We acknowledge the current treaty holders, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. This territory is subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement to peaceably share and care for the Great Lakes region (York University, 2024).

It is important to continue doing Land acknowledgements (Cunningham 2018). However, many Land acknowledgements have taken on a performative quality (Ouellet 2022). Some assert that when sharing a Land acknowledgement, one must consider the actual *Land* (York University, 2019) and Turtle Island's treaties, waters, and peoples. Others have asserted that since imperial settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and the transatlantic slave trade are inextricably entwined (Lethabo King 2019), Land acknowledgements must necessarily recognise Black ancestry, communities, and lineages (Dalhousie University 2024). Additionally, some assert that acknowledgement or recognition alone is not enough (Coulthard 2009), and *action* must be taken to respect Turtle Island's Land, waters, and various peoples (El Mugammar 2024); this includes Land Back. During the writing of this guide, Tylor Maxie, an Afro-Indigenous man experiencing a mental health crisis, was murdered by Toronto Police; shortly after, six Indigenous peoples—including Jack Piché, Hoss Lightning-Saddleback, Tammy Bateman, Jason West, Daniel Knife, and Steven Dedam—were murdered within an eleven-day period by RCMP and municipal police across Turtle Island; Nunavik police also open fired on Joshua and Garnet Papigatuk, killing Joshua and injuring Garnet; additionally, universities across Turtle Island erroneously declared that Indigenous Land is 'private property' while razing student encampments in support of Palestine; and the Israeli state continues the theft of Palestinian Land and the genocide of Palestinian peoples. These events are interconnected. Action must be taken to respect, return, repair, and for justice.

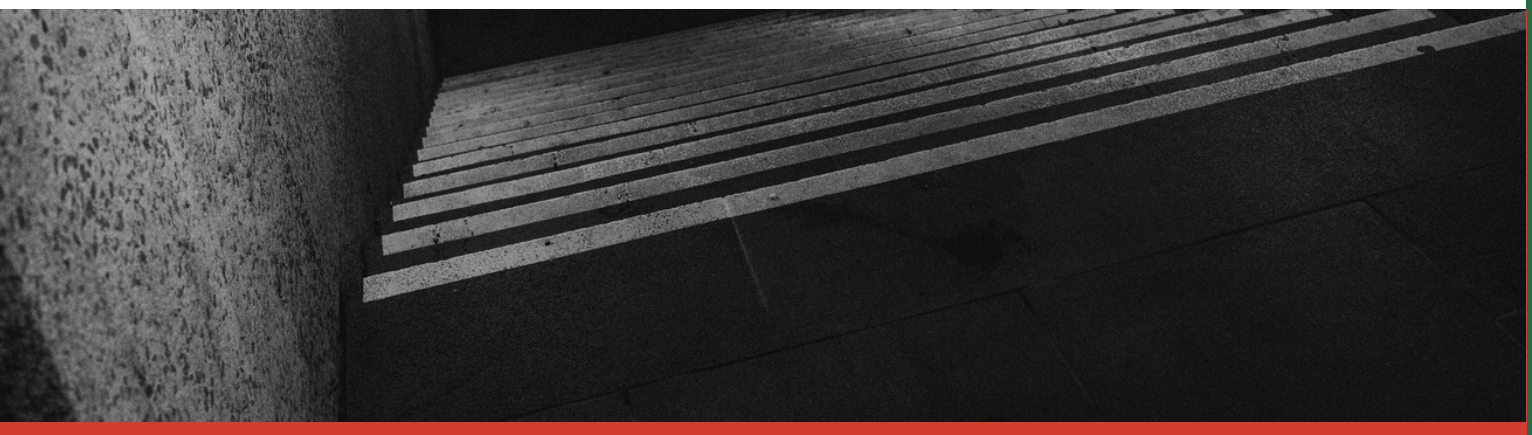
Background

This guide offers recommendations for community safety strategies outside of York University security, Special Constables, and Toronto Police Services (TPS)—here, both referred to as 'policing.' The guide draws influence from multiple subjugated non-linear histories and lineages, some of which are made explicit in the following pages. These histories and lineages simultaneously interface with the normalising forces of imperial, settler colonial North American research and the institutional-industrial apparatus where I work. While this guide strives to mitigate these normalising forces where possible, neoliberalism is systemic and always threatens 'carceral creep' (Kim 2019) and co-optation; such is increasingly the fate of "Decolonisation, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion" (DEDI) language. Bearing this in mind, this guide also arises amongst many socio-economic, political, and racial junctures; some specific to the York University context and some more distal, yet interconnected nonetheless. While this guide cannot, nor should not, speak to every context, it does provide a broad situating background.

This guide was initiated following the anti-2S LGBTQIA+/anti-trans/anti-queer attack on two Gender Studies students and a professor at the University of Waterloo in June of 2023 (Shetty 2024). Since this specific and concerted act of violence, subsequent threats have continued to be levelled within a wider climate of increasingly globalised right-wing facism, and within university contexts. In response, various social justice communities have continued to organise against the most recent rises in right-wing ideology. Similarly, various social justice scholar communities have also made calls for increases in anti-carceral security culture and community safety strategies outside of policing and security services (W2A 2023; Godderis 2024; Kouri-Towe 2024). For instance, a joint initiative between the Canadian Women and Gender Studies Association and Wisdom2Action, a social organisation consulting firm, culminated in 'A Forum on Anti-Carceral Security Planning' in October 2023. Collaborations such as these have many longer histories in 2S LGBTQIA+, women, and femme's communities. Specific to the York University context, the anti-gender-based violence, anti-intimate partner violence, and anti-domestic violence (anti-GBV/IPV/DV) organisation, METRAC, conducted a safety audit at York University in 2010 (York University Security Services Review 2022, 10). This audit recommended a community safety approach to York security, which, in 2016, led the York University administration to form the York Community Safety Department (York University Security Services Review 2022, 10).



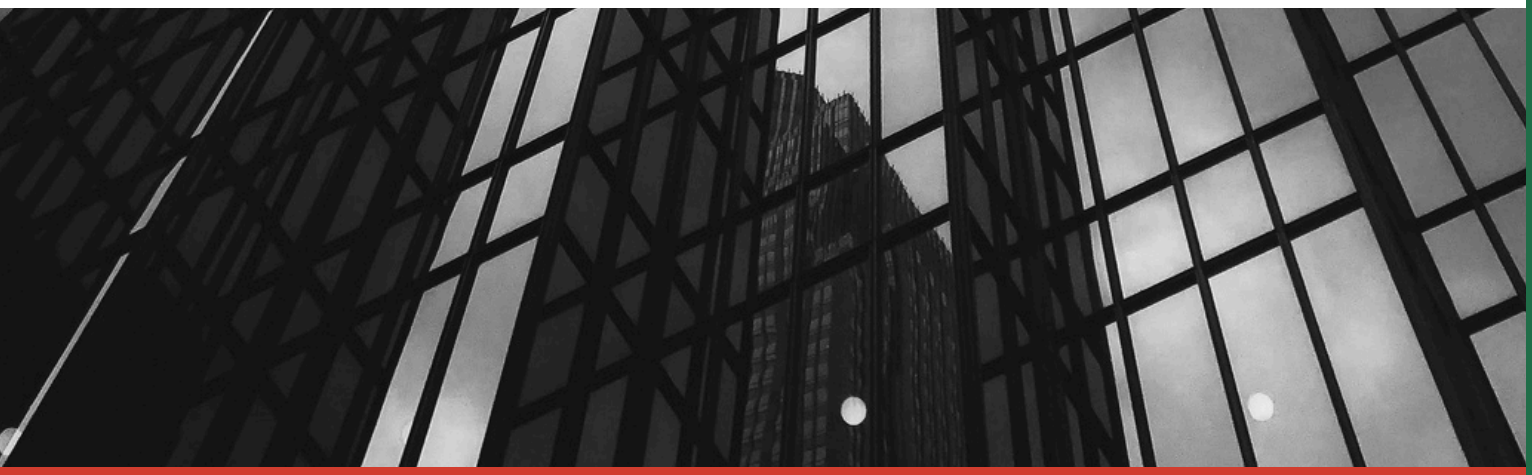
The backdrop to this context is a climate of global anti-Black racism—including at York University. York University's history of anti-Black racism has been extensively documented among students, faculty, and staff (JFAAP 2024; York University Security Services Review 2022; YUFA 2022; The Fifth Estate 2021). For instance, this past year, the York University administration terminated administrator Lydia Dosu's employment after she filed a complaint with the Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario (HRTO) concerning anti-Black racism at the university (Rosen 2023; Saravanamuttu 2023); a few years previously, Caroline Hossein, who was a professor at the university, also filed an application with the HRTO for the same reason (Rosen 2023); and, another professor, Aimé Avolonto, is also currently undergoing legal processes involving the HRTO concerning anti-Black racism at York University (YUFA 2022; Shahid 2021). Several students have also expressed experiencing anti-Black racism at the university (YFS 2024), and at least eight known related complaints have been lodged with the HRTO (Saravanamuttu 2023). Related to these grievances, the 'Action Plan on Black Inclusion: A Living Document for Action' was published in collaboration with Black community members in 2020. Similar to the audit conducted by METRAC, the action plan commits York University to a review of its security, including exploring 'alternative models for community safety' (Action Plan on Black Inclusion 2021).



Calls for community safety strategies have a longer history in Black communities. Specifically, the nearby Jane Finch community has been at the forefront, advocating for community safety strategies outside of police and security services in the area (JFAAP 2024). Often understood as a predominantly working-class, low-income, Black, and immigrant community (JFAAP 2024), Jane Finch experience routine violence at the hands of the Toronto Police Service (TPS) and York security services (JFAAP 2024). Many residents of Jane Finch, some York University students, staff, and faculty, have reported extensive surveillance, profiling, and policing by TPS and York security (JFAAP 2024). The pervasive effects of anti-Black racism and policing in the general area are also widely documented in the 'York University Security Services Review: Final Report,' published in December 2022. Largely a product of the METRAC audit, the 'Action Plan on Black Inclusion,' organising from Black students, staff, and faculty, and the Jane Finch community, the final report details high rates of TPS involvement on the York University campus. Additionally, the final report specifically indicates that York security's 'structure and culture adhere to many police-like patterns of organisation' (York University Security Services Review 2022, 38), and the 'extensive reliance on actual police to support…security work reinforces the perception that law enforcement best characterizes York's security model (York University Security Services Review 2022, 39). Similar to the METRAC audit and the 'Action Plan on Black Inclusion,' the 'York University Security Services Review' affirms that York security follows a 'law enforcement' model and commits York security to a 'community-centric safety' or 'stakeholder-centric' security model.

Demands for community safety strategies outside of policing at York University are largely motivated by the fact that the university experiences a disproportionately high rate of TPS involvement compared to all other universities and colleges in Ontario (York University Security Services Review 2022, 17). According to the 'York University Security Services Review,' approximately 40% of TPS activity on the York University campus is conducted under the 1990 *Mental Health Act* (2022, 20). The *Mental Health Act*, among other forms of legislation, 'governs the conditions under which 'police can commit individuals to undergo psychiatric examinations by a physician' (Canadian Mental Health Association, 2023). Since York security cannot (currently) operate under the *Mental Health Act*, they rely on TPS to arrest or detain people under this legislation. Additionally, security focuses approximately 43% of its total activity on criminalising homelessness, and uses TPS to arrest or detain people who are experiencing homelessness in these cases (LaCroix, 2024). Notably, due to systemic factors, racialised peoples are disproportionately represented among those experiencing various forms of homelessness (Toronto Neighbourhood Centres 2024, 6; Homeless Hub 2024; Thistle 2017) and are often assigned discriminatory mental health labels (Hon-Sing Wong 2020).

The ‘York University Security Services Review’ findings reflect Toronto's larger anti-Black and sanist atmosphere. For instance, TPS receives a large number of mental health crisis calls per year; approximately 30,000, according to 2020 data collected by the Reach Out Response Network (2020). Additionally, 60% of ‘deadly encounters’ with TPS involve Black people, even though Black people only make up approximately 8.8% of the Toronto population (Toronto Neighbourhood Centres 2024). Notably, similar data indicates that Indigenous peoples, young people, disabled people, 2S LGBTQIA+, and people experiencing poverty and homelessness are disproportionately targeted by police (Goldhawke 2020; Brooks and Kaba 2024, 8; Bassichis et al. 2011, 21-22; Ware et al. 2014, 167; Toronto Neighbourhood Centres 2024), and are also often assigned prejudiced mental health labels (Ware et al. 2014, 167; Hon-Sing Wong 2016; Hong-Sing Wong 2020). Following the murder of George Floyd in Bdeóta Othúŋwe/Gakaabikaang/Minneapolis, the Black Lives Matter movement and disability justice organising have highlighted these injustices more broadly. However, in Tkaronto/Toronto, communities and organisers continue to grapple with the murder of Rodney Levi, Chantel Moore, D’Andre Campbel, Ejaz Ahmed Choudry, Regis Korchinski-Paquet, Bobby Ramroop, Tylor Maxie and many more by TPS.



Amidst grief and collective organising, Tkaronto/Toronto-based communities have agitated for effective community safety strategies outside of police-led mental health response. In 2021, the city of Toronto, responding to community organising (Paton 2020; Casey 2020), began creating four non-police mental health response teams called the 'Toronto Community Crisis Service' (TCCS) (Community Crisis Support Service Pilot 2021; EX20.1 2021). The TCCS collaborates with local social service organisations to provide mobile health services and crisis response. Teams are composed of trained community, health, and social service workers and dispatched through 911 and 211 call centres. A TCCS response team, in collaboration with the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA), operates in the North York area (City of Toronto 2024). However, there is little evidence that 911 or 211 calls from York University are being rerouted to this TCCS team. Instead, TPS are routinely dispatched to York University, even though 911 and 211 operators are trained to send a TCCS team for mental health crises.

How TPS became a frequent presence on the York University campus depends on several systemic, structural, and institutional factors. The York Community Safety Department and the 'York University Security Services Review' have suggested that students, staff, and faculty could be contributing to TPS presence through individual calls to 911 (York University Security Services Review 2022, 17; Community Safety Department, 2024). However, students, staff, faculty, and alums have suggested that TPS presence on campus is the product of the York University administration liaising with police (CUPE 3903, 2024; YUGSA 2024; YFS 2024; YUFA 2020). This assertion was recently brought to light when, in February 2024, TPS disrupted a lecture given by visiting professor Dr Muhannad Ayyash, titled 'The Palestinian Struggle for Liberation: Aspirations for a Decolonial Life.' Subsequently, a petition has been made for an open investigation into whether or not the York University administration collaborated with TPS to interrupt the lecture (MESA Committee on Academic Freedom 2024). At present, no information has been released about who called TPS (Ayyash 2024).

More recently, the York University administration directly orchestrated a militarised TPS raid of a student encampment supporting Palestine and which urged York University to disclose and divest financial holdings in the Israeli state. Employing the same *Trespass to Property Act* used to criminalise people experiencing homelessness (LaCroix, 2024) and people from the Jane Finch community (JFAAP 2024), the York University administration, in collaboration with TPS, razed the York Popular University for Palestine in June 2024. Students and community members at the encampment were arrested and subjected to physical, cultural, and spiritual violence at the hands of TPS (YFS 2024; CUPE 3903 2024; YUFA 2024). Notably, the suppression of student movements for Palestine follows a longer trajectory of anti-Palestinian racism at York University (Gorman 2024; York U 4 Palestine and CUPE 3903 2024). However, universities' use of the *Trespass to Property Act* to remove student encampments across Turtle Island has raised increasingly more questions about definitions of 'private property,' public space, and the organising rights of protestors (Cole 2023; Bongiorno 2024; Cameron 2024).

Contestations over space were also recently disputed at York University during the 2024 CUPE 3903 labour disruption. The strike 'Representing Contract Faculty, Teaching Assistants, Graduate Assistants, and Part-Time Librarians and Archivists' (CUPE 3903, 2024) occurred between February 26th and April 19th—just months before student encampments materialised across Northern Turtle Island. Unique to this particular strike, TPS intervened on the 20-year-long picketing grounds of CUPE 3903 members, infringing on their rights, enacting violence, and arresting a CUPE 3903 captain (Cole 2024). Confusing the distinction between the blockading of roadways and the right to lawful protest with one's person (Cole, 2024), TPS demonstrated an illegitimate use of force against people supporting improved working and teaching conditions at the university. Notably, the York University administration supported TPS's actions claiming that 'where there is a physical presence or blockade that impacts the city of Toronto streets, the Toronto Police Service does have a role as blocking city streets is not permitted' (Community Safety Department quoted by Cole 2024).

Despite their appeal, step-by-step linear processes, laws, rules, or a drive to implement a singular "model" program across the country won't bring us genuine and lasting safety beyond policing....Our goal should be to seed, support, and elaborate localized approaches that are specific to the people, relationships, conditions, and resources unique to each community.

Andrea Ritchie (Practicing New Worlds 2023)

The background conditions described here are an incomplete depiction of the social, political, and racial context at York University, in Tkaronto/Toronto, on Turtle Island, and globally. This brief and partial history is intended as a modest situating of the present guide and informs the community safety strategies described herein. Although imperfect, the recommendations in this guide strive to consider these background conditions. Notably, however, this guide's community safety strategies are primarily premised on data indicating that 40% of TPS involvement with York University is conducted under the *Mental Health Act* (York University Security Services Review 2022, 20); and that approximately 43% of York security activity focuses on criminalising homelessness (LaCroix, 2024). Meaningful community safety requires a wide array of community safety strategies. This guide offers a smaller piece of this larger collective project.

Study Situatedness

- **Researcher Positionality**

This research was conducted by a graduate student of York University. Although this guide is informed by my positionalities and lived experiences, a significant limitation of this research is that it is conducted from the perspective of a white settler and someone with current class and educational privilege.

- **Conditions of Study**

This research was conducted between February and August 2024, excluding the periods when the 2024 CUPE 3903 labour disruption occurred at York University. The guide was also placed on a temporary hold from September 2024 to February 2025 due to political and emergency considerations. The guide is peer-reviewed by members of the York University student unions, various community members, and York University students and faculty.

Study Situatedness

- **Research Perspective**

This research is approached from an intersectional abolitionist and disability justice perspective. According to Ruth Wilson Gilmore, abolition is not ‘an erasure, an absence, a lack, a nothing,’ it is about ‘presence’ (2023). Abolitionist presence means creating community safety strategies outside of policing, punishment, carcerality, and violence (Critical Resistance 2024; Maynard and Simpson 2022; Whynacht 2021). Disability justice is similarly concerned with presence; not only with human rights and policy alternatives, but “transform[ing] social conditions and norms in order to affirm and support all people’s inherent right to live and thrive” (Lewis 2020, 1). Community safety strategies that affirm the right to live and thrive are a cornerstone of disability justice organising (Ben-Moshe 2014; Piepzna-Samarasinha 2018; Ware 2020). This research aims to offer community safety strategies premised on presence; that is, strategies that affirm the right to live and thrive outside of policing, punishment, carcerality, and violence.

- **Research Limitations and Further Directions**

This research can benefit moreso from community members’ perspectives on community safety strategies. It is suggested that further research and consultation be conducted in collaboration with community members from York University, the Jane Finch community, and the larger Tkaronto/Toronto area. Distinctive subsections of the greater community have expertise in disability justice and abolitionist community safety strategies. Research on community safety strategies ought to be majority-led and majority-controlled by these groups. Community members should be well compensated for their expertise and not be required to engage in performative labour for York University.

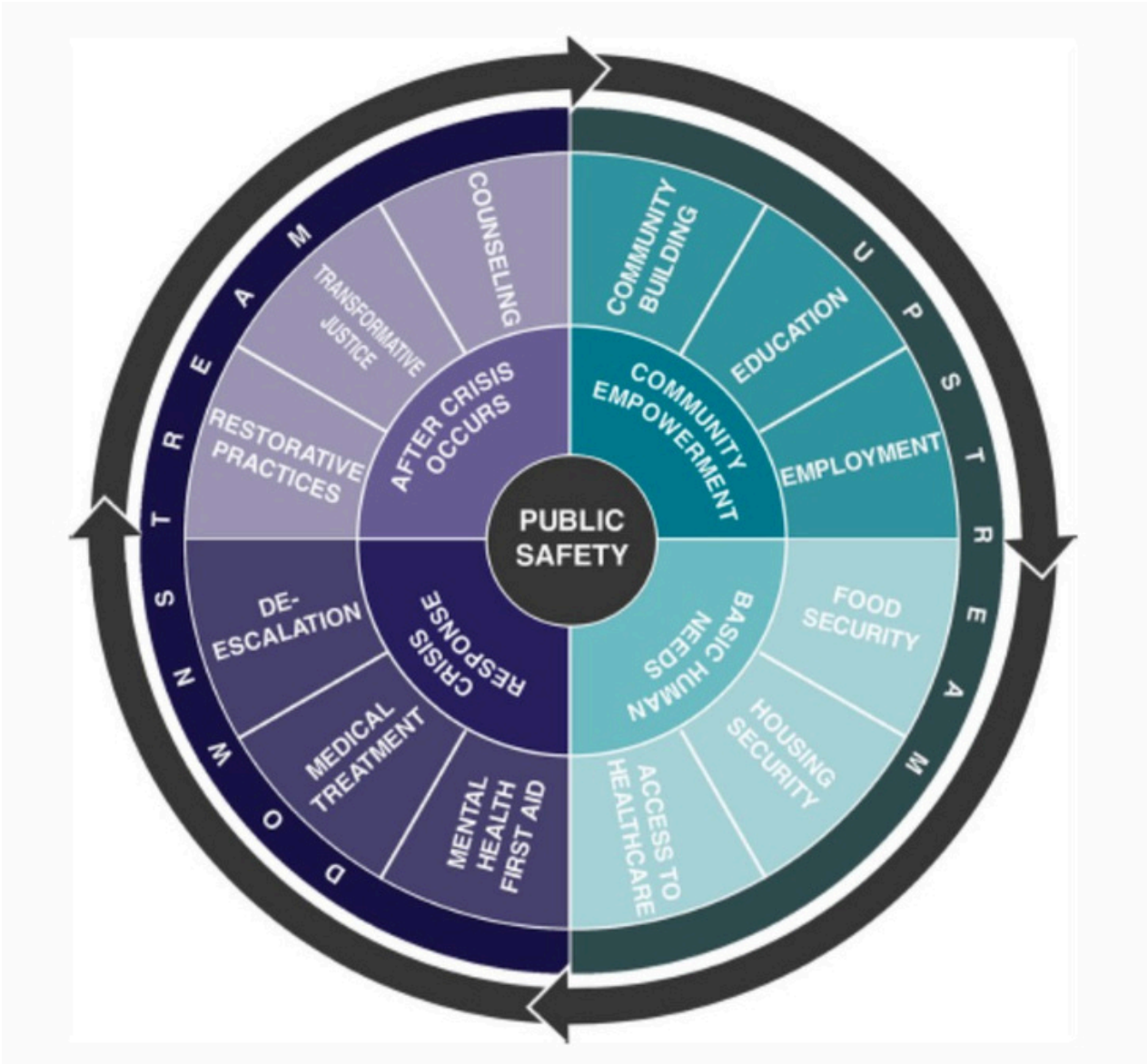
Study Parameters

This research included a broad institutional scan of Canadian universities' and related public institutions' security operations—e.g., the Toronto Public Library's security. The scan was conducted to gain a preliminary understanding of public institutions in Canada, to survey how security operates at these institutions, and to review whether these institutions use any community safety strategies. 16 Eastern Canadian universities' security services were chosen for a closer analysis. However, analysis unearthed limited implementation of community safety strategies.

This research also included a literature review of 100 documents broadly centring on community safety strategies outside of policing on Turtle Island/in North America (Canada and the United States). Documents analysed include 1) Canadian university security services protocols, documents, reports, etc.; 2) high school reports on school shootings and in-school police and security violence; 2) abolitionist, anti-GBV/IPV/DV, and community organisation resources on community safety strategies, 4) recommendations and consultations about the 'Toronto Community Crisis Service,' 5) recommendations and consultations about non-police or partial-police mental health response in various North American cities, and 6) resources about crisis response, focusing on mental health crisis response and harassment bystander intervention.

An ethics protocol was also created for this research and submitted to the Human Participants Review Committee (HPRC) at the York University Office of Research Ethics (ORE). The ethics protocol was developed during the early stages of this research to consult community members, organisations, students, and faculty about community safety strategies outside of policing and security. However, the protocol was temporarily suspended during the 2024 CUPE 3903 labour disruption. Efforts were then re-routed to focus on the literature review component of this research. Future iterations of this research ought to involve interviewing about community safety strategies in collaboration with community members, organisations, students, and faculty.

Crisis Response



Community safety and public safety exist on a spectrum. Interrupting Criminalization (IC) provides the above broad depiction of public safety strategies based on the Denver Alliance for Street Health Response's (DASHR) 'elements of a reimagined public safety' (Kim et al. 2021, 27). Drawing on this depiction, the community safety strategies in this guide are primarily located in Downward Crisis Response, specifically centring Mental Health First Aid. Notably, any robust transformative systems change will require all the elements identified by DASHR, including further components arising beyond this particular representation of public safety.

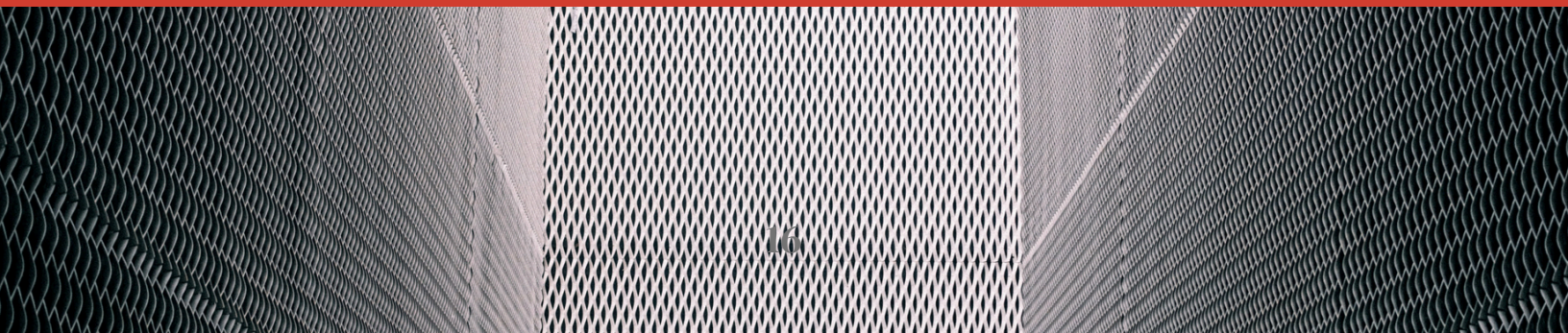
Image provided with permission from IC.

Crisis Response Models

In their 2021 document 'Defund the Police—Invest in Community Care,' IC identifies five broad crisis response models. A number of community organisations and organisers concerned with community safety strategies have similarly identified these five models (Reach Out Response Network 2020; IC 2020; Brooks and Burch 2021; Ritchie 2022-2023; Toronto Neighbourhood Centres 2024). The five models are summarised on the subsequent page of this guide. However, for a more detailed description, please refer to IC's document on crisis response.

Model examples that are relevant to the Toronto/Tkoronto context are also given in the following pages. Note that these examples are approximations and may not align *exactly* with each of the five crisis response models described by IC. More generally, most crisis response models—abolitionist or otherwise—will tend to overlap with one or more components of each IC model; or they may exhibit qualities or capacities that the IC models do not describe. This differentiation indicates the breadth of possible responses to crisis and community safety strategies outside of policing. What is key is that a given response or strategy falls within a non-reformist reform, instead of a reformist reform (Gorz 1967, 6-7; Gorz 1975 133-177; IC n.d.)

Following a brief description of IC's five models and examples relevant to the Toronto/Tkaronto context, this guide provides a fuller description of the 3rd model: Mental Health First (MHF). This model is described in detail because the objective of this guide is to advance a MHF-type programme as a viable community safety strategy outside of policing for the York University context. This guide does not discuss an example of a MHF-type model from the Tkaronto/Toronto context, however, there are many.



Five Crisis Response Models

1. Co-Response or 'police-mental health collaboration' (PMHC):

The 'most common option [involving] police accompanied by a mental health professional' (Kim et al. 2021, 10). Co-response is part of a 'broader set of police strategies known as crisis intervention teams (CIT)' (Kim et al. 2021, 10).

2. CAHOOTS-type models:

Involve the diversion of 911 calls, by dispatchers, to non-police mental health responders. CAHOOTS-type models are coordinated with police, 'enabling the police to maintain a role in situations involving higher level threats of violence' (Kim et al. 2021, 10).

3. Mental Health First (MHF)-type models:

Use dispatch systems separate from 911 and police control. MHF-type models are completely non-police mental health responses that are centralised and community-controlled. These models are 'created by and accountable to the most impacted communities' (Kim et al. 2021, 11).

4. CAT 911-type models:

Are '[i]nformal, decentralized community-based mutual aid networks providing crisis mental health responses and resources' (Kim et al. 2021,11).

5. Fireweed Collective-type models:

Are 'peer-led and community-based [responses] providing mental health-related harm-reduction, peer-support, and mutual aid through a healing justice lens' (Kim et al. 2021, 11). These models are 'led by and for the most directly impacted individuals and communities' (Kim et al. 2021, 11).

Toronto Crisis Response Examples

1. Downtown Community Outreach Response and Engagement (CORE) a Co-Response model:

According to the city of Toronto, CORE is not an 'emergency crisis response service' and is non-reachable through 911 or 211. However, it is '[d]esigned to address the complex health, mental health, substance use and housing needs of vulnerable individuals…and provide proactive support to improve access to health and social services' (City of Toronto, 2024). Composed of TPS officers and public health nurses, CORE is a co-response, or foot-patrol unit, that operates as an alternative to community-led crisis response. CORE's collaborators include the Downtown Yonge Business Improvement Area, Toronto Community Crisis Service, the Gerstein Crisis Centre, Toronto Metropolitan University, and Unity Health Toronto. According to IC (Kim et al. 2021, 25-28), CAHOOTS-type models can be overtaken by co-response-type models like the CORE through city suppression of community engagement and pro-police public relations-backed funding.

2. Toronto Community Crisis Service (TCCS) a CAHOOTS-type model:

A month after the city of Toronto initiated the CORE, it launched its fourth Toronto Community Crisis Service (TCCS) response team with the 2-Spirited People of the First Nation. Initiated in 2021, The four TCCS teams were created in response to the 2020 Black Lives Matter uprisings and local community organising. The TCCS programme collaborates with social service organisations to provide mobile health services and crisis response. The four social service organisations collaborating with the TCCS are the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA), the Gerstein Crisis Centre, the TAIBU Community Health Centre, and the 2-Spirited People of the First Nation. Crisis response teams are composed of trained health and community workers and are dispatched through 911 and 211 call centres. A TCCS response team, in collaboration with the CMHA, operates in the North York area. Notably, 911 and 211 operators are trained to dispatch TCCS to crisis calls. However, limited data exists about whether or not York University area 911 and 211 calls are being rerouted to TCCS instead of TPS. 911 and 211 dispatch centres remain under the purview of the city of Toronto, and York University entities may explicitly request TPS presence.

4. Health Providers Against Poverty (HPAP) a CAT-911-type model:

Several decentralised community-based mutual aid networks in Tkaronto engage in crisis response; Health Providers Against Poverty (HPAP) is one instance. HPAP specifically focuses on eliminating poverty and reducing inequality, focusing on income and social security, raising awareness about the health impacts of poverty, and engaging 'health providers and people living in poverty in social and political change (HPAP, 2024). Some of HPAP's work is achieved through mobilising political campaigns, providing resources on health and poverty, and engaging in public education. Although the group does not identify as a crisis response strategy, they more broadly offer 'local skill-building and response networks to collectively identify and solve problems' (Kim et al. 2021, 36) without relying on TPS. Like a CAT-911-type model, HPAP offers 'network-wide and city or neighbourhood-specific trainings and discussion forums' (Kim et al. 2021, 36) on topics related to counteracting poverty through 'high-impact health intervention' (HPAP, 2024).

5. Maggie's Toronto Sex Workers Action Project (Maggie's) a Fireweed Collective-type model:

Among many under-resourced, peer-led and community-based crisis response strategies in Toronto is Maggie's Toronto Sex Workers Action Project (Maggie's). Maggie's is a 2S QT+BIPOC, current and former sex worker-led 'wrap-around' response that specifically centres sex worker expertise, support, and advocacy (Maggies 2024). The group is not an exit organisation. Rather, it focuses on sex worker liberation through counteracting systemic injustices associated with anti-sex worker legislation (including anti-trafficking laws), poor working conditions, societal marginalisation, police violence, and issues surrounding poverty. The project offers a drop-in space for current and former sex workers, operates an outreach programme, hosts community meals, provides harm reduction and referral programmes, engages in relief funding and mutual aid campaigns, hosts vaccination and HIV testing clinics, operates a harm reduction delivery programme, publishes community research, offers public training and workshops, and engages in ongoing political campaigns related to sex work legislation and anti-policing (Maggies 2024). Though Maggie's does not explicitly call itself a crisis response strategy, they could be described as a Fireweed Collective-type (or MHF-type model). They are undoubtedly a 'critical and central part of the local mental health/wellness ecosystem' (Kim et al. 2021, 37) and a leader in local community-led abolitionist initiatives.

3. Mental Health First

- **Background**

Mental Health First (MHF) is a mobile mental health response programme that was developed and launched by the Anti Police-Terror Project (APTP) in 2019. Led by APTP co-founder and emergency room nurse Asantewaa Boykin, MHF was initially launched in Sacramento amidst the protests following the murder of Oscar Grant by the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) police in 2009 (Kim et al. 2021, 35). A second MHF site opened in Oakland in 2020 due to the first programme's success.

- **Perspective**

MHF rejects hierarchies that conventional mental health approaches rely on and ascribes to a ‘self-determined crisis management’ perspective (One Million Experiments 2021). According to Boykin, MHF’s ‘framework is super simple…[the] primary goal is just to mitigate the immediate crisis and hopefully help that person come to their own next step. [The] framework does not sweep in and tell people what they need or how they need it’ (One Million Experiments 2021). Part of this process often involves getting someone to a place where they feel more safe. A safe place could involve a soft handoff to an emergency room, someone’s sister’s house, and so forth. The point is to centre the self-determination of the person interacting with MHF responders and support them through what ‘safe place’ means for them. The MHF perspective on self-determined crisis management is informed by systemic analyses and criticism of ‘white supremacy, capitalism, and colonialism,’ (One Million Experiments 2021).

- **Purpose**

Self-determined crisis management also depends on the principle that police should not be responders to mental health crises. MHF's primary purpose is to 'interrupt and eliminate the need for law enforcement in mental health crisis first response' (One Million Experiments 2021). MHF does this by focusing on the root harm a person is experiencing. For instance, over the phone, MHF responders are trained to ask whether the person in need is safe, what environment they are in, and whether police are present. Responders also assess physical health to determine whether hunger, dehydration, or low blood sugar could be the root of the issue (One Million Experiments 2021), which sometimes happens. A plan is then created while collaborating with the person in need. Notably, law enforcement does not inquire about root harms. Situational negligence often escalates quickly, leading to police violence and incarceration (One Million Experiments 2021). Moreover, policing entities cannot be adequately trained on situational awareness or to respond to people in mental health crises (Ware et al. 2014, 167; Hon-Sing Wong 2020). Law enforcement is a systemic root harm, not an individual problem (Thompson, 2024, Goldhawke 2020). Therefore, '[i]t's more logical and compassionate to meet a mental health crisis with a mental health first responder, not an armed police officer' (One Million Experiments 2021).

- **Logistics**

MHF is peer-operated, including with peer responders, peer leadership, and a peer governing council. Peer oversight ensures the effectiveness of MHF and has led to the success of both the Sacramento and Oakland programmes. Currently, the Sacramento project operates from 7 pm to 7 am Friday to Sunday, and the Oakland project operates from 8 pm to 8 am Thursday to Sunday. During these working hours, MHF responders receive phone calls on a mobile number (non-911) for mental health concerns. The phone line is operated by volunteer doctors, nurses, mental health professionals, and community members. As a predominantly peer-led programme, MHF is trusted in the community and has sparked interest among various healthcare responders willing to volunteer their time and skills. When a caller contacts MHF, phone responders discuss with the caller to determine the basics of their situation (i.e., the caller's degree of safety and physical health). Then, a 'safety and mental health plan' (One Million Experiments 2021) is created to support the caller. Support includes 'discussing situation-appropriate changes that can be made' (One Million Experiments 2021) and determining an appropriate time to follow up with the caller. If a situation is more urgent or involves police, MHF will dispatch a crisis response team.

- **Response Teams**

Responders work overnight in shifts of three people, including two taking phone calls and a third person providing support and consultation. Three-person response teams include a ‘crisis interventionist,’ a ‘medic,’ and a ‘safety liaison.’ The crisis interventionist works directly with the person in need; the medic supports the person with the provision of basic first aid; and the safety liaison manages the presence of potential dangers, such as law enforcement or other community members compounding a situation. Though MHF does not enter into direct partnerships with public health organisations, their response teams may draw on relationships with local clinics or hospitals to support people in need. Additionally, MHF response may include ‘[t]he mental health crisis response ecosystem [which] include[s] critical community-based alternative spaces initiated and directed by impacted people and communities’ (Kim et al. 2021). These spaces make it such that MHF response teams do not end up being a ‘band-aid solution’ since responders can bring people in need to life-affirming spaces that will further support them.

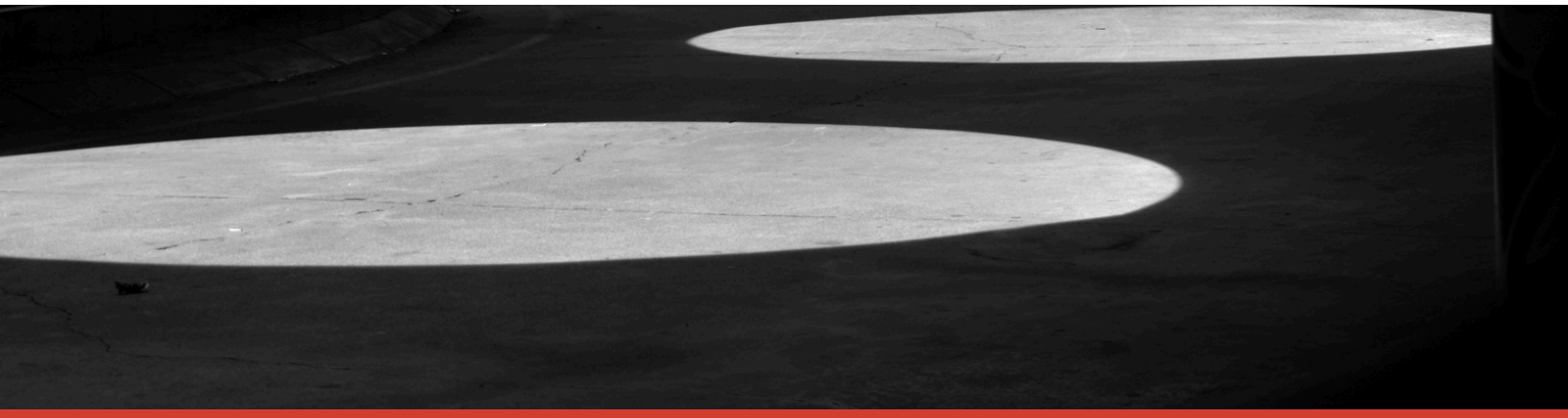
- **Training**

MHF responders receive 15 to 60 hours of training, based on their skills and lived experiences. Typically, MHF responders receive first aid, harm reduction, Naloxone administration, and crisis response training. Additionally, the MHF Sacramento programme—in collaboration with peer and professional community members—has developed its own training programme, including a MHF handbook. According to MHF, the handbook focuses on the idea that ‘physical health needs are often misinterpreted as mental health crisis,’ it identifies conditional needs that can be met to mitigate a situation (e.g., food or shelter), and ‘encourages mental health crisis to be viewed through a ‘socially competent’ lens, taking issues like the impacts of racism into account’ (One Million Experiments 2021).

- **Response**

The most common situations that Sacramento and Oakland MHF responders mitigate include ‘someone experiencing suicidal thoughts, someone running in and out of traffic, someone screaming on the street corner, someone threatening self-harm or violence, or someone who asks for a wellness check on a friend they’re concerned about’ (One Million Experiments 2021). However, they also respond to a multitude of other situations, including GBV/IPV/DV, psychiatric emergencies, substance use support, and dispersing survival and harm reduction supplies to people experiencing homelessness (Kim et al. 2021). Sometimes, callers even reach out just to be heard (One Million Experiments 2021).

Most of MHF’s crisis response focuses on safety planning, including ‘safety contracts’ and aftercare. During a safety contract, a responder will ask a caller if they are in a safe place. If the caller says ‘no,’ MHF will dispatch a response team. At the same time, a responder will also ask the caller to go to a safe place and request that they agree to remain in that safe place (if they can) until MHF responders make contact. After contact has been made and the situation has been mitigated, MHF responders will then initiate an aftercare process with the person in need. Aftercare often involves MHF’s shift-to-shift, travel follow-up book. Boykin describes the book explaining how ‘[f]or instance, one person’s safety plan was they were going to get up in the morning and write down how they were feeling and take a long bath, so I wrote a note ‘[w]ill you check in with x person and ask them how did their bath go and what did they write?’ so then the person who’s next on shift would pick up the phone and call that person and check in’ (One Million Experiments 2021).

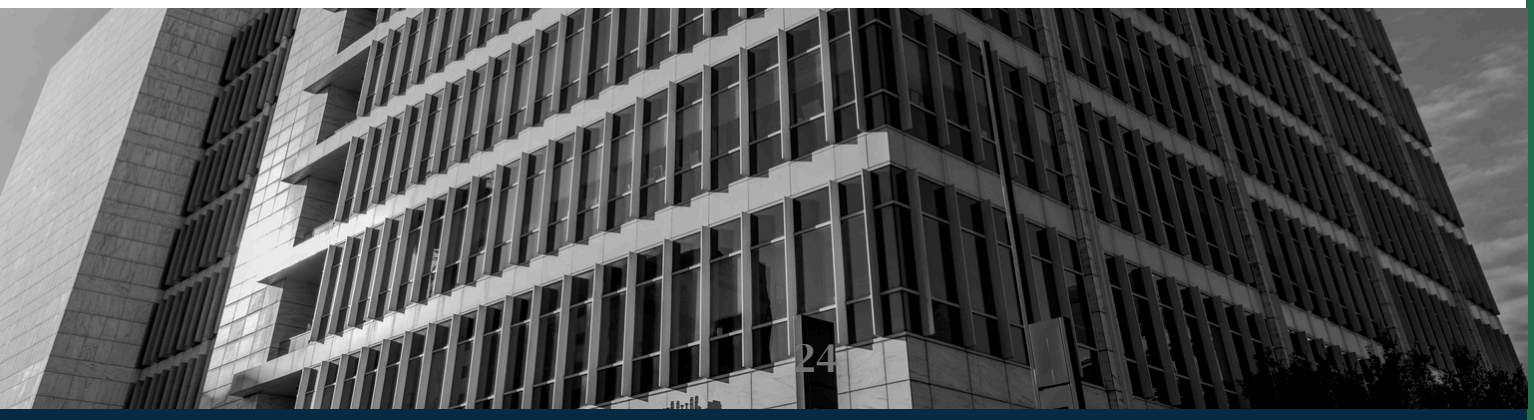


- **Outreach**

MHF also conducts various forms of outreach. For instance, responders will canvass an area to connect with community members and ask people to call them if they see a situation that could bring police. According to Boykin, '[it's] not just about waiting until someone's in crisis, or waiting until someone's non-responsive and needing Narcan, but to go out and build [relationships] with those people so they know it's us when they see us coming...and not handcuffs (One Million Experiments 2021). MHF also drives around to businesses that are open late and gives them the MHF phone number, 'in case employees see anything strange happening outside' (One Million Experiments 2021). In APTP Founder Cat Brooks' words, '[i]f someone sees someone in crisis and they want to call the cops, they should call us. If they see cops responding to someone in crisis, they should call us….If 911 is the only option for a caller, MHF will dispatch a security liaison to ensure the person in need is not criminalised and they get appropriate help (One Million Experiments 2021). While operating the phone line, MHF responders also manage social media accounts that people can use for support. These accounts are consistently monitored, in addition to responding to callers. On nights when no calls are placed, MHF will continue monitoring their social media accounts, canvass the area, and focus on responder training.

The idea is that people can come…and share their projects and ideas….And people can come there for inspiration and ideas about what they can enact in their own communities; and that usually *isn't going to be a replica of an exact project* somewhere else, *but there are a lot of ideas that are replicable* from within…this hopefully someday, actually, one million projects

Eva Nagao for IC (One Million Experiments 2021)



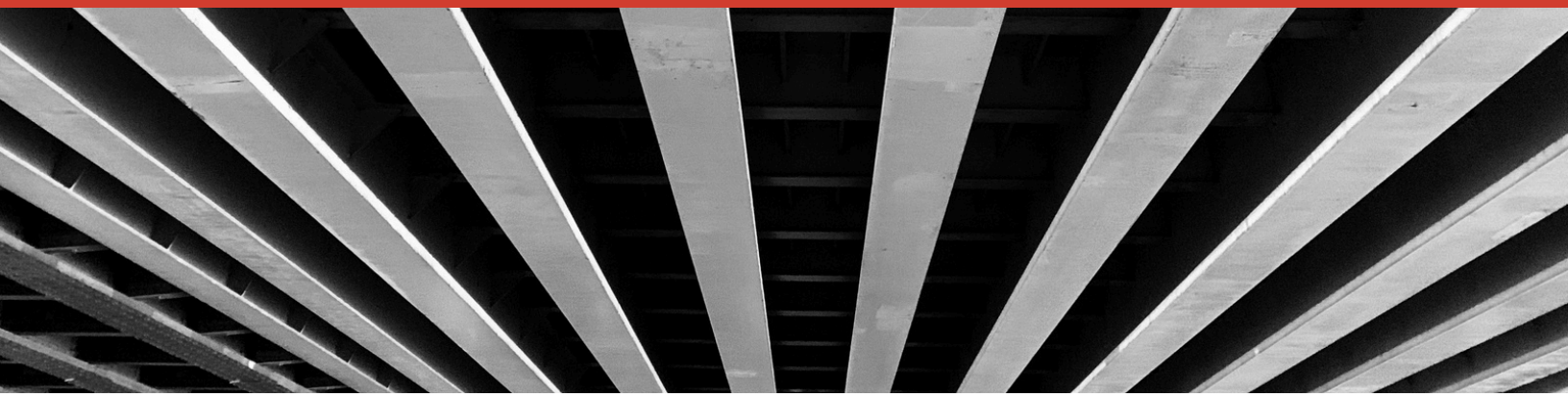
Mental Health First Summary

- MHF is peer-led.
- MHF aims to ‘interrupt and eliminate the need for law enforcement in mental health crisis first response’ (One Million Experiments 2021) by focusing on root harms.
- MHF implements a non-hierarchical ‘self-determined crisis management’ perspective.
- MHF’s Sacramento programme operates from 7 pm to 7 am Friday through Sunday, and the MHF Oakland project operates from 8 pm to 8 am Thursday through Sunday.
- MHF primarily responds through a mobile phone (non-911). However, they also respond through social media accounts.
- MHF’s phone line is operated by volunteer doctors, nurses, mental health professionals, and community members.
- MHF responders work in shifts of three people, including two people taking calls and a third person providing support and consultation. Response teams include a crisis interventionist, a medic, and a safety liaison.
- MHF responders receive between 15 and 60 hours of training, depending on experience.
- MHF develops its own training, including a handbook, in consultation with community members.
- MHF crisis response involves safety planning (safety contracts + aftercare).
- MHF aftercare consists of a travel follow-up book.
- MHF engages in street canvassing and outreach with community members and businesses to inform them of MHF.

Cautions

Asantewaa Boykin and APTP created MHF as a Sacramento and Oakland-specific community programme for counteracting police violence. It is not possible to implement 'Mental Health First' at York University because MHF is unique to these communities. However, creating a MHF-type model within differing communities, including at York University, *is possible*. If a MHF-type model is implemented at York University, it cannot be co-opted from Asantewaa Boykin, APTP, and the Sacramento and Oakland communities. Co-optation takes many forms and is not always apparent. However, the following are some possible cautions against MHF co-optation.

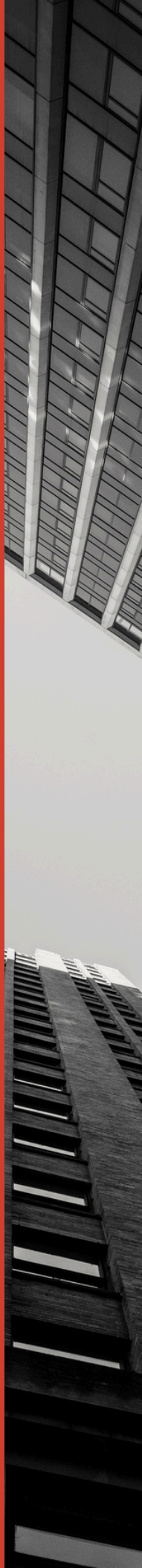
A MHF-type model must be attributed to MHF creators Asantewaa Boykin, APTP, and various communities impacted by policing violence. It must remain within the spirit and intent of MHF, including being developed by impacted communities to specifically meet their unique needs. A MHF-type model must not negatively impact other nearby communities' community safety strategies and should meaningfully collaborate with these communities.



Cautions

A MHF-type model must not be used as a Public Relations (PR) campaign by York University. York University ought to not sanitise a MHF-type programme through PR. For instance, MHF should not become a PR excuse to not invest in further community safety strategies, thriving communities, and life-affirming basic necessities at the university. It ought to not be used to decrease funding for other community-based initiatives and basic necessities. This caution is necessary to prevent the potential misuse of a MHF-type model for purposes other than its intended one.

A MHF-type model at York University is intended as a community safety strategy outside of York security, Special Constables, and TPS. It should not be co-opted by or used to increase the capacity of the York University administration, the Community Safety Department, York security, Special Constables, TPS, or a discriminatory healthcare system. Ruth Wilson Gilmore warns that abolitionist efforts ought not to devolve into the 'problem of innocence,' which partitions some as 'vulnerable enough' and undeserving of criminalisation, relative to some more criminally deserving 'other' (2023, 482-488). Such distinctions can lead to 'police humanitarianisms,' which 'target…vulnerable people [such as peer workers] with goods and services that in fact everybody needs' to expand policing and criminalisation through collaborations (Gilmore 2022, 487). The problem of innocence can also lead to 'saturation policing,' including harmful practices such as 'stop-and-frisk; broken windows [theory]; and various types of so-called "community policing"' (Gilmore 2022, 486) sometimes enacted in response to communities' safety strategies. The 'problem of innocence' and its auxiliary effects should be avoided.



Real MHF Crisis Response Requires

To encourage an effective MHF-type programme, IC advances the following as necessary for ‘real mental health crisis response’ (Kim et al. 2021, 16-17).

- Autonomy from the police/sheriffs [, Special Constables, and security] (Kim et al. 2021);
- Widely publicized, available, and accessible (to d/Deaf and hard of hearing, blind/ visually impaired, multilingual people, among others) [and includes a] low or no-cost system of dispatch (autonomous of police [and security]) (Kim et al. 2021);
- Orientation towards harm reduction, peer support, [crisis response], and agency, self-determination/choice for people needing assistance (Kim et al. 2021);
- Orientation towards/central role for impacted communities, including BIPOC, poor, mentally, cognitively, and physically disabled, neurodivergent, [2S] LGBTQIA+, immigrant (including undocumented), criminalized, and homeless/houseless people and communities (Kim et al. 2021);
- Adequate infrastructure (Kim et al. 2021);
- Ample personnel (representing impacted communities) (Kim et al. 2021);
- Sufficient training (Kim et al. 2021);
- Adequate number and quality of vehicles for transportation (Kim et al. 2021);

- Robust accessibility of services for visually impaired, D/deaf and hard of hearing people, monolingual and multilingual people, and people with mental, cognitive, and physical disabilities (Kim et al. 2021);

- Meaningful peer decision-making, direction and involvement (among those with direct experience with mental health crisis—and representing most impacted communities) (Kim et al. 2021);

- Harm-reduction, trauma-informed, peer-led or involved community-based mental health resources (Kim et al. 2021);

- Protection/freedom from control, harm, threat, or influence by police/sheriff [, Special Constables, security,] and other governmental systems (Kim et al. 2021);

- Sufficient, sustained sources of funding and other resources to be able to run 24/7—and provide rapid response across regions (Kim et al. 2021).

- Real mental health crisis response...must also support an ecosystem of diverse, autonomous, self-determined mental health resources, especially those created specifically by and for people vulnerable to mental health crises (and including people from BIPOC, [2S] LGBTQIA+ and other impacted communities) (Kim et al. 2021).

- [Crisis response] cannot ignore, oppose, take resources from or otherwise diminish other mental health options (such as CAT-911 and Fireweed Collective [type models] featured in this guide)—but must work in collaboration with them or in such a way that they do not diminish their capacities (Kim et al. 2021).

Building Momentum

This guide recommends a MHF-type crisis response programme and suggests some practices for implementation. However, crisis response is not a substitute for crisis prevention nor a substitute for cultivating thriving communities. That is, for full spectrum community safety. As such, this guide also offers additional recommendations for community safety strategies—which *also* cannot meet the full spectrum of community safety—yet can be used with a MFH-type crisis response programme to enhance community safety. All recommendations in this guide are suggestions. They remain subject to collaborative change to reflect the needs of communities most impacted by policing violence and related harms.

Recommendations

1. **All funding to York security, the Community Safety Department, Special Constables, and TPS ought to be rerouted, in its entirety, to support thriving communities.**

2. York University ought to immediately invest in a majority peer-led and peer-driven MHF-type programme. A York University MHF-type programme ought to have a unique phone number.

3. A majority peer-based MHF-type programme at York University ought to include a governing peer council composed of York University peers and peer members from beyond the university.

4. The Community Safety Department, Special Constables, and York security ought to have no control over a MHF-type programme.

5. A York University MHF-type programme ought not collaborate with policing entities.

6. York University ought not to use a MHF-type programme as an opportunity to hire or create private security or any other security or police-proxy unit.

Recommendations

7. A York University MHF-type programme ought to follow the guidelines under this guide's section titled "Real MHF Crisis Response Requires" in full.

8. Funding currently allocated to York security, Special Constables, and the Community Safety Department ought to be reallocated to a MHF-type programme and other initiatives supporting community safety strategies.

9. MHF-type crisis responders ought to be paid a living wage and hazard pay, unionised, and equipped with profession-appropriate healthcare and wellness supports.

10. A York University MHF-type programme ought to create its own training programme, premised on the needs of York University communities and communities in the surrounding areas. Research ought to be conducted with communities to determine the kind and breadth of need.

11. A York University MHF-type programme ought to engage the wider community in regular training and education on community safety strategies.

12. York University ought to invest in additional community safety strategies in conjunction with a MHF-type programme. Recommendations for some further community safety strategies are provided on the subsequent pages of this guide.

University Community Safety Strategies

- **Education**

1. Implement publicly available and accessible transformative justice education. Transformative justice education can be administered cost-free and to the public (virtually or in-person) through events, workshops, documentary screenings, and student and faculty orientations. Transformative justice education is among the most commonly appearing community safety strategy found during this research's literature review. This strategy is primarily advanced by communities and schooling groups experiencing harms related to School Resource Officers or in-school police (BLM Sudbury 2024; Asilu 2021; Anyon 2016) and in-school gun violence (Advancement Project 2013; DePaoli and McCombs 2023). *Transformative justice education includes the guaranteed retention and continuation of York University programmes such as Indigenous Studies and Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies—among 17+ other Social Science and Humanities programmes currently targeted for dismantlement by the York administration.*

2. Invite cultural shifts using visual and other communicative materials on transformative justice, feminism, disability justice, and decolonisation. For instance, university-wide email bulletins, mounted television broadcasts, art installations, and postering can convey information informed by these perspectives. Information conveyed can include topics related to mental health, crisis support, suicide intervention, anti-harassment, anti-bullying, anti-violence, informed and ongoing consent, and so forth. Cultural shifts through visual and communicative forms should be accessible and not informed by carceral depictions of safety, security propaganda, or fear-mongering.

3. Provide ongoing and cost-free skill-based training to the community. For example, training can include non-violent crisis response, self-defence, conflict resolution, suicide intervention, First Aid and CPR training for students, staff, faculty, and Jane Finch community members. All training ought to be informed by transformative justice, feminist, disability justice, and decolonial perspectives. Students needing more time to engage with training ought to be permitted to enrol in York University Social Work and related courses on community safety as part of their elective course load.

- **Resources**

4. Create a publicly available crisis response guide tailored to the specific needs of community members. A public crisis response guide could equip community members with commonly agreed on crisis response practices and expectations. Needs ought to be assessed in collaboration with community members and the guide ought to be accessible to various people. Accessibility includes hosting the guide on a trusted webpage. For example, community members impacted by police and security violence may not trust a guide hosted on the Community Safety webpage.

5. Create a publicly available guide of local grassroots and community-led support resources. An accessible community resource guide offers a strategy outside of state-involved or corporate social services which can be unsupportive, inaccessible, or harmful to various people. A community resource guide ought to be curated, validated, and led by peers; and informed by transformative justice, feminist, disability justice, and decolonial perspectives.

- **Safety Planning**

6. Encourage safety planning practice through education and communicative materials. For example, individuals may consider forming an emergency preparedness group (EPG) with their neighbours, friends, colleagues, or classmates. EPGs pool resources, capacities, or privileges to co-share the responsibility of stocking emergency food, water, first aid, and other supplies, and providing emergency transportation and shelter.

When forming an emergency preparedness group with trusted people, consider sharing a personal safety plan with one or two confidential members. Safety plans are specific to an individual's unique circumstances. They may contain information about what to do if something happens to an individual during an emergency. For example, information may include how to contact the individual's family members, what medications they are using, steps to take if they go missing, are hospitalised, face a threat, experience a mental health crisis, and so forth.

Other forms of safety planning can include safety planning for classrooms, student residences, and administrative buildings. Each safety plan will depend on the location and the needs of those creating it. Examples of classroom safety planning may include:

- Scheduling classes online during heightened moments of sickness due to global pandemics, threats to person, or political unease (W2A 2023).
- Discussions about classroom emergency exit strategies (W2A 2023)
- Publishing class locations privately, making them only available to prospective students and employed teaching assistants (W2A 2023).

- **Supports**

7. Create a peer-led phoneline or text-based support and resource service. Phone or text-based supports ought to be confidential and routed through a unique phone number, not the York security call centre or the Community Safety Department. Peer phone or text operators should be trained using transformative justice, feminist, disability justice, and decolonial perspectives.

8. Develop supports for staff and faculty who experience student bullying and intimidation, disclosures of student homelessness, suicidal ideation, and GBV/IPV/DV. Supports ought to be premised on need and may take formal or informal forms. For example, informal supports may include cultivating a culture of intergenerational support among faculty, junior scholars, and Teaching Assistants. This research's literature review found that increases in role model presence are a factor in reducing in-school violence (DePaoli and McCombs v, 2023; Asilu 18, 2021; Advancement Project 14, 2013).

9. Foster relationships with community leaders and organisations in the North York and greater Toronto area. Meaningful community safety requires collaboration with community groups and members who are experts and leaders in community safety strategies.

10. Increasingly invest in a Community Schools Model.

> Community Schools provide engaging and culturally relevant [public education], a positive school climate, wraparound health services, social and emotional services, positive…practices such as Restorative Justice, and transformational…community engagement. These schools become centres for their communities, providing students…families [faculty and community members] with a broad spectrum of services and supports (Citizen Action of New York et al. 2024, 17).

Examples of supports at a York University Community School could include increased 'accessible mental health & survivor support, with after hours options, and without current extended wait times' (VAW 2024), a sexual health and community healthcare clinic, a community food co-op or grocery store (Regenesis York 2024), non-financialised and adequate student housing, a community centre offering programming (such as ID clinics, harm reduction supplies, affordable English lessons, and family programming), and cost-free child care. Community School programmes ought to be premised on community need and informed by transformative justice, feminist, disability justice, and decolonial perspectives.

- **Accountability**

11. Create and circulate a Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) *with* communities impacted by policing. A York University MOU may have any number of articles that community members and groups decide. Drawing from the Black Organizing Project (2021), examples of articles may include

- Becoming a Sanctuary Campus.
- No policing agencies on campus.
- No other forms of policing such as surveillance, drones, detectors, etc.
- No contracting with criminalisation entities and other community policing models.
- No police or police-proxies on campus as mentors.

12. Implement supports for transitioning to a MHF-type programme. For example, create a community-led coalition to oversee the transition. In addition to facilitating the formation of a MHF-type programme, a coalition ought to be tasked with reviewing any proposed changes made to York security and the Community Safety Department, and approving or disapproving all changes before implementation. The York Federation of Students (YFS) similarly recommended reintroducing the Community Safety *Council* in 2020 'to advise and oversee the Community Safety Department and Security Services' (YFS 2024). A coalition also ought to be equipped with reasonable authority to tell TPS to leave York University. While TPS can legally arrive on campus at will, they ought not to be welcomed by York University administration, the Community Safety Department, York security, or Special Constables. Community members ought to have access to community safety strategies for removing policing entities from campus.

People will say, well, what do we replace the prisons with? And what do we replace police with? And it's a question that I know is coming from a good place, and a place where people are trying to grasp, and understand ideas. But what it suggests is that there's going to be one thing that's created that will replace death making institutions. And I always say to folks when they ask me that question, I say, well, nothing will, no one thing will. Part of why we're in the situation we're in right now is because we offer a kind of 'one-size-fits-all' response to every single possible kind of harm in the world, through this criminal punishment system, which we're told is actually synonymous with justice.

Mariame Kaba (One Million Experiments 2021)

Glossary

This report recognises that terminology is personal, communal, collective, and context-dependent; and it uses common terms to facilitate discussion and convey information. It does not explicitly advocate for any of these terms.

- Community Members

In this guide, ‘community members’ refers to York University students, faculty, and staff; on-campus business owners, their employees, and family members; families, friends, and individuals living in York University student housing, private housing on campus, and in the Village; the Jane Finch community; the wider North York community; and communities in the Greater Toronto Area. Community members does not include policing entities.

- GBV/IPV/DV

This guide uses ‘domestic violence,’ ‘intimate partner violence,’ and ‘gender-based violence’ in succession, not interchangeably. Each term describes specific forms of violence which are not necessarily interchangeable but sometimes overlap.

- Intersectionality

In this guide, intersectionality describes the sometimes invisibilised yet overlapping and reinforcing experiences of primarily Black women who are situated within racialised, classed, and gendered positionalities. That is, individuals do not experience race, class, and gender separately —or as ‘single-axis’ (Crenshaw, 1991) constructs—but, rather, simultaneously together. Although intersectionality has its own robust, predominantly Black feminist lineage (Collins and Bilge 2016, 91), legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw is credited with introducing the concept to academic and legal communities (Crenshaw, 1989). Since Crenshaw’s introduction, intersectionality has been used by some to describe further intersecting, situated experiences, such as disability, sexuality, ethnicity, and so forth.

- Mental Health

This guide recognises that this term is not uniformly accepted and is the product of ongoing discussions in various communities grappling with intersectional experiences of ableism, disableism, sanism, and Madness. However, as above, the language was chosen for its common use and availability for conveying information and facilitating discussion. This guide does not advocate for this language explicitly.

- Peer

In this guide, peer is used to denote people who have lived or living experiences with homelessness, poverty, substance use, sex work, mental health crisis, hospitalisation, criminalisation, and incarceration. It also refers to people who identify as Black, Indigenous, People of Colour, 2S LGBTQIA+, disabled, Mad, neurodivergent, a/Autistic, immunocompromised, sick, Deaf, hard of hearing, Blind, and visually impaired people who have been disproportionately affected by police and security violence—including York University students, staff, and faculty.

- Policing

This guide uses ‘policing’ to refer to both police and security policing.

- People Experiencing Homelessness

This guide recognises that this term is not widely accepted and is the product of ongoing discussions in various communities grappling with intersectional experiences of poverty and classism. However, as above, the language was chosen for its common use and availability for conveying information and facilitating discussion. This guide does not advocate for this language explicitly.

- Strategies/Community Safety Strategies/Community Safety Strategies Outside of Policing

This guide uses ‘strategies,’ ‘community safety strategies,’ and ‘community safety strategies outside of policing’ interchangeably. The use of the term ‘strategy’ is an attempt to move away from the term ‘alternative’ and is a nod to adrienne maree brown’s (2017) use of the term ‘emergent strategy’.

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