out of sight

January 2012

POLICING POVERTY IN VICTORIA
COAST & STRAITS SALISH TERRITORIES

VIPIRG

The Vancouver Island Public Interest Research Group   **www.vipirg.ca**

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment of Territories

VIPIRG is located in Victoria, British Columbia, on unceded Coast Salish Territories, specifically of the Lekwungen and WSÁNEĆ peoples. The term Coast Salish is used to encompass a number of Indigenous peoples, including Esquimalt, Hul'qumi'num, Klahoose, Lekwungen, Musqueam, OStlq'emeylem, Pentlatch, Sliammon, Shishalh, Skxwú7mesh-ulh Úxwumixw, Songhees, Stó:lo, Straits, Tsleil-Waututh, T'Sou-ke, WSÁNEĆ, and Xwemalhkwu. We would like to acknowledge and thank the Lekwungen and WSÁNEĆ peoples because we are working and living within their traditional territories. Thank you.

The acknowledgment of territories picture above is borrowed from the Indigenous Peoples Solidarity Working Group: http://www.vipirg.ca/alpha/campaigns/ipswg/about/territory_map.htm

About VIPIRG

The Vancouver Island Public Interest Research Group (VIPIRG) is a non-profit organization dedicated to research, education, advocacy, and action in the public interest. Located in the Student Union Building of the University of Victoria, VIPIRG is a place where students and community members connect to work together on social justice and environmental issues. VIPIRG has been operating since 1983.

Executive Summary

Cuts to health services and income supports for people living in poverty, including those with disabilities involving mental health and illicit drug use, have contributed to a situation where police now act as de facto "first responders" to health-related issues on city streets. The costs of policing poverty are high, and are not limited to the financial costs of spending more on approaches that do not work.

This study explores the social costs of policing poverty by documenting the experiences and perspectives of members of the Victoria street community with regards to policing in Victoria, B.C. Research was guided by an advisory committee and used a *peer research* methodology where peer interviewers, or individuals who hold relevant lived experiences of poverty, conducted interviews with over 100 members of the Victoria street community.

The experiences and perspectives gleaned through these interviews point to the harmful effects of policing on the physical and mental wellbeing of members of the Victoria street community, a majority of whom use illicit drugs, live with disabilities, and/or suffer from chronic illnesses. These findings highlight the need for yet another revisiting of the use of policing to regulate poverty, as an approach that encourages a disproportionate and unjustified interference with the daily lives of the most marginalized members of our communities, and misuses resources to criminalize rather than alleviate poverty.

Key Findings & Analysis

1   **Health issues, illicit drug use and disabilities are prevalent in the street community, and interactions with police can further detract from the health and wellbeing of street-involved people.** Eighty-three percent of respondents live with disability/disabilities, 72% suffer from chronic illness/illnesses, and 81% use illicit drugs. Seventy-five percent had been homeless within the past two years. Unfortunately, police methods rooted in the use of force and displays of authority make police poorly suited to interactions with people with mental health and addictions issues:
    - 32% of respondents reported having safer drug use supplies confiscated by police.
    - 52% of respondents reported having personal belongings seized (including photos, sleeping bags, money and identification cards).

    These forms of interaction contribute to a criminalization of mental illness and addictions that unjustly and unnecessarily undercuts the health and wellbeing of street-involved people.

2   **Street-involved people report seeing and experiencing unfair and discriminatory policing practices, and appear to be ticketed at much higher rates than other residents performing similar activities.** Ninety-one percent of respondents had been approached by police at least once in the past year, and 20% had been approached more than once per week. Sixty-five percent of respondents perceive themselves as being treated unfairly or unequally by police based on their status as street-involved, poor, homeless, or using drugs. A strong correlation was observed between a person's experience of homelessness in the previous two years and a high number of trespassing and public intoxication charges. In our focus groups, there was a perception that ticketing is a means of 'harassing' street-involved people who are the targets of 'social profiling' based on their physical appearance.

3 **Street-involved people report witnessing and experiencing violations of the B.C. Police Act Code and abuses of authority by police, and have much less confidence in police than most Canadians.** The number of violations of the B.C. Police Act Code that respondents report witnessing and experiencing is strikingly high:

- Seventy-eight percent report having seen police search, detain or arrest without good or sufficient cause, and 48% report that they have been searched, detained, or arrested without good or sufficient cause themselves.
- Eighty-six percent report witnessing incidents of use of unnecessary force, and 39% report experiencing use of unnecessary force.
- Eighty-three percent have witnessed police acting rude, uncivil or using profane, abusive or insulting language, and 64% have had experiences where police acted rude, uncivil or used profane, abusive or insulting language.

Comparative research shows that the respondents interviewed have much less confidence in police than most Canadians. Given that a majority of respondents suffer from various forms of disability, chronic illness, and addiction, these violations – and the lack of confidence they engender – should be understood as having particularly burdensome and harmful effects on the physical and mental wellbeing of members of the Victoria street community.

4 **Street-involved people are primarily policed for minor infractions in public spaces.** Most infractions were not Criminal Code violations, but instead involved minor infractions in public spaces (e.g. trespassing, loitering). Many street-involved people – and especially those who are homeless and/or unstably housed – have no choice but to use public spaces to meet their basic needs. "Safe streets" acts and certain municipal bylaws criminalize the day-to-day activities of the street community by targeting activities most residents are able to perform in the privacy of their homes.

Immediate action must be taken to end the disproportionate and unjustified interference with the daily lives of the most marginalized members of our communities, and to re-allocate resources to alleviate rather than criminalize poverty.

The Victoria Police Department must be held accountable to the Police Act Code in their interactions with all people regardless of their social status.

The City of Victoria and the Government of British Columbia need to address the much more complex goals of reducing poverty, not just regulating the street presence of people who live in extreme poverty.

To be effective, the following actions must take place through meaningful consultation with the street-involved individuals, frontline workers and advocates who have the most direct experience with these issues:

Recommendations

The policing practice of regularly stopping, searching and ticketing street-involved people must end.

- The Victoria Police Department must immediately end the confiscation of personal possessions and belongings necessary for survival on the streets, including harm reduction supplies.
- The City of Victoria must repeal bylaws and bylaw amendments that target, serve to displace and/or inflict disproportionate harm on street-involved people, including the *Bylaw Enforcement Policy Erecting Temporary Shelters in Public Spaces and* the *Streets and Traffic Bylaw* NO. 10-061.
- The Government of British Columbia must repeal legislation that specifically targets, serves to displace and/or inflicts disproportionate harm on street-involved people, including the *Safe Streets Act*.
- The Victoria Police Department, in concert with the City of Victoria, should enact a harm reduction and enforcement policy that prohibits stops, searches, and ticketing near harm reduction and related service providers.

The Victoria Police Department must be held accountable to all members of the community regardless of social status.

- The City of Victoria must commission a review of policing practices with regards to street-involved people, and implement accountability measures to discourage the social profiling of members of the street community.
- The Government of British Columbia must commission a review of the Police Complaints Process to ensure the complaints process is accessible to street-involved people, and to ensure adequate disciplinary sanctions for officers violating the Police Act Code.
- The Government of British Columbia should extend the mandate of the Independent Investigations Office to include systematic abuses of authority such as social and racial profiling.
- The Government of British Columbia and the City of Victoria must ensure membership on the Police Board and Community Board is representative of a broader spectrum of the community, including street-involved individuals, frontline workers and anti-poverty advocates.

Funding and resources aimed at hiding poverty and criminalizing people with mental illnesses and addictions must be reallocated to end poverty and increase supports for people with mental illnesses and addictions.

- The Government of Canada must restore social housing funding to pre-1984 levels.
- The Province of British Columbia must raise social assistance rates, and tie social assistance rates to the cost of living.
- The Province of British Columbia must set out a clear mandate for basic harm reduction services that health authorities must provide in municipalities.
- The Victoria Police Department must improve training for police in harm reduction, stigma and discrimination, including social and racial profiling.
- The City of Victoria must establish public spaces where all members of the public, including street-involved people, may gather.
- The City of Victoria must increase municipal support for implementing existing harm reduction policies, including staff resources, city infrastructure, and public education programs.

Introduction

Policing practices and the criminal justice system hold distinct and dramatic consequences for the most marginalized members of our communities. The complex ways in which the lives of street-involved people[1] intersect with policing and are then drawn into the criminal justice system have been the subject of both concern and controversy. Questions and debates surrounding whether and how law enforcement and the courts should be used to address poverty have surfaced in media reports, academic studies, policy discussion and research papers across the continent.[i]

These debates resonate in Victoria, where the presence and visibility of street-involved people in public spaces are contentious issues. In several high profile cases, residents and business owners have urged the City of Victoria to clear street-involved people from specific areas of the city, many of which happen to be where service providers are located. The Victoria Police Department (VicPD), which devotes a substantial amount of resources to policing areas where street-involved people gather, has taken an active role in discussions and negotiations on poverty and public spaces.[ii] The voices of the street community in these deliberations, however, have been largely absent.

This research project takes a close look at the intersections between policing, criminal justice

and poverty in Victoria. Using peer research methodology, it opens a space for the experiences, perspectives and ideas of street-involved people to take center-stage in our communities' efforts to build a better understanding of how our current arrangements work and whether there is room for change.

The report is based on over 100 peer interviews conducted with members of the street community and three focus groups. The data generated allows us to reflect on the experiences and perspectives held by members of the street community while investigating how policing and the criminal justice system enter into and influence their lives. This data sets the context for a discussion of the role that policing and the criminal justice system play in broader strategies that manage and regulate poverty in Victoria.

Out of Sight: Policing Poverty in Victoria addresses a critical need in Victoria for quantitative and qualitative data that sheds light on the intersections between poverty, policing and the criminal justice system. Despite a plethora of research on issues such as poverty, homelessness and harm reduction, little specific data exists on how people living in poverty experience policing and the implications of their entry into the criminal justice system. This report provides data that can inform evidence-based policy options for all levels of government, the police, social service providers and others involved in these issues. More broadly, it presents critical questions, considerations and insights into the role that policing and the criminal justice system play in broader strategies that address poverty in Victoria.

---

[1] The terms "street-involved people" and "people living in extreme poverty" are used throughout this paper to refer to individuals who are highly marginalized and depend upon some form of service provision or informal incomes to meet their basic needs. These terms encompass people who are "homeless" instead of restricting this analysis to people who are labeled "homeless." In doing so, we acknowledge the fact that many people experience fluctuating living situations that include shelters, couch-surfing, sleeping on the streets, and supportive housing at various points in time. See Caputo & Kelly, 2007.

Background:
Policing, Poverty and Criminal Justice in the "City of Gardens"

Poverty and public space

In the late nineteenth century, city officials, builders and members of the Chamber of Commerce of Victoria met with a plan to transform the city. Inspired by movements to "beautify" other cities and faced with a faltering economy, they launched a concerted effort to convert Victoria into an enticing destination for tourists, settlers, investors and retirees.[iii] Their vision permeated much of the urban planning and development in Victoria over the course of the next century.[iv] Today, Victoria is referred to as the "City of Gardens" and known for its tourism industry and large community of retirees.

The image of the "City of Gardens" stands in stark contrast to the picture painted by the increasing number of residents who are either homeless or living in extreme poverty.[v] Although the scale and scope of extreme urban poverty is difficult to calculate, the *Homeless Needs Survey* conducted by a local service provision agency estimated that 1,242 people were homeless or nearly homeless in the Capital Regional District in 2007.[vi] It was estimated that an additional 600 people were living in unstable housing situations, and 1,800 people were on a waiting list for subsidized housing.

With an escalating poverty crisis, Victoria Mayor Alan Lowe established a *Task Force on Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness* in 2007 to study the problem and propose service models.[vii] Despite some promising initiatives – such as the City of Victoria's purchase of hotels for supported housing – indicators suggest success is limited. Emergency shelter use, an important indicator in estimating homelessness, has increased. In 2010, it was reported that on a given night there can be over 1,000 individuals sheltered in various facilities in the region. Over the year, there were approximately 2,000 unique individuals accessing shelter beds in Greater

Victoria's six shelters. These figures do not include the numbers of individuals sleeping rough or in various other vulnerable situations.[viii] In 2010, the Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness declared an "affordable housing crisis," stating that for people who live on minimum wage or income assistance, "paying for housing means that food and other basic needs become options instead of necessities."[ix]

The reasons behind the high levels of poverty in Victoria are manifold, but basic provincial and regional economic indicators provide some insight.

The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) calculated that 12% of all B.C. residents, or more than half a million people, were living in poverty in 2009. B.C. has the highest poverty rate in Canada, and people with disabilities, Aboriginal peoples, single mothers and recent immigrants and refugees are the most vulnerable.[x] Since the 1990s, social service cutbacks have reduced programming that alleviates or addresses poverty across B.C., in areas such as mental health care, youth-at-risk support, services for people with disabilities and harm reduction.[xi] Research conducted by VIPIRG and the CCPA in 2006 demonstrated that the social assistance eligibility criteria have become so narrow and the application process so arduous "that it is systematically excluding from assistance many of the very people most in need of help."[xii] As a result, many people have found themselves relying on food-banks, shelters and other charities.

The Capital Region, where Victoria is located, has one of the highest costs of living in Canada.[xiii] The minimum wage, median and income assistance are all lower than the Capital Regional District's living wage of $17.31.[xiv] With escalating rent rates and low

vacancy rates, the affordability of the rental market in Victoria holds one of the worst ratings in Canada.[xv] In March 2011, 1,377 people in Greater Victoria were on the waiting list for subsidized housing, accounting for 11.1% of all applications in the provincial housing registry.[xvi] Meanwhile, the cutbacks in social services and supports that communities across B.C. face have had dramatic impacts in Victoria.[xvii]

Policing and criminal justice

When Victoria's image as a "City of Gardens" was first introduced at the beginning of the 20th century, planners began enacting bylaws to clear public spaces of people defined as "unwanted" and establishing punitive measures.[xviii] Discussions surrounding whether and how to manage peoples' presence in public spaces through legislation continue today.

A series of legal cases and bylaw amendments is a poignant – and perhaps the most controversial – example of contemporary debates surrounding the use of legislation to regulate the presence of street-involved people in public spaces in Victoria. In 2008, Supreme Court of B.C. Justice Carol Ross ruled that homeless people could erect tents in public parks in Victoria due to the lack of adequate shelters. Although the City appealed the ruling, it was upheld in *Victoria (City) v. Adams*.[xix] Immediately after, the City changed its bylaws to prohibit camping between 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.[xx] In the months that followed, dozens of homeless people began camping on a boulevard outside Our Place, a major downtown service provision centre. Complaints from some residents and business owners arose soon after.[xxi] Citing security and safety risks, the City amended a streets and traffic bylaw to ban camping on boulevards and kneeling, squatting or sitting during nighttime hours.[xxii] The amendment, when combined with several drug-related "sweep" arrests in the same time period, succeeded in

clearing the boulevard of street-involved people.[xxiii]

In this case, as in many others, police are asked to enforce legislation that regulates who can be in public spaces. The result is that police often find themselves mediating the interface between people living in extreme poverty and the criminal justice system. As this report illustrates, this role is fraught with challenges and complexities. Both the VicPD and the City of Victoria have stated that policing cannot adequately address the complex mental and physical health issues that many members of the street community face.[xxiv] Nor can it address the reasons behind poverty, homelessness, or mental health issues. This report points to a need to ask deep-rooted and critical questions about the present situation and imagine the potential for change.

Research purpose and objectives

Concerns around policing the public space, the criminal justice system and poverty set the context for this research. A growing body of research in Canada has engaged with these issues of law enforcement and poverty while identifying a need for further study and discussion.[xxv] This need is particularly evident in Victoria, where little formal research has been conducted.

Out of Sight: Policing Poverty in Victoria is an exploratory, grassroots research project that aimed to build a better understanding of the intersections between policing, criminal justice and poverty in Victoria. In order to do so, the project explored several interrelated areas, posing the following three research questions:

1. What are some experiences and perspectives of policing practices and the criminal justice system held by members of the street community?

2. Where and how do policing and the criminal justice system enter into the lives of people experiencing poverty?

3. What is the role that policing and the criminal justice system play in broader policies and strategies that seek to manage and regulate poverty in Victoria?

The report begins by presenting key findings that emerged from our interviews, addressing the first two research questions. We then analyze key findings and discuss our results in the context of other research and advocacy work in Canada. The third section of the report looks at some of the policies and strategies that set the context in Victoria. By beginning our research in the streets and working up to the institutional level, our data enriches discussions of whether and how policing practices and the criminal justice system respond to the issues that face people living in extreme poverty in Victoria.

Research design and "Peer Research Methodology"

An advisory committee was formed at the project inception phase. The committee included peers, frontline workers, advocacy groups, academics and legal professionals. It provided guidance on the research design, methodology, interview grid and data analysis.

Data on the experiences and perspectives of policing practices and the criminal justice system held by members of the street community was gathered through 103 peer-led interviews. These were followed by three separate focus group debrief and data analysis sessions: one session with the interview teams, one with members of the Committee to End Homelessness, and one with the advisory committee.

Our methodology, *peer research,* is a form of community-based research where members of the research team include individuals who hold lived experience relevant to the issue under investigation. The research approaches emphasize participatory research principles and collaborative inquiry methods.

The benefits of peer research are multifaceted. Peer researchers strengthen projects by contributing the expertise they have gained through life experience. The researchers themselves gain valuable experience and skills in formal research, as well as an opportunity to contribute to discussions of issues that deeply impact their lives.[xxvi]

There are various models of peer research. In our project, ten peer interviewers were employed as research staff, ranging in ages from early twenties to sixties. The interviewers, all of whom have been street-involved at some point in their lives, were recommended by contacts in four organizations.[xxvii] They attended an orientation session, where they shared their ideas on the project, tested the interview grid and made necessary changes. The interviewers conducted ten interviews each.[2] They participated in a data analysis and evaluation focus group at the end of the field research period to discuss the results and draft recommendations. The peer interviewers were invited to attend a Victoria Police Department Board Meeting, where the preliminary research results were presented. Peer interviewers were speakers at the report launch and media spokespeople.

The peer interviewers were joined by volunteer "interview recorders." We asked the recorders, many of whom were frontline social workers, students or community members active on poverty-related issues, to formally apply for a position and send a reference. The successful applicants, who were supervised by VIPIRG

---

[2] Our total number of interviews is 103 because several peer interviewers interviewed each other to test the grid and practice.

staff, accompanied peer researchers and transcribed the interviews. This allowed the peer interviewers to focus on the discussion, while including more community members in the research process. The recorders also participated in the orientation session and focus group.

At the orientation session, we discussed the importance of attentiveness to response bias with the interviewers and recorders. "Practice" interviews served to both generate feedback and discuss the importance of minimizing bias in question delivery.

The interviews took place over four days in August 2011. Although the teams were based out of two downtown agencies, the interviews themselves were conducted in public spaces. We adopted this approach primarily because we did not want to conduct our interviews with people while they were using various services or supports. We wanted a setting that would emphasize the independence of our research and minimize respondent bias. We asked the interviewers to go to areas where they felt comfortable interviewing while spreading out to cover key areas where street-involved people congregate in Victoria. The interviewers asked the respondents where they felt comfortable conducting the interviews.

The selection of participants combined convenience and purposeful techniques. Interviewees were approached by the street interview teams and asked two qualifying questions: If they had already completed the interview and if they considered themselves to be living in poverty at some point in the past two years.

We chose convenience and purposeful sampling techniques for three reasons. First, our research focus was descriptive and our interest was in data that could be analyzed and coded thematically. Second, we wanted to identify participants who were living in poverty, and we were not seeking a random sampling

of our communities. Thirdly, we required a sampling method that would balance our need for available and accessible data with rigour.[xxviii]

Once the initial results and data tables were compiled and screened by the interview teams, we presented our research to the advisory committee and the Committee to End Homelessness for further analysis. The two focus groups allowed us to make certain we were not overlooking any key findings and to assess whether people felt that our data reflected the overall situation on the streets.

At the heart of our research design was a process that deepened connections between and among community members. The interviews, meetings and focus groups opened spaces for sharing, be it of past experiences or ideas for change and action.

Ethics

There are many complexities involved in working with marginalized communities, and although this project was no exception, we paid close attention to ethics. The project conformed to VIPIRG's ethical guidelines, which put forward best practice procedures that respect community values, indigenous rights, and environmental and ecological standards.[xxix] The expertise of the advisory committee, our institutional experience and a review of peer research methodologies in social research served as additional guides throughout the research process.[xxx]

Respondents approached by peer interviewers were asked for their verbal consent to participate, which was documented by the interview recorder. The interviewees were given a flyer that explained the research project and provided contact information for the project coordinator. Interviewees were offered a modest honorarium to compensate for their time and expertise. The interview data was anonymous and no names were recorded

at any point. The coded interviews are stored in a locked cabinet.

The research coordinator spoke directly with all interviewers prior to the orientation session about their concerns and questions. The evaluation and data analysis focus group was an opportunity for interviewers to debrief and discuss the emotional impact of their work. The coordinator met with the interviewers who could not attend the debrief session but wanted to offer feedback and ideas.

Limitations and barriers

As a grassroots project with a shoestring budget, the project team encountered some barriers and limitations. Our office at the University of Victoria campus was too far from downtown to serve as an appropriate venue for our interviewing bases. While interviews in public spaces went smoothly for the most part, there were some logistical issues. Locating appropriate places was a challenge in some areas. Several interviewing teams were sitting with respondents on public property and were told to "move on" by the police.

In the focus groups, a common sentiment was that the numbers and types of tickets and arrests were underreported. Several reasons were cited. First, public spaces do not always allow for intimate and private discussions. Second, some respondents had trouble remembering how many tickets or arrests they had incurred in the past two years, and what the consequences were for each. In the focus group, interviewers mentioned that at least

one interviewee with numerous infractions felt too intimidated by police to share his experiences.

The project was unable to offer remuneration to interviewees and interviewers for in-depth interviews that would have further explored the specific legal trajectories of some members of the street community. We were also unable to access the court records and criminal records that would have contributed to the findings and addressed some of the underreporting.

Because our recruitment method was not random, our data may not be representative of all people who are living in poverty in Victoria. Because our results are descriptive, we did not test our data for statistical significance. Since respondents self-selected themselves based on our qualifying questions, we may not have interviewed people who do not identify as living in poverty despite facing difficult and trying conditions.

It should be noted that the accounts of experiences with the VicPD that our interviewees described were not recorded through an affidavit process. The purpose, scope and nature of this exploratory research project meant that we focused on perspectives and experiences, as described and lived by members of the street community. Using experience as data is integral to social science research projects in various fields.[xxxi] As with the *General Statistics Survey* and other similar surveys, the interviewees' words stand alone and are considered valuable and legitimate data.

Research Results: Interviews And Focus Groups

Key finding #1: Prevalence of Health issues, illicit drug use and disabilities in the street community

Seventy-five percent of our respondents were over the age of 35, with the highest percent (34%), between the ages of 45-54. Almost one-sixth of our respondents identified as First Nations.[xxxii]

Table 1: Self-identification/self-location	
	% respondents
White/Caucasian	62% (64)
First Nations/Aboriginal	17% (18)
Métis	6% (6)
European	5% (5)
Mixed	4% (4)
Asian	1% (1)
Don't know	3% (3)
Refused answer	2% (2)
Total	**100% (103)**
(Number in bracket indicates total number of respondents)	

Chart 1:Age Categories

- 18 - 24
- 25 -34
- 35 -44
- 45 - 54
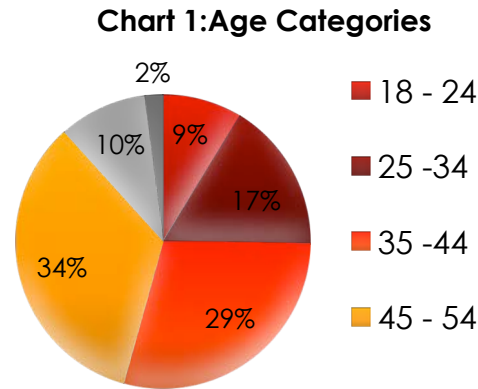
Chart 2: Which living situations have applied to you in the past two years?

Homeless	75%
Shelter	63%
Couch surfing	59%
Camping in park	44%
Motel	43%
Renting room in apartment or house	35%
Prison or detention centre	34%
Treatment centre	31%
Transition/halfway house	29%
Renting apartment or house	25%
Social or subsidized housing	18%
Camping in campground	16%
Mental health institution, health	13%
Foster care	5%
Parent's house	1%
Vehicle	1%

Percent of respondents

Most of the people we interviewed face substantial barriers to their health and wellbeing. In total, 83% live with a disability/disabilities and 72% suffer from one or more chronic illnesses. The most frequently cited illnesses were Hepatitis C, mental health concerns, head injuries and chronic pain. At 79%, most respondents use illicit drugs on a regular basis. Only one out of 103 respondents did not list any disabilities, chronic illness or illicit drug use, and 58 told us that they were living with all three.

We asked respondents which living situations had applied to them in the past two years. The most frequent responses were homelessness, shelters and couch surfing. In total, 81% had been in one or more living situations that did not feel adequate in the past two years. All respondents reported using at least one social service or support, and at least half use community meals, food banks, community centers, benevolent programs, drop-in programs, harm reduction services and shelters.

Key finding #2: Reports of Discriminatory Policing Practices

The interviews included two questions drawn from the Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS) on Victimization[xxxiii] (2009) that focused on perceptions of policing. Asking our respondents the same questions that a broader group of Canadians had answered allowed us to compare both populations' perspectives. Our target population of street-involved people rated the local police much less favourably than the general Canadian population in the two areas that we explored.

We asked respondents to rate how much confidence they had in the local police[xxxiv], and found a great deal of contrast in the responses between the two populations (see chart 3). While 30% of Canadians[xxxv] reported having a "great deal of confidence," only 3% of our respondents reported feeling the same way. The statistics were equally dramatic at the other end of the spectrum: Only 2% of Canadians interviewed in the GSS had no confidence at all in the police, compared to 32% of our respondents.

Our second GSS question also reflected a sharp contrast. When asked whether they think their local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job of treating people fairly[xxxvi], most (58%) respondents in the GSS selected "good" as their reply (see Chart 4). Only 6% of our respondents thought that the police do a good job of treating people fairly, and 47% felt that the police do a poor job.

We asked respondents who answered "average" or "poor" who they thought was being treated unfairly in an open-ended question. The replies touched on themes that emerged throughout our interviews. Among the 91 respondents, 61 (and 53% of all respondents) replied that people who are or *appear* homeless are treated unfairly. An additional 27% stated that people who are poor

Chart 3: How much confidence do you have in the police?

A great deal of confidence — 30% (GSS 2009), 3% (VIPIRG Study)

Quite a lot of confidence — 53% (GSS 2009), 17% (VIPIRG Study)

Not very much confidence — 13% (GSS 2009), 41% (VIPIRG Study)

No confidence at all — 2% (GSS 2009), 32% (VIPIRG Study)

Don't know — 0% (GSS 2009), 4% (VIPIRG Study)

Other — 2% (GSS 2009), 4% (VIPIRG Study)

GSS 2009
VIPIRG Study

Percent of respondents
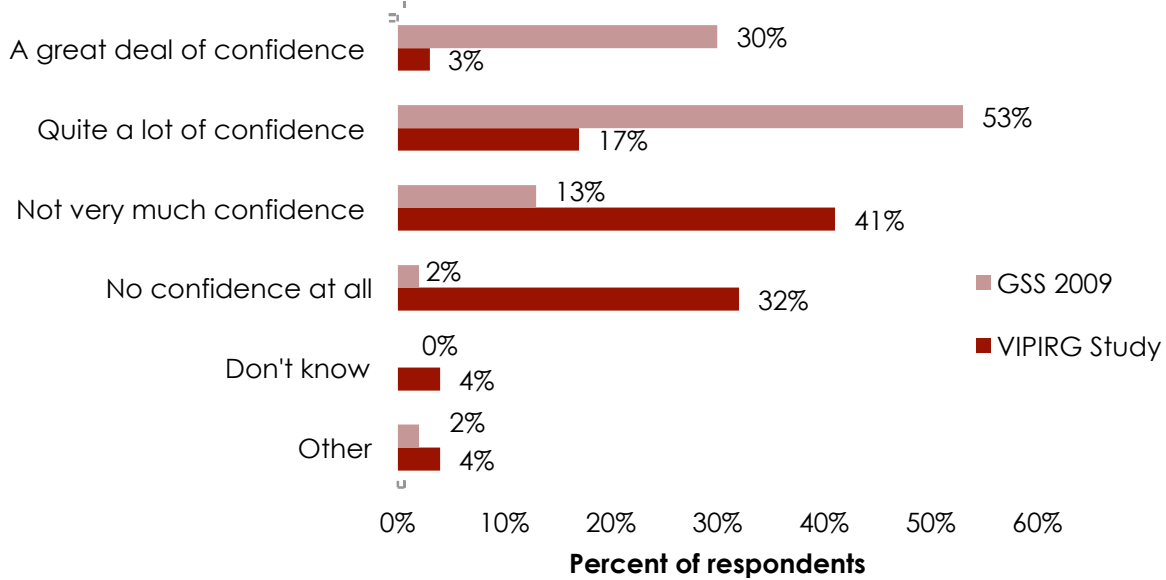
Chart 4: Do you think your local police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job of treating people fairly?

Good — 58% (GSS 2009), 6% (VIPIRG Study)

Average — 27% (GSS 2009), 42% (VIPIRG Study)

Poor — 7% (GSS 2009), 47% (VIPIRG Study)

Don't know — 8% (GSS 2009), 4% (VIPIRG Study)

Refused answer — 0% (GSS 2009), 1% (VIPIRG Study)

Other — 0% (GSS 2009), 1% (VIPIRG Study)

GSS 2009
VIPIRG Study

Percent of respondents
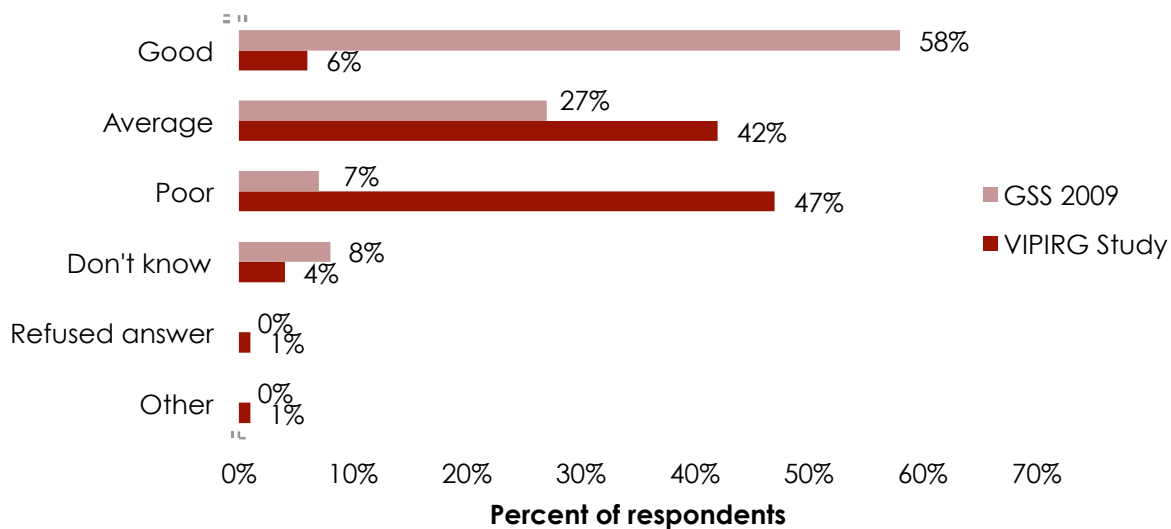
Table 2: Who do you think is treated unfairly?	
	% of respondents (N91)
Homeless/people who look homeless	60% (55)
Poor/people who look poor	27% (25)
People who use drugs	22% (20)
First Nations/Aboriginal	8% (7)
Women	5% (5)
People of colour	4% (4)
Me/us	2% (2)
People who use alcohol	1% (1)
Transgendered people	1% (1)
Youth	1% (1)
(Number in brackets indicates number of responses. Note that respondents were asked to provide as many responses as applied)	

Table 3: Have the police ever treated you unequally or unfairly based on your:	
	% of all respondents (N103)
Status (including being on the streets, poor, homeless, or using drugs)	63% (64)
Disability	24% (25)
Race, ancestry	20% (21)
Political beliefs	13% (13)
Gender	11% (11)
Age	9% (9)
Religion	7% (7)
Sexuality	5% (5)
(Number in bracket indicates total number of responses. Note that respondents selected as many responses as applied)	

Notes from the field

"I've been treated unequally because my name identifies me as Métis. Police don't like the homeless because we're a disease. But we take care of the city because that's where we live."

"When I was homeless, I'd be walking along. And they'd leave me alone but would really be hassling the First Nations person."

or look poor are treated unfairly. People who use drugs, Aboriginal people and women were also mentioned frequently by interviewees.

A series of additional questions on the perspectives and experiences of street-involved people were drawn from standards outlined in the *B.C. Police Act Code of Professional Conduct Regulation.*[xxxvii] We asked respondents whether the police had ever treated them unfairly based on the factors outlined in the code, such as their race, colour, ancestry, physical or mental disability, or economic and social status. We specified that social status includes being on the streets, poor, homeless, or using drugs. A significant percentage of respondents reported being treated unfairly based on their status, disability, or race and ancestry.

References to unfair treatment based on status, disability and race were equally prominent in the qualitative, open-ended questions in the interview grid and were captured in our thematic coding. Some interviewees told interviewers that they experience regular police harassment based on their appearances or identities. One told us that the police "*go up to groups with no cause, just to harass people.*" Another interviewee stated that the police "*make up reasons to hassle us.*"

Notes from the field

"*Who's treated unfairly? Anybody that's not in a business suit, that doesn't look clean or professional.*"

"*If you look like a homeless person [the police] automatically treat you differently and unfairly.*"

"*Police act different ways with different people depending on how you look. They judge by appearances.*"

Key finding #3: Reports of violations of the B.C. Police Act Code and abuses of authority by police

We returned to the *B.C. Police Act Code of Professional Conduct Regulation* in order to explore the respondents' views on policing performance, using the VicPD's own standards as a reference point. Street-involved people are sources of knowledge about their communities, and we wanted to collect data on incidents that they had observed in addition to their own experiences.

The number of accounts from people who witnessed incidents suggesting abuse of authority was strikingly high. Of 103 respondents, 78% reported having seen the police search, detain or arrest someone without good or sufficient cause. Eighty-six percent had seen the police use unnecessary force on someone, and 83% reported seeing police act rude or uncivil or use profane, abusive or insulting language when talking to someone. Many of these incidents were described in the qualitative questions that followed.

Excerpts from *The Police Act*, *Code of Professional Conduct Regulation, B.C. Reg. 205/98m, O.C. 725/98, Abuse of Authority, 10*

Statement of core values

3 This Code is to be interpreted as affirming that all police officers

(b) are committed to treating all persons or classes of persons equally, regardless of race, colour, ancestry, place of origin, political belief, religion, marital status, family status, physical or mental disability, sex, sexual orientation, age or economic and social status

Abuse of authority
10 For the purposes of section 4 (1) (f), a police officer commits the disciplinary default of abuse of authority if the police officer
(a) without good and sufficient cause arrests, detains or searches a person,
(b) uses unnecessary force on a person,
(c) while on duty, is discourteous or uncivil or uses profane, abusive or insulting language to a person including, without limitation, language that tends to demean or show disrespect to a person on the basis of that person's race, colour, ancestry, place of origin, political belief, religion, marital status, family status, physical or mental disability, sex, sexual orientation, age or economic and social status.

Table 4: Have you ever seen the police search, detain or arrest someone without good or sufficient cause?

	% respondents
Yes	78% (80)
No	14% (15)
Don't know	8% (8)
Total	100% (103)

(Number in brackets indicates total responses)

Table 5: Have you ever seen the police use unnecessary force on someone?

	% respondents
Yes	86% (89)
No	14% (14)
Total	100% (103)

(Number in brackets indicates total responses)

Another significant result was the percentage of respondents who have had police contact in the past year. As will be further discussed, 94 respondents – or 91% - were approached by the police at least once. We asked these respondents whether they had ever been searched or detained without good or sufficient cause. More than half replied that they have been. Almost half reported that police used unnecessary force on them and 70% said that the police have acted rude or uncivil, or used profane, abusive or insulting language when talking to them.

Table 6: Did the police search or detain you without good or sufficient cause?

	% respondents	% of total respondents
Yes	52% (49)	48%
No	45% (42)	41%
Don't know/ No answer	3% (3)	2%
Total	100% (94)	91% (103)

Table 7: Did the police use unnecessary force on you?

	% respondents	% of total respondents
Yes	43% (40)	39%
No	52% (49)	48%
Don't know	5% (5)	4%
Total	100% (94)	91% (103)

Table 8: Did the police act rude, uncivil or use profane, abusive or insulting language when talking to you?

	% respondents	% of total respondents
Yes	70% (66)	64%
No	29% (27)	26%
Don't know	1% (1)	1%
Total	100% (94)	91% (103)

(Number in brackets indicates total responses)

Notes from the field

"My head was pushed back when I was taking my roller blades off. The impact of my head smashed the window. The police are rude, but I try to forget about the experiences."

"The other day, [I] was sitting on a bench and the police asked [me] to move. It took a bit of time so they threw [me] against a wall and handcuffed [me] even though [I] was compliant."

"One cop who beat [me] and [my] friend up in the dead zone because of the amount of times he had seen us. He was holding my friend up, telling her to stop resisting. She was not resisting. He was holding her up the cuffs, her feet were dangling."

"Police said [my] dogs aren't on leash. They said they'd call the SPCA. The police tell [us] to move constantly."

"Right after getting some supplies from the harm reduction team the police took my supplies away because of an expired condition."

"I saw police shove a girl into a wall calling her a hooker."

"I saw the cops wake someone up one time by pulling him off the stairs."

"I've seen a police officer knock out a guy cold before putting on handcuffs."
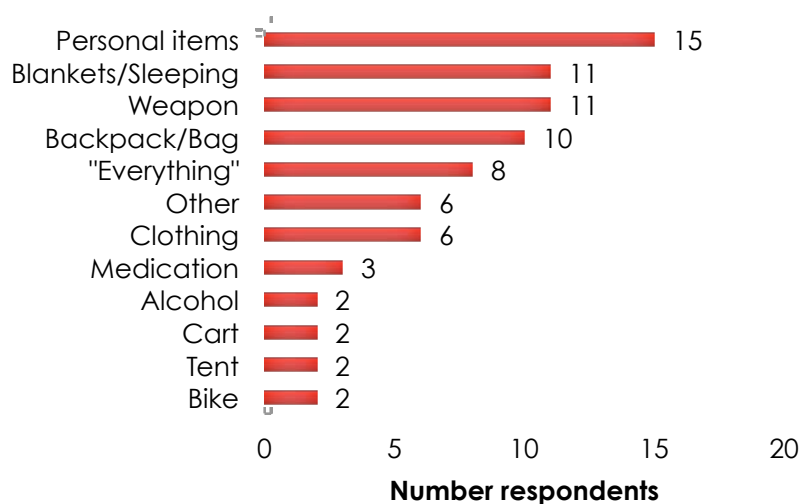
We asked the same 94 respondents if their belongings had been confiscated in any of their encounters with the police. At 52%, more than half reported that their belongings have been seized. Eleven of the reported confiscations were weapons. The remaining were goods that ranged from benign to necessary for survival on the streets. These include personal items – such as photos and mementos – blankets, sleeping bags, backpacks and bags. Items in the "other" category included dentures, a dog, money, bottles and an identification card.

In a separate question, 33 people, or 32% of all respondents, reported having had safer drug use supplies confiscated. Many people commented on the irony of confiscating harm reduction supplies. One respondent asked, "*why give something for harm reduction like crack pipes and then take it away?*" Another said, "*[AIDS Vancouver Island] sends the rigs out, but the cops destroy them*."

Not all accounts of police conduct were negative. We asked respondents if they have had any helpful interactions with police over the last five years, and found that 38% had.

In the focus groups, participants stressed a need for a better, more accessible system for submitting police complaints and ensuring accountability.

Chart 5: Items Confiscated

Item	Number respondents
Personal items	15
Blankets/Sleeping	11
Weapon	11
Backpack/Bag	10
"Everything"	8
Other	6
Clothing	6
Medication	3
Alcohol	2
Cart	2
Tent	2
Bike	2

Number respondents

Notes from the field

"*They watch for my safety while working, ensure I'm ok if I'm high, and help me get off the street.*"

"*They drove me to a hospital last night and were really nice.*"

"*They know I am handicapped. Once I passed out and they took me home.*"

"*Someone I didn't want was at my place and they helped the situation.*"

Key finding #4: Policing of Minor Infractions

As mentioned, participants in all three focus groups believe that the police interaction statistics in this study are underreported. The following results present a "snapshot" of interactions on the street, but further research is needed for a more complete analysis.

Our interviews considered two different types of interactions: those that did not lead to tickets or arrests, and those that did. As mentioned, only 9% of respondents had not been approached by police in the past year. Most reported between 1 to 12 encounters in the past 12 months, and 20% were approached more than once per week.

Comparative data from the Statistics Canada General Social Survey on Victimization (GSS) places the dramatically high level of police encounters experienced by our respondents in perspective. The GSS asked respondents if, in the past 12 months, they had been approached for a traffic violation (13%), as a victim of a crime (7%), as a witness to a crime (6%), by being arrested (1%), for any other reason (11%), or for an accident (1%).[xxxviii] The GSS questions did not ask respondents to specify if they had been approached more than once.

Chart 6: During the past year, about how many times have you been approached by police?
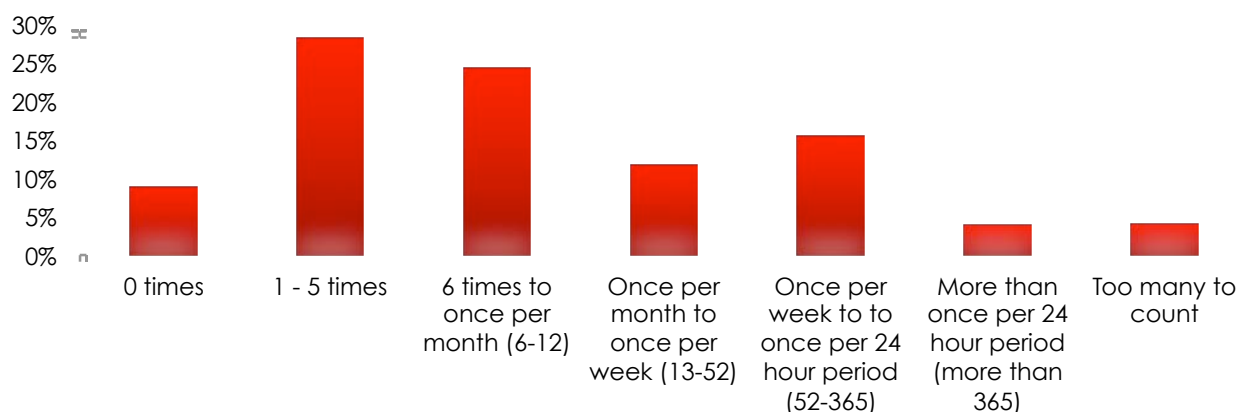

Table 9: During the past 2 years, have the police ever directly approached you for any of these reasons?	
	% of respondents (N103)
Move off public property	85% (88)
Jack-up (detain)	77% (79)
Move off private property	72% (74)
Search	53% (55)
High or intoxicated	52% (54)
Panhandling	35% (36)
Crime witness	20% (21)
Crime victim	17% (17)
Mental health, health–related	14% (14)
Red zone	11% (11)
Squeegying	8% (8)
Appearance/profiled	4% (4)
No reason/benign activity	4% (4)
Other	3% (3)
Recognized by police	2% (2)
To make sure person is okay	1% (1)
Total	103
(Number in bracket indicates total number of responses. Respondents selected as many situations as applied)	

In a question that followed, we asked interviewees to remember the reasons why they had been approached by police in the past two years. The most common reasons were to move off public or private property, to be jacked-up or searched, or because the respondent was high or intoxicated. We looked more closely at possible correlations between the living situations of our respondents and whether they were approached in relation to their uses of space. Out of the 77 people who had been homeless in past two years, 64 (or 83%) were approached to move off public property and 54 (or 70%) were told to move off private property.

A significant number of respondents reported they were witnesses and victims of crimes, and 14% were approached for health-related reasons. At 48%, almost half said they had been searched or detained without good or sufficient cause at the time.

Table 10: To the best of your knowledge, why were you approached or stopped by police?	
	% of responses
Loitering/sitting/being	22% (14)
Drinking/public intoxication	16% (10)
Drug-related	12% (8)
Suspected/accused of committing crime	12% (8)
No legitimate reason/unclear	9% (6)
Cycling-related	8% (5)
Recognized, known by police	6% (4)
Panhandling/soliciting	5% (3)
Looked suspicious	5% (3)
Warrant	3% (2)
Mistaken identity	2% (1)
TOTAL	100% (64)
(Number in bracket indicates total number of responses. Respondents selected as many situations as applied)	

Not all encounters led to a charge or ticket, but 68 people, or 64% of all respondents, were ticketed in the past 3 years, and 31 people, or 30%, were arrested. Sixteen people were detained, and 8 were warned and released. Most incidents reported occurred in 2011, and interviewees in the focus group concluded that this may reflect the difficulties people had in remembering specific events further in the past.

We asked these respondents why, to the best of their knowledge, they were approached or stopped by police in the first place. The most frequently cited reasons were because they were loitering, sitting or "being," intoxicated, or using drugs. Eleven of the 14 individuals who were approached or stopped for loitering, sitting or "being," and later ticketed or arrested, had been homeless at some point in the past two years.

Respondents identified 85 charges or tickets, most of which were minor offenses. Trespassing (16% of all incidents), riding without a helmet (15% of all incidents), and public drinking/intoxication (13% of all incidents) were the most common tickets and charges. Other relatively frequent responses included drugs (9%), loitering (8%), failure to appear (5%), and soliciting a motor vehicle (4%). Among incidents with more serious repercussions were 3 charges of theft over $5000, 3 charges of fraud, 3 counts of assault and one break and enter.

Notes from the field

"I wish they would stop criminalizing people for being poor and having nowhere to sleep. The police should be more social and human to people."

"It should be fairer to the homeless. The people should offer a place, or a specified part of the town where people can go."

"It makes my life incredibly difficult. You have to constantly be on the move and on the lookout. You can't sit or stand anywhere because you're asked to move on. They treat you like non-people."

"I can't sit still more than 10 minutes on a bench. There's no place to sit in the city, but other people can sit for hours. [This is] visual pollution – its all for tourist purposes."

"They should just leave people alone when they're not doing anything wrong."

"They should get an Insite or something. This is not a crime problem – it's a health problem."

Notes from the field

To the best of your understanding, why were you approached or stopped by police?

"It was raining and [I] sat on some steps. The police said [I] couldn't sit here because of the signs"

"Sitting on the steps of the church"

"Obstructing traffic because I crossed the road on my bike"

"Because I was selling Street Newz papers"

"To ensure everything was okay with me"

"Loitering…I was just walking by"

"For being on Pandora Green"

"I got a ticket for sleeping on the stairs near the church"

*"I have about ten tickets in the last two years, all for trespassing"*

The qualitative data provided more insight into the conditions surrounding the tickets and charges. Many people were forthright about the infractions they were committing when they were approached by police, especially in cases where they were drinking or committing theft.

The descriptions of tickets and charges related to trespassing and loitering were generally less clear. Stories about how people were just sitting or walking in public spaces were common in the interview transcriptions. We looked again at a correlation between people who have been homeless in the past two years and the charges they accrued. Respondents who are or have been homeless accounted for 10 of the 14 trespassing charges and 8 of the 10 public intoxication charges.

In our focus groups, people were surprised by the high number of interviewees who were ticketed for not wearing helmets while cycling. Some questioned whether the tickets are simply a means of "harassing" street-involved people or whether police are also ticketing people who do not fit the "social profile" of our interviewees with the same intensity.

We asked people who had been ticketed or arrested what some of the outcomes were (see Chart 7). Of the 68 people, 33 were taken either to the police station or a prison, and 14 to mental health facilities, hospitals or detox centers. As previously noted, significant numbers reported violations of the *B.C. Police Act Code of Professional Conduct Regulation*.

Forty-four respondents reported that they had outstanding tickets and warrants, and 11 people either refused to answer the question or preferred to leave it blank. Our focus group participants believed that this may be because respondents did not feel safe sharing information that could be incriminating.

Chart 7: In any of these cases, did the police:
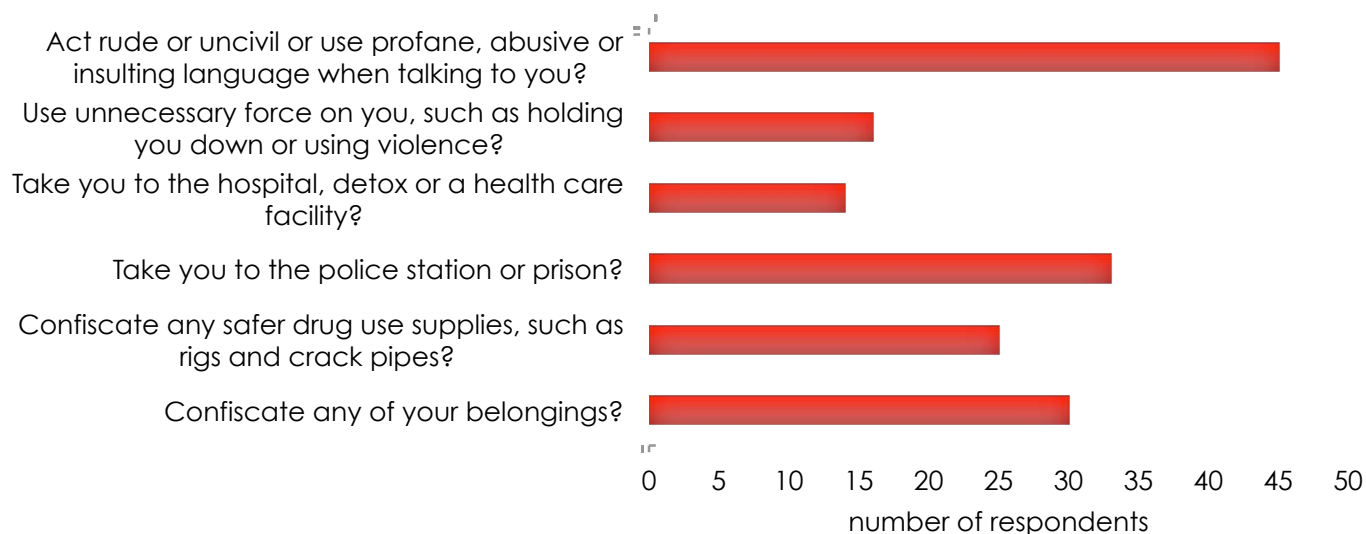
We asked respondents if these incidents had impacted their lives. Out of the 68 respondents who have been ticketed or arrested, 45 people – or 66% - reported some impact. We coded qualitative responses that probed what the specific impacts were. Eighty-nine percent of the responses centered on negative impacts. Of those, 27% of the responses entailed stress, anxiety or emotional distress. Twenty-percent were concerned with their inability to pay back fines, and many of these people were nervous about being arrested or jailed as a result. Five respondents mentioned a positive change.

One person said that the incident was a *"wake up call - a positive direction to stop doing negative things in life."* Another said that it *"gave him an understanding of the situation he was in and what he needed to stop… life changed in a positive way."*

Notes from the field

What were the impacts of these incidents on your life?

"Its made life more stressful. [I'm] worried about girlfriend's safety sleeping outside because when [I'm] in jail she sleeps by herself on streets."

"I rely on recycling for money. I lost my regular clients when I was in jail. This affected my business."

Do you have any other thoughts?

"The police are affected by public pressure and then street people are affected. Then the street people rebel back at the police."

"They want to solve homelessness? Stop criminalizing people. Make more shelters."

"…it destroys people rather than helps; the stupid charges hold people back from bettering themselves."

"Police should adopt a more civil attitude as opposed to their paramilitary approach to dealing with the public. A lot of addiction- driven crime should be treated as such. The crimes are more or less a symptom of the illness."

Analysis Of Key Findings

The high rates of health issues, drug use and disabilities that we found are consistent with other research.[3] It is estimated, for example, that 60% of people who are homeless in Canada are living with mental health and addictions issues.[xxxix] Forty-one percent of the homeless people surveyed in 2007 by Victoria Cool Aid Society listed alcohol and drug use as contributing factors to their circumstances.[xl] Approximately 23% of the injection drug users that completed the Vancouver Island Health Authority's (VIHA) 2009 I-Track survey in Victoria were homeless.[xli] According to the City of Victoria, 9000 disabled people live below the low-income cut-off (LICO) in the region.[xlii]

Mental health issues and drug use cannot be policed away

Disabilities, mental health issues and illicit drug use are inextricably linked for many street-involved people.[4] People living with certain disabilities, illnesses and illicit drug use have distinct vulnerabilities and needs when it comes to policing. The following section looks specifically at mental health, drug use and policing.

The Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) has been vocal in raising concerns with regards to what it calls the "criminalization of mental illness."[xliii] It found that up to 40% of all police contacts in B.C. are with people with mental health concerns, and over 30% of people trying to access mental health care for the first time come into contact with police.[xliv] The fact that police have become de facto "first responders" in the mental health system has a number of implications. Traditional policing, with its focus on the use of force, does not adequately prepare police to intervene with people with mental health issues.[xlv] When situations involving police and people living

with mental health issues escalate, the person suffering from mental health issues is most likely to be hurt. A disproportionate number of lethal use of force cases on the part of the police involve people suffering from mental health issues.[xlvi] Troubling affidavits that PIVOT has been collecting from people living in poverty for two years prompted it to begin looking systematically at police interactions with people with mental health concerns.[xlvii]

People who use illicit drugs face an additional set of risks to their health and wellbeing when they come into contact with law enforcement. The Canada HIV/AIDS Legal Network found that intensive policing does not decrease drug use but can lead to a number of behaviours with health and safety consequences. These include a reluctance to carry safer drug use supplies, the unsafe disposal of injecting equipment, the hurried preparation and injection of drugs, the displacement of people who use drugs to remote or inaccessible parts of the city, dangerous drug storage and concealment, the exacerbation of stigma, marginalization and fear, and heightened HIV risks.[xlviii] The B.C. Centre for Disease Control echoed these findings, noting that in addition to resulting in unintended harms, "enforcement-based policies can also result in unlawful harassment and confiscation of drug paraphernalia, particularly among women."[xlix]

There appears to be a consensus that mental health issues and drug use cannot be policed away. There also appears to be a recognition of a need to address the issues underlying the high levels of poverty experienced by people who use drugs, live with disabilities or suffer from chronic illnesses, and how to formulate appropriate responses. Yet mobilizing political will and making a concerted effort to provide services and supports for some of our communities' most marginalized and vulnerable members remains a challenge.

Both the courts and the medical community have determined, for instance, that addictions to illicit drugs are best understood and approached as a disability rather than a

---

[3] It should be noted that most existing research has focused on homelessness specifically rather than chronic poverty and street involvement.

[4] Mental health and addictions issues are often interrelated, and are referred to together as "concurrent disorders" or "dual diagnosis."

matter of law enforcement.[l] Countless studies propose an integrated approach that recognizes the limits of enforcement and emphasizes health care services and social supports. Focusing efforts on law enforcement has been shown to be costly, ineffective and – at times – exacerbates drug-related harms. Nonetheless, three-quarters of resources associated with Canada's Drug Strategy are dedicated to law enforcement.[li]

Research on mental health and policing has led to advocacy campaigns to strengthen the mental health care system.[lii] These campaigns draw attention to the reasons why people with mental health issues are over-represented on the streets. Most point to an ongoing decrease in services and supports for people with mental health concerns over several decades, including the closing of specialized mental health institutions, reduced funding to community-based services, poor prison discharge planning, and a lack of affordable housing.[liii]

It must be emphasized that police forces do not necessarily believe that law enforcement is an appropriate response to issues faced by street-involved people living with disabilities, illness and illicit drug use. Several police forces in B.C. have joined advocacy groups in arguing that law enforcement personnel should not have to act as social workers and demanding a strengthening of the mental health care system. The Vancouver Police Department, for instance, released a

document in 2008, entitled *Lost in Transition,* that made a number of recommendations to improve social and health services.[liv] In 2010, a follow-up report concluded that despite some progress in areas such as supported housing and long-term treatment services, a "lack of capacity in the mental health system is failing Vancouver's mentally ill and draining police resources."[lv]

The use of social and racial profiling to police public spaces

Many street-involved people – and especially those who are homeless and/or unstably housed – have no choice but to use public spaces to meet their basic needs and seek sustenance. Daily activities, such as resting in parks, sleeping on benches, panhandling on sidewalks or collecting recyclable bottles, are often the basis of interactions between street-involved people and the general public.

As in the early days of the "City of Gardens", these interactions are not necessarily welcome by all city residents. Legislation that targets and penalizes the activities of poor people in public spaces has multiplied across Canada over the past decade.[lvi] "Safe streets" acts and certain municipal bylaws are among the legislation that criminalize the private functions that most people are able to perform in their homes and – at times – the very activities that are necessary for their survival.[lvii]

Broken Windows
The proliferation of "safer streets" acts and similar legislation that has spread across Canada is rooted in an approach known as "broken windows." "Broken windows," a term coined by Wilson and Kelly in 1982, holds that visible signs of "disorder" such as vandalism or decay foster more serious "crime." Simply put, Wilson and Kelly argue that because "one broken window becomes many" (p. 4), the best way to prevent crime is to uphold an aesthetic of concern, regulation and order. "Broken windows" involves using aggressive policing to harass and exclude 'undesirable' people from public spaces.[lviii] These 'undesirables' are often simply people who live in poverty.

The task of deciding who is permissible on city streets and who is in violation of the law demands a certain degree of discretion on the part of law enforcement personnel. At what point, for example, does standing in a public space become loitering? When is leaning against a windowsill trespassing? Who is considered deserving of policing surveillance?

Our interview results paint a stark picture of how street-involved people view fairness and discrimination in policing. The perceptions that homeless and/or poor people, people who use drugs and First Nations people are discriminated against by police are themes that have emerged throughout Canada.

Concerns with regards to the stigmatization of people who are determined to be "disorderly" or "marginalized" by police led to a research project on "social profiling" in Quebec. Researchers concluded that minor infractions and bylaw tickets were being disproportionately allotted to street-involved people in public spaces in Montreal.[lix] In 2009, the Quebec Human Rights Commission took on an investigation of the matter and proceeded to condemn Montreal's police force for the social profiling of homeless people. The Commission concluded that "the excessive use of the courts to deal with the homeless is the result of targeted police practices aimed at removing them from the public space, rather than a neutral and impartial enforcement of the law."[lx]

In Toronto, people who use drugs participated in a research project that identified and documented types and sources of stigma and discrimination in order to develop strategies to reduce their negative impacts. The emotional trauma of profiling by police was a theme that emerged throughout the research project.[lxi] In 2006, research published in the Canadian Medical Association Journal that showed that a police crackdown in the Downtown East Side did not alter the price of drugs, the frequency

of drug use, or result in enrolment in treatment programs. It did, however, result in the displacement of people who use drugs from an area where they had congregated to adjacent blocks. This move had very tangible consequences in the spread of drug use and HIV prevention efforts.[lxii]

The practice of racial profiling in policing, or subjecting members of specific ethnic or racial groups to increased surveillance and investigation[lxiii], has been researched and documented in Canada.[lxiv] In 2003, for instance, a study conducted in Toronto sparked debate when it found that Canadian demographic crime statistics may actually be more indicative of who is under more police surveillance than frequencies in criminal behaviour.[lxv]

Of particular concern in our research are the reports that First Nations people are profiled by police and discriminated against. Aboriginal peoples are overrepresented in shelters and homeless counts. They have also "experienced the most entrenched racial discrimination of any group in Canada."[lxvi] The mass overrepresentation of First Nations peoples in prisons, discriminatory sentencing and the high – but largely unaccounted for – rates of death in police custody speak to the ways in which the criminal justice system and policing can perpetuate colonial violence.[lxvii] In 2011, the Ontario Human Rights Tribunal heard its first case of Aboriginal profiling by police and concluded that the arrest in question was "shaped by negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people being untrustworthy and involved in criminal activity."[lxviii]

The effects of Police Act Code violations

The statistics we generated on cases of discrimination and abuses of authority in policing were somewhat higher than similar studies conducted in Canada. In 2002, for example, a study indicated that 53% of the homeless youth interviewed reported rude and

abusive behaviour by police and 27% reported being assaulted by a police officer.[lxix] In a study of shelter users, 9% reported being assaulted by police in a one-year period.[lxx]

Allegations of violations of the *B.C. Police Act Code* are serious matters. They are also not new to Victoria. Following a series of incidents of abuse of force in 2010, the VicPD contracted a retired police officer to perform an investigation of the use of force in its *Police Act Audit*. The report stated that no "major areas of concern were identified", made 26 recommendations – all "for minor or moderate concerns" – and identified "some gaps in policies and some practices which require the attention of the department."[lxxi] The CBC noted that the audit "does not address specific incidents that prompted the review."[lxxii] The audit was not specifically related to poverty, but it illustrated that violations of the *B.C. Police Act Code* do occur and carry serious ramifications when brought into the public sphere.

The PIVOT Legal Society conducted a detailed investigation into abuses of force by the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) involving street-involved people through its affidavit campaign in the Downtown Eastside. In its 2003 report, *To Serve and Protect,* it documented a number of abuses of authority, including infliction of torture, unreasonable use of force, unlawful strip searches, verbal misconduct, jack-ups[5], unlawful arrests and unlawful searches. In addition to the trauma inflicted on the victims of the abuses of force, the report noted the economic consequences for the state: the threat of civil lawsuits.[lxxiii] The report incited an audit of B.C. Police Complaints, a formal apology by the VPD to residents of the Downtown Eastside[6] with disciplinary measures and errors accounting, and several

amendments to the *Police Act*, including the creation of an Independent Investigation Office.[lxxiv]

Allegations of abuse of force generate bad publicity for policing. The environment of distrust created when street-involved people fear the police has other consequences. Although increased policing of street-involved people is often justified by arguments alluding to the "safety" and "security" of public spaces, the perceived threat they present is not substantiated in statistics.[lxxv] On the contrary, street-involved people who lack access to homes, health care and income security face more substantial risks to their safety and survival than the average housed resident.[lxxvi] Research has shown that despite the fact that street-involved people are more vulnerable than most community members, they are hesitant to call the police when they are in danger.[lxxvii]

The effects of criminalizing health issues

The existing marginalization, vulnerability and stigmatization that street-involved people face in their lives may be further entrenched when they are ticketed or charged for minor infractions and drawn into the criminal justice system.[lxxviii] Consequences of navigating courts and holding criminal records for minor infractions include the emotional and financial difficulties that our respondents described. A criminal record due to minor infractions or unpaid tickets can present people with additional barriers to employment, credit or educational opportunities. This can pose additional challenges to people seeking healing, recovery and personal change.[lxxix]

As with policing practice, research demonstrates that the criminal justice system in general is ill-equipped to address the multifaceted needs of people whose lives are marked by mental health issues, illicit drug use or disabilities.[lxxx] The CMHA, for example, found that people with mental health issues, including illicit drug use, are more likely to be charged with minor criminal offenses, most of

---

[5] "Jack-ups" refer to arbitrary detentions that do not result in arrests.
[6] Although the current Chief for the VicPD, Jamie Graham, was Chief of the Vancouver Police Department from 2002 – 2007, his replacement, Chief Jim Chu, delivered the apology after his term began in 2007.

which are related to their medical conditions.[lxxxi] For some people with mental health issues, entering the criminal justice system creates "another type of 'institutionalization,' within prisons and jails rather than hospitals."[lxxxii] The CMHA argues that legal and criminal responses to behaviours related to mental health issues have taken precedence over medical responses, to the detriment of people with mental health concerns.[lxxxiii] Entanglement in the criminal justice system can mean longer delays in receiving health care, including diagnosis and treatment. Because adequate reintegration programs and supports are scarce and generally unavailable, many people find themselves in a cycle of incarceration, release and relapse.[lxxxiv]

Non-criminalizing solutions to poverty have been shown to be most effective in addressing the underlying issues of social exclusion and marginalization.[lxxxv] As sociologist Val Marie Johnson explains, the criminalization of poverty "masks the structural sources of vulnerability produced by capitalism and linked forms of social inequality: institutionalized racism and colonialism, patriarchy, and so on."[lxxxvi] If this is the case, addressing the issues faced by the people we interviewed compels us to look beyond law and enforcement and into the social relations and institutional complexes that give rise to extreme poverty.

Policing Poverty: Policies and Programming in Victoria

"Unwanted" people and public "safety"

The day-to-day interactions between police and street-involved people in public spaces take place in a context fraught with difficulties and tensions. The difficulties lie in reconciling a network of people, communities and institutions, each with their own mandates and needs, that extends beyond the police and the street community. These include the broader community, business-owners, frontline workers, service providers, City Council, the provincial government, and the federal government.

While our statistics only provide us with a snapshot of the overall situation, the quantity, character and nature of the infractions reported to us are consistent with information released by the VicPD. In 2007, the VicPD calculated that 324 street-involved people were responsible for 23,000 police encounters in a three-year period. Most offenses were not Criminal Code violations and were linked to public intoxication and disruptive behaviour. Less than a quarter of the calls resulted in charges.[lxxxvii] In 2010, the VicPD stated that the most common police call for Pandora Green – an area where the street community gathers – is "unwanted person."[lxxxviii]

The notion of an "unwanted person" casts a light on why people living in poverty are heavily policed and profiled. In its 2008 – 2011 Strategic Plan, the VicPD included results from a public survey it commissioned. It wrote: "Citizen's greatest dislike of downtown Victoria is the street population (48%)."[lxxxix] Listing "reducing street disorder in the downtown core" as one of its strategic goals, the VicPD stated: "The root cause of street disorder is drug and alcohol addiction, mental illness, and poverty and includes behaviors such as urban camping, aggressive panhandling, fighting, open drug sales, graffiti and unlicensed street vendors."[xc]

The VicPD's approach to navigating public pressure to reduce "street disorder" is reflected in the performance measures set out in its strategic plan. Among the indicators it cited were a decrease in public disorder calls, an increase in drug enforcement arrests and an increase in "citizens' feeling of safety," to be measured through regular surveys of street disorder."[xci]

The Strategic Plan draws a line between who is a "citizen" and who is an "unwanted person." It is also indicative of the pressure facing the

VicPD to produce an image of "safety" for "citizens." The heavy policing of the street population does not appear to have reduced public disorder calls, or cleared the streets of "disorder." On Pandora Green, calls for police service increased by 60% from 2005 to 2009.[xcii] It is also difficult to know whether "citizens" feel safer. What is clear, however, is that law enforcement cannot resolve social issues as complex as poverty.

Both the City of Victoria and the VicPD have reiterated this idea. In 2007, the *Mayor's Task Force on Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness* discussed the presence street-involved people in the downtown core:

> One frequent response to the problem is to call for increased police enforcement and disperse *trouble makers* from the city's downtown. However, the Mayor's Task Force reports identify myriad reasons why years of enforcement have not had much impact on the problems of homelessness and drug use in downtown Victoria or anywhere else in the world. There is no denying police presence is a critical factor in maintaining a healthy, safe city, but enforcement alone simply moves homeless residents around so that another set of businesses and neighbours ends up with the problem.[xciii]

> Enforcement itself does nothing to make homeless residents contributory participants in the rest of society. Without well-developed, long-term strategies, which have proven to be effective and which also tackle the root causes of homelessness, communities, such as Victoria, will be helpless to stop the growth in homelessness that has been occurring for the last two decades.[xciv]

For various reasons, however, many of the recommendations put forth by the *Task Force* have yet to be implemented.

VICOT, ACT, and the Victoria Integrated Court

Following the release of the *Task Force* document, the Victoria Integrated Community Outreach Team (VICOT) was created to engage individuals who are homeless, regularly use medical services and hold records of "high incidents of police interaction usually around public order offences."[xcv] At its launch, Victoria Deputy Police Chief John Ducker stated that:

> Criminal law enforcement action by itself is no longer an effective strategy in dealing with the social problems in our city's core [...] This type of integrated and innovative team approach is a better way of addressing the growing problems of homelessness, addictions and mental illness which unfortunately are becoming a larger and larger part of police caseloads.[xcvi]

By 2008, 60 individuals who had accounted for 6610 calls requesting police over a ten-year period had been identified by VICOT members. In a one-year period, in which finding housing for VICOT clients was prioritized, police calculated that its calls for these 60 individuals had been reduced by 74%.[xcvii]

The same year, a joint project between the VicPD and several provincial government agencies was launched in collaboration with the Vancouver Island Health Authority (VIHA) and Our Place Society. The Downtown Outreach (ACT) Team, which included a probation officer, two police officers and various social service representatives, was developed to "intensively engage people who have significant mental illnesses or addictions, who do not have access to permanent housing, and who have had little or no involvement with the mental health system."[xcviii]

In 2010, the Victoria Integrated Court was created to process criminal cases for individuals with histories of alcohol consumption, illicit drug use, mental health issues and housing challenges. To be accepted into the court, the accused must "must demonstrate a willingness to address the underlying causes of their criminal activity" and agree to "intense supervision" by ACT teams. The court includes representatives from the VicPD, Community Corrections, Forensic Psychiatric Services, Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Centre and the Ministry of Housing and Social Development.[xcix]

Most of the documentation on these initiatives has been positive, and they do reflect strategies that extend beyond incarcerating people who are street-involved. Yet there does not appear to be any client evaluation of any of these initiatives, which renders a comprehensive analysis difficult.

The cost of enforcement and the price of poverty

As these programs were launched and policy discussions continued, the Victoria Police Department's budget rose from $32,134,000 in 2007 to $40,010,000 in 2010.[c] In 2009, with a per capita cost of policing of $400, Victoria had the highest police spending per capita rate in B.C. It also held the lowest population member per police officer rate, at 417 people for 1 officer.[ci] A recent article in the *Times Colonist* calculated that 25% of the City of Victoria's operating costs are allocated to the VicPD.[cii]

Although it is difficult to estimate how much of these budget increases are attributed to enforcement on the streets, some statistics provide clues. Over 4,000 hours of policing resources were allocated to Pandora Green from January to July 2010. As the police department sought funding for two additional officers in the area – which would cost $36,125.66 per month – the VicPD noted that there is a "significant commitment by the Department to resource this area but

operational staff are viewing long-term solutions beyond the scope of law enforcement alone."[ciii] In 2010, the VicPD told reporters that the cost of having police on Pandora Green around the clock would be $1.2 million.[civ]

The costs of policing poverty in public spaces can be viewed through several lenses. For the street-involved people whose daily activities may result in interactions with the police and subsequent tickets or arrests, the results can be devastating. The VicPD's public statements on the challenges of Pandora Green suggest that the situation is frustrating for the police as well. For some city residents, it may be frustrating to see that despite rising enforcement budgets, the "problem" of the street community has not gone away.

The question of why the "problem" is not going away compels us to ask a number of questions. A first question is economic and implicates three levels of government: municipal, provincial and federal. There is an inconsistency between the recognition that policing is ineffective in addressing poverty, the escalating policing budgets and cutbacks in essential services and supports for people living in poverty.

Weighing in on the discussion around the costs of policing poverty, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) included a section on criminal justice in a report that calculated the cost of poverty in B.C. The report addresses claims made by governments that measures to eradicate or reduce poverty – such as social housing, higher disability rates, higher income assistant rates and improved health care – are too costly. The CCPA calculates that poverty costs the B.C. government $2.2 to $2.3 billion annually, and consumes up to 4.7% of the provinces GDP. The report also estimated that the cost of crime attributable to poverty in B.C. in 2008 was $745 million in 2008.[cv]

Barriers to Change

A second set of critical questions surrounding why certain approaches to policing poverty are favoured over others concerns governance and political will within police forces. The way Victoria's ongoing crisis surrounding health care for people who use drugs has been addressed by the VicPD provides some insight into how governance and political will within police forces have fostered and impeded specific policies. In 2008, Victoria's only fixed site needle exchange was forced to close following complaints from neighbourhood home and business-owners. The needle exchange had been plagued by under-funding and understaffing in the years leading up to its eviction, rendering it unable to meet the needs of its clients, who often gathered on the block or outside the site. The service was forced to operate as a mobile exchange, and its workers were barred from distributing safer drug use supplies within a block of the downtown core.

These developments were particularly baffling in light of existing research on harm reduction in Victoria. From 2006 onwards, a range of research papers, policy frameworks and official statements – many of which were issued or commissioned from VIHA itself – called for improved harm reduction services in the region.[cvi] Many recommendations recognized the role of harm reduction services in broader strategies around homelessness and poverty.[cvii] Yet VIHA was unable to locate a new location for a fixed site needle exchange. It appeared as though public pressure to ban harm reduction services in "neighbourhood backyards" trumped years of research, advocacy and service delivery.[cviii]

In 2008, VIHA formed a *Victoria Needle Exchange Services Advisory Committee* "to provide input and feedback on issues related to policy, program development and the delivery of health and social services by needle exchange programs."[cix] The VicPD was invited to participate on the committee.

Although little formal documentation exists on the interventions of the police in this closed-door committee, their level of control over the process was harshly criticized by insiders. In one interview, Harm Reduction Victoria Spokesperson Kim Toombs stated that VIHA, "which is supposed to be increasing public health, is actually decreasing it by trying to cater to the people who have more power, like the police and those who are on this committee."[cx] The committee only publically considered one site, and both the committee and the site were abandoned by VIHA in 2009.[cxi]

In 2010, police pressured a pharmacy that had been distributing safer drug use supplies on the Pandora 900-block in collaboration with a provincial health care program to cease its services, deepening the level of concern regarding the VicPD's involvement in limiting the provision of harm reduction services.[cxii] This prompted Harm Reduction Victoria to organize an action entitled "Police Out of Health Care" and request an audience at the Police Board.[cxiii] No formal response was ever issued.

The VicPD's interventions in harm reduction demonstrate an inconsistency in terms of policy and practice. The VicPD Strategic Plan, in articulating its concern with regards to drug use, stated that: "Many injections occur in public spaces under potentially unsafe conditions."[cxiv] Public drug use has been linked to the availability of appropriate harm reduction services. VIHA's latest I-Track survey of intravenous drug use found that the rates of intravenous drug use in public or other unsafe places in Victoria are substantially higher than other locations covered by the same study with more extensive harm reduction services.[cxv] Researchers have concluded that harm reduction services, such as supervised consumption sites, would reduce risk and harm characteristics of street drug use in Victoria.[cxvi] If more services would allow people to use drugs in safer spaces while reducing drug use in public places, the VicPD's resistance to more

comprehensive health services appears contradictory.

Representation of marginalized communities and police accountability

VicPD's governance structure provides some insight into these barriers to change. VicPD is governed by a Police Board, mandated to "provide civilian oversight to the activities of the Department consistent with the provisions of the Police Act." The Chair is the Mayor of Victoria, the Vice Chair is the Mayor of Esquimalt, and the other members are appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, the council of the City of Victoria, and the council of the Township of Esquimalt.[cxvii] The VicPD recently constituted a Community Board, which consists of members with a range of neighbourhood associations and the Downtown Victoria Business Association.[cxviii] Several of the neighbourhood associations, as

well as the Downtown Victoria Business Association, have expressed resistance to harm reduction services in their specific areas.[cxix] Organizations composed of street-involved people, service provision agencies, advocates and others who hold expertise in poverty-related issues are heavily under-represented on the Police board and Community board.

Representation, however, is only effective if adequate accountability measures exist to provide police, community boards and other oversight bodies with the information required to make informed judgments and recommendations regarding everyday policing practices. The findings presented by this study suggest that further measures must be taken to bolster the effectiveness and capacities of the public bodies whose job it is to provide oversight of policing practices in Victoria.

Conclusion & Recommendations

'Out of sight' refers to a number of related issues regarding the policing of poverty. First, 'out of sight' refers to the form of ticketing that results from social and racial profiling, as infractions that are not visible to police until after a target individual has already been stopped. Second, 'out of sight' refers to the way laws and bylaws that target street-involved people are used to make poverty less visible by moving those living in extreme poverty off certain city streets. Third, 'out of sight' refers to the under-reported and un-reported harassment of street-involved people by police stops, searches, and seizures. This study offers a snapshot of how these practices – police social profiling, bylaws that encourage this form of policing, and lack of mechanisms to ensure these forms of policing are visible to civilian oversight bodies – are playing out in Victoria, going to the heart of the matter by speaking directly with street-involved people about their experiences and perspectives of policing practices and the criminal justice system.

This study's findings suggest that immediate action must be taken to end the disproportionate and unjustified interference with the daily lives of the most marginalized members of our communities, and to re-allocate resources to alleviate rather than criminalize poverty. The Victoria Police Department must be held accountable to the Police Act Code in their interactions with all people regardless of their social status. The City of Victoria and the Government of British Columbia need to address the much more complex goals of reducing poverty, not just regulating the street presence of people who live in extreme poverty. To be effective, the following actions must take place through meaningful consultation with the street-involved individuals, frontline workers and advocates who have the most direct experience with these issues:

1 **The policing practice of regularly stopping, searching and ticketing street-involved people must end.**
  • The Victoria Police Department must immediately end the confiscation of personal possessions and belongings necessary for survival on the streets, including harm reduction supplies.
  • The City of Victoria must repeal bylaws and bylaw amendments that target, serve to displace and/or inflict disproportionate harm on street-involved people, including the *Bylaw Enforcement Policy Erecting Temporary Shelters in Public Spaces,* the *Streets and Traffic Bylaw* NO. 10-061, and the 'Chattel' Ticketing Bylaw 74(1).
  • The Government of British Columbia must repeal legislation that specifically targets, serves to displace and/or inflicts disproportionate harm on street-involved people, including the *Safe Streets Act*
  • The Victoria Police Department, in concert with the City of Victoria, should enact a harm reduction and enforcement policy that prohibits stops, searches, and ticketing near harm reduction and related service providers.

2 **The Victoria Police Department must be held accountable to all members of the community regardless of social status.**
  • The City of Victoria must commission a review of policing practices with regards to street-involved people, and implement accountability measures to discourage the social profiling of members of the street community.
  • The Government of British Columbia must commission a review of the Police Complaints Process to ensure the complaints process is accessible to street-involved people, and to ensure adequate disciplinary sanctions for officers violating the Police Act Code.
  • The Government of British Columbia should extend the mandate of the Independent Investigations Office to include systematic abuses of authority such as social and racial profiling.
  • The Government of British Columbia and the City of Victoria must ensure membership on the Police Board and Community Board is representative of a broader spectrum of the community, including street-involved individuals, frontline workers and anti-poverty advocates.

3 **Funding and resources aimed at hiding poverty and criminalizing people with mental illnesses and addictions must be reallocated to end poverty and increase supports for people with mental illnesses and addictions.**
  • The Government of Canada must restore social housing funding to pre-1984 levels.
  • The Province of British Columbia must raise social assistance rates, and tie social assistance rates to the cost of living.
  • The Province of British Columbia must set out a clear mandate for basic harm reduction services health authorities must provide in municipalities.
  • The Victoria Police Department must improve training for police in harm reduction, stigma and discrimination, including social and racial profiling.
  • The City of Victoria must establish public spaces where all members of the public, including street-involved people, may gather.
  • The City of Victoria must increase municipal support for implementing existing harm reduction policies, including staff resources, city infrastructure, and public education programs.

Notes

[i] For example, Bellot, 2005; Crocker & Johnson, 2010; Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2008; Novac et al., 2006; PIVOT, 2002

[ii] Cleverley, 2010; DeRosa & Cleverly, 2010; Heiman, 2008; Housing eases downtown strife, 2009; Hunter, 2010; O'Connor, 2010; Victoria Police Department [VicPD], July 5, 2010

[iii] Dawson, 2004; Dunae, 2009

[iv] Magnussun, 1996

[v] Mayor's Task Force, 2007

[vi] Cool Aid, 2007

[vii] Mayor's Task Force, 2007

[viii] Greater Coalition to End Homelessness, 2010; Greater Coalition to End Homelessness, 2010/2011

[ix] Pauly et al., 2010/2011, p. 12

[x] Ivanova, I., 2011

[xi] See http://www.bcgeu.ca/Municipalities_support_CSS_month_but_services_still_being_cut_March_2011

[xii] Wallace, Klein & Reitsma-Street, 2006, p. 5.

[xiii] Quality of Life Challenge, 2009

[xiv] Esquimalt police decision needed, 2011 , Greater Coalition to End Homelessness, 2010

[xv] Pauly et al., 2010/2011

[xvi] Ibid

[xvii] Mayor's Task Force, 2007

[xviii] Helps, 2002

[xix] Victoria (City of) v Adams, 2008 B.C. SC 1209.

[xx] Victoria (City of). Bylaw Enforcement Policy Erecting Temporary Shelters in Public Spaces, 16 October 2008

[xxi] Hunter, 2010

[xxii] Streets and Traffic Bylaw NO. 10-061

[xxiii] Cleverly, 2010; Shelton, 2010

[xxiv] Mayor's Task Force on Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness [Mayor's Task Force] 2007; VicPD, July 5, 2010

[xxv] for example, Bellot, 2005; Crocker & Johnson, 2010; Institute for the Prevention of Crime, 2008; Novac et al., 2006; PIVOT, 2002

[xxvi] Greene et al., 2009; Roche et al., 2010a

[xxvii] The Committee to End Homelessness, PEERS Victoria Resource Society, the Society of Living Intravenous Drug Users, Together Against Poverty Society

[xxviii] See Kirby et al., 2006; Vancouver Island Health Authority, 2009

[xxix] http://vipirg.ca/research/ethical_guidelines.html

[xxx] Head, 2009; Roche et al., 2010b

[xxxi] Kirby et al., 2006

[xxxii] The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness calculated that although only 3.4% of Greater Victoria's population is First Nations, a fifth of Victoria's homeless population is Aboriginal. See Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness, 2010/2011

[xxxiii] http://www.statcan.gc.ca/cgi-bin/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=4504&lang=en&db=imdb&adm=8&dis=2

[xxxiv] Question PLP_Q180, General Social Survey, 2009 Cycle 23 – Victimization Main Survey - Questionnaire Package, Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division

[xxxv] Weight variable applied: WGHT_PER

[xxxvi] Question PLP_Q160, General Social Survey, 2009 Cycle 23 – Victimization Main Survey - Questionnaire Package, Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division

[xxxvii] *Police Act Code of Professional Conduct Regulation*, B.C. Reg. 205/98, O.C. 725/98. Deposited June 11, 1998, effective July 1, 1998. Retrieved from http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/police/r205_98.htm

[xxxviii] http://www.statcan.gc.ca/cgi-bin/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=4504&lang=en&db=imdb&adm=8&dis=2

[xxxix] Folsom & Jeste, 2002

[xl] Victoria Cool Aid Society, 2007

[xli] Vancouver Island Health Authority (VIHA), 2009

[xlii] http://www.victoria.ca/cityhall/departments_plnsph_hmlssn_pln.shtml

[xliii] Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005a

[xliv] Canadian Mental Health Association, 2008

[xlv] Canadian Mental Health Association, 2003

xlvi Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005

xlvii See http://www.pivotlegal.org/our-work/accountable-policing

xlviii Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, 2007

xlix Chandler, 2008, p. 50

l See paragraph 87 of the decision of the British Columbia of Supreme Court in *PHS Community Services Society v. Attorney General of Canada,* 2008 BCSC 661.

li B.C. Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS, 2006

lii See, for example, Canadian Mental Health Association - http://www.ontario.cmha.ca/justice.asp?cID=5441#cncpmhl

liii Patterson, 2007, Pauly et al., 2011, Riordan, 2004

liv Wilson-Bates, 2008

lv Thompson, 2010, p. 8.

lvi Blomley, 2010

lvii Johnson, 2010; Mitchell, 1997

lviii Berti & Sommers, 2010, p. 63

lix Bellot, 2005, Douglas, 2011

lx Quebec Human Rights Commission, 2009

lxi Toronto Drug Strategy Implementation Panel, 2010

lxii Wood et al., 2004

lxiii Wortley & Tanner, 2004

lxiv Tanovitch, 2006, Tator & Henry, 2006

lxv Wortley & Tanner, 2003, Wortley & Tanner, 2004

lxvi Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, 1991

lxvii Cheema, 2009

lxviii Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario, Between Garry McKay and Toronto Police Services Board and Christopher Fitkin, HR-1395-07

lxix Gaetz, 2002

lxx Zakrison, 2004

lxxi Victoria Police Department, 2010

lxxii CBC News, October 2010

lxxiii PIVOT, 2003

lxxiv See http://www.pivotlegal.org/our-work/accountable-policing

lxxv Berti & Sommers, 2010, Glasbeek, 2010

lxxvi Novac, 2006

lxxvii Novac et al., 2006; Zakrison, 2004

lxxviii Novac et al., 2006

lxxix Bellot, 2005, Douglas, 2010, PIVOT, 2002

lxxx Institute for the Prevention of Crime 2008

lxxxi Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005a

lxxxii Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005

lxxxiii Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005a

lxxxiv Canadian Mental Health Association, 2005b, Novac et al., 2006

lxxxv Johnson, 2010

lxxxvi Ibid, p. 15

lxxxvii Mayor's Task Force, 2007

lxxxviii DeRosa & Cleverly, 2010

lxxxix Victoria Police Department, 2008, p. 20

xc Ibid, p. 22

xci Ibid, p. 23

xcii Victoria Police Department, July 5, 2010

xciii Mayor's Task Force, 2007, p. 3

xciv Mayor's Task Force, 2007, p. 3

xcv Victoria Police Department, 2009, p.2

xcvi B.C. Ministry of Health, 2008

xcvii Victoria Police Department, 2009, p. 3

xcviii B.C. Ministry of Health, 2008

xcix Dickson, 2010

c Victoria Police Department, 2010, p. 63

cici Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor, 2009

[cii] Esquimalt police decision needed, 2011
[ciii] Victoria Police Department, July 5, 2010
[civ] DeRosa & Cleverley, 2010
[cv] Ivanova, I., 2011
[cvi] Wallace and Willson, 2008/2010
[cvii] MacNeil & Pauly, 2010; Pauly et al., 2011
[cviii] See, for example, Cleverly, 2010; Harm Reduction Victoria, 2010
[cix] Vancouver Island Health Authority, 2008
[cx] Youmans, 2009
[cxi] Watts, 2009
[cxii] Hunter, 2010
[cxiii] See harmreductionvictoria.ca
[cxiv] Victoria Police Department, 2008, p.13
[cxv] Vancouver Island Health Authority, 2009
[cxvi] Fischer et al., 2008
[cxvii] See http://www.vicpd.ca/index.php?page=board-member-profiles
[cxviii] See http://www.vicpd.ca/index.php?page=community-board-representatives
[cxix] See, for example, Cleverly, 2010; Harm Reduction Victoria, 2010

References

Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba. (1991). Volume 2, *supra* note 1 at 91. Retrieved from http://www.getcited.org/pub/103032977

B.C. Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS. (2006). *Canadian HIV/AIDS Policy & Law Review,* 11 (2-3). Retrieved from http://www.cfdp.ca/bc2007.pdf

B.C. Ministry of Health, Victoria Police Department & Our Place. (2008, January 31). *[Press Release] New outreach team to help Victoria's homeless.* Retrieved from http://www2.news.gov.bc.ca/news_releases_2005-2009/2008HEALTH0013-000123.htm

Bellot, C., Raffestin, I., Royer, M.N. and Noël, V. (2005, October). *Judiciarisation et criminalisation des populations itinérantes à Montréal.* Rapport de recherche pour le Secrétariat National des Sans-abri en partenariat avec le Réseau d'aide aux personnes seules et itinérantes de Montréal (RAPSIM). Retrieved from http://www.rapsim.org/docs/rapport_Bellot_05_VF.pdf

Berti, M. & Sommers, J. (2010). The streets belong to people that pay for them: The spatial regulation of street poverty in Vancouver, British Columbia. In D. Crocker and V. M. Johnson (Eds.), *Poverty, Regulation and Social Justice* (pp. 60-73). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Blomley, N. (2010). The right to pass freely: Circulation, begging, and the bounded self. *Social and Legal Studies*, *19*(3), 331-350. Retrieved from http://sls.sagepub.com/content/19/3/331.full.pdf+html

Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network. (2007). *Do not cross: Policing and HIV risk faced by people who use drugs.* Retrieved from http://www.aidslaw.ca/publications/interfaces/downloadFile.php?ref=1080.

Canadian Mental Health Association. (2003). *Study in blue and grey. Police interventions with people with mental illness: A review of challenges and responses.* Canadian Mental Health Association B.C. Division. Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=canadian%20mental%20health%20blue%20and%20grey&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CBsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cmha.bc.ca%2Ffiles%2Fpolicereport.pdf&ei=z5-kTsHSEbLOiALihNFp&usg=AFQjCNFhAw0McXSUbXNSQE99nno76YgFGg&cad=rja

Canadian Mental Health Association. (2005a). The criminalization of mental illness. *Mental Health and Criminal Justice Fact Sheets.* Retrieved from http://www.cmha.bc.ca/advocacy/justice/factsheets

Canadian Mental Health Association. (2005b). Police and mental illness: Increased interactions. *Mental Health and Criminal Justice Fact Sheets.* Retrieved from http://www.cmha.bc.ca/advocacy/justice/factsheets

Canadian Mental Health Association, B.C. Division. (2008). *Crisis intervention policy for police working with people with mental illness/concurrent disorders.* Vancouver, Canada: Canadian Mental Health Association.

Caputo, T.& Kelly, K. (2007). Health and street/ homeless youth. *The Journal of Health Psychology, 12*(5), 726-36.

CBC News. (2010, June 15). Investigator to probe Victoria police's use of force. *CBC Website.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/06/15/bc-victoria-police-use-force-investigation.html#ixzz16uYDchE6

CBC News. (2010, October 15) Victoria police release use-of-force report: 'Nothing that complicated,' chief says. *CBC Website.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/10/15/victoria-police015.html

Centre for Applied Research in Mental Health and Addiction. (2007). *Housing and support for adults in B.C. with severe addictions and/or mental illness.* Report prepared for the B.C. Ministry of Health; publication pending.

Chaiklin, H.(2001). Current and prior mental health treatment of jail inmates: The use of jail as an alternative shelter. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, *3*(10), 255-268.

Chandler, R. for the B.C. Harm Reduction Strategies and Services *Best Practices for British Columbia's. Harm Reduction Supply Distribution Program* (2008). The B.C. Harm Reduction Strategies and Services (BCHRSS). Retrieved from http://www.bccdc.ca/NR/rdonlyres/4E145403-D047-49CA-A592-768FEBF6025A/0/BestPractices.pdf

Cheema, M. (2009). Missing subjects: Aboriginal deaths in custody, data problems and racialized policing. *Appeal, review of current law and law reform*, *14*(1), 84-99.

Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse (Québec Human Rights Commission). (2009, November 10). *The Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse speaks out against the social profiling of the homeless in Montreal* [News Release]. Retrieved from http://intraspec.ca

Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse (2009). *The Judiciarization of the homeless in Montreal: A case of social profiling.* Retrieved from http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/en/homeless/

Cool Aid. (2007). *The homeless needs survey: Housing first – plus supports.* Retrieved from http://www.coolaid.org/publications/HNS_Final_Report_2007.pdf

Cleverley, B. (2010, August 31). Curb sought for Pandora campers; Many nearby residents applaud recommendation, others say it will only displace the problem. *Times-Colonist*, p. A.1. Retrieved from http://www.timescolonist.com/news/City+wants+boulevard+camping+Pandora+Avenue+tent+city/3461867/story.html#ixzz1bxrldc6l

Crocker, D. & Johnson, V.M. (Eds.) (2010). *Poverty, regulation and social justice: Readings on the criminalization of poverty.* Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Dawson, M. (2004). *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and consumer culture, 1890-1970.* Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

DeRosa, K. and Cleverly, B. (2010, July 16). Pandora homeless troubles soar; Police say 24/7 patrols not feasible despite rise in crime on 900-block. *Times-Colonist*, p. A3.

DeVerteuil, G., J. May & von Mahs, J. (2009) Complexity not collapse: Recasting the geographies of homelessness in a 'punitive' age. *Progress in Human Geography 33*(5): 646-666.

Dickson, L. (2010, July 3). Victoria court offers new hope for addicts. *Times Colonist.* Retrieved from http://www.angelscommunity.com/EN/important_articles_on_addictions/_victoria_court_offers_new_hope_for_addicts/

Douglas, J. (2011). The criminalization of poverty: Montreal's policy of ticketing homeless youth for municipal and transportation by-law infractions. *Appeal, 16*, 49-64. Retrieved from http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/appeal/article/view/5969

Esquimalt police decision needed. (2011, September 20). *The Times Colonist.* Retrieved from http://www.timescolonist.com/news/Esquimalt+police+decision+needed/5428769/story.html#ixzz1bgDo61SN

Fischer, B., Kendall, P., & Allard, C. The case for a supervised drug consumption site trial in Victoria, British Columbia. *British Columbia Medical Journal, 50*(3), 130.

Folsom, D. & Jeste, D. (2002). Schizophrenia in homeless persons: A systematic review of the literature. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavia, 105*(6), 404-413.

Gaetz, S. (2002). *Street Justice: Homeless youth and access to justice*. Toronto, Canada: Justice for Children and Youth.

Glasbeek, A. (2010). Apprehensive wives and intimidated mothers: Women, fear of crime and criminalization. In D. Crocker & V. M. Johnson (Eds.), *Poverty, regulation and social justice* (pp. 107-120). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness. (2010). *Greater Victoria Report on Housing and Supports, June 30, 2010.* Retrieved from http://www.solvehomelessness.ca/content/file/Report%20on%20Housing%20and%20Supports%202010.pdf

Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness. (2010/2011). *Annual Report.* Retrieved from http://www.solvehomelessness.ca/content/file/GVCEH-AnnualReport_single%20pages.pdf

Greene, S., Ahluwaliab, A., Watson, J., Tucker, R., Rourke S.B., Koornstra, J., Sobota, M., Monette, L. & Byers, S. (2009). Between skepticism and empowerment: The experiences of peer research assistants in HIV/AIDS, housing and homelessness community-based research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 12*(4), 361–373.

Harm Reduction Victoria. (2010, December 14). Join HRV in telling the police board: Police out of health care! Retrieved from http://harmreductionvictoria.ca/?q=node/95

Hartwell, S. (2004). Triple stigma: Persons with mental illness and substance abuse problems in the criminal justice system. *Criminal Justice Policy Review,* 15 (1), 84-99.

Head, E. (2009): The ethics and implications of paying participants in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *12*(4), 335-344.

Heiman, C. (2008, July 26). Homeless shelter to replace Ellice Street parkland; Residents' views widely split at public hearing. *Times Colonist*, p. A4. Retrieved July 15, 2011, from Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies. (Document ID: 1519266321).

Holmen, R. (2009, November 11). Princess Avenue needle exchange axed. *Victoria News.*

Housing eases downtown strife. (2009, April 22). *Times-Colonist*, p. A.14. Retrieved July 16, 2011, from Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies. (Document ID: 1687080791).

Hunter, J. (2010, November 27). Community backlash ends Victoria needle program. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A.10. Retrieved July 15, 2011, from Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies. (Document ID: 2198525851).

Institute for the Prevention of Crime. (2008, January). *Homelessness, victimization and crime: Knowledge and actionable recommendations.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa. Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CBgQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.sciencessociales.uottawa.ca%2Fipc%2Fpdf%2FIPC-Homelessness%2520report.pdf&rct=j&q=HOMELESSNESS%2C%20VICTIMIZATION%20AND%20CRIME%3A%20Knowledge%20and%20Actionable%20Recommendations&ei=9kdHTdmvJ4T4sAOf5OniAQ&usg=AFQjCNEQE1Xap9GfEpRJHXqYR0iVOIJqHQ&cad=rja

Ivanova, I. (2011). *The cost of poverty in B.C.* Vancouver: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Retrieved from http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/BC%20Office/2011/07/CCPA_BC_cost_of_poverty_full_report.pdf

Johnson, V.M. (2010). Reading the criminalization of poverty. In D. Crocker & V. M. Johnson (Eds.), *Poverty, regulation and social justice* (pp. 13-30). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Kirby, S. L., Greaves, L., & Reid, C. (2006). *Experience research social change* (2nd ed.). Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press.

MacNeil, J. & Pauly, B. (2008). *Reaching out: Evaluation of the needle exchange on Vancouver Island.* School of Nursing, University of Victoria.

MacNeil, J. & Pauly, B. (2010). Needle exchange as a safe haven in an unsafe world. *Drug and Alcohol Review, 30*(1), 26-32. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1465-3362.2010.00188.x/abstract

Magnusson, W. (1996). Victoria Regina: Social movements and political space. In J. Caulfield & L. Peake (Eds.) *City lives and city forms: Critical research in Canadian urbanism* (pp. 324–347). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Mayor's Task Force on Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness (2007). *Executive Summary.* In Mayor's Task Force on Breaking the Cycle of Mental Illness, Addictions and Homelessness - A Victoria Model. Victoria: the City of Victoria, B.C. Retrieved from http://www.victoria.ca/cityhall/pdfs/tskfrc_brcycl_exctvs.pdf

Ministry of Health, Victoria Police Department and Our Place (2008, January 31). New outreach team to help Victoria's homeless (News Release). Retrieved from http://www2.news.gov.bc.ca/news_releases_2005-2009/2008HEALTH0013-000123.htm#

Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor (2009). *Police resources in British Columbia, 2009.* Victoria: Government of British Columbia General Police Services Division/

Mitchell, D. (1997). The annihilation of space by law: The roots and implications of anti-homeless laws in the United States. *Antipode, 29*(3). Retrieved from http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/BPL_Images/Content_store/Sample_chapter/0631220151Sample/Blomley0631220151.pdf

Novac, S., Hermer, J., Paradis, E. & Kellen, A. (2006, November). *Justice and injustice: Homelessness, crime, victimization, and the criminal justice system.* Research Paper 207. Toronto, Canada: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto with the John Howard Society of Toronto. Retrieved from http://media.thestar.topscms.com/acrobat/32/f4/7b9c710b4c94a1f4433f6e6a1157.pdf

O'Connor, J. (2010, September 4). Pandora's box; Victoria's improvised campground will soon be shut. The homeless, however, will likely not go far. *National Post*, p. A3. Retrieved July 16, 2011, from Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies. (Document ID: 2131414201).

Patterson, M. (2007). The faces of homelessness across B.C. *Visions: Housing and Homelessness, 4*(1), Retrieved from http://www.heretohelp.bc.ca/sites/default/files/visions_housing_homelessness.pdf

Pauly, B., Jackson, N., Thompson, D. & Kerr-Southin, M. (2010/2011). *Hungry and homeless in Greater Victoria: Fitting the pieces together*. Victoria, Canada: Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness.

Pauly, B., Reist, D., Schactman, C., & Belle-Isle, L. (2011, January 31). *Housing and harm reduction: A policy framework for Greater Victoria.* The Greater Victoria Coalition to End Homelessness. Retrieved from http://www.homelesshub.ca/(S(cbktsc45bmzvmjn31tluzrqw))/ResourceFiles/GVCEHPolicyFramework_Jan_31_2011.pdf

PIVOT Legal Society. (2008). *Security before justice.* Vancouver. Retrieved from http://www.pivotlegal.org/sites/default/files/securitybeforejustice.pdf

PIVOT Legal Society. (2002). *To serve and protect.* Vancouver. Retrieved from http://www.pivotlegal.org/sites/default/files/toserveandprotect.pdf

Quality of Life Challenge (2009). *Quality of life CHALLENGE framework for change*. Retrieved from http://www.qolchallenge.ca/pdf/CHALLENGE-FfC-2009-06-09.pdf

Quebec Human Rights Commission. (2009). The judiciarization of the homeless in Montreal: A case of social profiling. Retrieved from http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/en/homeless/

Rapport de recherche pour le Secrétariat National des Sans-abri en partenariat avec le Réseau d'aide aux personnes seules et itinérantes de Montréal (RAPSIM). Retrieved from http://www.rapsim.org/docs/rapport_Bellot_05_VF.pdf

Riordan, T. (2004). *Exploring the circle: Mental illness, homelessness and the criminal justice system in Canada.* Ottawa, Canada: Parliament of Canada, Political and Social Affairs Division. Retrieved from http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0402-e.htm

Roche, B., Guta, A., & Flicker, S. (2010a). *Peer research in action I: Model of practice.* Community Based Research Working Paper Series. The Wellesley Institute.

Roche, B., Guta, A., & Flicker, S. (2010b). *Peer research in action III: Ethical issues.* Community based research working paper series. The Wellesley Institute.

Shelton, I. (2010, September 9). Pandora drug busts spell relief; Our Place executive director says arrests of 8 give hope to desperate. *Times–Colonist*, p. A.3. Retrieved July 16, 2011, from Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies. (Document ID: 2135758721).

Tanovitch, D. (2006). *The colour of justice: Policing race in Canada.* Windsor, Canada: Irwin Law.

Tator, C. & Henry, F. (2006). *Racial profiling in Canada: Challenging the myth of a "few bad apples".* Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Thompson, S. for the Vancouver Police Board and Chief Constable Jim Chu. (2010). *Policing Vancouver's mentally ill – The disturbing truth: Beyond lost in transition.* Vancouver, Canada: Vancouver Police Department.

Toronto Drug Strategy Implementation Panel. (2010). *Stigma, discrimination & substance use: Experiences of people who use alcohol and other drugs in Toronto.* Retrieved from http://www.toronto.ca/health/drugstrategy/pdf/stigma_discrim.pdf

Vancouver Island Health Authority. (2008). *Victoria needle exchange services advisory committee terms of reference.* Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=viha%20advisory%20committee%20needle%20exchange&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CB4QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.viha.ca%2FNR%2Frdonlyres%2FE6930CA4-6C81-4E97-8D67-99BFF48A8716%2F0%2FNExch_advisory_committee_TOR1.pdf&ei=FoqnTp_wMcfiiAKxsri3DQ&usg=AFQjCNH3jDl498mE9utszGJcP_6LWm-x6Q&cad=rja

Vancouver Island Health Authority (VIHA). (2009). *I-Track 2009: Monitoring trends in the prevalence of HIV and hepatitis C and associated risk behaviours among people who inject drugs in Victoria, B.C.* Victoria, Canada: VIHA.

Victoria (City of) v. Adams, 1209, (B.C.SC 2008)

Victoria (City of). Bylaw enforcement policy erecting temporary shelters in public spaces, 16 October 2008. Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=bylaw%20enforcement%20policy%20%E2%80%93%20erecting%20temporary%20shelters%20in%20public%20spaces&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCQQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.victoria.ca%2Fcityhall%2Fpdfs%2Fcompar_shltr_bylwpl.pdf&ei=5sCwTu6NO8eeiQLAq7n_Dw&usg=AFQjCNG0sb-EhiSPKdEwS5-Q2LHuFsM0OQ&cad=rja

Victoria Police Department. (2008). *Strength & spirit: A strategic plan for 2008 – 2010.* Victoria, Canada: Victoria Police Department.

Victoria Police Department. (2009). *VICOT annual report 2008.* Retrieved from http://www.vicpd.ca/uploads/bod/monitoring/April_2009%20_VICOT_Annual_Report.pdf

Victoria Police Department. (2010). *Police act audit: Service level review.* Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CCwQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.pssg.gov.bc.ca%2Fpolice_services%2Fpublications%2Fdocs%2Fvicpd-audit-report-service-level-

review.pdf&rct=j&q=Victoria%20bc%20police%2032%2C134%2C000%20&ei=Qg7gTaOtLa3biAKZ2NXvCg&usg=AFQjCNHJE_z99ZjyYA8k08nMuuYM9xSzkw&cad=rja

Victoria Police Department. (2010, July 10). *Report to Victoria police board date: 05 July 2010 subject: Assessment of public disorder activity in the 900 block Pandora.* Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=4&sqi=2&ved=0CCsQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.vicpd.ca%2Fuploads%2Fbod%2Fmonitoring%2F2010%2FJuly%25202010%2520%2520900%2520block%2520Pandora.pdf&rct=j&q=victoria%20police%20board%20minutes%20%20pandora&ei=DBLgTbKVNJLXiAKIwNjpCg&usg=AFQjCNGgwG9KRHpH0ezJKIUWL57ymYA0Rg&cad=rja

Walby, K. & Lippert, R. (2011). Spatial regulation, dispersal, and the aesthetics of the city: Conservation officer policing of homeless people in Ottawa, Canada. Forthcoming in *Antipode.*

Wallace, B., Klein, S., & Reitsma-Street, M. (2006). *Denied assistance: Closing the front door on welfare in BC.* Vancouver, BC: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives & Vancouver Island Public Interest Research Group.

Wallace, B. & Willson, M. (2008/2010). *A review of the evidence supporting Supervised Consumption Sites (SCS) and comprehensive harm reduction services in Victoria B.C..* Prepared for Harm Reduction Victoria. Retrieved from http://www.harmreductionvictoria.ca/?q=node/77

Watts, R. (2009). Fixed needle exchange proposal near downtown Victoria dropped. *Times Colonist.*

Wilson-Bates, F. for the Vancouver Police Board and Chief Constable Jim Chu. (2008). *Lost in transition: How a lack of capacity in the mental health system is failing Vancouver's mentally ill and draining police resources.* Vancouver, Canada: Vancouver Police Department.

Wilson, J.Q. & Kelling, George L. (1982). Broken windows: The police and neighborhood safety. *The Atlantic,* March 1982. Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/198203/broken-windows

Wood, E., Spittal, P.M., Small, W., Kerr, T., Li, K., Hogg, R.S., Tyndall, M.W., Montaner, J.S.G., & Schechter, M.T. (2004). Displacement of Canada's largest public illicit drug market in response to a police crackdown. *Canadian Medical Association Journal, 170(*10). Retrieved from http://www.ecmaj.ca/content/170/10/1551.full

Wortley, S. & Tanner, J. (2003). Data, denials and confusion: The racial profiling debate in Toronto. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *45*(3), 367-389.

Wortley, S. & Tanner, J. (2004). Discrimination or "good" policing? The racial profiling debate in Canada. *Our Diverse Cities, 1*. 197-200. Retrieved from http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=our%20diverse%20cities%20canada%202004%20wortley&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CB0QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcanada.metropolis.net%2Fpdfs%2FWortleyTanner_e.pdf&ei=4jWfTuKfBqXiiAL09Ihb&usg=AFQjCNHoRueQhN2-voDgDxqHY0Eq8G3_rw&cad=rja

Youmans, J. (2009, May 26). A pointed debate**:** Is too much consultation bad for our health? *Monday Magazine.* Retrieved from http://www.mondaymag.com/articles/entry/a-pointed-debate

Zakrison, T., Hame, P. & Hwang, S. (2004). Homeless people's trust and interactions with police and paramedics. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 81*(4), 596-605.