CITY OF EDMONTON STREET CHECKS POLICY AND PRACTICE REVIEW

Curt Taylor Griffiths, Ph.D.

Ruth Montgomery, MA

Joshua J. Murphy, MA

Curt T. Griffiths, Ltd.

Prepared for the Edmonton Police Commission

June 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS III
LIST OF TABLES VII
TABLE OF FIGURES VIII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 1
INTRODUCTION 3
The Present Study *5*
Project Method *5*
RACISM, PREJUDICE, AND DISCRIMINATION IN CANADIAN SOCIETY 7
Racialized Persons, Racialization, and Racial Profiling *8*
The Experiences of Communities of Diversity *9*
The Lived Experiences and Perspectives of Persons in Communities of Diversity *11*
THE POLICE AND STREET CHECKS 15
Disproportionality in Street Checks *15*
Street Checks and Procedural Justice *16*
The Role of Police Officer Discretion in Street Checks *17*
Police Discretion and Decision Making *18*
Racial Profiling and Biased Policing *19*
Street Check Legislation and Guidelines *20*
POLICE STREET CHECKS: A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE 22
Canadian Research on Police Street Checks *23*
Counting Cards *25*
CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY OF POLICE STREET CHECKS 28
Variation in Terms and Definitions *28*
Racial Profiling versus Criminal Profiling *29*
The Issue of Psychological Detention *30*
The Validity of Police Street Check Data *30*
The Design and Method of Street Check Studies *31*
The Assumption of Homogeneity Within Communities of Diversity *34*
The Context Within Which Street Checks Occur *35*
Downloading and Police Street Checks *36*
The Potential Benefits of Street Checks *37*
The Activities and Prior Criminal Involvement of Persons Who Are Street Checked *37*
The Street-Checked Person's Racial or Ethnic Identity or Other Attributes *39*
The Dynamics of the Police-Citizen Encounter *39*
The Officer Conducting the Street Check *40*
Police Encounters with Citizens that Do Not Result in an SCR *41*
The Lived Experiences of Persons in Communities of Diversity *42*
Public Knowledge of Street Checks *43*

The Role of the Community in the Use of Street Checks by Police *43*
The Reliance on Survey Data *43*
The Phenomenon of De-Policing *44*
The Role of Private Security in Policing Communities of Diversity *44*
The Complexity of the Street Check Issue *46*

POLICING IN EDMONTON 47

The Edmonton Police Service *48*
Diversity in the EPS *50*
Crime and the Demands for Service *50*
EPS Response to Demands for Service *68*
Proactive Patrol Time *69*
Community Engagement and Relationship Building *70*

THE EPS STREET CHECK GUIDELINES, PROCEDURES, AND TRAINING 72

Confidentiality of SCR Information *75*
Retention of SCRs *76*
EPS Street Check Training *76*
Public Complaints Related to SCRs *78*

REVIEW OF THE 2017 EPS STREET CHECK REPORTS 79

The Review Protocol *79*
Findings from the Review *81*
Conflicting Officer Assessments of Subject's Race/Ethnicity *84*
The Ethnicity of Persons In SCRS *86*
Selected Examples of SCRs Submitted By EPS Officers In 2017 ..... *114*
Comment *123*

INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP SESSIONS 124

Communities of Diversity *124*
Interviews With Representatives Of Community Organizations *129*
Focus Groups With Organization Staff And Persons From Communities Of Diversity *130*
Limitations of the Community Interviews and Focus Groups *133*

THE EPS 134

Interviews with Sworn and Civilian Members of the EPS *134*
Focus Groups with EPS Sworn and Civilian Members *134*

FIELD OBSERVATIONS 139

The Experiences and Perspectives Of Representatives Of Community Organizations *140*
Relationships Between Communities Of Diversity And The EPS *140*
The EPS, Community Policing, And Community Engagement *146*
Perspectives On Street Checks *156*
Going Forward: Suggestions For Improving Police-Community Relationships *169*
The Experiences And Perspectives Of Youth From Communities Of Diversity *173*
The Experiences and Perspectives Of Persons In Diversity- Focused Organizations And In Communities Of Diversity *187*

The Issues Surrounding Street Checks as Reflective of Challenges Faced by Indigenous Persons in the Criminal Justice System *197*
Building Relationships *198*
Responses Of The Staff Of An Indigenous Organization To The Discussion Questions In The Province Of Alberta Street Checks And Policing Guideline *199*
Experiences With And Perspectives Of Private Security *204*

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF EPS SENIOR MANAGEMENT 206

The Use Of Street Checks *206*
The Quality Of Street Checks *208*
The Street Check Encounter and Officer Interpersonal Skills *209*
Racial Profiling versus Criminal Profiling *209*
Building Community Trust Through Engagement *211*
Building Officer Competencies for Effective Community Engagement *214*
Training *217*

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF EPS SWORN AND CIVILIAN MEMBERS 220

The Controversy Over Street Checks *220*
EPS Street Check Policy and Procedures *221*
The Centralization of the Street Check Review Process *221*
The Lack Of Consistency and Standardization *222*
The Use of Street Checks as a Performance Measure *224*
Public Knowledge And Perceptions Of Street Checks *225*
Building Relationships *228*
SCRS, Crime Analysis, and Case Investigation *228*
Protecting Vulnerable And Marginalized Persons *241*
The Context Of Street Checks *242*
Racial Profiling, Criminal Profiling, And Street Checks *246*
Street Check Training *249*
The Importance of the Officers' Interpersonal Skills *251*
Educating The Public About Street Checks *252*

FIELD OBSERVATIONS 255

Downtown Division Beat *255*
Southwest Division Beat *260*
Northwest Division Patrol *263*

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR MOVING FORWARD 267

The Experiences And Perspectives Of Persons in Communities Of Diversity *268*
The EPS *271*
Profiling Situations vs. Profiling Persons *275*
Monitoring for Problem Officers *286*
Monitoring for De-Policing *286*
Acknowledging and Addressing the Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Persons in Communities of Diversity *287*
Ensuring Procedural Justice in Police-Citizen Encounters *287*

Reviewing the Role of Private Security Personnel and Their Encounters with Persons in Communities of Diversity *288*
The Issue of the Police Gathering Data on Race *288*
Should Street Checks Be Banned? *289*
STUDY LIMITATIONS 290
The 2017 SCR Data *290*
The Field Observations *290*
The Community Consultation *291*
Limitations of the SCRs *291*
FINAL THOUGHTS 293
REFERENCES 297

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Somali-Canadian Youth and Young Adults Perceptions of the EPS....13
Table 2: Reclassified EPS SCRs Completed During 2017 (n = 27,125)....82
Table 3: Classification of 2017 SCRs (n = 27,125)....83
Table 4: The Ethnicity of Persons in SCRs, 2017 (n = 4,487)....86
Table 5: The Sex of Persons in SCRs, 2017 (n = 4,487)....87
Table 6: Sub-Classification of Ethnicity (n = 1,852)....87
Table 7: All Street Check Records by Ethnicity and Percentage of Count, 2017 (n = 27,125)....88
Table 8: Indigenous Persons Street Checked, by EPS Division, 2017 (n = 1,455)....89
Table 9: Persons Who Were Street Checked Who Had a ECIB and/or FPS Number, 2017 (n = 4,487)....90
Table 10: The Frequency of Street Checks for Persons, 2017 (n = 27,125)....91
Table 11: The Number of Street Check Records for Subjects (n = 4,487)....91
Table 12: Top 10 Persons in the SCR Data, 2017 (n = 27,125)....92
Table 13: Profiles of Persons Most Frequently Street Checked, 2017 (n = 4,487)....93
Table 14: Street Check Records by Division, 2017 (n = 4,487 records)....94
Table 15: Street Check Events by Division and Ethnicity, 2017 (n = 4,487 records)....94
Table 16: Top 10 Community Areas Where Street Checks Occurred, 2017 (n = 3,050 events)....95
Table 17: Top 10 Beats Where Street Check Events Occurred, 2017 (n = 3,050 events)....96
Table 18: Downtown Division Street Checks by District and Beat, 2017 (n = 1,198 occurrences in 1,718 records)....97
Table 19: Time Analysis of Street Checks (n = 3,050 reports)....99
Table 20: Top 10 Officers Conducting Street Checks, 2017 (n = 3,050 reports)....100
Table 21: Downtown Division Census Tract Information....103
Table 22: Visible Minority and Indigenous Residents in Downtown Edmonton, 2016....103
Table 23: Alleged Municipal Bylaw and Provincial Statute Violations (n = 3,625 persons)....105
Table 24: Ethnicity of Subject Alleged to have Violated Municipal Bylaws and Provincial Statutes (n = 3,625)....106
Table 25: EPS Quality Assurance Review Results....107
Table 26: The Role of SCRs in Selected Case Investigations....232

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Project Methods 6
Figure 2: EPS Organizational Chart 48
Figure 3: EPS Divisions and Districts 49
Figure 4: Crime Severity Index in Canada, by Metropolitan Area 51
Figure 5: EPS Crime Severity Index Scores Overall, for Violent Offences and Non-Violent Offences, 2009-2017 51
Figure 6: Trends in Violent Crime, 2009-2017 52
Figure 7: Trends in Property Crime, 2009-2017 52
Figure 8: Trends in Disorder Crime, 2009-2017 52
Figure 9: Crime Heat Map by Occurrences, 2017 (EPROS) 54
Figure 10: 2017 Crime Heat Map (Computer-Aided Dispatch) 55
Figure 11: Violent Crime Indicators in Edmonton, 2017 56
Figure 12: Violent Crime Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017 57
Figure 13: Property Crime Indicators in Edmonton, 2017 58
Figure 14: Property Crime Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017 59
Figure 15: Disorder Indicators in Edmonton, 2017 60
Figure 16: Disorder Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017 61
Figure 17: Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2016 62
Figure 18: Street Checks of Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2017 (n = 2,596 street checks with location coordinates) 63
Figure 19: Traffic Stops (No Violation Observed), to Identify Owner and Check Documents Due to Suspicious Circumstances (n = 836 stops with location coordinates) 65
Figure 20: Location of Street Checks Conducted for Alleged Loitering Violations, 2017 (n = 448 events with location coordinates) 66
Figure 21: Location of Alleged Municipal and Provincial Violations Observed (n = 2,210 events with location coordinates) 67
Figure 22: Response Time Performance (RTP) and Dispatch Call Volume, Priority 1-5 Events 68
Figure 23: Priority 1 Response Times 69
Figure 24: EPS Proactive Patrol Time, 2009-2017 70
Figure 25: Reclassified EPS SCRs Completed During 2017 (n = 27,125) 82
Figure 26: Street Check Analysis by Age (n = 3,090) 98
Figure 27: Time of Day Street Checks (n = 3,050 reports) 99
Figure 28: Downtown Division Census Tracts 101
Figure 29: Downtown Division Boundaries and Street Checks, 2017 (n = 1,168 checks with location coordinates) 102
Figure 30: Aboriginal and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, EPS Division and Beat Boundaries 109
Figure 31: Street Checks of Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2017 (n = 2,596 street checks with location coordinates) 110

Figure 32: Traffic Stops (No Violation Observed), to Identify Owner and Check Documents Due to Suspicious Circumstances (n = 836 stops with location coordinates) 111
Figure 33: Location of Street Checks Conducted for Alleged Loitering Violations, 2017 (n = 448 events with location coordinates).....112
Figure 34: Location of Alleged Municipal and Provincial Violations Observed (n = 2,210 events with location coordinates) 113

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this scope could not have been completed without the assistance, cooperation, and participation of many people. Jan Fox, Director, REACH, Helen Rusich, and Holly Hallborg and the other staff at REACH were instrumental in facilitating the identification and participation of community representatives tin the interviews. It is evident that REACH enjoys a sterling reputation in Edmonton and its various activities have had, and continue to have, a significant impact on the communities and persons with whom it works.

We would like to thank the representatives and staff from the organizations that participated in the interviews and the focus group sessions. Special thanks to the youth who made themselves available for the focus groups, one of which was conducted during a raging snowstorm. All of the participants shared their lived experiences, their observations about police-community relations generally and, more specifically, street checks. These materials are a core component of this report. Importantly, the persons who were interviewed and participated in the focus groups offered constructive suggestions for how to improve the relationships between the EPS and communities of diversity and address to the issues surrounding street checks.

The EPS cooperated fully during the project. Chief Rod Knecht and other senior-level officers offered their insights during interviews as did the sworn and civilian members who participated in the focus group sessions. Their candid observations were very valuable in understanding their lived experiences in policing the city and in conducting street checks. As well, thanks to the patrol and beat supervisors who assisted in facilitating the field observation component of the study and to the officers who agreed to be observed in the field and who generously shared their experiences and observations with the project team.

Special thanks to Superintendent Chad Tawfik and Inspector Warren Driechel who organized the EPS focus group sessions, internal interviews, and the ride- and walk-a-longs. They were always available to answer our queries and provide documents and information that was requested during the course of the study. Joann Fox was also instrumental in providing EPS materials.

The project team appreciated the support of Cathy Palmer, the former chair of the Commission and the current chair, Tim O'Brien. Special thanks to Vivianna Botticelli and Zeeshan Mughal from the Commission Audit Function for their assistance in reviewing and analyzing the street check files.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, the police practice of street checks has been the focus of considerable controversy and has been a flashpoint for the larger issues of racial profiling and biased policing. Street checks generally involve the police stopping persons to collect personal information that is then stored and used for a variety of purposes, including case investigation, locating missing persons, and identifying persons in cases of death.

A number of investigations have concluded that the police in some municipalities disproportionately street check persons who are Indigenous or Black, are from diverse communities, and/or who are otherwise marginalized and vulnerable (Bennett, 2015a; 2015b; CBC News, 2015a; Fine, 2016; Huncar, 2015; 2017a; Julian, 2017a; Labby, 2017; McGregor and MacIvor, 2017).

There are also concerns that persons may experience psychological detention during street checks. This occurs when a person who has been stopped by a police officer feels that they have little choice but to remain in the encounter situation, even though they are not suspected of either having committed a crime, or intending to commit a crime. It has been noted that, if a street check results in the physical or psychological detention of a person and does not meet the requirements for an investigative detention under *R. v. Mann*, then the detention is arbitrary and contrary to s. 9 of the Charter (Weingarten, 2015).

Citing studies that have concluded that street checks are a form of systemic discrimination, there have been calls from various stakeholder groups and politicians for the practice to be banned (CBC News, 2017a; 2015b; Matys, 2016).

The Law Union of Ontario, for example, has taken the position that street checks represent a systematic violation of human rights, Charter rights, and privacy rights (http://www.lawunion.ca/tag/street-checks/).

Police services and others who support the practice contend that street checks are a valuable tool for keeping communities safe by preventing crime, assisting in case investigations, and for checking on the well-being of persons. Among police scholars, there are concerns that the research on street checks that has been conducted to date has significant shortcomings that preclude definitive conclusions as to whether this practice reflects racial profiling and biased policing.

Controversy has also surrounded police street checks in Alberta. Several police services, including the Edmonton Police Service (EPS), have been described as racist and as engaged in systemic discrimination in the conduct of street checks. There are calls for street checks to be banned, or severely curtailed (CBC, 2017b). The basis of these accusations and arguments are findings from several descriptive studies of street check that have found a disproportionate number of persons from communities of diversity are subjected to street checks. The EPS has rejected this accusation (Huncar, 2017b).

In a memo dated October 23, 2017, the Office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Alberta set out a number of concerns with respect to street checks. These included the obligations of police services to ensure that street checks are conducted in a manner that protects access and privacy rights (Office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Alberta, 2017). The Commissioner also took the position that there should be "proactive disclosure and public reporting to enhance openness, transparency, and accountability to the public", and that there should be an evaluation of the effectiveness of street checks as an operational police strategy.

To address the issue, the provincial government has established a working group that administered a survey to assess public opinion about the practice of street checks and is considering the development of province-wide standards for street checks.

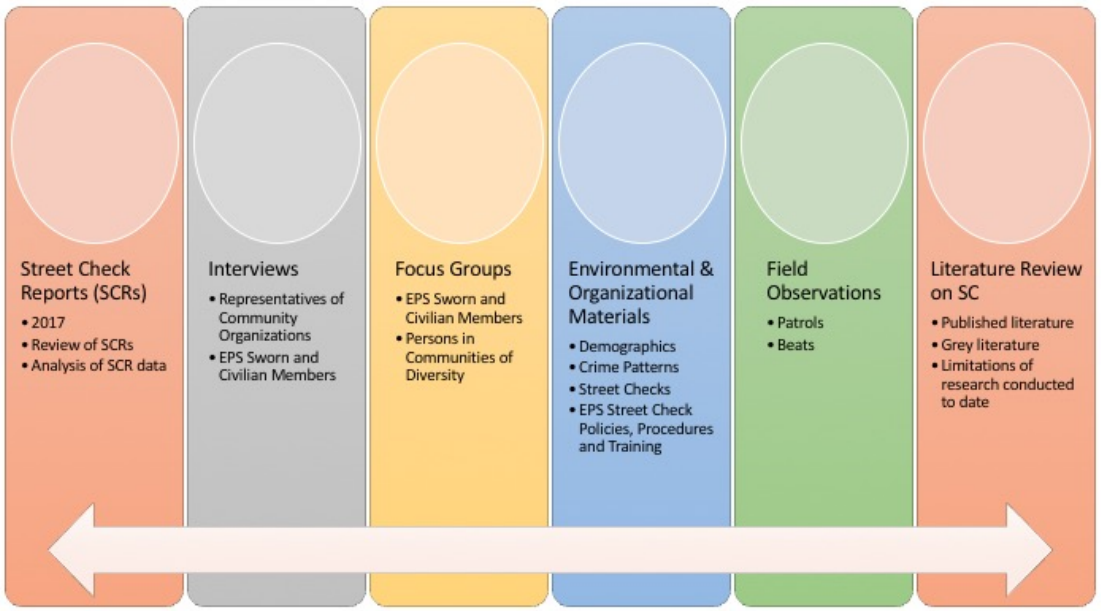
The Present Study

The present study was designed to review the use of street checks by the EPS, including the issue of psychological detention. It was conducted between October, 2017 and May, 2018 and involved the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. This included: 1) a review of the published and "grey" literature on the police practice of street checks; 2) an in-depth review of EPS Street Check Reports (SCRs) for 2017 to validate that the SCRs were in compliance with EPS street check guidelines; 3) an analysis of EPS SCRs; 4) interviews with EPS senior management; 5) interviews and focus group sessions with EPS sworn and civilian members; 6) interviews with representatives of community organizations and focus group sessions with organization staff and persons from communities of diversity; 7) a review of EPS training and policies with respect to street checks; and, 8) field observations of police-citizen encounters via ride-alongs with patrol officers and walk-alongs with beat officers. The report makes extensive use of quoted materials to capture the lived experiences of persons in communities of diversity and of the members of the EPS.

Project Method

The components of the present study are set out in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Project Methods



RACISM, PREJUDICE, AND DISCRIMINATION IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

It is important to consider the issues that surround police street checks against the larger societal backdrop of racism, prejudice, and discrimination that have been long-standing features of Canadian society and may be manifested at times in the criminal justice system (Griffiths, 2019). Persons in communities of diversity have experienced racism, prejudice, and discrimination historically and in contemporary times. This includes Indigenous persons, Blacks and other persons of colour, persons with specific religious affiliations, immigrant and refugees, LGBTQ persons, and those who are marginalized and vulnerable, among others.

Racism is, "a belief or doctrine that inherent differences among the various human racial groups determine cultural or individual achievement, usually involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to dominate others or that a particular racial group is inferior to the others" (dictionary.com, n.d.).

Prejudice can be defined as, "the unsubstantiated, negative pre-judgement of individuals or groups, generally on the basis of ethnicity, religion, or race" (The Canadian Encyclopedia, n.d.). Discrimination is the, "treatment or consideration of, or making a distinction in favor of or against, a person or thing based on the group, class, or category to which that person or thing belongs rather than on individual merit" (dictionary.com, n.d.).

All of these may be reflected in criminal justice legislation and policies, as well as at any one point in the criminal justice system, including the decision making of police officers, in court proceedings, at sentencing, and in institutional and community-based corrections. The presence of prejudice, discrimination, and racism is not always overt, but may be subconscious on the part of justice system personnel or may be subtle and not readily identifiable. Also, persons in conflict with the law may perceive that they are the victims of prejudice, discrimination, and racism, even in instances where there is no empirical evidence that it has occurred. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the basis of these perceptions.

The United Nations has raised questions about Canada's record on anti-racism, citing the continuing challenges facing Indigenous peoples (globenewswire, 2017; Paradkar, 2017). There is evidence that racism and discrimination exist in Canada, particularly with respect to women, Indigenous persons, persons in racialized groups, and others. This is reflected in the increase in police-reported hate crimes related to religion or race and ethnicity (Leber, 2017:3). Reported hate crimes against the Muslim population, for example, increased 61 percent in 2015. Hate crimes involving violence related to sexual orientation increased 59 percent in 2015. In 2017, controversy over Canada's immigration policy spilled over into street-level conflicts between anti-racism and anti-fascist groups and far-right groups who oppose Canada's admission of refugees.

The Canadian public appears to be aware of this issue. A survey (n=1000) of Canadians found that 69 percent of respondents felt that there was racism in Canada and nearly half had heard persons make racist remarks (*The Globe and Mail*, 2016).

Racialized Persons, Racialization, and Racial Profiling

Three key concepts in the discussion of racism, prejudice, and discrimination are racialized persons, racialization, and racial profiling. The term racialized refers to individuals and groups who are not Indigenous or White (Government of Canada, 2012:1). Racialization is the process by which societies construct races as real, different, and unequal in ways that matter to economic, political, and social life (Province of Ontario, 2017:11). Racial profiling has been defined as: "[A]ny action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment" (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017:16). In R. v. Brown [2003] O.J. No. 1251, the Ontario Court of Appeal defined racial profiling as involving "the targeting of individual members of a particular racial group, on the basis of the supposed criminal propensity of the entire group."

Racial profiling has a profound effect on the individual who is profiled, including a loss of self-esteem and dignity and sense of safety and security, on families, and on the social fabric of communities (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017:6-7). Racial profiling not only results in the alienation of communities and individuals, but has also been found to be ineffective as a strategy for ensuring community safety and security (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, 2011; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003).

Profiling can occur not only in policing, but at other stages of the criminal justice system as well. Black accused persons, for example, may be more likely to be denied bail due to an assumed higher level of risk and are disproportionately placed in segregation in correctional institutions (Griffiths, 2019). Further, persons who are racialized often face challenges in accessing justice (Go, 2014). Criminal legal aid programs, funded by the federal government and the provincial and territorial governments, are designed to facilitate access to justice for poor and marginalized persons (Department of Justice Canada, 2014).

Although most frequently discussed in the context of policing, racial profiling can occur in the larger community. A survey of a non-random sample of Ontarians (n=1503) found that that four in 10 reported having been racially profiled and that being racially profiled by a private business or retail service (46.6%) was mentioned more frequently than being profiled by the police (37.9%) (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017:29). The same survey found that the majority of Blacks (93 percent) in the sample felt they were profiled due to their “race or colour”, while the majority of Muslim respondents (79 percent) identified their religion as the reason they were profiled (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017:21). An on-line survey (n=1000) in Vancouver found that 82 percent of visible minorities indicated they had been subjected to prejudice or other forms of discrimination (Merali, 2017).

The Experiences of Communities of Diversity

Blacks in Canada have experienced racism, prejudice, and discrimination historically and in contemporary times. Black children and youth, for example, are disproportionately represented

in child welfare, child protection and youth justice systems, in the numbers living in poverty, and among those at high risk of sexual exploitation and violence (Griffiths, 2019).

A survey of Canadian Muslims (n = 600) found that one-third of those surveyed indicated they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment by others in Canada in the previous five years due to their religion, ethnic or cultural background, language, or sex (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2016).

Among Indigenous persons there is pervasive poverty, high rates of unemployment, low levels of formal education, and high death rates from accidents and violence. More than half of Indigenous students fail to graduate from high school, and the unemployment rate among Indigenous persons is twice that of non-Indigenous persons (McNally and Margin, 2017). The subordinate political and economic position of Indigenous peoples is a consequence of their colonization by Europeans and of Canadian government policies that have exerted control over virtually every aspect of their life.

The LGBTQ community has also faced discriminatory treatment both in society in general and by the police. Historically, the relationship between the police and the LGBTQ communities and relations was characterized by conflict and mistrust. From the late 1950's to the late 1990s, for example, Canadian police services were involved in extensive surveillance, interrogation, and harassment of gays and lesbians (Griffiths, 2016).

The police were used to criminalize homosexuality, as illustrated by the raids conducted by the police on gay bathhouses across Canada in the 1980s, including in Edmonton. The patrons of these facilities were arrested (Kinsman and Gentile, 2009). Officers were often unsympathetic to gay victims and police services were slow to respond to hate-motivated crimes. The members of these communities were often reluctant to report being victimized and this was compounded by the attitudes of investigative officers. Their most common experience with the police was negative and there is often the perception that police services are not aware of the issues within LGBTQ communities (Wolff and Cokely, 2007).

An example of the challenges faced by sexual minorities are illustrated by the experiences of LGBTQ youth. A study of homeless youth in Toronto (n = 100) who were poly-substance abusers found greater use of meta-amphetamines and opioids among homeless LGBTQ youth than their heterosexual peers (Barnaby, Penn, and Erickson, 2010). These circumstances and behaviours placed LGBTQ youth at a high risk of victimization, contact with the police, and involvement in the criminal justice system.

Transgender youth have reported barriers to accessing supportive and knowledgeable health care (Quintana, Rosenthal, and Krehely, 2010). These youth are more likely to encounter discrimination than their peers in the shelter system (Quintana, Rosenthal, and Krehely, 2010). In a survey (n = 762, 54 percent of whom were Indigenous youth) of street-involved and marginalized youth in BC, participants reported a lack of both culturally-relevant services and LGBTQ-related services, as well as being discriminated against based on their race and/or skin colour (Saewyc, et. al., 2008).

Despite the efforts of many police services to develop the capacities to better respond to the needs of the LGBTQ community, the relationship continues to be tenuous. In 2017, the relations between the police and the LGBTQ communities were challenged by a controversy over whether police officers should participate, in or out of uniform, in the annual Pride parades that occur across the country. In 2018, the decision was made to not allow EPS officers, the RCMP, or military personnel to participate in future Pride parades.

The Lived Experiences and Perspectives of Persons in Communities of Diversity

It is important to understand the lived experiences and perceptions of persons in communities of diversity. This was an objective of a study conducted by Bucerius, Thompson, and Hancock (2016) of the Somali-Canadian community and the police in Edmonton. The findings of a survey (n = 301) of Somali youth and young adults between the ages 16-30 conducted as part of the larger study of the Somali community and the police provide important insights into the experiences and perspectives of this group.

Among the findings from the survey were the following:

Discrimination Experienced by the Somali-Canadian Community

There were a number of questions on the survey asking the respondents about discrimination generally. For the place where discrimination occurred and the persons who engaged in the discrimination, the respondents could indicate multiple places/persons. The reported percentages reflect the proportion of responses that included that place/source of discrimination, not the proportion of respondents who indicated that place/source (Bucerius, Thompson, and Hancock, 2016:30). The findings included:

- 57 percent felt that Somali Canadians were discriminated against in Canadian society.
- A number of places were mentioned in the responses as the location of the discrimination: public spaces, e.g. on the street, in stores, banks and restaurants (41 percent); at school (33 percent); and at work/applying for work/promotion (28 percent).
- Contact with the police or courts was listed as the site of discrimination in 20 percent of the responses.
- The sources of discrimination that were mentioned in the responses were teachers/professors (38 percent); other school/college staff (42 percent); co-workers (34 percent); employers (28 percent; members of the general public (44 percent); and police officers (22 percent).

These responses indicate that the Somali youth and adults who completed the survey identified a range of locales and sources of discrimination. The police were mentioned with far less frequency than others both as a site and source of discrimination, although this may have been due to the respondents having less contact with the police.

Somali-Canadian Youth and Young Adults Perceptions of the EPS

The Somali youth and young adults were also asked to respond to several police-specific statements. These are set out in Table 1:

Table 1: Somali-Canadian Youth and Young Adults Perceptions of the EPS

Question	Strongly Agree/Agree	Neutral/No Opinion	Disagree/Strongly Disagree
Police effectively deal with these issues	41%	33%	25%
Police are NOT able to maintain order in the Somali-Canadian community in Edmonton	42%	33%	25%
Police in Edmonton treat Somali-Canadians fairly	33%	32%	35%
Police in Edmonton treat Somali-Canadians worse than other minority groups	36%	28%	36%
Police are doing everything they can to engage with the Somali community in Edmonton	23%	36%	41%
Interested in building stronger partnerships with the police in Edmonton	81%	13%	6%

(Bucerius, Thompson, and Hancock, 2016: 30-32)

These findings highlight the diversity of opinions within communities of diversity, in this case among Somali youth and young adults who participated in the survey. Notable findings were that a significant percentage of the responses were in the "neutral/no opinion" category, the view among 42 percent of the respondents that the EPS was responsive to the issues in the Somali-Canadian community and, divided opinion on whether the EPS treated Somali-Canadians worse than other groups in communities of diversity.

The responses also suggested that there is considerable work to be done to improve relationships with the Somali-Canadian community. For example, while 34 percent of the respondents strongly agreed/agreed that the EPS was responsive to the issues in the Somali-Canadian community, 60 percent disagreed/strongly disagreed with the statement that "Police are doing everything they can to engage with the Somali community in Edmonton." The respondents also indicated a high level of interest in building stronger relationships with the EPS. This question had the lowest percentage of "neutral/no opinion", and suggests there is

considerable potential to strengthen relationships between the EPS and the Somali-Canadian community.

Clan factionalism, violence, relations with the EPS, unemployment, and racism were also identified by a significant percentage of the Somali-Canadian youth and young adults who completed in the survey (Bucerius, Thompson, and Hancock, 2016:33-34).

THE POLICE AND STREET CHECKS

Disproportionality in Street Checks

Concerns about police street checks and assertions that the police are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing are based largely on findings that certain groups of citizens are disproportionately street checked by the police in relation to their composition in the population.

There are at least three possible explanations for disproportionality in street checks: 1) there is bias in officer decision-making on the street about who to stop or search; 2) the populations *available* for stops and searches include a larger proportion of people who are Indigenous, Black, marginalized/vulnerable, and from other diverse communities; and, 3) stops are targeted at areas which have high concentrations of people from minority ethnic backgrounds (MVA and Miller, 2000: v).

Researchers have noted the importance of distinguishing between the *resident population* and *available population* in a municipality. This is illustrated by the findings of an in-depth study of police stops in the UK:

> *"Measures of resident population give a poor indication of the populations actually available to be stopped or searched. The available populations in the five sites were quite different from the resident populations of the areas. Most significantly, within pockets of high stop and search activity, young men and people from minority ethnic backgrounds tended to be over-represented in the available population." (MVA and Miller, 2000:vi)*

Researchers have also noted that there are problems with defining who should count as 'local' for the purposes of a resident population when compiling measures of disproportionality (MVA and Miller, 2000: vi).

Street Checks and Procedural Justice

The requirement of procedural justice (often referred to as *procedural fairness*) in police-citizen encounters is a key component in contemporary policing and in the discussion of police street checks (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015; Tyler, 2011). Procedural justice "refers to the fairness of processes by which the police exercise their authority: the way that police treat citizens and decide what to do" (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015:846).

The dimensions of procedural justice include the perception by a citizen that their story has been heard and that the police have treated them with respect, are interested in their personal situation, and that the decision making of the police officer is unbiased. Citizens also need to understand how and why the officer has made specific decisions and taken certain actions (Tyler,1997). To the extent that officers adhere to the principles of procedural justice, the officers and the police service are given legitimacy by the community (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015:846).

As Sunshine and Tyler (2003:520) have noted:

> *"[W]hen police change the way they interact with citizens, moving from a command-and-control orientation to a fair and respectful disposition, public evaluations will eventually become more favorable. Effectively controlling crime and maintaining positive public evaluations is not a tradeoff that the police have to make. In fact, on the contrary, the police can engage in effective crime control and increase public support when they exercise their authority fairly."*

Although contact with the public is a routine aspect of policing, research has shown that being stopped and questioned (and sometimes searched) by the police can cause embarrassment, anxiety, or even fear (Stone and Pettigrew, 2000).

Police scholars have noted that how a police service conducts street checks may have a significant impact on public confidence in, and the legitimacy of the police. A UK study exploring this highlighted the importance of street checks being conducted fairly and with good reason; the legality of street checks as reflected in adhering to established guidelines and legislation;

and, the effectiveness of street checks by targeting their use in such a manner as to maximize interventions with active offenders and minimizing stops of law-abiding community residents (Quinton, Bland, and Miller, 2000: v).

Research studies have also found that police services can implement measures to alter the dynamics of police-citizen encounters and address biases that may have been present (Davis, 2009).

The role of procedural justice in the lived experiences and perspectives of persons in communities of diversity in Edmonton is a central focus of the present study.

The Role of Police Officer Discretion in Street Checks

Police officers exercise considerable discretion in carrying out their mandated activities. Discretion is an essential component of policing because no set of laws or regulations can prescribe what a police officer must do in each and every circumstance. Because it is impossible for officers to enforce all laws all of the time, they practice selective or situational enforcement (Griffiths, 2016). The majority of the thousands of decisions that police officers make in the course of their duties are routine. However, their decisions may also stir controversy, as in cases where there are allegations of racial profiling and biased policing.

Studies of police decision making have found that patrol officers bring to their work a set of cognitive lenses through which they make determinations about the people and events they encounter. They use a conceptual shorthand consisting of *typifications* and *recipes for action* to tailor their decision making to the particular area and population being policed (Lundman, 1980:110;111). Field research on police officers has found that the decisions of police officers to initiate a stop may be based on categorical stereotypes that place certain persons, including young men, Blacks and “regulars”, e.g. those known to the police, at a disproportionate risk of being stopped (Quinton, 2011:366).

Officers who are assigned to a fixed geographical area for an extended period of time develop knowledge of the issues in the area, including crime and disorder as well as of the persons who

reside in, or frequent the area. How a situation or a person is "typified" may play a significant role in the recipes for action. This determination may involve judgements by police officers as to who they regard as "good" and "bad" people (Westmarland, 2013:312). This may, in turn, affect how the officers exercise their discretion. A visual cue such as a poorly dressed individual in an upscale neighbourhood would attract the attention of officers on patrol, as would a behaviour or activity considered out of place in a particular area. A concern is that these cognitive processes may result in biased policing and the profiling of certain persons and groups who may be disproportionately subjected to street checks and other forms of surveillance and police attention.

Police Discretion and Decision Making

A review of the scholarly literature on police decision making provides a background context within which street checks can be examined. Generally speaking, the research on police decision making has found offender-related attributes, such as ethnicity and age, explain only a very small portion of the variability in police decision making. Other factors, such as community expectations, police resources and workload, and situational variables, generally explain more of the variance (Griffiths, 2016).

One challenge in the study of street checks is that there are many non-quantifiable nuances that are involved in the decision of an officer to conduct a street check and in the dynamics that occur during the encounter with the person who is stopped. Officers often use a "sixth sense" in determining whether a person is "suspicious" and a stop is warranted (Griffiths, 2016).

In the absence of field observational studies, it is difficult to ascertain the cognitive processes that police officers utilize in making the decision to conduct a street check. Most often, officers are asked to recall the factors that influenced their decision to conduct a street check and this may not provide an accurate accounting of what actually transpired. This highlights the importance of including field observations as a core component of any study of street checks.

Racial Profiling and Biased Policing

In carrying out their tasks, police officers must be aware of the legislative provisions that require the equal treatment of citizens. Section 15(1) of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees equality rights: "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability." Section 3(e) of the *Canadian Multicultural Act* (R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.) states that it is the policy of the Government of Canada to "ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity."

The *Canadian Human Rights Act* prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, marital status, family status, disability and conviction for which a pardon has been granted" (Canada. Department of Justice, 1985:1). Many provinces, including Ontario, B.C., Alberta and Manitoba, have Human Rights Codes that mirror federal legislation and contain sections creating human rights tribunals and proclaiming the right of residents to free from discrimination. This applies to a wide range of persons and groups in society.

Police officers are expected to engage in bias-free policing, which requires that their decisions are "based on reasonable suspicion or probable grounds rather than stereotypes about race, religion, ethnicity, sex, or other prohibited grounds" (Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police 2004, 7). Bias-free policing requires the equitable treatment of *all* persons of diversity.

One manifestation of biased policing is *racial profiling*. It has been noted that racial profiling, "may result from police officers' internal implicit bias, which stems from unconscious stereotypes, or explicit bias, which arises from conscious stereotypes. Courts and tribunals have also recognized that racial stereotyping will usually be the result of subtle unconscious beliefs, biases and prejudices" (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2016).

Research has found that the extent to which policies designed to reduce racial profiling are implemented and effective depends in large measure on the police organization, the strength of its leadership, and the quality of training that officers receive (Kloss and McKenna, 2006; Miller, 2009).

At issue is whether certain persons and groups, because of their attributes, are singled out for attention by the police based on who they are rather than what they have allegedly done, or are about to do. This has been a focal point in the debate over, and controversy surrounding, the police use of street checks in Edmonton and in other jurisdictions.

Street Check Legislation and Guidelines

There is considerable variability across the country in the legislative provisions and departmental policies on police street checks. In attempt to address what was perceived to be widespread racial profiling and biased policing in street checks, the province of Ontario enacted Ontario Regulation 58/16, "Collection of Identifying Information in Certain Circumstances – Prohibition and Duties". The legislation sets out guidelines for police officers with respect to stopping persons and attempting "to collect identifying information by asking the individual, in a *face-to-face encounter* (emphasis added), to identify himself or herself or to provide information for the purpose of identifying the individual and includes such an attempt to do so, whether or not identifying information is collected" (https://www.ontario.ca/laws/regulation/160058) (Draaisma, 2017).

The legislation also created a number of prohibitions related to the collection of information, including the direction that, if one of the reasons for the collection of information is that the officer "perceives the individual to be within a particular racialized group," with certain exceptions, the collection of information should not be done in an arbitrary manner.

Officers conducting street checks in Ontario are required to inform the person who is stopped why they were stopped, that they have the right to walk away from the encounter, that the person's participation in the encounter is voluntary, and, that they are not required to provide

any information to the officer. The officer must provide a written record of the stop and of the encounter with the citizen, provide the person who is stopped with their own information, including their badge number, and inform the person about how to contact the provincial office of the Independent Police Review Director should they have any concerns about the encounter with the officer (Weingarten, 2015). The Ontario policy also requires police services to keep statistics on the age, race, and sex of persons in all attempted, and completed, street checks and have this information reviewed via an independent audit (Ferguson, 2016).

As of mid-2018, it is uncertain whether this legislation has reduced racial profiling and biased policing and if there are now fewer instances in which persons who are stopped by the police feel that they have been racially profiled and subjected to psychological detention. This is due to the failure of research studies to set a baseline of police activity against which the impact of changes in policy and legislation could be assessed.

The legislation does appear to have contributed to a significant reduction in the number of street checks conducted by some police services in the province. This is commonly referred to as de-policing, wherein police officers reduce their levels of proactive engagement with community residents. This issue is discussed below.

POLICE STREET CHECKS: A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

Studies of police street checks have most commonly been conducted within the framework of discussions as to whether the police engage in racial profiling and biased policing. A challenge in reaching definitive conclusions about this question is the absence of independent evaluations and the methodological limitations of studies that have been conducted. Despite the increased emphasis on evidence-based policing in the early 21st century, discussions, policies, and legislation relating to street checks has not been informed by empirically-sound research.

A UK study (MVA and Miller, 2000) that examined police stops at five sites focused on answering several research questions:

- How useful are residential population figures as a measure of the population available to be stopped or searched?
- Do police officers disproportionately stop or search those from minority ethnic backgrounds among the available population?
- Do geographic patterns of stops and searches reflect local crime problems?

Among the findings of this study were the following:

- Overall, across the five sites, the research findings did not suggest any general pattern of bias against people from minority ethnic groups, either as a whole, or for particular groups.
- Police stops and searches tend to be targeted at areas that had higher-than-average proportions of people from minority ethnic groups. This finding highlighted the importance of the police being able to justify targeting in the context of local crime problems.
- The disproportionality in police stops, was, to some extent, a product of structural factors beyond the control of the police.

  (MVA and Miller, 2000: vi-vii)

The third point highlights the importance of considering the larger societal context within which street checks occur.

The report further noted that, despite the myriad of factors that contribute to the decisions of the police to conduct a street check, if persons in certain groups are stopped more often than their White counterparts, this will negatively impact the levels of confidence in the police among these groups. This requires police services to increase their efforts at community engagement and to build relationships based on trust.

Among the recommendations of the UK study was that, **"**Police officers should manage stops and searches in ways which maximize public trust and confidence" (MVA and Miller, 2000: viii). This highlights a key issue in the study of police checks, that is, whether the dynamics of the street check encounter may play a significant role in the perceptions that persons in the community have of the police generally and, particularly, of street checks.

Canadian Research on Police Street Checks

Several Canadian studies have examined police street checks, although there have been few in-depth analyses, and some of the studies have been conducted by the media. In Ontario, a series of studies conducted by scholars and the media concluded that carding (street checks) reflected racial profiling and biased policing (CBC, 2017a). A study in Kingston, Ontario, found that Blacks were overrepresented in both traffic stops (2.7 times their proportion of the city's residential population) and pedestrian stops (3.7 times their proportion of the city's residential population) (Appleby, 2005). In Halifax, a review of police records found that, during the period 2005-2016, Blacks were three times more likely to be stopped than Whites. The study also found that persons identified as Arab or West Asian were 1.9 times more likely to be stopped by police than Whites (McGregor and MacIvor, 2017).

In Ottawa, an analysis of traffic stops over a two-year period (2013-2015) found that Middle Eastern (3.3 times their representation in the Ottawa driving population) and Black drivers (2.3 times their representation in the driving population) and, in particular, young men, were more

likely to be stopped by the police than other drivers (CBC, 2016). These researchers cautioned that the analysis did not prove that the Ottawa police were engaged in racial profiling; however, the findings suggested there might be problems with the way in which officers were conducting street checks that warranted further study. The analysis also revealed that no one group was disproportionately stopped in the vast majority of cases (97.19 per cent) that involved provincial and municipal offences (CBC, 2016).

A submission on carding and street checks submitted to the Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services by Legal Aid Ontario (2015) noted that police street checks disproportionately impacted persons from racialized communities and those in vulnerable groups.

A study of police street checks in Montreal, where it is estimated that Blacks are responsible for between 10 and 20 percent of crime (depending upon the type of offence), found that this group represented approximately 40 percent of those stopped and questioned (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, 2011:27).

The findings of a study of marijuana arrests in Toronto led the researchers to conclude that Blacks may be over-policed and racially profiled (Rankin and Contenta, 2017). While self-report surveys indicated that there was little difference in the rates of marijuana use between Blacks and other groups, an analysis of Toronto Police Service arrest data for 2003-2013 (n=11,299) revealed that Blacks with no history of criminal convictions were three times more likely to be arrested by officers for the possession of small amounts of marijuana than Whites with similar backgrounds (Rankin and Contenta, 2017).

From their review of the police practice of street checks, Doob and Gartner (2017) concluded that street checks can do more harm than good, regardless of whether there is demonstrated bias on the part of the police. In their words, “It is easy to exaggerate the usefulness of these stops, and hard to find data that supports the usefulness of continuing to carry them out” (2017: A22).

However, these researchers did analyses of police street check data, nor did they conduct any interviews or focus groups with stakeholder groups, including the police, community representatives, and community residents. As well, similar to other studies conducted to date, their analysis failed to consider the context within which police street checks occur.

Studies have also not examined the dynamics of the encounter between police officers and persons who are stopped. The specific features of the interaction may play a significant role in the perceptions of the person who is stopped and the impact of this dynamic on their attitudes toward the police, the perception as to whether they believed they were the victim of racial profiling and biased policing, and their general view of street checks.

Contrary to Doob and Gartner's (2017) conclusion, the data gathered in the present study suggest that there may be value in street checks, particularly in relation to case investigation and as a way to check on the well-being of persons in the community. This value was also acknowledged by some persons in communities of diversity in who participated in the study.

Counting Cards

Descriptive analysis is the most frequent methodology used by many studies of street checks in Canada. This involves reviewing police street check data and tabulating the number of street checks of persons in communities of diversity in proportion to their representation in the residential population, i.e. "counting cards." A finding that certain groups are more likely to be street checked than others has often led to the conclusion that the police are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing.

A recent review of street check data in Lethbridge is illustrative of this approach. Concerned about the experience that a friend's son who was Black had with the police, a Lethbridge lawyer secured street check data from the Lethbridge police via an FOI request. A subsequent review of the data revealed that Black and Indigenous persons were more likely to be street checked than others in the community. This led the lawyer to accuse the Lethbridge police of engaging in

racist and discriminatory practices in conducting street checks and to call for the police to cease conducting street checks (Labby, 2017).

Merely counting cards, however, does not establish that the police are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing. There are many additional factors, discussed below, that must be considered before this conclusion can be supported. Allegations of racism and discrimination are serious and require strong empirical support which was not present in this, and in many other cases, that have used descriptive analysis.

Similarly, research conducted in Edmonton has involved tabulating the number of persons from communities of diversity that were street checked as compared to their representation in the population of the city of Edmonton, and compared with persons not from diverse communities. This is an example of a study using the residential population as the measure, rather than the available population.

Among the findings of a review of EPS street check data for the years 2012-2016 was that Indigenous and Metis persons were four times more likely to be street checked than Whites. This led to the assertion that street checks reflected a "systemically discriminatory practice and a call for the end of street checks (www.progressivealberta.can/the_proof). A CBC investigation of 2016 EPS street check data found that Indigenous persons were six times more likely to be stopped than Whites, and Indigenous women were nearly ten times more likely to be street checked than White women (Huncar, 2017b).

An analysis of EPS street check data for the years 2009-2016 found differences in the number of street checks among the police districts (although no analysis was conducted to determine the reasons for the differences), that Indigenous persons and Blacks were street checked more frequently than Whites, and that Indigenous persons and Black men were subjected to more frequent street checks than others (Watters, 2017). The author of this report did note that, "[The] findings are only as accurate as the data available." This is an important point. The validity of police street check data generally, and, more specifically, EPS data is an important consideration and is examined in the present project.

A significant challenge, and limitation, of these types of studies is their descriptive nature. To date, there have been few attempts to examine the spatial distribution of street checks in the city and the relationship between persons stopped and the available population (rather than the residential population) in that area, considering Census data and crime data. Further, descriptive analyses do not allow for an examination of the context within which the street checks were conducted. Other factors that must be considered are set out below.

CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY OF POLICE STREET CHECKS

There are a number of important considerations that have not been sufficiently considered in the dialogue on street checks and by the majority of research studies conducted to date.

Variation in Terms and Definitions

Across Canada, there are different names given to the practice of police stops. This includes "carding", "street checks", and "information stops." This project uses the term street check. There is also variation between police services in the definition of what constitutes a street check. Ontario Regulation 58/16 states, for example, that the legislation "applies with respect to an attempt by a police officer to collect identifying information about and from the individual" for a number of purposes. It further states that the "'attempt to collect information about an individual from an individual' means attempt to collect identifying information by asking the individual, in a *face-to-face encounter* (emphasis added), to identify himself or herself or to provide information for the purpose of identifying the individual and includes such an attempt whether or not the identifying information is collected."

The analysis of the EPS street check data, presented later in this report, reveals that there are many instances in which a street check report (SCR) was completed based on an officer's observation of a person(s), with no personal contact with the person(s). In these instances, the notation of the SCR is often "for information purposes", or "for intel."

The variability in definitions as to what constitutes a street check and, more specifically, whether it involves a personal interaction between the police officer and the citizen, has significant implications for any attempt to determine whether the police are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing and for the development of policy guidelines to address these issues.

Racial Profiling versus Criminal Profiling

Part of the difficulty in determining whether a police service and its officers engage in racial profiling is distinguishing between racial profiling and criminal profiling. A defining attribute of the police culture is suspiciousness of people and circumstances (Griffiths, 2019). While critics of the police argue that racial profiling is endemic to police work, police officers contend that they profile criminals, with particular attention to "signals and 'unusual fits'" (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009:209).

The Ontario Human Rights Commission has made a distinction between racial profiling and criminal profiling by noting that criminal profiling is based on objective evidence of wrongdoing by an individual, while racial profiling is based on stereotypical assumptions about persons or groups of persons who are deemed more likely to engage in criminal behaviour (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003:10). Such a determination is difficult to make, based on an analysis of police files, since the cognitive processes of the officer in deciding to conduct a street check are generally not recorded in-depth in SCRs.

A Black officer in a Canadian police service offered the following perspective on racial profiling and criminal profiling and the importance of the context in which a person is identified for a police stop:

> *"When we're out on the street, we rely on our instincts. We are trained investigators in the sense that we need to do profiling. And what kind of profiling is that? Criminal profiling. It has nothing to do with racial profiling…We profile criminals." (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009: 210)*

Police officers may stop and question an individual if they suspect the person may be involved in illegal activity, or about to commit a crime, or when specific circumstances raise suspicions. As one officer noted, "Sometimes it is just good police work to say, 'It is three o'clock in the morning and you are in a neighborhood which has been plagued by break-and-enters or thefts from cars, so what are you doing here walking down the street at three o'clock all dressed in

black?" Similar views were expressed by the EPS officers in the present study and these are discussed later in the report.

The Issue of Psychological Detention

Closely associated with street checks is the notion of *psychological detention*. EPS policy defines psychological detention as occurring, "when a reasonable person would conclude by reason of the police officer's action that they have no choice but to comply with a demand or direction, even though the police may lack any legal authority for that demand or direction" (Edmonton Police Service, 2017). In *R v. Grant* (2009 SCC 32), the Supreme Court of Canada held that certain conditions were required before an encounter with the police qualified as a "detention." According to the court, "a detention refers to a suspension of the individuals liberty interest by a significant physical or psychological restraint." The term is used to describe a situation when a person is not required by law to comply with the demands of a peace officer, but is unaware of that fact and reasonably believes that they have no choice but to comply.

However, there may be variability in the extent to which persons who are stopped feel psychologically detained, e.g. given the same circumstances, one person may feel detained and another may not. It may depend upon their personal history, membership in a community of diversity, prior contact with the police, experiences with trauma, or other factors.

In the absence of on-scene observations of police-citizen encounters, and "real time" interviews with subjects following the encounter, it is difficult to determine whether the subject of the stop felt psychologically detained and at what point in the encounter that occurred. Having persons who have been street checked by the police recall the incident and their feelings as to whether they felt psychologically detained is less accurate given the limitations of memory recall.

The Validity of Police Street Check Data

Many of the studies that have been conducted of police street checks have been based on data supplied by police services. The assumption is that these data are accurate and contain only

those incidents that qualify as street checks under departmental policy/legislative guidelines. Researchers and others who have analyzed street check data have given little attention to how information on street checks is recorded by police officers and whether all of the incidents that are contained in street check files are compliant with guidelines.

It is likely that these data may be contaminated by the inclusion of incidents that were not street checks but rather other encounters that were incorrectly reported by officers. This is a critical dimension of any analysis of street check data, as the failure to remove files that do not fall within the purview of departmental guidelines will result in a flawed analysis.

A review of EPS SCRs for 2017, discussed later in the report, revealed that a high percentage of police-citizen encounters reported on EPS SCR forms were not street checks as defined by EPS policy. These included “assist other agencies”, “curfew checks”, and responses to calls for service, among others. This calls into question the validity of previous analyses of EPS street check data as there is no indication that these studies examined the SCRs to ensure that the incidents were compliant with departmental policy.

The Design and Method of Street Check Studies

In addition to counting cards, a common method of analysis of police street check data is to examine the proportion of persons who are Indigenous or Black as compared to their overall population in the municipality as indicated by Census data. There are significant problems with this method of analysis which have been noted by Melchers (2006), most notably that of failing to distinguish between the *resident* population in a municipality, as indicated by Census data, and the *available* population in a municipality. The differences between these two populations was discussed earlier.

Police scholars have identified the flaws in the methodology used in the analysis of street check data (Melchers, 2006). In his critique of the Toronto Star series “Race and Crime”, published in 2002, and the study of racial profiling in the Kingston, Ontario Police Service, for example,

Melchers argued that comparing the number of stops involving Blacks as compared to their proportion in the general population was fundamentally flawed.

Both studies found that the percentage of Black carding subjects was greater than that of Blacks in the total population, and this was taken as evidence of biased policing. However, as Melchers (2006) has noted, comparing numbers of stops (incidence) to population data (prevalence) is a flawed practice as these are "two very different categories of statistics." The former is a count of *events*, and does not consider whether the same individual accounts for multiple events (Melchers, 2006:46). As Melchers (2006) notes, this comparison "can result in a small but very active group having an inordinate impact on how a more diverse larger group encompassing them is perceived" (2006:48). In contrast, "the Census counts people," regardless of what they are doing (Melchers, 2006:62).

Similarly, neither of the two studies reviewed by Melchers provided information on the *activity patterns* of the persons who were stopped, nor an analysis of how these patterns might influence the person's chances of being subjected to a street check. Police may be more proactive in downtown areas or neighbourhoods with crime and disorder problems, and these places may be disproportionately inhabited or frequented by persons in certain groups. Police officers, particularly beat officers on foot, may be more proactive in certain areas of a city due to their more intimate knowledge of the patterns of crime and disorder and of persons who reside in, or frequent, these areas. A key question is whether street checks in these contexts are the result of biased policing and racial profiling, or crime/situation profiling.

In a report for the Toronto Police Services Board, Doob and Gartner (2017) summarized peer-reviewed studies of police stops. The review included two Canadian studies of police carding (street checks) of community residents. One was an analysis of self-report data from a national study (n=4,164) of youths aged 12-17 (Fitzgerald and Carrington, 2011).

Among the findings of this study were that minority youth, in particular those youth who self-identified as being Indigenous, Black, and West Asian were disproportionately stopped by the police (2011:473). The study found that the criminal offending of the youth did not explain

certain groups' greater number of contacts with police, nor did the effects of disadvantage, lack of supervision, or the attributes of the youths' neighbourhoods (Fitzgerald and Carrington, 2011).

This particular study has several limitations. In the absence of corroboration, self-report data may be subject to both under-reporting and over-reporting. The findings of this study are also limited by the failure to consider the context in which the youth were stopped and the absence of any narrative from the police officer(s) who were involved in the encounters as to why specific youths were stopped. As the data were drawn from a nation-wide survey, this also precluded a determination of whether there were certain cities in which minority youth were subjected to a disproportionate number of police stops. Also, the data for the study were gathered in 2000-2001, making it difficult to extrapolate to the present.

Similarly, a study conducted by Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner (2016) involved the analysis of data gathered in a year 2000 survey (n=3000) of high school students in Toronto and a convenience sample (N=396) of street youth. The survey queried the youth on the frequency of their contacts with police, and took into consideration their race, sex, socioeconomic status, degree of public exposure (driving, partying, public leisure, family time, street-living), levels of delinquency, involvement in nuisance behaviours (e.g. panhandling and window washing), and self-reported gang membership (Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner, 2016).

Among the findings were that, "controlling for other relevant factors, Black students were 5.8 times more likely to be stopped than White students and 6.5 times more likely to be searched than White students" (Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner, 2016:337-338). This led the authors to conclude that, "good behaviour does not protect Black youth from police contact to the same extent that it protects White youth" for high school students…race attracts police attention" (2016: 340; 342). The study also found that there were no racial disparities among the street youth, nor among those who engaged in high levels of youth offending.

Despite the data being 16 years old at the time of the analysis, the researchers argued that their findings were similar to those of a similar study conducted O'Grady et al. (2013), using 2009-

2011 data from Toronto (Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner, 2016). It is possible, however, that these dated data render the findings less relevant to an examination of street checks in present time, particularly given the increase in scrutiny and controversy surrounding the practice.

A further limitation of the Hayle, Wortley, and Tanner (2016) study, noted by the authors, was the absence of information on the context of the police stop, including the location of the stop, what the youth were doing, wearing, and/or carrying at the time they were stopped, and their demeanour during the encounter. Neither was there information on any associates in the company of the youth, e.g. whether they were known to be gang-affiliated. With the exception of Julian's (2016) study in Halifax RCMP, research has generally not considered the neighbourhoods and areas' specific usage and demographic patterns (Bennett, 2015a; 2015b; Huncar, 2015, 2017b; Labby, 2017; McGregor and MacIvor, 2017).

These limitations are illustrative of the reasons why studies of street checks conducted to date have not provided an accurate accounting of all of the potential factors that may influence the decision of a police officer to conduct a street check and whether this decision was the result of biased policing and racial profiling or other factors.

Although these studies have not examined the myriad of factors that may impact the decision of an officer to conduct a street check, the findings have become part of the dialogue on police street checks, racial profiling, and biased policing and, in some instances have been used to create policy guidelines and inform legislation (Melchers, 2006).

The Assumption of Homogeneity Within Communities of Diversity

The dialogue surrounding street checks has generally presumed a level of homogeneity of lived experiences and perspectives regarding street checks within communities of diversity that may not exist. While all Indigenous persons share a common history in Canada, for example, including the impact of colonization and, for many, of the residential schools, there may be considerable variation in their lived experiences and perspectives. Similarly, within the Black community, there may be a variety of lived experiences, from newcomers from Africa to second

generation persons whose roots are in the Caribbean, to persons whose families have historical roots in Canada.

Caution should be exercised in assuming that all members of these groups share the same experiences and perspectives. For example, one participant in a group session conducted as part of the Black Experience Project in Toronto, stated, "I'm born in Montreal and I'm of Haitian descent, I have … nothing in common with you all, like nothing, except that I'm Black and I'm here. …" (Connely, et al., 2014:10). Any study of street checks should attempt to ensure that a range of voices within communities of diversity are heard.

The Context Within Which Street Checks Occur

It was previously noted that a major limitation of studies conducted of street checks has been failure to consider contextual factors that may raise the suspicion of a police officer and lead to the officer conducting a street check (Renauer, 2012). These include, but are not limited to:

- appearance - including youth, clothing, types of vehicle, incongruence, in some cases ethnicity, being known to the police and fitting suspect descriptions.
- behaviour - including 'suspicious activity' and observed offending.
- time and place - resulting from officer availability for proactive duties and officer expectations about where and when people raise suspicions.
- information and intelligence - the reliability of which is important, in particularly the accuracy of suspect descriptions, local intelligence on crime and how they inform generalisations made by officers. (Quinton, Bland, and Miller, 2000: vi)

Police officers make decisions and exercise discretion within a variety of contexts, often referred to as the *task environments* (Griffiths, 2019). Across Canada, these range from northern and remote communities to densely-populated urban centres, all of which have features that affect the nature and extent of crime, the activities of the police, and the interactions between the police and the community. There are also different task environments within a particular urban area. In Edmonton, the areas of the city have different socio-economic, demographic, and crime and disorder profiles.

The environment in which police officers work will have a significant impact on the situations they encounter and the decisions they make (Griffiths, 2016). There are a variety of factors that have been found to influence police decision making, including crime patterns within the area being policed, the severity of the alleged offence, public and political pressure on the police to address specific problems of crime and disorder, the expectations of community residents of the police in addressing issues of crime and disorder, and the strategies, priorities, and resources of the police service (Griffiths, 2016).

The decision of police officers to stop persons may be influenced by the patterns of crime and disorder in certain areas, what information provided by crime analysts suggests about the types of crime in a specific area, and, increasingly, what the results of a predictive policing analysis indicate about where and when certain crimes are likely to be committed (Renauer, 2012:236).

Downloading and Police Street Checks

The roles and responsibilities of the police have become much more multi-faceted in recent years (Montgomery and Griffiths, 2017). A key feature of policing in the early 21st century is that officers are being asked to address a wide range of social issues beyond their traditional law enforcement activities (Griffiths, 2019). This includes checking on the well-being of persons, finding persons who are reported as missing, and, increasingly, interacting with persons with mental illness and addiction issues and those who are marginalized and vulnerable.

This expansion of the police role is partly a consequence of *downloading*, wherein the police are being required to fill gaps in service that are the mandated responsibility of other agencies and organizations. For example, police services across the country are spending an increasing portion of their time and resources responding to high-risk and vulnerable populations, including the mentally ill. Government cuts to the numbers of social workers, mental health workers, funding for shelter beds and for specialized facilities for the mentally ill, has a direct impact on the demands placed on the police resources (Griffiths, 2019:75).

Officers may use street checks to check on the well-being of persons, to track certain vulnerable or at-risk persons, and to ensure that situations are diffused before persons are harmed or a crime is committed. Contributing to the challenges for the police is a view amongst the general public that the police are responsible for addressing issues related to homeless and other urban social problems (Sommers, et al., 2005: vii-viii).

The plight of missing and murdered women in Canada, many of who are Indigenous, for example, has placed an increased onus on the police to be proactive in seeking to locate women who are reported as missing. Within this context, an officer may conduct a street check to ensure their well-being and safety.

The Potential Benefits of Street Checks

The focus on street checks as a reflection of racial profiling and biased policing has tended to obscure the potential benefits of street checks for individual and community safety and security. Little attention has been given to the effectiveness of street checks as a police strategy and to the value of the information contained in street check reports for preventing and reducing crime and disorder, in assisting case investigations, locating missing persons, ensuring the well-being of marginalized and vulnerable persons, and identifying persons who are deceased.

The general view of police officers is that street checks are an important investigative tool that can be used to prevent and investigate crime. As one Ontario officer stated, if the practice is banned, “We will do whatever the rules say we are legally entitled to do. If we have to change our tactics, well then, so be it. That is way of the world” (Matys, 2016).

The Activities and Prior Criminal Involvement of Persons Who Are Street Checked

Studies of street checks conducted to date have also not examined whether there is a relatively small group of individuals who are stopped on numerous occasions, and how this may contribute to the overrepresentation of certain groups and persons in the street check data. In

one study, Bennett (2015c) discovered through a Freedom of Information request that, "of the 46 people stopped more than 5 times in one year in street checks, 44 of them were recorded in the police database as visible minorities, either Black, Aboriginal, 'Mid East', or 'S. Asian/E. Indian.'" There was no examination of why these subjects were stopped, nor any information of the subject's behaviour or whether they were residents of the neighbourhood in which they were stopped (McGregor and MacIvor, 2017).

Studies of street checks have generally not included real-time information on the person who was street checked. This is particularly the case in studies that have used survey data, where the personal information provided, including any involvement in criminal activity or criminal record, is self-reported and unverifiable. Survey data also do not allow an analysis of the context within which the street check occurred.

Most often the information that is reviewed relates to the person's age, race, religious or cultural affiliation, or other personal attributes. Although this information is important (albeit often inaccurate, as noted below) in any study of police practices there is other information that may be equally, or more, important, in the decision of police officers to conduct a street check. This includes whether the person checked is a person of interest in a case investigation, either as a potential suspect or witness to a crime, or whether the person is in a specific locale at a specific time and is behaving in a manner that suggests they may have just committed a criminal act or are planning to do so.

It is also important to consider whether the person is known to police. This may lead officers to stop a subject to determine whether they are adhering to bail or release conditions, have outstanding warrants, or to determine how the person is doing physically/socially. As well, a person who is street checked may be in a situation that places them at risk, e.g. being impaired in an area where there are high rates of victimization, or was reported as missing.

Studies of street checks have also generally not included information on criminal justice-related information. This would include whether the person checked has a criminal record, their associates, previous contacts with the police (formal and informal), whether any warnings had

been given by the police and whether the person has previously been found to be involved in specific types of criminal activity, e.g. drug trafficking, theft of property.

The Street-Checked Person's Racial or Ethnic Identity or Other Attributes

An important variable in the study of police street checks is the identity of the persons who are subjected to these stops. The race or ethnicity of a person who is street checked may not appear in police reports. Further, the dichotomy of White/non-White does not capture the full range of attributes of persons that may play a role in street checks. This includes the street check of a person with mental illness, or impaired, or is otherwise in a situation that places them at risk. The dichotomy may also exclude many refugees and immigrants, and others who may be marginalized or vulnerable, including the homeless.

A subject's race/ethnicity is most often determined by a visual assessment of the officer, rather than by self-identification. This may not only result in mis-identification, but also have the consequence of the same person having multiple racial/ethnic identities in police records.

This was a major finding of the present study and is discussed later in the report. The implications of this issue for statistical analyses and the conclusions that are reached as to whether police officers in a jurisdiction are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing have remained unexplored.

The Dynamics of the Police-Citizen Encounter

How an officer initiates, conducts, and concludes a street check may have a significant impact on the experience and perceptions of the person being stopped. This is directly related to the notion of procedural justice discussed in the previous section. Even in situations where a person is issued a citation, if the person feels that they were respected and dealt with fairly by the officer (the notion of procedural justice), it may not result in a negative perception of the officer or of the police service.

A UK study of police stops identified the attributes of officers who conducted "good" street checks. These included having good communication skills, being flexible in approach, exhibiting confidence, and having good level of knowledge of local intelligence (Quinton, Bland, and Miller, 2000: vii). The authors of this study recommended that, "Police officers should manage stops and searches in ways which maximise public trust and confidence" (Quinton, Bland, and Miller, 2000: viii).

Training officers on how best to handle encounters with the public, and in particular stops and searches, is advantageous. The research points to the need for specific training on communications skills, the acceptable grounds for stops, and how to treat members of the public fairly and with respect" (Quinton, Bland, and Miller, 2000: viii). In noting that street checks, per se, were not the problem, a Black woman police officer in an eastern Canadian police service stated, "Regardless of what tool, if we have the wrong mindset, that too is going to be used for wrong" (CBC News, 2018).

Police-citizen encounters may be enhanced if officers have established relationships with communities of diversity and are sensitive to the particular needs and challenges of specific groups.

The Officer Conducting the Street Check

Studies of street checks conducted to date have not explored whether a disproportionate number of street checks are conducted by a specific number of officers. Rather, police services are spoken of in generic terms when the results of counting cards indicate that disproportionately more persons who are Indigenous, Black, or members of other diverse communities are represented in the street check data. Police services are most often generically labelled as being racist, with little attention to individual officers who may be biased.

It is unknown whether there are a relatively small number of officers who are responsible for a disproportionate number of street checks and whether this is a reflection of racial profiling and biased policing or a function of the type of policing they are engaged in. There is considerable

variability in how individual police officers exercise their discretion and these may be reflected in their patterns of street checks. Even within police services, it is not known how the frequency of conducting street checks is distributed across the areas of a community and patrol and investigative units. It is likely that beat officers will have more proactive encounters and, potentially, conduct more street checks, than their patrol-unit based colleagues.

It can be expected that there will be considerable variability among the patrol districts in a municipality in terms of the socio-demographics, patterns of crime, the nature, type, and volume of requests for service, police-community relations, and the demands that are made on police officers. These factors, in turn, may influence the use of street checks by officers. Studies to date have generally not examined how the use of street checks varies by police district or by whether the officers are on foot or in a patrol unit.

A study of 500,000 pedestrian stops conducted by the NPYD in 2006 found that some officers were stopping more non-Whites than their fellow officers (Ridgeway, 2009). The author provided the example of one officer who had made 150 stops during that year, 86 percent of which involved Black pedestrians, as compared to the percentage of Black pedestrians (55 percent) stopped by fellow officers in the same context (2009:3). Other findings that indicated variability among officers in the use of police stops included the following:

> *"Five officers appear to have stopped substantially more black suspects than other officers did when patrolling the same areas, at the same times, and with the same assignment. Ten officers appear to have stopped substantially more Hispanic suspects than other officers did when patrolling the same areas, at the same times, and with the same assignment." (Ridgeway, 2009:3)*

Examining the street check decisions of individual officers, both through file data and field observations, would assist in identifying potentially problematic officers.

Police Encounters with Citizens that Do Not Result in an SCR

Many of the encounters that police officers have with citizens do not result in a police file and or the completion of an SCR. This includes informal conversations, the officer providing

information in response to citizen queries, and a variety of other circumstances. There may be variability among officers as to when an encounter with a citizen becomes a street check, requiring the completion of an SCR. How police officers exercise their discretion with respect to deciding to complete an SCR, the nature and extent of variation among officers in this decision making, and the impact of departmental protocols on their decision making has not been studied. In the absence of field studies, it is not possible to identify situations where officers decide not to conduct a street check and the variation among officers in this regard.

This limits any analysis to those instances in which the officer completed an SCR. These reports may not capture the universe of proactive police encounters which, in turn, limits the generalizability of the findings of the analysis. A high percentage of traffic stops, for example, only result in a warning. This presents challenges and further limits the extent to which incidents that resulted in a report can be generalized.

The Lived Experiences of Persons in Communities of Diversity

The lived experiences of persons in communities of diversity with the police and their perceptions of police conduct are essential elements of any study of street checks. Studies of street checks that rely solely on "counting cards" or surveys do not adequately capture this most important dimension of street checks.

Among the important issues are how community residents view the police, their experiences with the police, whether the police are viewed as legitimate, and the extent to which encounters with the police reflect procedural justice. While statistical analyses of street check data may reveal no evidence of racial profiling or biased policing, if persons in communities of diversity *perceive* they are profiled and unfairly targeted for street checks, this is an important finding that must be addressed. For most persons, perception is reality. The present study was designed to address this shortcoming by gathering information in interviews with community representatives and focus group sessions with youths and adults in communities of diversity.

Public Knowledge of Street Checks

Little attention has been given to how much the public knows about street checks, their purpose and why they are used by police services. This may have a significant impact on the perceptions of persons who are stopped by the police. Many police stops are not street checks, but done for a variety of other reasons, e.g. by-law violation, a missing person report, traffic stop, transit fare check, among others.

Materials gathered in the focus group sessions for this study revealed a general lack of knowledge about street checks and other reasons why police officers stop people. If the officer does not inform the subject at the outset of the encounter why the stop is being conducted, this may contribute to negative perceptions of the police and their practices. This issue is highlighted in the discussion later in the report.

The Role of the Community in the Use of Street Checks by Police

Many police services in Canada have adopted community policing as the operant model of service delivery. Within this model, the police form active working partnerships with the community in an attempt to identify and formulate collaborative responses and solutions to problems of crime and social disorder in the community. Studies to date have not considered the extent to which the police use street checks as part of a proactive strategy to address concerns voiced by the community, e.g. the presence of street-level drug dealing, violence in certain areas of the city at certain times, and to respond to community expectations by proactive problem-solving.

The Reliance on Survey Data

Some studies have used surveys to query persons about their experiences with police street checks. A notable limitation of survey data is the inability to examine the *dynamics* of police encounters with the persons who completed the survey, including the officer, location, whether the contact was the result of a call for service or proactive action by the officer(s), behavioural

aspects, or any materials on whether the person was known to police, had a criminal record, etc.

The Phenomenon of De-Policing

A significant consequence of the ongoing controversy over street checks has been de-policing, wherein police officers reduce their involvement in proactive activities, including stops of persons. Across the country, there has been a precipitous decline in street checks: in Ontario, it is estimated that the number of street checks conducted by the OPP for 2017 was less than 100, down from over 40,000. The Ottawa Police Service recorded seven street checks between March and December, 2017 (Cossette, 2018). In contrast, 45,000 street checks were conducted between 2011 and 2014. This followed the implementation of provincial legislation in Ontario in March, 2016 governing how street checks were to be conducted and the storage of information gathered in the stops. Police leaders have stated that their officers are reluctant to conduct street checks due to the complexities surrounding the regulations and legislation (Cossette, 2018).

The Role of Private Security in Policing Communities of Diversity

Private security personnel in Canada outnumber public police by a ratio of more than 3:1.These personnel are hired by the private sector to maintain order and protect private property. For most persons, it is difficult to distinguish between a private security officer and a public police officer, the most notable difference being that private security personnel (with a few exceptions, such as armoured car officers) are unarmed. To this end, the actions of private security personnel may be ascribed to the public police.

A challenge is that, unlike public police officers, private security personnel in Canada are not subject to independent governance and oversight, but rather are accountable primarily to their private sector employers (Montgomery and Griffiths, 2016). In addition, these personnel have minimal training which, in most jurisdictions, amounts to no more than 40 hours.

The role that private security personnel play in policing communities of diversity and groups and persons who are vulnerable, and/or at-risk is understudied. It is likely that these groups are unaware of the legal authority of private security personnel. A compounding problem is the absence of a public complaint process for persons who feel they have been mis-treated by private security personnel.

Little is known about the decision making of private security personnel and the extent to which these decisions reflect racial profiling and biased policing. Private security personnel generally lack the skill sets and competencies to effectively communicate and interact with persons in communities of diversity.

Studies that have examined the interactions between private security personnel and communities of diversity and vulnerable persons suggest that the behaviour of these personnel may be problematic.

A study of private security in the highly-troubled Downtown Eastside area of Vancouver, for example, found:

- A high level of interaction between private security guards and residents of the Downtown Eastside.
- Homeless people and under-housed people had more frequent, and more problematic, interactions with security guards.
- Private security guards routinely overstepped the bounds of their authority on public property.
- Private security guards controlled access to space on both public and mass private property in ways that are not in keeping with principles of equality and fairness. This included issuing informal bans from certain buildings, streets or neighbourhoods and the *use of profiling* (emphasis added), where people were treated differently depending upon their appearance. This profiling resulted in the continued harassment of homeless and visibly poor people, who are disproportionately Indigenous and/or may suffer from a mental or physical disability including drug addiction.

- There was little accountability when private security guards overstepped their authority. People in the Downtown Eastside were not generally aware of their rights in relation to security guards, or how to complain about security guards' actions.

- The negative impacts of the expansion of private security services were/are felt most profoundly by those living on the margins. (Bennett, et al., 2008: iv-v)

Another study documented human rights complaints filed against private security officers in the Downtown Eastside for moving persons deemed "undesirables" from public spaces (Tarbotton, 2010:94). And, a study of the interaction between private security guards and drug-users in the Downtown Eastside found that racial profiling and discriminatory treatment of drug users by private security personnel was pervasive. This treatment was particularly evident in cases involving Indigenous persons (Markwick, et al., 2015).

Although beyond the scope of the present study, the role and activities of private security personnel with respect to communities of diversity should be examined.

The Complexity of the Street Check Issue

The issues surrounding over-policing, biased policing, racial profiling, and street checks/carding are complex. To date, studies of street checks have not been sufficiently robust to determine whether this strategy increases community safety and security and whether it reflects racial profiling and biased policing. The studies have not included in-depth analyses that would explain why certain groups are disproportionately represented in street check/carding data. Racial profiling and biased policing by police officers is one, but not the only, possible explanation. There are others, which can be identified through a mixed method approach that involves not only an in-depth analysis of police street check data, but also the collection of qualitative data on the lived experiences of persons in communities of diversity as well as those of the police. Studies of street checks/carding must also examine the context within which street checks occur and the dynamics of the police-citizen encounter.

POLICING IN EDMONTON

A key premise of the present study is that any review of street checks must consider the context within which these stops occur. This includes the larger demographic context of the municipality as well as the dynamics of the interactions that occur between police and citizens during street checks.

Edmonton is the 6th largest CMA by population in Canada. In 2016, the Edmonton metropolitan area had a population of 1,366,0550 residents, and the city of Edmonton had a population of 932,546 residents. (http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/edmonton-population/). Population growth in Edmonton has surpassed the national growth rate for more than seven years. Between 2006 and 2011, the city and metropolitan area grew by over 12%, well above the national growth rate of 5.9%. (http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/edmonton-population/). By 2016, the population of Edmonton had grown an additional 14.8% (Statistics Canada, 2016).

The 2016 Census revealed the following racial and ethnic composition of Edmonton:

- White: 57.39%
- South Asian: 9.47%
- Chinese: 6.32%
- Indigenous: 5.5%
- Filipino: 5.91%
- Black: 5.94%
- Southeast Asian: 1.78%
- Latin American: 1.86%
- Arab: 2.62%
- West Asian: 0.7%
- Korean: 0.77%
- Japanese: 0.21%
- Other visible minority: 0.4%

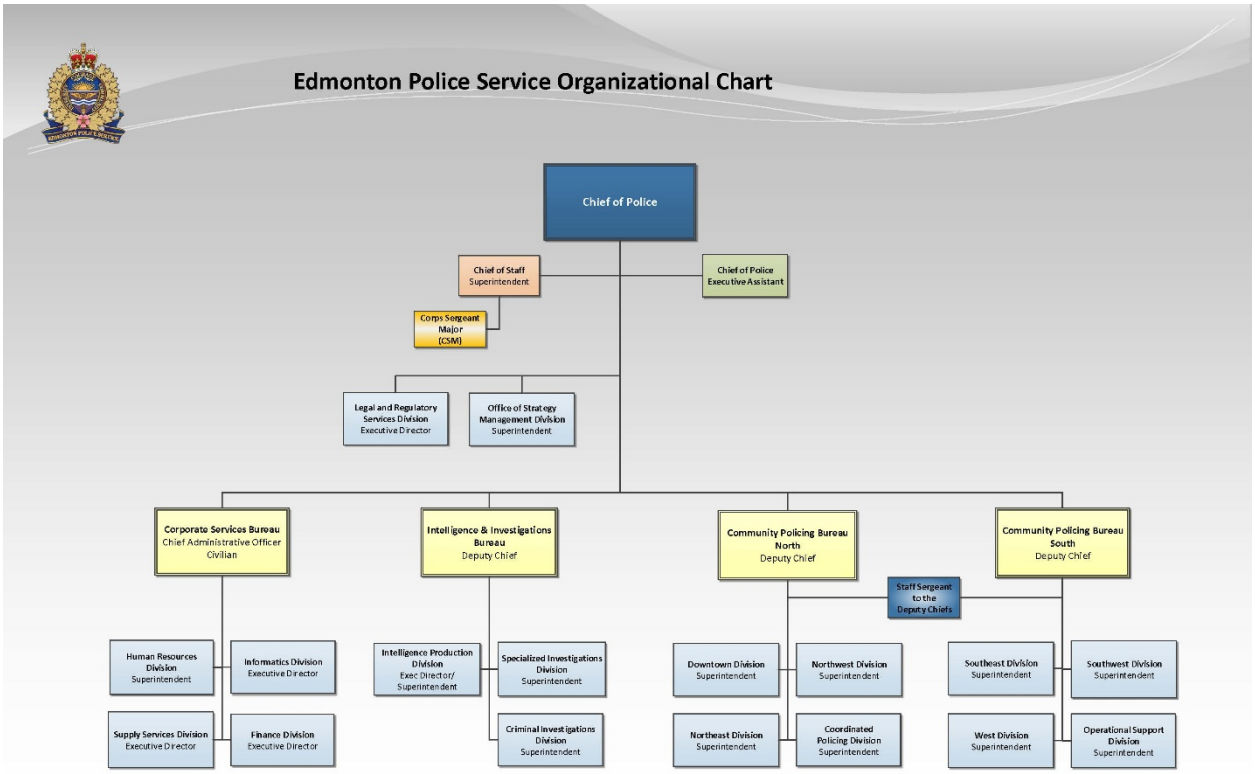
- Multiple visible minorities: 1.12%

These population figures do not include many persons who are transient, homeless, marginalized/vulnerable, and/or who do not have a permanent address in the city.

The Edmonton Police Service

The Edmonton Police Service (EPS) is responsible for providing policing services to the city of Edmonton. The EPS organizational chart is set out in Figure 2:

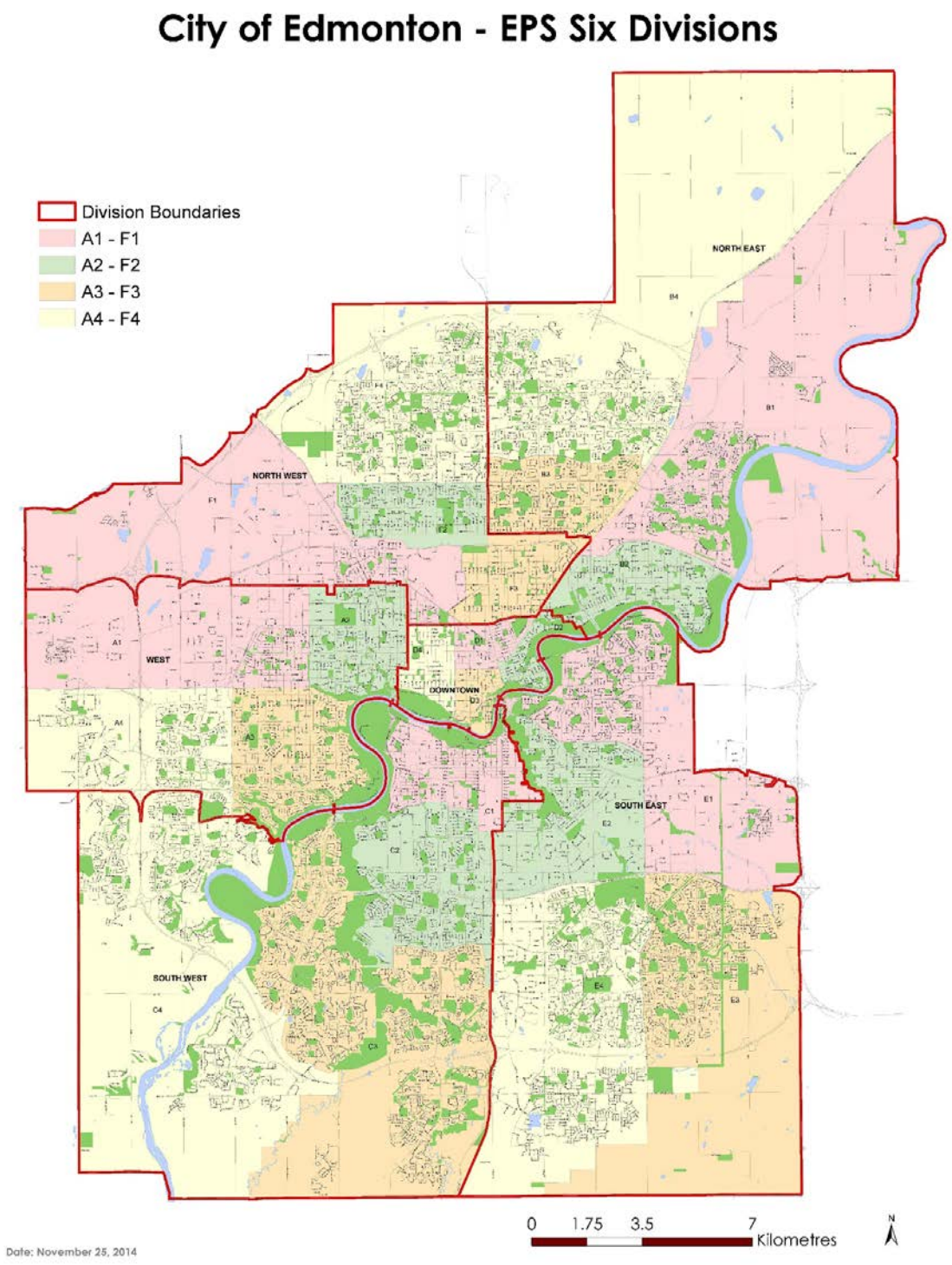
Figure 2: EPS Organizational Chart



As of June, 2018, the Service had 1828 sworn members and 790 civilian members. In 2017, 21 percent of the EPS sworn members were women and 11 percent self-identified as either Indigenous or as a visible minority (Keeler, 2017).

The city is organized into six Divisions. See Figure 3. There are four districts within each division.

Figure 3: EPS Divisions and Districts



Diversity in the EPS

Concerns have been expressed about the lack of diversity in the EPS (Theobald, 2017). Data indicate that 17 percent of the applicants are women, a figure that has remained relatively constant over the past few years. In 2017, there was a 27.7 percent decrease in "culturally experienced applications" applications from 2016.

Similar to many police services, the EPS does not currently gather data on the sex/race/ethnicity/cultural/religious background of its recruits and officers. Information provided to the CBC by the EPS indicated that, although 35 per cent of Edmonton's citizens are visible minorities or Indigenous, those groups comprise less than 10 per cent of its police force (Marcoux, et al., 2016). The large majority of EPS officers are White males. This may affect the level of knowledge that officers have of the communities of diversity they are policing, the perceptions of persons in diverse communities in the city, and the legitimacy and trust of the police.

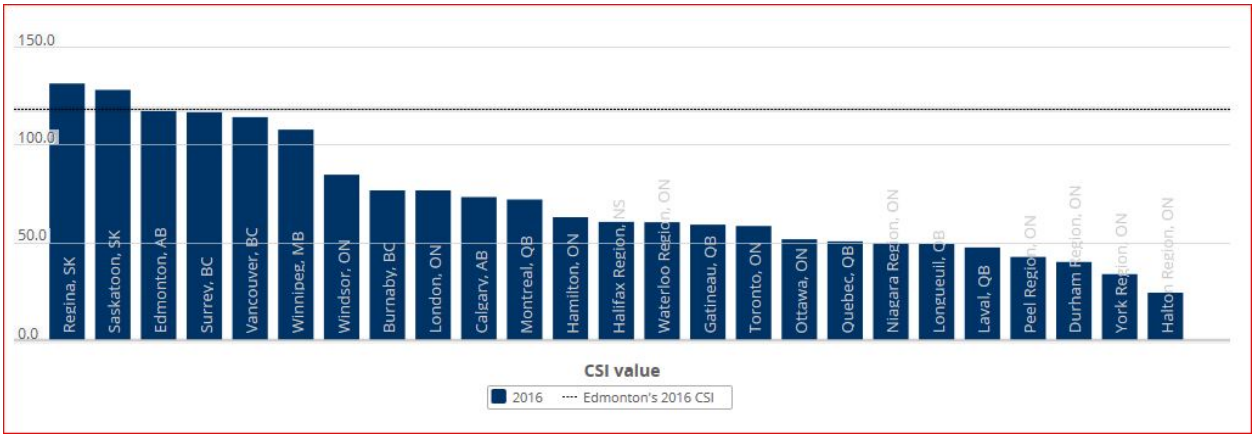
In 2017, the EPS launched Canada's first mentorship academy in an attempt to increase the number of recruit applications from women, Indigenous persons, visible minorities and others from communities of diversity (Keeler, 2017). The course focuses on the development of competencies including leadership, communication, and interpersonal skills and also has a physical training component.

Crime and the Demands for Service

In 2016, Edmonton had a Crime Severity Index (CSI) score of 126.4, which was the third highest among the 25 largest police jurisdictions in Canada. The CSI score is comprised not only of the volume of a particular crime, but also the relative seriousness of that crime in comparison to other crimes (Statistics Canada, 2009). It is noted that, "The Crime Severity Index (CSI) assesses the severity of criminality in Edmonton by measuring both the volume of EPS-reported criminal incidents and weighting for more severe crime, while factoring for Edmonton's population"

(https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/482m-zphg/view) Figure 4 presents data on the CSI scores for selected municipalities across Canada

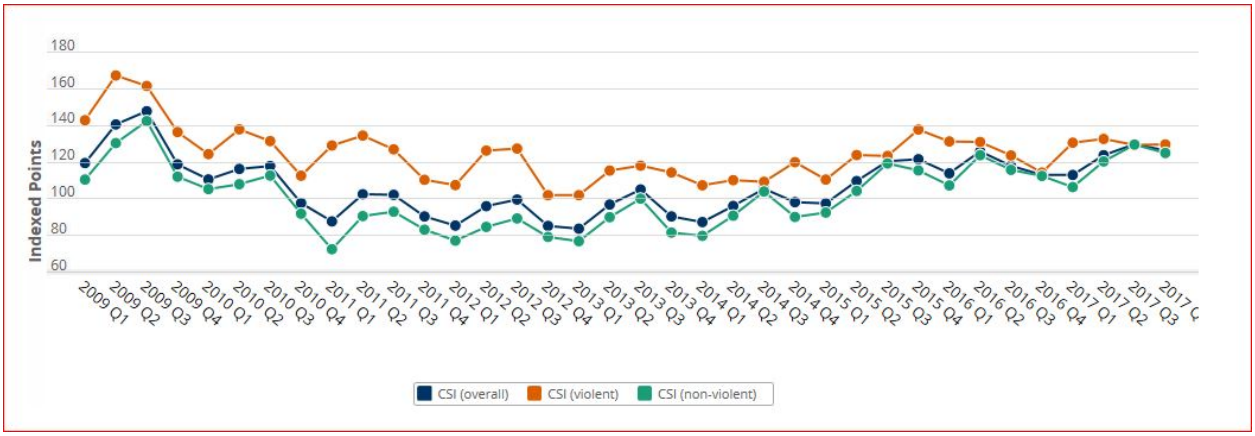
Figure 4: Crime Severity Index in Canada, by Metropolitan Area



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/482m-zphg/view.

Figure 5 illustrates the changes in the EPS CSI scores from 2009 to 2017.

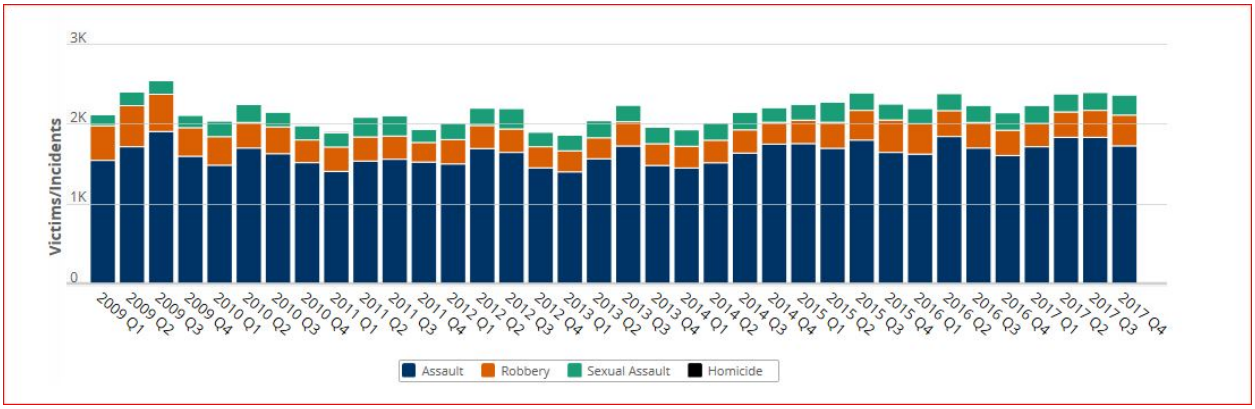
Figure 5: EPS Crime Severity Index Scores Overall, for Violent Offences and Non-Violent Offences, 2009-2017



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/482m-zphg/view

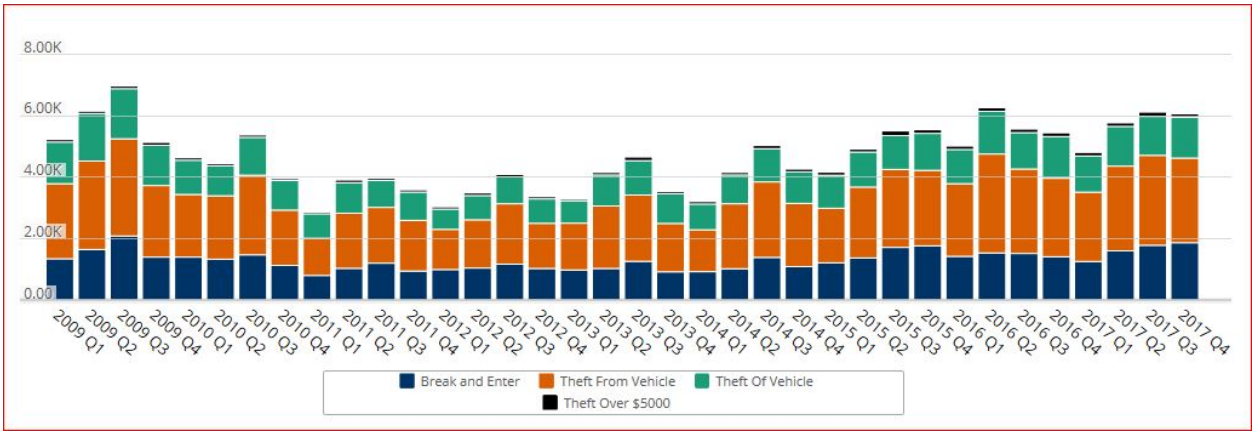
Figure 6, Figure 7 and Figure 8 present data on the crime trends in Edmonton during the period 2009 to 2017.

Figure 6: Trends in Violent Crime, 2009-2017



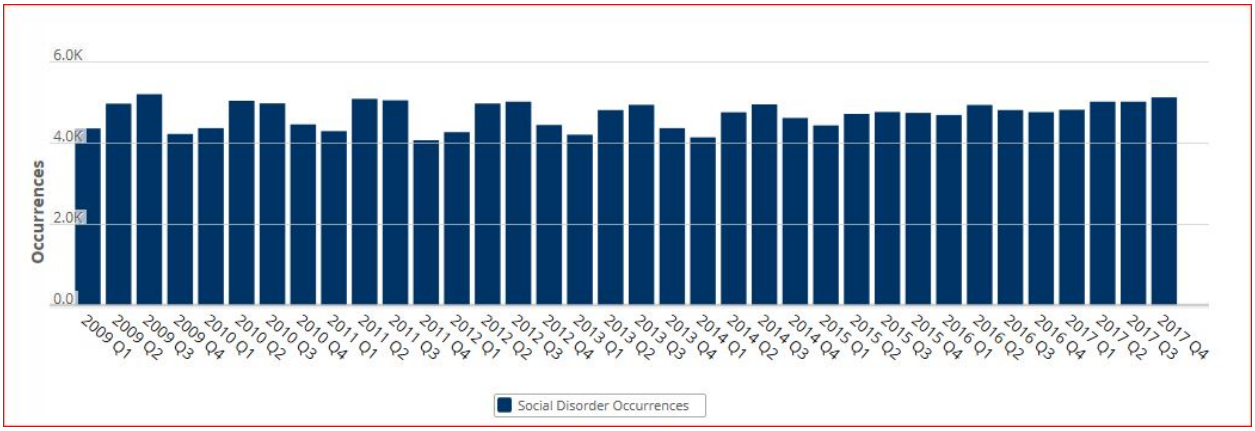
Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/jf5h-byyz/view

Figure 7: Trends in Property Crime, 2009-2017



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/dcbt-a9nh/view

Figure 8: Trends in Disorder Crime, 2009-2017



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/gaiq-592d/ccyr-8vkk/view

The data presented in Figures 6-8 indicate that there have been no downward trends in the rates of violent crime, property crime, and disorder crime.

Crime Maps

A number of crime maps were created to illustrate the distribution of crime in the city. The first two figures are “heat” maps, wherein the more intense the colour, the more occurrences. The following figures show the spatial distribution of violent crime, property crime, and disorder crime. The maps reveal that crime is concentrated in certain areas of the city, most notably in the downtown area. This requires the EPS to devote considerable resources to this area, including beat teams.

Figure 9: Crime Heat Map by Occurrences, 2017 (EPROS)

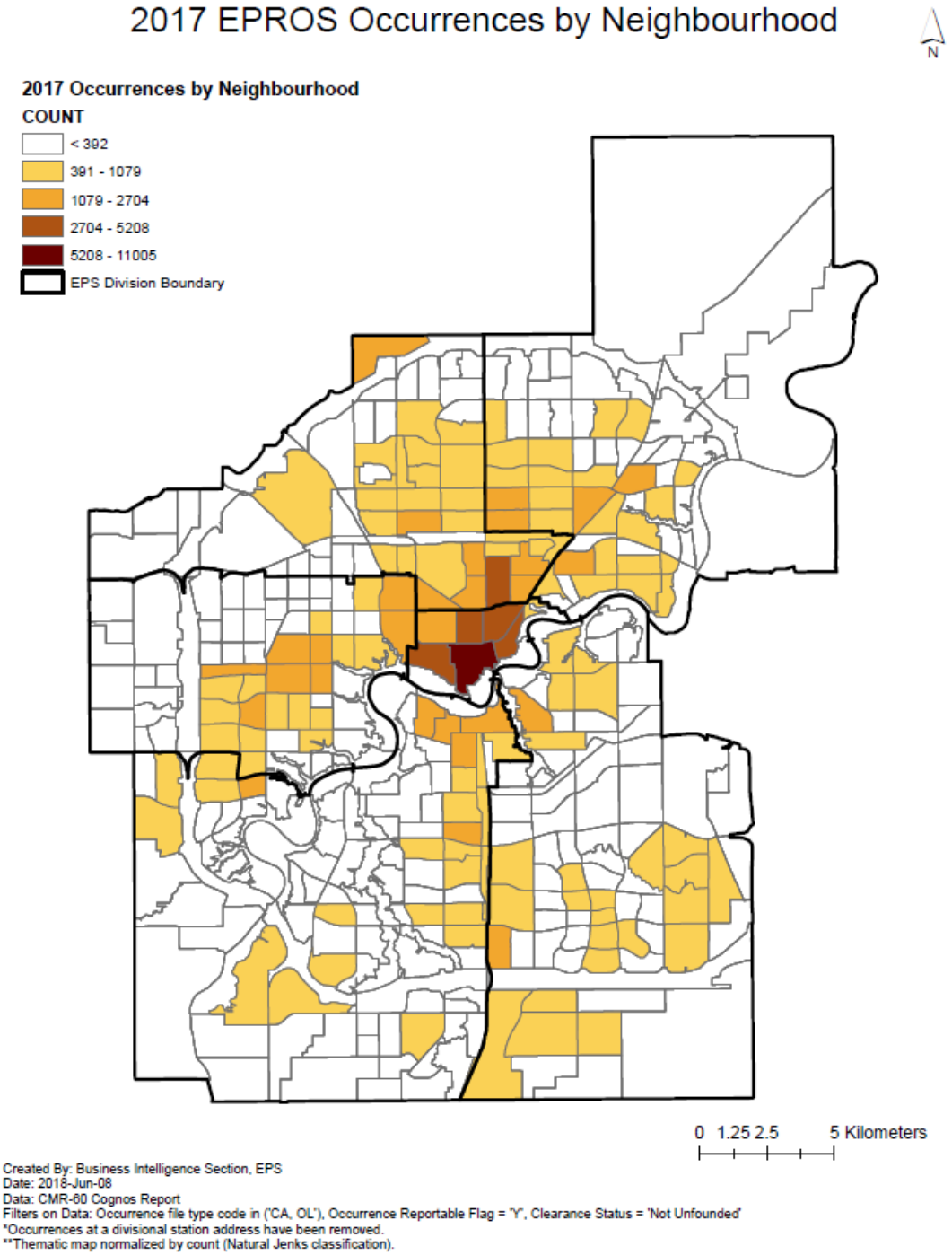
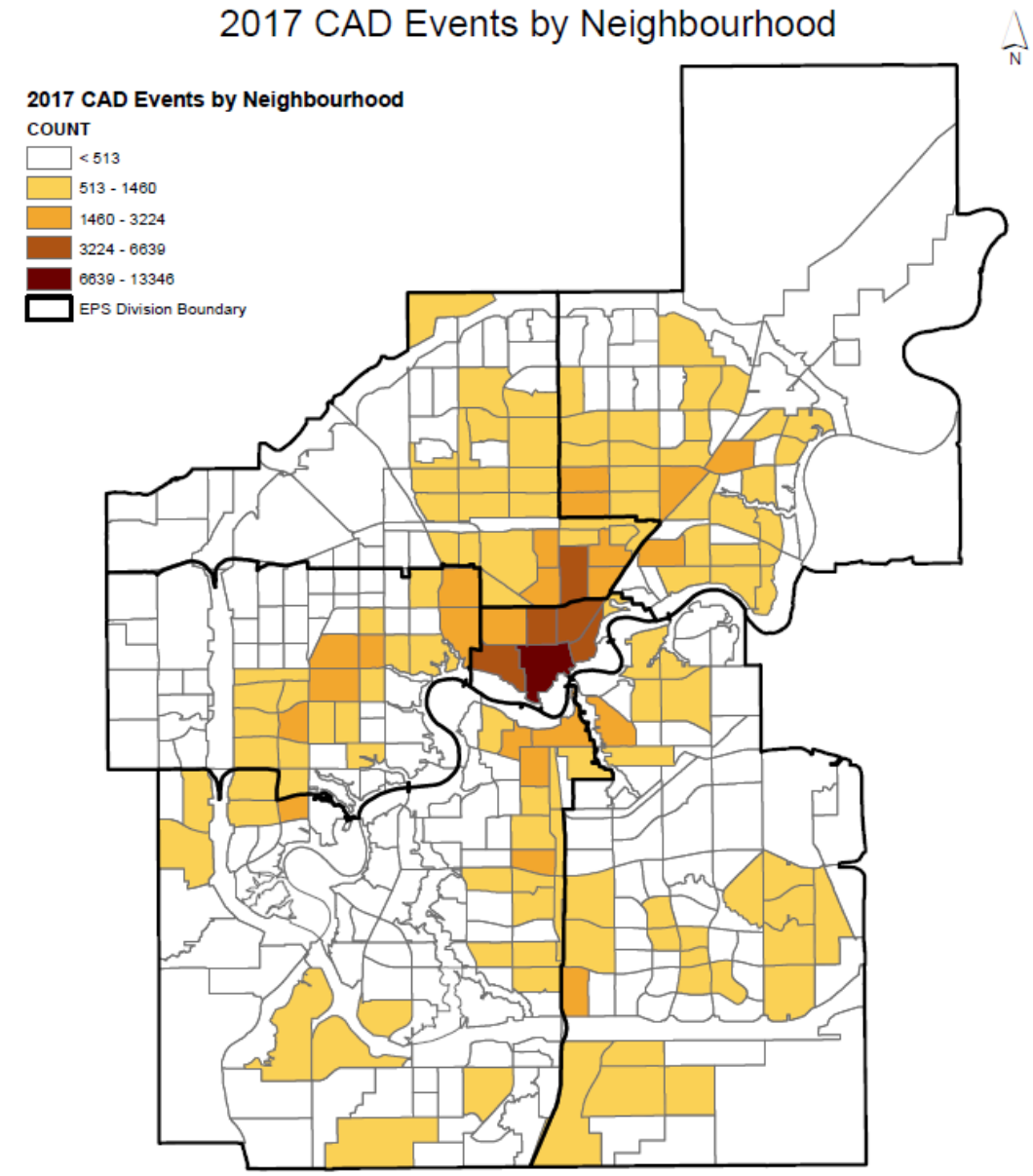


Figure 10: 2017 Crime Heat Map (Computer-Aided Dispatch)



Created By: Business Intelligence Section, EPS
Date: 2018-Jun-08
Data: Based on CMR-25 Cognos Report
Filters on Data: Not Disptach Group 'Identification', Reopened Call = 'N', Final Disposition= 'Occurrence File Generated', 'MDT'
*Occurrences at a divisional station address have been removed.
**Thematic map by count (Natural Jenks classification)

Figure 11: Violent Crime Indicators in Edmonton, 2017

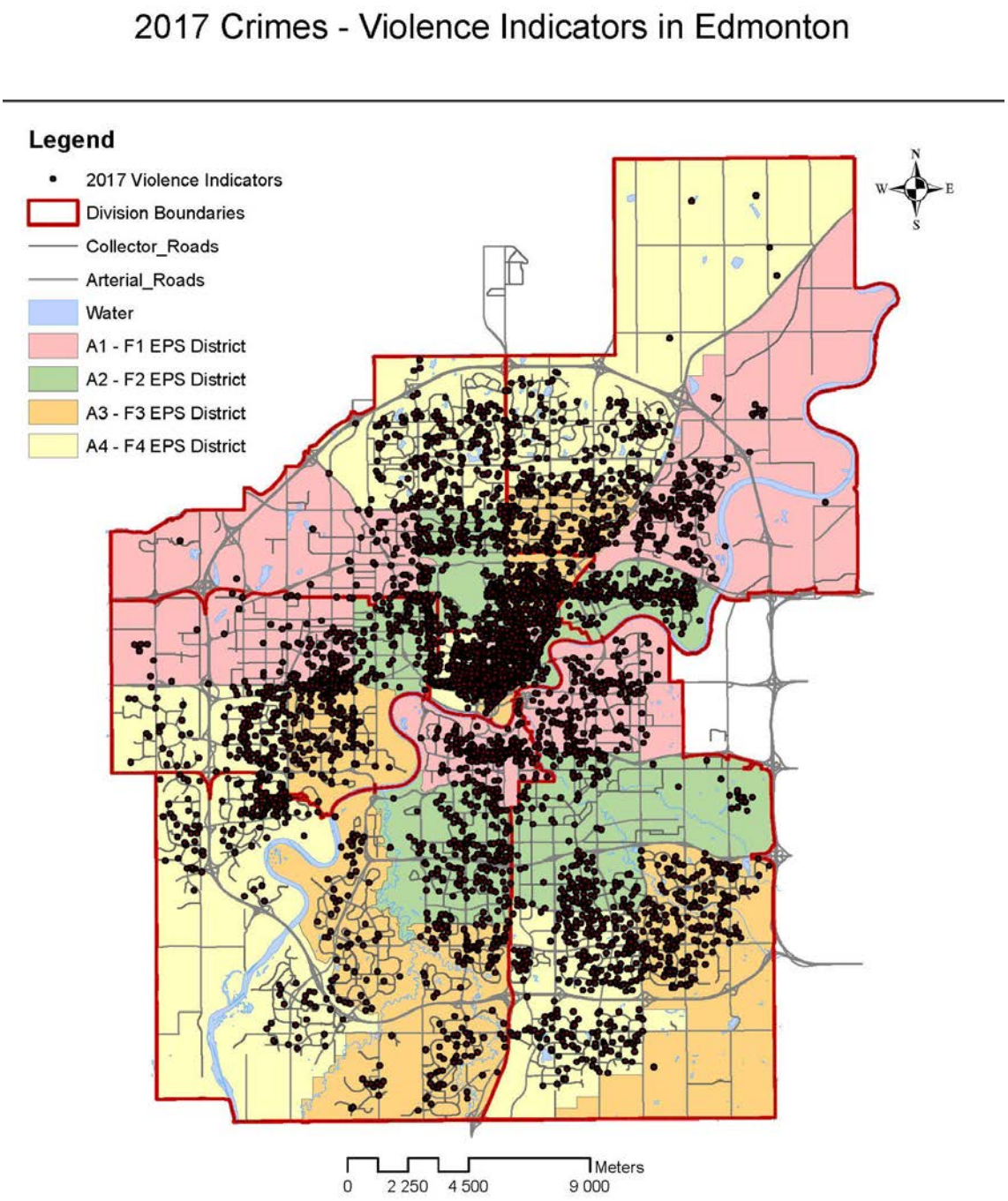


Figure 12: Violent Crime Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017

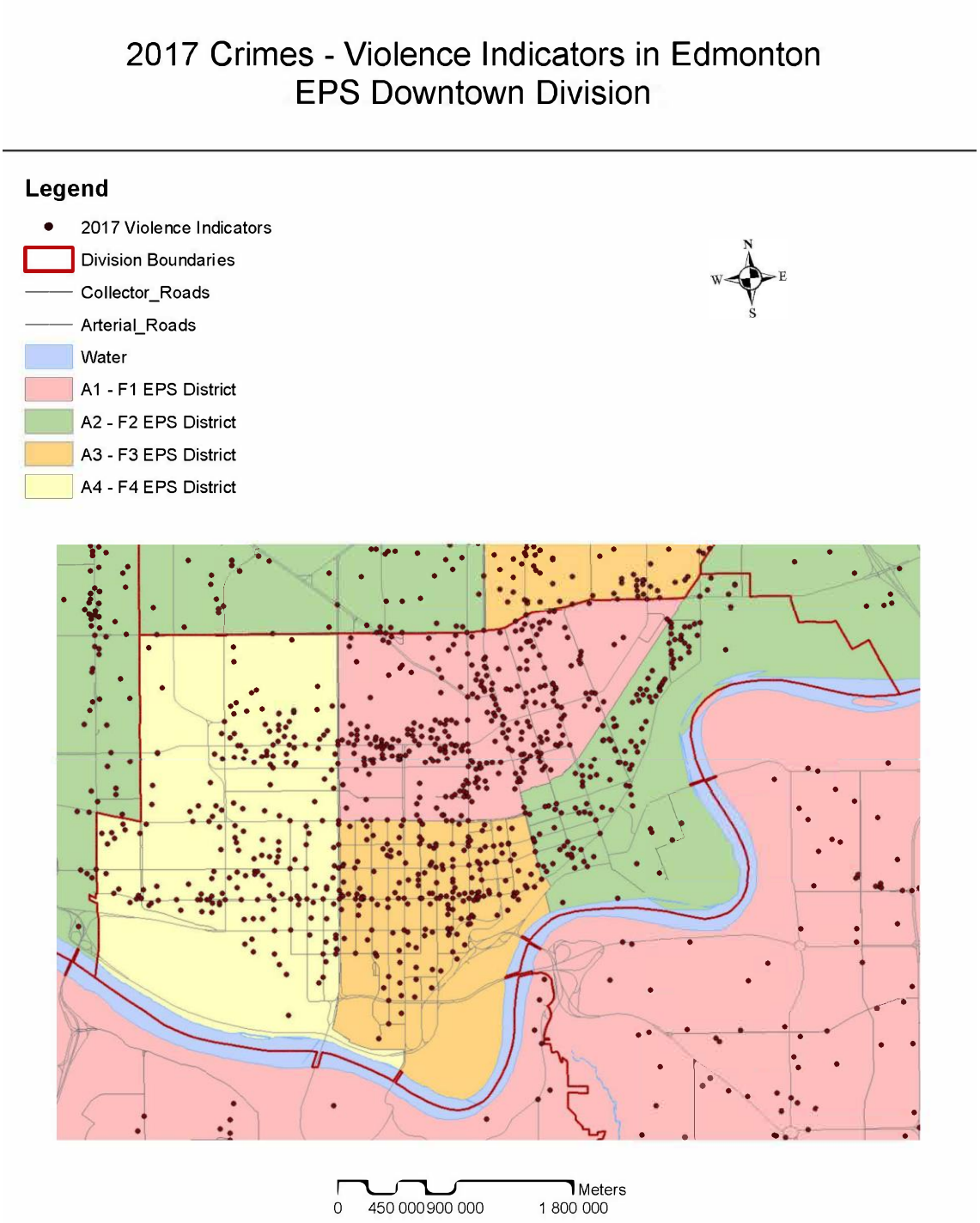


Figure 13: Property Crime Indicators in Edmonton, 2017

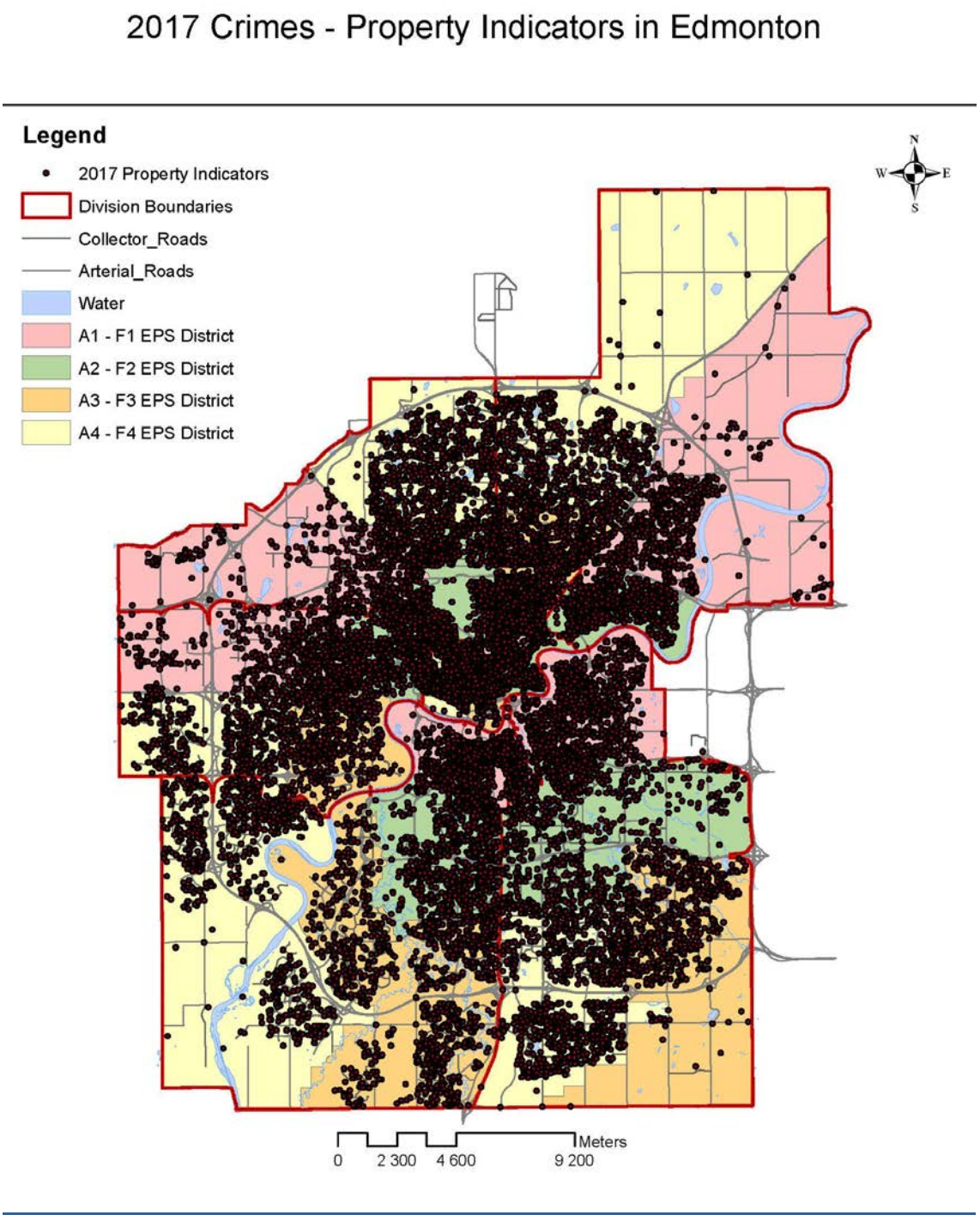


Figure 14: Property Crime Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017

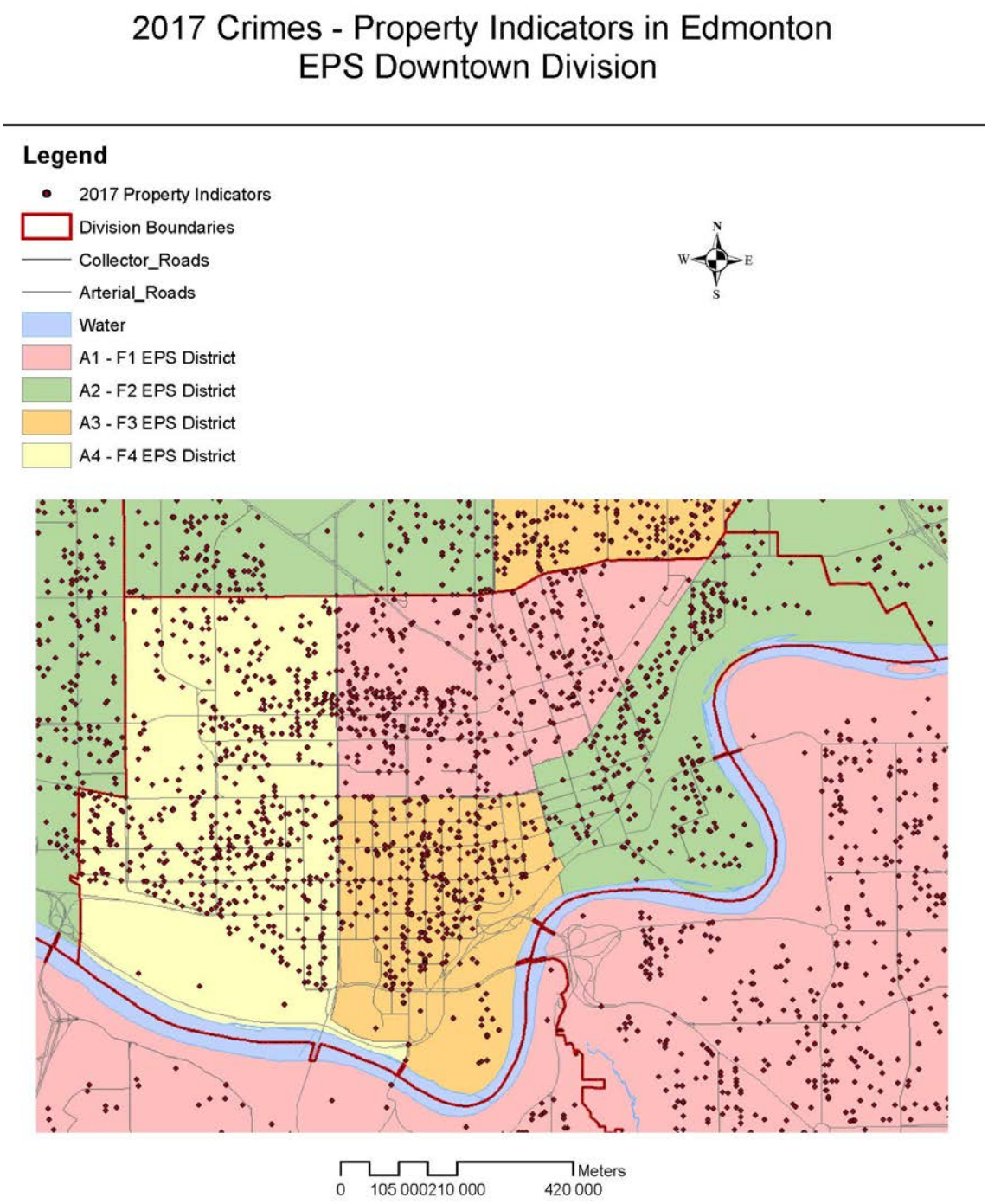


Figure 15: Disorder Indicators in Edmonton, 2017

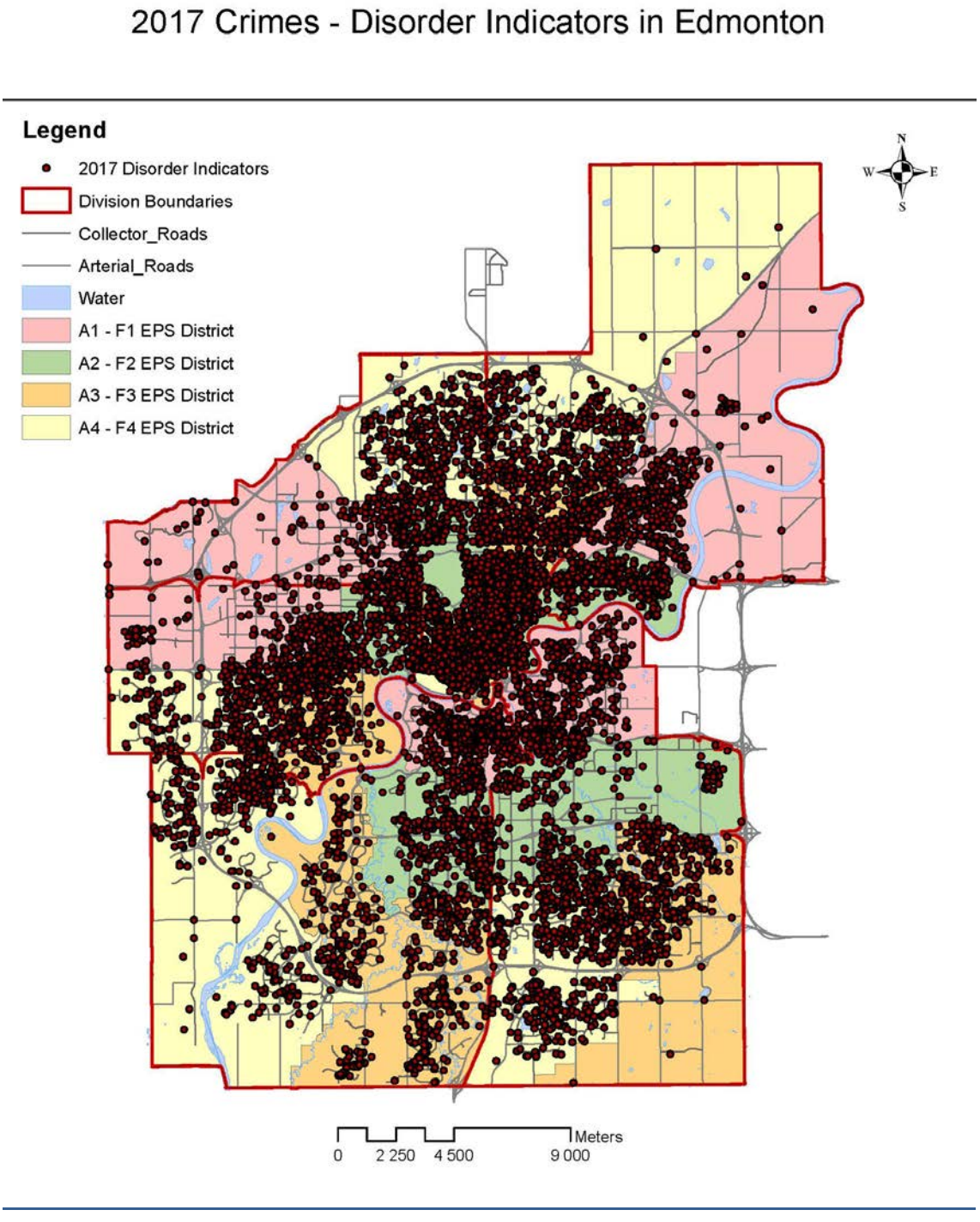


Figure 16: Disorder Indicators in Downtown Division, 2017

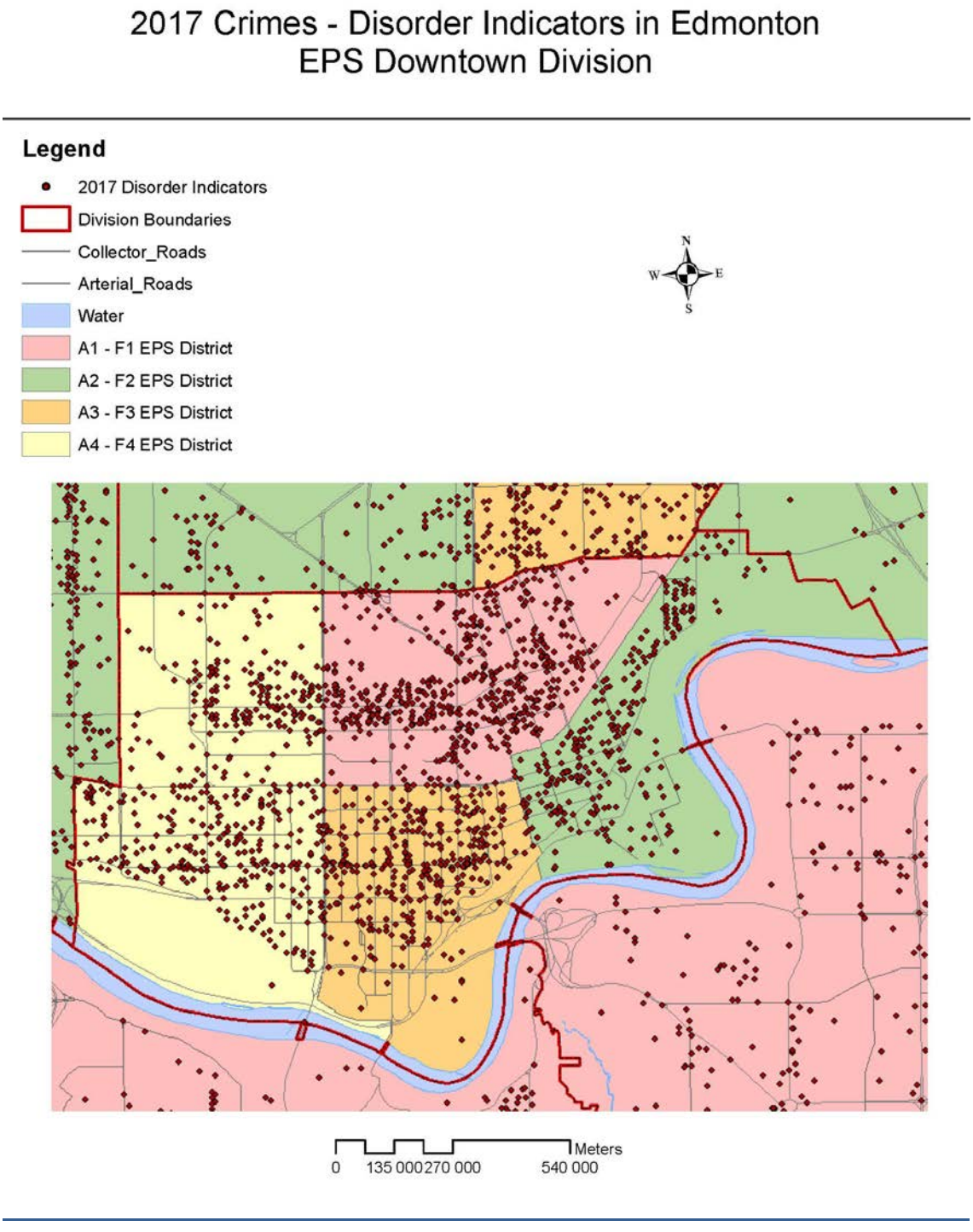


Figure 17 shows the distribution of the Indigenous and Visible Minority population by Census Dissemination Area.

Figure 17: Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2016

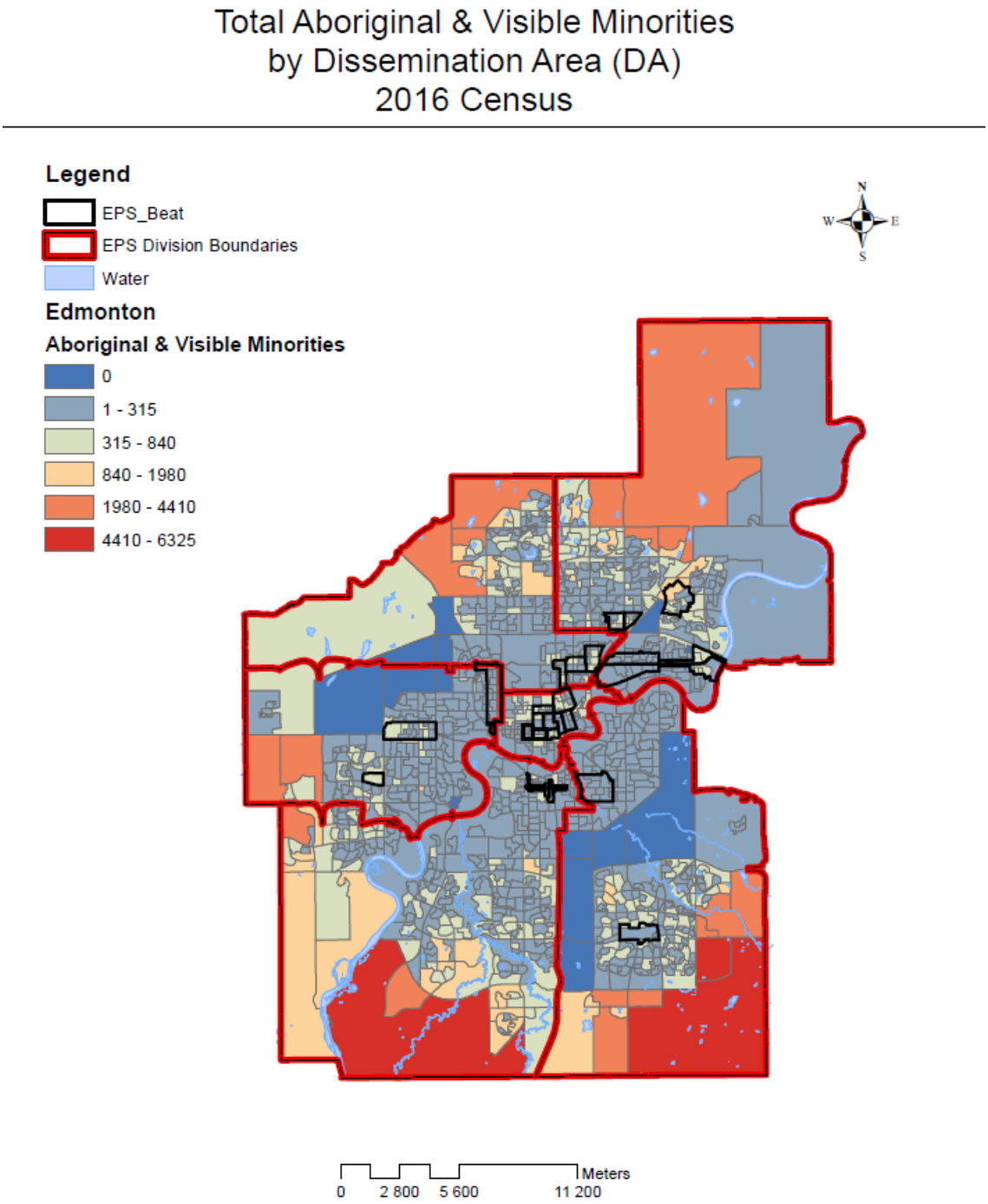
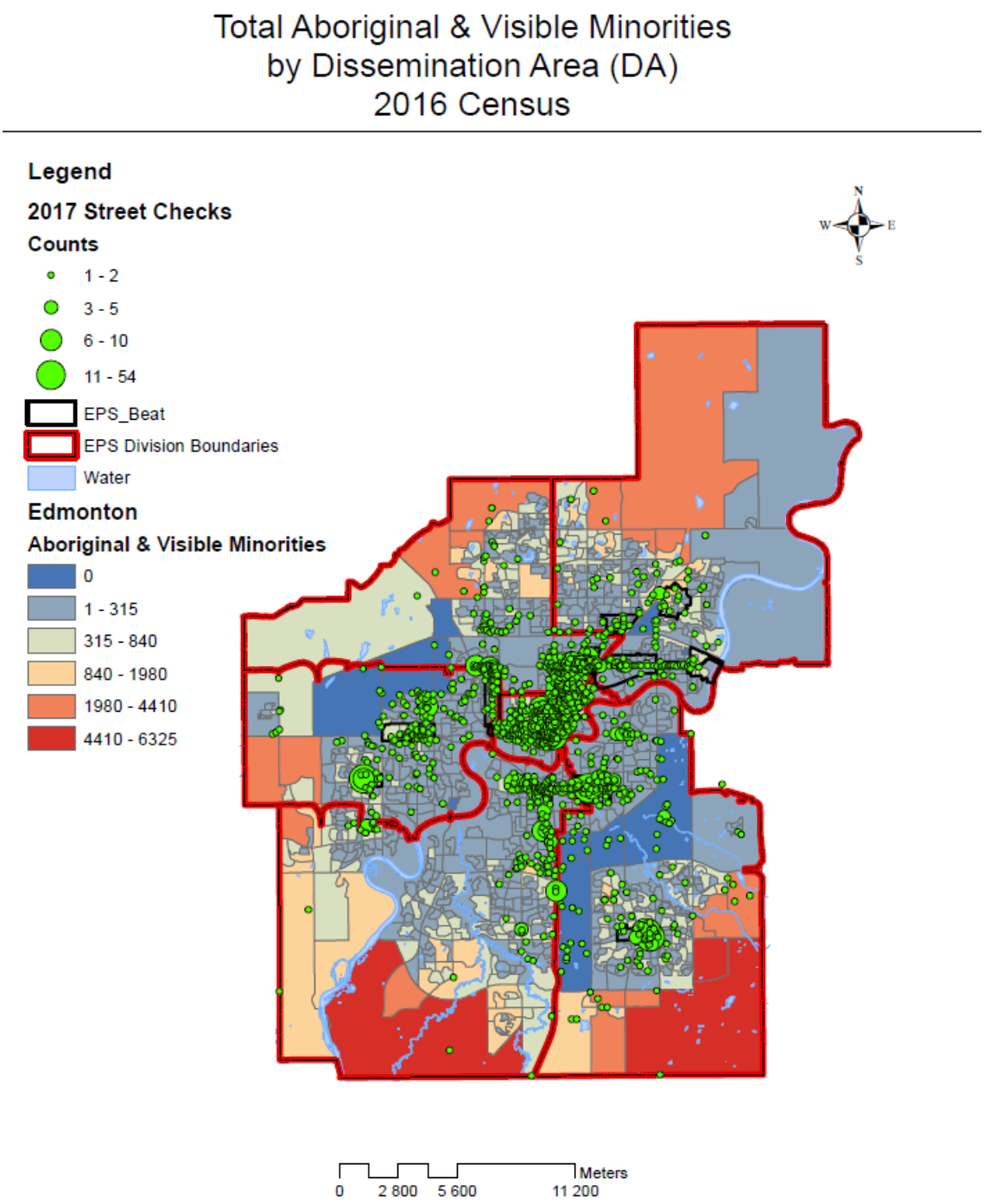


Figure 18: Street Checks of Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2017 (n = 2,596 street checks with location coordinates)



The next three figures illustrate how the patterns of street checks conducted by the EPS are related to the patterns of crime and disorder set out in the preceding crime maps. They are presented at this point in the project report to provide the reader with visual overview of where the street check activities of EPS officers are focused.

Figure 19: Traffic Stops (No Violation Observed), to Identify Owner and Check Documents Due to Suspicious Circumstances (n = 836 stops with location coordinates)

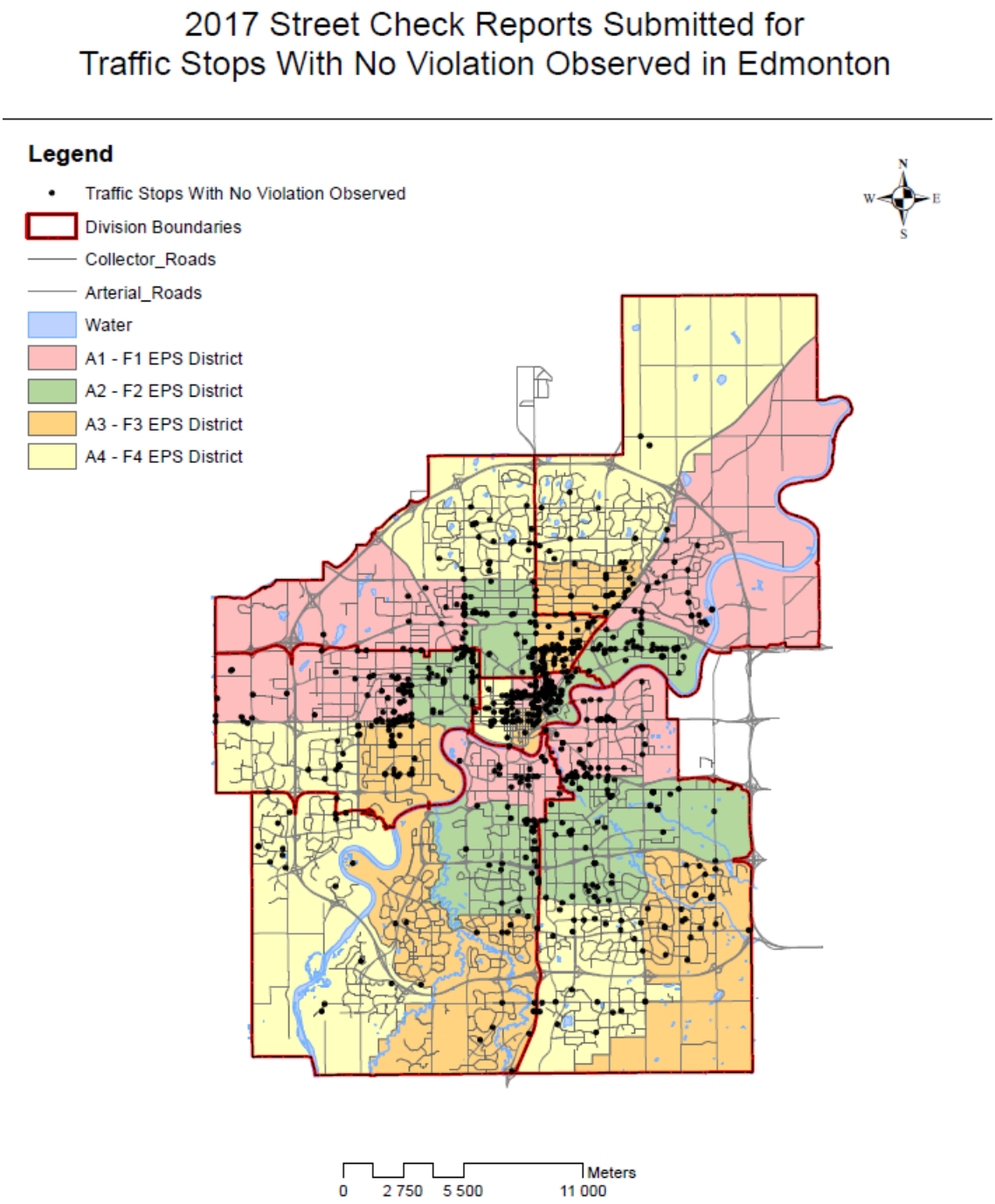


Figure 20: Location of Street Checks Conducted for Alleged Loitering Violations, 2017 (n = 448 events with location coordinates)

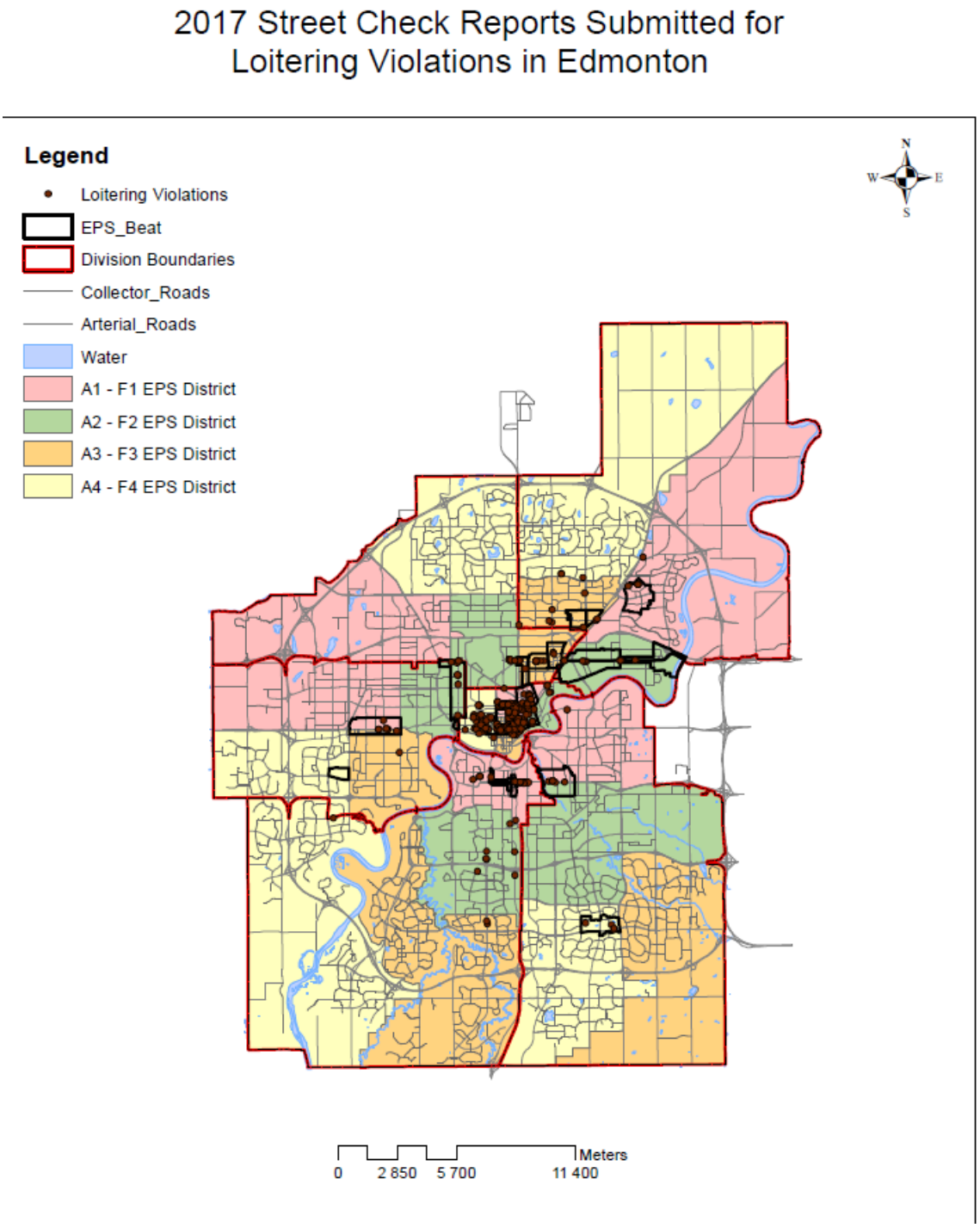
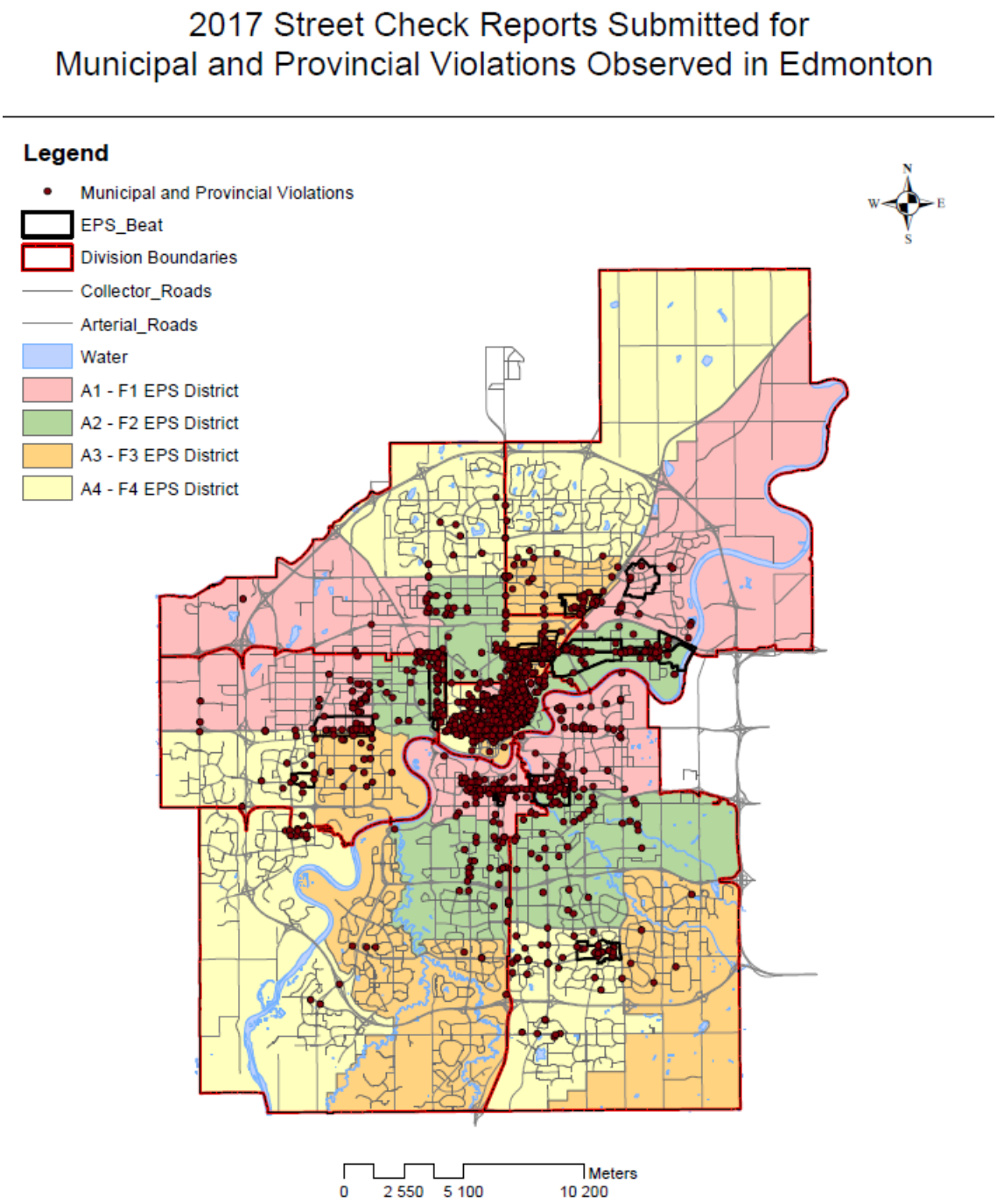


Figure 21: Location of Alleged Municipal and Provincial Violations Observed (n = 2,210 events with location coordinates)



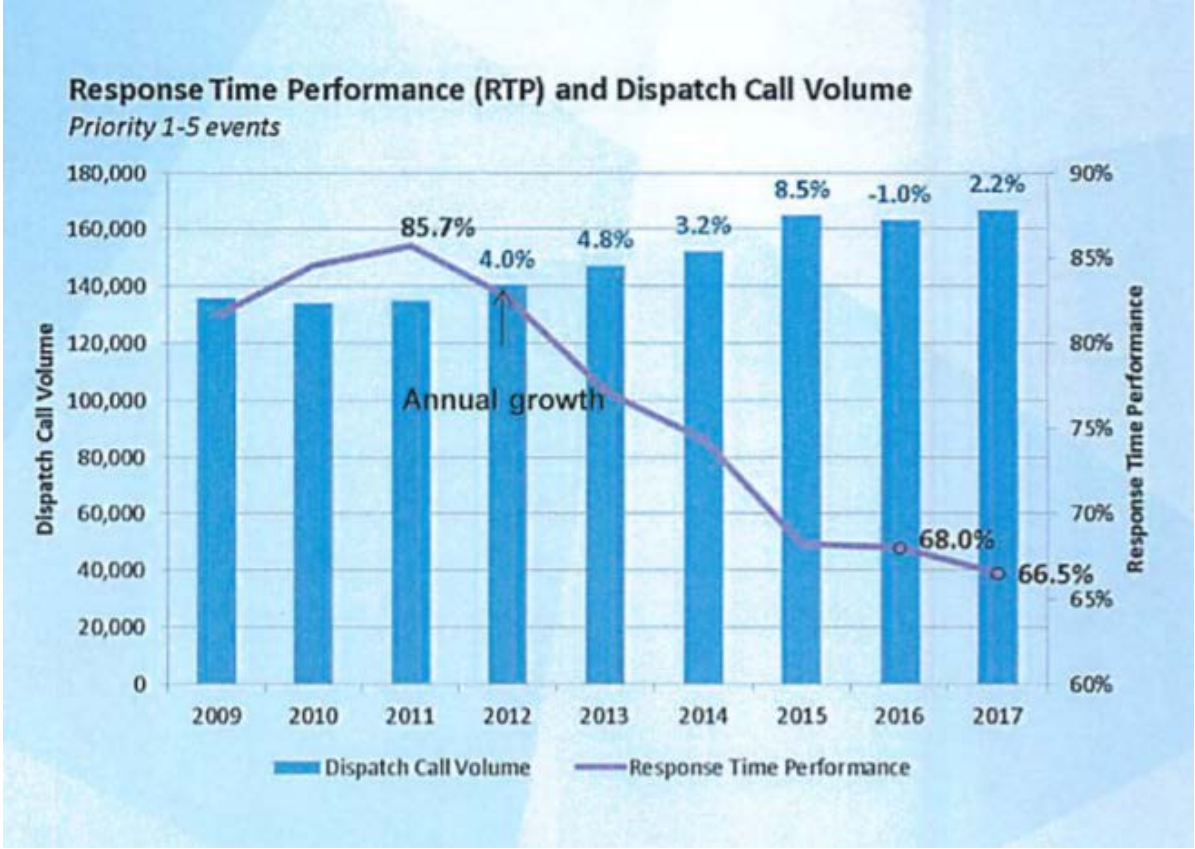
A review of the crime maps indicates that crime is concentrated in certain areas of the city and, in particular, in the area encompassing EPS Downtown Division. Further, Census data indicate

that Indigenous and Visible Minorities tend to be concentrated in certain areas of the city. Note that the outer red areas do not indicate high numbers of Indigenous and Visible Minorities, but rather are a function of the large land area and small population.

EPS Response to Demands for Service

It is instructive to examine the demands that are made on the EPS and how the service responds to these demands. One measure of the effectiveness and efficiency of police services is the response time to calls for service. The information contained in Figure 22 indicates that there was an increase in dispatched calls in 2017, with a corresponding decrease in response time performance. For Priority 1-5 calls for service, the EPS response time performance goals were met 66.5 percent of the time. See Figure 22.

Figure 22: Response Time Performance (RTP) and Dispatch Call Volume, Priority 1-5 Events



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/5t5u-sgqi/a92i-jj99/view

Figure 23 provides data on the response times of EPS officers to Priority 1 calls for service.

Figure 23: Priority 1 Response Times

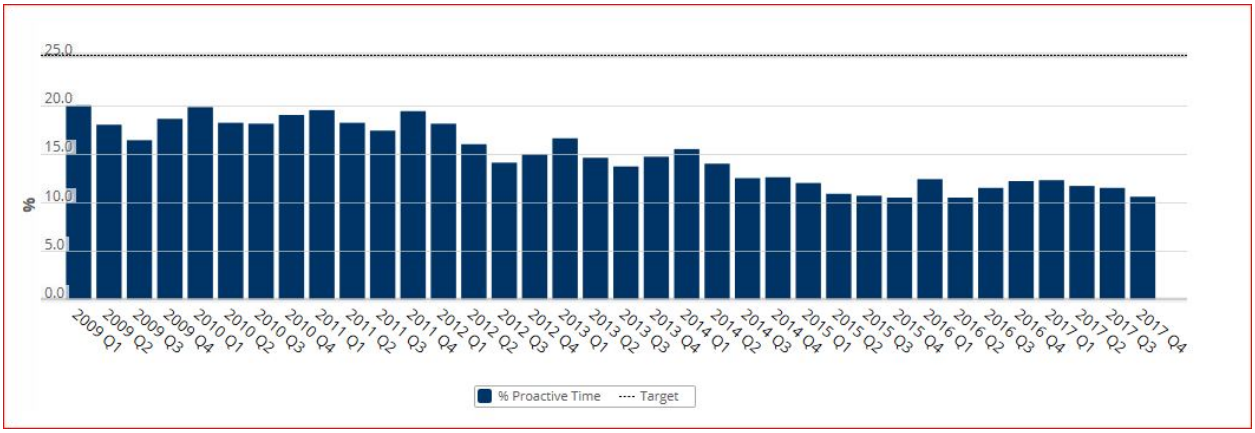
Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/en/stat/goals/fzxw-8pb7/5t5u-sgqi/a92i-jj99/view

Of concern is the response time to Priority 1 calls, which involve life-threatening situations. The best practice standard for responding to Priority 1 calls is seven minutes and the goal of the EPS is to arrive on-scene within that time period 80 percent of the time. In December 2017, this performance goal had been met 68.8 percent of the time. See Figure 23. The response to other priority level calls is important as well and a failure to respond to these in a timely manner may result in a loss of confidence in the police.

Proactive Patrol Time

Proactive patrol time, which is the amount of time that officers have when they are not responding to calls for service and is an important component of effective policing. A goal of the EPS is to dedicate 25 percent of patrol time to proactive duties. As of December 2017, the department was well short of this objective, with officers having only 10.7 percent proactive patrol time. This is near an all-time low for the period 2009-2017 and is at the lower end of the continuum when compared to other police services in Canada. See Figure 24.

Figure 24: EPS Proactive Patrol Time, 2009-2017



Source: https://dashboard.edmonton.ca/dataset/EPS-Proactive-Time/g98b-c7gc).

The data set out in Figure 24 suggest that, either the EPS does not have sufficient patrol resources to respond to demands for service in a timely manner, or are not making the most effective use of existing resources.

Likely contributors to the low level of proactive time for officers in 2017 were an 8.1 percent increase in violent crime, a 4.2 percent increase in property crime, and a 4.2 percent increase in social disorder from 2016. The low amount of proactive time limits the ability of officers to engage with the community on a non-enforcement basis and, more specifically, to build relationships with communities of diversity.

Community Engagement and Relationship Building

The Edmonton Police Service mission statement is "To increase public safety through excellence in the prevention, intervention and suppression of crime and disorder." Its goals include a commitment to professionalism, reduced crime and victimization, investigative excellence and increased efficiency and effectiveness. The EPS website highlights its commitment to violence reduction, community policing, and crime prevention.

In 2004 the Chief established a Citizen's Advisory Council (CAC), composed of eight diverse Community Liaison Committees (CLCs), including Indigenous, African, Black, Chinese, South

Asian, Jewish, Muslim, and Sexual Minority groups. The CAC works collaboratively and proactively with representatives from these communities "to foster a climate of safety, security, and mutual respect" and to address issues of mutual concern.

For its work with communities of diversity, the EPS was the recipient of the International Association of Chiefs of Police Human and Civil Rights Award for its Emerging Communities Framework, designed to establish police legitimacy in the Syrian refugee community, through outreach and engagement. The Chief's office and members of the CAC are working on a "What is a Street Check?" initiative, that is planned for release pending the completion of this study and the provincial report on street checks.

The 2017 Annual Policing Plan – Q3 lists "Engagement Strategy with Diverse Communities" as a strategic priority. Although the EPS does not have a comprehensive, organization-wide community engagement strategy, it has finalized an Indigenous Community Policing Strategy that is scheduled for release in the summer of 2018. The development of a Police and Community Engagement (PACE) initiative has been approved to further develop outreach to diverse communities, and the CAC has approved an organizational review of community engagement with diverse communities.

The EPS also has a Community Operations Support Unit (COSU), which is responsible for community engagement and diversity initiatives and for supporting the CAC and CLCs. The unit works with community organizations and partners, is involved in working with newcomer and at-risk communities, the Police and Youth Engagement Police Academy (PYEP), and in ensuring police representation at community events. As of mid-2018, the unit was reassessing its scope of activities and deliverables.

THE EPS STREET CHECK GUIDELINES, PROCEDURES, AND TRAINING

Public concerns about racial profiling and "carding" in Toronto prompted the EPS to examine their street check policy and practice to ensure that intelligence was being legally collected to enhance public safety. A policy review was conducted to confirm when street checks should and should not be done.

The EPS conducted a review of street checks in 2016. Among the findings of the review were the following:

- street checks were not being used as a community engagement tool
- there was a lack of departmental direction as to what officers were to include in an SCR
- an absence of guidance for supervisors who were reviewing the SCRs completed by officers
- SCRs were being used for non-intelligence purposes and contained information that should more appropriately be included in investigative reports, referred to calls for service, and/or had little or no value.

These findings resulted in a number of changes designed to ensure that SCRs meet quality control standards and adhere to the principles of information collection for street checks, and to improve accountability for the quality of reports. Changes introduced in 2017 included a tightened street check related procedures and practice guidelines, the introduction of a centralized reporting and approval process, semi-annual quality assurance reviews, and street check training for front line officers. Preformatted templates were created to provide guidance to members on completing the SCR narrative. The templates were introduced for functional testing in the fourth quarter of 2017 and changes were finalized at the end of 2017.

SCRs are now submitted directly to the Intelligence Production Division for review and approval by a small group of specially-trained members, rather than approval by the officer's supervisor. Any SCR deficiencies and required modifications to the report are noted and returned to members for revision.

The Inspector in charge of the Intelligence Production Division estimated that approximately 10-15 percent of SCRs are returned for further work by the officer who prepared them. He also noted that, if an officer is subject to repeated returns, he will reach out to the member's supervisor to determine how best coach and support that officer.

The EPS background information and procedures for street checks are set out in Procedure No. OP10-9PR, updated October 13, 2017. This document includes definitions for investigative detention, psychological detention, reasonable grounds to believe, reasonable suspicion, street check, and street check reports.

A street checks and proactive policing lesson plan reinforces that contact with citizens in street checks "amounts to the police trying to obtain the '*who, what, where, when and why*' specific to the area they are working in." (EPS Street Checks and Proactive Policing Lesson Plan, 2016).

The procedure defines a street check as "*A subject stop when there are no grounds for arrest, but rather the result of proactive policing and/or contact and engagement with a person or group of people. The purpose of a street check is to gather street level intelligence that may assist members in increasing public safety through preventing, intervening and suppressing crime, and to further investigations."*

It further specifies that street checks can be considered if a member makes an observation that provides intelligence related to a legitimate police investigation and/or the prevention of crime and disorder, or if a member approaches and engages a subject in an attempt to gather intelligence on the subject or the area to further a legitimate police investigation, prevent crime and disorder, or to prevent further victimization. In contrast to the Ontario legislation, the EPS policy does not require face-to-face interaction with a subject for a stop for an encounter to be classified as a street check.

The procedure includes definitions for investigative detention, psychological detention, reasonable grounds to believe, reasonable suspicion, street check and street check reports. The EPS Street Checks and Proactive Policing lesson plan also sets out the principles of street checks:

Officers must:

- understand the meaning of being 'lawfully placed' and 'execution of their duties'
- be able to recognize, differentiate and articulate the difference between a simple citizen contact and detention or arrest.
- understand physical and psychological detention, if it is occurring, and if so, what lawful authorities exist.
- properly document and record street level intelligence.

Subjects who are being checked or stopped by police must:

- know why the police are interacting with them.
- be made aware if they are being detained and if so, understand their Charter Rights.
- understand that if they are not being detained, they have the right to leave and do not have to speak to the police. (Edmonton Police Service, 2017)

Psychological detention is defined as occurring "*when a reasonable person would conclude by reason of the police officer's actions they have no choice but to comply with a demand or direction, even though the police may lack any legal authority for that demand or direction*" (EPS Street Checks and Street Check Reporting Procedure. No. OP10-9PR, 2017).

The procedure also reminds members that, unless there is a legal requirement for the subject to provide information, the subject is not obligated to provide any information and may disengage with members at any time (A.5). It also reinforces that members must ensure their actions are not motivated by bias, stereotyping or prejudice, and reinforces that members must be aware of the perception of bias their actions may create (A.6).

An SCR is defined as "*the document that includes the information a member obtains when conducting a Street Check, and/or information the member has personally observed for the purposes as outlined. This report aims to obtain the 'who, what, where, when and why' of an interaction or observation."*

Part B of the procedures outlines street check reporting guidelines. It notes that members must always articulate the reason for the check in their report (A.4), that it must contain only factual and relevant information, and that this information must be factual. It cautions that the SCR must not duplicate information captured in other reports and that it must not identify confidential human sources or contain confidential information.

The guidelines state that an officer may initiate a street check if:

1) a member makes an observation that provides intelligence related to a legitimate police investigation and/or the prevention of crime and disorder, or
2) a member approaches and engages a subject in an attempt to gather intelligence on the subject or the area to:
    a) further a legitimate police investigation
    b) prevent crime and disorder, and/or
    c) the prevention of further victimization
3) The procedure also specifies that members must always articulate the reason for the check in their report (A.4).

The procedure requires that SCRs be submitted via the Edmonton Police Reporting and Occurrence System (EPROS) which enters the reports into the EPS records management system. SCRs are reviewed and approved by the Intelligence Production Division. SCR reports can be submitted from mobile workstations in police vehicles or from a computer in a police facility.

The EPS Investigative Aids and Resources Policy (Procedure No. 1N3-1PR 9.3.iii) specifies that all information received from a registered or casual source, and information that could potentially place an innocent third party at risk should be submitted via a Source Debriefing Report (SDR) or an Intelligence Report (IR) rather than on an SCR.

Confidentiality of SCR Information

SCRs are considered Protected Level A documents. They may be subject to disclosure for judicial proceedings and Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPP) requests. Since

SCRs may contain potentially sensitive information, they are subject to heightened security review prior to release for these purposes.

As the Records Management System (RMS) does not permit alteration or removal of reports once they have been approved and added to the system, if a review of an SCR identifies that it contains inappropriate or sensitive information, access to that file is restricted so that general users cannot view it and are not privy to its existence (p. 18 Review 2016).

Retention of SCRs

At present the SCRs have an indefinite lifespan and are permanently retained in the EPROS database. The CAC has provided input on a retention strategy for the SCRs. Some members recommended permanent retention while others favoured a one-year retention period. A collective decision was made to retain the SCRs for ten years.

EPS Street Check Training

Recruit Training

The use of street checks is briefly introduced and incorporated into recruit training scenarios where recruits are required to prepare an SCR. The focus of this segment is on procedures, bias awareness, and maintaining respectful interactions. The Legal Studies component of recruit training goes into detail on individual and police officer rights under Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Alberta Human Rights Act, and members' power of arrest and detention.

Modules on bias awareness, Indigenous culture and history, engaging with diverse communities, achieving cultural safety, effective communication, and police legitimacy and procedural justice are also included in the recruit training program. The effective communication component of the program focuses on teaching recruits to engage, and have conversations with, persons in diverse communities in a variety of situations.

Recruits also participate in a "Check Your Biases" segment where they have the opportunity to interview and ask questions of representatives of community support organizations and members of communities of diversity.

A 2017 recruit training curriculum review identified the need to provide training that is more closely aligned with meeting the needs of the organization and the community. This review prompted the development of a new, expanded recruit training curriculum which was introduced April, 2018. Block 1 training (face-to-face training) has been lengthened by three weeks and Block 2 training (field training) has been lengthened by two weeks. The communication component in Block 1 has been expanded and reworked to include the development of strategies to optimize officers' verbal and physical functionality in stressful and high-risk situations, and to conduct conversations to order to achieve communication objectives.

Scenario training in the new program focuses on improving communication and decision-making skills in increasingly complex situations over shortened periods of time. Two of the scenarios incorporate street checks and bias recognition.

Effective communication, deemed a primary police officer competency, is a cross-cutting theme throughout the program. The program promotes policing as a service that requires face- to-face communication, mitigating the use of telephones and instant digital media as the primary communications tools.

In Service Training

The EPS Geographic Deployment Model (GDM) requires that members complete four days of mandatory training annually. In 2017, mandatory training for patrol and beat officers included a two-hour component on street checks delivered by the Intelligence Production Division. Street checks have also been incorporated into the Patrol Sergeant Street Check Refresher course. The course emphasizes the need to articulate the situation and reason for a street check to the person who is stopped, that it is not mandatory to record observations or assessments of race, and that street checks should focus on the individual and their behaviour and not on race.

Informal Training

Ad hoc and informal training and professional development opportunities are occasionally available to members. For example, the EPS and the Mennonite Centre for Newcomers arranged for a University of Alberta professor to provide education session for EPS members and community members together to learn about immigrant communities, and to develop strategies for proactive engagement with these communities.

Officers have access, on a voluntary basis, to an online bias avoidance course. This course contains a number of modules, each with learning objectives and an assessment. Among the topics covered are explicit and implicit bias, why bias exists, first impressions, the types of bias, and the impact of bias, among others.

The Community Operations and Support Unit, in cooperation with the Mennonite Centre For Newcomers, delivered eight courses on PTSD in refugees for police in 2015/16. Attendance was voluntary and sessions were open to community members. Examples of other voluntary attendance courses that have been offered include Indigenous culture and cultural safety.

Public Complaints Related to SCRs

The EPS Professional Standards Bureau (PSB) does not directly track SCR-related complaints and noted that it was difficult to ascertain whether a complaint was street check related. The example that was provided by a PSB representative was that, if a person complained that "the officer asked for my identification and was rude to me", the complaint could be captured as "disrespect, rudeness, or harassment" rather than as being related to a street check. A review of PSB files revealed a number of files involving alleged misconduct by officers, but none that were related specifically to officer conduct during street checks. A search of citizen contact files revealed six files that contained the word "carding" (PSB representative email correspondence with EPS senior management and executive officers, November 17, 2017).

REVIEW OF THE 2017 EPS STREET CHECK REPORTS

A major limitation of the research conducted to date on street checks has been the failure to ensure that the data being analyzed are valid. It is important that the incidents reported on street check forms comply with departmental and legislative guidelines and are street checks, as opposed to some other police activity.

The first step in the present study was to review all of the EPS SCRs for 2017.

The Review Protocol

Data in electronic format on all of the SCRs completed and approved during 2017 was requested, and obtained, from the EPS IT department. The data contained the following fields:

- Occurrence file number (Street check report number)
- Division of Occurrence
- Occurrence Date/Time
- Officer Reg. Number and Name
- Supervisor Reg. Number and Name
- Name and Date of Birth of linked Person Entity
- Report ID
- Report narrative
- Street Address of Occurrence
- X Coordinate
- Y Coordinate
- Community Occurrence
- Neighbourhood Description
- Beat District
- FPS #
- ECIB #
- Person ID
- Person Gender

- Person Race
- Distinct Count of Previous SCR's
- Distinct Count of non-SCR's
- Counts of race attributable to one person entity

Classification categories were created based upon preliminary review of the data, extensive consultation with EPS, and a review of applicable municipal and provincial regulations and acts such as:

- City of Edmonton Bylaw 5590 – Traffic bylaw
- Gaming and Liquor Act
- Traffic Safety Act
- Traffic Safety Act – Use of Highway and Rules of The Road Regulation
- City of Edmonton Bylaw 8353 Conduct of Transit Passengers
- Petty Trespass Act

The 2017 data extract received contained 15, 909 street check reports associated to 27,125 person records of which there are 14,188 distinct individuals. Classification of each street check report was conducted on a line-by-line basis. Subcategories were created in order to capture the full range of incidents in the SCRs.

The analysis was conducted using Audit Command Language (ACL) by division, officer, neighbourhood, sex, race, Edmonton City Identification Bureau (ECIB)/Finger Print Serial (FPS) Count, top 20 street checked individuals in 2017, age, month, and time of day. The population figures, including visible minority and Indigenous persons, was obtained from the 2016 Census and entered into ArcGIS. In addition, a series of crime maps were created from data obtained from EPS on occurrences (violent, social disorder, property) within Edmonton in 2017.

All of the persons who were mentioned in an observation or encounter were given the same street check occurrence number. For example, if during a stop, the person being checked mentioned the names of others that have investigative importance, e.g. a new landlord or employer, and that person is linked to the street check report for association purposes.

In the analysis section, data are presented on the total individuals associated to the street check records (n = 4,487), on distinct individuals (n = 3,090), and occurrences (n = 3,050).

From the review of the SCRs that were approved in 2017, there were 16.5 percent (4,487/27,125) that met the EPS street check guidelines. These data were subjected to further analysis.

In the review of previous studies of street checks, it was noted that a major limitation was the failure to distinguish between the resident population in a municipality and the available population in a specific area or neighbourhood. An initial objective of this project was to examine street checks within the framework of available populations which would provide a much more accurate view of whether certain persons or groups were disproportionately represented in street checks.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct this analysis. Data on the available population in the various police divisions and beats is not available. Statistics Canada only counts persons associated with a home address. There is no information on where persons spend their time outside of their places of residence. This highlights further the need for field observations of police-citizen encounters as a method of determining whether police officers are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing and whether persons who are stopped experience psychological detention.

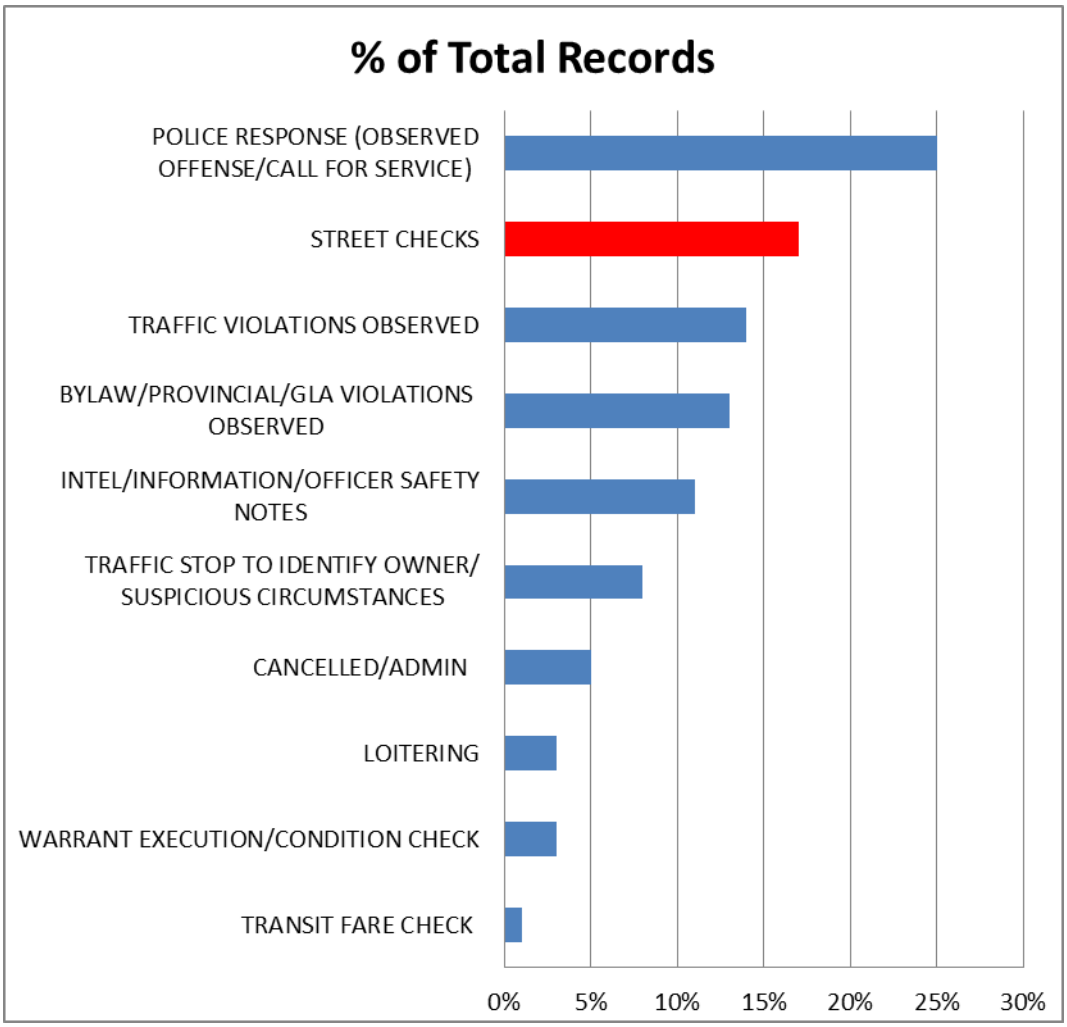
Findings from the Review

A review of the 2017 SCRs resulted in the categorization set out in Table 2. A bar graph depicting these data is presented in Figure 25.

Table 2: Classified EPS SCRs Completed During 2017 (n = 27,125)

CLASSIFICATION	TOTAL RECORDS	%
POLICE RESPONSE (OBSERVED OFFENSE/CALL FOR SERVICE)	6,799	25.00%
STREET CHECKS	4,487	16.50%
TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3,819	14.00%
BYLAW/PROVINCIAL/GLA VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3,625	13.50%
INTEL/INFORMATION/OFFICER SAFETY NOTES	3,028	11.00%
TRAFFIC STOP TO IDENTIFY OWNER/ SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES	2,109	8.00%
CANCELLED/ADMIN	1,407	5.00%
WARRANT EXECUTION/CONDITION CHECK	845	3.00%
LOITERING	818	3.00%
TRANSIT FARE CHECK	188	1.00%
TOTAL	**27,125**	**100.00%**

Figure 25: Classified EPS SCRs Completed During 2017 (n = 27,125)



An in-depth review of the 2017 SCRs revealed that 16.5 percent (4,487 SCRs of the 27,125 SCRS completed, and approved, during 2017) were encounters that fell within the purview of the EPS street check guidelines. The other encounters involved incidents that were more appropriately classified in another category.

Table 3 provides information on the ethnicity of persons in the SCRs that were submitted and approved in 2017 in the various categories of police-citizen encounters.

Table 3: Classification of 2017 SCRs (n = 27,125)

CLASSIFICATION	Total Records	Blank/ Unknown	White	Visible Minority / Indigenous	Conflicting	Total
POLICE RESPONSE (OBSERVED OFFENSE/CALL FOR SERVICE)	6,799	1,121	2,332	2,279	1,067	6,799
STREET CHECKS	4,487	402	1,413	1,852	820	4,487
TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3,819	846	1,442	1,051	480	3,819
BYLAW/PROVINCIAL/GLA AND FEDERAL VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3,625	325	1,063	1,539	698	3,625
INTEL/INFORMATION/OFFICER SAFETY NOTES	3,028	584	1,228	813	403	3,028
TRAFFIC STOP TO IDENTIFY OWNER/ SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES	2,109	435	853	532	289	2,109
ADMIN UPDATES/NOT APPLICABLE	1,407	706	320	260	121	1,407
WARRANT EXECUTION/CONDITION CHECK	845	93	346	268	138	845
LOITERING	818	61	209	389	159	818
TRANSIT FARE CHECK	188	16	42	110	20	188
TOTAL RECORD COUNT	**27,125**	**4,589**	**9,248**	**9,093**	**4,195**	**27,125**
TOTAL % OF ETHNICITY BY RECORD COUNT		***16.92%***	***34.09%***	***33.52%***	***15.47%***	***100%***

The additional data presented in Table 3 indicate that that nearly 17 percent of the SCRs had no information on the ethnicity of the person linked to the street check report, while nearly 16 percent contained conflicting information on the person's ethnicity.

Although visible minority and Indigenous persons (n = 1,852; 41 percent) were street checked more often than White persons (n = 1,413; 31 percent), in the absence of an ability to assess the context within which the street checks occurred, including the location, circumstances, and available population, it is not possible to determine whether these figures are the result of racial profiling and biased policing by EPS officers. A more detailed analysis, utilizing data that are not currently available from Statistics Canada and the EPS, would be required to address this issue.

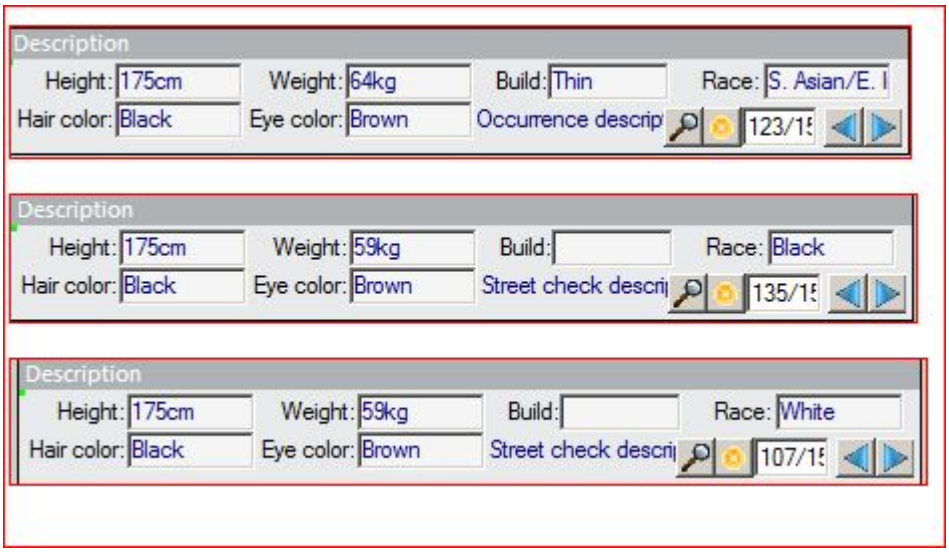
Conflicting Officer Assessments of Subject's Race/Ethnicity

It was previously noted that the race/ethnicity of persons who are subjected to street checks is a critical item of information in any study of whether police officers are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing. This item of information may also be inaccurate, particularly when the determination of race/ethnicity is based on the officer's assessment.

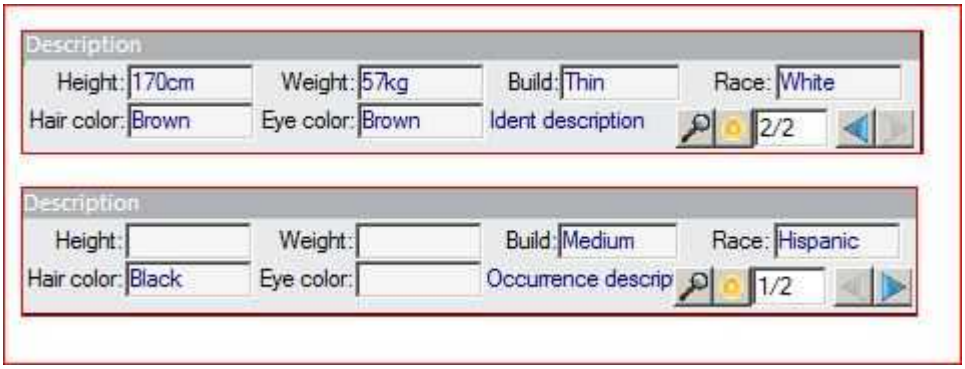
The analysis of the SCRs for 2017 revealed a significant number of cases in which there was conflicting identities assigned to subjects. This is noted as "Conflicting" in the data tables. The following examples are drawn from the SCRs and the EPS data system. All other identifying information has been removed.

Example 1. Black/Aboriginal/White/other Non-White; Person Profile in EPROS

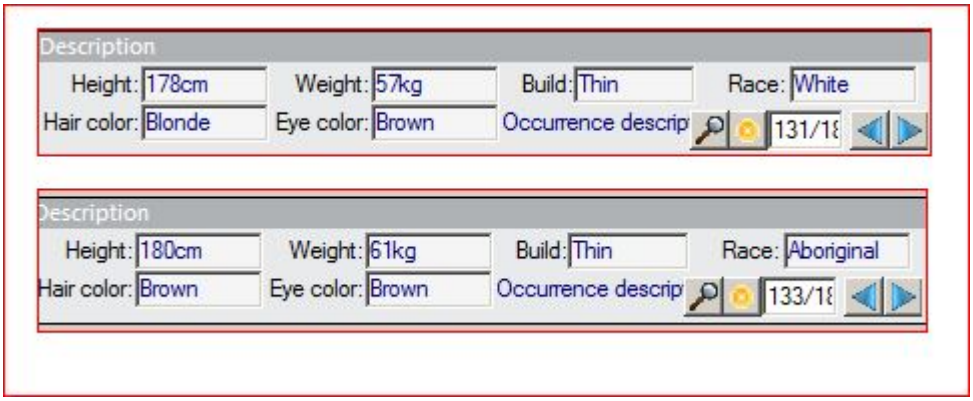
Example 2. Black/S. Asian/White; person profile in EPROS



Example 3. White/Hispanic; Person Profile in EPROS



Example 4: White/Indigenous; Person Profile in EPROS



The Ethnicity of Persons In SCRS

The following tables present information on the ethnicity of persons who were street checked in 2017, or who were linked to persons who were checked[1].

Table 4 presents a breakdown of the street check records for 2017 by ethnicity.

Table 4: The Ethnicity of Persons in SCRs, 2017 (n = 4,487)

STREET CHECK RECORDS	TOTAL RECORDS	%
Visible Minority/Indigenous	1,852	41%
White	1,413	32%
Conflicting	820	18%
Blank/Unknown	402	9%
Total	**4,487**	

[1] Visible Minority Classification
Visible minority classifications were retrieved from the 2016 census as are defined as follows:
1. South Asian
2. Chinese
3. Black
4. Filipino
5. Latin American
6. Arab
7. Southeast Asian
8. West Asian
9. Korean
10. Japanese
11. Visible Minority, nie
12. Multiple Visible Minorities

Visible minority refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group as defined by the Employment Equity Act and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs. The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as 'persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.' Categories in the visible minority variable include South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, Visible minority, n.i.e. ('n.i.e.' means 'not included elsewhere'), Multiple visible minorities and Not a visible minority. In both the visible minority and population group variables, the category 'Visible minority, n.i.e.' includes respondents who reported a write-in response such as 'Guyanese,' 'West Indian,' 'Tibetan,' 'Polynesian,' 'Pacific Islander.' The category 'Multiple visible minorities' includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group by checking two or more mark-in circles, such as 'Black' and 'South Asian. The visible minority variable includes data for 13 derived groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, Visible minority, n.i.e., Multiple visible minorities and Not a visible minority ('Not a visible minority' includes respondents who reported 'Yes' to the Aboriginal identity question as well as respondents who were not considered to be members of a visible minority group). There is also a subtotal provided for the 'Total visible minority population,' which aggregates counts for the first 12 groups.

The data presented in Table 4 indicates that visible minorities and Indigenous persons comprised 41 percent of the persons street checked in 2017 , while in 32 percent of the records, the subject was White. There was conflicting information on the person's ethnicity in 18 percent of the cases.

Table 5: The Sex of Persons in SCRs, 2017 (n = 4,487)

ETHNICITY	Male		Female		Blank/UK	Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	N	% of Total
Blank/Unknown	243	7%	125	11%	34	402	9%
Conflicting	592	18%	228	19%		820	18%
Visible Minority/Indigenous	1,302	40%	550	46%		1,852	41%
White	1,129	35%	284	24%		1,413	31%
Total	**3,266**		**1,187**		**34**	**4,487**	**100%**

The data presented in Table 5 indicates that of all males street checked, 40 percent are of Visible Minority/Indigenous ethnicity (40 percent). Of all females street checked 46 percent are of Visible Minority/Indigenous ethnicity (46 percent).

Table 6 presents data on the ethnic sub-classification of persons who were street checked during 2017.

Table 6: Sub-Classification of Ethnicity (n = 1,852)

Sub-Classified Ethnicity	Count	%
Indigenous	1,455	79%
Multiple	**223**	**12%**
Black	108	6%
Asian	**22**	**1%**
Hispanic	14	1%
South Asian/East Indian	**13**	**1%**
Middle Eastern	11	1%
Other Non-White	**6**	**0%**
Total	**1,852**	**100%**

The data presented in Table 6 indicates that Indigenous persons comprised 79 percent of the "Visible Minority/Indigenous" category of persons in SCR records in 2017.

Table 7 provides information on the ethnicity of persons in the SCRs that were submitted and approved in 2017 in the various categories of police-subject observations/encounters.

Table 7: All Street Check Records by Ethnicity and Percentage of Count, 2017 (n = 27,125)

CLASSIFICATION	TOTAL N	White	% of Classification	Visible Minority/ Indigenous	% of Classification	Conflicting	% of Classification	Blank	% of Classification	TOTAL N
POLICE RESPONSE (OBSERVED OFFENSE/CALL FOR SERVICE)	6799	2332	34%	2279	34%	1067	16%	1121	16%	6799
STREET CHECKS	4487	1413	31%	1852	41%	820	18%	402	9%	4487
TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3819	1442	38%	1051	28%	480	13%	846	22%	3819
BYLAW/PROVINCIAL/GLA VIOLATIONS OBSERVED	3625	1063	29%	1539	42%	698	19%	325	9%	3625
INTEL/INFORMATION/OFFICER SAFETY NOTES	3028	1228	41%	813	27%	403	13%	584	19%	3028
TRAFFIC STOP TO IDENTIFY OWNER/ SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES	2109	853	40%	532	25%	289	14%	435	21%	2109
ADMIN UPDATES/NOT APPLICABLE	1407	320	23%	260	18%	121	9%	706	50%	1407
WARRANT EXECUTION/CONDITION CHECK	845	346	41%	268	32%	138	16%	93	11%	845
LOITERING	818	209	26%	389	48%	159	19%	61	7%	818
TRANSIT FARE CHECK	188	42	22%	110	59%	20	11%	16	9%	188
TOTAL RECORD COUNT	27125	9248		9093		4195		4589		27125
TOTAL % OF ETHNCITY BY RECORD COUNT	*100%*	*34.09%*		*33.52%*		*15.47%*		*16.92%*		*100%*

The statistics in Table 7 reveal that, for those SCRs where the identity of the person stopped was clear, Indigenous and visible minority (41 percent) persons were more likely than Whites (31 percent) to be subjected to a street check. This does not, in itself, indicate that the police racially profile Indigenous persons and visible minorities as there is no data available on the context in which they were stopped. Further analysis would be required, using data not available to the present study, to determine this.

The statistics also indicate that Indigenous persons and visible minorities were also more likely to be stopped for bylaw/provincial/GLA violations (42 percent vs 29 percent for Whites), loitering (48 percent vs 26 percent for Whites), and transit fare checks (59 percent) vs. 22 percent for Whites). Whites, on the other hand, were more likely to be stopped for observed traffic violations (38 percent vs. 28 percent for Indigenous persons and visible minorities) and traffic stops to identify owner/suspicious circumstances (40 percent vs 25 percent for Indigenous persons and visible minorities). Again, it is important to note that, in the absence of

additional data and analysis, it is not possible to conclude whether these figures are the result of racial profiling, or, in the case of Whites, biased policing.

Table 8 presents data on the number of Indigenous persons who were street checked in EPS divisions in 2017.

Table 8: Indigenous Persons Street Checked, by EPS Division, 2017 (n = 1,455)

Division Occurrence	Count	%
DOWNTOWN	704	48%
NORTH WEST	186	13%
Not Entered / Unknown	180	12%
WEST	113	8%
SOUTH EAST	100	7%
SOUTH WEST	89	6%
NORTH EAST	81	6%
NORTH	2	0%
Total	**1,455**	**100%**

The data presented in Table 8 indicate that 48 percent of the street checks of Indigenous persons occurred in Downtown Division, with 13 percent occurring in Northwest Division, and eight percent in West Division. Note that the division where the street checks occurred was not indicated in 12 percent of the SCRs.

Persons Street Checked Who Have an ECIB and FPS Number

The SCRs contain information on whether the person who was street checked had an ECIB or an FPS number. The Edmonton City Identification Bureau (ECIB) number is specific to the EPS and is given to individuals when they are fingerprinted and/or photographed as part of the criminal identification process. It is solely an EPS function and used to log and catalogue EPS identification activities. A Finger Print Serial (FPS) number is a federal identifier assigned to an individual who is subject to identification under the *Identification of Criminals Act*, e.g. charged with an offence that requires they be fingerprinted. FPS numbers are managed federally and stored in the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) data base.

Table 9 presents data on the number of persons who were linked to a street check who had an ECIB number or an FPS number.

Table 9: Persons Who Were Street Checked Who Had a ECIB and/or FPS Number, 2017 (n = 4,487)

RECORD COUNT	NUMBER LISTED	%
ECIB Count	3,809	85%
FPS Count	3,777	84%

The data presented in Table 9 indicate that 85 percent of the persons linked to the street check had an ECIB number and 84 percent had an FPS number. Whether the subject had an ECIB number was blank in 15 percent of the cases and in 16 percent of the cases for the FPS. These figures indicate that the large majority of persons who were street checked in 2017 had a record of prior involvement with the police and the criminal justice system. Note that the project team was not provided with information from the Canadian Police Information Centre data base that would have allowed a determination of the criminal history of persons who were street checked.

The Frequency of Street Checks for Persons

Table 10 presents a breakdown of the distribution of the frequency of the persons who were recorded in 2017 in the street check records (n = 27,125).

Table 10: The Frequency of Street Check Records for Persons, 2017 (n = 27,125)

Street Check Records	Count of Individuals	% of Count	% of Field	Total Number of Street Check Records
1	9,604	67.69%	35.41%	9,604
2	2,183	15.39%	16.10%	4,366
3	931	6.56%	10.30%	2,793
4	509	3.59%	7.51%	2,036
5	310	2.18%	5.71%	1,550
6	201	1.42%	4.45%	1,206
7	130	0.92%	3.35%	910
8	93	0.66%	2.74%	744
9	54	0.38%	1.79%	486
10	38	0.27%	1.40%	380
>10	135	0.95%	11.24%	3,050
Totals	**14,188**	**100%**	**100%**	**27,125**

The data presented in Table 10 indicate that, of the total number of SCRs completed in 2017 (n = 27,125), 83 percent of distinct individuals were associated to one or two street check records.

Table 11: The Frequency of Street Checks for Persons (n = 4,487)

Street Check Records	Count of Individuals	% of Count	% of Field	Total Number of Street Checks
1	2,327	75.31%	51.86%	2,327
2	459	14.85%	20.46%	918
3	164	5.31%	10.97%	492
4	70	2.27%	6.24%	280
5	29	0.94%	3.23%	145
6	17	0.55%	2.27%	102
7	11	0.36%	1.72%	77
8	4	0.13%	0.71%	32
9	3	0.10%	0.60%	27
10	3	0.10%	0.67%	30
>10	3*	0.10%	1.27%	57
Totals	**3,090**	**100%**	**100%**	**4,487**

** 1 individual record has no personal identifying information*

The data presented in Table 11 indicate that, of the final street check classification of SCRs that were analyzed (n = 4,487), the majority of individuals had experienced one or two street checks.

Persons Most Frequently Street Checked

Table 12 presents data on the top 10 persons who were most frequently recorded in the street check reports for all categories of observations/encounters in the entire 2017 SCR data set.

Table 12: Top 10 Persons in the SCR Data, 2017 (n = 27,125)

Record #	Total	Street Check	Intel	Traffic Violation	Traffic Stop	Loitering	Gaming	Transit Fare Check	Bylaw	Warrant	Admin	Police Response	Ethnicity
1	69	10	16	9	8	0	0	0	4	1	0	21	Visible Minority/Indigenous
2	43	5	8	5	13	0	0	0	0	0	8	4	White
3	31	3	2	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	15	2	White
4	26	4	4	5	2	1	0	0	7	1	0	2	Visible Minority/Indigenous
5	25	5	0	5	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	8	Visible Minority/Indigenous
6	24	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	0	0	7	Visible Minority/Indigenous
7	24	7	1	0	4	0	0	0	6	0	2	4	White
8	24	7	1	1	0	4	0	0	8	0	0	3	Visible Minority/Indigenous
9	23	10	2	1	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	Visible Minority/Indigenous
10	23	6	3	0	1	1	2	0	8	0	0	2	Conflicting
		62	37	29	36	10	2	1	49	4	25	53	

The data presented in Table 12 indicate that 60 percent (6/10) of the persons who were most frequently recorded in the street check reports all observations/encounters in 2017 were Visible Minority or Indigenous. This group of persons included stops for a variety of violations related to bylaws and statutes.

Table 13 presents data on the profiles of persons who were most frequently street checked in 2017, as recorded in SCRs that were determined to be compliant with EPS street check guidelines.

Table 13: Profiles of Persons Most Frequently Street Checked, 2017 (n = 4,487)

#	SEX	2017 SCR COUNT	ETHNICITY LISTED	FPS NUMBER	CURRENT AGE
1	Male	12	WHITE & INDIGENOUS	YES	46
2	Male	11	INDIGENOUS	YES	25
3	Male	10	INDIGENOUS	YES	35
4	Male	10	INDIGENOUS & VM	YES	55
5	Male	10	INDIGENOUS	YES	32
6	Female	9	INDIGENOUS	YES	26
7	Male	9	INDIGENOUS	YES	30
8	Male	9	WHITE	YES	28
9	Male	8	INDIGENOUS	YES	30
10	Female	8	INDIGENOUS & VM	YES	41
11	Male	8	WHITE	YES	41
12	Male	8	WHITE & INDIGENOUS	YES	39
13	Male	7	INDIGENOUS	YES	41
14	Male	7	INDIGENOUS	YES	39
15	Male	7	INDIGENOUS	YES	18
16	Male	7	WHITE /INDIGENOUS/VM	YES	29
17	Male	7	WHITE	YES	37
18	Female	7	WHITE	YES	28
19	Male	7	WHITE	YES	29
20	Male	7	INDIGENOUS	YES	22

The information in Table 13 indicates that the persons most often street checked during 2017 were identified by the officers as being White or Indigenous. The average age of the group was 33.5, 85 percent were men, and all of the persons had a federal FPS number. Fifty percent (10/20) of the persons were consistently identified as being Indigenous, while for 20 percent (4/20) of the individuals, there was conflicting information on their ethnicity.

The data presented in Table 13 indicates that 60 percent of the persons most frequently street checked were Visible Minority or Indigenous.

Number of Street Checks by Division and Ethnicity

Table 14 shows the number of SCRs by EPS Division.

Table 14: Street Check Records by Division, 2017 (n = 4,487 records)

Street Check Division	Total Street Checks	%
DOWNTOWN	1,718	38%
SOUTH EAST	576	13%
NORTH WEST	559	12%
WEST	532	12%
Not Entered/ Unknown	488	11%
SOUTH WEST	390	9%
NORTH EAST	221	5%
NORTH	3	0%
Totals	**4,487**	100%

The data presented in Table 14 indicates that a significant number of SCRs (38 percent) occurred in Downtown Division.

Table 15 presents data on street checks by division and ethnicity.

Table 15: Street Check Events by Division and Ethnicity, 2017 (n = 4,487 records)

DIVISION	BLANK	WHITE	VISIBLE MINORITY / INDIGENOUS	CONFLICTING	TOTAL
DOWNTOWN	114	408	876	320	1,718
SOUTH EAST	69	286	138	83	576
NORTHWEST	46	139	224	150	559
WEST	61	222	160	89	532
NOT ENTERED	40	140	220	88	488
SOUTHWEST	49	157	135	49	390
NORTHEAST	23	61	97	40	221
NORTH	0	0	2	1	3
Total	**402**	**1,413**	**1,852**	**820**	**4,487**
%	**9%**	**31%**	**41%**	**18%**	**100%**

The data presented in Table 15 indicates that the most street checks were conducted in the area covered by Downtown Division. Minus those SCRs that were blank and those in which there was conflicting information on the ethnicity of the subject, 56.7 percent of the persons street checked in this area were a Visible Minority or Indigenous and 43.2 percent were White. Caution should be exercised in assuming that this indicates racial profiling and biased policing by EPS officers. It is important to consider the available population in Downtown Division, which may include more Visible Minority and Indigenous Persons.

Communities Where Street Checks are Most Often Conducted

Table 16 presents information on the communities where street checks occurred in 2017.

Table 16: Top 10 Community Areas Where Street Checks Occurred, 2017 (n = 3,050 events)

2017 STREET CHECKS	COMMUNITY	% of Total
707	No Community Listed	23.2%
348	McCauley	11.4%
246	Rossdale	8.1%
183	Central McDougall	6.0%
174	Boyle Street	5.7%
132	Alberta Avenue	4.3%
101	Oliver	3.3%
86	Inglewood	2.8%
78	Cromdale	2.6%
74	Downtown	2.4%
65	Eastwood	2.1%
Total		**71.9%**

The data presented in Table 16 indicate that street checks were concentrated in certain communities, most of whom were in, or near Downtown division.

Table 17 presents data on the beats where street checks were conducted in 2017.

Table 17: Top 10 Beats Where Street Check Events Occurred, 2017 (n = 3,050 events)

BEAT	STREET CHECK COUNT	NEIGHBOURHOOD
Not Entered	1,282	N/A
D791	294	MCCAULEY, CENTRAL MCDOUGALL
D796	194	DOWNTOWN
D794	153	DOWNTOWN, CENTRAL MCDOUGALL
F81	118	ALBERTA AVENUE,EASTWOOD, PARKDALE
A81	101	INGLEWOOD, PRINCE CHARLES, SHERBROOKE, WESTMOUNT
D790	95	CENTRAL MCDOUGALL, MCCAULEY
E80	85	BONNIE DOON, IDYLWYLDE, KING EDWARD PARK, MILLCREEK RAVINCE NORTH, MILLCREEK RAVINE SOUTH
F80	83	ALBERTA AVENUE, SPRUCE AVENUE, WESTWOOD
D793	74	BOYLE STREET, DOWNTOWN, MCCAULEY
E90	70	KAMEYOSEK, MEYOKUMIN, MILLWOODS PARK, MILLWOODS TOWN CENTRE, TAWA

The data presented in Table 17 indicate that there are beats and neighbourhoods where a higher number of street checks were conducted during 2017.

Table 18 presents data on street checks conducted in Downtown Division during 2017, broken down by district and beat.

Table 18: Downtown Division Street Checks by District and Beat, 2017 (n = 1,198 occurrences in 1,718 person records)

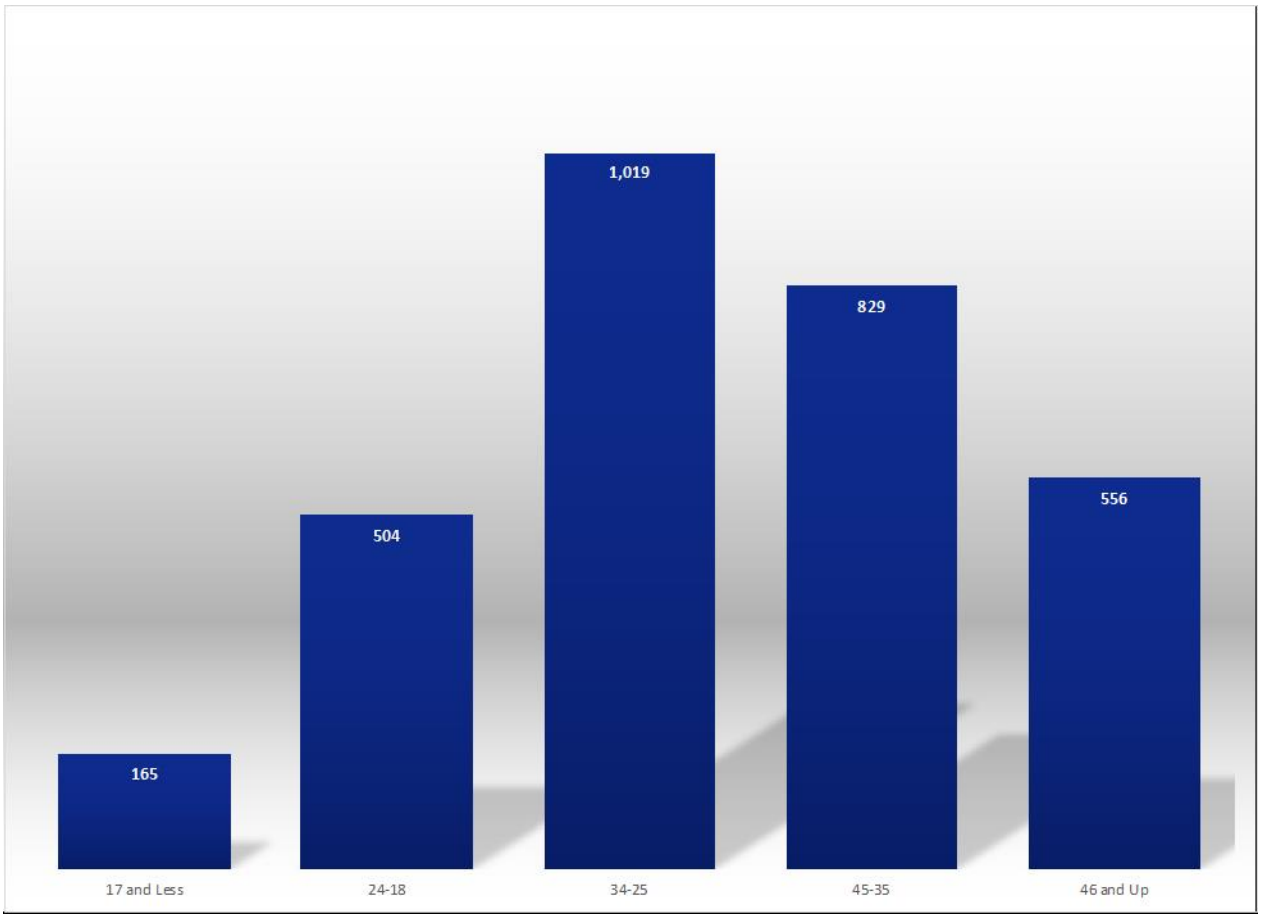
District	Beat	Count
D1	D790	95
D1	D791	294
D1	D792	29
D1	D793	21
D1	D794	94
D1	D795	4
D1	Not Entered	10
D2	D792	37
D2	D793	3
D2	Not Entered	31
D3	D793	50
D3	D794	59
D3	D795	14
D3	D796	194
D3	D797	56
D3	Not Entered	31
D4	D795	2
D4	D797	10
D4	D798	44
D4	Not Entered	94
Not Entered	Not Entered	26
Total		**1,198**

The data presented in Table 18 indicate that street checks in the Downtown Division were concentrated in certain beats and neighbourhoods, in particular District 1.

The Age of Persons Street Checked

Figure 26 sets out the age of persons who were street checked during 2017. Note that these are persons whose age was determined either by asking the person for their date of birth, viewing identification presented at the encounter, or previously recorded in EPROS by some other means, e.g. previous traffic violation, having been a witness to a crime, or a subject or suspect in a crime.

Figure 26: Street Check Analysis by Age (n = 3,090)



The data indicate that the majority of persons who were street checked during 2017 were over the age of 33. Only a small percentage of persons were in the age group 17 and under.

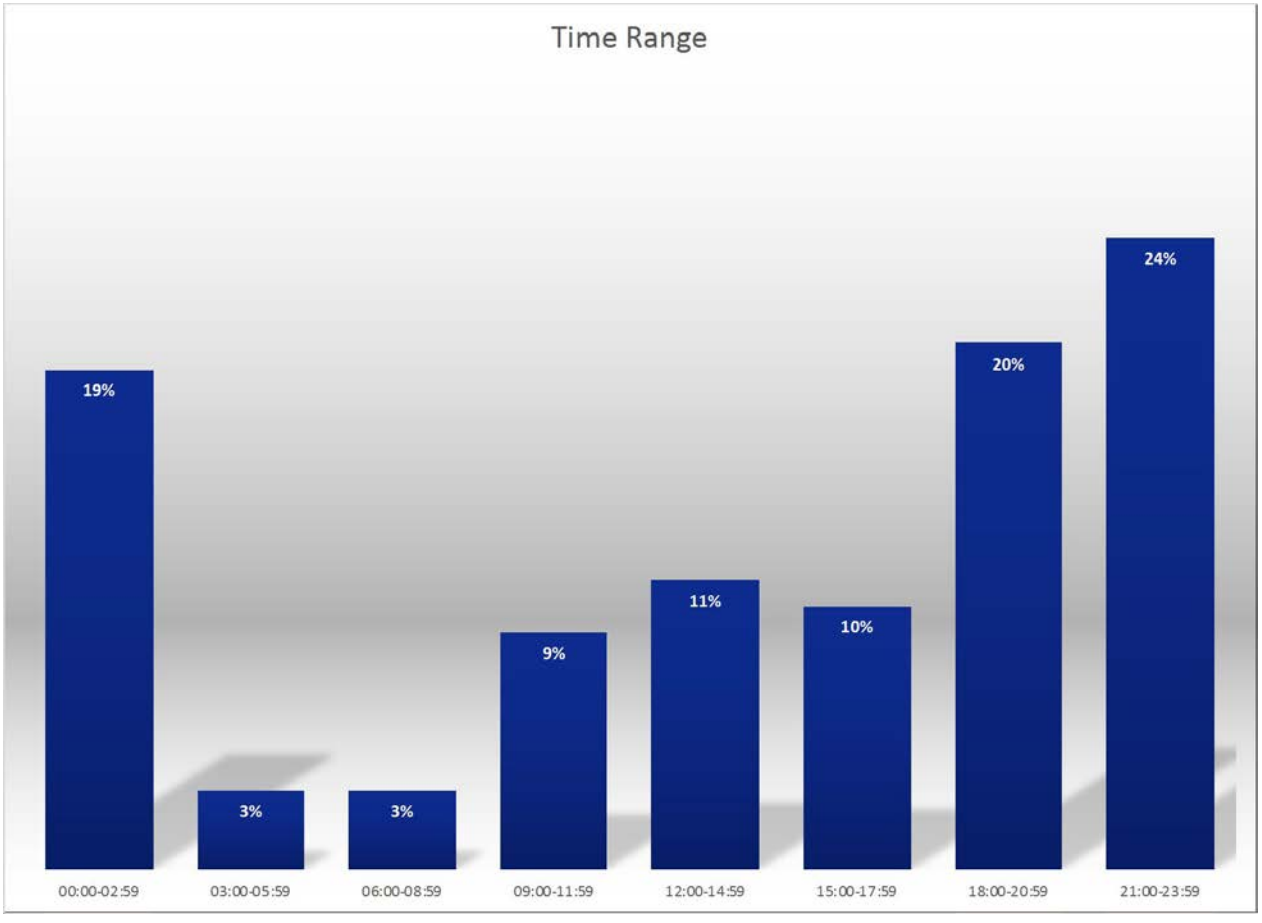
Time of Street Checks

Table 19 and Figure 27 presents data on when street checks were conducted, broken down into three-hour intervals.

Table 19: Time Analysis of Street Checks (n = 3,050 reports)

Time Range	N	%
00:00-02:59	593	19%
03:00-05:59	97	3%
06:00-08:59	89	3%
09:00-11:59	277	9%
12:00-14:59	333	11%
15:00-17:59	317	10%
18:00-20:59	600	20%
21:00-23:59	744	24%
Total	3,050	100%

Figure 27: Time of Day Street Checks (n = 3,050 reports)



The data presented above indicates that just over 50 percent of the street checks were conducted between 3:00 p.m. and midnight. And additional 19 percent of the street checks

were conducted between midnight and 3:00 a.m. This suggests that the available population in Downtown Division, for example, may not be comprised of persons who work in the city during the day.

EPS Officers with the Highest SRC Count

Table 20 presents data on the EPS officers who submitted the most SCRs during 2017.

Table 20: Top 10 Officers Conducting Street Checks, 2017 (n = 3,050 reports)

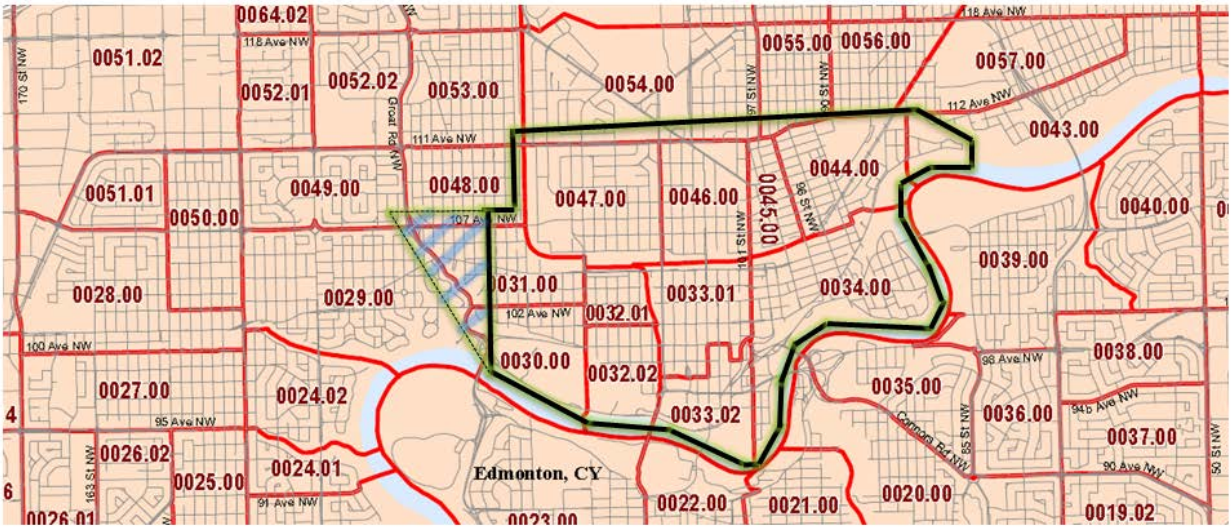
Officer	2017 SCR Count	Division/Unit
1	64	Downtown Beats
2	52	Downtown Beats
3	52	Downtown Beats
4	52	Downtown Beats
5	42	South East Bonnie Doon Beats
6	41	Downtown Beats
7	41	Downtown Beats
8	39	Human Trafficking and Exploitation Unit
9	38	Downtown Offender Management
10	38	Downtown Beats

The information presented in Table 20 indicates that officers who are assigned to the beat teams in Downtown Division submit the highest number of SCRs. There are a variety of potential explanations for these findings including that the officers in question are "problem officers", or that the officers are more proactive in their activities, among others. Given the mandate of beat officers, it would be expected that these officers would have higher levels of proactive contact with persons in their areas. Officer #8 and officer #9 also both work in units that are highly proactive. The available data did not allow further examination of the decision making of these officers. Additional analysis could be conducted by the EPS to monitor the street check activities of officers to ensure that their interventions have lawful authority.

Census Tracts Within Downtown Division Boundaries

Figure 28 depicts the Census tracts that are within the boundaries of Downtown Division.

Figure 28: Downtown Division Census Tracts



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016; Hydrography from the National Geographic Database, 2016.
https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/geo/map-carte/ref/ct/files-fichiers/2016-92146-835-01.pdf

Legend:

EPS Downtown Division Boundary

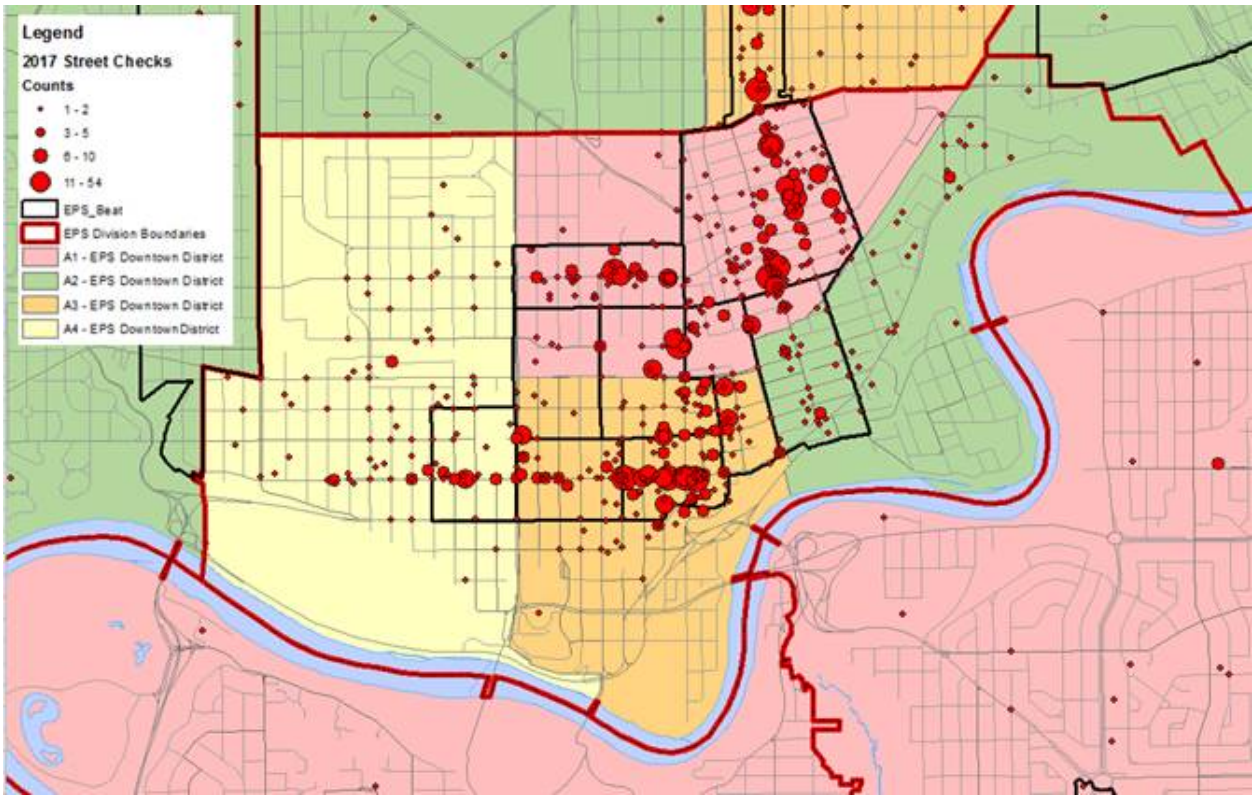
Census Tract 0031.00 Boundary

All of Census Tract 0031.00 Population Included

Street Checks in Downtown Division

Figure 29 presents data on the street checks that were conducted in Downtown Division in 2017.

Figure 29: Downtown Division Boundaries and Street Checks, 2017 (n = 1,168 checks with location coordinates)



The data in the figure indicate that street checks are concentrated in specific areas within Downtown Division.

Census Tract Population Information for Downtown Division, 2016

Table 21 presents information on the Census tract population that lives in the area encompassed by Downtown Division.

Table 21: Downtown Division Census Tract Information

Census Tract name	Population, 2016	Indigenous	Visible minority	Total Indigenous and Visible Minorities	% Indigenous and Visible Minorities
30	5,657	200	1,430	1,630	29%
31	5,543	375	1,340	1,715	31%
32.01	5,362	200	1,465	1,665	31%
32.02	5,454	245	1,030	1,275	23%
33.01	5,373	205	1,905	2,110	39%
33.02	4,135	200	1,150	1,350	33%
34	7,589	550	2,110	2,660	35%
44	6,434	630	2,575	3,205	50%
45	2,067	170	850	1,020	49%
46	5,003	420	2,280	2,700	54%
47	7,118	480	3,840	4,320	61%
Total EPS Downtown Division	59,735	3,675	19,975	23,650	40%

The data in Table 21 indicate that Indigenous persons and visible minorities comprise 40 percent of the population in the area of the city policed by Downtown Division. This represents a significant available population, particularly at certain times of the day and night.

Table 22 provides more detailed Census data on visible minority and Indigenous persons who reside in the area of the city covered by Downtown Division.

Table 22: Visible Minority and Indigenous Residents in Downtown Edmonton, 2016

Census Tract Name	Population, 2016	Indigenous	Visible Minority	Total Indigenous and Visible Minorities	% Indigenous and Visible Minorities in Census Tract Population	Average Total Income of Households in 2015 ($)	Average age of the Population	Unemployment Rate
30	5657	200	1430	1630	29%	114 306	46	7.20
31	5543	375	1340	1715	31%	77 600	40	8.90
32.01	5362	200	1465	1665	31%	82 468	42	5.30
32.02	5454	245	1030	1275	23%	85 535	48	7.00
33.01	5373	205	1905	2110	39%	86 534	36	7.00
33.02	4135	200	1150	1350	33%	76 688	38	7.50
34	7589	550	2110	2660	35%	79 951	45	7.80
44	6434	630	2575	3205	50%	58 053	39	11.80
45	2067	170	850	1020	49%	52 781	45	16.20
46	5003	420	2280	2700	54%	52 017	36	13.10
47	7118	480	3840	4320	61%	67 838	35	11.70
Total EPS Downtown Division	**59,735**	**3,675**	**19,975**	**23,650**	**40%**			
Average						**75,797**	**41**	**9%**

The data presented in Table 22 indicate that the large majority of persons who reside in the area covered by EPS Downtown Division have high rates of unemployment (as high as 16.20%).

Sub-Classification of Alleged Municipal and Provincial Violations

Table 23 presents information on street check reports that were submitted and approved by EPS, but which were classified by the project team as municipal and/or a provincial violation.

Table 23: Alleged Municipal Bylaw and Provincial Statute Violations (n = 3,625 persons)[2]

MUNCIPAL AND PROVINCIAL VIOLATIONS	Number of People	Blank	White	Visible Minority and/or Indigenous	Conflicting
BIKE ON SIDEWALK	694	28	205	306	155
BIKE EQUIPMENT VIOLATIONS	**491**	**33**	**160**	**195**	**103**
JAYWALKING	403	30	102	200	71
GLA OPEN LIQUOR	**323**	**45**	**61**	**174**	**43**
SMOKING 5 METRES,ETC	236	24	64	103	45
TEMPORARY ABODE	**196**	**13**	**66**	**77**	**40**
SCAVENGING	189	14	81	55	39
PANHANDLE	**170**	**16**	**63**	**41**	**50**
TRESPASS TO PREMISE ACT	153	22	51	60	20
PARK AFTER HOURS	**152**	**21**	**34**	**78**	**19**
OBSTRUCTING/HARRASSING/CAUSING A DISTURBANCE	136	10	47	49	30
GLA PUBLIC INTOXICATION	**117**	**13**	**25**	**59**	**20**
LITTERING	97	8	31	37	21
CROSS AGAINST THE LIGHT	**84**	**20**	**23**	**29**	**12**
BYLAW - OTHER	80	7	24	34	15
PUBLIC URINATION	**58**	**9**	**16**	**27**	**6**
OTHER	22	8	4	7	3
PET VIOLATIONS	**9**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**4**
GLA CONDUCT DETRIMENTAL/69.1 EJECTIONS	7	2	2	3	-
TOBACCO POSSESSION BY MINOR	**5**	**1**	-	**3**	**1**
GRAFITTI	3	-	1	1	1
Total	**3,625**	**325**	**1,063**	**1,539**	**698**

The data presented in Table 23 indicate that there is a wide variety of alleged municipal and provincial violations that precipitate officers conducting stops. Many of these alleged violations involve behaviour that is disordered, but provide officers with the lawful authority to conduct a subject stop and subsequently record the encounter on a street check report. These may contribute to the high numbers of marginalized and vulnerable persons where street check reports are submitted. A common term that is used to describe police officers using minor infractions to make contact with a person is “pretense policing.”

Table 24 provides information on the ethnicity of persons who were street checked due to alleged violations of municipal and provincial bylaws.

[2] 3625 Records for 2,618 Street Check Reports

Table 24: Ethnicity of Subject Alleged to have Violated Municipal Bylaws and Provincial Statutes (n = 3,625)

ETHNICITY	COUNT	%
VISIBLE MINORITY AND INDIGENOUS	1,539	42%
WHITE	1,063	29%
CONFLICTING	698	19%
BLANK	325	9%
Total	**3,625**	

The figures presented in Table 24 indicate that, of those persons where the ethnicity was consistent, 42 percent of persons who were alleged to have violated municipal bylaws and provincial statutes were Visible Minority or Indigenous. There are several possible explanations for this difference: 1) disorders are more likely to be committed by visible minorities and Indigenous persons; 2) visible minorities and Indigenous persons comprise are more represented in the available population; or, 3) EPS officers are more likely to stop Visible Minority and Indigenous persons for municipal bylaw and provincial statute violations due to racial profiling and biased policing. In the absence of more information on the context in which the street checks were conducted, it is not possible to identify the reason for the disparity.

EPS SCR Quality Review Process

Table 25 presents the results of a quality assurance review conducted by the EPS on a sample (n = 186) of SCRs that were submitted and approved in Q3 and Q4, 2017. This is compared with the classification of these SCRs by the project team in the present study.

Table 25: EPS Quality Assurance Review Results

EPS Quality Assurance Results	#	Reclassification by Project Team	#
Compliant	145	BYLAW	42
		STREET CHECK	31
		POLICE RESPONSE	24
		TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS	22
		INTEL/INFO/OFFICER SAFETY	13
		LOITERING	4
		WARRANTS/CONDITIONS	4
		GAMING AND LIQUOR ACT VIOLATIONS	3
		N/A	1
		TRAFFIC STOP TO IDENTIFY OWNER	1
Not Compliant	36	INTEL/INFO/OFFICER SAFETY	10
		STREET CHECK	10
		POLICE RESPONSE	9
		TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS	4
		BYLAW	2
		N/A	1
Cancelled	5	N/A	5
Total	186		[3]

Source: W. Driechel. 2018. "EPS Street Check Review, Quarters 3 and 4, 2017." Edmonton Police Service.

The results of the review presented in Table 25 indicate that, in its quality assurance review, the EPS determined that 78 percent (145/186) were compliant with EPS street check guidelines, while 19 percent (36/186) were deemed not compliant. A review of these SCRs by the project team found that only 17 percent (31/145) were street checks as defined by EPS guidelines. For the SCRs that had been identified as non-compliant in the EPS review, 28 percent (10/36) were classified by the project team as compliant. The SCRs determined by the EPS review to be

[3] Note: The following 4 Audit Assessment Forms were found to be duplicate in Audit Summary Sheet: SR17013171, SR17014031, SR17013018 & SR17011027

compliant includes a range of activities. These findings suggest that there is a need to improve the EPS SCR quality assurance process.

Additional Maps

The following maps provide information on the population of Indigenous and visible minorities in the Census Dissemination Areas in Edmonton and the EPS beat and division boundaries, the street checks conducted in these areas, and the location of street checks submitted for "Traffic Stops with No Violation Observed", "Loitering", and for "Municipal and Provincial Violations."

Figure 30: Aboriginal and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, EPS Division and Beat Boundaries

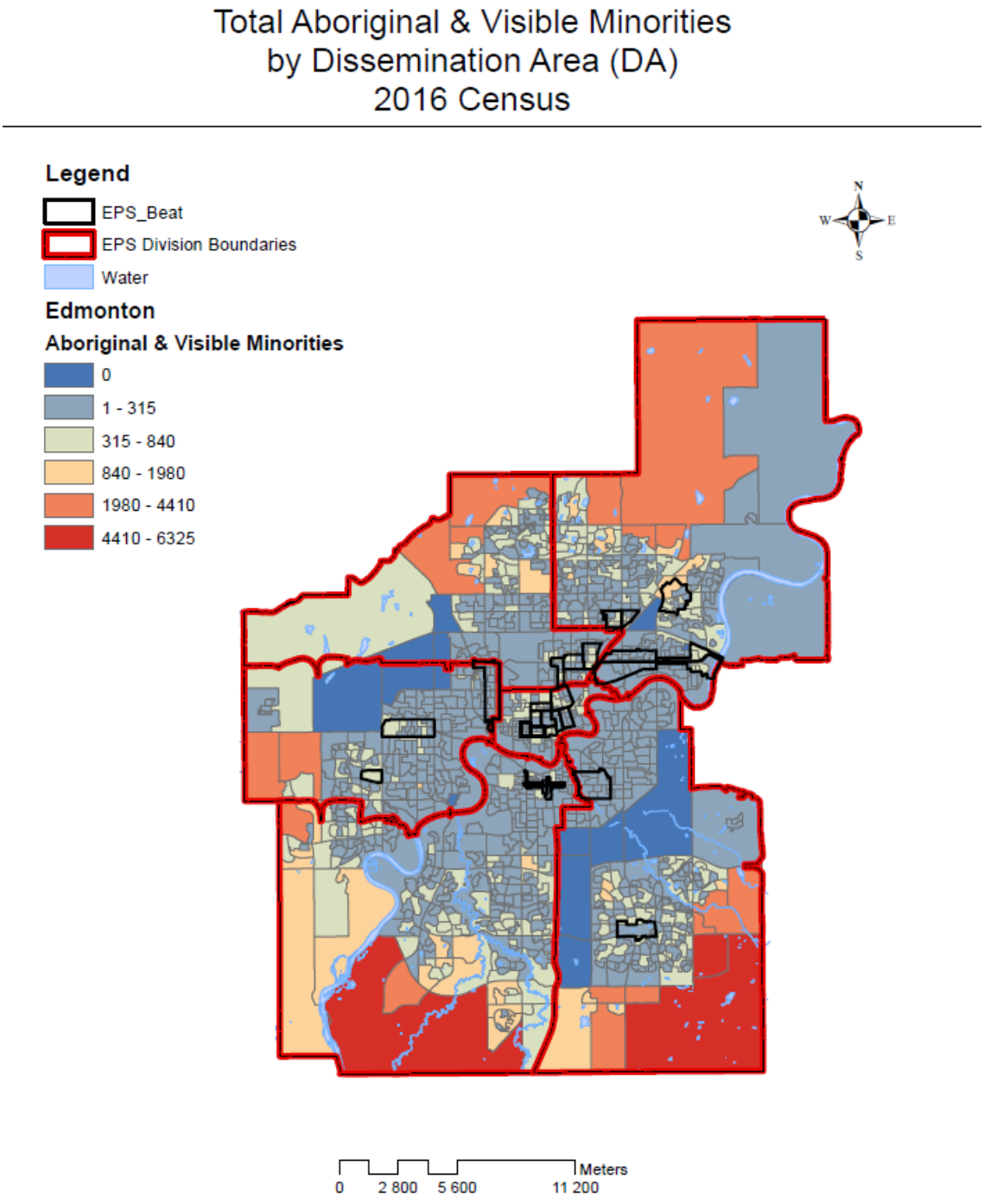


Figure 31: Street Checks of Indigenous and Visible Minorities by Dissemination Area, 2017 (n = 2,596 street checks with location coordinates)

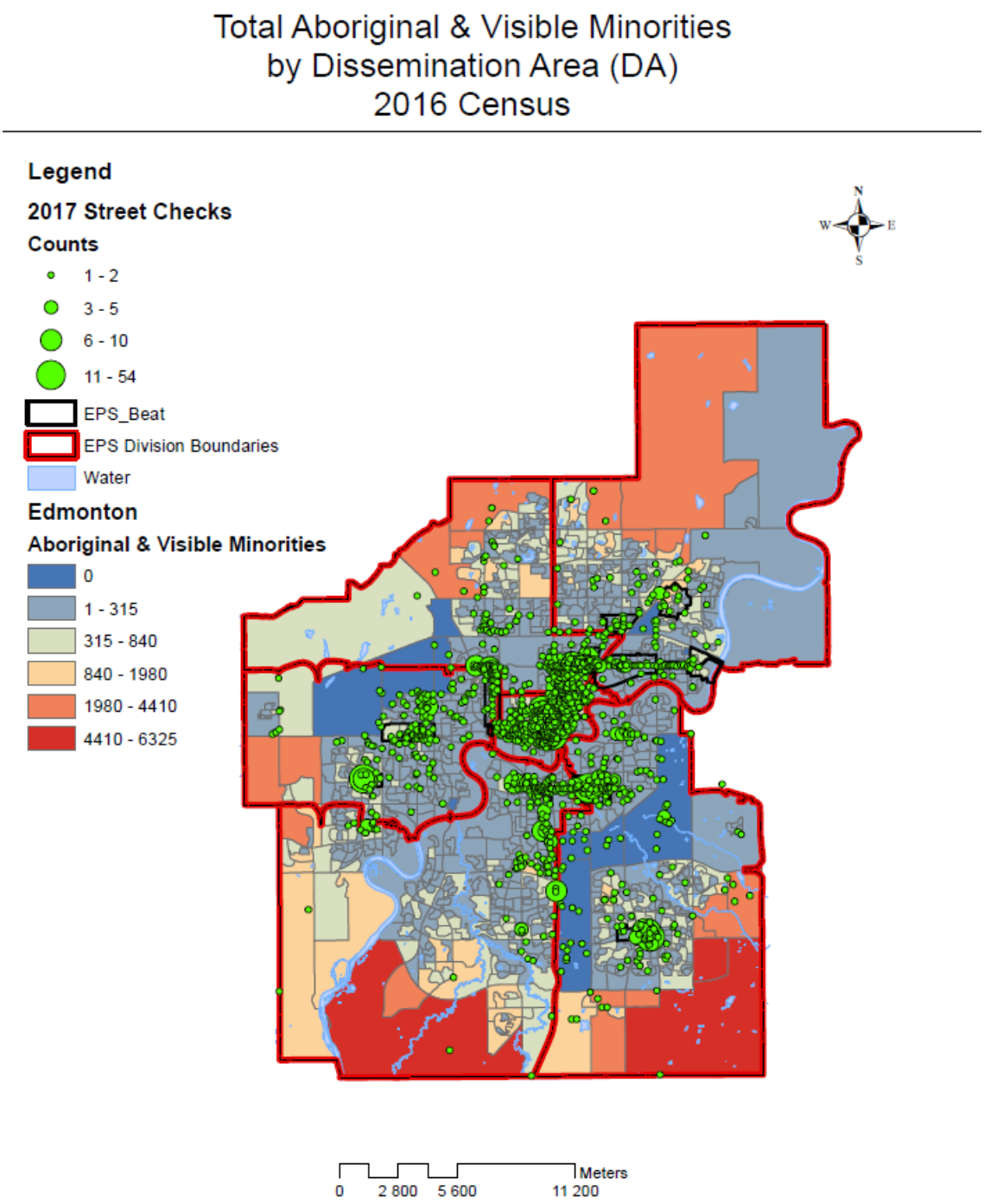


Figure 32: Traffic Stops (No Violation Observed), to Identify Owner and Check Documents Due to Suspicious Circumstances (n = 836 stops with location coordinates)

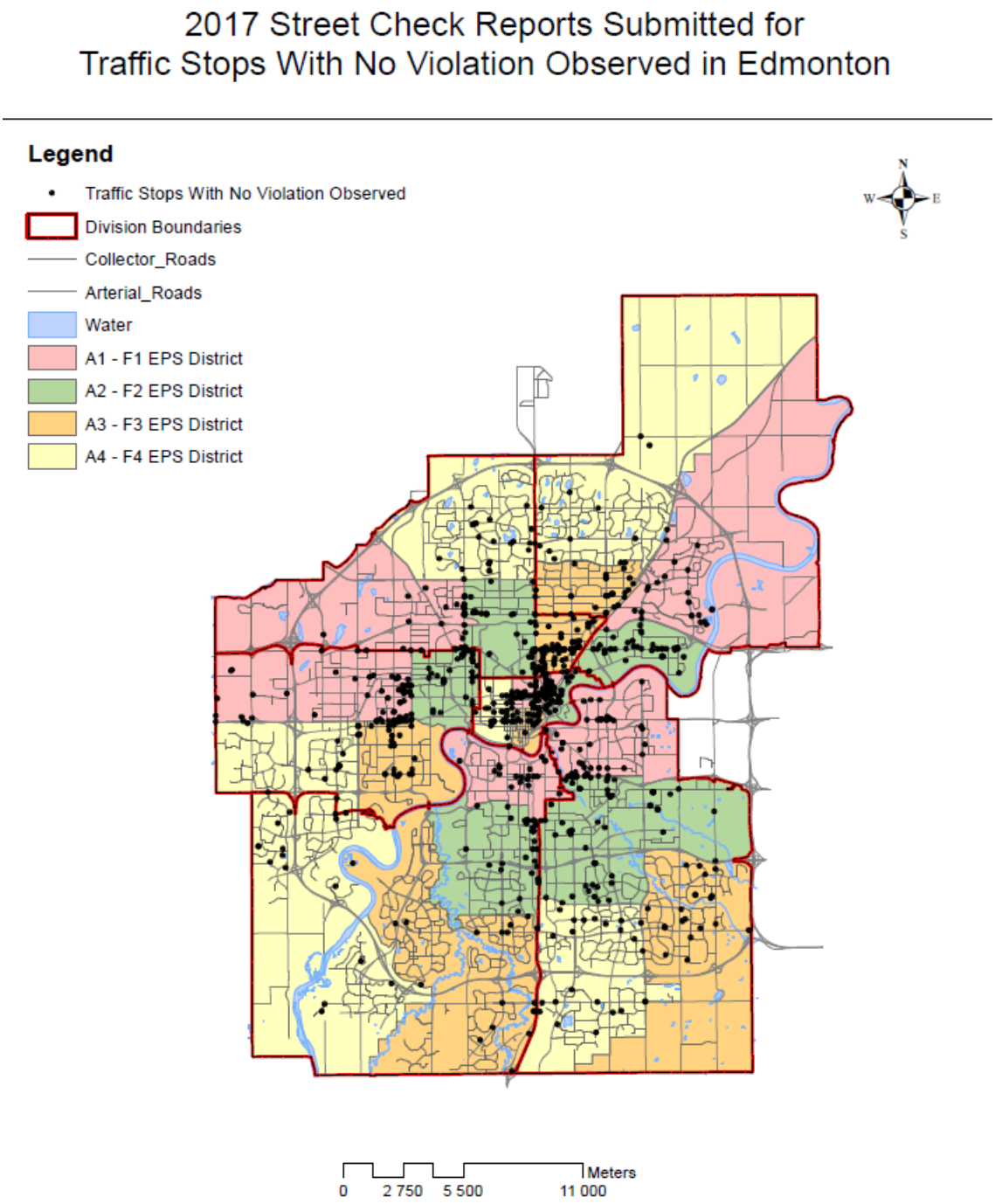


Figure 33: Location of Street Checks Conducted for Alleged Loitering Violations, 2017 (n = 448 events with location coordinates)

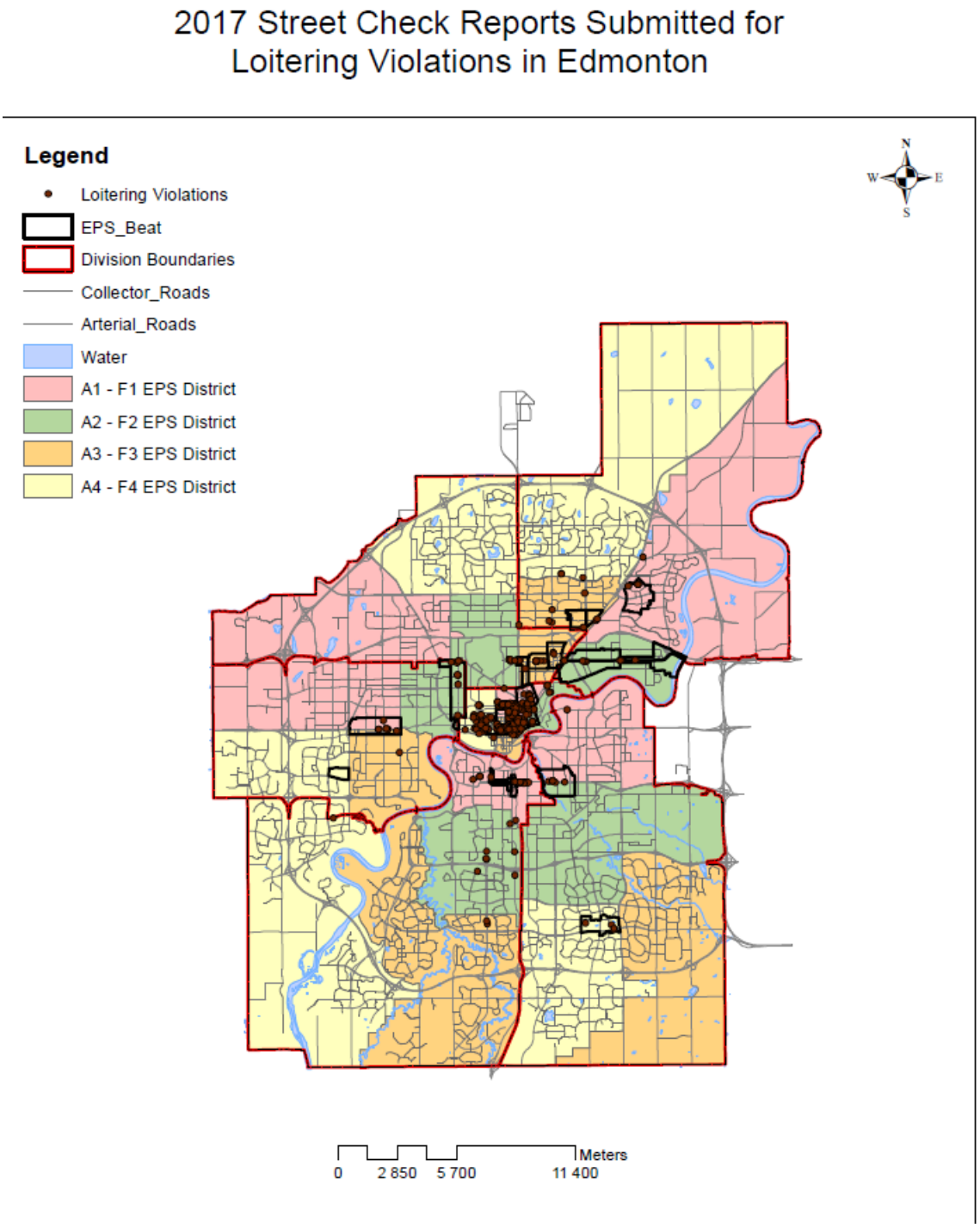
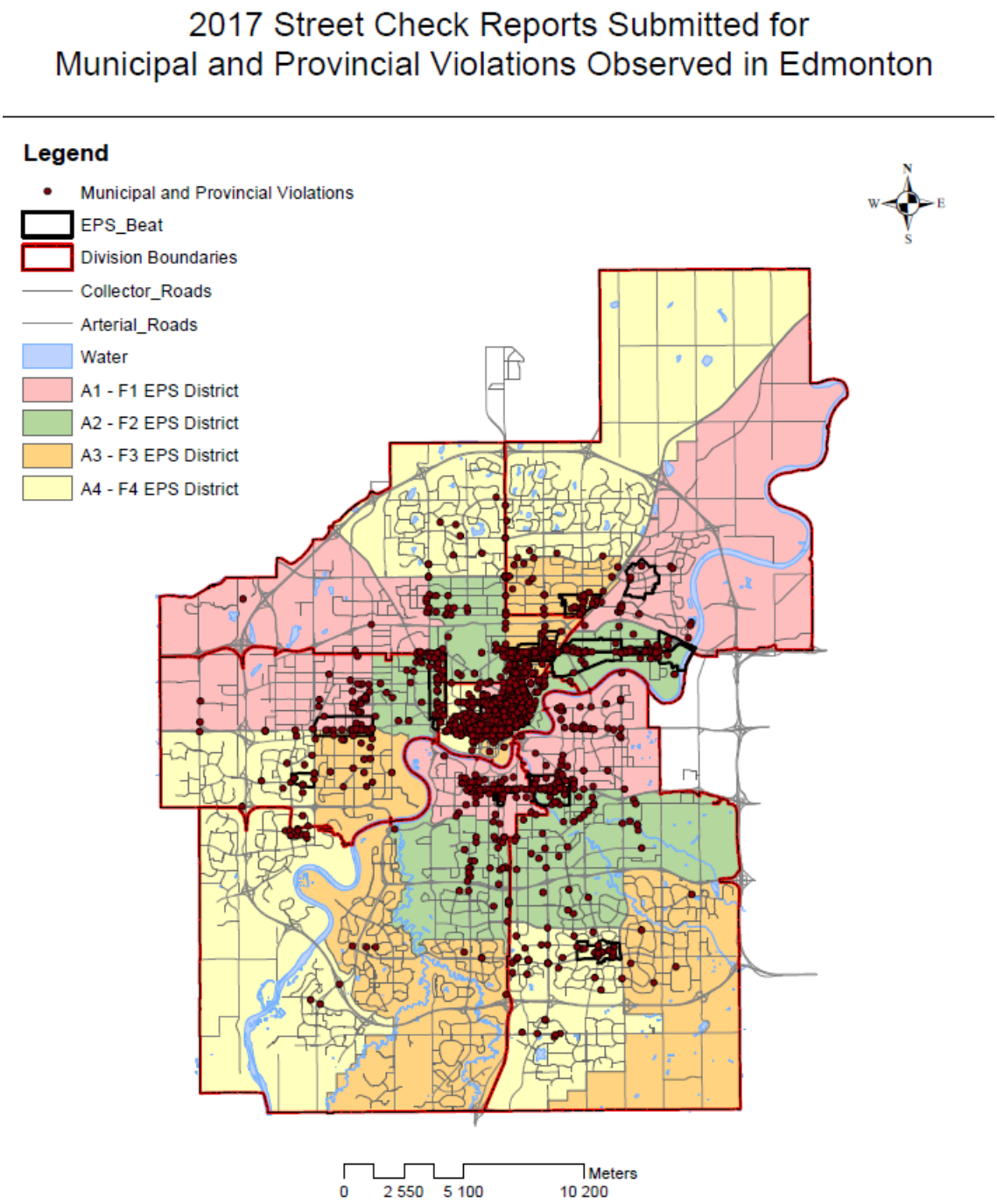


Figure 34: Location of Alleged Municipal and Provincial Violations Observed (n = 2,210 events with location coordinates)



A review of the data contained in these maps indicates that street checks are heavily concentrated in certain areas of the city that have an available population that includes visible minority and Indigenous persons.

Selected Examples of SCRs Submitted By EPS Officers In 2017

The following, selected SCRs from 2017 are provided to illustrate the variety of situations that were recorded as street checks during 2017. A number of the cases were not compliant with EPS street check guidelines, or involved a discretionary decision of the officer to report the encounter as a street check rather than as another type of incident.

These examples also illustrate why it is not possible to determine whether the officers in question engaged in racial profiling or biased policing. There is insufficient information in the SCR narratives to allow that type of analysis. The examples do, however, provide insights into the types of encounters that are recorded as street checks and of how certain encounters were mis-classified as street checks.

A confrontational street check stop

On 2017MAR09 at 1137hrs police conducted a subject stop at [redacted]. The individuals involved were the following: XX; YY; and ZZ. XX was very confrontational with police and was trying to yell and bump chests with a member that was standing in front of him. XX was stating that police were harassing him because he was so pimp. XX was lifting up his hoodie from his waist line and unzipped his hoodie trying to intimidate police. YY stood in the back ground and was cooperative with police. However, ZZ also tried to be confrontational with police and began video taping the stop with her cell phone. This behavior on all subjects lasted until police identified and confirmed everyone's identity. ZZ and XX have two children were at the stop: a 1 year old female and a baby boy.

XX clothing description:

- [redacted]
- [redacted]

- [redacted]
- [redacted]

All 3 subjects live at ZZ residence AA Ave. XX and YY also go by the last name BB.

Street Checks of Sex Trade Workers

SCR #1

On 2017 March 09, Vice Unit was working collaboratively with [a worker from Indigenous family services] and conducting intervention with street-level sexual service providers. Temperature (with wind chill) was -22 C.

2. At 1942 hrs, XX was located walking from the AAAA Hotel BBBB Road. She was wearing [redacted]. She usually posts online ads but occasionally works the street. She knew [worker from Indigenous family services] and was receptive to intervention. Stated she is living in area of CCCC Ave/DDDD Street.

SCR #2

On 17JAN23 at approximately 2011 hours YY was standing on the SW corner of the intersection of [redacted]. YY admitting to being a Sex Trade Worker and that she was currently attempting to work. YY stated that she was sober and looking to make some money to buy some "dope." YY explained that she typically works north of AA Avenue on BB Street. YY stated that she had heard of a [redacted] male that was trying to talk girls into a back alley near AA Avenue and BB Street to "punch them out." No further details provided.

SCR #3

XX was working as a sexual services worker on the northwest corner of AA Ave/BB Street. She stated she is NFA but did not want any assistance with finding a place to stay. Description: [redacted] XX was extremely twitchy and could not stand still. XX was cooperative with police.

Street Check of Youth Under the Age of 18

On 17JAN09 @ 1757 hrs police observed XX at AAA waiting at the north entrance. Police approached XX and asked if she was meeting a friend she met online. XX stated she was meeting a female friend "YY" and a 19 year old male friend but couldn't recall his name. She stated they all met online earlier today and had plans to walk around the mall together. XX frequents AAA to meet older males she chats with online, she is 15 but tells them she is 16. On today's occurrence XX was wearing [redacted].

Street Checks of Persons Acting Suspiciously

SCR #1

On 17JAN06 at 2230 hrs Police were performing proactive patrols in the [redacted] area in response to theft from vehicles and theft of license plates. Police observed a lone male dressed in a [redacted]. The male was observed walking east bound from AA ave to BB rd and then north on BB rd. A subject stop was performed as he appeared to be looking into vehicles through the windows. XX was identified. XX has a lengthy record for stealing license plates and [redacted] trucks. XX said he was coming from the CCC on DDD st and EEE ave, and was going to a friends house on EEE ave in the area. Ultimately XX was followed to the transit center at FFFF where he caught a bus going to GGGG. SCR created to link XX to the area...

SCR #2

On 17JAN07 at about 0145 hrs Police observed XX walking through parked vehicles in the parking lot of apartment buildings across [redacted] South of AAA (BB ST/CC AV). XX was evasive when spoken to and stated he was visiting “a friend over there and a friend over there” while pointing in random directions. XX had no reason to be in the area. Checks revealed that XX had lengthy history of property related offences and he has been a suspect in several theft of motor vehicle investigations in 2016. XX was wearing [redacted]

[redacted]. XX stated that he is currently residing at DD Street (address not confirmed). An email was sent to the Detective looking to speak with XX in relation to a theft of motor vehicle investigation. [officer and badge number]/[officer and badge number] D/T Beats.

SCR Linking a Person to an Individual Who Was Arrested

In this SCR, a person (YY) is linked to a subject (XX) who is arrested, even though YY is not present in the encounter.

1) On February 17th 2017, at 2137 hours, Police arrested XX in the area of AAA Avenue and BBB Street for seven provincial and municipal bylaw warrants. Subsequent to lawful arrest, Police located no drugs; however, numerous new dime baggies and score sheets were located on his person. XX advised Police he is living with YY; however, did not provide an address. Police later released XX on a Promise to Appear. SCR submitted for information and association purposes.

Researcher's Note: The EPROS Arrest report stated:

INVESTIGATION:

1) On February 17th 2017, at 2135 hours, [officer] and I located XX in the area of AAA Avenue and BBB Street. I conducted Police information checks on XX, which revealed that he had seven Provincial and Municipal Bylaw warrants for his arrest.

2) At 2137 hours, I arrested XX for his warrants. I read XX his Charter of Rights and he understood his rights and did not wish to contact a lawyer. I read XX the Standard Caution and he did not wish to say anything.

3) At 2155 hours, I released XX on a Promise to Appear. This concluded my involvement regarding this investigation.

The investigation report indicates that the person was initially street checked, then arrested.

A Street Check Submitted That Also Involved an Arrest

On 17JAN02 2 0835 Hrs police located XX and YY sitting in the lobby of AAA- BBB ST. Upon seeing police, both got up and walked toward the back of the building, abandoning a bicycle sitting beside them. Police located and stopped both subjects, it was determined XX was wanted for robbery, use of imitation firearm, disguise, and possession of a weapon dangerous. YY was not found to be wanted and wasn't breaching any conditions. The bicycle had not been reported stolen and was seized for safekeeping. Submitted for intel.

Two Persons Linked in One Street Check

In this SCR, two persons are linked: the homeowner they suspect was the subject stopped, and the identity the subject provided)

On 17Jan05 at around 2250hrs, we located a male subject wearing a [redacted], standing on the corner of AA St and BB Av. He saw us, kept his head down and actively avoided eye contact. He began walking away as we pulled up. He identified himself as XX but had no ID. We suspect he may be YY as he used a key to enter the residence listed to ZZ at CC St. Neither name has warrants.

SCRs Non-Compliant with EPS Guidelines and Re-Classified by Project Team

SCR #1. Reclassified as a Bylaw Violation

Reason for stop: Pedestrians cross against light

Subject activity / observations: 2017/12/23, 0214hrs, XX [date of birth[, YY [date of birth] and ZZ [date of birth] crossed AA Ave northbound in the east crosswalk of BB St against the pedestrian light. One vehicle and police travelling westbound to a stale green light had to brake for the group. XX and YY provided Alberta ID. ZZ was confirmed by his mugshot.

The [establishment] the group appeared to be coming from is a hot spot for drugs, theft, personal robberies and other disorder.

Identifying and/or significant descriptors:

XX was wearing a [redacted]

YY was wearing a [redacted]

ZZ was wearing [redacted]

Subject history: XX and YY have Manitoba warrants by Opaskwayak RCMP for aggravated assault, assaults, unlawful confinement and breach probation which were not returnable. Previous info link the two as a couple. ZZ has history of robbery, weapons and violence.

Researcher's Note: Following is the result of an EPS quality assurance review of this SCR

Occurrence File Number	**Quality Assurance Review Assessment Form**			**SCR Quality Assurance Review Summary Sheet**
	SCR Use	**SCR Info. Collected**	**SCR Fair & Equitable**	**SCR Final Result**
SR17015781	Compliant	Compliant	Compliant	Compliant

SCR #2. SCR submitted as a street check report; classified as "Traffic Violation" as having tinted windows which is a TSA violation

On 17SEP20, at 1302 hours, police observed a white, [redacted] bearing AB plate AAAA WB on BB AV at CC ST. Police conducted a traffic stop SB CC street as the vehicle had very dark tint on the front windows. The driver ID'd as XX. XX advised that he is purchasing the vehicle from his uncle YY. XX stated he likes the tint on it because he doesn't want to be in traffic one day and get shot up. He stated that for employment he does framing. Submitted for association.

SCR #3. An SCR "Submitted for Info" but that involved an Equipment Violation/Traffic Violation

On 16JAN01 around 2225hrs, [officer name] and I observed a [redacted] leaving the parking lot of ___motel. The vehicle's rear signal lights were flashing faster than they should be. Owner and vehicle are **SPECIAL INTEREST POLICE** 1-2 and XX has BEEN DESIGNATED A PRIORITY PROLIFIC OFFENDER. XX IS BELIEVED TO BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THEFT OF TRAILERS AND CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT, PLEASE NOTE VIN'S ON ANY EQUIP*. I checked the VIN on his vehicle and it matched the registration. The driver was identified as XX and had a passenger identified as YY. Both were very cooperative. They both indicated that they were at AA to visit YY's mom. I called [officer] RCMP SIP entry) and left her a message. I also send an email to EPS [officer] in regards to his SIP entry. SCR for info.

Street Checks of Black Persons

SCR #1. SCR Submitted for Association

*****Proactive/Subject stop***** / On 2017JUL13 at 13:46hrs, Downtown Division Beats members were engaged in proactive bike patrols through XX located at AA street. Members observed a group of subjects sitting in the park, and immediately recognized the SJ; VV and WW. Members know VV to be a low-level drug trafficker who frequents the AA. Members began a conversation with the group and identified the SJ; WW and YY. Of note, YY is on two recognizances (one for eight criminal charges), the other for 5(2) CDSA. YY was wearing a [redacted]. She indicated that she is living with WW at the address of BB street in Edmonton. *****For association/[officer name and badge number]/[officer name and badge number].*****

SCR #2: A Pedestrian Stop

Pedestrian Stop:

Belvedere LRT Station

Five males:

AA - Unknown - not stop just observed - split off from group of four. [redacted]

[redacted].

BB - [redacted]

CC - [redacted] brother of ____.

DD - [redacted].

EE – [redacted].

The group was shaking hands with and hugging the first u/k male on the upper level of the LRT station. The u/k male then split off from the rest of the group who proceeded to the main exit to the bus stop area. Upon walking by there the group of four met with the lone Black male. I could detect a smell of unburnt marihuana.

The four males were stopped at the bottom of the stairs and identified.

SCR # 3. Street Check, Subject Provided Transport

On 2017Mar17 at 0135 hours I observed XX (date of birth) in the area of BBB / CCC LRT breeze way. XX had been drinking and was moderately intoxicated. CPIC check revealed he had numerous conditions, none that he was in breach of on this date. It was determined that it was in his best interest to stay at his grandmothers residence in the AA area. XX was subsequently transported to AA to stay with his grandmother on this date. [officer badge number and name]]

Downtown Beats Team

SCR Completed on Basis of Observation Only

Crime and Disorder

***Proactive observation ***

Reason for stop: On 2017NOV27 at 1930hrs, BEAT members observed a vehicle parked in the backyard of the address of AA Avenue, which was secured with a locked gate. The vehicle, a [redacted] [year] [redacted] [model] (AB [license plate] BBBB) is registered to Sj; XX, who was not present.

Identifying and/or significant descriptors: [year] [redacted] [model] with no identifying marks.

Subject history: XX has been charged with trafficking drugs, however, was not convicted at that time. The address of AA Avenue has been a subject of several drug related complaints, including a search warrant in relation to the trafficking of fentanyl.

Prepared by [officer badge number and name] ***

Street Checks Conducted Due to Suspicious Activity

SCR #1. Street Check of Vehicle

Reason for stop: SUB traveling through high BE area after dark.

Subject activity / observations: on 17DEC11 at approximately 1900hrs SUB: XX [date of birth] was traveling south on AA ST at BB AV dressed [redacted]. XX was suspicious of Police unmarked vehicle until he saw the computer inside. XX claimed to be heading to CC AV until the [redacted] opened for the night.

Identifying and/or significant descriptors: [redacted].

Subject history: MH history with Police.

SCR #2. Suspicious Activity

Crime and Disorder

Reason for stop: Suspicious activity

Subject activity / observations: XX was located at AA St. north of AAA in the alley. He was seen walking in between vehicles and had no reason for being in the area. He was negative for warrants.

Identifying and/or significant descriptors: [redacted]

Subject history: Mischief and drugs

SCR Submitted for Association with an Area

Crime and Disorder

Reason for stop: On 17NOV22 police were patrolling areas where several garage break and enters had been occurring. [officer] and [officer] located XX walking westbound through a back alley behind AAA Av. XX appeared nervous and was anxious to continue on her way. She stated she was going to an apartment building to stay with a friend. Police observed XX over the next

10 minutes wander in various directions. XX was wearing a [redacted]. She did not attend the apartment complex she advised police she was headed toward. Submitted for association to the area.

Subject activity / observations: Walking down back alleys in the area

Identifying and/or significant descriptors: [redacted]

Subject history:

Comment

These examples of SCRs submitted, and approved, during 2017 provide insights into the types of stops that are conducted and the narratives that officers prepare on the encounters. They also reveal that many encounters that are submitted as street checks involved other types of activities on the part of the subject(s). This issue is discussed in the following section.

INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP SESSIONS

Interviews and focus groups with persons in communities of diversity and in the EPS were two key components of the present project.

Communities of Diversity

A key component of the project was to record the lived experiences and perspectives youth and adults in communities of diversity have with respect to the police and the practice of street checks and their suggestions for how the issues surrounding police-community relations generally, and street checks specifically, could be successfully addressed.

Upon the recommendation of the Edmonton Police Commission (EPC), the project team entered into a collaborative arrangement with REACH, "Edmonton's Council for Safe Communities", which has as its mandate the reduction of crime in the city, increasing citizens' feelings of safety, and engaging citizens in crime prevention activities. The organization achieves this through mobilization and partnering with community organizations and groups (https://reachedmonton.ca/public/about-REACH).

Discussions with REACH staff resulted in the identification of key contact persons in the organizations involved with communities of diversity and/or vulnerable and at-risk persons. A letter of invitation to participate in the research study was sent to these persons under the signature of the Chair of the EPC and the Director of REACH. Time and resource limitations prevented the project team from interviewing all of the persons who were identified.

The majority of representatives who were contacted responded positively to the invitation and were subsequently interviewed by members of the project team. Several organizations did not respond and two explicitly declined to participate.

Several of the community representatives who were interviewed subsequently facilitated the identification, and participation, of staff from their organization or members from their

respective communities in focus group sessions. Focus group sessions were facilitated by project team members and, where required, with the assistance of a REACH staff member.

A variety of community groups and organizations are involved in working with communities of diversity in Edmonton. These organizations provide a wide range of services, including newcomer services, assisting with housing, employment, training, running workshops, as well as working to develop relationships between the communities and the EPS.

A number of these organizations participated in the study, including the following:

Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA)

NCSA provides a wide range of programs and services for Indigenous persons centered on Indigenous spirituality and traditions. This includes clinical, family, and youth court support services, family group conferencing, the Stan Daniels Healing Centre, and the Buffalo Sage Wellness House. In addition to counselling and support services, NCSA operates a transitional center for youths leaving foster care, a women's healing lodge, and a healing centre for persons leaving federal and provincial institutions.

Boyle Street Community Services

Boyle Street Community Services was founded in 1971 and focuses on the addressing the needs of poor, marginalized and racialized persons. Through its programs, Boyle Street provides cultural, outreach, housing mental health, family and youth, and employment services, including services and support for homeless and addicted persons. It manages a number of housing and shelter options in Edmonton ranging from group homes to low-cost housing.

Boyle Street also partners with other agencies that provide complementary services. These programs range from child and youth programs to needle exchange and health supports for street involved sex trade workers. A key focus of staff is in providing frontline outreach to those living on the streets of Edmonton to assist them in accessing resources and services.

The Africa Centre

The Africa Centre was established in 2006 and is a multi-purpose organization for members of the African community. It provides a variety of economic, social, cultural, and educational services and resources. (note: an interview was conducted with the then-Executive Director of the Africa Centre; the Centre later declined to participate further in the project).

Bent Arrow Traditional Healing Society

The services provided by Bent Arrow range from youth employment programs and comprehensive family services, providing referrals, and offering soup and bannock lunches. The mission statement of Bent Arrow includes partnering with other service providers, organizations, non-profits, and government agencies, including the police. These relationships are leveraged to provide culturally- based, face-to-face programming.

Somali Edmonton

Somali Edmonton conducts outreach and works with the Somali community in the city. Members volunteer their time doing outreach and community work.

Sudanese Community Representative

The representative from the Sudanese community works largely with African men and boys. Activities include involvement with the community church, working with students and their families in a school program, collaboration with REACH on community outreach with the EPS, and, facilitating a two-week youth training program to build bridges between African youth and the EPS. The representative has also facilitated workshops involving the EPS and community members.

Somali Women's Association

The Somali Women's Association provides support for Somali mothers. This includes providing legal advice and assistance for their children, and addressing discriminatory practices in schools and other places.

The Canadian Native Friendship Centre

The Centre provides outreach, culturally-based programming, wellness support, educational support, and engages in some community engagement. The Centre is involved in prevention work, including the "Wellbriety" support group, a culturally-based program/movement that emphasizes sober living, health and wellness, and traditional practices. The Centre facilitated the "I am a Kind Man" program, which assisted Indigenous men with violence and aggression issues; however, the program was discontinued due to lack of funding. The Executive Director (ED) has worked with both the EPS and the Alberta RCMP.

Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers

The Centre provides a variety of supports and resources for immigrants and refugees and their families who arrive in Edmonton. This includes community, employment, settlement, and language programs and services.

Old Strathcona Youth Society (OSYS)

OSYS was established in 1998 to provide youth in the Whyte Avenue area with a secure gathering place. It is a street-level resource providing outreach and support for homeless and street-involved youth, ages 14-24. The society provides a focal point for youth to access information and resources to meet their needs. Among the services provided by OSYS are housing referrals and information, a collective kitchen, basic needs items, harm reduction (needle exchange), a partnership with the John Howard Society, access to AHS health nurses, employment and education information, art and recreation activities, and student legal services.

The population served by OSYS has extensive contact with the EPS and many of the youth who utilize the society's services have ongoing involvement in the youth/criminal justice system. Many of the youth belong to racialized populations, primarily from the Indigenous and Black communities.

Youth Empowerment and Support Services (YESS)

YESS was established in 1981 with the objective of filling the gap in government services for youth. YESS works with youth ages 15-24 from diverse cultures, economic backgrounds, ethnicities, religions, communities, sexual orientations and gender identities. Many of the youth belong to racialized populations, primarily from Indigenous and Afro-Caribbean backgrounds.

Among the resources provided by YESS are an overnight shelter, food services (breakfast, lunch, and dinner), showers and laundry, clothing and personal items, long-term housing assistance, medical support, mental health and addictions support, and case management. Youth are offered residential support services as well as individual guidance. Many of these youth are afflicted with mental health conditions such as FASD, clinical depression, and anxiety disorders and/or have substance abuse issues.

The goal of YESS is to provide rapid re-housing for at-risk youth and youth in crisis and to prevent youth from becoming chronically homeless. Youth are managed on a case-by-case basis depending on their needs, which can range from requiring basic job skills to more complex needs, such as dealing with substance abuse and broken homes. YESS has recently started an employment program for youth.

The population YESS serves has a significant amount of contact with the EPS. Many of the homeless and at-risk youth who utilize YESS have had and/or are currently involved with the criminal justice system. The client population experiences high rates of victimization and criminalization.

The Armoury Resource Centre, operated by YESS, is a daytime resource centre and overnight shelter. It provides group-style independent living for youth aged 15-24 who are temporarily homeless or do not have a permanent place of residence.

Police and Youth Engagement Program (PYEP)

PYEP is a week-long summer program that provides an opportunity for youth and police officers to interact on a one-on-one basis to learn from one another, and to build positive relationships.

The objective of the program is to provide youth with the skills to become leaders in their respective communities. The program also provides police officers with knowledge about communities of diversity in Edmonton (https://www.reachedmonton.ca/public/Police-and-Youth-Engagement-Program).

Interviews With Representatives Of Community Organizations

Interviews were conducted with representatives from the following community organizations:

- Bent Arrow Traditional Healing Society
- Chinatown Area Business Association
- Chinese Benevolent Association
- Member of the Chinese business community
- REACH
- Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers
- Native Counselling Services of Alberta
- The Canadian Native Friendship Centre
- Somali Canadian Women and Children's Association
- Somali Edmonton
- Institute for Advancement of Aboriginal Women
- Multicultural Health Broker, Syrian and Arabic communities
- Sudanese community
- Boyle Street Community Services
- Centre to End all Sexual Exploitation (CEASE)
- Africa Centre
- Youth Empowerment and Support Services (YESS)
- Old Strathcona Youth Society (OSYS)

Interview Topics

The interviews with representatives from community organizations centered on the activities and mission of their organization, the nature and extent of their relationships with EPS, perceptions of the practice of street checks, and strategies for addressing the issues surrounding police relations with their clients generally and, more specifically, the police practice of street checks. The community representatives were also queried as to their interest in creating or strengthening partnerships with the EPS.

Street check-specific topics covered in the interviews included definitions, positive and negative aspects of street checks, issues surrounding street checks, oversight of street checks, and the role of street checks in building and maintaining safe communities. Participants were also asked to provide their perspectives on the value of street checks, whether the practice should be continued and, if so, whether any parameters should be established for their use.

Given the variety of experiences and perspectives that may exist within communities of diversity, it should not be assumed that the views expressed by the community representatives reflect the views of all persons in that particular community. However, the interviews did provide the opportunity to solicit perspectives on the issues that surround policing and street checks in the city, and provided information that could be the focus of further study.

The interviews with the community representatives were generally conducted prior to the facilitation of the community focus groups. This provided the project team with insights into the key issues surrounding police-community relations and street checks.

Focus Groups With Organization Staff And Persons From Communities Of Diversity

Focus group sessions were facilitated with staff from several organizations and with adults and youth from communities of diversity to explore their lived experiences in greater detail. The participants in these groups were identified by representatives of community organizations. The

number of participants in the sessions ranged from three to 16 and the sessions lasted from one and a half hours to two and a half hours. There was considerable diversity among the representatives and community residents who participated in the focus group sessions.

Youth focus groups were facilitated with the Police and Youth Engagement Program (PYEP) and (REACH); Old Strathcona Youth Society (OSYS); and, Youth Empowerment and Support Services (YESS). The youth focus group participants were a diverse group. Of the 16 youths who participated in the focus group at the Old Strathcona Youth Society, there were three Black males, six Indigenous young men and women, including a Metis young man, and one Asian young woman. The PYEP focus group involved six East African youths, ranging in age from 17 to 20, who were coordinators/leaders in the program. Two were young women and four were young men. Four of the youth had been involved in the program for one year and two for two years. The YESS group involved nine youth, including three Indigenous young men and women, one Black male, and one South-Asian male.

The focus groups with organization staff included:

Boyle Street Community Services

This group was comprised of seven staff members (three women and four men), including two Indigenous women, one Black male, and one Brown-skinned male.

Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers

A total of eight staff members participated in the focus groups, including a social worker, three multicultural liaison workers, multicultural health care workers, and community leader. The group consisted of a cross-section of ethnicities and religious backgrounds including African and Middle Eastern. Most of the staff members in attendance self-identified as Muslim.

Bent Arrow Traditional Healing Society

This focus group involved nine staff members who were involved in providing cultural support services, healthy families, children's services, employment (adult, youth and women), housing, youth community outreach, and group homes for Edmonton's urban Indigenous population.

Pride Centre of Edmonton

Three staff members from the Pride Centre participated in the focus group discussion.

Metis Child and Family Services

Twelve staff members from this organization participated in the focus group session.

Focus Group Topics

The topics covered in the focus group sessions included: 1) perceptions of crime and safety in Edmonton; 2) general perceptions of the EPS and its activities in the community; 3) the extent to which the EPS is viewed as being concerned with, and interacting with, their community; 4) their lived experiences with the EPS generally and, more specifically, with street checks; 5) views of the value of street checks; and, 6) suggestions for improving relations with the EPS generally, and, more specifically, with respect to street checks.

In addition to these topics of discussion**,** two of the focus groups that were comprised of street-involved youth was presented with five street check scenarios. Four of the scenarios were drawn from EPS SCRs completed during 2017 (with all identifiers removed); the fifth was a street check that occurred in Ontario in 2017.

For each scenario, the youth in the group were asked to comment on whether 1) they would consider the encounter to be a street check; 2) the officer(s) involved had a legitimate right to stop the person; 3) and, the street check stop reflected biased policing, racial profiling, and/or psychological detention.

Limitations of the Community Interviews and Focus Groups

Time and resource limitations precluded full coverage of diversity in the city and it is not known whether the views expressed in the interviews by the representatives of community organizations and the community residents in the focus groups can be generalized to a broader population. However, the community representatives and residents who participated in the interviews and in the focus group discussions did offer a broad range of perspectives on police-community relations, street checks, and initiatives that could be taken to improve police-community relations.

THE EPS

Interviews with Sworn and Civilian Members of the EPS

Interviews were conducted with sworn and civilian members of the EPS in these positions:

- Chief, Edmonton Police Service
- Deputy Chief, Community Policing Bureau – North
- Deputy Chief, Community Policing Bureau – South
- Deputy Chief, Intelligence and Investigations Bureau
- Superintendent, Chief of Staff
- Superintendent, Southwest Patrol Division
- Executive Director, Intelligence Production Division
- Inspector, Intelligence Production Division
- Superintendent, Northwest Patrol Division
- Superintendent, Specialized Investigation Division
- Sergeant, Community Operations and Support Unit
- Civilian member, Community Operations and Support Unit
- Community Liaison Officer, South Division
- Executive Director, Legal and Regulatory Services Division
- Inspector, Human Resources, Professional Development

Focus Groups with EPS Sworn and Civilian Members

Seven focus group sessions were held with EPS members to discuss the use of street checks, their views of the issues that surround street checks, and what initiatives could be taken to address these issues. The groups were comprised of Constables, Sergeants, Staff Sergeants, Detectives, and civilian crime analysts and averaged one and half hours in length.

The following focus groups were facilitated with sworn and civilian members of the EPS. Note that, in some groups, there was more than one officer from a specific unit.

Criminal Intelligence Analyst Group (N=8)

Civilian analysts from the following EPS sections participated in this focus group session:

- Homicide Section
- Gangs and Drugs Section
- Sexual Assault Section
- Robbery Section
- Targeted Offender Section
- Criminal Intelligence Services Alberta
- Patrol – Northwest Division
- Alberta Law Enforcement Response (ALERT)(Serious and Organized Crime)

City-Wide Beats and Offender Management (N=10)

Officers representing the following units participated in this focus group:

- West Division Beat
- Transit Division Beat
- Northwest Division Beat
- Northeast Division Beat
- West Offender Management
- Southeast Division Beat
- Southeast Division Intelligence Officer
- Southeast Offender Management Officer
- Crime Management and Traffic

Operational Support (N=7)

The following officers participated in the Operational Support focus group session:

- Constable, School Resource Officer
- Analyst, Heavy Users of Service (HUOS)
- Sergeant, Hospitality Policing Community Action Team
- Constable, Violent Crime and Public Order Community Action Team
- Constable, Traffic Enforcement Specialized Apprehension Team (STAT)
- Constable, Y-50, Youth Offender Program Unit
- Sergeant, Mental Health Crisis Team

Specialized and Criminal Investigations (N=14)

Detectives representing the following EPS investigative sections participated in this focus group session:

- Child Protection Section
- Sexual Assault Section
- Missing Person Unit
- Homicide Section
- Behavioural Assessment Unit
- Gangs and Drugs
- ALERT (Serious and Organized Crime)
- Robbery Section
- Economic Crimes Section
- Auto Theft Unit
- Source Management and Protection

Patrol Officers (N=12)

- Constable, Tactical Section
- Sergeant, Downtown Division
- Constable, Downtown Division
- Constable, Northwest Division

- Constable, Northeast Division
- Acting Staff Sergeant, Northeast Division
- Detective, West Division
- Constable, West Division
- Sergeant, Southwest Division
- Constable, Southwest Division
- Constable, South Division

Downtown Foot Patrol Beats (N=9)

This focus group included an officer who was responsible for downtown shelters and one responsible for offender management.

- Constable, Northwest Division
- Constable, Northeast Division
- Constable, Downtown Beat
- Sergeant, Southeast Division
- Sergeant, West Division
- Constable, West Division
- Constable, Northeast Division Beats
- Staff Sergeant, Southwest Division
- Constable, Southwest Division

Focus Group Topics

The major topics for the focus groups were perceptions of officers of police/community relations; street check policies, processes, practices and related technologies; how changes to policy, process and practice have impacted members and their use of street checks; training and supports to ensure diversity-sensitive engagement and practices; the value of street checks; accessing and using street check intelligence; operational concerns and challenges related to

street checks; and recommendations for improving community engagement and street check practices, particularly with communities of diversity.

FIELD OBSERVATIONS

To gain preliminary insights into the dynamics of street checks and police-citizen encounters, a limited number of field observations were conducted during four ride and walk-alongs with EPS patrol and beat officers. Two ride-alongs were conducted in the Northwest Patrol Division and two walk-alongs were conducted with EPS beat officers, one in Downtown Division and one in Southwest Division. Time and resource limitations precluded more extensive field observations.

This field work served multiple purposes including developing a greater understanding of the operational context of EPS, observing the policing style of EPS members, learning about current practices within EPS, and, most importantly, seeing how street checks are used by officers. Accompanying the officers also provided an opportunity to discuss their views of, and experiences with, conducting street checks as well as their decision making during the street checks and other encounters that were observed.

Due to the very limited number of ride and walk-alongs completed for the present study, the preliminary field observations should only be taken as illustrative, rather than conclusive. They did however; provide the project team with insights into front-line operations in the EPS. Future studies of police street checks should include field observations as a major component.

The Experiences and Perspectives of Representatives of Community Organizations

In the interviews, the community representatives identified the challenges facing persons in their respective communities. The representatives included CEOs, Executive Directors (EDs), Directors, program managers, and program staff members. The Executive Director (ED) of an Indigenous organization cited poverty as the number one issue for urban Indigenous persons. Additional challenges highlighted for Indigenous persons are lack of education, a high incidence of post-traumatic stress, interpersonal violence, intergenerational trauma, and a lack of access (or an inability to access) spiritual and/or culturally-appropriate services. Addiction and involvement in the sex trade were identified as being manifestations of the long-term trauma experienced by many Indigenous peoples.

A community representative from the Sudanese community indicated that income security (lack of access to jobs and income inequality) were primary concerns of many persons in this community, as well as parenting skills, e.g. adjusting to Western parenting styles and values and conflict between youth and parents.

Relationships Between Communities of Diversity and The EPS

The representatives of communities of diversity offered varying perspectives on the EPS and on the nature of the relationships between their organizations and the police.

The Indigenous Community

The ED of an Indigenous organization stated that there was considerable distrust of the police in the Indigenous community. Fear of authority, life trauma and other factors affect Indigenous persons contact with the police. Another representative from an Indigenous organization stated that much of the animosity by Indigenous persons toward the police was a consequence of the "mannerisms" of EPS members. The ED noted, "It's how they interact with [Indigenous] citizens. Their attitude just totally changes." Citing personal experience, the representative recalled, "When they speak to me, the shield is up. Until they know who I am. But I do understand its

part of their training." The ED further stated that police officers need to change their mindset and personality and "not be so authoritarian all the time."

In the view of the ED, the police treated Indigenous persons a certain way based on the individual officer's experience, perception, and stereotyping and that it was only when the officer became aware that the Indigenous person was a professional that the demeanour of the officer and nature of the interaction changed.

Another representative of an Indigenous organization stated that the police and the Indigenous community needed stronger relationships to build trust and confidence in policing. This representative, who has worked with the EPS over the past two decades, indicated that they were respectful of the police "when they are doing the job well and respecting human rights." The representative has brought a number of incidents to the attention of the police. Some have been resolved satisfactorily; others have not. Only rarely did the EPS provide feedback on actions taken.

Two Indigenous staff members with a social services organization spoke about the unique challenges of the Indigenous community in Edmonton. They stated that Indigenous persons encountered negative perceptions from the police that were not based in reality and were most likely racist. As one worker stated, "I don't see a lot of our community members as dangerous." This worker noted that Indigenous persons have been subjected to oppression and, in combination with the intergenerational effects of the residential schools; this has led to internalized and externalized violence that invariably brings them into contact with the police and the criminal justice system. The result of this, the worker noted, was, "It doesn't go away. And then we start bottom feeding. We prey on each other."

The ED of another Indigenous organization stated that it was important to have a relationship/partnership with the police because of the contentious history between Indigenous persons and law enforcement. For the ED, a key question or challenge is, "How do we acknowledge there is a need for that service while also holding them accountable to be service providers?"

For this ED's organization, this has been accomplished by cultivating a partnership with the EPS that included having officers "in our physical space as members of the police", while simultaneously trying to educate officers on historical trauma and the role it plays in the lives of Indigenous persons. As the ED stated, "We have worked closely with the police. We have worked really hard to ensure that police carry out their duties with some cultural knowledge."

The ED's organization has had proactive and positive engagement with the EPS and the ED believed that the negative experiences between police and Indigenous persons are "just not happening" on a significant scale. To illustrate the organization's positive engagement with the EPS, the ED cited the mandatory training they provided to EPS as part of the "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (TRC) in Edmonton in 2014. The training was initiated by the police and provided by the organization and included a component of training the police about the Indigenous community. One component of this training was on lived experiences, which the ED believed was very important and beneficial as it "humanized" the community for the members. The ED noted, "Before that day [the members] knew the community in a police way. After the event, they knew them in a human way."

Another benefit of the event, according to the ED, was that during the training sessions a number of EPS members "came out of the closet" and announced or revealed their status as Indigenous persons. For the ED this was, "a real moment for those other members to realize they have people in their ranks who are part of [the Indigenous] community."

In the view of this representative, it is critical that police be exposed to that world view and to have positive interactions with Indigenous people. Further, the ED feels that it is important that Indigenous officers are encouraged to re-connect with their culture and to develop positive relationships with the community.

The ED cited an example of the partnership between their organization and the police. Currently, the organization has an agreement with Service Canada to work with "Y-50" kids (young offenders). This agreement includes a special unit that focuses on diverting Indigenous youth from the criminal justice system. The organization works with the police as part of that

agreement, and the ED indicated that this has been “wildly successful” thus far. Further, as part of this partnership, the organization has an agreement with EPS in which police will never enter the premises to arrest their clients, even the Y-50 kids. Instead, the organization calls EPS when a client has a warrant, and the person is subsequently instructed by the organization to attend to the EPS to be processed or to get a lawyer because they are arrestable.

This representative’s organization also operated a citizens’ police academy in partnership with the EPS. The ED believes that there are great benefits to this academy as a teaching and relationship-building tool.

The African Community

The relationship between the African community and the police was cited as a concern, with one representative noting that many African families live in low-income neighborhoods that are deemed by the police to be “problem neighbourhoods." This resulted in a heavy police presence and officers working there tending to have a more enforcement-oriented mindset, rather than taking a community-oriented approach to policing. This resulted in people in the community feeling uncomfortable since they assumed the police were present only to enforce the law.

In the view of the representatives interviewed for the project, Sudanese persons in Edmonton generally view the police as enforcers rather than as service providers. This perspective is the result of a number of factors, including: 1) prior experiences in Africa and, 2) the current attitudes of EPS members. The representative of this community felt that many Africans were intimidated by police because the way EPS typically engage is "intimidating vs. investigative" and that officers were not culturally sensitive in their interactions with newcomers.

A representative from the Somali community stated that the city of Edmonton was not a safe or welcoming place for Somalis and that the Somali population in general was fearful of the police. Persons in the community have complained that EPS officers were “rude and demanding” in encounters, although, in the representative’s personal experience, the tone of the officer changed when the representative disclosed their place of work.

The ED of an African community organization characterized the relationship between the EPS and the African community as "flawed." One of the major issues was that, historically, service providers such as the police had "created" or "identified" community leaders; that is, people that the police designated as the spokespersons for various African communities. This created tension because the community does not believe that the people who have been designated as community leaders have necessarily earned that role and that they did not necessarily speak for the communities they purport to represent. In the ED's view, was an absence of true representation at the level of engagement. Police chose the representatives they wanted to work with, as opposed to the representatives that the community would select. The ED believed that this situation must be resolved if true engagement and progress were to be made.

At-Risk Youth and Families

A representative from an organization that provides services for marginalized and racialized persons noted that their clients have extensive contact with the EPS. Many of their clients are known to police and are likely to be stopped by police as part of a street check, well-being check, or another type of engagement. According to this representative, effort is required to navigate the complex relationship that exists between police and the marginalized people that the organization serves, noting that the population runs the gamut from having experienced extreme police brutality, to racial profiling, to frequent street checks. A component of this representative's role is to liaise with the EPS and the downtown beat officers.

A representative from a program that focused on at-risk youth indicated that the staff currently have a "really good" relationship with the beat officers in the area, especially the designated community policing officer whose work was described as "really good." While the representative spoke highly of the officer's efforts to build relationships, it was noted that that not all officers practiced this type of positive engagement: "[The engagement] is nice, but that's not all police."

The representative stated that, when the community police officer comes in, things tend to be very positive; however, "If we have cops who come in who we don't know, it's a very different

experience." The Supervisor did feel that the staff in the organization generally had a good relationship with EPS at the moment and that many of the issues that existed in the past are getting better, stating, "Honestly, a lot of the issues are getting better. It shows that EPS is trying to improve."

An ED of a program that works with at-risk youth stated that, while there have been "some good officers" who have worked to improve the relationship between police and youth, those officers have been "few and far between." This representative felt that the police either "just don't have the time to engage", or don't understand the significant impact of positive interactions on the youth.

The Newcomer Community

The staff of an organization that works with newcomers indicated that the police were a major issue for this community. For many newcomers, the police in their countries of origin defend "the system", while in Canada the role of the police is to defend the law and protect the public. In their view, it was important that multicultural communities understand the role of the police in Canada and their duty to serve the people. This lack of understanding is problematic for members of these communities and makes them reluctant to reach out to police and contributes to fearfulness when interacting with police. As one staff member stated, "I still get scared when I see police. Much of that is based on my past experiences."

However, several of the staff stated that this lack of knowledge was exacerbated by the actions of police officers. One staff member felt that some police officers had biases, made assumptions based on ethnicity, and could intimidate newcomers. Participants added that they felt that the police lacked education about newcomers and that this negatively impacted how they behaved in interactions. As one young Muslim woman staff member stated, "Whenever I've spoken or interacted with a police officer, I feel I have to prove myself to them. I feel like I have to tell them what I do or other things about me so they will take me seriously."

Participants added that when police are involved and do respond to calls for service, there is a lack of follow-up and information flow. Participants were frustrated that they are often left out

of the loop or are not informed about the outcome of cases in which they have contacted the police to report a crime or other incident. The lack of engagement and poor communication was a source of frustration for one participant who stated, “Why would I trust police if they aren’t there in the first place? Police need to be more open with the community and do a better job of informing them.” The staff in this organization felt that newcomers would continue to be reluctant to call the police and cooperate with the police as long as they distrust them.

Several of the staff in an organization that works with newcomers raised the issue of youth and road safety and, more specifically, the need for an EPS-sponsored initiative to address the risky driving behaviour of youth. The participants suggested that the EPS

could provide outreach in the form of targeted road safety workshops with information for youth and their parents. They felt that it is important for police to work with the community on this and other areas of concern. “The public pay the police. They should serve us.”

The EPS, Community Policing, And Community Engagement

The representative of one organization that works with vulnerable persons indicated that their working relationship with the EPS was good and expressed a strong interest in improving that relationship. They noted that this is not always the case for non-profit organizations. The community representatives most often noted that their primary contacts were with the beat teams and officers. In general, the beat officers were viewed as being more engaged with community members than other EPS officers.

The Director of one downtown service organization noted that, historically, the relationship with EPS was characterized by mutual distrust and hostility, and was tinged with anti-police bias. In recent years that relationship has shifted and moved toward a more collaborative approach. Not all of the staff in this particular organization agreed with this perspective; many of the staff felt that there was still an element of hostility and distrust between the organization and its clients and the EPS.

There was a widely-shared view among the community representatives that the EPS needed to be more engaged with the various communities in the city and to focus on community policing versus taking a reactive or an enforcement-based approach. The representative from one organization that assists youth indicated that the beat officers had reduced the number of identification checks in his centre, because "it riles people up", although they were uncertain whether a stronger police presence in the area and the increase in the numbers of beat officers might result in more identification checks.

The need for the police to gain the respect of persons in communities of diversity was mentioned by a number of the community representatives. As one service provider in an Indigenous organization stated, "You don't get granted trust just because you're a cop. You have to build mutual respect." Representatives of the Chinese community also felt that the police needed to engage more and build relationships with that community.

There was a view that police efforts to engage the community were often impeded by how police viewed marginalized populations, stating, "Part of the problem is that they come into our building and they just see criminality and disorder… Individualizing is the value of community policing. It's the humanization. That's where we need to get with policing in the short term."

Several of the representatives mentioned the need for a community policing approach in police interactions with communities of diversity. The essential elements of community policing were identified as EPS engagement with democratically-elected and identified community leaders, embracing diversity, education, and discourse. As one representative stated, "Don't be sporadic. They have to come and spend time with community leaders. Be serious. Understand the complexity of the problem." This representative also stated that a true community policing strategy must be influenced by the community, and that the current policing model, "must change structurally and culturally and there must be enough resources to implement [a new model]." Another representative noted, "Police are policing but how do they police? Are they actually engaging these communities in a meaningful way?"

A staff member with an outreach organization stated, “I believe community policing is part of the solution. Honest, real community policing.” This staff person and other members of the organization felt that effective community policing was reflected in positive engagement. When asked what this would look like, the staff member stated:

At the end of the day [officers] are not meeting these people where they’re at. [Officers] need to come in as human beings. Not with their guns and all their power. Come out of uniform.

The representative of one community organization stated that they tended to have strong relations with the officers that “do community policing”, adding that the beat officers “do tend to get to know the guys and girls” in their program.

A leader in the African community indicated that, in developing an engagement strategy, it was important for the EPS to recognize the two distinct kinds of organizations that exist in the African immigrant community: the country-based (country of origin) organizations and the ethnic-based organizations. Although it can be difficult to differentiate between these two types of organizations, it is important, in the view of this leader, as it has implications for identifying the representatives from each. In this leader’s view, “[The police] have to find a way to work with the [African] community in a meaningful way.”

A representative from the Somali community indicated that the EPS needs to work with the community and develop relationships. The representative noted the high number of deaths of Somali/Black youths in recent years, stating, “Why don’t police interact with youths when they are not in trouble, then maybe they could tell them something?” A representative from an Indigenous organization raised the question as to why police officers don’t seem to know the people in their communities. This representative has considerable contact with EPS officers at the rank of Inspector and up and stated that these officers know more about the community and community organizations than the officers working on the street.

A number of the community representatives also felt that current EPS engagement efforts were primarily at the more senior levels of the department and less so among front line officers. One

community leader stated, “The Deputy Chief does a good job of engaging the community, but he’s not on the front lines.”

Many of the community representatives reported that the people they work with often felt judged and not heard by police. The representatives working in areas with police beats indicated that they had a better relationship and open dialogue with the beat officers that they described as “working well” on issues ranging from street checks, to youth-related issues and murdered and missing women. They further reported that the presentations that the NW, NE, W, and E Division patrol, beats, and school resource officers make in schools are helpful in “humanizing” police and establishing connections. One particular EPS Inspector was praised for participating in sharing circles and in other Indigenous activities.

A resource person who works with the Syrian and Arabic communities stated that the police needed to establish and build relationships before trouble erupted. Refugees are connected within communities by language and culture, but not with services like policing. This was viewed as essential to avoid “a repeat of what has happened with the Somali community”

This resource person made a number of suggestions for establishing and enhancing relationships of trust between the police and the Syrian and Arabic communities. One was expanding the REACH youth academy and offering workshops and games for youth. The second was recruiting Syrian and other Arabic-speaking persons to join the police.

However, this representative cautioned that the police should be aware that Arabic-speaking people are not a homogenous group and there may be tensions between the various communities. For example, Syrians who were hosted at camps in Lebanon prior to the arrival in Canada may find it difficult to interact with Lebanese people in Canada, based on the discrimination they experienced in the Lebanese camps.

The representative from an Indigenous women’s association stated that it is imperative to repair police/Indigenous relations. A ceremony was suggested “to acknowledge that we collectively need to work to work together to build a safer community.” This representative

acknowledged that many police officers are doing good work and "this needs to be featured and promoted."

The staff of an organization that works with newcomers cited a number of safety and security concerns related to this community. Racism and a lack of knowledge of the justice system were cited as prominent issues. Staff noted that, in some instances, newcomers were not prepared to accept the law, and that there was a need for newcomers to be educated about the law and their rights under the law.

It was also noted by several of the community representatives that the EPS-community relationship has been undermined by the absence of a consistent approach to engagement by the EPS. This, in turn, as one community leader noted, has resulted in "a lot of missed opportunities. 9-5 engagement doesn't work. If you really want to listen to voices, you need to be less rigid in when you do so."

The Challenges Facing Youth And Youth-EPS Relationships

A representative who works in a program for at-risk youth noted that food security (i.e., having basic access to food on a daily basis) is a major challenge for at-risk youth. Shelter and all other basic needs are closely related to this and are the most urgent needs for youth.

Many youths who are serviced by community organizations are involved in a high-risk lifestyle, as victims and as perpetrators. Victimization within this population is frequent and can be attributed to many factors, with mental health being the most significant. One program supervisor estimated that 95 percent of the youth in their program have some form of mental health issue which is often undiagnosed and/or untreated. Addiction was also identified as a factor in youth victimization.

A major concern is that youth become criminalized, which can serve as a barrier to progress or improving their life circumstances. A representative from an organization that works with high-risk youth indicated that a youth will be "doing well" and then get a ticket "and "they're back there again." There are some youth who are unable to stay at certain shelters due to mental

health, addiction, and violence issues. They engage in squatting, get caught and go to jail, creating a cycle of homelessness and incarceration. This highlights that the absence of stable mental health, addiction, and housing resources for at-risk youth can lead to negative criminal justice interventions.

A representative from an organization that works with the Somali community identified three challenges facing Somali youth in Edmonton: 1) police; 2) education; and, 3) media. With respect to the media, this community leader believed that the news media created, and perpetuated, negative images of the Somali community in general and Somali youth in particular.

Education is also a challenge, as many of the youth and their families come from war-torn countries, e.g. Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, and have spent time in refugee camps. They arrive in the city lacking education and when they enter the local school system, they are placed in grades according to their age rather than their learning ability/educational level. This invariably leads to frustration, embarrassment, and results in some youth failing to succeed and dropping out of school. There is, in the community leader's view, a need for some form of academic "safety net" that allows African youth to transition to the Canadian school system.

Youth (and adults) face employment challenges. These include a lack of youth employment programs, youth education programs, and basic career guidance. African parents lack knowledge about parenting in a Western society and often have little understanding of the internet and new technologies. Because of this, in the representative's view, many African parents struggle to adjust to Western parenting styles and have difficulty adapting to certain expectations.

The supervisor in a program for at-risk youth characterized the youths' opinions of the police as "less than favourable", though noted that the beat officers and the Community Police Officer in the area "are pretty good with the youth." The supervisor stated that, while the beat officers are "really good about coming in when it's not investigative, the [negative] perception is hard to combat." Much of this negativity is due to "peer pressure", that is, youth are told to dislike

police officers because the majority in the group would exclude them or label them if they showed a more positive attitude toward police. That said, the supervisor felt that, “most youth that have the most run ins with the police would admit it’s largely due to their actions.” Nevertheless, many youth have complained to staff about how police treat them, especially during street checks.

In the view of this representative, the police tend to focus on the street youth because of their appearance. Youth who appear to be doing well and don’t “look the part”, e.g. don’t look homeless, and are dressed normally, do not get stopped. But youth who are struggling, and look it, are frequently stopped and treated differently by society overall. Part of the reason for the frequency of these street checks is because youth become known to police, and thus, “can’t get away from it.” The supervisor noted that street checks are "so much the norm in the lives of the youth that they do not really talk about it much.”

The ED of a program for at-risk youth also felt that, in general, street youth had a negative view and attitude toward the EPS. This negativity was, in their view, an “ongoing challenge” that staff was attempted to bridge. In the view of this representative, the youth saw the police in an adversarial way, an attitude that had been ingrained in them from a very young age. This representative noted, “There’s been an awful lot of negativity from when they were very young,” and this negativity intensified on the street because youth “do get harassed by the police.” In the view of the ED, EPS members also had a largely negative perception of street youth, seeing them “as criminals.”

The Experiences of Somali Youth

Racial profiling was identified a representative of the Somali community as a central issue facing African youth. According to this community representative, Somali youth feel that police stop them more than others and often with no real reason.

Although unable to provide specific examples of police stops that reflected racial profiling, this representative stated that this sentiment is widespread among the youths with whom the organization works. In Somali culture young males often walk together in groups and that this

can be seen as suspicious by police who may view the practice in a negative light. The representative stated, “Whenever police see a group they think they must be up to something.” When they approach or engage these groups, it raises the question for the youth of “Why are we being treated like this?”

In this representative’s view, the police criminalize African youth. This often occurred because there were no available diversion programs to keep youth out of the criminal justice system and the police do not involve the community in addressing the problems of youth. The representative stated, “I have yet to see a young person brought back to us [to deal with as a community].” This community representative indicated that their organization was prepared to partner with both the EPS and Crown to create a diversion program for African youth.

The Lack of Diversity in the EPS

A key concern that emerged during the interviews with the representatives was the lack of diversity in the EPS. The ED of one Indigenous organization stated, “I don’t see a lot of it”, referring to ethnic diversity and gender diversity, including Indigenous officers.

One community representative observed that efforts to improve diversity in the EPS “looks imposed upon them rather than embraced.” That is, they believed that the EPS was not necessarily genuinely interested in diversifying their force but were merely doing so because of public pressure/demands. For diversity to be truly meaningful, in their view, it must be “embedded into the culture of the organization.” If not, “people question the seriousness” of the approach.

According to this representative, cultural/ethnic diversity and awareness must be integrated into recruiting and hiring, but the current system was not set up to accomplish this. In their words, “There needs to be systemic change to the system. There must be serious conversations about this. If the police are not able to deploy multicultural officers, then it is vital for them to have access to multicultural resources.”

A representative in the Somali community identified the lack of diversity in the EPS as a problem stating, “I think they’re doing their best, but I don’t think they are very representative of the city of Edmonton. “In addition to hiring and recruiting more people of colour, the representative thought that it was important and necessary that the EPS promote cultural minorities to leadership positions.

A representative from the African community critiqued the CAC, saying it did not have a tangible impact on police policy. Further, in their view, many of the individuals on the CAC are not viewed as “true community leaders.” The suggestion was that, “The EPS needs to engage the community resources and work to identify people who belong on the advisory board.”

The Need for Officer Knowledge of Communities of Diversity

There was a general view among the representatives of community organizations that EPS members must have knowledge of the communities they police and the challenges faced by persons in communities of diversity. This included a demonstrated understanding of the sensitivities required in interacting effectively with persons in communities of diversity.

The director of an Indigenous organization felt that an increased involvement of the EPS in outreach and engagement work would provide officers with greater knowledge of the services that Indigenous persons can access and permit them to refer Indigenous persons accordingly. This representative stated, “I hope they do some training and even some culturally-mandated workshops.” The director was particularly interested in the need for officers to be more aware of the issues associated with PTSD, both within the community and within policing, noting, “PTSD is one of the most underrated things going on right now. For everyone.”

Another issue identified by the ED was the challenges of the lack of knowledge among EPS officers and the criminal justice system generally, about African culture, society, and community. An example offered by the ED was that the police often did not understand the nuanced differences that exist between refugees and immigrants. For example, the pre-immigration and pre-refugee history between the groups is different and this has a real impact on how individuals from these groups adjust to their new places of residence.

The representative noted, for example, that African refugees have serious literacy issues, language issues, and lack basic employment skills. These are challenges that many immigrants do not face. Due to these differences, African immigrants and refugees have different needs that should be recognized. The failure to recognize this means that, “Everything that is developed is based on a false premise.”

A representative from the Somali community felt that the EPS needed to make a greater effort to develop cultural awareness among its officers as well as an understanding of the circumstances and perceptions of African newcomers, stating, “Police have to know that people from many African countries are coming from places where they don’t trust the police. So, police need to interact with them in a positive way to break that perception.”

This leader did not believe that the EPS was very culturally aware and had not done a good job of improving officers’ cultural awareness, stating, “I don’t think the police have much knowledge and they haven’t been utilizing us [community leaders].” He provided the example of Somali Edmonton and the Africa Centre which currently provides awareness and educational workshops on the African community for school administrators and teachers. The organization would have an interest in providing similar workshops for the EPS.

A leader in the African community suggested that EPS recruits should attend the various organizations representing communities of diversity as part of their training in order to familiarize themselves with the community and the people within it (and vice versa). A supervisor in a program for at-risk youth believed that the EPS was “getting better, but have a long way to go. It appears the police want to improve and this gives me optimism.”

The Need for Improved Communication Skills Among EPS Officers

A frequent observation among the community representatives was that officers often acted in an arrogant manner during their encounters with residents and that this contributed to the perception that officers were unfairly targeting certain groups. To address this, it was suggested that all EPS members, not just recruits, receive additional training in communication and

engagement skills. As well, officers should make a concerted effort to get to know the communities, which would assist them in bridging the gaps that currently exist.

Perspectives On Street Checks

The representatives of the various organizations commented on the police use of street checks.

The Use of Street Checks to Check of Persons' Well Being

With respect to the use of street checks to check on the well-being of marginalized persons, the director of one community organization stated that this could accomplished better through increased community engagement. While a street check may be helpful initially, the ideal would be for officers to expand the relations through more informal engagement and interactions.

The Importance of Procedural Justice in Street Check Encounters

How officers interact with the youth in both criminal and non-criminal situations was mentioned by many of the representatives. As one supervisor in a program for at-risk youth stated that the officers need to, "Treat the kids the same as you would treat others in the same situation." The supervisor added that the police should "check everyone" and not direct most of their focus to at-risk youth and that the disproportionate focus was indicative of bias. This supervisor did acknowledge that the complexity of street checks made it a difficult subject to navigate, largely because "there is a degree of importance for police to use discretion."

Vulnerable Persons and Street Checks

The director of one organization that works with marginalized and vulnerable persons noted that their clients are subjected to considerable police attention in terms of street checks and criminalization. According to the director, the street population is "quite blase" about street checks because they have become somewhat resigned to the fact that it happens.

The director indicated that persons who are homeless and have no place to stay are often the subject of street checks. Transients and the homeless are often not permitted to sleep in parks, and public places during the day and are often told to "move on" or are moved under threat of being cited or arrested. In general, this representative acknowledged that there is a need for

street checks but not if used to target and criminalize certain groups. He added that it's difficult when people become known to police because they are frequently stopped regardless of what they're doing and this can have a negative effect on them.

Black Persons and Street Checks

A representative from the Black community stated that there was a feeling among the Black community generally, and the African community in particular, that the police targeted them. This person noted that, since the EPS does not consistently gather data on race, it was difficult to believe that the police were not racially profiling. In the representative's view, the police had no data to dispel the perceptions and noted, "In the absence of data collection, how do you say you're not targeting? You have to have data to back it up."

A representative in the Somali community stated that the street check data released by Black Lives Matter (BLM) Edmonton in Summer 2017 impacted the perceptions of, and interactions with, the police among those in the Somali community and broader African community. The community representative also added that, without knowing the context of the street checks, it was difficult to say whether the police were unfairly targeting Black youths. However, in their view, the current perception is that the EPS, "is after Blacks and Aboriginals. The BLM data confirmed that for many people."

The perspective of this Somali community representative was that the EPS "needs to come clean" and allow for an external review that is performed by independent body comprised of professionals from the community who audit how the EPS is conducting street checks. In their view, if the police were transparent and it was revealed that they are not engaged in biased policing or if they can explain the data, then this representative indicated that they would be more than happy to advocate for them. The representative stated, "I am an ambassador. If I see EPS doing a good job, I will come to the community with that. If we don't have [race-based] data, I can't show what's going on." Elaborating further, they stated, "I don't want to prevent the police from doing their job. I just want to make sure they are doing their job fairly and properly."

This representative believed that the EPS should collect racial data during street checks, stating, "I think collecting information by race is a check and balance." In their view, collecting racial data and having community oversight would allow the police to receive community feedback and to better inform the community on what they're doing. The representative also suggested that officers need to initiate interactions and conduct street checks in a manner that does not make people feel targeted or mistreated.

In addition, the representative noted that, if the street check data were released to the public, the police would need to include the geographic and demographic contexts of the data. This would provide a more comprehensive picture of street checks and perhaps allow people in the community to understand the reasons behind the checks as opposed to simply looking at the numbers.

A representative of the Sudanese community related that they had heard a number of stories from African youth who had been stopped by police in various circumstances. The perception among the youth was that they are stopped because they look different. In the view of this representative, the perception of police bias is significant among African youth and adults. A key concern was that, in these interactions, there is an absence of communication and procedural fairness on the part of the police.

In the representative's view, much of the tension that currently exists between the EPS and the Sudanese community could be eliminated if officers changed their approach, were more fair, and less oppositional and aggressive.

This representative did not view street checks as a community engagement tool, but acknowledged that checks had the potential to be of value in checking on well-being of people and in preventing crime and disorder. In the view of this representative, the issue for the Sudanese community was more about *how* police conducted the checks rather than the fact that they used them.

In discussing whether EPS officers were engaged in racial profiling when conducting street checks, a leader in the Black community offered the belief that certain police practices can be driven by racism or discrimination, although this leader did not believe that the EPS was systemically racist or engaged in systemic discrimination. However, the leader did note that, "There is a thought process that certain people from certain cultures, colours, beliefs are prone to certain things."

In this respect, there is the perception that persons of colour are targeted and raised the question as to whether there was a need for street checks. For this leader, the discourse on street checks was about equity, that is, making certain that people received equal treatment by police: "I'm talking about equity. Only politicians use racism because it pits people against each other."

In the view of a leader in the Somali community, unless these underlying issues are addressed, then the criminalization of African youth will continue and any policing reforms will fail to have the intended impact.

Indigenous Persons and Street Checks

The ED of an Indigenous women's organization felt that officers should be required to read everyone their rights when they stop them, in particular because a high number street checks resulted Indigenous women being returned to custody for breach of conditions. The ED noted that the conditions placed on women are often difficult and/or unreasonable for women with limited means to keep, e.g. no contact with a family member and a street check could send her back to prison. The recommendation was that police should consider why a woman might be in a particular circumstance before writing an SCR. The ED also felt that the outcomes for Indigenous women were getting worse.

This representative supported the use of street checks for safety reasons, but questioned whether the checks had to be done by police officers. In the representative's view, police officers are ill-equipped to do social work, and that social service support workers could likely do a better job. Above all, this representative stated that the police must have a reason for

conducting a street check, stating, “The police must be able to justify why they are stopping someone, and then read them their rights before proceeding.”

The representative of an Indigenous organization that works with Indigenous women noted that this group generally had no, or very limited, understanding of their rights. The representative of another Indigenous organization stated that there was considerable confusion among Indigenous persons about what is/is not a street check. Further, in their view, street checks are only helpful to the police and are not a good strategy for crime prevention or to improve community safety.

This representative indicated that they had seen a change in the use of street checks from being a support tool for enforcement to the use of street checks for tracking homeless, marginal and vulnerable persons, and Indigenous persons. In their view, this has resulted in poor police/Indigenous relations and experiences. They had “heard a few things” about Indigenous persons’ negative experiences with the police regarding street checks or stops and that there are members in the community who, “are tired of the racial profiling.” However, they also stated that there were Indigenous persons who believe that street checks are a good thing, “because it keeps data on us.” In this representative’s view, the best way to address the issues surrounding street checks was to maintain relationships with the EPS.

This representative also stated that street checks may be necessary given the crime and disorder in the community, stating, “Sometimes we have to look past [the controversy] to see what’s really going on in the community. There’s a lot of crime going on.” That said, the director suggested that, if criminal issues can be settled within the community, “on our own that’s what we’ll probably be doing.”

The director agreed with the reasons or need for police to conduct street checks for purposes of crime prevention and case investigation, stating. “I understand they need to gather intelligence on what’s going on in the communities. There are some bad guys in the communities so it’s good to keep track of them.” This representative, however, added that, beyond street checks, it would be good for police to do a better job of working with community groups to gather

information on available services, so that in addition to being enforcers, police could also act as resource persons for those in need.

The ED believed that, although street checks could have a role in checking on the well-being of individuals, in their view, this was less the case than street checks being used as an intelligence-gathering tool. As a well-being tool, the ED stated that police should be checking with sex trade workers. Interaction "could play a role in understanding their circumstances." In that respect, the street checks could be both an enforcement tool and a way to ensure a person's well-being.

This representative stated that the general assumption in the neighbourhood was that Indigenous persons are racially profiled. The ED perceived that street checks were more prevalent in certain communities and neighbourhoods where there is a lot of homelessness. However, the ED also noted that the neighbourhood in which they and the other staff members worked was actually under-policed, citing a lack of visible and proactive police presence in the area.

The representative of another Indigenous organization offered a somewhat different view. For this person, the way officers conducted themselves in encounters was important, but that the work done prior to these interactions through community engagement, was equally, if not more important. The representative stated:

> *"If the groundwork hasn't been set, it's just an intrusive interaction. Although there are instances in which racial profiling occurs, generally speaking there is a meaning and intent behind them that are not based on profiling."*

This representative described the current discourse surrounding checks as a "witch hunt", adding, "I think it does happen like that sometimes, but not in my experience."

One organization that works with Indigenous persons developed and distributed thousands of cards that set out person's rights vis-à-vis the police and has asked the EPS to collaborate on developing a better card.

My Rights: ❶ Silence (see over). ❷ I can say "NO" if the police ask permission to search me or my things. Saying "NO" does not mean I have something to hide. ❸ I can leave unless I am being detained or arrested. ❹ If I am being detained or arrested, I have a right to know why, and a right to speak privately to a lawyer without delay - even if I can't afford to pay. ❺ I can only be strip-searched in private and by officers of the same sex. ❻ I have a right to know a police officer's name and badge number. ❼ I can report a police officer who abuses me, swears at me, or violates my rights.

STATEMENT FOR POLICE

Officer, if I am under arrest or being detained, please tell me so. If I am free to go, please tell me so. If I am not free to go, please tell me why. I wish to exercise all my legal rights including my right to silence and my right to speak to a lawyer before I say anything to you. I do not consent to be searched. I wish to be released without delay. Please do not ask me questions, because I will not willingly talk to you until I speak to a lawyer.

Thank you for respecting my rights.

POLICE ARREST: Silence is Golden

Each situation is different and you must use your common sense. Stay calm and remember everything that happens. **Remember your rights!**

❶ **Silence:** I can refuse to talk to police or answer their questions, unless I am in a bar or a cinema, driving a car, or they say I broke the law. In those cases, I must give my name, birthdate and address, or show my ID, but I do not have to say any more.

If you are stopped by police against your will, give them the top part of this card or read it out. Then, **do not say anything** until you talk to a lawyer.

To speak to a Legal Aid lawyer call: 1-866-845-3425

A director of the organization stated that the response to this suggestion was, "If people haven't done anything wrong they shouldn't worry about talking to the police." The representative further noted that the rights cards are useful only for the educated. When a homeless person takes out a card, officers become more aggressive and they end up being charged with something. In the representative's view, it is incumbent upon the police to explain the reason for the stop and to be professional and respectful in their approach to persons.

The representative of another Indigenous organization stated that they do not hear much from the community regarding street check issues. When they do hear, “we work with the youth to help them understand their actions and why the interaction took place.” Their organization has advised and supported community members to make complaints when deemed necessary.

With respect to the use of street checks as an engagement tool, the representative stated that street checks can be way for police to engage, but it depends on how they are conducted. If EPS does the “preliminary work”, that is, building positive relationships with the community, then street checks can be an engagement tool. However, if this work is not done then, “it’s just a street check.”

In this regard, the representative felt that it was very important for the EPS to continue to “come and engage” the community to maintain and improve this relationship. To that end, the ED feels that the “commitment level” of EPS is high, but that leadership plays a huge role, adding that the “White Shirts” need to keep engagement as a top priority: “In our time, the baton has passed in a good way.”

The representative did note that street checks can play a role in checking on the well-being of community members. Vulnerable clients have said that they have never had a problem with the police checking on them because, “someone knew where they were.”

The representative noted that when the organization was located in another part of the city, they provided the beat officers with business cards listing services and resources. This made the officers aware of available resources and they could direct individuals to them as required. There was a desire to see this practice continued with the officers assigned to the downtown area now that the organization has moved to the area.

The representative believed that street checks could play a preventative role. When staff in the organization have spoken to officers about things going on in the neighbourhood, “they are able to tell us about problem people. We get good intelligence and information from the officers.”

By sharing information, EPS can keep the community better informed about safety and security issues.

The ED of an Indigenous women's organization felt that the data presented in the media on street checks was problematic. The ED noted that, as a Metis woman, she could often not distinguish between Metis and Indigenous persons, and doubted that police could do much better, "so why present data that has no meaning?" The ED further raised the issue that, if the data showed a large number of Indigenous women in the downtown area, there was a need for intervention with programs and supports to get them to safety, rather than leaving them on the street to face a potential violent situation. The ED cited the Ontario Indigenous Women's strategy against violence as a holistic approach to some of these issues that includes the police.

At-Risk Youth and Street Checks

The supervisor of a program for at-risk youth acknowledged that street checks can play a role in checking on the well-being of at-risk and vulnerable persons and in locating missing persons. However, there was a hesitancy to fully endorse the practice, due to issues surrounding the collection, storage, retention, and dissemination of the information. The supervisor felt that the manner in which police gathered information from street checks and how the data are used and retained are issues that need to be addressed.

With respect to street checks that are conducted to check on a person's well-being, this supervisor noted that officers come to their program facility on occasion to check in and see how the youth are doing; however, "whether the youth see it that way is a different question." In the supervisor's view, from the youths' perspective, "There will always be that suspicion [of officers' motives]." To overcome this, the supervisor felt that there needs to be "a lot more positive interaction to build that trust."

The ED of another youth program stated that street checks are a "big topic" with the youth on an everyday basis. The ED said that the youth feel like they are being unfairly targeted by the EPS and that, "A lot of it is just because how they look." The ED's sense was that street checks were an issue for all of the youth served by the organization. However, the ED did believe that

street checks have a role, depending upon the situation. For example, if a high-profile crime has occurred, it is important for the police to search for suspects and street checks can be part of the investigation.

According to the ED, the street-involved youth view street checks as harassment and are not clear as to why the police conduct the stops, or why they are stopped. Consequently, the staff in the organization work with the youth to "unpack why the stop happened." In following up, if the staff feel that there was not a valid reason for the police to have stopped the youth, they will work with the youth to file a complaint. The ED added that, while formal complaints are rarely made, there are even fewer instances in which commendations for officers were recommended.

The Chinese Community and Street Checks

Three representatives from the Chinese community who were interviewed together expressed support for street checks. However, one of the representatives felt that persons other than the police should be checking homeless, transients, addicted persons and that street patrols should be done by social workers or peace officers. In the words of one of the interviewees, "Police checks are more of a PR problem than a real problem." Another added, "Isolated incidents shouldn't be used to condemn police practice."

The interviewees felt that the EPS needed to do more to educate the public about the necessity and value of street checks and that this information should be available and accessible to the public. Suggestions included TV ads, a public information website, radio for the Chinese community and other ethnic groups with radio stations, bulletins, and community news letters. The content could include information such as, "What is a street check?" "Why are street checks important?", and, "What are your rights when you are stopped?"

Immigrants and Refugees and Street Checks

A representative from an NGO collective that brokers services to immigrants and refugees, including Syrian refugees, noted that both personally, and for many of the clientele, uniforms are connected with corruption, violence, pointed guns and "people who take away your family

members." The fears and anxieties of the parents often transfer to the children. The representative noted that many of the immigrants and refugees have experienced significant trauma, but also have "a lot of resiliency". The primary focus of the service is to build social inclusion beyond the basics of housing, education, and language training.

The representative related a story where five refugees were stopped in a vehicle because their signal light was out. However, before the officer could even get to their car, they had all exited their vehicle and laid on their stomachs on the ground with their hands spread out.

For new immigrants who don't know their rights, the presence of a police officer can be un-nerving. The representative has observed children in a classroom get very quiet when a police officer entered. High marks were given to police officers who took time to play soccer with the children out of uniform before they entered the classroom in uniform. Recognizing the officer as someone they had fun with helped immensely.

The representative stated that it will take time for refugees and immigrants to understand their rights. The first two years of their time in Canada is spent absorbing new information, getting used to electricity, the Canadian culture, transportation and food, and living in a place where there are no bombs going off or shots ringing out. Because many of them do not speak or understand English, they often come to the Centre with questions. The representative felt that well in excess of 90% of those stopped by police will provide information, simply because they are too afraid not to.

The representative gave the example of a refugee who was stopped by police for smoking outside of an office door. He didn't know why he was being stopped, nor could he understand what he was supposed to do. He provided his identification to the police, and after the encounter, contacted the Centre because of fear of how the information he had provided would be used. The representative also noted that many newcomers fear, and want, to stay away from police, based on what they have heard from other communities. They do not see view protection of the public as a role of the police.

This representative also noted that a police officer's approach and the language the officer uses plays a huge role. This representative felt that it was important for police officers to engage with leaders in communities of diversity, in particular those who represent very marginalized people who are unable to vocalize their concerns and who do not have the ability to ensure their own safety. In such circumstances, police officers must make the extra effort to hear both sides of every story.

Should There Be Independent Oversight of Street Checks?

There were differing views among the community representatives with respect to whether there should be independent oversight of street checks. One supervisor in a community organization spoke in favour of independent oversight, stating, "Oversight of any practice that has the potential for abuse is wise." In contrast, the ED of an Indigenous organization "didn't know", stating, "If they have a structure within the service to monitor that with integrity then 'no.'" Although the ED cautioned, "I don't know enough about the internal workings to say one way or the other."

Should Street Checks Be Banned?

There was no consensus among the community representatives on the question of whether street checks should be banned. Several representatives were cautiously supportive of street checks, but expressed concerns about how street checks were practiced. This is reflected in the following, selected comments:

> "*I'm not against street checks, but I am against them if they are used to target certain groups. The police would be better served if they put more resources into community policing. If street checks are truly necessary, then show us how they are necessary."*
>
> "*They must be done in a fair and equitable way."*
>
> *"Police should be more egalitarian in their use of checks rather than focusing only on specific individuals or populations."*
>
> **"***Street checks would be viewed more positively if they were conducted more equally, as opposed to being predominantly against at-risk and minority populations."*

Another representative, however, felt that the EPS should cease doing street checks as currently practiced, stating, “Until you can do something like this beyond enforcing the law without infringing on others’ rights, they should probably not do them [street checks].”

The director and staff of one community organization felt that street checks were not an effective investigatory tool. It was also suggested by one representative that, whenever the EPS is considering the issues surrounding street checks, there should be a consultative process with the various communities in the city. In this representative’s view, communities should have input into how they are policed, but should also be aware of the consequences of their decisions, stating, “If we are going to stop [street checks] we need to understand the consequences.”

A Somali community leader believed that street checks could be a useful tool if officers conducted them the right way, e.g. fairly and equitably. However, in their view, the information collected during a check should “have a life expectancy” and the data processing and expulsion should be done by an independent external body.

The ED of one Indigenous organization expressed mixed feelings regarding a potential ban on street checks, stating, “I understand that people’s civil liberties are being trampled and I do agree to a point. But I do understand it might be acceptable in certain areas that are high crime, but not just low income. There is a difference and I hope police understand that difference.”

In terms of addressing the issues surrounding street checks, the ED of an Indigenous organization suggested that it was necessary that there be transparency and a clear methodology for their use. The director’s view was that the police should not change practices merely as a response to public pressure but should develop and execute policy with integrity and thought based on best practices.

Further, the ED believed that the language surrounding the use of street checks is important and that there needs to be a dialogue behind the practice. To this end, the director suggested that the term “street check” should be changed, stating, “The EPS should clearly outline the

purpose of and objectives behind their use. The police need to change the narrative behind that."

The representative of an organization that brokers services for refugees and immigrants felt that it was acceptable for police to conduct street checks for safety and security checks and to prevent crimes and disorder. However, the representative's view was that police officers should be required to tell persons they stop not only why they were being stopped, but also that they did not have to provide their personal information to police.

Storage, Access, and Retention of Street Check Information

Among the questions about street checks raised by the community representatives during the interviews were, "How long is that information kept?" "How is it used?" "Who accesses it?" "Does it assist in solving crimes?"

Relations with Peace Officers and Security Guards

While beyond the scope of this study, information gathered in the interviews with community representatives and in the community focus groups suggests that there are concerns with the behaviour of Peace Officers and private security guards, particularly toward marginalized and at-risk populations. One community representative stated that many youth feel targeted by private security and Peace Officers and that these individuals are often much more harsh with marginalized persons than police officers.

Going Forward: Suggestions For Improving Police-Community Relationships

A number of the community representatives who were interviewed for the project are, or have been, involved in some type of interaction and collaboration with the EPS. The representatives of diverse communities expressed a strong interest in working with the EPS to develop and enhance collaborative partnerships and initiatives. As one leader stated, "I want every service provider to be effective. I want the police to be successful." To accomplish this, one noted, "Police have to understand and trust some people in the community. They have to engage with

those who are radical in thought. Don't isolate those people. Bring them in. Involve those people."

Several of the representatives indicated they would be open to being engaged by the EPS to participate in training and educational workshops with officers. The representatives felt that there existed many opportunities for engagement with the EPS. An Indigenous representative noted that this engagement assumed even greater importance with the growing urban Indigenous population. The key to improving the relationship is for EPS to engage in positive community outreach and engagement, stating, "Just come in [to the agency] and be nice. Don't project that enforcement mentality."

One specific suggestion was that the EPS should equip its officers with a card or laminated index with a list of available resources and services on it. Officers could use this to direct marginalized individuals to available resources as required.

There was a widely-shared view among the community representatives that the EPS needed to develop more partnerships with the non-profits in the city, as well as become more involved in sporting events and recreational-style outreach work. As one community representative stated, "It's not currently where it needs to be." The ED of an Indigenous organization mentioned that the "Safety Summit", where the community would speak with EPS about community issues, "fell by the wayside" when the EPS lost the support of Indigenous organizations and it "fizzled out." This organization is currently in the process of developing new programming and will be asking the EPS to participate.

For the ED of one Indigenous organization, increased positive interaction between police and Indigenous persons was a key factor. This could include expanding engagement throughout the EPS and also providing training to communications personnel and other non-sworn staff. The ED stated, "That would go a long way for any community in Edmonton, not just the Indigenous community." Other suggestions focused on the need for the EPS to learn about the various cultures in the city, being open to suggestions and an openness to listen, and being willing to

acknowledge bias and to change perceptions. One representative stated, "We need to continue to do this. Leadership is key. If the big boss says it'll happen, then it'll happen."

The ED also suggested that there is an opportunity to do more work at the academy level to provide recruits with increased training and opportunities for interaction. Further, the ED believed that there needed to be some form of "cultural safety" in the EPS for Indigenous members to feel comfortable with their Indigenousness and to be encouraged to be involved in the community.

The Somali community representative who was interviewed is a strong advocate for improving police-community relations in Edmonton, stating, "We want the police to interact with the community in a positive way." This could be accomplished by a meaningful effort and positive community engagement between frontline officers and members of the African communities. One suggestion was that officers play soccer with the African youth, perhaps in a challenge game. It was also felt that the EPS could play an increased role in educating African youth about the criminal justice system in Canada.

The representative of an Indigenous organization indicated that there are qualified and interested persons willing to provide training on building healthy relationships between police and the Indigenous community.

The supervisor in a program for at-risk youth felt that it was important for officers to have the opportunity to visit the youth in the program, to ask them questions, and to learn directly from them. This supervisor also felt that the police could improve their relations with youth by giving more attention to procedural fairness in their interactions, as well as making efforts to have more positive day-to-day interactions that weren't coloured by suspicion or enforcement.

Suggested Initiatives

The community representatives interviewed for the project identified a number of initiatives that could be taken to improve relations between the communities of diversity and the EPS. These included:

"Training police officers on how to interact with persons who are 'damaged', training that would be in addition to the technical training that officers received. Officers need knowledge, interpersonal skills, and the ability to deal with persons from many different backgrounds."

"Having police officers engage more with community members in non-confrontational situations in order to build trust. Relationships need to be established with rank-and-file police officers as well as with senior management."

"Strengthening community relations. Complaints should be followed up, and where possible, persons in diverse communities should be involved in developing solutions."

"The EPS should provide more information on the activities of its diversity relations unit, as many persons in communities of diversity are not familiar with the unit's mandate."

"Improved oversight of the police use of street checks and street check-related complaints."

"Consideration should be given to implementing a program that flags any officer who is continuously stopping individuals belonging to specific demographic."

"Communities of diversity could develop a video of knowledge about their community that can be shared with the police and more widely. Focusing on 'Who are we?' 'Here's why we behave this way.' 'Here's some information on our culture and our community's response to violence.'"

"Government should enhance funding for local NGOs or a second tier of police to work with, and account for vulnerable persons, including the homeless, the addicted, and those in the sex trade directly. This would help bridge the gap between police and vulnerable persons."

The responses of the representatives in the interviews revealed a variety of perspectives on the relationships between the EPS and communities of diversity and with respect to street checks.

The representatives shared similar perspectives on the importance of the EPS developing and sustaining relationships with communities of diversity based on respect, having knowledge of

the communities they were policing, and the need for the EPS to focus on increasing the diversity of its membership.

The Experiences And Perspectives Of Youth From Communities Of Diversity

Focus groups were held with three groups of youths who access services from several community organizations. The number of participants in the focus groups ranged from eight to 16. Two of the groups involved youths who were at-risk, vulnerable, and had many challenges. The groups included Indigenous, Black, South Asian, Asian, Metis, and White young women and men. The other focus group was comprised of seven East African youths, ranging in age from 17-20 who were involved in a leadership development program. The group included youths whose family country of origin was Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, and Eritrea. A youth resources worker from one organization participated in one of the youth focus groups as well.

The focus group discussion centered on the youths' perceptions of, and experiences with the police, their knowledge of and experiences with the practice of street checks, and their suggestions for how relationships between youth and the police could be improved.

Youth Perceptions Of The EPS

The majority of street-involved youths who participated in the focus group sessions had negative views of the EPS. A common comment was, "The cops are dicks", while other comments included, "There are some good cops out there, but there are some goofs," and, "Some of them are dopes." Several youths indicated that the sight or presence of EPS members made them feel uncomfortable, "especially when they pull up to you."

The youth felt that a key reason for these perceptions was the demeanour of the officers. Some of the comments made by the youth exemplify this:

> *"Cops act tough."*
>
> *"It feels like they try to intimidate you."*

"They try to buff themselves up."

"Cops want to fight."

"They try to make you feel like you've done something wrong even if you haven't."

"Most of the time they're more threatening and rough than calm."

"It depends on what types of cops you deal with. If you deal with beat cops they're assholes. They're gonna get your ID."

Police-Youth Encounters

In the focus group discussions, the youths offered case examples of their negative encounters with the police. They felt that the EPS was against youth, unfairly targeted them, and that officers are biased, especially against Black and Indigenous youth. Many of the youths stated that they had been threatened with violence and aggression from police, had force used against them, and that, in general, the police were often aggressive and intimidating in their actions. A key theme that emerged in the youth focus group discussions was the youths' sense of being dehumanized and criminalized by the police.

Youth Perspectives Of Street Checks

Overall, the youths had generally negative opinions of the practice of street checks. One youth simply referred to them as "racism", while another elaborated and stated that, "Police stop random people because of how they look." There was a strong sentiment among both the at-risk youth and those involved in a leadership group that police stops were based on race and overall appearance. The youths felt that they were specifically targeted by police and stopped more frequently than others.

The youths in the leadership group felt that, if people were from minority communities, they are often stopped without reason. Their view was that it was unfair when the police target persons who are homeless, Indigenous, low-income, and Black. One student stated, "If they are

checking people unnecessarily, then why are they not checking white collar crime? Living in Riverbend doesn't equate to no crime. Crime happens in all communities."

The youth leadership group was presented with the following two scenarios:

Scenario 1: Late at night in a residential area two young men wearing hoodies and back packs with flashlights are walking in the lane. Should the police stop them?

Group's response: "No."

Scenario 2: What, if in that case, there had been a number of garage break-ins in that area in the previous week?

Group's response: "Yes. Stop them as they may the perpetrators. If they are peering in garage windows, police need to ask them if this is their home."

In discussing these two scenarios, one youth stated, "Lots of little differences could determine if police should stop these guys."

The resource worker who participated in one of the youth focus groups added that, "I still get pulled over to this day." He believed when he was younger that it was because he was Brown and that now it is more about how he dresses, but that his race was still a factor.

When asked how they are typically treated by police during stops, the youths felt that most interactions were negative. One youth said their treatment by police was "not good" and another stated that they were treated "like shit." Still another offered that, "most times they're fine"; however, one youth stated that the police tend to start interactions with an accusatory tone, noting that the officers often say, "You look like you're up to no good. You look like you're a criminal."

As noted above, many of the youths in the group felt targeted and, to some degree, threatened by officers. One youth recalled, "I was just walking down the street one time and a cop had his hand on his radio and accused me of 'being up to no good because I'm a criminal'." Another

stated, “I run when I see cops.” According to another youth, “They ask for ID, where you’re going, what’s your name, what’s your date of birth.”

In general, the youth participants in the focus groups knew what street checks were, but many did not know their rights. When asked if they felt like they could walk away from a street check if they were not being arrested or detained, the youths had mixed opinions. One stated that, “I’ll let them arrest me and take me to the cop shop and then I’ll walk away [because I haven’t done anything].” Another felt that, even if they could walk away, the police would not allow them to do so, stating, “They straight up block any exits you can access. They’ll always have that back up guy to block the door. It’s never one on one.” Moreover, one youth indicated that if he did not have any warrants he would talk to the police and not walk away from the interaction, stating, “If I don’t have warrants, I’ll let them talk to me.”

A number of the youths indicated that, even when they chose to exercise their rights and walk away from a street check, the police would follow them or force them to stay and speak with them. A common theme was that the youths felt psychologically detained by the officers during interactions, as evidenced by this quote, “They, kind of, make you feel like you have to stay.”

When asked if the police ever tell them that they can walk away from interactions, the youths stated that this rarely, if ever, happened. Most of the youth stated that officers rarely informed them of their rights and did not properly explain why they were being stopped, unless it was because they had an outstanding warrant or warrants.

In addition to not informing that they can leave, the youth stated that police rarely told them why they were being stopped. As one youth stated, “They just say ‘you fit the description’” or the officers “just jump into questions.” Another youth stated, “They’ll just see you and hassle you and ask questions they already know the answer to.” The result of this was that many of the youths felt that they were being randomly stopped or harassed by police because of how they looked, because they were young, or because they were Black or Indigenous.

This feeling of being harassed or targeted was exacerbated by the fact that several youths indicated that the police frequently stopped them. One youth stated that he was stopped "every second night of the week." Another added that, "In a week [I'm stopped] maybe three times." A third stated, "They stop me cause I look like a sketchy White guy." Additionally, one youth stated that he was stopped "very often" because "I look like a trouble maker," while another youth stated that, "I'm known on Whyte Ave. so I get stopped all the time now by beat cops."

The youth worker felt that this feeling of harassment was warranted and provided an example. He recalled an occasion when he was with a young client and was approached by police for no apparent reason. He stated that they began to ask questions, but when he told the officers that he was a resource worker, they ceased their questions and walked away. He believed this was evidence of the fact that the police were randomly stopping him and his client simply because of how they looked.

As noted above, there was a general perception among the youths in the focus groups that EPS officers engaged in racial profiling and conducted street checks based on race. The Indigenous, Black, and other participants of colour in the youth focus groups felt that they were stopped by police because they were persons of colour. As one youth stated, "Any person who is a minority, they'll stop you." Another added, "If you're in a certain part of town and you look like you don't fit in, they'll stop you for sure."

The youths indicated that their primary source for information on street checks (which they referred to as "carding") was from social media and from their friends who had friends in central Canada and in the US. They were not sure if there were significant differences between regions in Canada and the USA and Edmonton. None of the students in the leadership group had been stopped by the police; however, one student said that a friend's older brother had been stopped several times because he was Black. One participant related an instance in which she and a fried were stopped by Transit Police for a fare pass check. This youth felt humiliated

and embarrassed by being stopped in front of their friends, even though they were able to produce their passes.

The youths felt that the approach of police officers should be more friendly in their interactions, one youth stating, “Interpersonal skills make all the difference. The tone of voice is important.”

Positive Interactions with the Police

The youths were asked to recall if they have had positive interactions with EPS members. Several youths stated that they have indeed had “a few” positive interactions with the police. As one youth stated, “For the most part, whenever cop pulls me over he’s making my life difficult, I’ll just give them time.” Interestingly, the youths felt that interactions were more positive if the police know the youths or engage with them in a more positive way. For example, “If you get to know them, they are more chill with you.” Or, “It’s good if a cop just says, ‘hey what’s up, how’s it going?’”

While several of the youths stated that they have had positive interactions with the police, others were more skeptical. One youth felt that, “They’re not gonna [be nice]. They pick on kids.” Another added “They pick on homeless people in general.” Another youth noted that the interactions with the police used to be more positive than they are now, stating, “Years ago, interactions with cops used to be better.”

All of the youths in one focus group reported having some experience with street checks, with several youth indicating that they had been stopped frequently when with friends. All reported that they were scared, uncomfortable, humiliated, and embarrassed when police stopped them, especially if they were singled out of a group, particularly if they were Black. In the view of the youths, if the police wanted to speak with them, it meant that something bad had happened. The youths also felt that persons who were poor, homeless, visible minorities stopped more often than “rich” White people and that the police were more aggressive with them.

Several of the youths felt that certain high schools were viewed by the police as bad, which was humiliating for those students who were not involved in any illegal activity. The youths also indicated they had little interaction with the School Resource Officers in their schools.

The Retention of Street Check Information

The youths were asked to discuss their thoughts about the fact that street check information is entered into and restored in a police database. In general, the youths found this to be problematic. According to one youth, “I don’t think that they should keep that information.” A second youth felt that, “They should keep it only as long as they’re checking that information.” Another believed that the police should only maintain information on a person’s criminal history and “not how many interactions you’ve had.”

The Impact of Police Interactions

A number of the youths indicated that their interactions with police had taken a toll on them. Many of the youth come from very challenging circumstances, and have experience poverty, physical/sexual abuse, drug use, and/or mental health issues, and have low self-esteem. The youths’ comments suggested that interactions with the police often exacerbate these issues.

Many of the youths in the group felt that their interactions with police, including being street checked, had a negative impact on their lives. Some youths felt that it had a long-lasting impact on their perceptions of police. For example, “I can’t look at a cop the same way.” For one youth the impact was far greater: “They’ve really fucked up my life, man.”

A number of the youths felt that their repeated interactions with the police had, in part, prevented them from moving on from, or improving, their life circumstances. The point was made by several of the youths who were street involved that, because they are known to police, the frequent checks, and conditions attached to their arrests and probation have created a vicious circle in which they are trying to get out of the criminal lifestyle, but get pulled back in.

Several youths expressed frustration that police attention was blocking their efforts to "get out of the life.” As one Black youth stated, “I was trying to move on with my life and I got stopped

by cops and they just brought up stuff I thought was done. And now I'm arranging court dates." Another added, "I can't get a job." While yet another said, "I've lost my job [because of police involvement]."

Suggestions for Improving Police-Youth Interactions and Relationships

The youths in the focus groups offered a number of suggestions for how relationship with the police could be improved. How the police interacted with the youth appears to be a key issue and one that many youths felt needed to be improved. The general view of the youths was that, if the police approached them respectfully, and explained why they are being stopped, it would foster better relations between youth and the police.

The following, selected comments illustrate this:

> *"I wanna be treated like a human being."*
>
> *"With respect, not like a rat on the street."*
>
> *"I don't want any judgement. Just don't fucking judge me."*
>
> *"They used to have a saying, 'innocent until proven guilty.' Now it's guilty right off the bat."*

In general, the youths felt that the police should be less aggressive and more respectful to them during street checks.

Youth Responses to Street Check Scenarios

To explore further how the youths perceived encounter situations, they were presented with five real-world scenarios involving police-citizen interactions. Scenario 1 was based on an incident that occurred in Hamilton, Ontario, while Scenarios 2-5 were based on actual SCRs from the EPS.

Each scenario was described to the group and participants were asked to provide their overall assessment of the encounter. Below is a summary of the youths' responses of the youth to the scenarios.

Scenario 1:

On a windy day a Black man (Mr. X) was checking e-mails as he waited for a bus in the city's downtown when a police officer rolled up in a cruiser and began asking questions.

"What are you doing there?" he says the officer asked him, as he sought shelter from the cold breeze under an overpass, kitty corner from the bus stop. "Where are you going?" "Are you even from this city?"

M . X says that once the officer realized that he was a city councillor, the tone of the conversation changed. The officer asked if he was okay. And then he left.

The general sentiment of the youths in the two groups was that the police officer stopped to speak to Mr. X because he was Black. They also stated that the officer asking the councilman if he was okay was a cover for his bias. As one youth stated, "He saw a Black male, nothing more." Another added, "That's not a street check. That's racism, it's harassment." The belief that the officer was harassing Mr. X was shared by a number of the youth, with one stating, "It turned into harassment when [the officer] asked 'What are you doing here?'"

The youths in the groups were asked to discuss how they think the officer should have approached the situation under the circumstances. Most of the youths believed that the officer should have expressed concern about Mr. X's well-being at the outset of the interaction. One youth suggested that, "What [the officer] should have done is ask him if he had somewhere safe to go and if he needed a ride." The group felt that this would have shown that the officer genuinely cared about Mr. X's well-being as opposed to it being more about race-based suspicion.

A number of the youths in both groups stated that they could relate to the scenario, having experienced a similar situation. That is, the perception that they were being engaged by police because of how the colour of their skin and/or the way they were dressed.

Scenario 2:

A police officer pulls up to an Indigenous woman he suspects is a sex trade worker on a street corner and says, "let's see some ID". The woman informs him that she does not have any ID with her. A heated discussion ensues. As there is an outstanding warrant for the woman for riding transit without paying, she is handcuffed, arrested and taken away.

As with the previous scenario, the youths took issue with the actions of the police in this encounter. Several quotes highlight this:

"That's bullshit."

"That's not right."

"It's not right because he doesn't have to ask if she has ID."

"Just because she doesn't have ID doesn't mean she's a suspect."

"They [the police] do the same thing over and over till they've had enough."

The assumption within the group was that in this scenario the officer had ulterior motives when stopping the woman. That is, even if the officer was simply checking on her well-being, the group members felt that this was simply a prelude to something enforcement-based. The youths generally did not believe that the officer was stopping the woman because the officer believed she was a sex trade worker and concerned for her well-being. They felt the stop was enforcement-based. Others also felt that the officer escalated the situation, which resulted in the conversation becoming heated.

Further, there were sentiments expressed in both groups that the woman was stopped because she was Indigenous. Some even thought the police only suspected that she was a sex trade

worker because she was Indigenous. As one youth stated, “I don’t think the cop would’ve stopped her if she was White.” Another added, “Cops are so racist though.”

A number of the youths in one group questioned the legality of the stop. One youth asked, “Is that even legal?” Another believed that the stop itself was not legal, stating, “How they’re doing that is not legal.” When asked if they would classify the encounter as a street check, several of the youths in one group suggested that it was not a legitimate check. As one youth stated, “I wouldn’t [call it a street check]. It’s bullying.”

Scenario 3

A large number of people are enjoying a street party at Sir Winston Churchill Square. Police officers on foot patrol walk up to a bench on which 3 Indigenous people are sitting, and ask for ID. They take their information and then leave. The police officers are not observed asking anyone else for identification.

The youths in both groups felt that the main reason that the police approached and engaged the Indigenous males was because they were Indigenous. As one youth stated, “That’s really racist.” One Indigenous male added that he could relate to this, adding, “Do you know how many times I’ve been walking down the ave and been stopped? I’ve been stopped four times in one night.” Another youth recalled his experience, stating, “Last night I was trying to get on the train and they did a street check. They didn’t street check anyone else.” Another youth added, “I seen situations like that. I’ve been in the exact same situation.”

Beyond the perception of racial profiling, the youths in the two groups expressed concerns about how officers approached the encounter. More specifically, they found it problematic that the officer asked for ID at the outset of the interaction and did not appear to explain their purpose for initiating the interaction. In their view, the police officer should explain why they are conducting the stop and why they are asking for identification.

When the youths were asked whether they felt they could ask police for why they needed to produce an ID, the youths had mixed feelings. Several stated that they had asked in previous

encounters and that this often resulted in a hostile response from the officer. The youths felt that the police put them in a "a no-win situation" in which they either acquiesced to a potentially unreasonable request and provided an ID or questioned the motives of police and risked escalating the situation.

This discussion also provided a segue into a whether the youths believed that it would be more appropriate if the police checked multiple groups. Their response was that the police would have to check out "more than a few" other people for it to be clear that they were being unbiased.

Scenario 4

Two Black women in their early 20s are sitting and talking in a car outside a bar on Whyte Avenue on a Friday evening around 11 p.m. When police ask for identification the women question why the police want to see that identification. The discussion escalates and both women are arrested.

As with the other scenarios, the youths in the group largely characterized this as racial profiling, or "racism", as one youth explicitly put it. In this specific scenario, the youths took issue with the fact that the women's refusal to provide ID escalated the situation. As one youth stated, "You are allowed to ask why they're stopping you and why they want your ID." A number of the other youth in the group stated that they could relate to the escalation that occurs when they refused to provide ID or to speak with the officer. A Black male in one of the groups stated, "I've been a victim of this."

The youths were then asked what they thought the police could have done to "legitimize" the situation in their eyes. The youths believed that the police could have initiated the interaction better by informing the women of why the police were there, what they are doing, and to inform the women of why they were asking for identification. As one youth put it, "Tell them why they're there. Tell them why they're asking for ID."

The responses by the youths indicate that both the attitude of the officers and the nature of their approach are key for how an interaction in perceived in the eyes of those being street checked.

Scenario 5

Two police constables observe a pickup truck leaving a parking lot. The vehicle's signal lights are flashing faster than they should be. The owner and vehicle are "SPECIAL INTEREST POLICE". The truck is stopped. The VIN and registration match. The occupants are cooperative. The encounter is ended.

This scenario produced some interesting responses from the focus group. Generally, the youths generally did not believe that the flashing signal lights were a valid reason for the police to stop the vehicle. That is, the youths did not find the initial reason for suspicion to be legitimate. However, they did believe that once the vehicle came back with the "Special Interest Police", the police did have a legitimate reason to investigate and speak with the occupants.

The fact that the encounter was resolved without an arrest was puzzling to the youths. One youth stated that this showed that the police, "aren't trying to get the special interest guy." Conversely, one youth believed this was evidence that, if the person being stopped maintained composure and cooperates, then the situation will go smoother. The general view was reflected in the comment of one youth who stated, "If we keep our cool, it'll go better."

The at-risk youths in the focus group expressed concerns with all of the scenarios. They were suspicious of police motives in each case and felt that the race of the persons who were stopped played a significant role in the actions of the police officers. The youths believed that every situation involved racial bias and profiling. Interestingly, in the last scenario, they felt that because the situation was resolved peacefully, the driver must have been White. When asked if the driver had been Indigenous or Black, the youth believed that the police would have been more aggressive and there would likely have been an arrest. As a youth in one group stated, "If it's a White person driving, the police put you in a different class of society."

Although time and resource limitations prevented the presentation of scenarios to the other focus groups of persons from communities of diversity, these findings suggest that many persons in communities of diversity, including persons who are at-risk, view police encounters through a specific set of lenses that are determined by their experiences and those of others in their communities. Future research should make more extensive use of scenarios in an attempt to further understand how the lived experiences of youths and adults in communities of diversity affect their experiences in, and perceptions of, police-citizen interactions and street checks.

The Experiences and Perspectives Of Persons In Diversity- Focused Organizations And In Communities Of Diversity

The representatives from community organizations facilitated the participation of members of their communities in a number of focus groups. The focus group sessions ranged from one hour to two hours in length. Discussions centered on the participants' perceptions of, and experiences, with the EPS and their knowledge and experiences with the practices of street checks. At the core of this group was an exploration of how they viewed the relationship between the EPS and those from marginalized and racialized communities living on the streets of Edmonton.

Community Concerns

The issues surrounding vulnerable and marginalized populations in Edmonton that were identified by community representatives and organization staff included the following:

- homelessness and the lack of affordable housing which is associated with much of the victimization that occurs in the community.
- lack of understanding of mental health/mental illness
- lack of understanding of problematic substance use vs. substance abuse
- sexual exploitation
- the existence of a "street code" that shapes behaviour and impacts police perceptions of marginalized people.
- an inability of Indigenous persons to access spiritual resources.
- lack of police knowledge and education surrounding harm reduction
- an absence of political involvement
- lack of understanding of rights and options/responsibilities

A major challenge for the homeless and marginalized is how they are perceived by both the general public and by the police. One focus group participant stated that these persons were viewed as not "fitting in with societal norms." Indigenous staff members in one downtown

organization that works with marginalized persons noted that Edmonton has a growing urban Indigenous population and that many of the people in this community were living on the margins of society.

In this context, the manner in which marginalized persons communicate and the language they use often create problems in encounters with the police. The staff noted that trauma is a major factor in the challenges faced by marginalized persons in Edmonton and expressed concerns that EPS officers do not have a sufficient understanding of trauma and its impact on people. One Indigenous staff member identified systemic racism as a catalyst for trauma. The trauma then manifests itself in substance abuse, which is exacerbated by the lack of access to services.

Perceptions of the EPS

The perceptions of staff in one community service organization (with the exception of the Director) were decidedly negative. A number of issues were identified. One staff member stated, "What we're seeing is a lot of racial profiling [by EPS members]." This staff member stated that many homeless and racialized persons use public transit and congregate around transit hubs. These transit stations are also hubs for police, security, and Peace officers and she believed that they were "not dealing well" with how they engage these populations.

More specifically, staff cited a lack of education, training, and knowledge about Indigenous persons, addicted persons, mentally ill persons, and persons of colour. Staff felt that police lacked experience in dealing with these populations and that this manifested itself in how they interacted with marginalized persons. As one staff member stated, "It's not about enforcement. It's about power and control."

Staff members also expressed concern with how EPS interacted with addicted persons. They felt that the EPS needed to have a better understanding of the types of drugs people were using, and the effect of drugs on users. As one staff member noted, marginalized populations have different access to those literacies, but, "No one is calling on the police to up their literacy on our community."

Staff members felt that the police disciplinary process was flawed and that this was manifested in police conduct on the street. There was a shared perception that police officers were not held sufficiently accountable through internal disciplinary measures, and that allowed officers to engage in questionable activities without fear of appropriate punishment. One staff member stated that they felt that there was a power imbalance between police and the public and that this power differential was reflected in how officers behaved. In this staff member's view, a challenge was that, "They [police officers] always come from a privileged world." Compounding this was the view of a number of staff members that more oversight of the police was required involving persons from the community and Indigenous elders. This is reflected in the comments of one staff member who suggested, "Engage the elders. Their life experience can be valuable to this process."

The Need for Increased Diversity in the EPS and Improved Training

The staff of an organization that works with newcomers felt that many of the issues surrounding relationships with the police could be addressed if the EPS hired more people from newcomer and diverse communities. Recall that this was a point made by the representatives of community organizations as well.

The comments of the staff suggested that there were deeper issues with bias, racism, and cultural insensitivity in Edmonton. In their view, the issues surrounding policing generally, and street checks specifically, were a manifestation of this. A commonly-expressed view was that the EPS had been recruiting from a pool of applicants who had little knowledge of the diversity of cultures, religions, and ethnicities in the city. The staff members in the organization felt that the EPS needed to take the initiative to make candidates from communities of diversity more competitive.

The group did not feel that the EPS was doing a good job at representing the communities it policed. Having officers from communities of diversity would, in their view, make the communities feel more comfortable with the police. As one staff member stated, "I would feel more comfortable dealing with a woman and/or an Arab officer." "This staff member believed

that minorities were discouraged from becoming police officers because, in their view, "Officers who are visible minorities are treated very poorly."

In addition to diversity, participants suggested that community experience be a requirement for new officers. As one woman staff member suggested, "One thing I would like to see happen is that officers have 3-5 years of community-based experience before they are hired. Anyone who is dealing with a marginalized community should have a background in working with those populations."

The staff in this focus group felt that not enough was being done in training to educate officers about newcomer communities and to address the biases that recruits bring to the position. One participant stated that, while training was important, the current training model has failed to erase officer bias, asking, "Why in the entire six months of training do they not do a better job of cultural sensitivity training?"

This staff member had participated in the EPS cultural sensitivity training and likened it to "speed dating" where recruits spent short periods of time with members of different ethnic communities. In this staff person's interactions with the recruits, many of the officers showed their biases and ignorance of other cultures with the questions that they asked. For example, one officer asked her, a Muslim woman, if she was allowed to be there without a man. In her words, "Twenty minutes is not enough to address bias." This staff member believed that the police need additional training to "tear down biases." Another participant added, "Alberta's culture is red neck. A few hours of training are not enough to change bias."

The Need for Community Policing and Engagement

There was a widely-shared view among the community representatives and the staff members of community organizations that the EPS needed to develop a more community-oriented policing approach. As one staff member stated, "I believe community policing is part of the solution. Honest, real community policing." Street checks, however, were not generally considered to be a component of a community policing model.

In their view, effective community policing is reflected in positive engagement, one staff member stating, “At the end of the day, [officers] are not meeting these people where they’re at. [Officers] need to come in as human beings. Not with their guns and their power. Come out of uniform.” Members in one focus group cited examples of what they viewed as positive community policing models/strategies including the Bear Clan patrols in Winnipeg (see: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/bear-clan-patrol-to-return-to-winnipeg-streets-1.2968602) and the work of the RCMP in Beaumont who conduct ‘positive ticketing.’ One staff member asked, “Why can’t they do that here?.” One outreach worker, who formerly worked at YESS, stated that when he was there they worked on developing that relationship. “We brought in EPS beat people. It took months of them coming in in their plain clothes to build a relationship.”

Improving the Relationship Between Communities of Diversity and the EPS

Staff members from an organization that works with newcomers felt that the EPS needed to do a better job of outreach and engagement at all levels of the department, particularly at the patrol level. They stated that when police do engage it is often only the high-ranking officers or diversity officers, one staff member noting, “The front-line officers are not the one’s doing the engagement. It’s the upper level people.” There was also the view that this engagement was only with community leaders rather than with community members. The participants wanted to see more constables and front-line officers engaging the community and participating in events.

One participant from another organization suggested that the police need to start planning more community events, stating, “This summer, the police need to create more community bbqs.” This staff member also noted that a really useful way for police to connect with young African and Arabic youths was through sports and suggested that the police organize events like soccer games.

Other participants stated that one problem was that, when the community held events where the police could engage with community members, officers did not attend. As one staff member stated, “When we want them to come and relationship-build they don’t come. EPS is not

interested in building relationships." Another added, "A few hours of training won't do anything. We need long-term engagement and outreach."

However, one staff member cautioned that that engagement could create challenges for members of the street community. More specifically, if people were seen engaging positively with police, there could be safety concerns for them. This staff member noted that many residents in the downtown area view interactions with the police in a negative light and would think that the person speaking with police is "snitching" or giving information to the police. In recognition of this, this staff member indicated, "As a case worker, I meet with cops away from [the organization]." However, this staff member felt that, if the police had a better understanding of the community, they would be aware of these sensitivities and know how to interact, noting, "It's all part of effective community policing. If you're in the community, you know that. But [police] still come in here and identify people and single them out in front of everyone."

The lack of knowledge among EPS members regarding the persons they encounter was noted by a number of staff members in a community organization:

> *"[Police} don't understand the trauma these youth have. Look up what trauma to the brain is."*
>
> *"[Police] need to understand the child welfare system."*
>
> *"Police get mixed up in their role in the system."*

The general perception of the staff in one community service organization was that EPS officers engaged in profiling based on race, appearance, and the neighbourhood. They felt that there was a disproportionate focus on the marginalized. As one staff member stated, "You see people leave the Oilers game hammered and the police don't even do anything", suggesting that the police don't care about public intoxication outside of the marginalized community.

Community Organization Staff Experiences with the Police

A number of the community organization staff who participated in the focus group sessions indicated that they had been stopped multiple times by police and believed that, on some of these occasions, they had been racially profiled. Staff also talked about criminalization and negative experiences with police and the criminal justice system. Among the experiences of Indigenous staff members were the following:

> *"By the time I was fourteen, I'd been breached seventeen times and I never even knew what a breach was."*

> *"I've been leaving [the agency] and getting into my car and EPS asked me if it was my car."*

> *"Every morning I get up at 4 a.m. to drive my daughter to work because I don't want her out there on her own. I don't trust cab drivers and I don't trust cops."*

An Indigenous male staff member in a community organization recounted the following incident:

> *"I was with a client driving a 1995 Oldsmobile. I was new, just learning about Edmonton. Police were following us. They asked if we were lost. The officer looked at my client, who was affiliated with a First Nations gang, and asked me, 'Who is that?' He looked at the lock system for my car and asked, 'Is that a weapon?' Literally, a day after, the same thing happened. This time they said, 'Your car's been stolen.' And the same kid was with me. It became a running joke between me and my client. We got stopped whenever he was in the car."*

A Black male staff member of an outreach organization also noted, "It doesn't matter how educated you are or how much money is in your bank account, they still see you as just another Black male."

Community organization staff members felt that many of the issues were due to the lack of diversity within the EPS. As one staff member stated, "The lack of diversity in the police makes it easier for them to stereotype people." Another added, "Even if you're walking at night, you're not going to get very far [until you're stopped by police]."

The staff members in one Indigenous organization questioned the roles of the police and peace officers. One commented that the police are a "pain in the ass" and "nosy". When asked what police could and should be, the responses varied from expectations that they are there to help to enforcement to catching bad guys.

One participant in a focus group of staff from an organization that works with newcomers stated that there is an assumption among African youth that police "will stop you if you're Black and driving." He stated that if the police see a young Black or Arab person driving a brand new car, they would stop them because they believed they must have stolen it or are engaged in criminal activity.

In contrast, another staff member from this organization who was from the Middle East stated that they were never stopped by the police because of their lighter skin and "will pass for White." This staff member felt that darker-skinned persons or a woman wearing a hijab would get pulled over by police. Although unable to provide specific examples of this occurring, this view was shared by others in the group.

The staff of an organization that works with newcomers were of the view that they (the staff members) were treated differently because of how they looked and because of where they were from. As one young Muslim woman in the group stated, "Whenever I've spoken to or interacted with a police officer, I feel like I have to prove myself to them. I feel like I have to tell them what I do or other things about me so they will take me seriously."

The staff members in an Indigenous service organization relayed a number of negative memories and experiences with police ranging from remembering her father being arrested and taken away when she was four years old to police disrespecting, policing being angry and discriminating against Indigenous peoples, children being forcibly removed from their homes and families during child apprehensions, people being dragged out of cars at stops, homes being searched without warrants, and people of colour being indiscriminately stopped, whether in vehicles or on foot " for no reason".

These example highlight the importance of police officers being sensitive to historical trauma and provides support for a model of community engagement wherein officers engage in conversation with the persons who they encounter.

LGBTQ Experiences and Perspectives of the EPS

The LGBTQ participants in the focus group indicated that they felt very scrutinized by the police, and because of this, engaged with the EPS only in rare circumstances. They noted that having police in the building would make them feel unsafe rather than safe. The two younger, non-White participants in the group shared experiences of being street checked on a regular basis, but feeling under-supported when asking police for help. In contrast, an older White participant indicated that they had never been street checked and felt that this was due to the privilege of White persons.

The participants felt that particular challenges were faced by transgendered persons, particularly when there is a discrepancy between the gender marker on their identification and their expression of gender. They related experiences where transgendered persons were accused by police of committing fraud or impersonation, and described how intimidating and humiliating it was to have to explain why they didn't look like/match their identification. They noted that after they were released without charge or explanation they feared that their "original names" would be shared and they could be in danger.

They questioned why police regularly asked for identification, without any introduction or explanation for why the street check was being conducted. One participant described an incident where he was stopped by the police asked for identification, which he declined to produce. He stated that the police officer said, "Its only you and me here. What are you going to do about it?" The participant produced identification and was then told to "get out of here". Participants feel that a "how are you?" or "do you need something?" at the beginning of a stop would go a long way to easing their anxiety and fear.

The participants in the focus group felt that the EPS was a racist institution and described police officers in the university and southside entertainment districts as having no respect and being

"vicious." Because of this, the focus group participants indicated that they did not feel safe engaging with the police. As one participant stated, "Police don't see a highly targeted group that needs support. They just try to move us along." They viewed police work with the community as a "marketing" ploy rather than as true engagement.

The participants in the focus group believed that police would benefit from training focused on transgender persons and people of colour, which could be done in collaboration with their organization. There was also the view that more social workers and youth workers were required on the street, rather than more police. There was strong support for ending street checks and for the EPS moving to community-based policing that would include beats where the officers and citizens knew one another, establishing neighbourhood empowerment teams, and having officers out of their patrol cars.

Views of Street Checks

All of the staff members of one community service organization stated in the focus group session that street checks should be banned and that EPS needed to develop a new strategy for community engagement. These persons felt that EPS members required better training on community needs and that, if the practice of street checks were to continue, officers needed to initiate encounters by explaining people's rights to them. The group also thought that there should be independent oversight of street checks by community representatives. In the view of this group of staff members, racial profiling and discrimination was the manifestation of a larger, systemic issue within the city of Edmonton.

The staff of one organization that provides child services to the Indigenous community noted that they and their clients were checked a lot more in some areas than others, particularly in the areas of 118 Avenue and 82 Avenue. All agreed that street checks of people living a high-risk life style, if done to ensure their safety were acceptable, but again reinforced that they needed to be conducted in a respectful manner.

When asked what they expected when they were stopped by police, participants agreed that they wanted to be told the reason for the stop. A professional, friendly approach would be

appreciated. Most participants were familiar with their right not to provide police with personal information if police were not investigating a crime or stopping them for violating traffic laws. However, in the words of one participant, "police always have a lot of good excuses", and so, out of fear of consequences, they reply.

Lack of Knowledge About Street Checks

It was not only persons in communities of diversity that were perceived not to know their rights vis-à-vis the police and street checks. This lack of knowledge also extended to staff members in community organizations as well. A number of the staff members in one Indigenous service organization stated in a focus group indicated that they did not know what street checks were. Most of the staff stated that street checks were "carding", which they described as "just checking ID" and getting information about who you are, who you are related to, any warrants you might have outstanding, and generally being nosy about who is in the neighbourhood. Several participants noted that a police request for identification without reason put them "on guard."

Similarly, the staff of a community organization that works with newcomers displayed a mixed understanding of street checks. Members of the group were unable to define what a street check was and there was considerable uncertainty reflected in their remarks. A number of participants believed that a street check was a vehicle or traffic stop, while one staff member described street checks as "random interactions."

The Issues Surrounding Street Checks as Reflective of Challenges Faced by Indigenous Persons in the Criminal Justice System

The staff in one Indigenous service organization described the police generally as being very authoritarian and as having poor communications skills. Several noted that the police expected respect, but did not respect others. The participants expressed no, or very limited, trust in the police complaint process and noted that when a complaint was made, the police side was taken as truth because they are "stronger and believed" or they lied. They relayed similar concerns about police being believed in court.

Several of the staff noted that the justice system in general, and the police complaint process in particular, were not user-friendly. Their view was that the complaints of Indigenous persons were not given priority. Several staff members indicated that they were not familiar with how to file a complaint against a police officer.

Building Relationships

All of the staff of an Indigenous community organization agreed that they all knew good police officers and acknowledged that it was important for police to build relationships with people. Engaging in a friendly and professional manner was viewed is crucial to building public trust and confidence in the police. This view reflected the importance assigned to procedural justice.

One participant in a focus group session involving staff members from an Indigenous organization noted that it takes time and energy to build police/community relationships. The staff member related an experience in their school where when an officer came to the school and children would cry and cling to teachers. The officer returned repeatedly and interacted with the children, and children now high-five the officer when he appears.

Adults report fear and discomfort with police when stopped, especially because the police officers often do not explain why they are stopping people. Participants noted that many of their clients are “terrified of police” and feel they don’t have an option except to cooperate with police when they are stopped, so comply. They don’t know their rights , understand the legal system, legal processes and implications of their actions, and the police do not inform them of their rights. They went on to say that, even if police told them they didn’t have to talk to the police, they would comply for fear of being “slammed on a car”. So, in the words of one participant, we just “live with it”. Participants also noted that police were suspicious and demanding of people who didn’t provide identification, leading to defensiveness on both sides.

Several participants reinforced that they felt that officers sidestep their responsibility to tell people about their rights. The general feeling among the group was that the onus is on police to make sure the public is aware of their rights and that NGOs should support those efforts. They

suggested advocates could play a role in this process. Several participants felt there should be a report written on every street check.

Participants felt that rights-focused diversity training and awareness training on Indigenous culture and engagement with Indigenous peoples could be helpful in building trust. They view police as very para-military in their approaches. They also felt that police would benefit from education on building professional interactions with the various communities, and emphasized that the ability to articulate why an individual is stopped is crucial and could help alleviate some of the fear and negative feelings related to street checks. Participants noted that as social workers they have to complete 100 hours of practicums with other agencies. They felt that a similar program for police could help to improve both police and social worker understanding of issues and needs, and establish connections for working collaboratively to achieve better results.

Responses Of The Staff Of An Indigenous Organization To The Discussion Questions In The Province Of Alberta Street Checks And Policing Guideline

The staff of one Indigenous organization responded to an invitation to participate in the present study by submitting written responses to the questions posed in the survey conducted by the province of Alberta in 2017 and included in the *Street Checks and Policing Guideline: An Engagement Discussion Guide*. Selected comments from this submission are presented below.

General Comments About Relations with the EPS and Street Checks

> *"For the most part, our youth have been street checked but our youth are comprised largely of high risk vulnerable youth and are well-known to police. If they have no warrants, there isn't a problem."*

> *"Some important elements to include in a guideline for street checks are for them to be done on everyone, not just people who look the part. People who have been checked should be entitled to request the information gathered and have the option to have the information that is gathered deleted from EPS files."*

"Police should be respectful and abide by the rules set before them when they become police officers. Too many times our youth noted that police have been belligerent and assumed guilt before further inspection."

"If street checks are done as they said they are done, no information would be shared with the public as it is claimed to contain personal information. What should be shared is how many street checks have been done and perhaps what crimes, if any, street checks have prevented."

"The police should be transparent in their interactions with the public, especially when information is being collected and stored."

"Yes, a distinction should be made between information collection and requesting identification. Street checks claim to be simple information gathering, whereas requesting identification means that the officer is working a case and looking for a certain person tied to a crime."

"Individuals who have gone through a street check should be given the ability to delete any information collected from a street check. Perhaps after a certain amount of time has passed. Especially if the information collected has no appropriate use to the police."

"Emphasize transparency so officers naturally indicate that the information is voluntarily given; unbiased street checks so officers naturally check everyone and not just people who look the part."

"Have trauma-informed training so that officers understand that someone presenting as suspicious is actually fighting something engrained in them from previous generations."

"Just be honest and upfront about what is happening during the interaction. If an officer remembers his or her training, it should go smoothly."

"To reiterate, transparency by the officer is paramount in street check interactions. The intergenerational trauma of the person being checked kicks into high gear right when they see a police officer approaching them. Their reaction is out of their control. An officer can diffuse the situation by being up front with what is happening. Perhaps by having a liaison with them to explain to the individual in layman terms what is happening."

"The EPS could host more community-focused gatherings, such as BBQs, sporting events, open houses, etc. To get a positive light shining on them."

Responses to Specific Questions

Question 1: Not all Albertans have experienced a street check, and among those who have, the experience has not always been the same. Please describe your experiences of those of the organization you represent with street checks.

"The clients we work with have indicated they have been stopped for no reason, and that the interactions with police have been negative."

"How could the interaction not be negative? People are stopped for no reason other than their appearance – they look native."

"Our clients feel visible minorities seem to be stopped for no reason, and that this is a discriminatory practice."

"Our clients feel their human rights and privacy are ignored, by mostly non-Indigenous police officers."

QUESTION 2. In thinking about the idea behind guidelines for street checks, what do you think are the most important elements to include/consider?

"Anyone involved in a street check should fully understand their rights and understand they have a right to walk away, if not being detained. People know they have the right to remain silent and should be advised of this at the beginning of the conversation."

"Police should be required to explain why they initiated the check. Their initial contact should be non-invasive and non-combative."

"People need to know they have the right to know a police officer's name and badge number."

"People need to know they have the right to know they can report a police officer who abuses them or violates their rights."

"The EPS should monitor street checks - the number of police checks initiated by which officer, and the reasons for the stops. This might provide some telling information."

QUESTION 3. In general, what are your expectations of police when they interact with members of your community and/or your organization?

> *"Regarding street checks, the expectation is that police officers are conducting street checks for a reason. The fact that a person is Indigenous is NOT a reason."*

> *"We expect that an individual refusing to cooperate should not be considered a failure to comply."*

> *"Learning how to casually interact with community members will be very difficult, especially with Indigenous people, given the past experiences."*

> *"However, the police need to start somewhere, and maybe just stopping to talk to people, with no ulterior motive, is a beginning."*

An example from a staff member: her son and friends were stopped by an RCMP officer who gave his name and told them he was trying to get to know the people in the community. After he gave his name, the boys did the same, and there was a conversation about football. It was that simple. The point of this is the importance of creating a relationship that is respectful and meaningful to both parties.

> *"We would like to see more interaction on a social level – there doesn't always have to a policing reason to drop by an organization or to talk to an individual or group."*

For example, [we] run [a facility] which is transition housing for people between the ages of 18 and 30. Whenever a police officer comes into the cafeteria, all conversation by the residents stops. This is due to experiences pretty much every individual has had with the police. Organize with the Manager to drop by for lunch – just to have lunch!

QUESTION 4. How do you think the street check guidelines should address public sharing or reporting of statistical data collected on street checks?

> *"The public sharing of information could be with the agencies that work with the subjects of the police checks. The point of this would be to talk about why people were stopped, and the outcome. This information could form the basis of building relationships in the community."*

QUESTION 5. Should police tell people in advance that giving information during a street check is voluntary? Why or why not?

"If it is a police check, yes they should. For casual conversations, then no, there is no need."

QUESTION 6. In a street situation should there be a distinction between asking for personal information and producing identification? Why or why not?

"If the street check is for just cause, then the police officer should be asking for identification. However, the police officer should also give a reason why it is a street check."

QUESTION 7. Personal information collected by the police in Alberta is covered under FOIP (municipal police) and Privacy Act (RCMP). Please provide input on what else would help ensure that personal information that is collected is used appropriately.

"The personal information should never be shared."

"A question – is data collected on the police officers for the number of street checks initiated by each officer, the ethnicity of the persons stopped, and reason for the stop. This should be collected and that information used by EPS to delve into who is stopping who, and why."

QUESTION 8. Proper training is an important factor in ensuring police can properly perform street checks according to the guideline. What requirements should be put in place for police officer training in the context of street checks?

"The training should include relationship building, cultural knowledge, and historic trauma."

"The training in these areas needs to be in-depth and should be done by an Indigenous agency, not a consultant. {the organization] has invested a significant amount of time developing training on historic trauma. This training has also been delivered to Legal Aid and to the EPS."

"Cultural knowledge is also incorporated in [the organization] training, as well as in the programs we deliver. This is the type of cultural knowledge required by police officers."

"Including an overview of historic trauma and cultural knowledge, the training should then be tailored to address the issue of street checks."

QUESTION 9. It is also important for the public to be aware of their rights, responsibilities and the complaint and oversight mechanisms in place related to policing. How do you think this can be improved upon?

> *"A suggestion: partner with an Indigenous agency to be the street liaison between the EPS and the target population."*

> *"Working in conjunction with the police, be the 'information giver' to community members. This not only gives the information but it is also the beginning of relationship building."*

QUESTION 10. Sometimes people may have different views on when psychological restraint occurs. The courts ultimately decide if there has been a detention, but with regards to psychological restraint, can you or your organization's members identify specific issues that you would like to see addressed?

Not answered.

QUESTION 11. Beyond street checks, can you suggest one or two ways to improve or strengthen the relationship among Albertans, communities and police? Please consider the diversity of Albertans in your responses.

> *"Most importantly, creating opportunities for conversation with the Indigenous communities – just to talk would go a long way to better relationships."*

> *"Stop harassing the chronic homeless about being on the street, with open alcohol. If there is no belligerence, then the street people should be left alone."*

> *"On a daily basis, the Indigenous Court Workers in Edmonton see many Indigenous people who are chronically homeless or with long-term addictions or mental health issues. They are constantly coming to the courthouse with tickets to alcohol. They don't stop drinking; The tickets are not a deterrent, but it sure clogs up the system."*

Experiences With And Perspectives Of Private Security

Although not a focus of the present study, a number of the community representatives and persons from communities of diversity mentioned encounters with private security personnel.

The staff in one community service organization in the downtown core expressed concerns with non-police personnel, more specifically Peace Officers and private security personnel. These staff members indicated that sworn officers are more professional in their interactions with the community and their behaviour in encounter situations than non-police personnel who were perceived to be more aggressive. As well, many at-risk youth in the focus groups stated that they felt "targeted" by private security.

An at-risk youth in one of the focus groups related an incident in which the youth and a friend had been downtown during the day and had purchased a chocolate bar from a store. Her friend was eating the bar in another store when a security guard approached and accused him of shoplifting. The boy denied it and was willing to provide a receipt, but the security guard ignored and detained him, calling the police. The youth stated that the security guard pinned her friend to the ground and kept his knee in the boy's back until a police officer arrived, who immediately de-escalated the situation.

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF EPS SENIOR MANAGEMENT

Interviews were conducted with senior officers and civilian managers in the EPS.

The Use Of Street Checks

The Chief noted that the EPS is challenged to address negative perceptions that surround street checks. In his view, more conversations and engagement are needed to build trust and demystify and alleviate fears of street checks. This is challenging at a time where there have been significant increases in calls for service and the time that patrol officers have for proactive policing has decreased to 10 percent.

The Chief indicated being open to exploring how street checks could be incorporated into the EPS website and the use of other ways for "getting the story out." The Chief also stated that the EPS was working with a sub-group of the CAC on a campaign to increase public awareness that street checks are designed to keep them safe, and that significant restrictions on sharing information contained in the SCRs would not prevent persons from crossing a border or getting a job. The Chief also highlighted that the EPS is focusing on assisting vulnerable persons rather than arresting them.

Several of the senior managers indicated that they were concerned about the impact of the negative narrative surrounding street checks on their officers. In their view, it was important to ensure that members not believe everything they saw and heard on social media, with one officer stating, "Members are worried about political correctness. Will they get in trouble if they do/don't do something?"

A number of senior officers noted that demonstrating the value of street checks was critical, especially for communities of diversity, with one member stating it is important to ask, "Why we are doing street checks?" and to "talk about how they benefit the community. We should be asking the question, 'If police stopped coming into the community, would that be a good or bad thing?'"

Several executive members and senior officers viewed the lack of EPS capacity as a big challenge. One executive officer noted, "The public is asking for the police to be more visible, however with increasing crime and calls for service this is problematic."

While senior-level officers acknowledged that some groups in the community have advocated banning street checks, the directive from the Chief's office is that street checks will continue. The Chief's view is that street checks are not a priority issue for most Edmontonians. He noted that a public satisfaction survey conducted in 2016 showed that the top priorities for citizens was for the EPS to increase traffic enforcement and to increase public engagement. The Chief acknowledged, however, that the persons responding to the survey may be the least likely to be subjected to street checks.

The Chief's views were echoed by several senior operational managers. For example, one patrol Superintendent, whose area included a large East African and Muslim immigrant community and high rates of crime, stated that street checks were not an issue for most of the community.

Members of the senior management team indicated that they regularly consulted with diverse community groups within their areas of responsibility on issues and, in their view, there are no significant problems with street checks. Rather, as a senior member of the department stated, "The more vocal groups are focused on keeping the issue alive and grabbing profile. Others say these groups don't represent their interests."

One Superintendent felt that U.S. television, coupled with the personal experiences of many immigrants, promoted fear and worry, and feelings that "the public is mad at them. They don't understand the difference between traffic stops and street checks." This results in criticism of the police who are "trying to do a good job."

Another senior officer highlighted that, "Some people view an SCR as a criminal record that may prevent them from travelling and affect their employment. They are not aware that Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) does not get this information. There's a need to communicate what is and what is not a street check to increase the public understanding."

One member of the executive noted, "A number of people in the community do not understand what street checks are, or the value they have." He highlighted the work of the CAC/CLCs, EPS work on *What is a Street Check?*, and media interviews the Chief has done to help to improve this understanding.

The Quality Of Street Checks

In the interviews, senior management noted that the 2016 street check review resulted in practices and processes being tightened up. They also credited the review and centralization of the SCR approval process in 2017 with improving the quality of SCRs. Reports deemed unacceptable are returned to the writer to be reworked, resubmitted on another form, or cancelled. The director of the Intelligence Production Division estimated that approximately 10-15% of the SCRs are returned for further work by the officer who prepared them. If an officer is subject to repeated returns, the Division Inspector will reach out to the member's supervisor to determine how best to support that member. In addition, quality assurance reviews are conducted two times per year. In addition, quality assurance reviews are conducted two times per year.

A senior officer stated, "Members understand the highly political nature of street checks. The practice of street checks is legally and practically sound." A Superintendent noted that since the practice of using street checks as a performance measure has been discontinued, stating, "the focus now is on quality rather than quantity." He also indicated that there had been a significant decrease in the number of SCRs produced by patrol and beat officers in his Division since that time.

Another senior officer stated that maintaining quality requires "focusing police education on the context of street checks, lawful authorities, detention, and on psychological detention, which is especially subjective for vulnerable people." The officer also stated that, "Ensuring our policy and procedure are sound, that members are well supported, and that evaluations demonstrate consistency is critical."

Several of the senior officers indicated that the EPS was currently "handcuffed" by the Records Management System (RMS) that does not define categories, e.g. investigation; disorder, vulnerable person; observations, and there is no ability to separate them and no other mechanisms to do so other than in an SCR. This is a major contributor to the high number of SCRs approved in 2017 that were not compliant with EPS street check guidelines.

The Street Check Encounter and Officer Interpersonal Skills

A patrol Superintendent noted that younger officers find face-to-face interactions challenging, as they prefer the use of technology rather than applying interpersonal skills to communicate. The Superintendent noted, "They need to learn and appreciate that you cannot understand a community through a text." Another expressed concern that some officers do not adequately articulate the reason for conducting a street check and, in some cases, are challenged to define psychological detention, indicating that this is especially problematic for people who may not be familiar with Canadian law and who don't know their rights.

To address these issues, the senior managers indicated that considerable emphasis was placed on how street checks were conducted. One officer stated, "Officers need to consider if their approach is inhibiting two-way dialogue", while another noted, "We want people to know their legal rights. It enables police to do their job. Police officers need to consider the rights of the community."

Patrol Superintendents noted that they have received only a few complaints about police interactions with the public and have received no complaints about street checks. One Superintendent noted that "the majority of complaints received are about officer rudeness and incomplete investigations."

Racial Profiling versus Criminal Profiling

The view of senior management and other EPS members who were interviewed was that racial profiling was not prevalent among EPS officers. In their view, the focus of EPS street checks is on activities and crime rather than persons. As an officer in the Specialized Investigations Division

stated, “Officers need to focus on profiling behaviour and circumstances rather than the individual.” Another investigator added, “Checks are conducted based on criminal data and problems and concerns in neighbourhoods, and are also used as a tool to identify and help vulnerable people who are often susceptible to victimization.”

One Superintendent stated:

> *“We want police and the people in our communities to know their legal rights. It enables the police to do their job. Police officers need to consider the rights of the community. They need to focus on profiling behaviour and circumstances rather than the individual. Doing it right can help to make connections and linkages.”*

This member went on to comment that, “ The bulk of members don’t profile race. There is a lot of ongoing training and discussion about lawful, fair, and impartial policing.”

One senior EPS officer noted “Street checks are about activities, not people. Their value is in associating crime and disorder in a particular area with people. Context and articulation of context is critical.” With respect to the race of the person who is stopped, a senior officer noted, “Members will not ask individuals about their race. Any comments on race in the SCR are based purely on observation. However, if an individual is already in the records management system and race has been captured, that information will autofill on the street check report.”

Another Superintendent noted that officers focus on crime and the locations in which it is occurring, and then focus on people in those areas. While a portion of the population may feel they are being profiled and stopped too many times, this Superintendent felt that the amount of crime in a neighbourhood may dictate multiple stops.

A senior investigations officer stated that, “The trafficking and exploitation unit finds street checks valuable to know where sex trade workers are working and living, and who they are associating with.”

The officers noted that street checks have proven valuable for concluding investigations ranging from homicides to missing persons. The SCRs are also viewed by senior management as useful in linking information and connecting crime in a particular area to specific persons. As one officer stated, "Doing it right can help to make connections and linkages."

A senior officer estimated that 70-75 percent of persons who are street checked have a criminal record. This officer expressed the view that officers should not be required to give warnings to people they are street checking. The concern is that no one will speak to officers and that this will result in officers no longer stopping and speaking with people.

Building Community Trust Through Engagement

The EPS Executive and senior management team expressed pride in the positive working relationships the EPS had with Edmonton communities and the work being done by the Chief's CAC and the CLCs. A number of these members spoke about their involvement in the CLCs and the value of maintaining relationships with communities of diversity. Many senior officers highlighted the community engagement efforts of the Community Operations Support Unit (COSU) and Indigenous Liaison Unit and noted that they have worked with these units on diversity-related issues.

One senior executive member cited the importance of current developmental work being done to introduce an Indigenous Community Engagement Strategy, and felt that the lessons learned in the development of this strategy could be applied to the development of engagement strategies with other communities of diversity.

Maintaining and building public trust was repeatedly cited as an important focus of the EPS. For example, one senior executive member reinforced that the most important component of community engagement for police is building trust by listening to diverse communities, and then speaking, and putting into context, what was happening in Edmonton. This officer noted that, especially for newcomers whose opinions have been shaped by their experiences with

police brutality and corruption, it was important for the police to proactively meet with them in a neutral, non-authoritarian way and to build relationships.

This officer emphasized the need for police to approach challenges proactively and to learn from past experiences. An example was cited where the EPS had been reactive with one group of newcomers, with negative results. They learned from this experience, and when the next wave of newcomers arrived, police officers in plain clothes met and welcomed the newcomers at their arrival at the airport, and several weeks later met them again, this time in uniform. Their response to police was much more positive.

The senior officers noted there were challenges in building relationships with some communities of diversity. As an example, one executive member stated, "There are a number of vocal minority groups bringing forward issues that are not relative in the Edmonton context, and although the EPS has had discussions with them, there has not been an effective two-way dialogue."

A Superintendent whose division includes large populations of Indigenous, East African and Muslim immigrants and refugees, noted that he and several of his officer have established good relationships with the Indigenous and Muslim schools in the area. Another senior officer stated, "If you want to increase credibility, trust and confidence you need to convince the public that we are acting in good faith. This includes meeting with immigrant communities."

As a Superintendent in charge of one division stated, "I continue to tell supervisors and members 'get out of your cars.'" The Superintendent also noted:

> *"We are working on focused problem solving by using community liaison officers who are working with district leads for each squad in each of the eight districts. These are intelligence-driven, self-directed activities. The idea is for the Community Liaison Officers to mentor, train and coach patrol members in how to conduct activities, including street checks."*

A number of the senior officers noted that identifying who speaks for whom in diverse communities has added considerable complexity to addressing variable community needs.

A senior executive member noted that "youth outreach is very important." He is currently working with a University of Alberta professor on a resiliency project aimed at better understanding radicalized youth and developing tools and social supports for these youth before they become a public safety threat.

A senior officer identified a number of challenges in addressing the issue of street checks with communities of diversity. These included identifying community leaders: "It's tough to figure out who speaks for who, and who accepts who as community leaders"; demonstrating the value of street checks: "Why we are doing street checks and how it benefits the community; and, asking the question, 'if police stopped coming into the community, would that be a good or bad thing?'"; following sound protocol: "ensuring our policy and procedure are sound, that members are well supported, and that evaluations demonstrate consistency"; and, officer training: "focusing on lawful authorities, detention, psychological detention, which is especially subjective for vulnerable people and the context of the street check."

The Chief noted that the EPS is challenged to address negative perceptions about street checks. He and the senior management and supervisors identified the need for more conversations and engagement with communities of diversity in order to build trust and to demystify and alleviate fears that persons have of street checks.

The EPS Emerging Communities Framework was cited as an initiative that reflected the service's commitment to developing positive relationships with communities and maintaining an ongoing dialogue.

EPS documentation defines new and emerging communities "as being small in number, newly arrived", and as having the following attributes: 1) a significant increase in numbers in the past five years; 2) lacking established family networks, support systems, community structures and resources, in comparison to more established communities; and, 3) may be more vulnerable

than established communities as persons may have been refugees and experienced displacement and conflict; 4) comprised of persons with low education and skill levels and a lack of English skills; 5) comprised of persons with little knowledge of community services; and 6) tend not to be associated with community organizations that can secure resources (EPS Briefing Note, "Emerging Communities Framework", May 4, 2016).

Building Officer Competencies for Effective Community Engagement

A member of the EPS executive highlighted that it was critical that young officers gain a good understanding early in their careers of the significant sphere of influence they have, simply by virtue of being a police officer. He also noted the importance of "ensuring police officers have and take opportunities to expose themselves to communities of diversity", and the importance of "having the EPS provide officers with learning opportunities, tools, and access to resources to assist them in building and fixing relationships that can provide substantial returns on investment."

A senior officer in the Professional Development Branch indicated that there is a continuous review of training to ensure it is focused on community engagement, and that policing is bias and harassment-free. Another senior officer stated that it was important to introduce the concept of street checks and their value to EPS and the community early in the training process, although expressed concern that most members with less than three years' experience have limited capacity understand this, as they are trying to absorb a lot of information. He notes that it is important for members to remain current with trends, and that, because they will not be able to recall all of the information they received, the EPS must ensure that they have ready access to information as they require it, whether that is through enquiries through their supervisor or peers, or online.

A senior manager indicated that considerable emphasis is placed on how street checks are conducted. One officer stated, "Officers need to consider if their approach is inhibiting two-way dialogue", while another noted, "We want people to know their legal rights. It enables police to do their job. Police officers need to consider the rights of the community."

The prevailing view of some senior managers is that the current training, including street check training, does an adequate job of reinforcing officers of their powers and authorities. Every officer receives a legal studies manual that covers the basics including elements of arrest. In addition, as one Superintendent noted, "When it comes to diversity and intercultural matters it is important not to make assumptions and to ask questions. All members have access to well-informed legal advisers 24/7 if they have questions or require information. "

In addition to incorporating street check training into recruit training, all front-line members received training on legal powers, conducting street checks, and street check reporting requirements and processes. Senior officers also noted that new recruits receive training in bias awareness, Indigenous community history, and diverse communities. They emphasized the need for all members to understand and apply the concepts of procedural justice, and to ensure that police interactions with the public were respectful.

A senior officer noted that training emphasized the need for clarity and understanding of the notions of investigative detention and arrest, stating "Police need to know whether a stop is arbitrary or not. They need to understand the law and apply it appropriately." Another Superintendent stated, "Verbal communication is a perishable skill. Supervisors must continually check in with their officers. We have 18-month members training recruits."

A senior officer cautioned that, "We're doing a good job of education, but with the increase in call volumes over the past few years, large divisions are creating a generation of call takers rather than investigators."

Senior officers interviewed identified that more training should be provided on how to articulate the reasons for why officers do what they do, including in conducting street checks. Several senior officers expressed concern that the EPS does not have the resources to provide more in-depth training. Another senior officer noted that "supervisors need to be able to explain the rationale for conducting street checks correctly to their officers, along with the need for consistency in street checks and in the preparation of SCRs, and a need to identify and resolve any issues at an early stage."

The EPS has a variety of initiatives designed to establish and enhance community engagement. Members of the senior management team indicated that diverse community groups are regularly consulted on issues and, in their view, there are no significant problems. Rather, as a senior member of the department stated, "The more vocal groups are focused on keep the issue alive and grabbing profile. Others say these groups don't represent their interests."

In 2016, the EPS won the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) Human Rights Award for the department's work with communities of diversity (http://www.edmontonpolice.ca/News/SuccessStories/IACP2016.aspx). EPS will be capturing race data for the 2018 satisfaction survey to determine if/how ethnicity influences perceptions

A senior officer in the training section indicated that there is a continuous review of training to ensure it is focused on community engagement, and that policing is bias and harassment free. One strategy that is being used is "speed dating type training", during which recruits have the opportunity to speak with representatives of communities of diversity about a variety of topics.

A Superintendent noted, "When it comes to diversity and intercultural matters it is important not to make assumptions and to ask questions." All members have access to well-informed legal advisers 24/7 if they have questions or require information.

There is also the Community Operations Support Unit and Indigenous Liaison Unit which is involved in a number of outreach activities. These include working with the PYEP and the Askayak Police Academy, a one-year, credited educational program; presentations to immigrant and refugee groups in the community; outreach to the LGBTQ community through the Chief's CLC; cultural safety and bias awareness training; and, the police and community engagement (PACE) team. The members of this unit indicated that the response to these and other initiatives has been positive. Members in this unit indicated, as of early 2018, the mandate, priorities, and plan for this unit were being developed.

Training

All front-line officers receive training on related legal powers and conducting street check practices and reporting processes. The senior-level officers indicated that new recruits receive bias awareness training, Indigenous community history, and diverse communities. As well, the recruits receive training in effective communications, police legitimacy, and procedural justice. The focus is on ensuring that police interactions with the public are respectful. Recruit and in-service. training for front line officers includes components on bias awareness, community engagement, diversity, and street checks. Members have been provided with some training to improve cultural awareness

A senior officer noted that training emphasized the need for clarity and understanding of the notions of investigative detention and arrest. As a senior officer stated, "Police need to know whether a stop is arbitrary or not. They need to understand the law and apply it appropriately." A Superintendent stated, "Verbal communication is a perishable skill. Supervisors must continually check in with their officers. We have 18-month members training recruits."

The senior officers noted the on-line bias awareness course that was available for members and could be taken by officers on a voluntary basis. A challenge that was noted is how to integrate bias awareness and other issues related to policing and street checks with the other components of training.

There is a requirement that general duty members complete four days of annual training. In 2017, this mandatory training for front line officers included a two-hour component on street checks. The training was delivered in core training for patrol sergeants and new sergeant supervisors and in the basic Investigative Excellence courses for investigators.

A senior officer cautioned that, "We're doing a good job education, but with the increase in call volumes over the past few years, large divisions are creating generation call takers rather than investigators."

The Northwest Patrol Division

The issues surrounding street checks identified by the senior officers are illustrated in the Northwest Patrol Division. This division covers an area that has high violent and property crime rates in the area, including homicides, robberies, sexual violence aggravated assaults, thefts over $5000, break and enters, and thefts of and from vehicle. There has also been an increase in disorder due, in part, to vulnerable persons being "pushed" out of the downtown core. These present significant challenges for police officers.

This Division includes large Indigenous and immigrant/refugee populations (East African, Muslim) in the 118 Avenue area. The Superintendent responsible for the Division indicated that the police have established good relationships with the Indigenous school and the Muslim school in the area. The majority of street checks are conducted by 12 beat officers working in the 118 Avenue area. The Superintendent has received only a few complaints about police interactions with the public in his Division, and no complaints about street checks. The complaints received are generally about officer rudeness and incomplete investigations.

In the Superintendent's view, street checks are not an issue for most of the community. However, some officers do not adequately articulate the reason for conducting a street check and, in some cases, are challenged to define lawful placement and psychological detention. This is especially problematic for people who may not be familiar with Canadian law and who don't know their rights.

The Superintendent noted that officers focus on crime and the locations in which it is occurring, and that the focus then is on people in those areas. While a portion of the population may feel they are being profiled and stopped too many times, this officer felt that the amount of crime in a neighbourhood may dictate multiple stops.

The Superintendent felt that the street check training and bias awareness training had been helpful in helping officers understand multiple community perspectives. However, a big challenge, and barrier, for younger officers, is the preferred use of technology rather than applying interpersonal skills. The officer stated, "They need to learn and appreciate that you

cannot understand a community through text." Another challenge is that crime in the division has increased considerably in the past few years while, at the same time, officers have very little proactive time.

The Superintendent noted that, going forward, there was a need to focus on effectiveness through continual evolution. More police-community conversations are needed. Supervisors need to explain the rationale for conducting street checks correctly to their officers, there is a need for consistency in street checks and in the preparation of SCRs, and a need to identify and resolve any issues at an early stage.

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF EPS SWORN AND CIVILIAN MEMBERS

The focus group discussions with EPS sworn and civilian operational support members covered a wide range of issues related to policing the city generally, and, more specifically, the use of street checks as a policing strategy.

Key themes that emerged from the discussions were: 1) the lack of training about street checks and the lack of consistency in the application of the EPS street check guidelines; 2) the value of the information contained in SCRs for crime analysis and case investigation and protecting vulnerable and marginal persons; 3) the issues surrounding training for recruits and other members of the department in conducting street checks and preparing SCRs; 4) the importance of officers documenting in the SCRs the context within which street checks are conducted; 5) the need for officers to have the required interpersonal skills to properly conduct street checks; and, 6) the role of the EPS in educating the public about street checks and in building collaborative relationships with communities. The materials gathered in the focus groups revealed a degree of disconnect between the perspectives of senior management and line-level officers.

The Controversy Over Street Checks

Many of the officers expressed concern that the department was not effectively defending police practices, including street checks, with one officer stating, “There has been a shortfall when it comes to defending our practices. We need to provide facts to substantiate that we are not profiling.” There was a broadly-shared view that EPS members did not racially profile in conducting street checks, although it was acknowledged that it was possible that profiling by individual officers could occur.

There is concern among officers that conducting street checks may, as one officer stated, "get me in trouble" and, as such, there is often a hesitancy to write them. Various opinions were offered by the officers as to whether, given the current political climate, street checks could, and should, continue to be used as a police strategy. Sworn and civilian members of the EPS commented on how the practice of street checks had become politicized due to negative publicity and media reports. One officer asked, "To what extent is the organization influenced by all of the noise that is going on? "

EPS Street Check Policy and Procedures

The responses of the EPS members in the focus group sessions revealed that there were various interpretations of the street check policy and procedures and the department's expectations for conducting street checks and completing SCRs. For example, there were a variety of perspectives among the officers as to what constituted a quality street check and a quality SCR.

Even with the centralization of the review process for SCRs, the officers noted that EPS managers and supervisors had a role in ensuring quality control of SCRs, in coaching and mentoring officers in the conduct of street checks, and in recognizing good police work related to street checks.

The Centralization of the Street Check Review Process

There were mixed views of the centralization of the street check approval process. A number of the officers felt that it had resulted in fewer, but higher quality, checks. However, a number of supervisors expressed concern that the centralization of the street check approval process had limited their ability to properly supervise, guide, coach and mentor staff on the use of street checks and to review and provide feedback on the content of SCRs. Front-line officers were also concerned abut the lack of supervision and mentorship from their supervisors.

This concern is reflected in the following, selected comments:

> *"Removing a direct supervisor from the approval process shouldn't absolve supervisors of the work being done or not done by their members. They have*

lost the ability to do quality control of individual reports; however, it is still important to know who your members are.

"The centralization of the audit system has not solved the problem of when street checks should and should not be used."

"It's difficult to submit a report to an unknown stranger in an unknown area. Information, mentorship, trust and respect have been lost. There needs to be good relationships with supervisors. Supervisors won't be concerned if they don't know there is a problem."

"There is very little mentorship and coaching of officers from their supervisors regarding conducting street checks, so the officers do not necessarily know if the street checks they are doing are correct or useful."

"Supervisors don't know if, or what, their members are doing. They can check to see the street check reports members have submitted once they have been added to the database, but getting at that information is awkward and time consuming."

The Lack Of Consistency and Standardization

A key theme in the comments of the sworn and civilian members was the need for a street check policy that could be applied consistently. One officer stated:

"There is a need for consistency and a clear strategy. We need to know what a street check is and when it needs to be put in. Recent training tightened the scope but there are still real differences."

The officers in the focus groups sessions noted that, even among officers on the same team, there were misunderstandings about SCRs. As one officer stated, "There is variation among the supervisors. Some want street checks done, and others don't. We need consistency about why we are doing it or why we are not doing it. We need a consistent policy".

Additional comments made by officers with respect to the issue of consistency included:

"We get mixed messages. If we can't be consistent internally, what can we expect externally? We need to standardize SCRs; what's accepted and what is

> *not. If standardized, it should be part of performance assessment. It should state, 'From this point on, this is what an SCR is.'"*
>
> *"The biggest problem is inconsistency in the department."*
>
> *"A lack of consistency in when and how street check reports are used is an issue."*
>
> *"I don't know if something should be the subject of a street check. Are we writing too many? Too few? Who understands what every police officer may know or need to know? Based on what? For what purpose? That variation is part of the problem."*

Commenting on the need to standardize the practice of street checks, one officer noted that, "It comes down to standardization between what's accepted and what is not." Unfortunately, the comments of the officer suggest that there are, in the words of another officer, "mixed messages internally about SCRs."

The following example was cited by an officer:

> *"We are questioning ourselves. We sometimes get our report back. It is situation dependent. 'Great that you included white runners.' Next check, 'Why do you have this in your information?' Filters are being applied and reports keep coming back. It makes people not want to write SCRs in the first place."*

A point raised by officers was whether street check reports should have category controls to help prioritize information, such as whether the SCR was related to an occurrence, a traffic stop, or others event. One officer wondered what happened to the proactive category for reporting and noted that the current drop-down boxes are efficient but are limiting without context. This suggests there may be a need for the EPS to develop additional forms to capture information on encounters that do not fall within the purview of the EPS street check guidelines.

A concern is that the inconsistency in the application of EPS street check guidelines, coupled with the negative public narrative surrounding street checks, may lead officers to reduce or cease conducting stops. As one officer stated, "If newer officers are being told not to street

check or interact with people, it will create an environment and organization of no public contact. This is not ideal." This could result in de-policing, as officers reduce their proactive activities.

The officers agreed that improving the collection and use of SCR information has been an evolutionary process, one officer recalling, "We've bashed our heads along the way. We're learning. We're not going to use junk and we are teaching the importance of street checks." From the perspective of the officers in the focus groups, however, there were still challenges surrounding street checks.

The Use of Street Checks as a Performance Measure

The practice of using street checks as a performance measure has been formally discontinued. However, one officer noted that questions are still being asked as to why officers conduct, or do not conduct, street checks, stating, "There are questions about interactions. Downtown does 200 street checks. Other divisions do 20. Why?"

Several officers recalled when street checks were used as a performance measure:

> *"In the past, the higher ups were pushing for more street checks to be done. And more street checks were being done, but the quality was lacking. The information in them was repetitive and useless and never used."*
>
> *"If you weren't doing them, you weren't doing any work."*
>
> *"In the past the higher ups were pushing for more street checks to be done: 'If you want to go to beats, write SIRs'." (note: "street interaction reports"; the predecessor to SCRs)*
>
> *"Officers used to be required to meet minimums. They would do it, but many of the reports were crap because people didn't know what they were checking for."*
>
> *"The number of street checks I did got me into the Gang Unit. It was used as a cookie to get me something else."*

"Supervisors used to give out coffee cards in competitions."

"More street checks were being done, but the quality of them was lacking. The information in them was repetitive and useless and never used. Now the focus is on quality and the motivation to write them has been lost."

The officers had differing views as to whether street checks should be used as performance indicators, as reflected in the following comments:

"Street checks should be related to the performance package as a measure of your proactive police work. Writing street checks shows something. If we say we're not going to do them, then that sends the wrong message."

"It's a bad thing that SCRs are no longer used as a performance measure."

"Street checks should not to be used as a performance indicator. This sends the wrong message."

"Street check reports are used as a measure of productivity to award courses and justify why people are suitable for positions and promotions. Inspectors are promoting increased submissions of street check reports. People often use the system to their advantage with no regard for the 'garbage' they are producing. The reports are still used as a metric for work being done in the community, but I don't think they are used any longer for rewards."

Public Knowledge And Perceptions Of Street Checks

There was widespread agreement among the sworn and civilian members that the general public had very little information about street checks and that this contributed to the narrative that street checks reflected racial profiling and biased policing. A commonly-voiced view in the focus groups was that the EPS should develop a strategy to educate the public and counter what the officers perceived to be incorrect information about street checks.

Two officers commented on the consequences of the negative view of police that, in their view, had been created by the media and interest groups in the community:

> *"The media has poisoned what we do. In my area a 9-year-old girl was missing. I rolled up to four Black guys standing on a street corner because she was last seen walking in that direction. I said, 'How's it going?' They walked away before I had a chance to even ask them about the missing girl."*

> *"I walked into an elementary school and a 10-year-old Black child raised his hands and said, 'Don't shoot!' We need to address the issues about why this youth would have this perception of the police. A lot of it comes from television which we can't control."*

Many of the officers felt that the public supported them and expected them to do their duty, and that this duty included conducting street checks. Other officers felt that there were segments of the community that did not support them.

A number of participants felt that the media reports about street checks were incorrect and/or biased, but that they (the police) did not have the opportunity, in the words of one officer, "to set the record straight."

Another officer stated, "Street checks are a problem now based on public perceptions. Police know what a street check is. The public may not, except for small, loud groups saying street checks are biased policing. People love sensationalism and then the innuendos start."

Officers in the focus groups felt that the negative media attention surrounding street checks had a significant impact on the EPS and its officers. One officer stated, "The media provides inaccurate portrayals of police interaction with a person where an SCR is written."

One consequence is uncertainty surrounding the use of street checks and when checks should be conducted. As one officer stated, "I work for a very nervous service." Another officer offered, "Some members observe a traffic violation. When they run the plate and it comes up to a non-White, they don't stop the vehicle for fear for repercussions." Another officer agreed, stating, "Guys shy away from doing the job because they don't want the trouble." A senior officer

offered, “Members are worried about political correctness. Will they get in trouble if they do or don’t do something?”

There was widespread agreement among the crime analysts and officers that the EPS should improve communication with the public about street checks and their use. Among the comments of the officers:

> *“It’s time to inform the public what street checks actually are. A communication and education strategy can mitigate perceptions of a secret data bank. Anything that’s written is FOI-able. Education provides strength for positive reactions/outcomes.”*

> *“I would love to hear what the groups that criticize street checks feel is good or bad about street checks. Talking and educating is crucial to community-based policing. Is a problem check a one- off or systemic throughout the organization? Is profiling part and parcel of policing?”*

A major concern of the officers was what they perceived to be the media-controlled narrative surrounding police relations with communities of diversity generally, and street checks in particular. One officer stated that the media was “poisoning what we do. Moms still tell kids if they’re bad police will come and take them away. What’s needed to change that perspective?”

A challenge that was mentioned by several of the officers was public perceptions of street checks. Officers generally felt the public was uninformed about street checks and the contexts within which the checks are conducted. This is reflected in the following, selected comments of beat officers:

> *“The public doesn’t know what we deal with on an ongoing basis. They only have their perceptions.”*

> *“When people see someone talking to police, the public doesn’t know our history with the people we are checking, the context. The public doesn’t know what we do on a day-to-day basis. The customers in a 7-11 may see me ask a person to leave the premises. They wouldn’t know that this person often shoplifts from this store and that the management has asked us to remove them.”*

> *"The average citizen is unaware of the wide variety of factors that can result in an officer deciding to make a traffic stop, or to approach a person suspected of drug possession, or who is in a high-crime area and has had previous contact with the police."*
>
> *"The public doesn't know history of interactions with subjects. They only see us conducting a street check. The problem is greater if the police officer is White and they're not."*

These views contributed to the view held by many of the officers in the focus groups that there was a need to educate the public about street checks.

Building Relationships

The officers noted the importance of building relationships with the community and, in particular, communities of diversity. Several participants indicated that it was important to identify leaders in diverse communities who are connected with youth. Many noted that increasing public awareness and understanding of the street check process and the value of street checks would be beneficial. In the view of the officers, both the EPS and key stakeholders had a responsibility for developing and disseminating information and key messages about street checks and their value as a police strategy.

SCRS, Crime Analysis, and Case Investigation

The crime analysts, patrol officers, and officers in the investigative units view street checks as an invaluable tool in case investigations. A number of the officers indicated that only a relatively small number of the thousands of contacts they have with citizens result in an SCR, yet the information contained in these documents was deemed to be extremely valuable by the crime analysts, patrol and beat officers, and investigators in the specialty sections.

SCRs may be a component of the intelligence/investigative package. As one senior investigator stated, "Street checks are an investment in the future of your investigation. They open the door for evidence and investigation." The officers noted that, in order for a street check to be of any

use, it needed to be credible, compelling and corroborated. In the investigators' experience, a simple conversation could lead to something major being solved

The investigators also noted that there are times when the information in an SCR supports a suspect's alibi. There are instances in which the information contained in SCRs has been used to demonstrate that a crime did not occur.

Crime Analysis

The crime analysts commented on how information contained in the SCRs is used. They noted that the information is filtered and weighed, depending upon the relative importance of the information and the specific analysis that is being conducted. As one analyst stated, "We always look at street checks in the context of other information we have. We use street checks as one item of information for analysis It is never used as the only item."

The crime analysts use the information in the SCRs to connect information from a variety of sources. One analyst stated, "The associations can be loose, e.g. two known individuals or one known/one unknown." The analysts noted that information contained in SCRs is also very useful in assessing the value of associations among persons, e.g. how people were moving through the ranks of the Hells Angels. This information has potential value to both case investigators and to prosecutors.

As an investigator noted, "People are getting arrested because of the good street checks, not bad ones. Very innocuous information can be useful. For example, you find three guys coming out of a locker room where thefts occur. That information may prove useful at a later date."

Targeted initiatives involving street checks conducted by investigative units provide data that can be used by the crime analysts. One analyst provided this example:

> *"The Biker Unit has been doing a lot of street checks. Their Top 60 project results in bikers being checked multiple times in one day. This provided a lot of good information. Bikers were identified by names on jackets and also we were able to determine whether an individual had transitioned from Prospect to Full Patch member."*

However, the analysts also noted that there was variability in the usefulness of the information in the SCRs, one analyst stating:

> *"Sometimes SCRs are snippets of reports. Some are more valuable than others. Things appear to be getting better, but we are still seeing curfew checks written up in SCRs. These are offender management calls, not street checks."*

Several of the analysts felt that some officers might not be getting information from supervisors about how and when to complete them. This issue is discussed below.

Case Investigations

The information contained in the SCRs can play a significant role in case investigations. As one investigator noted, "For case investigators, street checks are a valuable source of information." Another stated that investigators are looking for little clues from many sources. One investigator noted, for example, that, "We can link clothing data from street checks to street investigations." Another investigator cited an example of the value of the information contained in SCRs where a partial plate captured in an SCR led to convictions in a multiple sexual assault investigation.

A detective in the Criminal Investigation Section stated, "On their own, street checks are innocuous, but as a whole, they are a major piece of an investigation puzzle as they can hold valuable information that can lead to an arrest as it corroborates information." This detective noted that, during a crime spree, an analyst will look at who has been street checked in the area and if there are any matching descriptions or previous arrests of those subjects being street checked." Another detective noted they had used SCRs to identify next-of-kin for a person with no criminal record who died in a collision.

The information contained in SCRs is also used in high-risk calls for service, such as cases of armed and barricaded persons. As one crime analyst stated, "Do they, for example, have a mental health issue? We can use tidbits of information from street checks to help the negotiators and mental health professionals who are in the command post."

The investigators also pointed out that the intelligence components of an SCR, including nicknames ("street names"), vehicles, and associations, are important components needed to tie together the pieces of evidence in a case. Knowing the street name of an individual, which would not otherwise be connected with a person's given name, is often a key piece of information in solving crimes. This information would be lost if street checks were banned.

Street checks can provide investigators with a qualitative understanding of lifestyles, places certain persons frequent, and other information that may be valuable in solving a crime. The value of the information contained in the SCRs is reflected in the following comments made by the investigators in the focus groups:

> *"Sometimes subtle information provides the best clues."*
>
> *"Street check reports are a wealth of knowledge. They are quick reads. Reading them and grabbing the intelligence is good for making warrant applications and conducting linkage analysis."*
>
> *"We need to conduct stops for intelligence reports. It is used for link analysis. If someone is missing or there is an assault or a homicide, the beat officers know the players because they have ongoing interactions with them. They know where they hang out, where they live, what they do."*

SCRs are also used in investigating historical files to identify associates who the investigators can speak with. As one investigator stated, "Perhaps 10 years ago they wouldn't talk; now they may. People's lives change." The information contained in the SCRs is not intelligence until a linkage is made. One officer stated, "You need to understand how information can be linked and shared to address crime, issues, and the needs of special populations." Another important aspect of street checks identified by the officers was information sharing, one officer stating, "The value of street checks is important only if the information is shared."

The cases presented in Table 26 illustrate the value of the information contained in SCRs in case investigations.

Table 26: The Role of SCRs in Selected Case Investigations

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Sexual Offences	2008 May	2017 April	A SCR assisted in the identification of a Sex Offender in the Edmonton area. The information is 9 years old but was still found to be of value recently.	Police responded to a complaint of an indecent act at a school yard. The suspect left prior to Police arrival, however Police obtained a partial but incomplete Alberta licence plate. The Sexual Assault Section Criminal Intelligence Analyst used this information to identify a Street Check Report from 2008 related to a male who had a history of these types of activities. The analyst accessed other external databases and determined the subject had numerous Indecent Exposure to Child charges from Calgary (CPS) in 2006. A review of the Calgary investigation revealed an MO very similar to what was occurring in several Edmonton files and prompted further investigation into this male for potential other incidents.
Homicide Investigation	1987 August	2009 June	A historical homicide case was concluded by arrest, charge and guilty plea based upon SCR information submitted 22 years earlier.	In 2009, Homicide investigators reviewing a historical homicide file located SCR information from 22 years earlier that identified a male who had committed a break and enter in 1987. The SCR revealed that this male had been identified by police in an area of close proximity and around the time of the homicide. It placed the male within walking distance of the homicide scene and around the time frame the murder was believed to have taken place. The SCR provided compelling evidence, presented to the Accused in a post-arrest interview which ultimately led to a full-confession.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Drug Investigation	2013 December	2014 May	This SCR was used in a CDSA warrant. The vehicle and the apartment building were critical corroboration pieces in the warrant. The subject's involvement with this address, or involvement in drug trafficking would not have been known without the SCR.	Police observed and identified a known offender operating a vehicle which he had never been seen in before. He was subject of a Street Check and a SCR was written. The vehicle he was operating was not registered in his own name and would not have been associated to him otherwise. The vehicle information in the SCR was then used to link this male to an address which he was not known to use. This male was later arrested and found to be operating this vehicle and using this address for drug trafficking.
Homicide Investigation	2015 May	2016 June	A Street Check and report assisted in identifying the suspect in a Homicide and provided insight as to motive.	Police responded to a violent murder of a female in 2016. The Criminal Intelligence Analyst searched the victim's history in the Police Records Database and located a Street Check report from 2015 that helped lead Police to identify the Accused. The victim had a history of living on the street, victimization and substance abuse. The victim was the focus of the SCR, documented a Street Check done by police, where the victim was checked due to their at-risk lifestyle and chance of victimization. The victim told Police she was trying to get into assisted living and related some issues she was having with associates who also lived on the street. One of these associates identified in the Street Check Report was arrested, convicted and sentenced to a life term in prison.
Robbery Investigation	2016 March	2016 August	A Street Check and report identified additional suspects in a liquor store Theft/Robbery series	Police responded to and investigated a series of liquor store thefts in July/August of 2016 conducted by three people. One suspect was subsequently identified.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
				A Street Check conducted a few months prior identified two other individuals associated to the robbery suspect.
				The two associates in this Street Check were then matched to the descriptions of the two unidentified suspects in one of the liquor store surveillance videos.
				The Robbery investigation resulted in charges not only against the original suspect, but based on the Street Check Report information, the two additional associates who were also charged.
Property Offences	2016 March	2016 March	A suspect involved in property crimes was identified from a SCR.	Police conducted an investigation into a Break and Enter investigation. The victim provided a brief suspect description including clothing. A check of SCR submission of the area identified a male matching that description, specifically by his clothing. The proximity and time of the SCR was close to that of the Break and Enter. This SCR was instrumental in identifying a suspect who was later arrested and charged.
Drug Investigation	2013 October	2013 October	Information submitted in an SCR was used to support a CDSA warrant, and resulted in the seizure of drugs and money.	Police conducted a street check and submitted an SCR in relation to two individuals found to be in possession of items commonly used for drug manufacturing and trafficking. This information was used in a CDSA Warrant application, which resulted in the seizure of a large quantity of controlled substances and money. Charges were laid, with the accused entering a guilty plea.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Sexual Offences	2008 May	2017 April	A SCR assisted in the identification of a Sex Offender in the Edmonton area. The information is 9 years old but was still found to be of value recently.	Police responded to a complaint of an indecent act at a school yard. The suspect left prior to Police arrival, however Police obtained a partial but incomplete Alberta licence plate. The Sexual Assault Section Criminal Intelligence Analyst used this information to identify a Street Check Report from 2008 related to a male who had a history of these types of activities. The analyst accessed other external databases and determined the subject had numerous Indecent Exposure to Child charges from Calgary (CPS) in 2006. A review of the Calgary investigation revealed an MO very similar to what was occurring in several Edmonton files and prompted further investigation into this male for potential other incidents.
Homicide Investigation	1987 August	2009 June	A historical homicide case was concluded by arrest, charge and guilty plea based upon SCR information submitted 22 years earlier.	In 2009, Homicide investigators reviewing a historical homicide file located SCR information from 22 years earlier that identified a male who had committed a break and enter in 1987. The SCR revealed that this male had been identified by police in an area of close proximity and around the time of the homicide. It placed the male within walking distance of the homicide scene and around the time frame the murder was believed to have taken place. The SCR provided compelling evidence, presented to the Accused in a post-arrest interview which ultimately led to a full-confession.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Drug Investigation	2013 December	2014 May	This SCR was used in a CDSA warrant. The vehicle and the apartment building were critical corroboration pieces in the warrant. The subject's involvement with this address, or involvement in drug trafficking would not have been known without the SCR.	Police observed and identified a known offender operating a vehicle which he had never been seen in before. He was subject of a Street Check and a SCR was written. The vehicle he was operating was not registered in his own name and would not have been associated to him otherwise. The vehicle information in the SCR was then used to link this male to an address which he was not known to use. This male was later arrested and found to be operating this vehicle and using this address for drug trafficking.
Homicide Investigation	2015 May	June 1, 2016	A Street Check and report assisted in identifying the suspect in a Homicide and provided insight as to motive.	Police responded to a violent murder of a female in 2016. The Criminal Intelligence Analyst searched the victim's history in the Police Records Database and located a Street Check report from 2015 that helped lead Police to identify the Accused. The victim had a history of living on the street, victimization and substance abuse. The victim was the focus of the SCR, documented a Street Check done by police, where the victim was checked due to their at-risk lifestyle and chance of victimization. The victim told Police she was trying to get into assisted living and related some issues she was having with associates who also lived on the street. One of these associates identified in the Street Check Report was arrested, convicted and sentenced to a life term in prison.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Robbery Investigation	2016 March	2016 August	A Street Check and report identified additional suspects in a liquor store Theft/Robbery series	Police responded to and investigated a series of liquor store thefts in July/August of 2016 conducted by three people. One suspect was subsequently identified. A Street Check conducted a few months prior identified two other individuals associated to the robbery suspect. The two associates in this Street Check were then matched to the descriptions of the two unidentified suspects in one of the liquor store surveillance videos. The Robbery investigation resulted in charges not only against the original suspect, but based on the Street Check Report information, the two additional associates who were also charged.
Property Offences	2016 March	2016 March	A suspect involved in property crimes was identified from a SCR.	Police conducted an investigation into a Break and Enter investigation. The victim provided a brief suspect description including clothing. A check of SCR submission of the area identified a male matching that description, specifically by his clothing. The proximity and time of the SCR was close to that of the Break and Enter. This SCR was instrumental in identifying a suspect who was later arrested and charged.

Type of Offence	Date SCR was Submitted	Date SCR was Used	How SCR Was Beneficial	Summary
Drug Investigation	2013 October	2013 October	Information submitted in an SCR was used to support a CDSA warrant, and resulted in the seizure of drugs and money.	Police conducted a street check and submitted an SCR in relation to two individuals found to be in possession of items commonly used for drug manufacturing and trafficking. This information was used in a CDSA Warrant application, which resulted in the seizure of a large quantity of controlled substances and money. Charges were laid, with the accused entering a guilty plea.

Homicide Investigations

In homicide investigations, the information contained in SCRs can provide investigators with a qualitative understanding of lifestyle of suspects, including the places they frequent. One homicide investigator stated:

> *"Street checks are invaluable for homicide investigations. Information contained in the SCRs on suspects, associations, nickname, vehicles can all be critical. In one cold case from 2007, we found a street check report of associated persons done by beat officers two months prior to the crime that provided information that wasn't available at the time of the investigation."*

Specialized Traffic Apprehension Team (STAT)

The Specialized Traffic Apprehension Team (STAT) focuses on the interdiction and the disruption of serious crime through traffic stops of serious offenders, drug traffickers, and prolific offenders. STAT conducts stops in known drug areas, noting the place, date, and time and uses the information contained in the SCRs to identify and link associates. As one officer who was a member of the STAT team stated, "Street check reports go hand-in-hand with several types of crime and permits tracking of individuals."

Missing Persons Unit

The Missing Persons Unit reviews SCRs as a first step in all files. In some cases, the information in the SCRs has assisted in the quick conclusion of a file. The officers noted that SCRs are searched in all cases of missing and murdered women. In doing so, investigators have found contacts and persons who had not been originally interviewed.

Sexual Assault Unit

Officers in the Sexual Assault Unit noted the value of the information contained in the SCRs. This includes, in some cases, providing interviewers with some history on an individual that allows investigators to establish common ground at the beginning of an interview or interrogation.

Guns and Gangs Unit

The Guns and Gangs Unit reported that there is a considerable amount of movement of gang members between Edmonton and Toronto. Street checks can play a significant role in source development, which requires considerable background work and information. The information provided in SCRs has been, in the words of one investigator, “massive for interviews”, and has served as evidence for provable lies.

City Wide Beats and Offender Management

Officers in the city-wide beats and in offender management also highlighted the value of the information contained in the SCRs. This information is shared in intelligence meetings and assists the officers in establishing linkages between persons.

Other Specialized Units

Information gathered in the focus group session with investigators revealed that the EPS Child Protection Unit uses the SCRs to gather intelligence on victims and suspects. Auto Theft Unit investigators noted that they benefited weekly from the information in SCRs, including updated addresses and vehicle information.

An officer from the Tactical section noted the importance of street checks, stating:

> *"We look at the house being entered and see if anyone has been street checked, if there have been weapons incidents related to the address, and if children have been present. It could change how we enter the house."*

The information in the SCRs is also used by the Community Action Team which conducts hot-spot patrols, offender management, community engagement, vehicle and public interdictions related to violent crime incidents.

An officer in the Source Management and Protection Unit spoke of the benefits of the information contained in the SCRs:

> *"We need factual information; not opinions. It would be more difficult to use sources in court if you take street checks out of the equation. It is easier to get a warrant if police officers are seeing it and reporting something than if you are trying to get a warrant based on something some anonymous person said."*

Investigators from the Targeted Offender Enforcement Unit and surveillance units noted that the information contained in SCRs was invaluable for their investigations. Officers who focus their work on federal parolees noted that SCRs often contain information on patterns, contacts, and relationships that can start investigations to apprehend unlawfully-at-large parolees.

The Behavioural Assessment Unit officers, who focus on risk assessments for high risk offenders, indicated that they regularly reviewed SCRs to assist in determining whether an individual posed an imminent risk to society. In such cases, the officers make efforts to stop the crime cycle and reduce future victimization.

Although SCRs and the information contained in them is highly valued by the specialized units and investigators, front-line officers questioned the value of the value of the street checks they conducted. Many of the officers indicated that they had never heard whether the information in the SCRs they had prepared had subsequently been used by investigators. Several of the investigators in specialized units noted that they made an effort to send "thank you" notes to members whose street check information they had used to successfully resolve a case investigation.

There was consensus among the crime analysts and the sworn members that eliminating street checks would have a negative impact on the preventive and investigative capacities of the police.

Protecting Vulnerable And Marginalized Persons

A key issue in the discussions with community representatives was whether vulnerable persons were more likely to be subjected to street checks and whether this reflected racial profiling and biased policing.

The perspective of EPS sworn and civilian members was that the information contained in the SCRs assisted the police in their efforts to protect marginalized and vulnerable persons. The officers noted that street checks provided the opportunity to check on the well-being, and to keep track of, street-involved persons, in particular vulnerable women who were reported as missing.

This view is reflected in the comments of one crime analyst who noted that the SCRs allowed them to link information from various sources:

> *"SCRS are useful for matching for vulnerable populations, for example, heavy users of services who become victims. Information can be useful for police, medical and paramedics. It's a mechanism for tracking them. These people don't have credit cards you can track. The information can be useful in identifying where sex trade workers were working; what they were wearing. It also assists with DNA matching for identification of bodies."*

The importance of street checks in ensuring the safety of vulnerable persons is reflected in the following, selected comments:

> *"Street checks are the only way to track and document them, particularly with respect to heavy users of service. Street check information can provide the basis for applying a holistic approach. They are useful for homicides, missing persons, and investigations."*

> *"It is a good idea to street check vulnerable women, including sex trade workers, in order to keep track of them. If they suddenly leave an area is it because of a threat that should be investigated?"*
>
> *"A check on welfare is not always documented. If there is an area known for prostitution and officers see the same women there 40 times, they will not street check them every time. However, if they see a new face there, they may street check that person as a way to keep track of them."*
>
> *"I have used them [SCRs] to find next of kin for a homeless person who had overdosed. If someone who has no fixed address and no ID dies of an overdose, the officer may be able to use SCR information to figure out who it was and notify the family. One homeless man told me that he likes it when police stop to talk to him so they get to know him and if he is ever found dead he would not just be a John Doe."*

The Police Crisis Teams, composed of a police officer, nurse, and social worker and work with adults experiencing a mental health crisis, also access the information contained in SCRs. For example, this information assists them in assessing the risk of going into persons' homes.

An analyst working on a pilot project for heavy users of service (HUOS) provided an example of the value of the information contained in the SCRs. These are persons who have mental health, addiction, and other challenges that lead to severe behaviours that require frequent response by the police, transit, and emergency medical services. Each person is assessed on a risk matrix that gauges their vulnerability. There is collaboration with government and NGOs to educate people about this vulnerable population, framing the challenges of this group as a community issue rather than a policing issue. The analyst noted that, "Street checks for these people are critical. They are extremely vulnerable. Their safety and location are a primary concern, so officers rely on street checks to ensure their well-being."

The Context Of Street Checks

The EPS members who participated in the focus group sessions emphasized the importance of considering the context within which street checks were conducted. This was viewed as particularly important in relation to claims that EPS members engage in racial profiling and

biased policing when conducting street checks. As one patrol officer stated, "Street checks are basic, grass roots policing. A good cop will know crime trends, people, bad guys, etc. and then go out and engage people."

The officers noted that they are familiar with the neighbourhoods they police and know what is "normal" in the various areas and what persons and behaviours are suspicious. As one beat officer stated, "As a beat cop you know what normal looks like."

The beat officers and officers involved in offender management indicated that it was important for the officer to know the type, time, and location of the crimes that are occurring in their areas. The officers indicated that they used information gathered from the community and their own intelligence data to determine where to focus their attention:

> *"We use community information and intelligence to direct us who to stop. If you see a guy on a bike with a backpack at night in an alley in an area where residents are telling you there are a number of garage break and enters, they will be stopped."*

> *"Does the person being street checked belong in the area they were found in? If an officer sees someone they arrested a couple times for a B&E sitting in McDonalds eating a meal, there is no reason to street check them. However, if the officer sees that same person at 2 AM in a neighbourhood they don't live in or frequent with dark clothes on and a backpack, they would likely conduct a street check on them as it was very obvious he does not belong in that neighbourhood."*

> *"If I see a businessperson downtown Edmonton at 5 pm on a work day, it's very likely that person works in the area. But, I see that same person alone in a dodgy area of the city at 3 a.m., I may stop and speak with them. It's all about what is out of place."*

A key question that surrounds street checks, as noted by a crime analyst, is "what led the officer to this interaction?" The following comments by officers on this issue reflect the extent to which context plays a role in street checks:

> *"The context of the data in the street check report is critical. If you can't contextualize why you're doing it, it shouldn't be done."*

"If I find someone hanging around an alley at midnight in residential area there is the potential to capture intelligence. Information on transients and homeless persons going from one high density property to another may provide information for a starting point. For me it is context first, then the person. If numbers are skewed, it's probably because of the demographics of the area."

"Context is critical. I work 118 Ave. I have been working this area for 10 years. I know most of the people I street check. I know the drug dealers. We have good interactions. I know their family. There is maybe 20 percent of the population I deal with regularly. You know the people and what they do."

"There may be increased street checks of Blacks due to the problems of gun violence. This might appear racist if one was only counting the number of stops.

The perception is that bad guys don't wear suits and the police don't stop them. That's not always the case. The context is so important."

"Street checks are basically mapping a person and or a vehicle at a certain location at a time that is odd."

"The public expects police to be in certain high crime areas more than in others. More street checks will likely be done in those areas. It's driven by high crime, not by ethnicity."

This last comment suggests the importance of considering the available population in any review of street checks.

A challenge, noted by a crime analyst, is that in the absence of the context within which street checks were being conducted, it might appear that the police are engaged in racial profiling and biased policing. Violence in the Somali community was cited as an example, with one crime analyst noting, "The stops increased due to shooting problems. This might appear racist if only the number of stops were counted and not the context in which the stops were being carried out."

In the view of the officers and crime analysts, if the public does not understand the larger context within which street checks were conducted, this could lead to negative perceptions of the police and the practice of street checks and could contribute to the narrative that street checks reflect racial profiling and biased policing. The officers did note that there had been significant improvements in the protocol surrounding the completion and review of SCRs. As one officer stated, ""We now have to contextualize and articulate the reasons for a street check. This is a learning curve."

The Importance of the Officer Documenting the Context of the Street Check

A key theme that emerged in the focus group discussion with the crime analysts was the importance of the officer documenting in the SCR the context in which the street check occurred and the factors that the officers considered in deciding to conduct a street check. This was viewed as key to dispelling perceptions that the street check was a result of racial profiling and biased policing.

The importance of documenting the context of the street check is reflected in the following selected comments:

> *"Street check reports should provide context and the reason for interaction."*
>
> *"Stop people for a purpose. What you've learned could be important or be valuable to someone else. If you use that as the primary focus, then complete a report."*
>
> *"You need to be able to articulate cause for why you are doing what you're doing."*
>
> *"If I see a person, place, time and it all comes together to make me suspicious the information goes in."*
>
> *"You need to be able to articulate why you are stopping someone. You want stops to be quality not quantity. We don't want information that is based on profiles."*

"Sometimes I read SCR reports that don't include the context, for example an officer street checked a person who was looking at a dumpster. I asked the officer about it and they said, 'There were a lot of B&Es in that area, so I stopped him.'"

Racial Profiling, Criminal Profiling, And Street Checks

As a group, the officers in the focus groups made a clear distinction between racial profiling and crime prevention and suppression. The consensus of the officers was that they profile situations and behaviours (criminal profiling) rather than individuals based on their appearance or other attributes (racial profiling). As one officer stated, "We profile. We need to profile. Profiling is police work not racial profiling. You need to profile. For example, if a shooting occurred and we are looking for Black man in black car; yes, we will be stopping Black men in black cars."

As a group, the officers did not feel they engaged in racial profiling and biased policing in conducting street checks. As one officer commented, "We could care less about your race, religion or class." Additional comments that reflected the view of the officers and crime analysts included the following:

"People are so worried about being politically correct that they forget that physical descriptors are an important factor. People are stopped based on intelligence and physical descriptors, but not on race. They are two different things. If a suspect is described as Black, I'll look for, and stop a person with black skin."

"It's the behaviour we are documenting, not the colour they are. If you weren't doing this, we wouldn't be doing this. Behaviour comes first. SCRs come second."

"We focus on behaviour. We don't care about the colour of their skin if you're not doing something wrong."

"We are not profiling the person. We are profiling the situation."

"You street check persons you don't know; persons who are new in the area."

"We target specific areas to impact the crime going on in that neighbourhood."

> *"You don't stop a person to write an SCR. You stop a person, then determine whether to write one. It doesn't matter whether you are Black, White or other. It's the behaviour."*

> *"Ninety percent of the people we deal with don't have an issue talking with us."*

With respect to information on the race or ethnicity of the persons stopped, a crime analyst stated, "Ethnicity can be used as a descriptor. It is not the driver of the analysis."

In response to the question as to when a street check would reflect racial profiling and biased policing, the responses included, "When you don't have lawful authority to obtain a name", and "When the persons isn't doing anything that could be deemed suspicious. For example, you stopped him because he had multiple tattoos, appeared to be low income, or because of their ethnicity." Another crime analyst stated that the key question for a police officer is, "Can you articulate why you stopped him? People should be stopped based on objective factors that are intelligence-based, not arbitrary."

"Lawful authority" was frequently mentioned in the focus group discussions as the most important criteria in determining whether a street check was legitimate. Comments reflecting the view that the police must have lawful authority and be able to articulate that authority to the person being stopped and in the SCR included:

> *"Street checks will have to be eliminated unless we can communicate that we talk to people lawfully."*

> *"Is there a lawful authority to stop people? For example, in one case a person told me, 'The police stopped me because I was Black and had other guys in vehicle. They gave me a ticket because they couldn't see my license plates.' I advised them to fight the charge."*

Officers commented on the changes in policing, noting that policing has become much more intelligence-led. With respect to street checks, they acknowledged that there had been a "learning curve", especially as it related to the requirement to contextualize and articulate the reasons for a street check.

Officers noted that street checks were not conducted on a random basis, one stating, "The players are the ones who are being stopped." According to the officers, a consideration in conducting a street check is, "Who's with who?" One officer noted, "Why is an out-of-towner with a local drug dealer at the transit station? Does he have outstanding warrants from Toronto? If so, they are probably up to no good."

Similarly, an officer assigned to a downtown beat stated:

> *"We know 80-85 percent of the persons we're doing street checks on. Or, we'll know some of the group. It's the ones we don't know that we want to know about. There are 40 people on my beat, which covers the shelters. I know all of them. If there is a 41st person, I need to know who that is."*

The sworn and civilian members discussed circumstances when a street check crossed the line into racial profiling or biased policing. As one crime analyst stated, "People should be stopped based on objective factors that are intelligence-based, not on the basis of an arbitrary decision by an officer."

A number of EPS officers in the focus groups indicated that street checks could be a component of community engagement and community policing. This is reflected in the following, selected comments:

> *"Street checks are also a good way to interact with the public and have a positive interaction. Even if the person being stopped is a criminal, there is no reason you should not be treating them like a human being. That encounter could make them change their life around or become a criminal informant down the road."*

> *"We need people with emotional intelligence and interpersonal skills and to remind officers to engage with the public. Supervisors need to cultivate skills sets for interaction and engagement."*

> *"The public expects you to stop a nefarious person walking through a neighbourhood. How will you do it? You might just as well ban policing if you are going to ban street checks."*

> *"Interactions can stop acts of violence. Interacting with persons who have a propensity for violence stops crime."*

One divisional patrol supervisor noted that they encouraged their officers to do one quality street check per day as a method of ensuring that officers got out of their cars and engaged with the public.

However, concerns were expressed by one crime analyst who noted that many of the SCRs appeared racially or lifestyle/choice-driven, e.g. selling drugs; being in a vehicle associated with a crime. Citing personal experience, the analyst related an instance in which they and their partner, upon leaving a football game, were asked about drugs and weapons. When the analyst informed the officer they worked for EPS, the officer stated they were looking for someone involved a domestic dispute, an explanation that the analyst did not find a plausible reason for the stop.

Asked whether EPS officers were being falsely accused of racial profiling, there was acknowledgement by the officers that racial profiling might occur, with one officer stating, "There could be guys out there who are racially profiling. Maybe they should never have been hired, or maybe they haven't been appropriately trained or supervised."

Street Check Training

Although the officers acknowledged that training had improved in recent years, concerns were expressed about EPS street check training. This is of particular concern given that a high percentage of the sworn officers have less than five years experience. As one patrol supervisor stated:

> *"Junior members don't have the tools. We're setting them up for failure. They don't know how to defend themselves. The training around street checks needs to have more information given to recruits as well as examples should be used so they know why they are performing these checks."*

Additional concerns expressed by the officers are reflected in the following, selected comments:

> *"No one has ever sat me down and trained me on GDM or recruit training about how to complete a street check report. I know street check reports must be behaviour driven and lawful authority and place driven."*

> *"Training is missing. We miss validating the point that street checks play an important role. It's quality not quantity. Is the street check for intelligence or information? In my view, a street check is a mechanism to gain intelligence that can be shared."*

> *"I fear that training now is focused on image and liability rather than providing members with training and proper courses. Supervisors don't get enough training. We shouldn't just blame the organization. It's also about supervisors and managers. What can they do to ensure they are properly trained and sharing the correct information with their members?"*

A patrol supervisor noted the importance of monitoring the activities of patrol officers with respect to street checks, stating, "When you see a number of street checks and they're all bad, someone needs to work with this individual."

A number of the officers in the focus group sessions indicated they had never received training on street checks. Junior members recalled some training in recruit class. However, these officers indicated that they received large amounts of information during recruit training and had no context within which they could appreciate and understand the significance of street checks. An EPS member with one year of service noted that SCRs had been discussed in their recruit class, but that the amount of information coming at recruits in training was like "drinking out of a fire hose":

> *"They have no context or understanding of the job yet. There needs to be training six months or even a year after recruit training when members have a bit more contextual understanding of the work they are doing."*

Although the crime analysts indicated they were not aware of the nature and extent of training that supervisors received with respect to SCRs, they did note that it appeared that some officers experienced a lack of direction from their supervisors as to how and when to complete the

SCRs. As one crime analyst stated, "Part of the police skill set is making stops based on their training and experience. Otherwise, it could be construed as bias."

The Importance of the Officers' Interpersonal Skills

Closely related to the issue of training is the development of interpersonal skills that officers can use in encounters with citizens. Speaking to the need for officers to have interpersonal skills, an officer noted, "We need people with emotional intelligence and interpersonal skills. We need to remind officers to engage with the public. Supervisors need to cultivate officers' skill sets for interaction and engagement."

The following, selected comments reflect the importance that officers assigned to the dynamic of the police-citizen encounter during a street check:

> *"Know why you're stopping someone and submit your street check report. Be clear about why you're stopping someone and tell them why. Be able to articulate it. Take the time to explain."*

> *"Our priority should be to leave people in a better place than when you found them.*

How an officer interacts with an individual impacts street checks. The is a difference between random interactions and street checks. Articulation is key. The officer must be able to articulate why an individual was stopped."

> *"How much of the issues have to do with how the police officer talks and interacts with the members? It's huge. For example, newcomers. I've got grounds and lawful authority, but they've got a completely different perspective. We need to be sensitive and pick up cues. There still may be consequences for their actions, but explanations and a culturally-sensitive approach are critical."*

> *"EPS policy requires officers to explain to the person the reason for the street check."*

> *"It is never a bad idea to be open and honest with the people being stopped and let them know why they are being stopped. This may help them understand the reasons for the stop."*

> *"Street checks will have to be eliminated unless we can communicate that we talk to people lawfully. If we're just having a conversation, who is going to say this is appropriate and define how police can and will use information?"*

The failure to communicate the reason for the stop at the outset of the interaction may result in the person being stopped feeling that they have been profiled and are the victim of biased policing. As one officer stated, "What constitutes an inappropriate stop or report? Racial profiling complaints are made up or are filed because people don't understand why police are talking to them."

There was general agreement that equipping EPS officers with body-worn cameras (BWCs) would not assist in these efforts. Among the problems cited were short battery life and poor sound quality. (Note: the EPS previously piloted the use of BWCs but following an evaluation of the program, decided not to proceed with equipping officers with this technology).

Educating The Public About Street Checks

Several of the analysts felt that street checks had become a problem due to public perceptions, one stating, "Police know what a street check is. The public may not, including certain groups who charge that street checks are biased policing."

There was a general consensus among the officers who participated in the focus groups that the EPS was not doing enough to communicate, educate, and provide information to the community. The officers discussed the proactive strategies that could be used by the EPS to directly communicate with the community. This was reflected in the comment of one officer who stated, "The police should be responsible for educating the community." Another officer stated, "The public need to realize that, if an officer has stopped to talk to you, it does not automatically mean they are investigating you."

Building on the EPS social media strategy was suggested as one way to accomplish this as was improving interactions with the community to build and maintain trust. As one officer noted, "Community members are the key to our success." However, as another officer observed, "Police don't do any, or not enough communication, education, and information sharing. It needs to be directed to the community."

Other comments by officers reflected an interest in developing proactive strategies for communication and education:

> *"What we need is a path forward rather than focusing on the past."*
>
> *"We need to have an education and communication strategy to inform the public. A public relations campaign based on a social media strategy centered on Twitter and Facebook. It works in the EPS and same approach could be expanded to educate and share information with the community about street checks."*
>
> *"The vocal groups grandstand for the five percent. We need to quiet these groups through education, not by shouting."*
>
> *"The public needs to know the whole story and not just what is filmed and published. There is always information missing. The information also needs to be presented responsibly and properly."*
>
> *"The public should be more educated on what a street check is. Unless you work in the job, you don't really know what it is used for. When a police officer speaks about the usefulness of street checks, the checks are seen as biased instead of informative."*
>
> *"The public has misperceptions. They believe we are checking persons for no reason. They don't know the context of the stop, or why we are engaging with that person."*

Collaboration with community organizations to develop messaging around street checks was viewed as having considerable potential to change the narrative that has developed around street checks. There was, among the officers, the view that communities were interested in enhancing partnerships with the EPS.

Past attempts to accomplish this haven't always been successful. One beat officer assigned to 118 Avenue recalled that, "Beats and community leaders were called to a meeting to discuss problems. Five business persons showed up; no persons who saw policing as an issue showed."

FIELD OBSERVATIONS

A very limited number of field observations were conducted during the project. As previously noted, this means that the observations set out in this section should be viewed only as suggestive, rather than conclusive. The specific observations that were made, and the comments of the beat and patrol officers, may be officer-specific and it is unknown whether their activities and perspectives are reflective of other EPS members. However, these materials do provide the foundation for further discussion about the activities of patrol and beat officers generally and, more specifically, how officers view, and conduct street checks.

The following materials are based on walk-alongs with beat officers in Downtown Division and Southwest Division and ride-alongs with patrol officers in Northwest Patrol Division.

Downtown Division Beat

Foot patrol policing is a key component of front line policing in EPS's Downtown Division. The number of beat officers in downtown Edmonton has increased in the last year due, in part, to the presence of the new hockey arena, as well as continued development within the downtown core including two large commercial/residential towers as well as more planned residential development and the addition of a new branch of the LRT line.

The walk-alongs in this division were split between officers working two different beat areas. The first was with officers working the area between 96th Street and 105th Street, bordered by 107 Avenue and 102 Avenue. This area includes Rogers Place, the Grand Villa Casino, and Edmonton City Centre, as well as a number of facilities for Edmonton's at-risk population, including Boyle Street Community Services, The George Spady Centre, Hope Mission and the Mustard Seed Street Church.

The second portion of the walk-along was spent with officers assigned to the Jasper Avenue beat. This beat includes a number of convenient stores, LRT stations, and office buildings. In the evenings and overnight, Jasper Ave. is frequented by homeless persons, persons with mental illness, transients, drug users, drug dealers and other marginalized and vulnerable individuals.

Engagement and Community Knowledge

According to one Staff Sergeant, beat officers must possess the "gift of the gab" because so much of their work involves engagement with members of the public. This was evident during the walk-along. Although beat officers are dispatchable in certain circumstances, because they spend much of their time on foot, they are largely proactive. Much of their work is centered on being visible, engaging the community, and prevention. Beat officers tend to focus on low-level disorder and on interacting with various stakeholders within their patrol areas.

Beat officers are assigned to a defined geographic area and are required to take ownership of it. They are responsible for developing a comprehensive working knowledge of the and its residents. This community knowledge was evident during the walk along. For example, early in the walk-along officers displayed considerable knowledge of several facilities in the area including the Mustard Seed Church, Hope Mission, and Boyle Street Community Service. They were able to speak about the types of clientele that utilize these facilities and the services that were provided.

The beat officers exhibited good rapport with facility staff, particularly at the Mustard Seed and Hope Mission. For example, while at the Mustard Seed Church, the officers engaged in pleasant conversation with staff and as well as with community members, many of whom were marginalized and low income. The beat Sergeant stated that he encouraged the officers to visit the facilities to engage members of the public in a non-enforcement role. Although some persons accessing services may have outstanding warrants, the Sergeant preferred that officers not arrest these persons in these facilities so as to preserve a positive relationship with staff.

The beat officers also appeared to have a positive relationship with staff at the Hope Mission, which is operates a shelter and intox centre. The officers also interacted with persons as they entered and exited the facility. While at the facility, one woman became fairly aggressive with staff and, as such, staff requested that she be removed. The Sergeant, who knew the woman, was able to de-escalate the situation calmly through dialogue and the woman and her boyfriend willingly left the facility. While both members acknowledged that situations at Hope Mission can

be more complicated and are not always resolved as peacefully, in this instance the officer knew the individuals involved and were able to use the communication skills developed while walking the beat to diffuse the situation.

The officers felt that the relationships with shelters such as Hope Mission and Boyle Street had and improved in recent years due to efforts to address the distrust and hostility toward the police. In particular, it appeared that the efforts of longer-serving beat officers had contributed to the improvement in relations with facility staff.

In addition to attending the shelters and resource facilities, the beat officers also spent time walking through a number of businesses in the area including the City Centre mall, Roger's Place, the casino and a bar and restaurant. Staff in these locales seemed very happy to see the police and appeared to a have good relationship with the officers.

The Jasper Avenue portion of the walk-along was different in that most of the businesses on Jasper were closed or closing. The officers here spent most of their time dealing with the homeless and disadvantaged population that frequent the area in the evening. The officers displayed an in-depth knowledge of the area and knew the circumstances of persons who were regularly in the area. The beat officers stated that the prominent issues on their beat were shoplifting, loitering, drug use and other types of disorder in the 24-hour convenience stores on Jasper. Another issue was the fact that several of the office complexes downtown keep their lobbies open late into the evening. These areas attract homeless and transient individuals who are trying to stay out of the cold. The officers also indicated that the LRT stations were also the site of disorder and homeless in the evenings and that there was low-income housing just off Jasper Avenue whose residents included marginalized and vulnerable persons.

During this shift, much of the officers' time was spent patrolling these locations, engaging with staff and security, and interacting with persons, many of whom were homeless, intoxicated, suffered from mental illness, had addiction issues, were subject to warrant or release conditions, and/or were engaged in low-level crime. The beat officers stated that they are often

called to certain locations by staff or security to respond to people who are refusing to leave the premises, are engaged in criminal activity, and/or are being belligerent or aggressive with staff.

In some cases, officers would attempt to direct persons to shelters and, on one occasion during the walk-along, arranged for an individual to be picked up by staff from Hope Mission and transported to their intox centre for the night. On another occasion, a male refused the officers' encouragement to go to a shelter.

Street Checks

The beat officers who were accompanied had different perspectives on the use of street checks. A number of the officers stated that the new street check reporting and review protocol had not deterred them from doing street checks, while others indicated they were doing fewer street checks as a result of the new reporting procedure.

Although the officers who were accompanied did not conduct a stop that resulted in the completion of an SCR during the walk-alongs, there were two incidents where the officers indicated that an SCR would be completed later.

Incident 1

During a visit by the beat officers at the Hope Mission, an Indigenous woman was acting aggressively towards staff and staff members indicated to the officers that they wanted her removed from the premises. One officer was able to de-escalate the situation and eventually both the woman and her boyfriend willingly left. The Indigenous woman had been released from prison a day or so earlier and was known to the officers.

The officer indicate that he would likely complete a street check report upon return to the office. This would be done for a number of reasons. As the woman was known to police and had a fairly lengthy criminal history, the officer felt there was a need to have on record that she was out of prison and back in the city. The woman was also known to be violent, so the officer felt it was necessary to get on record that she was being aggressive in the shelter so that officers would be aware of this in future interactions with her. The women also had a history of

involvement with men who were often physically violent against her. A record of the incident, which included information on her boyfriend, would be useful should she be victimized.

Incident 2

The beat officers encountered a homeless man who was sleeping in several locations during their shift. On the first occasion, the officers removed him from an indoor bus vestibule as he was laying in the doorway and blocking access. Later in the shift the officers came upon the same man sleeping in the lobby of an office building. The officers asked him to leave and directed him to a shelter. One of the officers stated that he was unsure of the man's mental health history, but believed he was suffering from some mental health issues and felt that his condition was worsening.

The officer was reluctant to issue citations as he knew the man was unable to pay and did not want to criminalize his behaviour. However, the officer felt that the individual was "getting worse" and that he needed to get him on the radar an EPS-partnered mental health team. One idea the officer had was to possibly start entering street checks following his interactions with the male in order to get the attention of appropriate resources in EPS. When asked if he was going to enter a street check, the officer stated that he was unsure but that he "had to start doing something" and that completing an SCR was an option.

The Jasper Avenue beat officers expressed some frustration with the new street check reporting procedure. Specifically, they lamented the fact that they felt they could no longer include as much subjective information in the reports, including an appraisal of a person's criminal history or the suspicion that the person was engaged in criminal activity.

The officers also discussed the scenarios in which they thought a street check was appropriate. There was some uncertainty as to whether they should be actively engaging individuals in order to get their information or if street checks should only be conducted following a lawful interaction, e.g. a crime-related or complaint-related matter. It did appear that officers are more likely to complete an SCR following an interaction in which the police had lawful grounds

for engaging a person and securing their identification, e.g. when giving a ticket, responding to a complaint, or following an arrest or detention.

Southwest Division Beat

Whyte Avenue and the Old Strathcona neighbourhood comprise a significant portion of the Southwest Division beat. Whyte Avenue has a number of bars, restaurants, and stores and is a popular entertainment area for many young adults. The surrounding areas also include strip malls with restaurants, grocery stores, liquor stores, and other retail outlets. Whyte Avenue is currently undergoing re-development with a number of new apartment and condo complexes being built as well as additional retail and restaurant space. The Southwest Division beat also comprises a number of social and community services and resource centres, including the Old Strathcona Youth Society (OSYS) and the Youth Empowerment Support Services Armoury Resource Centre, two facilities that provide services and resources to high-risk youth. There are marginalized and vulnerable persons in the area who have regular contact with business owners, restaurant-goers, and community residents.

Community Engagement and Knowledge

Similar to their counterparts in Downtown Division, beat officers in Southwest Division spend a considerable amount of time on community engagement. Throughout the walk- along, the beat officers took time to enter businesses along Whyte Avenue that tend to be sites of disorder and crime, e.g. 24-hour fast food restaurants, convenience stores, liquor stores, and bars/clubs. Staff in these businesses seemed to appreciate the presence of the officers, with some workers calling out to the officers by name.

This relationship building was particularly evident when one of the officers entered a popular bar/club on Whyte Avenue. According to the officers, the bar is a very popular club along Whyte and is often a location that police attend, particularly during evenings and weekends. In this case, the officers entered in the early evening to do a walk through and meet with some of the bar staff. It was evident that the officers had strong relationships with a number of the staff, several of whom were Black.

The officer stated that the fact that he spoke French and two of the lead doormen were also French speakers also assisted in community engagement.

Around 1:00 a.m., while conducting another walk through at the bar with two additional officers including the beat Sergeant, the officers left the bar to find a young man had been violently assaulted by two other males. The officers were immediately able to control the scene with the assistance of bar staff who worked to help identify witnesses, as well as to locate video of the assault. Officers were able to identify both suspects, as well as another male associate. Staff provided video of the violent assault and also helped to identify and locate one suspect who was still in the bar. This individual was given a ticket and banned from the bar. The primary suspect had fled, but the officers managed to obtain his identity and his description from the video. The entire event went smoothly because police and staff were able to work so seamlessly together. Much of this seemed to be a result of the positive relationship between the beat officers and the staff.

Both of the primary beat officers who were accompanied seemed to have an extensive working knowledge of their beats, providing the field researcher an in-depth description of the area that went well beyond a discussion of crime and disorder. It was evident that the officers had made the effort to understand the “rhythms” of the neighbourhood and had a strong sense of the issues and areas of concern, as well as of the persons who were in the area.

As noted above, Southwest Division is also home to a number of resource and support centres for marginalized persons, including youth. The beat officers indicated that they had considerable contact with these services and many of the individuals who accessed these services, although the officers also expressed some frustration with the staff at these facilities. More specifically, the officers stated that, on occasion, facility staff will call the police to remove individuals who were being aggressive or violent, but do not want the individual to be arrested and would allow them to continue to visit the premises. The officers’ view was that there were instances in which staff obstructed police from making meaningful interventions which, in turn, resulted in re-occurrences.

Street Checks

A majority of Southwest beat officers in the squad that evening stated that they were reluctant to conduct street checks and rarely did so due, in large part, to the new EPS street check protocol. The officers indicated that they were now much more likely to "enter a file" as opposed to a street check because a file allowed them to include more information with less likelihood of the report being returned to them for additional information.

One of the officers stated that the only SCR that he had submitted under the new procedure was sent back to him and has seen other officers that have had their checks sent back on multiple occasions. The issues for this officer were that it was unclear in many cases why the SCRs that were submitted were not accepted and officers did not agree with the feedback that was provided by the Intelligence Production Division.

Other officers on the beat that evening also noted that the stigma attached to conducting street checks has also made them more reluctant to conduct stops. More specifically, the officers felt that groups who were criticizing street checks did not actually know what street checks were or how they are used. One officer expressed the view that the issues surrounding carding in Toronto had significantly impacted the discussions surrounding street checks in Edmonton.

The beat officers also expressed some frustration at the discourse around racial profiling, taking offense to the notion that they racially profile. As one officer stated, "It's never about race. I could care less." The officers stated that they profile actions and context, not race. With respect to the level of public knowledge of street checks, on several occasions persons in the area asked about the presence of the field researcher. When told by the officers it was in conjunction with a study of police street checks, none of the persons knew what a street check was and most were unaware that it was an issue in the city.

The beat officers in Southwest Division highlighted the value of street checks as an intelligence-gathering tool. Street checks allowed them to keep track of suspicious persons and also allowed officers to make note of persons that officers did not have the grounds to arrest, but were still acting in a suspicious manner.

One beat officer provided an example of a street check subsequent to an arrest that had been entered by another officer. The street check included information that the individual, a drug dealer, was known to keep his drugs in the fingertips of his gloves. The officers stated that this was an invaluable piece of intelligence because it would alert members when searching him or when interacting with him. That is, if the subject removed his gloves during an interaction, the officers would have a possible reason as to why and would know where to search.

Northwest Division Patrol

Five members of the EPS Northwest Patrol Division were accompanied on two ride-alongs. The key observations that were made during this field work included the following.

A Lack of Proactive Policing and Community Engagement

A significant finding from the ride-alongs was the largely reactive nature of patrol, a situation that officers readily admitted. Two of the officers who were accompanied stated that they had a "call-taker" mentality and that they preferred to respond to calls rather than engage in proactive policing. Another officer expressed a dislike for doing person checks. Other than running license plates and conducting a few traffic stops, the officer engaged in little or no proactive policing or community engagement. It was rare for officers to exit their vehicles other than when responding to calls for service, eating, or doing administrative work.

During both ride-alongs with Northwest Division patrol officers, a considerable amount of time was devoted to two complex calls, a sex assault and an impaired driver. This resulted in officers having very little unallocated patrol time. Officers also attributed their lack of proactive time to often being too busy responding to calls. Slower times were used to catch up on administrative tasks and report writing rather than to engage in proactive police work.

On one of the ride-alongs, the officer who was being accompanied did have a considerable amount of unallocated time although rarely exited the patrol vehicle. During this time, the officer drove around and did stop to engage some individuals at a gas station and also stopped to check in on some intoxicated young people. At one point, the officer stopped the patrol

vehicle at a convenience store that the officer stated was a frequent congregation point for problem persons. However, the officer did not exit the patrol vehicle and enter the location to speak with staff or other persons who were inside the store.

The absence of community engagement appeared to be associated with limited of knowledge of the area in which the officers worked. When asked to provide a demographic overview or description of Northwest Division, one officer was unable to provide much detail about the division, it's residents, and the various ethnic/cultural groups residing there. While officers were aware of certain hotspots or common areas of disorder in the division, it did not appear that they had knowledge of the division beyond an enforcement capacity.

Street Checks

It does not appear that patrol officers are involved in conducting street checks on a regular basis. One officer who was accompanied on the ride-along estimated that he had entered "maybe two" street checks in the past year. Other officers who were spoken with during the two shifts stated that they rarely conducted street checks or were in a position to conduct a street check. The new EPS street check policy and reporting procedure was also cited as a deterrent.

When asked to identify their specific issues with the policy, one officer stated it was frustrating that there were a number of items of information, e.g. "anything subjective", that could not be included in the SCRs. To illustrate, the officer stated that, when entering a street check on an individual, it cannot be stated that the person "seems to be a drug dealer." The policy requires that the officer provide some evidence to show that they know that the person is a drug dealer. The officer stated that he understood the reason for this because, "I have seen some comical street checks," but felt that the new policy was an overcorrection. In this officer's view, it was now easier to "pull a file" as opposed to entering a street check, stating, "Now, I'm more likely to pull a file because it goes through our boss vs. someone I don't know, who I can't speak to." This officer stated that he had three street checks sent back for reasons that he did not agree

with. He added, that officers used to be able to enter a street check on top of, or in addition to, a file, but that this was no longer allowed.

Another officer expressed similar frustration with the amount of corroborating information that must work that must be done now when entering some street checks. He provided one example in which he tried to link together two vehicles, a U-Haul and a residence owned by a well-known "slumlord." In order to do this under the new policy, he was required to cross-reference all of the information from existing files to complete the SCR. The officer stated, "After I was finished I wondered why I'd done all that work to do a street check?" Further, he said, "It's such a pain to get a street check approved now."

To illustrate, the officers provided examples of SCRs completed prior to the new policy. One related to officer safety, as it documented a person's aggressive temperament. The officers questioned whether it would be acceptable under the new policy. In another example, one officer showed a "pending" SCR that had yet to be approved. The street check involved a suspicious vehicle and included information on the registered owner. However, he believed the street check would be sent back because the officers could not show that the registered owner was driving at the time.

The officers also stated that they were more reluctant to conduct street checks of persons they had no grounds to arrest or detain. One officer related that he found it increasingly common that persons refused to speak with officers, which forces officers to look for smaller infractions that allow them to lawfully detain and engage someone, e.g. jaywalking, riding a bike on a sidewalk, smoking in a doorway, riding a bike with no helmet. This need to focus on minor infractions was also noted by the beat officers who were accompanied on the walk-alongs. These officers stated that they used minor infractions as a way to lawfully engage suspicious persons and persons who were known to police.

The patrol officers offered mixed perspectives on benefits of street checks. One officer stated that he did not see much value to them at the patrol level, which the officer characterized as "band-aiding" and not necessarily dependent upon the intelligence gathered from street checks.

In this officer's view, the specialty units in the EPS valued the information contained in the SCRs more as it assisted them in connecting people.

Other patrol officers stated that the information contained in the SCRs has value for officer safety. This included information on a person's demeanour, the likelihood a person may be carrying a weapon. There is also information that assisted in tracing the movements of a vulnerable person should they go missing or be victimized. For one officer, street checks on vulnerable youth, including street-involved youth and runaways, provided a record should a youth go missing or be victimized. Another officer offered a similar perspective and provided an example of an SCR they had completed earlier that evening. In the case, the officer and their partner had stopped a car in which the passenger was a known sex trade worker. The officer felt it necessary to enter the street check in order to link her to the male in the vehicle, whom they believed was seeking sex so that, "now they are linked." If anything were to happen to the woman, there would be a record of her and who she was with.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR MOVING FORWARD

This study was designed to examine the use of street checks by the EPS. The review of street checks was set against the larger societal backdrop in which persons in communities of diversity have experienced racism, prejudice, and discrimination. With respect to policing, it has been argued that, in conducting street checks, police officers engage in racial profiling and biased policing.

The study used a multi-method approach to gather qualitative and quantitative data on the EPS use of street checks. Key components of the study were interviews and focus group sessions with community representatives and residents and with sworn and civilian members of the EPS. A review and analysis were also conducted of SCRs completed during 2017 and a limited number of field observations were completed.

The objective of the project was to record the lived experiences of persons in communities of diversity with respect to the EPS generally and street checks in particular and to solicit the experiences and perceptions of EPS sworn and civilian members as well. These materials were considered against the larger backdrop of crime and police-community relations in the city.

The following discussion sets out the key findings from the study. It includes a number of suggestions for how the EPS and communities of diversity can address not only the issues surrounding street checks, but the larger societal issues that often result in street checks being a flashpoint.

Policing in Edmonton

The EPS delivers policing services in an increasingly dynamic and diverse environment. The city has comparatively high rates of violent, property, and disorder crimes, a disproportionate number of which are concentrated in specific areas of the city. The EPS is experiencing challenges in responding to demands for service, as evidenced by response times to calls for

service and the amount of unallocated, proactive time that officers have for non-call response activities.

The EPS is able to meet its objective of responding to Priority 1 calls for service 80 percent of the time within seven minutes only 66.8 percent of the time. The amount of proactive time for officers (10.7 percent) is at the low end of the continuum for urban police services. These two factors have hindered the ability of the EPS to develop, and sustain, relationships with communities of diversity.

The Experiences And Perspectives Of Persons in Communities Of Diversity

Knowledge of and Perspectives on Street Checks

There is considerable confusion in communities of diversity, including among the staff of service and support organizations, about street checks, including the types of stops that are street checks, the rights of persons who are stopped and checked, and the purpose of the activity.

Street Check Encounters

For persons in communities of diversity, and for all residents of the city, procedural justice in police-citizen encounters, including during street checks, is important. If community residents feel they have been disrespected and dehumanized, there is a likelihood that they will feel they were profiled and subjected to biased policing, even if the officer had the lawful authority to make the stop and conduct the street check.

Relations with the EPS

The interviews with representatives from community organizations revealed that a number of them have good relations with the EPS, particularly with the beat officers who many felt "humanized" interactions between the police and the community. Some of the representatives had experience on the CAC or the CLCs and with senior management in the divisions. However, a key theme in the responses of community representatives and the persons from communities of diversity was the lack of EPS line-level and mid-level engagement with communities.

There were expressions of interest by the community representatives for more police-community engagement with communities, particularly with line-level and mid-level officers. This would include more involvement of officers in non-enforcement activities and a more visible presence in the communities. The community representatives were particularly concerned about the lack of diversity in the EPS membership and the limited knowledge that members had of communities of diversity. This, in their view, limited the ability of officers to develop substantive relationships with community organizations and their clientele. A community policing framework was viewed as the best way to accomplish this. The representatives of organizations that serve clients of diversity expressed a strong interest in establishing/strengthening collaborative relationships with EPS.

Street Checks

There were mixed views of the police use of street checks. Support was expressed for the police conducting stops to check on the well-being of persons and for case investigations, including missing persons. However, there were also concerns that there were instances in which EPS officers were abusing their discretion and, in many instances, engaged in profiling and biased policing. This view was prevalent even among those who felt that street checks were beneficial.

Many of the participants in the sessions reported negative experiences with EPS members and felt that they were subjected to racial profiling and biased policing when they were stopped for a street check. Street-involved youth and representatives from the LGBTQ community, in particular, felt that they were singled out for police attention and experienced psychological detention. There was also a widespread perception that vulnerable and marginalized persons were more likely to receive police attention via street checks than other persons.

There were concerns about how members in communities of diversity were treated during street checks, community members often using the words “lack of respect” and “dehumanizing” to describe the dynamic. There were also concerns that the officers’ treatment of persons during street checks might exacerbate trauma and other challenges that persons in communities of diversity are experiencing.

The lack of officer knowledge of the history, culture, and contemporary circumstances of the persons encountered may create a dynamic with negative consequences for the person who is checked and may influence their attitudes toward, and trust in, the police. There was a pronounced desire for EPS officers to practice procedural justice in street check encounters. It also noted that it was important for officers to understand that how a person behaved in a street check encounter may be influenced by a history of trauma and prior experiences with the police in their country of origin. Persons from the LGBTQ in particular, expressed negative attitudes toward the EPS.

There were concerns raised that officers often did not explain why persons were being stopped and checked and this contributed to a view that the police were unfairly targeting those persons by profiling and biased policing. Informing citizens about the reason for the stop is viewed as a key component of procedural justice. Few community members who were interviewed or participated in the focus group sessions knew their rights in street check encounters and, among those who did know that they had the right to walk away, most indicated they did not, feeling that such action would serve to escalate the situation and increase the officer's suspicion. The responses of the participants also revealed that most had limited, if any, knowledge about the purpose and objectives of street checks, or how the information gathered in the encounters was compiled, stored, and used by the EPS.

A common theme that emerged from the interviews with community representatives and the focus groups with community residents is that EPS officers did not evidence effective communication and engagement skills during street checks. These skills are particularly important when dealing with persons who may have experienced trauma, are marginal, from another culture who may have limited English and no knowledge or bad previous experiences with the police in their country of origin.

Officers who have only a limited understanding cultures and communities may over-rely on their authority which may create a negative encounter and one in which the resident may perceive they have been subjected to profiling and biased policing. A frequently-heard

comment in the focus groups was that officers should explain to the person why they are being stopped and engage the person in respectful conversation.

The community representatives who were interviewed and the youth and adults who participated in the focus group sessions offered a number of suggestions for how police-community relations could be improved. This included increasing the diversity of the EPS membership, providing culturally-sensitive training for officers, increasing proactive contacts with communities, and providing communities with information about the purpose and objectives of street checks and how the information is used.

The EPS

Perspectives on Street Checks

The information contained in SCRs is viewed as a critical component of police work, including investigating crimes, locating missing persons, solving crimes, and as a vital part of crime analysis. The officers in investigative units, in particular, noted the value of street checks and indicated that they utilized the information contained in SCRs for case investigations. They also noted that SCRs captured information that would otherwise be lost, including details such as a person's location, a description of their clothing, and their accomplices. This information is often valuable in locating persons who have been reported as missing. There are currently no other mechanisms in the EPS to gather this type of information and make it readily accessible to patrol officers, investigators, and analysts.

Although the EPS executive and senior management who were interviewed were able to articulate a vision for incorporating street checks into EPS strategies and practices, the ability of operational personnel to do was more limited. There was variability among operational personnel in their understanding of the service's expectations for conducting street checks and completing SCRs. The officers were able to articulate the importance of having the lawful authority to conduct a street check, but many found it difficult to articulate the

relationship/connection between SCRs and the broader community policing and community engagement strategies of the EPS.

In recognition of the importance of the dynamics of street check encounters, the EPS has made considerable efforts to revise, improve, and monitor street checks procedures and practices. It has revised recruit training to address gaps in recruit/officer interpersonal and communication skills and extended the in-field training period.

A key theme in the focus group sessions with EPS sworn and civilian members was the importance of considering the context in which a street checks occur and that, in completing the SCR, the officer should describe the contextual factors that led to the stop. There was general agreement among the officers that training in interpersonal skills was very important, particularly in relation to conducting street checks.

The Centralized SCR Approval Process

The EPS sworn and civilian members noted the benefits and drawbacks to the centralized SCR approval arrangement in EPS. The positive features of the current arrangement for the review and approval of SCRs include ensuring that: 1) all SCRs that are approved comply with EPS street check guidelines; 2) all SCRs contain sufficient information on the street check as per the EPS SCR guidelines; and, 3) standardized content and format for SCRs.

The less-than-positive features of the current arrangement identified by EPS members included: 1) removal of patrol supervisor the oversight and review of SCRs; and, 2) officers conducting fewer street checks due to their perception that the reporting procedures have become too onerous. A number of supervisors, for example, noted that the centralized SCR review process took them “out of the loop” and hindered their ability to monitor the street check activities of officers under their supervision and to coach and mentor officers who may be experiencing challenges in conducting street checks, and to early identification of officers experiencing problems.

Changes to the SCR form and procedures appear to have led to confusion among members. Many officers felt that the reporting requirements had become too onerous. The centralization of the SCR approval function can result in SCRs being returned to a member for further documentation, several weeks after the initial submissions. In such cases, members reported having difficulty recalling the specific street check and the factors associated with their decision to conduct the stop. A number of the officers noted that, due to these issues and the controversy surrounding street checks, they are doing fewer street checks and submitting fewer SCRs. A majority of the officers in the focus group sessions felt that street checks should continue; a minority felt that street checks should be discontinued.

Developing and Sustaining Relationships with Communities

There is a foundation upon which to build and strengthen collaborative relationships between the EPS and communities of diversity. However, there are some concerns that the EPS may not have sufficient resources to develop, and sustain, relationships with communities within a community policing framework. The amount of proactive time available to patrol officers (10.7 percent in 2017) is, comparatively, very low. The best practice standard is 25-35 percent.

A potential threat to community engagement is de-policing. This has occurred in other jurisdictions due to negative media attention, accusations of racism and discriminatory practices, and a lack of certainty among officers as to when a street check can be conducted. Among the negative consequences of de-policing are a reduction in the visibility and presence of officers in the community, two key factors in public confidence in, and trust of, the police.

A limiting factor in addressing the issues surrounding street checks is that the EPS does not have a comprehensive community engagement strategy which would provide the framework within which to develop collaborative partnerships with community organizations.

There was among the officers a general view that increasing public awareness and understanding of the street check process and the value of street checks would be beneficial. This would also, in their opinion, reduce much of the controversy surrounding street checks.

The Beat Officers

By the very nature of their work, beat officers have much more interaction and greater engagement with businesses, community organizations, and community residents. The limited field observations suggest that these officers also have good communication, problem-solving, and, when required, de-escalation skills. Results from the street check audits conducted in 2017 also revealed that beat officers in the Downtown Division conduct more stops and street checks than their patrol counterparts.

The beat officers who were accompanied on walk-alongs evidenced excellent operational knowledge of the people, businesses and services in their areas and seem to have cultivated meaningful relationships that are valuable when responding to calls or dealing with issues of crime and disorder. The beat officers appeared to be more comfortable engaging with community residents than are their patrol counterparts.

Although the beat officers had mixed opinions on the use of street checks, the majority of officers felt that street checks had great value. Among the potential benefits of street checks noted by patrol officers and beat officers were 1) prevention; 2) enforcement; 3) generating intelligence; 4) officer safety, e.g. flagging persons who may be violent; 5) tracking vulnerable persons should the need arise to locate them at a future date; 6) checking on the well-being of persons; and, 7) generating information that can be used in case investigations.

In contrast, several of the patrol officers who were accompanied on shift indicated they were rarely involved in proactive policing and conducting street checks. For those officers who had been doing street checks, the new policies had resulted in them doing fewer stops. Even beat officers who traditionally have conducted the majority of street checks indicated that they were doing fewer of them due to the new reporting procedure.

The officers who were accompanied on the walk and ride-alongs expressed frustration with the discussions surrounding race and policing and the constant accusations that they were stopping persons based on skin colour.

Profiling Situations vs. Profiling Persons

A challenge in any discussion or study of street checks is to determine whether police officers are profiling situations, e.g. person in an alley with a backpack in an area with a high rate of property crime, or profiling persons based on their diversity. Police officers generally state that they profile situations, e.g. "wrong place, wrong time", while community residents may perceive they are being targeted for who they are, rather than on the basis of any alleged criminal behaviour.

For a variety of reasons, including the absence of extensive field observations and the fact that the race and other personal attributes of the persons who are street checks, e.g. suspected mental illness, poverty, gender identity, are not included in the SCR narratives, it is not possible to determine whether EPS officers engage in racial profiling or biased policing or whether persons who are stopped by the police experience psychological detention.

The analysis of the 2017 SCR data found that there were officers who conducted more street checks than others. The reasons why these particular officers conduct more street checks could not be ascertained from the SCR data. Field observations would be valuable in exploring this issue.

What is clear from the materials gathered in this study is that there is the widespread *perception* among the city's diverse communities that EPS officers engage in racial profiling and biased policing. As previously noted, perception is reality in this instance, requiring the EPS to take the initiative to develop better partnerships and relationships with the various diverse communities in the city.

Consistency and Certainty in the Use of Street Checks

The materials gathered in focus group sessions revealed that EPS members are often uncertain as to when to conduct street checks and how to record the information in an SCR. This, coupled with the narrative that equates street checks with racial profiling and biased policing, results in officers being hesitant to conduct street checks and may contribute to de-policing.

The materials gathered in this study suggest that there is uncertainty as to whether the objective of street checks is to gather information from persons who are stopped, or to gather intelligence. A review of the SCRs for 2017 indicated that, as practiced by the EPS, street checks fulfill the objectives of gathering information and intelligence. However, it is uncertain whether the training initiatives undertaken to date have sufficiently address the issues of consistency and certainty.

Privacy Issues

A key issue is whether the current street check guidelines provide adequate provisions for privacy and for the storage and retrieval of information. Persons in communities of diversity are uncertain about how the information gathered in street checks is stored, accessed, and retained. The Alberta Privacy Commissioner has noted that persons have a right to access their own personal information, although this right may not exist if the information is classified as "intelligence". Generally speaking, the persons from communities of diversity that participated in the focus group sessions had little, if any, knowledge of their rights regarding the information that is gathered in street checks. These rights should be published and made widely available to the public.

The Need for Additional Report Forms

The in-depth review of the SCRs completed during 2017 suggests that the SCR form has been used as a "catch-all" form to record information on a variety of encounters and observations that do not fall within the purview of the EPS definition of a street check. Officers indicated in the focus group sessions that there was often no alternative for recording information that might be of use in future case investigations. Unless the information was recorded in an SCR, it would be lost. This includes information on a person's location, dress, and accomplices that would be of in locating a person should they subsequently be reported as missing or fall victim to a crime.

At present, for example, street checks that involve an officer checking on the well-being of a community resident are recorded on an SCR. As previously noted, this activity is not included in

the EPS street check policy. The EPS may want to consider either including well-being checks in the street check policy, or creating another form to record this information. This information can be invaluable to investigators should a person go missing.

This suggests there may be a need for the EPS to develop additional forms or mechanisms to capture information on proactive police activities and encounters that do not fall within the purview of the EPS street check guidelines. This would address the issue of "contaminated" SCR data and reduce the number of encounters inappropriately documented in SCRs.

Increasing Diversity in the EPS

The City of Edmonton is becoming increasingly diverse. A core principle of policing is that a police service should strive to reflect the community that it polices. The absence of diversity in the EPS was noted as problematic by many of the community representatives who were interviewed for the project, and by community participants in the focus group sessions. There was consensus that the EPS should be more proactive in increasing the diversity of its membership. This would include developing more extensive relationships with communities of diversity which could potentially result in more applications from persons in these communities.

Increasing diversity in the EPS would send a clear message to the community that the police service is committed to the principle that police services should reflect the communities they police and that, in this case, the EPS is acting on its often-stated position that this is a high priority for the service.

A more diverse police service does not, in itself, guarantee that communities of diversity will have more confidence in the police or improve their view of the legitimacy of the police. Much depends upon the leadership of the police service, the extent to which officers are provided with the skill sets to engage with communities, the resources that the EPS has available to develop, and sustain, police-community partnerships, and the extent to which the department and its sworn and civilian members are committed to a community policing model that involves sustainable, proactive engagement with the community (Lashley, et al., 2015). It is also important that there be reporting mechanisms to hold senior management and line and mid-

level officers and civilian personnel accountable for implementing and sustaining community engagement.

Reducing the Disconnect Between Senior Management and the Line Level with Respect to the Objectives and Conduct of Street Checks

The findings from this study suggest a degree of disconnect between senior management and line-level officers with respect to community policing and community engagement generally, and, the policy of street checks in particular. There was among EPS officers some degree of confusion as to the exact definition of a street check and when it was appropriate to conduct these stops.

This uncertainty is not unique to the EPS and has occurred in other jurisdictions as well. It is a major contributor to the phenomenon of de-policing which, if it is to be avoided in Edmonton, will require extensive inter-organizational dialogue.

Improving the Skill Sets and Competencies of EPS Officers

A major finding from this study is that, in the majority of cases reviewed, EPS officers had the lawful authority to conduct the street check. In a number of instances, this authority was provided by by-laws that cover behaviour that could be considered to be largely inconsequential, e.g. riding a bike on the sidewalk, not having a bell on a bike, etc. yet it provides the opportunity for a police officer to engage a person.

This raises the issue that it may not be the street check, per se, that results in the negative experiences and perspectives of community residents. Rather, it is how officers conduct street checks. As previously noted, the major themes in the comments by community representatives in the interviews, and by the community residents who participated in the focus group sessions, was the “lack of respect” shown by officers toward citizens, a desire that officers not “de-humanize” persons, and the wish that officers treat citizens fairly in encounters.

Indigenous persons, newcomers and others who have experienced trauma in their lives will be adversely impacted by an authoritarian approach in street check encounters. The behaviour of

the officer during a street check may trigger negative experiences and emotions and exacerbate the person's life situation.

Given the importance of the dynamics that occur in the police-citizen interaction, it is critical that EPS officers have the required skill sets and competencies to effectively police communities in the city. This includes interpersonal and communication skills and an understanding of the concept of procedural justice. In the absence of these skill sets, officers may be likely to default to a more authoritarian role which, in turn, affects the experiences and perspectives of community members.

Individual officers can have a significant impact on the dynamics that develop in street check encounters. To this end, the EPS should ensure that officers have training in interpersonal skills, with particular reference to the cultural factors that may influence interactions with persons from diverse communities.

Officer Knowledge of the Communities and Persons They Police

To ensure that police-citizen encounters, including those that occur during street checks, have a positive outcome, it is important that EPS officers have a basic understanding of the communities and persons being policed. For example, officers should be sensitive to the historical and contemporary lived experiences of the persons they encounter, many of whom may be suffering from trauma. This includes Indigenous persons and persons who have immigrated to Canada from worn-torn countries; newcomers from war-torn countries and from other countries in which the police are distrusted and viewed with suspicion; and, the historical and lived experiences of Black persons as well as those of other groups, including the LGBTQ community.

There is some question as to whether the EPS has been able to ensure that its officers have basic knowledge about communities of diversity. An in-depth study of the Somali community and the EPS involving interviews with 301 members of the Somali community between the ages of 16 and 30 and 57 interviews with EPS members found the following:

- a majority of EPS members interviewed had little detailed knowledge about Somali culture, religion, and migration/integration experiences
- while most officers were not aware that Somalis are Muslims, religion was not viewed as important, one officer stating, "I don't care where you come from, I treat everyone with respect"
- a majority of the officers felt that having more knowledge about the Somali community would assist them in their day-to-day interactions
- although the officers mentioned they had received cultural competency training, it was described as 'generic multiculturalism" and not specific to the Somali community (Bucerius, Thompson, and Hancock, 2016:6)

Among the report's recommendations were that the EPS develop a guide to diverse communities for patrol officers, implement more dynamic training methods, including with the Somali community, a that consideration be given to implementing the HUB model in Edmonton.

Although race/ethnicity has been the primary lens through which the police practice of street checks has been examined and debated, the lived experiences of other persons who are vulnerable, marginal, and at-risk must also be considered. This includes persons with mental illness, those who are addicted, the homeless and/or who face other challenges.

Reviewing the Centralized Street Check Approval Process in the EPS

As part of its review of the street check policy and procedures, the EPS created a centralized unit that reviews and approves all of the SCRs completed by officers. This was done for quality control purposes and to ensure that EPS officers were abiding by the department's street check guidelines. Previously, this function was the responsibility of the patrol supervisors. A review of SCRs indicated that supervisors were approving SCRs that, for various reasons, did not adhere to the guidelines. The decision was subsequently taken to centralize this function.

The objectives of centralizing the approval of SCRs appear not to have been fully realized. An in-depth review of the 27,125 SCRs revealed that only 4,487 (16.5 percent) met the EPS guidelines. This is a significant attrition and indicates that, despite the centralization of the approval function in August, 2017, SCRs were still being approved that did not meet the guidelines.

Although a portion of these SCRs were completed prior to the centralization of the approval function in mid-2017, others fell within the purview of the Intelligence Production Division. From a review of the 2017 SCRs, the EPS had estimated the non-compliance rate to be 11.1 percent. The presence of non-street check incidents in the SCR data compromises the validity of any analyses that are conducted and does not provide an accurate record of EPS street check activity.

The EPS should address the reasons why so many of the SCRs that were approved during 2017 including after the creation of the centralized review protocol in August, 2017, were non-compliant with EPS guidelines. Ensuring that SCRs are guideline-compliant will provide a much more accurate picture of the use of street checks and provide valid data sets that can be used for research and evaluation purposes. To date, the SCR data provided in response to FOI requests have included a large number of incidents that are not in compliance with the EPS street check policy.

The Need for a Plan to Inform/Educate Communities on the Objectives and Use of Street Checks in Policing

Both EPS members and persons in communities of diversity suggested that there is a need for a more proactive approach by the EPS to educate residents about street checks, their objectives, and use. This also holds for EPS members who may be uncertain when it is appropriate to conduct a street check.

A major finding of this study was that there is considerable confusion in communities of diversity about what street checks are, how and why they are used, and the intended benefits of this practice. This contributes to the perception among many who participated in the study that street checks were used to profile persons and resulted in the unfair treatment of certain groups and persons. There are also questions about how the information gathered in street checks is stored, accessed, and retained.

To address this, the EPS should develop a plan to educate/inform the community on the role and use of street checks and why this practice is important as a strategy to ensure community safety and security. This would include materials explaining why street checks are important and the difference between a street check and other types of officer-initiated stops.

This could also include publishing, on a quarterly basis, data on street checks, including highlighting cases in which the information gathered in street checks was useful in locating missing persons and in case investigations. This would contribute to broadening the discussion of street checks beyond a focus on racial profiling and biased policing. Making street check data public was a recommendation of the Alberta provincial privacy commissioner.

Development of a Comprehensive Community Policing Strategy

There does not appear to be a Service-wide, comprehensive community engagement strategy. Many officers referred to the CAC, but found it challenging to articulate their own role in community engagement

The 2017 EPS Annual Policing Plan Q3 report notes that development and *Engagement Strategy for Diverse Communities* is a strategic priority for 2018. This plan is still in the development phase. Ideally, the plan should be part of a comprehensive community policing strategy. This strategy would set out how collaborative partnerships with agencies and community organizations can be established, enhanced, and sustained. Street checks would be clearly articulated as a component of the community policing strategy and the Emerging Communities Framework could also be a component of the strategy.

A core component of community policing is the development of police-community partnerships. This can be accomplished through a wide range of activities and initiatives. Proactive approaches contribute to creating a foundation of trust between the police and communities which is particularly important for police relations with diverse communities. These partnerships facilitate communication and understanding and broaden out the police role from one of enforcement to community service.

Research studies have found that, when properly implemented and supported by senior management, community policing initiatives can reduce citizens' fear of crime and enhance the legitimacy of the police. This, in turn, creates the foundation for increased police-community partnerships and collaboration (Crowl, 2017).

A common complaint of the youth was that there were few opportunities to interact with police officers in a non-enforcement capacity. Suggestions included holding sporting events and having officers drop by for lunch at a youth program. Another suggestion, based on a program in another urban Canadian police service, is a "Newcomer Dinner with the Chief" and an annual recognition dinner to celebrate initiatives and achievements involving community groups and the EPS. All of these would serve to raise the profile of police-community relations and contribute to building a strong relationship foundation. The EPS is currently involved in a variety of community-focused initiatives that can provide the foundation for strengthening ties with diverse communities. This includes events such as the McCauley Cup (Maimann, 2018).

The community policing strategy should include objectives and the metrics to be used in assessing outcomes, as well as setting out the resources the department would require to successfully implement and evaluate the plan. An important component of this strategic plan would be a social media strategy. Given that many persons in the community receive information through social media, this is a medium that the EPS could use to communicate its community-based strategic policing activities, including street checks. An effective social media strategy would increase lines of communication with communities as well as the transparency of police activities.

The development of a community policing plan would best be developed through an extensive consultation process with the communities in Edmonton. General community meetings are less productive than focus groups and interviews, which can be held with community residents and provide an opportunity for the voices of a wide range of community stakeholders and residents to be heard.

A key finding in this study was that community organizations and their representatives in the city are very amenable to collaborating with the EPS to accomplish this. There is among the organizations and communities considerable knowledge and expertise that could be tapped on a collaborative basis to support these initiatives. The initiatives could range from experiential learning sessions for officers, to joint police-community programs and events.

Ensuring That the EPS is Sufficiently Resourced to Develop and Sustain a Community Policing Strategy

The implementation of community policing and sustaining community engagement is resource-intensive for police services. Although beyond the scope of this study, there is the possibility that the EPS is not sufficiently resourced to support proactive policing and community-focused initiatives. The issues surrounding street checks are a microcosm of larger issues that result from a police service not having the resources to develop and sustain collaborative partnerships with communities of diversity and to access the vast expertise that resides in these communities. Similarly, ensuring that all EPS members have the requisite skill sets to effectively engage communities and their residents requires ongoing training and mentoring.

A 2017 audit of EPS staffing noted that the department uses the Managed Patrol Performance Model (MPP) to determine the number of patrol constables that are required to meet workload demands and patrol performance targets. This includes response times and proactive or problem-solving time. The proactive time performance target was 25 percent; however, the actual proactive time that officers have has been considerably lower than that: 11 percent in 2015 and 10.7 percent in 2017. There are several possible explanations for this, including patrol resources not being effectively deployed, e.g. shifting, or EPS not having a sufficient number of patrol officers. An in-depth review of patrol deployment would answer these questions.

It is essential that the EPS be provided with sufficient resources to work collaboratively with agencies and community organizations to address community-identified needs as well as the challenges experienced by the homeless, persons with mental disabilities, the addicted and other vulnerable/marginal persons and groups. A comprehensive review of current capacities,

and gaps, could be undertaken and used as the basis for a request for additional funding should it be required.

Street Checks as a Microcosm of Larger Issues Related to Racism and Discrimination Against Communities of Diversity

At the outset of this report, materials were presented that highlighted the issues surrounding racism, prejudice, and discrimination in Canadian society and the historical and contemporary experiences of Indigenous persons, Blacks, Muslims, and other persons and groups in communities of diversity. Any consideration of police street checks must consider the larger societal backdrop against which these checks occur, as well as focusing on the use of the strategy by individual police services.

The discussion in this section sets out specific initiatives that the EPS could take to address the issues that surround street checks are set out in the discussion below; however, equal attention must be given to the societal issues that create the experiences and perspectives of persons in communities of diversity.

Increased EPS Visibility and Proactive Activities in the Community

There is conclusive research evidence that a visible police presence and proactive initiatives by the police enhances police-community relations, builds trust between the police and the communities, increases police legitimacy, and provides the basis for sustainable partnerships and collaboration (Griffiths, 2019).

It is important that line-level patrol officers be involved in these activities, as well as specialty units and senior managers. It is the patrol officer and beat officer that neighbourhood residents are most likely to encounter and to be involved in a street check. If community residents only encounter the police in their enforcement role or in times of crisis, then it is likely that the perception will be that only certain groups and individuals are being singled out for street checks. And, these perceptions are important and must be considered as seriously as the results of any statistical analysis.

Monitoring for Problem Officers

A review of the SCRs completed during 2017 found that there was a group of officers who were very active in conducting street checks. Most of these officers work the beat in downtown Division where officers have the opportunity for proactive engagement that their colleagues in patrol units. It is not possible to determine whether the number of SCRs completed by these officers is excessive, as no baseline of what would be considered to be an average number of SCRs, per officer, per year has been established. However, the EPS could establish a system to monitor the frequency with which officers are conducting street checks. The NPYD and the Cincinnati Police Department are two police services that use analytics to monitor the use of street checks by officers and the EPS could develop this capacity.

Monitoring for De-Policing

De-policing is a major, and significant, consequence of the controversy that has surrounded street checks in Canada and the implementation of guidelines and legislation. This results in officers reducing, or eliminating, engagement in proactive policing activities that bring them into contact with community residents. There is evidence that this is beginning to occur in Edmonton, although a determination of the nature and extent of this was beyond the scope of the present study.

A number of officers in the focus groups and in the field observations indicated that they were significantly reducing, or in some cases eliminating, conducting street checks. This may have significant consequences for the safety and well-being of communities. There should be an open dialogue within the EPS and between the EPS and its stakeholder communities about de-policing, its implications and how it can be avoided.

Acknowledging and Addressing the Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Persons in Communities of Diversity

An analysis of the SCRs that fall within the EPS guidelines provides no evidence that EPS officers engage in systemic discrimination, racial profiling, or biased policing in conducting street checks. In the majority of street checks, officers had the lawful authority to conduct the stop.

There is, however, a widespread perception in communities of diversity that EPS officers disproportionately target certain groups and individuals in street checks and that during street check encounters, officers often do not treat citizens with respect. This may lead to negative views of the police and reinforce perceptions of biased policing. For many community residents, perception is reality and this reality must be addressed by the EPS working in collaboration with community agencies.

Ensuring Procedural Justice in Police-Citizen Encounters

A common theme in the comments of community representatives and the residents of diverse communities was that officers did not treat them with respect in encounters and during street checks. Procedural justice was identified at the outset of this report as a significant factor in public confidence in, and the legitimacy of, the police. This requires that persons who are stopped by the police feel that they have been treated fairly and with respect. If not, these persons are likely to develop negative attitudes toward the police and have any pre-existing negative views of the police reinforced.

The requisite skills training and mentoring should be provided by the EPS to ensure that officers understand and practice procedural justice in their encounters with citizens and in conducting street checks.

Reviewing the Role of Private Security Personnel and Their Encounters with Persons in Communities of Diversity

The role and activities of private security personnel in Edmonton was beyond the scope of this study. However, there should be a review of the role, activities, and decision making of private security personnel in Edmonton, with a specific focus on encounters between these personnel and persons in communities of diversity. This project would involve the use of interviews and focus group sessions with private security personnel, representatives of community organizations, and persons in diverse communities, as well as field observations.

The Issue of the Police Gathering Data on Race

There is an ongoing debate as to whether police services should gather data on race. It has been argued that gathering data on race further criminalizes certain groups in the community. Supporters of gathering data on race argue that these data are needed to determine street checks reveal patterns of discrimination toward certain groups or individuals as reflected in the decision making of police officers. This is a position supported by Black Lives Matter and other groups in Edmonton (personal communication with C.T. Griffiths, January 25, 2018).

The present project was limited in its ability to analyze the role that race played in street checks conducted by the EPS in 2017. Many of the SCRs that were reviewed did not contain any information on race, and even in those instances where the officer completing the SCR entered the persons race or ethnicity, this was based on the officer's assessment rather than self-identification by the person who was stopped and checked. This often led to the same person having multiple ethnicities, e.g. Asian, Black, White in different SCRs. This hinders any analysis of SCR data that has as a component the race or ethnicity of the person who is street checked.

The collection of valid race-related data will require police officers to ask the person who has been stopped to self-identify, rather than the determination of race being based on the officer's observation.

Should Street Checks Be Banned?

One position in the ongoing debate/discussion of street checks is that the practice should be banned. The materials gathered for this study and the analysis conducted on the SCR data suggest that the practice of street checks should not be banned. When properly conducted, street checks can assist in maintaining the safety and security of the community. However, there are a number of initiatives that could be taken to address the issues surrounding street checks and the concerns expressed by community organizations and residents. These have been set out in the preceding discussion.

It was noted at the outset of this report that police officers are given considerable discretion in carrying out their legislated mandate. The debate over street checks has turned largely on the assertion that officers abuse their discretionary powers and engaged in racial profiling and biased policing in conducting street checks.

An analysis of the 2017 EPS SCR data revealed that, in the majority of cases, officers had the lawful authority to conduct the subject stop. However, the use of bylaws such as loitering, panhandling, jay walking, interfering with park furniture, and interfering with grass that provide lawful authority are quite subjective and there may be differences how officers exercise discretion with respect to these cases. While it is not possible to enact legislation and create policies that cover all of the situations that police officers observe, training and a focus on professionalism can serve to mitigate biases in these situations. What one officer may determine to be loitering may not be similarly interpreted by other officers. Much may depend upon whether the officer knows the subject in question, that person's prior history of contact with the police, and, perhaps, their racial or ethnic identity.

Rather than banning the practice of street checks, training and protocols should be put into place to ensure that police officers do not abuse their discretionary powers and engage in racial profiling and biased policing. Surveys consistently indicate that the general public wants the police to be more visible and proactive in the community. Street checks are a component of police visibility and of proactive activities.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

This study has a number of limitations that should be taken into account in considering the findings and recommendations.

The 2017 SCR Data

Prior to conducting the analysis of the 2017 SCR data, it was necessary to ensure that the reports were in compliance with EPS street check guidelines. This was important to determine, as previous studies of street checks in Edmonton and in other jurisdictions have not conducted similar reviews. Reviewing 15,909 street check reports linked to 27,125 person files (comprised of 14,188 distinct individuals) was a time-consuming endeavor and, in some instances, required a judgement call as to whether a particular police stop was a street check, or should be reclassified.

During the review of the 2017 SCRs, there were many "grey areas", instances in which the researchers sought the input of the EPS liaison as well as guidance from applicable Bylaws and Acts as to whether the incident reported in the SCR fell within departmental guidelines. In many cases, the incidents did not and these cases were reclassified. The challenge is that every encounter that police officers have with citizens is different and no one set of guidelines can cover all of the possible permutations.

The Field Observations

Another limitation of the study was the limited number of field observations that were conducted during the project. More extensive field observations would have provided valuable insights into the exercise of discretion by officers, their behaviour and that of the subject in the encounter, and the rationale that officers have for conducting a particular stop. Police scholars have noted the importance of conducting field observations to record the dynamics of police-citizen encounters and to assess the extent to which officers adhere to the principles of procedural justice (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015: 847).

In the review of the published studies and reports on street checks, it was noted that a significant limitation of the research conducted to date has been the failure to examine the context in which street checks are conducted and the absence of field observational data on police-citizen encounters. Field observations are an essential component in understanding the decision of a police officer to conduct a street check and the dynamics of the encounter with community residents.

An instrument for measuring procedural justice in police-citizen encounters has been developed and could be used in future research on street checks (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, and Moyal, 2015).

The Community Consultation

The interviews with community representatives and the community focus groups were centered on organizations representing communities of diversity and marginalized and vulnerable persons. An analysis of the SCR data for 2017 revealed that persons in specific areas of the city are more likely to be street checked and that some persons in communities of diversity comprise a significant proportion of the *available population*. Persons in these groups are the most likely to be street checked. The experiences and perceptions of the general Edmonton community were not examined due to time and resource limitations. Further, given the diversity of experiences of persons in communities of diversity, the perspectives of the community residents in the focus group sessions should be taken as illustrative of the concerns surrounding street checks held by the various groups.

Limitations of the SCRs

Using SCRs as the basis of analysis has a number of limitations. These reports present accounts of the events surrounding the street check as documented by the police officer. There is no mechanism to independently evaluate whether the narrative in the SCR is an accurate account of the reason for the stop and the encounter. Further, SCRs generally do not capture the *dynamics* of the encounter, which are an important factor in procedural justice and in the

perceptions of the person who is stopped. An SCR may not, for example, note whether the officer indicated to the person why they were stopped, capture non-verbal dynamic, e.g. body language, between the officer and the subject, nor how the officer terminated the check. Short of equipping officers with body-worn cameras, the interactive features of the street check encounter are generally unrecorded.

In addition, the majority of SCRs do not contain any information on the race of the person who was stopped, nor on other attributes, including homelessness and addiction, that may have made the person the target of a police stop.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The primary objective of this project was to explore the use of street checks by the EPS and the lived experiences and perceptions of persons in the city's diverse communities as well as those of EPS members. Of concern was whether the use of street checks by EPS officers reflects racial profiling and biased policing and whether there are instances in which persons who are stopped by EPS officers feel psychological detained. The study also solicited suggestions from communities of diversity and EPS sworn and civilian members how any outstanding issues surrounding the use of street checks could best be addressed going forward.

The findings from the present study raise a number of important issues. These include the importance of considering the lived experiences of persons who represent communities of diversity, the staff of organizations that provide services to these communities, and EPS members. Documenting the experiences and perceptions of the community and the police provides a foundation for improving communication, creating and enhancing police-community partnerships, reducing the likelihood that police officers will engage in racial profiling and biased policing, and that community residents will perceive they are being singled out for police attention.

The findings reveal that both communities of diversity and the police are experiencing challenges with respect to street checks. Among the challenges of community residents are a lack of understanding of street checks, how and why street checks are conducted, and about how the information gathered in street checks is stored, accessed, and retained. Among the challenges faced by police officers is a degree of uncertainty regarding the use of street checks as a policing strategy.

The findings in this study have also revealed the importance of examining the dynamics of police-citizen encounters as part of any study of police street checks. This report suggests that the nature of the interaction between the police and citizens, as much as the police stop itself, may play a significant role in the experiences and perceptions of community residents.

This requires that officers have the requisite skill sets to effectively interact with adults and youth from diverse communities. The absence of engagement skills, coupled with a lack of knowledge about the cultures and communities they are policing, may contribute to officers over-relying on their authoritative powers and less on effective communication and conversational skills.

Although the present project was focused on street checks, the findings have raised a number of more general issues related to the delivery of policing services in Edmonton. These include: 1) *recruitment*, to increase the diversity of the police service; 2) *training*, to ensure that officers have the requisite skill sets to effectively engage community residents and have at least a basic understanding of the communities and cultures they are policing; 3) *effective communication* between the senior levels of the EPS and the line level, to ensure that officers are an integral component of the department's policing strategy; 4) *deployment and utilization of departmental resources*, to address issues such as the exceptionally-low amount of time that patrol officers have for proactive activities; and, 5) *adequate resourcing* to ensure that the EPS has the requisite capacities to deliver effective and efficient police services on a sustainable basis to all of the communities in the city.

Across the city, there are a myriad of organizations that are involved in providing services to communities of diversity and toe vulnerable and at-risk persons. There is considerable expertise that could make a significant contribution to police-community collaboration on a range of issues. Significantly, all of the representatives and community persons who participated in this project expressed an interest in working with the EPS to improve the quality of life in the city generally, and, in particular, for their communities.

There is an argument to be made that street checks, if properly conducted, can be a valuable component of effective policing and of ensuring community safety and security. However, there are a number of pre-requisites that must be met. These include that the decision to conduct a street check is not a consequence of racial profiling and biased policing; officers practice

procedural justice during street checks; and that the SCRs that are completed are in compliance with EPS guidelines.

Studies of street checks have not included field observations and the present study was able to conduct only a very limited number of ride-alongs and walk-alongs. In the absence of these types of data, it is difficult to determine the cognitive processes of officers in the decision to conduct a street check and to document the real-time dynamics of police-citizen interaction during stops.

Determining whether street checks reflect racial profiling and biased policing is complicated by the absence of information in the SCRs on the subject's race, ethnicity, vulnerability, and other features that may make persons more likely to be checked. Although the majority of persons who are street checked have criminal histories, this does not absolve officers from ensuring that street checks are not based on racial profiling and biased policing and that the officers ensure procedural justice in the street check encounter.

Given that SCRs represent the *outcome* of the decision of an officer to conduct a stop and provide only an abbreviated record of the encounter, it is very difficult from an analysis of these data to empirically determine whether the EPS engages in racial profiling and biased policing. The time, location, non-personal attributes of the person stopped, e.g. criminal history, and other contextual factors are important considerations in understanding the decision of police officers to conduct police street checks.

Although officers had lawful authority to conduct the street check in the majority of the street checks conducted in 2017, the use of city by-laws such as "interfering with park furniture" and "interfering with grass" suggested some level of *pretense policing*. Further, that an officer has the lawful authority does not preclude the possibility that certain persons and groups are the focus of a disproportionate level of police attention.

Banning street checks may have a number of negative consequences, including 1) displacement to other police tactics that may be less transparent and subject to less oversight and

accountability; 2) hindering efforts to prevent crime, ensure safety and well-being of citizens, and efforts to solve crimes; 3) not resolving the issue of procedural justice in police-citizen encounters; and, 4) would not, in itself, improve relations with communities of diversity or strengthen the partnerships that exist between the EPS and community organizations

Street checks are viewed by police personnel as an integral, and valuable, component of the EPS strategy for ensuring the safety and security of the community. On the other hand, there is concern in the community, and particularly in communities of diversity, that street checks can result in certain groups and persons being unfairly targeted by the police.

The challenge going forward is how to retain a police practice that has measurable benefits, while at the same time ensuring that this police activity does not reflect racial profiling and biased policing, result in psychological detention of persons who are stopped, and adheres to the principles of procedural justice. It is also important that street checks are conducted in a manner that does not undermine public confidence in, and the legitimacy of, the EPS.

The issues surrounding street checks are complex and multi-faceted. To effectively address these issues requires a consideration of historical factors, the relationships between the police and communities of diversity in Canada, and these relationships in the City of Edmonton. It also includes discussions of the homeless, mental health issues, trauma experienced by Indigenous persons, as well as racial profiling, biased policing, and the challenges experienced by racialized groups. This, in turn, requires the development of partnerships involving the police, communities, and other agencies and organizations as well as relationships based on trust that provide the framework for open, and ongoing dialogue. The findings of this study can contribute to an expanded dialogue between the EPS and community residents, including communities of diversity, not only with respect to street checks, but in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in the city.

REFERENCES

Appleby, T. 2005. "Kingston Police More Likely to Stop Blacks, Study Finds," *theglobeandmail.com*. May 27. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/kingston-police-more-likely-to-stop-blacks-study-finds/article18228211/

Barnaby, L., R. Penn, and P.G. Erickson. 2010. *Drugs, Homelessness and Health: Homeless Youth Speak Out About Harm Reduction*. Toronto: Wellesley Institute. http://homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/homelessyouthspeakout_shoutclinic2010_v2.pdf

Bennett, K. 2015a. "Hamilton Police Disproportionately Stop and Question Black People," *cbc.ca.* July 23. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/hamilton-police-disproportionately-stop-and-question-black-people-1.3165182

Bennett, K. 2015b. "Hamilton Police Carded the Same Aboriginal Man 14 Times in 1 Year."

cbc.ca. November 18. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/aboriginal-carded-14-times-1.3324958

Bennett, K. 2015c. "Repeated Street Checks on People Undercut Charter Freedoms: Activist," *cbc.ca*. November 20. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/news/repeated-street-checks-on-people-undercut-charter-freedoms-activists-1.3327212

Bennett, D., D. Eby, J. Richardson, and K. Tilley. 2008. *Security Before Justice. A Study of the Impacts of Private Security on Homeless and Under-Housed Vancouver Residents*. Vancouver: PIVOT Legal Society. http://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/legacy_url/253/securitybeforejustice.pdf?1345765598

Bucerius, S.M., S.K. Thompson, and K. Hancock. 2016. *The Somali Experience in Alberta: Interviews with Members of the Edmonton Police Service on Community Outreach Strategies and their Experiences with the Somali Diaspora in Edmonton*. Edmonton: Edmonton Police Commission. file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/Final%20Report%20The%20Somali%20Experience%20(15).pdf

Canada. Department of Justice. 1985. *Canadian Human Rights Act*, R.S.C., c. H-6, http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/H-6.pdf

Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. 2004. "Bias-Free Policing." In *Resolutions Adopted at the 99th Annual Conference*. August. Vancouver, BC.

CBC. 2018. "A Year After Ontario Moved to Restrict Carding, Has Anything Changed?" *cbc.ca*. March 7. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/a-year-after-ontario-moved-to-restrict-carding-has-anything-changed-1.4565297

CBC. 2017a. "Here's What You Need to Know About Carding," *cbc.ca*. September 30.

http://www.cbc.ca/firsthand/m_features/heres-what-you-need-to-know-about-carding

CBC. 2017b. "Should 'Carding' Be Banned?" *cbc.ca*. July 17. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/programs/edmontonam/should-carding-be-banned-1.4205255

CBC. 2016. "Ottawa Police Stopping Middle Eastern, Black Drivers at 'Disproportionate' Rate: Report," *cbc.ca*. October 24. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/race-data-live-ottawa-police-report-1.3816311

CBC. 2015a. "Ottawa Police Release First Report on Controversial Carding, Street Checks," *cbc.ca*. July 23. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/ottawa-police-release-first-report-on-controversial-carding-street-checks-1.3165849

CBC. 2015b. "Toronto Police Chief Mark Saunders Defends Lawful Carding After Mayor Objects," *cbc.ca*. June 11. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/toronto-police-chief-mark-saunders-defends-lawful-carding-after-mayor-objects-1.3108829

Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse. (Commission on Human Rights and Youth Rights). 2011. *Racial Profiling and Systemic Discrimination of Racialized Youth*. *Report of the Consultation on Racial Profiling and Its Consequences*. Quebec: Government of Quebec. http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/publications/Profiling_final_EN.pdf

Connely, K, W. Cukier, C. Grant, K. Neuman, K. Newman-Bremang, and M. Wisdom. 2014. *The Black Experience Project. A Greater Toronto Area Study Capturing the Lived Experience of a Diverse Community. Phase 1 – Community Engagement. Final Report*. Toronto: Environics Institute.http://www.environicsinstitute.org/uploads/institute-projects/black%20experience%20project%20gta%20-%20phase%201%20final%20report.pdf

Cossette, M.-A. 2018. "Critics Doubt New Police Stats on Street Checks," *cbc.ca*. January 29. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/street-check-2017-report-1.4506005

Davis, R.C. 2009. *Measuring the Performance of the Dallas Police Department, 2008-2009 Results*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/technical_reports/2009/RAND_TR730.pdf

Department of Justice Canada. 2014. *Report of the Deputy Minister Advisory Panel on Criminal Legal Aid.* Ottawa. http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/esc-cde/rr14/index.html

dictionary.com. n.d. "Discrimination." http://www.dictionary.com/browse/discrimination

dictionary.com. n.d. "Racism." http://www.dictionary.com/browse/racism

Doob, A. N., and R. Gartner. 2017. *Understanding the Impact of Police Stops. A Report Prepared for the Toronto Police Services Board*. http://criminology.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/DoobGartnerPoliceStopsReport-

17Jan2017r.pdf

Draaisma, M. 2017. "New Ontario Rule Banning Carding by Police Takes Effect," cbc.ca. January 1. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/carding-ontario-police-government-ban-1.3918134

Edmonton Police Service. 2017. "Street Checks and Street Check Reporting Procedure." Procedure Number OP10-9PR.

Edmonton Police Service. 2016. "Report to the Edmonton Police Commission." February 25.

Environics Institute for Survey Research. 2016. *Survey of Muslims in Canada, 2016*. Toronto.http://www.environicsinstitute.org/uploads/institute-projects/survey%20of%20muslims%20in%20canada%202016%20-%20final%20report.pdf

Ferguson, R. 2016. "Ontario Updates Carding Regulations for Police," *thestar.com*, March 22, 2016. https://www.thestar.com/news/queenspark/2016/03/22/province-updates-carding-regulations-for-police.html

Fine, S. 2016. "Peel Regional Police Chief Jennifer Evans Under Fire for Refusal to End Carding," *theglobeandmail.com*. December 23. https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/peel-

regional-police-chief-jennifer-evans-under-fire-for-refusal-to-end-carding/article33425584/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&

Fitzgerald, R.T. and P.J. Carrington. 2011. "Disproportionate Minority Contact in Canada: Police and Visible Minority Youth," *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 53*(4), 449-86.

globenewswire.com. 2017. "UN Committee Questions Canada's Record on Anti-Racism," August 15. https://globenewswire.com/news-release/2017/08/15/1084905/0/en/UN-Committee-Questions-Canada-s-Record-on-Anti-Racism.html

Go, A. 2014. "The Access to Justice Challenges of Chinese Canadians," *Legal Aid Ontario Blog*, July 14, http://blog.legalaid.on.ca/2014/07/14/the-access-to-justice-challenges-of-chinese-canadians/

Government of Canada. 2012. *A Snapshot of Racialized Poverty in Canada.* Ottawa: National Council of Welfare. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/esdc-edsc/migration/documents/eng/communities/reports/poverty_profile/snapshot.pdf

Griffiths, C.T. 2019. *Canadian Criminal Justice*. 6th ed. Toronto: Nelson.

Griffiths, C.T. 2016. *Canadian Police Work*. 4th ed. Toronto: Nelson.

Hayle, S., S. Wortley, and J. Tanner. 2016. "Race, Street Life, and Policing: Implications for Racial Profiling," *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 58*(3), 322-53.

Huncar, A. 2017a. "Indigenous Women Nearly 10 Times More Likely to be Street Checked by Edmonton Police, New Data Shows," *cbc.ca*. June 27. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/street-checks-edmonton-police-aboriginal-black-carding-1.4178843

Huncar, A. 2017b. "Edmonton Police Defend Street Checks, Reject Allegations of Racial Profiling," *cbc.ca*. June 27. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/edmonton-carding-indigenous-black-lives-matter-ganley-1.4180931

Huncar, A. 2015. "Police Street Checks: Valuable Investigative Tool or Racial Profiling?" *cbc.ca*. September 14.

http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/police-street-checks-valuable-investigative-tool-or-racial-profiling-1.3226705

Jonathan-Zamir, T., S.D. Mastrofski, and S. Moyal. 2015. "Measuring Procedural Justice in Police-Citizen Encounters," *Justice Quarterly*, 32(5), 845-71.

Julian, J. 2017. "Black People Made Up 41 Percent of RCMP Street Checks Around Halifax," *cbc.ca.* January 11. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/black-people-41-per-cent-rcmp-street-checks-halifax-1.3931415

Keeler, N. 2017. " 'A Diverse Group': Edmonton Police Launch Canada's First Mentorship Academy," *CBC News*, June 25. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/edmonton-police-mentorship-academy-1.4175177

Kinsmen, G.W. and P. Gentile. 2009. *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sex Regulation*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Kloss, W.J. and P.F. McKenna. 2006. "Profiling a Problem in Canadian Police Leadership: The Kingston Police Data Collection Project," *Canadian Public Administration,* 49(2), 143-60.

Labby, B. 2017. "Lethbridge Police Accused of 'Racist"' Carding Practices," *cbc.ca*. June 20. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/lethbridge-police-racist-carding-blood-tribe-1.4169754

Lashley, M., G. Hassan, A. Harris, and S. Touzin. 2015. *Evaluation du Plan Strategique en Matiere de Profilage Racial et Social (2012-2014)*. Montreal: McGill University. ille.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/COMMISSIONS_PERM_V2_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/DOC_RAPPORT_2015.PDF

Leber, B. 2017. *Police-Reported Hate Crime in Canada, 2015*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2017001/article/14832-eng.pdf

Legal Aid Ontario. 2015. "Submission to Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services. Carding and Street Checks." Toronto. https://www.legalaid.on.ca/en/publications/downloads/carding/2015-11_LAO-Formal-Submission-to-MCSCS-on-Carding-and-Street-Checks.pdf

Lundman, R.J. 1980. *Police and Policing – An Introduction*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Maimann, K. 2018. "Police Score Points with Inner City at Annual Hockey Game," *metronews.com*, January 4. http://www.metronews.ca/news/edmonton/2018/01/04/police-score-points-with-inner-city-at-annual-hockey-game.html

Marcoux, J., K. Nicholson, V.-L. Kubinec, and H. Moore. 2016. "Police Diversity Fails to Keep Pace with Canadian Populations," *cbc.ca*. July 14. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/police-diversity-canada-1.3677952

Markwick, N., R. McNeil, W. Small, and T. Kerr. 2015. "Exploring the Public Health Impacts of Private Security Guards on People Who Use Drugs: A Qualitative Study," *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 92(6), 1117-30.

Matys, F. 2016. "Carding Crackdown Will Impact Investigations: Orillia OPP," *simcoe.com*, May 12. https://www.simcoe.com/news-story/6549856-carding-crackdown-will-impact-investigations-orillia-opp/

McGregor, P., and A. Maclvor. 2017. "Black People 3 Times More Likely to be Street Checked in Halifax, Police Say," *cbc.ca*. January 9. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/halifax-black-street-checks-police-race-profiling-1.3925251

McNally, M. and D. Martin. 2017. "First Nations, Inuit and Metis Health: Considerations for Canadian Health Leaders in the Wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Report," *Healthcare Management Forum*, 30(2), 117-22.

Melchers, R., 2006, *Inequality Before the Law: The Canadian Experience of "Racial Profiling"*, Ottawa: Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Research and Evaluation Branch.

https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/cnmcs-plcng/cn000033255193-eng.pdf

Merali, F. 2017. "Survey Finds Racism is 'Alive and Well' in B.C.," *CBC News*, March 6. http://ipolitics.ca/2017/03/13/guess-what-canada-were-racists/

Montgomery, R. and C.T. Griffiths 2016. *The Use of Private Security Services for Policing*. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada.

https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/2015-r041/2015-r041-en.pdf

Montgomery, R. and C.T. Griffiths. 2017. *Contemporary Policing Responsibilities*. *Research Summary*. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada. https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/2017-s006/2017-s006-en.pdf

MVA and J. Miller. 2000. *Profiling Populations Available for Stops and Searches*. Police Research Services Paper 131. London, UK: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office. https://www.westmidlands-pcc.gov.uk/media/238047/prs131_profiling_populations_available_for_stops_and_searches.pdf

Office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Alberta. 2017. "Re: Street Checks and Policing Public Consultation." Edmonton. https://www.oipc.ab.ca/media/873261/Letter_Police_Street_Checks_Oct-25-17.pdf

O'Grady, B., S. Gaetz, and K. Buccieri. 2013. "Policing Street Youth in Toronto," In *Youth Homelessness in Canada: Implications for Policy and Practice.* In S. Gaetz, B. O'Grady, K. Buccieri, J. Karabonow, and A. Marsolais, (eds.). Toronto: Canadian

Homelessness Research Network Press. 335-52. http://homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/YouthHomelessnessweb.pdf

Ontario Human Rights Commission. 2017. *Under Suspicion: Research and Consultation Report on Racial Profiling in Ontario*, Toronto. http://ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/Under%20suspicion_research%20and%20consultation%20report%20on%20racial%20profiling%20in%20Ontario_2017.pdf

Ontario Human Rights Commission. 2016. "Response to the Race Data and Traffic Stops in Ottawa Report." Toronto. http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/ohrc-response-race-data-and-traffic-stops-ottawa-report

Ontario Human Rights Commission. 2003. "Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling." Toronto. http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/paying-price-human-cost-racial-profiling

Paradkar, S. 2017. "NGOs Tell UN Panel Canada is Failing on Ending Racism: Paradkar," *thestar.com*, August 14. https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2017/08/14/ngos-tell-un-panel-canada-is-failing-on-racism-paradkar.html

Province of Ontario. 2017. *A Better Way Forward: Ontario's 3-Year Anti-Racism Strategic Plan*. Toronto: https://files.ontario.ca/ar-2001_ard_report_tagged_final-s.pdf

Quintana, N.S., J. Rosenthal, J., and J. Krehely. 2010. *On the Streets: The Federal Response to Gay and Transgender Homeless Youth*. Washington, D.C.: The Center for American Progress.https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/06/pdf/lgbtyouthhomelessness.pdf

Quinton, P. 2011. "The Formation of Suspicions: Police Stop and Search Practices in England and Wales," *Policing & Society*, 357-68.

Quinton, P., N. Bland, and J. Miller. 2000. *Police Stops, Decision-making and Practice*. London, UK: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office.

http://www.cedus.it/documents/PoliziaLocale/Gestione/Tecniche_di_controllo_del_territorio/PoliceStopsDecisionmakingAndPractice.pdf

Rankin, J. and S. Contenta. 2017. "Toronto Marijuana Arrests Reveal 'Startling' Racial Divide," *thestar.com*, July 6.

https://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2017/07/06/toronto-marijuana-arrests-reveal-startling-racial-divide.html

Renauer, B.C. 2012. "Neighborhood Variation in Police Stops and Searches: A Test of Consensus and Conflict Perspectives," *Police Quarterly*, 15(3), 219-240.

Ridgeway, G. 2009. *Summary of the RAND Report on NYPD's Stop, Question, and Frisk*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2009/RAND_CT329.pdf

Saewyc, E., B. D. Bingham, A. Brunanski, S. Smith, M. Hunt, M. Northcott, and The McCreary Centre Society. 2008. *Moving Upstream: Aboriginal Marginalized and Street Involved Youth in B.C*. Vancouver: The McCreary Centre Society. http://www.mcs.bc.ca/pdf/Moving_Upstream_Websmall.pdf

Satzewich, V. and W. Shaffir. 2009. *Racism Versus Professionalism: Claims and Counter Claims About Racial Profiling*. Hamilton: McMaster University. http://www.queensu.ca/csd/publications/wps/6-EShaffirSatzewichpaper.pdf

Sommers, J., C. LaPrairie, M. Berti, T. Laviolette, V. Felix, and S. Millar. 2005. *Policing Homelessness: The Report on the Research Project on the Regulation of Public Space and the Criminalization of Homelessness in Vancouver*. Vancouver: PHS Community Services Society. http://homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/Policing_Homelessness_The_Report_on_the_Researc.pdf

Statistics Canada. 2016. *Census Profile*. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=4811061&Geo2=CD&Code2=4811&Data=Count&SearchText=edmonton&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1

Statistics Canada. 2009. *Measuring Crime in Canada: Introducing the Crime Severity Index and Improvements to the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey*. Ottawa.

https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-004-x/85-004-x2009001-eng.pdf?st=_TEqd40C

Stone, V. and N. Pettigrew. 2000. *The Views of the Public on Stops and Searches*. Police Research Series Paper 129. London, UK: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office.

https://www.westmidlands-pcc.gov.uk/media/238059/prs129_the_views_of_the_public_on_stops_and_searches.pdf

Sunshine, J. and T.R. Tyler. 2003. "The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing," *Law and Society Review*, 37(3), 513-48.

Tarbotton, J. 2010. "Stripped Bare: The Regulation of Public Space in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside," Unpublished MA Thesis. Burnaby, BC: Urban Studies Program, Simon Fraser University.

file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/etd6400_JTarbotton%20(1).pdftarbotton

The Canadian Encyclopedia. n.d. "Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada." http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/prejudice-and-discrimination/

The Globe and Mail. 2016. "Views on Racism in Canada," May. http://www.nanosresearch.com/sites/default/files/POLNAT-S15-T682.pdf

Theobald, C. 2017. "Police Commissioner Frustrated with Ongoing Issues of Gender Parity," *Edmonton Sun*. March 19. http://edmontonjournal.com/news/local-news/police-commissioner-frustrated-with-ongoing-issues-of-gender-parity

Tyler, T.R. 2011. *Why People Cooperate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyler, T.R. 1997. "Procedural Fairness and Compliance with the Law," Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics, 133(II), 219-40.

Tyler, T.R. 1990. *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Watters, M.N.B. 2017. "An Analysis of the Data Collected on Street Checks in Edmonton Between the Years 2009 and 2016 Inclusive." Unpublished paper. June 22. https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/progressalberta/pages/352/attachments/original/1498688518/An_Analysis_of_the_Data_Collected_On_Street_Checks_in_Edmonton.pdf

Weingarten, B. 2015. "Police Carding, 'Investigative Detention,' and Section 9 of the Charter," *bwdefencelaw.com*, November 16. https://www.bwdefencelaw.com/section-9-of-the-charter/police-carding-investigative-detention-and-section-9-of-the-charter/

Westmarland, L. 2013. "'Snitches Get Stiches': US Homicide Detectives' Ethics and Morals in Action," *Policing & Society*, 23(3), 311-27.

Wolff, K.B. and C.L. Cokely. 2007. "'To Protect and To Serve?' An Exploration of Police Conduct in Relation to the Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community," *Sexuality and Culture*, 11(2), 1-23.