YOUTH EXPERIENCES

How police interactions impact youth who use drugs

“ I feel like every time I’ve dealt with a cop, it’s immediately “I’m going to cuff you, you’re under arrest. Don’t make me pepper spray you, don’t make me taser you”... there’s a lot of situations you can solve just by talking.

Female, 19 Indigenous, Chilliwack

SUMMARY

• In 2018, the Youth Experiences Project (YEP) interviewed 38 and surveyed 449 youth aged 16-30 in Victoria, Chilliwack, and Prince George.

• This report provides findings from YEP that illustrate the impact of police interactions on youth who use drugs, the attitudes of youth towards police, discriminatory policing practices, and the importance of harm reduction practices and policies related to the policing of youth who use drugs.

• We also provide recommendations from youth about how police can improve the quality of their work among young people.

• In 2020-21 we spoke to eight police officers in Chilliwack, Prince George, and Greater Victoria to share findings, including the five recommendations from youth.

“ I called 9-1-1 and the ambulance came first and then the cops came. And. And, um, like I was crying, I was freaking out. And they came and sat with me, like “It’s okay, it’s okay...Yeah, they were just really nice, you know? Like I can’t really explain it. Like they were just really nice and kind to me...weren’t judgmental at all...They were just like wanting to make sure that we were safe and that we didn’t have any more to die off of or something, you know?

Female, 19 Indigenous, Chilliwack
Substance use among youth is heavily policed in Canada. As shown in Figure 1, youth most commonly reported using alcohol, tobacco, and cannabis, stimulants, and hallucinogens. Drugs with the highest reported rates of daily or almost daily use were tobacco (56%), cannabis (51%), opioids (38%), stimulants (16%), and alcohol (10%).

Despite half of youth reporting at least four or more police interactions in the past year (Figure 2), only one-in-five reported being found in possession of an illicit drug, including marijuana, in the past five years (Figure 3). Of those found in possession, only one-in-five were charged by the police. This demonstrates the significant power and discretion that police exercise when making decisions about charging youth with criminal offenses.

I told them I was a responsible drug user. I refuse to leave needles anywhere. I refuse to leave, um, anything like, just, anywhere where it could harm someone...Yeah. And they, ah, and they use was “You know what? Okay, yeah. I respect that.” And they let me finish up.

Male, 24, White, Victoria

Figure 1. Substance use frequency, past six months

Figure 2. Number of police interactions, past five years

Figure 3. Experiences with substance use and policing
Attitudes towards police are important to the efficiency of policing services. Individuals who do not trust the police may be less likely to rely on police for help or to cooperate with police. As shown in Figure 4, youth’s attitudes towards police skewed slightly more positive than negative across most indicators. That said, youth rated police higher in the performance of their duties than they did on politeness and respect. In addition to surveying the attitudes of youth, we also asked about specific experiences they had with police. Altogether, they reported details on 770 interactions with police officers. After most encounters, youth felt that they were treated respectfully (67.4%) and fairly (72.0%). For better or worse, encounters with police seemed to play an important role about how youth felt about police – with youth reporting that 42% of events changed how they felt about police.

Youth were aware that police work is hard - police attend violent and potentially dangerous events which can make them distrustful or afraid of youth and the impacts of these emotions can be cumulative. Youth also reasoned that repeated interactions can create contempt, antipathy, or annoyance among police. While youth acknowledged that policing was intensive and often emotional work, their narratives underscore how some kinds of encounters with police were deeply stigmatizing and harmful.

In interviews, youth described negative encounters with the police where physical force was used and they or their friends were injured by being choked, dragged, stomped on, or beaten up so badly they were hospitalized. Troubling patterns existed where intersectional forms of discrimination were present: negative encounters and emotions were more common in encounters with police by youth who were Indigenous or otherwise racialized, homeless youth, youth whose sexual or gender identity was questioned, or youth whose drug use was more extreme. Youth also described supportive encounters when police reassured and comforted them, and felt that police attention is sometimes warranted, or even desired, to help navigate dangerous or violent situations. They even said that at times, police aggression was expected and necessary. While youth had experienced some respectful and supportive encounters with police, it was the negative ones that had the most long lasting impact.

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Figure 4: Young peoples’ attitudes about police

After dealing with one person [police] probably start carrying that stress. And then like when they’re dealing with another person, [the police] probably taking that out on them.

Male, 20, Indigenous, Prince George
1. RESPECTFUL COMMUNICATION AND ACTION

Although youth recognized that police encounters may be inevitable, the ways that police conduct themselves and communicate with YWUD was vital for increasing trust and respect for police. Respectful communication meant being kind and courteous when possible and actually listening to youth, and police taking the time to consider the situation before acting and getting the facts before jumping to conclusions. Youth hoped for more empathy from police, so they could be treated with patience and compassion instead of judgement, especially for those who are struggling with drug and mental health issues. Youth understood that police were impacted by the difficult situations they had to navigate, but requested they try not take their previous experiences out on youth. Reducing violence and threats towards YWUD is paramount; youth said police must not use their power more than required, finding a balance between having too much authority or being a pushover. Youth wanted police to follow required procedures to protect the rights of youth.

“I get it, it’s a stressful job. But you’re obligated to protect and serve. And protection shouldn’t mean living with that little mind in the back of your head saying like “What if this police officer isn’t in a good mood or anything.”

Male, 17, Indigenous, Chilliwack

2. CHANGES TO DRUG POLICY

The best way to deal with drugs is not through violence and force, and action, and putting people in prisons...[Let’s] not...cast these people aside out of communities, but kind of bring them in and pull them back together.

Male, 19, Asian, Victoria

Although youth had various opinions around the police’s role in drug policy, many thought that laws and procedures that criminalize drugs were not working and that police are caught by current drug laws: “if you cut off like one of the snake heads, three more are going to appear. You cut one drug dealer out, others are going to sprout up and take over...Because when there’s demand, supply will always follow”. Instead, decriminalization works to change values and perceptions around drugs themselves, “coming out of more of a place of concern, rather than conviction” for police and others.

However, many youth saw the damaging effects of addiction and criminalization and saw a need for more robust and accessible drug and alcohol treatment services available to youth and other people who use drugs, safe consumption sites, more housing, employment and other services that connect YWUD to community. They thought police could have an active role in directing and referring YWUD to resources, especially if they had more specialized training related to the connection between mental health, trauma and drug use. Youth wanted to ensure that police prioritized investigating and charging people for violent crimes, rather than targeting youth drug and alcohol use.
3. ENHANCED SCREENING AND TRAINING FOR POLICE

Youth wanted to ensure that new police recruits were psychologically fit to be police and that anyone who was not motivated by helping, caring for people and keeping them safe was weeded out by testing, including supervised, on the ground, interactions with people. Enhanced training for police included increased knowledge of harm reduction and social determinants of health, a more structural understanding of why certain people end up using drugs and are criminalized to “delve deeper into why maybe these laws are problematic or why, um, some populations are more vulnerable for arrest for certain things”. A key goal was shifting policing culture, decreasing the targeting of YWUD and racialized, including Indigenous, people, and reducing the stigmas and stereotyping that youth felt. Police were viewed as just one part of the public imagination of racism, stereotyping certain youth as more likely to conceal weapons, sell drugs or be violent.

So I just think like training, accountability, and then like proper repercussions... because there are times where I believe the police are in the wrong and you should be able to tell them that and not have to worry about “Okay, you know what? They’re going to take that the wrong way.” They’re either going to get aggressive or slap you for something and then all of a sudden you’re in the wrong.

Male, 24, White, Prince George

4. ACCOUNTABILITY IF POLICE ABUSE THEIR POWER

I don’t think it’s healthy to be an us-and-them kind of thing. Because, you know, if we start seeing it that way, they do too...we shouldn’t be at war with them, we should be all working together, right? We’re all in the same community.

Female, 19, Indigenous, Chilliwack

Youth wanted to ensure there was suitable accountability when police overstepped their authority or were violent or disrespectful. Although several youth had followed a complaints process, this had not been a very satisfying experience. They felt there is a long history of police not getting caught or authority turning a blind eye. Instead, youth thought there should be meaningful repercussions for police. Youth had seen many incidents where they perceived police to be above the law, such as texting while driving or speeding through red lights, and wanted police to play by the same rules.

5. STRONGER CONNECTIONS TO COMMUNITY

Finally, youth saw that police would be more trusted and relationships may improve if police were more visible in community, especially in non-threatening ways. Having neutral or positive interactions with police, getting to know them through community events, social media, or simple interactions on the street all were suggestions to help youth empathize and humanize police. They also suggested prioritizing longer relationships with communities that build over time, sharing history together with the community as a way to get more deeply connected in a positive way. Youth had had some positive experiences with Tribal police and generally appreciated when the police force was more diverse and representative of the communities where they live.

I think there’s a difference. Like because Native cops seem like they, ah, try to like understand more with the Native person, rather than the RCMP did. Because it seemed like the RCMP was just like “Oh, we’re here to...do our job and get it done... But then Tribals would like try to actually like assess the situation, and see what happened, and ask questions, and try to help people.”

Female, 24, Indigenous, Chilliwack
YWUD experience high rates of stigma and discrimination. Stigma contributes to negative stereotypes and legitimizes discrimination. It can lead to social exclusion and limit access to social support, health care, housing and other resources. Stigma is a fundamental cause of health inequalities and is an important determinant of health.

Their perceived stigma was high (4.2/6 (SD = .7), on the Perceived Devaluation-Discrimination Scale, compared to other marginalized populations and similar to sex workers. Stigma was perceived to be higher for youth who used illegal drugs, such as amphetamines, cocaine and opioids, than those who used cannabis weekly or had limited use. More than half the youth acknowledged perceived stigma in all categories, with the highest levels of stigma affecting their ability to work with children.

Youth experienced discrimination in multiple areas including at school, on the street or in a public setting, at work or getting hired for a job, getting service in a store or restaurant, or with the police or in the courts. Physical appearance, race/ethnicity/colour, age, and substance use were the most common reasons given by youth for discrimination.

Figure 5: Youth descriptions of stigma on the Perceived Devaluation-Discrimination Scale

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth identified that Indigenous youth were subjected to negative stereotypes and stigmatizing language by both police and others in all three communities. Nearly a quarter of the youth we spoke to were Indigenous (107/449) and many felt racially targeted by the police. Indigenous youth were 41% more likely to feel discriminated by the police or courts than white youth. 65% of Indigenous youth had four or more encounters with police in the last five years, compared to only 44% of white youth. This was significant, even when drug use and community visibility was considered. In their police encounters, Indigenous youth (vs. white) were 300 percent more likely to be handcuffed/arrested/ taken into custody rather than let go/given a ticket, even after adjusting for history of police interactions and situational factors related to the circumstances of each interaction. Our findings suggest that Indigenous youth may be vulnerable to discretionary policing practices and discrimination, which may perpetuate structural violence, over-policing, and high incarceration rates among Indigenous youth.

They were all white cops. And you could tell that I’m Native, so like...They probably were just thinking “Just a drunk Indian. Probably nobody cares about her.” Like that was kind of my first thought.

Female, 17, Indigenous, Victoria
A dramatic increase in drug-related overdoses in Canada means that YWUD are at risk. Nearly 10 people died each day of an illicit drug overdose in Canada from January 2016 to March 2018 and 1,542 people died of overdose in BC in 2018. In 2017-18, 20.4% of those who died were under 30.

In response, there have been increases in harm reduction services and policies such as the Good Samaritan Act (GSDOA) which exempts people who experience or witness an overdose and call 9-1-1 from being charged for possession of drugs or for breach of conditions. It does not, however, provide legal protection for outstanding warrants, production and trafficking of controlled substances or other crimes not listed in the bill.

Fear of police continues to be a barrier to calling 9-1-1. Just over 76% of YWUD surveyed in this study said they were concerned about overdose. Youth in this study often tried to take care of the overdose themselves to avoid embarrassment, punishment from parents or other adults, criminalization and stigma. Although the youth were hesitant to call 9-1-1 because of fear of being charged, they called if they were concerned the overdose may be fatal, and would hide drugs or lie about the circumstances to minimize their risk of charges. Although they were concerned about police, none of the youth described being charged or arrested during an overdose incident. This may indicate that the shifts in police policies and legislation have positively impacted some YWUD.

When police were perceived to be dismissive, disrespectful, or lacking care or compassion for the person overdosing, these negative experiences created distrust and may make youth less likely to call or call later, when time is of the essence.

Youth had very mixed knowledge of the GSDOA and many were concerned about criminalization due to drug use if they called 9-1-1. Public campaigns such as towardtheheart.com are needed so youth know about the GSDOA.

Changes to policing cultures that prioritize health issues rather than criminalize YWUD may increase youth’s trust of police and increase calls to 9-1-1 when needed.

**METHODOLOGY**

The Youth Experiences Project met with youth in Victoria, Chilliwack and Prince George, BC in 2017-18. The purpose of this research was to learn more about interactions between the police and YWUD and how these experiences affect their lives. We were particularly interested in street checks, youths’ perceptions of police and procedural justice, social support, stigma and discrimination, the actual encounters youth had with police, overdose, normalization of marijuana and youths’ recommendations on improving relationships between YWUD and police.

To contact youth, 13 research assistants recruited youth, aged 16-30, who used drugs (marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, heroin, or illicit prescriptions) by (1) hanging posters at local agencies, marijuana dispensaries, and coffee shops; (2) city-specific study Facebook pages and Instagram posts; and (3) approaching youth directly at skateboard parks, campus hangouts and downtown spaces where youth congregate. Youth could also refer other youth, such as their friends, to participate in the study. In total 449 participants were surveyed, 38 of whom provided in-depth descriptions about their experiences with police.

Demographic information for all participants is provided in Table 1. For more information about the Youth Experiences Project visit: yep.cisur.ca

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Table 1: YEP participant demographics
POLICE RESPONSES

In 2020-21 we spoke to eight police officers in Chilliwack, Prince George, and Greater Victoria to share findings, including the five recommendations from youth.

RESPECTFUL COMMUNICATION AND ACTION

Officers agreed that communication is vital to good policing and the ability to de-escalate, start and continue an interaction with a tone of respect is what the job requires. Police stated they are expected to learn to communicate better through training and daily encounters on the job. Putting time and resources into communication efforts can result in better encounters (now and in the future), stronger witness statements, and improved public trust. At times, officers have experienced their coworkers responding to youth and others in disrespectful ways, creating problems that may have never existed. Police are disturbed when they hear other officers have mistreated people.

It’s still the personal ability to separate yourself from the last encounter, the last thing you did, when you have gone to break-up a fight and you get that under control and you get everything dealt with and you go and your next call is a bunch of people drinking in a park, you’re already elevated, so any kind of resistance or push-back you’re getting, you’re already too high and there isn’t the time to get yourself back down to a level where you can deal with things properly, respectfully, and calmly.

RCMP, youth-focused

If you want to talk to someone in a bad way you could turn it into a fight if you want to, but if you go up and are treating them with respect, it’s probably going to end up with respect. The cop sets the tone, right? ... You can set that tone by slowing things down and just being respectful and you can deescalate, or you can escalate.

Municipal police, leader

Police gave several reasons why sometimes they find it challenging to respond respectfully. They are often busy with one call after the other, and limited resources and high demand impact their degree of positive engagement with community members. Police reflected they may be reacting to past experiences, either on the last call or the build-up of many violent encounters, and are not able to reduce their stress response. It is their responsibility to find ways to manage these difficult encounters. Finally, police also see some people they encounter respond to the uniform and their authority negatively, no matter how polite and respectful they are.

CHANGES TO DRUG POLICY

Police are concerned about the impact of substances on youth, especially the toxic and unknown nature of the drugs available. Some officers did not think there was enough training for police around substance use, trauma, and harm reduction and how to understand the complexities of working with people who use drugs. While police described a focus on targeting manufacturing, distribution, and trafficking of drugs, there was mixed messaging from leadership around discretion for possession charges between communities.

Police are not trained in trauma informed practice, they’re not trained in opioid addiction, they’re not trained in addiction in general, or in mental health and all these pieces that feed into it.

RCMP, youth-focused
**DECRIMINALIZATION**

While decriminalizing cannabis was thought to have decreased stigma and redirected policing time and resources “into actual crime” (RCMP, youth-focused), police were divided about decriminalizing all drugs. Police were critical that access to treatment supports for youth were tied to court systems or services focused only on harm reduction supplies, rather than addressing structural issues. They recognized that targeting PWUD pushes them further away from services and increases the risks associated with use. Some police thought that drug use should be viewed as a health issue rather than a criminal one.

“I don’t feel like drugs is anything for the police, I feel like it’s completely a health issue. You’re putting something in your body, it’s got nothing to do with me. Now if you commit a crime when you’re stoned, fine, but putting something in your body, to me, is not a police issue.”

Municipal police, leader

**ACCOUNTABILITY IF POLICE ABUSE THEIR POWER**

Officers have seen a change in policing culture, where calling out officers, education and repercussions are expected when police abuse their power. They recognized they should not be responsible in meting out justice through violence or intimidation, that “we should be accountable for our actions... all we’re doing is enforcing the laws of this country and we shouldn’t be ones that are breaking the law.” (Municipal police, youth-focused). Some police felt that youth complaints were underreported as they did not know where to complain, had previous bad experiences with police or had not been taken seriously, especially if they were poor, racialized or used drugs.

The police complaint process in BC is incredibly accessible, especially compared to anywhere else, because people can actually make a complaint about the police and have nothing to do with us...whether everyone knows that, or not, or what the point of access is, is another thing.

Municipal police, leader

As a police officer, when you get a call from the inspector of the, you know, Professional Standards Commission, it’s a terrible feeling.

Municipal police, youth-focused

There are several mechanisms for police accountability that have jurisdiction in BC, including the Independent Investigative Office, the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission for the RCMP, and the Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner. The process is stressful and fear of losing their jobs means officers sometimes respond in ways that slow down the process.

**RECRUITMENT, HIRING, ONBOARDING**

While the minimum of grade 12 still applies for both BC municipal police and RCMP, candidates with higher education and volunteer experiences are more likely to get hired. Having diverse, well screened, and trained officers can have better outcomes in the work. Police were skeptical that psychological testing screens out all of the people with issues that could be problematic to the work. Police had noticed fewer people were applying to various forces than in the past, likely due to increased scrutiny, and negative attitudes towards police in media and social media. They also questioned current recruiting strategies.

If you look at cop recruiting videos, will show cops rappelling from helicopters. So, I’ve done almost everything you can think of in policing, I’ve never rappelled from a helicopter...I feel like our videos, our social media, our recruiting efforts should be forward looking, not looking in the past.

Municipal police, leader
ENHANCED TRAINING FOR POLICE

Police recognized that training that has been evaluated for effectiveness, and actually makes a difference, is vital to good police work. They described that many courses are mandated, and others allow for choice. Having a choice around trainings means that topics like trauma, harm reduction, cultural safety may not rank highly for officers who may prefer driving and tactical skills training. Those who most need it may be missing these important trainings.

“The Effective Police Interactions with Youth Training Curriculum (Connecticut, US, 2008) is a one-day (5.5 hour) training program with videos, discussions, and role-playing activities, facilitated by two police trainers with experiencing working with youth (i.e., youth or school liaison officers). The curriculum covers topics about adolescent development, police discretion, effective communication strategies and the role of police and disproportionate contact with racialized youth. Program outcomes indicate enhanced officer knowledge of disproportionate minority contact, improved attitudes, and strategies for interacting with youth.”

Municipal police, leader

Police leaders work towards responsive training, addressing key complaints or issues through better coaching within the department. Experiential learning was seen as one vital part of learning to be a better officer and could involve scenarios created from real-life examples or opportunities to learn directly from people with lived experience with trauma and substance use issues.

It’s a constant balancing act of how we continue to progress as a policing profession and how do we make sure that we have the sufficient resources out on the street to be doing what we’re supposed to be doing.

Municipal police, leader

Let’s look at building a scenario around some of those dynamics at play...but that experiential learning I think it’s the most accurate way that we can, in the training environment, to recreate real life, and actually to see how officers and responding and provide an opportunity to coach them in the right way.

Municipal police, leader

TRAINING PROGRAMS

The Effective Police Interactions with Youth Training Curriculum (Connecticut, US, 2008) is a one-day (5.5 hour) training program with videos, discussions, and role-playing activities, facilitated by two police trainers with experiencing working with youth (i.e., youth or school liaison officers). The curriculum covers topics about adolescent development, police discretion, effective communication strategies and the role of police and disproportionate contact with racialized youth. Program outcomes indicate enhanced officer knowledge of disproportionate minority contact, improved attitudes, and strategies for interacting with youth.

The Youth-Police Initiative (YPI) Training Program (Baltimore, US, 2003) brings local neighbourhood patrol officers and marginalized youth together in a community-based setting over a two-week period. The first week focuses on developing youths’ communication skills. In the second week, youth and police officers engage in interactive communication and team-building exercises to enhance rapport and mutual understanding. One study by Fisher noted improved attitudes among youth and police. For more information, see: ypiworld.org/impact.

The Chicago Police Crisis Intervention Training for Youth (CIT-Y) program is a five-day, 40-hour training program where officers learn how to recognize, respond and apply developmentally appropriate strategies and de-escalation techniques. Surveys indicate an 86% improvement rate in officer knowledge and attitudes towards youth with mental-health related issues. For more information, see: nami.org/Advocacy/Crisis-Intervention/Crisis-Intervention-Team-(CIT)-Programs/Designing-CIT-Programs-for-Youth.

The International Performance Resilience and Efficiency Program (or iPREP) is an evidence-based training program uses realistic scenarios and settings that prepares officers in reducing reactive stressors to more effectively respond to community members in crisis.

For more information:
• State of Connecticut: Disproportionate minority contact [portal.ct.gov]
• Youth & Police Initiative (ypiworld.org)
• Health Adaptation Research on Trauma (hartlab.net)
Police all agreed that creating relationships with youth and others helps foster trust in the community and can sometimes provide youth with someone to turn to during a crisis. However, community engagement needs to be realistic and well thought out, not just political or tokenizing. They recognized the tensions that exist in calls to defund police and saw how community-based programming was often the first to go, prioritizing basic response-based policing. Too many calls in the cue are barriers to connecting to the community. Most importantly, “every interaction with every person, every time, every day, that’s what’s going to make the difference with how we build trust with a whole variety of people in our community” (Municipal police, leader).

If you’re a legitimate part of the community you gain trust, but if you just police them they don’t like you.

*Municipal police, leader*

Connecting to the community also serves another purpose: it gives police a chance to interact with a broader spectrum of youth and others and can be a protective measure to support the mental health of police, reducing compassion fatigue.

Some suggestions were as simple as having a presence walking rather than driving, and also included teaching yoga, coaching or playing basketball, spending time with seniors, learning Indigenous cultural teachings or environmental restoration.

"I’ve said this to some elders and some chiefs – I don’t even know how they forgive police for some of the sins that have been committed to them and their family members. I’m shocked, I don’t have that in me personally. If someone takes my kid to a residential school and then 20 years later wants to have a sweat with me and be my friend, it’s probably not going to end well for them. I just don’t have that in me. But somehow, they do."

*Municipal police, leader*

The Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program applies harm reduction training in conjunction with officer outreach and referrals to connect individuals to community support services with ongoing coordination and enhanced partnerships with local agencies and community members. Similar models include Drug Action Teams which include harm reduction training, community outreach, referrals, and collaborative partnerships between police and community service agencies, one such example includes the Timmins’ Police Services Addiction Outreach Community Safety Team and liaison officers.

Hub Models, also known as the Prince Albert Hub or Situation Table (first developed in the UK in 2008) have over 70 variations across Canada, which typically assess community needs and resources and compiles a multidisciplinary team that includes police officers, and other service providers, who attend weekly meetings to coordinate a rapid integrated response in identifying and connecting individuals in need of local services. The program is adaptable according to population, setting and needs while mobilizing available resources. Some First Nations communities have integrated “intervention circles” with Elders, service providers, and community members. Models such as the Samson Cree Hub (located on a reserve in central Alberta) and the Selkirk Team for At-Risk Teens (or Manitoba’s START model, designed for adolescents and families) show a correlation between First Nations’ values, improved police understanding of complex social issues and enhanced police connections to the community.

For more information:

- [Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion/ Let Everyone Advance with Dignity (LEAD)](leadbureau.org)
- [Why communities are crucial for Drug Action Team success](community.adf.org.au)
- [University of Saskatchewan Centre for Forensic Behavioural Science and Justice Studies- Hub Reports](cfbsjs.usask.ca)
REFERENCES


5. ‘Statement from the Co-Chairs of the Special Advisory Committee on the Epidemic of Opioid Overdoses and the Canadian Institute for Health Information on Updates to Data Related to the Opioid Crisis - Canada.ca’, pp. 1–2.


CITATION


ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Project website: yep.cisur.ca

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